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The curriculum and pupils' responses : a case study in an open secondary school in South Africa

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decisions about the organisation and content of lessons in the classes referred to and elsewhere, and were exemplified, inter alia, by the insistence on mixed races in small group discussions, the use of political and Afrocentric curriculum material and the introduction of the vernacular. This chapter will explore the pupils' responses to these initiatives, and will also explore curriculum decisions which, inadvertently, influenced these aspects, and were influenced by them. These include such organisational arrangements as streaming, large class discussions, racially mixed and unmixed classes.

Inevitably 'social and personal' learning is intertwined with 'academic' learning and achievement. This has been explored a little in the context of the debate about appropriate curriculum for a mixed race school. In this chapter pupils' perspectives on some of the issues will be considered.

1. Pupils' perspectives on selected organisational features of the curriculum and the school

1.1 Classroom-based organisational structures

1.1.1 Structured attempts to encourage cross-race mixing

As described before, this strategy was employed as a major organisational strategy almost exclusively in Integrated Studies, and in Ms Chetty's senior English classes. In both of these, teachers made a conscious effort to encourage pupils to work in racially mixed groups. Their aim in making use of small group structures was to afford the opportunity for participation to a wide spread of pupils, and to encourage the breakdown of racial barriers to interaction.

The majority of pupils interviewed reported that the racial mixing imposed on them in these small group situations had contributed to their getting to know people they might not otherwise have spoken to. Angelina, a black girl in Standard 8, reports how she began to find it easier to mix with other race groups:

> IS helped me in many ways. Like relationships. Like talking to people. In my old school we sticked around with friends, never mixed. In IS you're made to mix. At first I found it harder to talk to white students, and IS helped me. More than others.

Elsie, a white girl in the same class, found that this strategy in Integrated Studies had helped her forget about race in her interactions:

> We learnt to mix with discussions and plays. We were put into groups and were all working for the same thing so we forgot about colours and all centred on one thing, so it happened without your being aware of it. After a while we just mixed anyway.

Ravi, an Indian boy in Standard 9, noted how he had been helped to overcome his perception of 'his place' imposed by Apartheid legislation by mixing in small groups (and on the fieldtrip) in Integrated Studies. By being forced to mix you inevitably get to know the other person better, and common ground has the potential of being found. Elizabeth, a white girl in Standard 6, noted that by being forced to work with black pupils in small groups she had found that the experience helped her overcome her fear of being disliked by them, and that they, too, were nervous of the interaction. These, and numerous other verbatim comments are given in Appendix O, part 1.

Clearly the use of racially mixed small groups was not the answer to racial segregation in the school, as several pupils pointed out. Segregated groups were still the norm:

> In IS the teachers would put you in a group with someone you didn't know to make us get used to each other. But I don't think that really helped - you still see groups together.
>
> Maringa, 88 in Std 8

Some felt that the time allocation was too short to make a meaningful impression on the segregated class, and that more natural, more informal interaction was more helpful in breaking barriers. Numerous verbatim comments are to be found in Appendix O, part 2.

The other major curriculum event with social interaction as a main theme was the annual Integrated Studies trip for the whole class, and there were similarly mixed feelings about the value of the trips. (See Appendix O, part 3)

They did help you get to know people:

> Sedwana made me communicate with people I couldn't before - like Gord (WB). They were all nice and friendly. I got to know some people better - like Elina (BG) and Veronica (WB) - we shared a tent.
>
> Regina, BG in Std 8

But others felt even here the effects were short-lived:

> We're not really united in our class. We've got little groups. We talked to those people at Sedwana, but when we came back it changed.
>
> Zadna, BG in Std 8

Thus it seems that, while for some the forced mixing was ineffective in forming long term bonds, for many it broke the ice and created a chance for cross-race mixing that would not have happened without it. The pupils' comments suggest that, for some pupils at least, preconceived ideas about the other groups, and their views of oneself and one's own group, might be modified by this interaction.

Tables 8, 9 and 10 below show pupils' responses to questionnaire items related to the role of teachers in facilitating racial mixing.

Table 8. Perceptions of what teachers do to encourage racial mixing

	Numbers of each response		
	Black	Indian	White
Nothing/don't care	10	3	14
Almost nothing/some do, some don't	9	8	7
Try and mix races in groups	15	9	31
Let us know each others' culture/way of life/religions	2		4
Let us take people as they are	1		
Let us live together	1		
Treat us equally	5	3	3
Don't let anyone have a racist attitude		1	
Allow everyone to join in		1	
Teach us to help another person	1		

Table 8, above, shows pupils' perceptions of what staff did to encourage racial mixing. While some pupils felt that many did nothing, where attempts were considered to be made, they were predominantly in the realm of requiring pupils to work in racially mixed small groups - as happened almost exclusively in Integrated Studies and Ms Chetty's English class.

From Tables 9 and 10 below, it is clear that, while this strategy had some measure of support among pupils, it was more positively perceived among black than white pupils, the latter being more numerous in their rejection of it. (See Table 10).

Table 9. Pupils' perceptions of what staff should do to encourage racial mixing

	Numbers of each response		
	Black	Indian	White
Mix groups in class/ for projects	31	18	25
Nothing needed		2	10
Bring us together, but don't force it/allow mixing to be a natural process			15
Mix us in dormitories	3		
Encourage interaction	3		
Don't know	1	1	1
Not teachers' job/pupils should do it	1	2	5
Leave it to us, we're at a multiracial school		2	3
Let us take people as they are	1		
Do nothing - it increases racial awareness			1
Have a less Eurocentric curric/ teach us about each other's cultures	2	2	8
Treat us equally	1		1
Make time for discussion of differences			3
Speak about not mixing/ bring it out into open	1	2	2
Teacher should greet and mix with everyone/set example	4		
Motivate us to work as a team	1		

Table 10. What teachers should not do to encourage racial mixing

	Numbers of each response		
	Black	Indian	White
Force people to work together	3	1	18
Carry on as if we're all the same when we're not			1
Treat us unequally by allowing blacks more leeway			1
Put all blacks in one class			3
Push non-racism			1

In Questionnaire 4 (Appendix B4), item 18 required pupils to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the statement, 'Lessons should be arranged so that when pupils work together in small groups, these are racially mixed.' Table 11 below, shows the pattern of responses to this statement:

Table 11. Responses to the statement: 'Lessons should be arranged so that when pupils work in small groups those are racially mixed.'

Standard	Strongly disagree/ Disagree			Undecided			Strongly agree/ Agree		
	B	I	W	B	I	W	B	I	W
8	4	2	7	0	2	5	10	4	8
7	3	2	7	1	4	5	10	2	9
6	5	1	5	5	2	8	11	4	13
9	4	1	7	1	1	3	11	9	8
Total	17	8	26	7	9	21	42	19	38

B = Black
I = Indian
W = White

What is clear from this table is that, while for all groups there are more pupils who agree rather than disagree with the statement, it is more prevalently agreed with by black and Indian pupils than by white pupils. The pattern of greater support for the strategy among black than white pupils is clear here, too, and when this was tested for statistical significance, this was found at the 0,05 confidence level. No significant difference was found in the responses between Indian and White pupils, nor between the black

and Indian groups. This suggests that the Indian responses are closer to each of the other groups than they are to each other. (See Appendix P, Tables P1, P2 and P3 for the relevant contingency tables)

Table 12, below, shows, again, the general trend for black pupils to feel, more strongly than the other groups, that teachers have a role to play in encouraging groups to mix, and generally do not do enough in this regard. (The class by class breakdown for this data is provided in Appendix Q). When these apparent differences were tested for statistical significance (see Tables P4 to P6 in Appendix P) it was found that the difference between black and white pupils was highly significant, reaching the 0.001 confidence level; that the difference between Indian and black pupils was not significant; and that the difference between black and Indian pupils, while approaching significance, in fact was not so at the 0.05 confidence level.

Table 12. Levels of satisfaction with what teachers do to help groups to mix

Stds 6-9	Don't do enough	Do enough	Do too much
Black	58	23	7
Indian	7	15	4
White	19	58	12

Table U1 in Appendix U shows that there is general consensus among all pupils that one of the aspects of a good school is that it encourages groups to get to know each other. (Only six pupils altogether disagreed with this statement, number 3.) An analysis of the relative importance of certain criteria of a good school shows that it is rated relatively highly in all groups' choices of important criteria for a good school. However, examination of its position in the ranking of choices for each group (Table 39 in Chapter 8) suggests that it has more relative importance for the black and Indian pupils than for white pupils, compared with the

selection of other criteria by each group, as it is in the top five choices for Indian and black pupils, and not in this group for white pupils.

The responses to all these questionnaire items suggest that, for all pupils, teacher intervention that encourages racial mixing is viewed positively, and that the encouragement of such mixing is one of the attributes of a good school. The most prevalent form of positive interaction was seen for all groups to be the forced small group mixing in Integrated Studies and Ms Chetty's English classes. Other strategies were perceived to include the encouragement of discussion about differences, and an opportunity to find out about each other, a strategy perceived in this context by white pupils rather than black. Again, these last two strategies were features primarily of the Integrated Studies and English class.

Such strategies were more positively viewed by black pupils than by white, where greater numbers felt there was no need for teacher intervention as cross race mixing happened without it, and where it was perceived that forcing the matter made it artificial and was not helpful

Given the greater emphasis of black pupils on feelings of alienation within the school, and the sense of ill-ease, reported by several,that was generated by mixing in class with white pupils, it seems that opportunities for mixing and easing these tensions would be more important for black pupils than for white. Secure in their own milieu, and in the majority in most classes, white pupils had less need for positive action for such cross-race mixing to happen, and could wait for it to happen spontaneously (or not).

1.1.2 Informal, large group discussion

There were several reasons for the whole class meetings in Integrated Studies. These were the forums in which films were viewed and discussed, in which the drama and other group presentations were delivered, and the times for the delivery of the content material of the theme if there was to be any formal lecture or presentation by a visiting speaker. They were a time for open discussion, one of the few places where such discussion was encouraged or even allowed. There was a hope on the part of the staff that pupils would broaden their knowledge base by bringing to the class information which was part of their general knowledge and which they had acquired as part of their research projects, and that the interaction would break down barriers, allow different groups to gain insight into the views of others, and to learn more about them and their backgrounds.

That this broadening of horizons was an outcome of these discussions was confirmed by many pupils, as the following quotations support:

> The big groups were quite nice 'cos you got to see each other. In small groups you don't see what everyone has done. You can learn from everyone in a big group.
>
> Abel, BB in Std 8

Similar views of other pupils are reported in Appendix O, part 4.

That group discussion was a feature of the Integrated Studies periods was obvious from my observation. In response to an item on the questionnaire shown in Appendix B1, pupils were asked to note the subject in which they participated most in discussion. As Table 13, below, shows, the subject in which all pupils, including black pupils, participated most is Integrated Studies. Although the Indian pupils' choice is predominantly for English, this pattern is affected by the large number of Indian pupils in Standard 9. The thirteen choosing Integrated Studies represents a sizeable number of the Indian pupils in Standards 6, 7 and 8. For white pupils, there is a large difference in number choosing Integrated

Studies and the next choice - English. For black pupils, however, not a large number fewer choose English Skills as the subject in which they take part in discussion most. General Science is recorded as important for about half the black pupils in Standard 6. English is the most noticeably chosen for pupils in Standard 9.

The reasons for selecting other subjects will be discussed more fully elsewhere. Attention here will focus on Integrated Studies.

Table 13. Subjects in which pupils take part most in discussion

	Numbers of each response		
	Black	Indian	White
Accountancy	2	1	1
Afrikaans	1	0	1
Afrikaans	1	2	2
Art	0	3	1
BE	2	0	1
Biology	1	4	2
English (Std 9)	10	14	17
English Skills	16	4	3
French	2	0	4
General Science	7	1	4
Geography	4	2	8
Guidance	2	1	0
History	4	0	5
Integrated Studies	22	13	54
Mathematics	5	8	1
Science	5	2	3
Speech and Drama	2	4	3
Zulu	2	0	0

Appendix R gives pupils' responses to the questionnaire item that asked them why they participated most in a particular subject. Table 14, below, reproduces the section that applies to Integrated Studies.

The white pupils report as an important reason that they like talking, discussion and arguing. This is rarely mentioned by back or Indian pupils. The most important reasons are that there is a lot of discussion in class, encouraged by the teachers, and that the topics are interesting (more noticeably so for white than back

pupils). Clearly, Integrated Studies, more than other subjects (other than Ms Chetty's senior English class) is offering an opportunity for discussion, and all pupils as a consequence participate more in discussion here than elsewhere.

Table 14. Pupils' reasons for participating most in discussion in Integrated Studies

	Numbers of each race		
	Black	Indian	White
I like talking/discussing/arguing	2	3	10
Know students	1		
There is lots of discussion	6	1	10
The discussion is interesting	3	3	10
Group discussion	1		
No reason			5
Part of group			1
I know about it			2
It's fun			1
There is lots to discuss	4		
We have to	1		
Work as a team	1		
See different sides		1	
Discussion is needed	2	3	7
Teacher encourages discussion	1		5
Feel safe			1
Judged by participation/expected to	1		2
Teacher interested in my views			2
Feel relaxed with teacher			1

For many pupils, however, the whole group discussion was an intimidating experience. This was reflected in a lack of participation in the big group discussion. This was noted by some white pupils as their response to the large group situation. As the comments in Appendix O, part 5, show, they felt shy, and where English was not their home language, unconfident in their use of it. By and large, however, it was the black pupils who were the most conspicuous non-participants. This was a noticeable feature of the lessons we observed, was confirmed by the teachers, and was something the pupils were also aware of. Abel, a black boy in Standard 6, elaborates:

> It's true, Miss. Black students do participate less. Most of them are nervous, and they have got good points. Also, we watch movies - like the Bermuda Triangle, and none of them know what's the Bermuda Tri-

> angle and it's very difficult for them to participate in things like that. But it's mostly shyness. The whole problem is the way we're brought up. We come from a different community and taught in a different way. At most of the schools you are never allowed to talk in class.

This lesser participation of black pupils than white was noticeable in classes other than Integrated Studies, but because such open discussion happened less often there, the effects were not as obvious.

The numerous extracts that follow, and those in Appendix O, part 8, give a variety of pupils' corroborations of the view that black pupils participate less in class than others. They also reveal some of the reasons for this lesser participation.

1.1.2.1 Reasons for black pupils participating less than white

The reasons given for this lack of participation are worth exploring in more detail, as they confirm and elaborate on some of the suggestions about black pupils' feelings in the both the social and academic contexts of the school.

1.1.2.1.1 Feelings of inadequacy regarding the content

Kgadi, in Standard 8, makes clear the alienation he feels from much of the material dealt with in Integrated Studies:

> I don't take part in the discussion in IS. There's a lot I've never heard of before. It makes me feel sleepy. I feel irritated, like I could drop IS.

Matome, a black boy in Standard 6, reported a different reaction to the same problem of unfamiliarity with what was under discussion:

> Most of the time in the big groups I used to keep quiet. I think I was scared to say something, afraid people might laugh or make jokes. I just felt uncomfortable because I didn't know what they were talking about.

Bangi, another black boy in the same class, reported that he found it difficult to contribute because the white pupils, with so much more relevant experience and a better school background to draw on, were dominant in class discussion:

> In the very big IS class I get shy, don't talk much. I don't know why. I will say to myself before the class, 'I must say something.' But nothing comes. It's a bigger class. There are more white students. They're always yelling because maybe they're from a good school and their background is different. They tell us what they go to Botswana to camp, and most of us black students don't go to camps and stuff. They know things better than us.

1.1.2.1.2 Lack of confidence in ability to express ideas in English

Elliot, a black boy in Standard 7, expresses this problem as follows:

> In the black school they don't ask you to [illegible]
> In IS you have to explain, and some of us th[illegible] so
> good. In the black school if you got the a[illegible] s,
> They don't laugh here, but you have that fear.

1.1.2.1.3 Lack of confidence in academic ability

Mmule, a black girl in Standard 8, found that her perception of black pupils as academically weaker pupils than white inhibited her ability to participate in class discussion:

> Whites do talk more than us in class. I dunno why, think it's probably that we're shy of answering, and I think some embarrassment or something. I dunno, they think, well myself, you get certain marks and most of the whites are getting B or C, so you think you're not good enough and so sit in class and think, 'My answer won't be as good as theirs.'

A similar set of ideas is expressed by Shanmi, an Indian boy in Standard 9:

> Sometimes I feel under pressure. I feel stupid asking a question. Sometimes I just go home and try to work it out. Sometimes I don't feel free to put up my hand and ask. I think this is true of the black students as a group - though there are exceptions. Maybe the whole issue of feeling inferior, that kind of thing is why. I'm not sure. That's how I feel, too shy to ask.

1.1.2.1.4 Previous schooling which had had a very authoritarian approach to class participation

> Most of the people who talk are white. Blacks at their old school were forced to talk. If you don't answer a question they hit you. Here we are free. Given the freedom not to say something. I feel shy. Don't have the confidence to say something. Sometimes you know what to say, but can't put it right.
>
> Frazer, BB in Std 7

Allied to this was a difference in cultural expectations about the asking of questions. Gloria, a black girl in Standard 9, expresses this here.

> Also, it's manners with blacks, you don't just say anything anyhow, you wait to be asked. As time goes on you forget those manners, forget how to behave. One good thing I learnt here is that you can express your opinion, but there's a limit. When you speak to an elderly person you choose your words carefully. The teacher must say, 'Anyone want to ask a question?' If you ask if I understand I say, 'Yes' 'cos we're easily humiliated.

1.1.2.1.5 The school situation was one in which you did not 'feel free'

Moalosi, a black boy in Standard 6, notes that although he did not always know what was needed, and his English was not perfect, these were not the main reasons for his lack of participation. He had taken time to 'feel free' (comfortable, at ease) in the school:

> I found it difficult in class when there was a discussion. I speak, but not enough, and I couldn't seem to get it right. I thought maybe it was because I was DET and we hadn't done those things, so I went to the library and looked them up. Even when I knew something I found it difficult to speak in the discussion. Sometimes. I dunno, well most of the time you have something to say. I tried to get involved in discussion like other people, but found it difficult, I don't know why. I don't think English is the problem,or language. I've been speaking English since an early age. I'm not fluent, but I don't think that was the problem. Often they talk about about things you don't know about. Not all the time I wasn't blank, but wasn't very well informed. It has got better, I feel freer in the school.

The importance of cross-race friendships in helping you feel 'more free', more confident is seen as important by Gloria, a black girl in Standard 9:

> In the lower classes I didn't partic pate. I was in a shell, shy. You don't think what you're saying is right. As time goes on you do answer, do participate, though some people just don't. It's the

> friends you make. You first hang round with black girls 'cos you feel safer, and you all don't participate. But as soon as you get a white girl for a friend you feel confident, say what you want.

Whatever the reasons, the feelings of inadequacy in class were real for many black pupils. Magezi, a black boy in Standard 6, makes this clear:

> The people who are not so good in English keep quiet in the big groups. First of all they thought they'd be teased because they were wrong or had a language problem. and then I think they were just shy.
> How did they feel in class?
> Well, they felt stupid.

The range of feelings experienced by a small group of black girls in Standard 6 elaborates on this:

> There's a lot of new information in IS. I don't know anything and get confused.
> I feel small and stupid, hopeless and alone.
> I feel that I am the only one who doesn't know.

and the fear of having to present some work in class exacerbated their feelings of shyness. Their fear was reported to me by Madala, a black boy in their class:

> In IS they'd do anything to miss the Drama presentations - the black girls. They'd hide in the toilet when it was their turn.

and was corroborated by one of the group of black girls as follows:

> I hate standing in front of the class. It's terrible, they yawn, stretch, they laugh. I become more and more shy
> Nkelaki

These comments of the pupils' reveal a great deal about the interconnection between the curriculum and social interaction. For many black pupils, there was a real sense that they were inferior academically to white pupils at the school. This was explored more in Chapter 5 with regard to their perceptions of academic achievement. Here again are expressed the views that their background is inadequate, their language incompetent, their life experience more limited and inappropriate. As a result, they participate less in class. Many pupils come to class with the expectation that they will not cope as well, and in part, their perceptions of inadequacy are given validity by the choice of curriculum material - largely based on a general knowledge they have not acquired and a

world view not their own. This reinforces the feelings that were latent, and contributes to the feelings of hopelessness and alienation expressed by many in the context of academic performance.

In many ways, then, the aims of the Integrated Studies teachers to encourage the sharing of views and the broadening of pupils' horizons and general knowledge were achieved, but where the course material was particularly 'foreign', the discussion particularly dominated by knowledgeable and confident white pupils, this was at a cost to many of the black pupils' sense of adequacy and belonging.

The significance of greater cross-race association is highlighted by much of what is said in this section. Black pupils feel that are 'not free' in the school situation. This is clearly largely related to feelings of inadequacy with regard to academic ability, unfamiliarity with a more open teaching style than that they were used to in previous schools, but also, as was shown in Chapter 6, and in some of the comments here, to a sense of unease with members of other race groups. The nature of the open discussion and performance in the large Integrated Studies groups brought out some of these feelings more dramatically than was possible in other situations - either small class/group work (as will be discussed later), or in other lessons where such discussion was a rare event. The significance of a white friend in overcoming some of this awkwardness suggests that efforts to assist in breaking down racial barriers and stereotypes are of help in increasing class participation.

1.1.3 Smaller class and group work

Both small groups of a few pupils working together on a project, and small classes that had no more than a third of the group in them, such as in English Skills, were favourably perceived by most pupils.

1.1.3.1 Small work groups

Black pupils were noticed to participate more in these groups:

> It was much better in smaller groups 'cos everyone got an opinion and had their say. Nadakwile (BE) he's so shy yet in a group he can talk. Gezani (BB), all of them, really.
>
> Michael, WB in Std 6

For some of the black boys, the small group situation gave them the opportunity they had not felt in the big group situation, to hold their own against th more dominant white boys. Gezani, a black boy in Standard 6, describes this feeling of empowerment:

> Usually the white boys are the ones who suggest that we do in a small group. They used to tell us, 'Do this, do that!', but they don't do that any more. I got used to them, and told myself, 'These people are just like us, so I can tell them, "No, I want to do that."' It's so that's changed.

Abel, a black boy in Standard 6, who was noticeably quiet in class, found that he, too, could be more assertive in a small group:

> Some people always take over and organise the group. Well, you find those people always want to be on top. But you could always s ,, 'No. Why can't it be like this?'

The sharing of ideas, and the contribution this made to learning, was also appreciated:

> In IS there's lots of freedom, talking together. In Maths and Biology you always keep quiet. You don't work in groups in Maths, Science and Biology. It helps to learn, to talk in IS. You share ideas.
>
> Shaniaoka, .8 in Std 7

In the questionnaire shown in Appendix B1 pupils were asked for their reasons for liking and disliking working in small groups. Table 15, below, shows their responses to the first of these questions. The actual number and the percentage of responses in each category are shown for each group.

Table 15. Pupils' reasons for liking to work in small groups

Reasons	Black		Indian		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Feel brave/free/less shy/	16	25	3	9	10	12
Everyone gets a chance to express their views	7	11	2	6	7	8
Learn from each other/ share ideas	12	19	8	24	16	19
Easier to learn/understand	7	11	1	3	6	7
Work as a team/help each other	8	13	5	15	4	5
Get to know/understand/others/ hear others' views	10	16	2	6	6	7
Share out the work/less work	1	2	2	6	9	11
More personal/intimate and informal					2	2
Fun and creative	1	2	2	6	9	11
Easier to concentrate/less noisy/do work more	3	5	5	15	10	12
Can work with friends					2	2
Teachers can give more attention			1	3	3	4
Develops vocabulary	1	2				
Get to know yourself			1	3		
Develop confidence	1	2				
Learn to compromise					1	1
Can gauge ideas against others	2	3	1	3		
Don't like small group work	5		6		12	

More white pupils than others note that they do not like working in small groups, and, as Table 16 below shows, fewer white pupils note that they do not dislike working in small groups than do black pupils. It seems more positively liked by black pupils than white, though in general it is an organisational strategy liked by pupils.

Several reasons are noted as being important by all groups: feel brave/free/ less shy; learn from each other/share ideas; easier to learn and understand; work as a team and help each other; get to know others and understand others' views; everyone gets a chance to express their views. There is, however, some difference in the stress laid on certain of these among the groups.

For black pupils, feeling brave, free and less shy is the most important facet of small group work, being mentioned 25% of the time. Working as a team and getting to know others is also more important for black pupils than for white.

For Indians, the most important aspect of small group work is that it allows you to learn from each other and share ideas. Working as a team and helping each other are second in importance, along with the fact that small groups make it possible for one to concentrate and get work done.

For white pupils, the most important aspect of small group work is the opportunity afforded to learn from each other and share ideas. Of equal importance with 'feeling free' are 'easier to concentrate', and aspects not noticeably important for other groups: sharing out the work, so that each can do less work, and the fact that small group work tends to be fun and creative.

Clearly small group work has benefits perceived by all in terms of facilitating learning, and in allowing for participation and helping pupils feel confident enough to participate. This latter aspect appears to be more important for black than other groups. This suggests that the lack of this dimension in other situations is something that this group is particularly aware of. This group's stress on small group work's role in facilitating 'getting to know each other' also suggests that this is an important aspect of classroom life for them.

White pupils' emphasis on the fun dimension of small group work is a characteristic little commented on by other groups. It is an aspect noted throughout as of more importance to white than other pupils.

It seems that in classes where small group work is encouraged, black pupils are more likely to feel 'free' than in others where whole class teaching predominates.

Table 16 shows the numbers of pupils who dislike group work, and the distribution of their reasons.

Table 16. Pupils' reasons for disliking working in a small group

	Black		Indian		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Don't dislike small groups	49		21		38	
I am left out/can't have my say	3	18				
Some are domineering	3	18			5	
Some don't work hard/ mess around	7	41	11	81	28	.
Slowed down by others/ whole group suffers if I doesn't do share			1	8	8	11
There's argument	1	6			8	11
In group without friends			2	11	4	7
I leave work to others	1	8				
Prefer to do my own work/ don't like relying on others	1	6	1	8	3	
Hear fewer opinions	1	6	2	11	2	
End up with some people			1	8	2	4

The numbers reporting that they 'do not like' small group work are so small that it is difficult to say much about the responses. The uncontrolled way in which they were often organised meant that there was scope for pupils to play rather than work, and this aspect of small group work is the main reason for students' dislike of them. Feeling left out is reported by some black pupils, and not by any others. White pupils more noticeably than others give as a reason for disliking working in small groups that they find themselves slowed down by other pupils.

1.1.3.2 English Skills groups

As was remarked above in connection with Table 13, this is a subject in which black pupils felt it easier to participate. Several factors seem to have contributed to this.

1.1.3.2.1 Factors contributing to black pupil participation in these groups

1.1.3.2.1.1 The size itself is significant

As Sydney explained, the number of people who would think you stupid if you made a mistake was smaller in the English Skills classes, so there was less risk attached to speaking:

> In the small ES group I feel safe. There are not so many people, and you can express your feelings. In the big lecture theatre you worry that people will find you stupid. It's better if only a few people find you're dumb.
>
> Sydney, ES in Std 8

1.1.3.2.1.2 The teachers were attuned to your difficulties.

There was more than one component to this. For pupils like Kwena, a black girl in Standard 8, the English Skills teacher was empathetic, and actively encouraged pupils to speak. She describes the situation as follows:

> I spoke more in ES. I was shy in the IS group, partly about my English, and partly I was nervous. In ES we were in small groups. Ms Sisson is motherly and she helped us to speak. She asked questions, told us I mustn't be nervous, must take my time and think and then answer.

Hasani, a black boy in Standard 7, also found that the teacher took his educational background into consideration and actively helped him with his work:

> I prefer the smaller ES groups. I feel free, can talk and discuss things, but not in the big class. I can ask Ms Chetty for help. Most of the teachers don't understand how we were taught in the township. At the beginning of the year we had to write essays. It was difficult, but Ms Chetty helped me.

Other similar comments are given in Appendix O, part 7.

The responses to questionnaire item 15b of the curriculum questionnaire shown in Appendix B1 are shown in Table 17, below.

Table 17. Pupils' reasons for participating most in English Skills

	Black	Indian	White
I know the pupils	1		
A small group with the same English	2		
Feel free	2		
Enjoy	1		
Need to understand		1	
Fun			1
Interesting	1		
Teacher wakes up	1		
Small class	2	1	1
Don't know			1
Can relate to teacher	1	1	
Fewer brilliant people	1		
Have to defend our views	1		
No right or wrong	1		
Can do English	1		

It seems that the smaller groups, with teachers attuned to black pupils' needs, provided an environment in which such pupils could feel at ease, better able to ask questions and volunteer information, more willing to take risks. They were also places where, when racially mixed, they felt better able to stand up to the dominant white pupils, and to impose their views.
Altogether, it seems that the less threatening small group environment was more conducive to black pupils' participation than the hurly burly of the large class discussion.

The fact that English Skills classes were streamed, and fairly racially homogeneous, is also a noticeable feature of the reasons for pupils' greater participation in them, as the responses above show, (know the pupils, same English, feel free, fewer brilliant people) and this aspect will be explored further in the following section.

1.1.4 Streaming

In Chapter 6 the teachers perspectives on streaming were examined, and revealed a somewhat ambivalent attitude to the value of this strategy. It was generally felt that it made teaching a mixed

ability group easier, and benefited the weakest pupils, but had some negative effects, particularly where stream divisions coincided with race groups. The significance of difference in racial composition has been alluded to elsewhere. The creation of racially segregated classes came about inadvertently as a result of streaming, and also because of other curriculum decisions, such as the option of the NSC examination; the way the Standard 6 class was divided for Zulu, and hence Science; and, in certain places, because of patterns in subject choices. For this reason, the discussion about the impact of racial composition on the pupils will be discussed in a separate section from streaming, although it is an integral part of the debate concerning it.

Here the pupils' perspectives show a similarly ambivalent attitude, corresponding with the teachers, and also extending their insight into the impact of streaming on them.

1.1.4.1 Disadvantages of streaming

1.1.4.1.1 The racial pattern of the streams contributed to the view of black pupils as underachievers.

There can be little doubt that part of the strong sense that black pupils were the weakest group academically in the school came from the pupils' observations of the composition of the streamed classes. Mzamani, a black boy in Standard 9, made this link clear:

> You can't help noticing who is in the best classes. Sometimes I look around and think 'Geo, only Mbhokoni (BB) and so in this class.'

Many other remarks that show the perception of the link between race and stream are given in Appendix O, part 8.

1.1.4.1.2 Pupils in the weakest streams perceived themselves as 'dumb'.

Many pupils, reflecting on the probable feelings of people in the slow stream, or their own on being placed there, noted that it made them feel that they were 'stupid', 'inferior', 'small' and

'second best'. Several pertinent quotations are given in Appendix O, part 9. As the majority of pupils in the weakest streams were black, it seems likely that their feelings of academic inadequacy were reinforced by finding them confirmed by their positioning in the weakest stream.

The same response was reported concerning the informal streaming that occurred when teachers sent strong pupils out of the class. Tolovela, a black girl in Standard 9, comments on this practice in Accountancy:

> She's not racist, but it's not right to send eight out to work in the library. We feel like stupids.

1.1.4.1.3 Pupils in the lowest stream are demoralised

The link between self concept of ability and motivation has been explored in general elsewhere. Here, Lillian, a black girl in Standard 8, spells out how this demotivation due to allocation to a weak stream operates for her:

> I don't think they should divide us up. The teachers also get mark orientated, and it puts the students off. We feel we could never do this thing, never get there. I felt really degraded, really sad, just feel totally down. It slows down everything - your work, your attitude to work and to the teachers. Like you'd have a negative attitude to everything and you'd drop and take everything easy. Instead of trying hard you'd just relax and say, 'What's the use if people are just going to call me stupid?'

1.1.4.1.4 There was a risk of stereotyping all black pupils as weak because of their predominance in the weakest stream.

Mbhekeni, a black boy in Standard 9, expressed his concern about this possibility as follows:

> If more and more blacks come to the school I'm sure the standard of teaching will drop. They come from Soweto, and can't take the high standard. In Standard 8 now, for example, there is one white class, and one black - perhaps it can't be avoided. And in English and Afrikaans the same thing is happening. There might soon be prejudices. People will start thinking that blacks are not so smart always in the slower classes. Most are slower, but not all - and people will think all are. When I came, I had a lower standard in English, but I soon moved out - but in those days there were blacks and whites in the faster and slower classes - this year it's quite different. There might soon be prejudices - people thinking that

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> blacks are not so smart, always in the slower classes, and teachers might start thinking that. Most are slower, but not all, but people will think all are.

Guy, a white boy in Standard 6, had felt concern about the same issue in the context of the streamed English classes:

> I was in Mr Driver's group. It was nice, but the way they divided us (.) some people didn't like - the clever in one group and so on. In the lowest group there were only black people in there. I just thought it should be only one group even though some people are better. I don't think it was fair, 'cos if I was in the lowest group I wouldn't have liked that, would have liked to be higher. And it was as if they (blacks) are all not good in English. You give the impression that they're not good in English, whereas some people are.

1.1.4.1.5 It contributed to feelings of frustration if perceived to be incorrectly applied.

Very few pupils reported feeling that they were in the wrong class, as is shown in Table 18 (based on responses to item 17 in the Curriculum Questionnaire in Appendix B1.)

Table 18. Pupils who feel they have been placed in the wrong class

	Black	Indian	White
Mathematics	8	4	3
Afrikaans	3	1	
English Skills	3	3	3
Zulu			1
Geography	1		
Biology	1		
English			4

However, there are noticeable differences in the reasons given for the pupils feeling that they are in the wrong class. (See Table 19 below) Black pupils predominantly felt that they were in a class that was too slow for them, and white pupils that they were in a class that was too fast.

Table 10. Reasons for pupils feeling they are in the wrong class

	Black	Indian	White
Class is too slow/ fit for a better class we're treated like stupid	9	3	2
Friends in slower class		1	
Better teacher should have our lower class			1
Would prefer slower teacher/ class/group too fast for me	2	2	8
Don't like the teacher			1
Some don't want to work, unu I do			1
Bad teacher	2		1
Teacher doesn't like me	1		
Don't like people in class	1		
I'm the only b ack in class	1		
Doing HG in SG class	1	3	
Others have better background	1		
Shouldn't be doing HG			2
This English teacher is stifling /boring			4

1.1.4.2 Advantages streaming

Although many of the pupils in the weakest streams referred to feeling 'dumb' because of being there, a large number acknowledged certain advantages that compensated for these feelings.

1.1.4.2.1 It is possible to work at your own pace.

One of the most frequently referred to advantages was the one for which streaming had been implemented - slow students could work more slowly than would be the case in a mixed ability class, and could consolidate new material before moving on.

One such person was Abel, a black boy in Standard 6:

> I thought it was fair because in Maths some people will take it later on, and if they don't understand things it will b better for them to start learning now. I was in Mr Bonnie's group, and it was fine for me 'cos I'm not really that good in Maths, especially when starting a new thing. It takes time for me to develop.

Other similar statements are quoted in Appendix O, part 10.

1.1.4.2.2 Working at an appropriate level made working less stressful

For some pupils, working in a class where they were not constantly being compared, or comparing themselves with more able pupils, meant that they could keep up and maintain their self-esteem more readily:

> In Maths we have to be divided. People have different abilities. Many struggle, and others excel, so you can't keep them in the same group. I was in the lower grade. I dunno why. I m not actually struggling. But I'm happy being there. I don't want to pressurise myself. Maybe in the other class everyone would catch on quick, and I'd str[illegible] and feel stupid.
>
> Abbo, BB in Std 6

1.1.4.2.3 Being in the bottom group affords a weak student a chance to excel

For students who, in a mixed ability group would continuously be at the bottom, a streamed class afforded them the chance to do well, and to gain in confidence because of this. Two black boys in the bottom Mathematics class in Standard 6 noted that they felt this way:

> In Maths we weren't mixed, but I was happy 'cos I was better than most.
>
> Noel, BB in Std 6

> There's no problem in Maths, we used the same book. I was in Mr Ronnie's class but I was changed to Mr Welsh's. I wasn't good at Afrikaans, so they changed us. At first I felt bad, but as time went on, I didn't feel bad 'cos I got good marks. And Mr Welsh said next year I'll go to the other class 'cos my Maths is good.
>
> Nkhosani, BB in Std 6

1.1.5 The racial balance of the class

Streaming that corresponded with race highlighted a set of advantages and disadvantages associated with racially homogeneous classes, and with the balance of race groups in classes which applied whether the homogeneity resulted from streaming or for some other reason. These advantages and disadvantages will be discussed separately.

1.1.5.1 Disadvantages of racial homogeneity/dominance of class by one group

1.1.5.1.1 It reduced the possibilities of breaking down social barriers

Harold, a white boy in Standard 6, felt that the splitting of the class along racial lines reduced the opportunities a mixed class gave for race groups to get to know each other:

> When they divided us you would often find that the black students would be in one class, and there'd be two classes of white. OK, English is their home language, but it did worry me. On the one hand it did help because the slower students could go at their own pace without being intimidated, and the better students didn't feel held up. But it made extra divisions within the class. We already had problems with people getting on socially, and now there were divisions in the class as well. One of the first people you'd get to know are those in your class.

The racially split General Science class, referred to in Chapter 6, was seen to have a similarly negative impact on the type of learning possible in class. Mervin, also a white boy in the predominantly white class, expressed his view as follows:

> There were very few black students in our Science class. It would have been better if there had been more. I didn't mind that much, but if it's different kinds of people together it teaches you more.

1.1.5.1.2 The spread of information and points of view were reduced

Two girls in Standard 9 reflect on this. Felicity noted the disadvantages of being in the predominantly white English class:

> I think it's good to divide us up in Maths, but not in English or History. In a Maths class you have to understand concepts and apply them. In the strong class people are quick, and no-one gets bored or left behind. In the English class it's good to have a mixture of people so you get input from all sorts of people. Especially at Riverbend some people's language is not English and it's good to have their inputs into the class. In a class where there are people who talk and give ideas it's an encouragement that draws people out.

Ramla, an Indian girl in the more racially mixed English class, held the view that her class's work had been enriched by its multicultural composition:

> Mostly what we did was discuss politics, and Hamlet, and how they interrelated. But it was really nice. We did Waiting for the Barbarians, a whole political book - good and interesting. We had a nice class, so it was really nice to do it. Sally (WG, exchange student from America), Paul (WB), Kerry (WG), [illegible]y (WG), Clare (WG), Enock (BB) Tilasi (BB) and Matsobo (BB). We all had different ideas. We'd launch into discussion, and there'd be totally different ideas that everyone would debate. All different ideas coming out, and different cultures - like Sally and me and Nafemane from different countries. It expanded our view of things. Not like the NSC class where there were only Indians. There were different cultures, and that's what made it so nice.

1.1.5.1.3 For some pupils, the presence of the white students, perceived to be more able, gave an incentive for working well, a standard against which to measure progress

Lunghile, a black boy in Standard 6, comments on this in the context of the racial split in the General Science class:

> I was in the mixed race class. Actually, I thought it was good because it was like a challenge to me. They've got the opportunity, like I said, and I can try to adjust to them and compare myself to them. I judge by how much I contribute. I could keep up with the white boys better than in IS because with Science you do experiments and see and can ask what you don't understand. In IS you're talking about something that isn't there.

1.1.5.2 Advantages of racial homogeneity/ lack of dominance of class by one group

1.1.5.2.1 You feel at ease with people like yourself

Several black pupils noted that they felt more at ease in the homogeneous classes that resulted from the streaming in English Skills, and in Science.

Mkhacani and Madakwile, both black boys in Standard 6, explain how they felt more comfortable with a predominantly black group, and as a result, were able to communicate more easily:

> I find it easiest to talk in Mr Jones's class. It's not a big group. I also talk in other classes if it's not a big group. In Afrikaans when they combine our classes, I don't talk. I don't know why. We're beginning to talk in Science and Biology. It was a big class, now smaller. There are only four or five white students. That does make it easier, I dunno why. I think, 'What if I say wrong things, what will people say?'
>
> Mkhacani, BB in Std 6

> In ES it was mostly black students, and a few white. I felt more comfortable there. Because I was with a teacher who could understand me, and people who could understand me. I just had to be myself. You learn more easily 'cos, like, if you don't understand, you'll ask, but if you feel uncomfy you won't ask anything
>
> Madakwile, BB in Std 6

The significance of being with other people like yourself was also noted by a white boy, who, finding himself separated from the main group of white boys in the other Science class, felt less able to joke and play, and thus better able to work:

> The discussion in the non-Zulu speakers' class was more open, people felt more comfy by themselves. A lot of my friends are in the non-Zulu speakers class. I think I worked better in the Zulu speakers class - not so many distractions. But then I preferred being with my friends.
>
> Graham, WB in Std 6

Another white boy, commenting on the presence of only one black pupil in his English Skills group, felt that she had been overawed by the predominantly white group:

> We only have Mikateko (BG) in our English class. She's very quiet, just sits back. She never contributes unless she's asked a question. I think she might feel out of place, being the only one.
>
> Cyril, WB in Std 6

Molate felt it easiest to participate in discussion in the small Geography class and in his middle ability English Skills class where the 'racial numbers were about equal', and where there weren't so many of the 'talkative white pupils', than in the Integrated Studies large group where white pupils formed the dominant group.

Clearly, being comfortable is important in opening up in class discussion, and part of being comfortable is related to being with friends. An Indian boy in the racially homogeneous Indian NSC class reported this as follows:

> In the NSC class it's mostly Indians. It doesn't really make a difference to me. I stick around with the same crowd anyway. There are some classes where people speak most. It's really our English class. It's been we're such good friends.
>
> Biku, IE in Std 9

1.1.5.2.2 Black pupils help each other in the vernacular.

There were also more practical reasons for needing to be with at least one other person of your race if you were a low achieving black pupil. Tilasi had joined the school in Standard 9 in the case study year. At the beginning of the year there had been two black pupils in the Geography class, but Rirhandzu had left after the first term. Here Tilasi talks about how difficult he found it in the class without her to translate for him, and how he felt less 'free' without her there:

> I'm the only black person doing Geography. There are difficult chapters, and I get left behind. When Rirhandzu was here we could try to analyse and understand. Now she's left it's difficult for me. I didn't feel free in Geography. I'm not used to whites. And with Rirhandzu we could speak Zulu to explain to each other. When everyone is talking they talk fast and you get lost.

From what has been said about the advantages of streaming it seems that many pupils found that it improved their work, as they were able to move at their own pace, and gain confidence. At the same time, for many pupils, particularly the black pupils, there was a sense that it re-affirmed views of lesser academic ability, was discouraging and provided less challenge.

The validity of the arguments for and against streaming for different pupils is clear in the pattern of their responses to item 8 of Questionnaire 4, Appendix B4. Table 20 below, shows how, for each group the choice is generally against streaming, but that there is a fair measure of support for it, particularly among Indian pupils, and a number of pupils who are undecided.

Table 20. Responses to the statement: 'It is important to have students who get similar marks in the same class.'

Standard	Disagree/ Disagree strongly			Undecided			Strongly agree/ Agree		
	B	I	W	B	I	W	B	I	W
Total	34	9	38	18	8	22	14	12	25
Percentage	52	31	44	27	27	26	21	41	29

A similar question was asked in Questionnaire 2, Appendix B2. Table 21, below, shows the pattern of pupils' response to the item asking to show their disagreement or agreement with the statement that a good school is one where pupils are grouped for class according to ability.

Table 21. Responses to the statement: 'A good school is one where pupils are grouped for classes according to ability.' (Values as a percentage)

	Black	Indian	White
Strongly agree	8	0	6
Agree	16	30	28
Total agreeing	24	30	38
Disagree	29	30	44
Disagree strongly	44	40	21
Total disagreeing	73	70	65

Again, the clear rejection of this notion is apparent for all groups, though the percentage of black pupils disagreeing strongly is noticeably higher than for the white groups, suggesting rather

more vehemence in this group's disagreement. This differences among the groups was tested for significance of difference using chi square tests, and the difference between black and white pupils' responses was found to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level. (Tables X2.40, X2.41 and X2.42 in Appendix X2)

Table 22, below, suggests that there is a greater sense of streaming according to ability at Riverbend among black than white pupils, as a greater percentage of black than white pupils has responded that dividing pupils for lessons according to ability applies to Riverbend 'to a large extent'.

Table 22. Perceptions of the degree to which streaming is a feature of Riverbend

	Black		Indian		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
To a large extent	25	42	14	45	24	28
A little	22	37	8	26	40	47
Not at all	13	22	9	29	21	25

Tables P7, P8 and P9 in Appendix P show the contingency tables, with raw scores, used to test for significance of difference, using chi square. The difference was found to be not statistically significant at the 0,05 confidence level.

Thus streaming is a strategy for which pupils see both strengths and weaknesses. Generally, for all groups, there is rejection rather than approval of it. There is some measure of greater awareness, and a statistically significantly stronger rejection of streaming, by black pupils than the other groups. This is not altogether surprising given that they are more often in the lower streams, and more often than white pupils feel they have been incorrectly allocated to a low stream. Given the sense among pupils that being in the weakest stream implied that you were stupid, it seems that this would have served as a negative influence on pupils' self-concept of achievement, and confidence in their

academic ability. As this situation pertained to black more than white pupils, it seems likely to be a strategy that impacted negatively on many in this way.

Where streaming corresponded with racial divisions, pupils felt that they did miss out on the cross-fertilisation of ideas that a mixed race class afforded. However, for many there was a compensation in that they felt more at ease in the streamed classes that were homogeneous, less afraid of looking foolish, more 'in tune' with the way of working of the class. The significance of being with other members of the same race group was reported by several students, both with reference to the streamed and the unstreamed situation. For both white and black pupils, communication was easiest with the same group, and for black pupils, this often provided a necessary aid in dealing with the language of the fast moving white class. Thus, in addition to providing a slower and more appropriate pace for weak black students, streaming that resulted in homogeneous race groups offered the added benefit of allowing these pupils to feel more comfortable with their class peers. However, a similar sense of security was provided as long as there was at least one other person of the same group in the class, allowing some of the advantages of being in a racially mixed class to be the most important set.

As Table 23 shows, overall, the consensus of opinion among all groups is that classes should be racially mixed, with this somewhat more important for black and Indian pupils than for white. This difference approaches significance at the 0.05 confidence level ($p = 0.05$-0.1), but is not statistically significant at this level. (See Tables P10, P11 and P12 in Appendix P for the contingency tables.)

Table 23. Responses to the statement: 'It is important that there be a mixture of all races in class.'

	Disagree/ Strongly disagree			Undecided			Agree/ Strongly agree		
Standard	B	I	W	B	I	W	B	I	W
6	0	0	5	1	3	6	13	5	8
7	2	0	3	1	1	2	14	7	16
8	1	1	1	4	2	6	13	4	19
9	2	1	5	0	0	1	13	10	14
Total	5	2	14	6	6	15	53	26	57
Total as a %	8	6	18	9	18	17	83	76	66

1.1.6 Discussion of responses to classroom organisational structures

This section has established clearly, I think, the link between the broad interaction patterns of the school and classroom interaction. It has shown how the degree of participatic in classroom activity is a fairly good indicator of pupils' comfort level in the classroom. The lesser participation of black than white pupils suggests that they generally feel less comfortable than their white peers under the same circumstances. This may be ascribed to both their sometimes lesser degree of familiarity with the curriculum material, and also their sense of being out of their depth and in unfamiliar learning situations. Large class discussion, though appreciated for a variety of reasons, tends to exacerbate these feelings, and black pupils, more than white, feel much more comfortable in small class and group situations. Both black and white pupils find it easier to be with members of their own race group, but black pupils, generally feeling less confident, find it important to be with at least one other person of their group, and seem to flourish in those classroom situations where they are in the majority. All groups feel it is important for classes to be racially mixed, and while they have ambivalent attitudes to streaming, more pupils seem to favour a mixed ability

situation. Black pupils' greater apparent awareness of streaming according to ability supports the view that they are particularly aware of patterns in academic ability.

The importance of a sense of being at ease with members of a different group was noted more by black and Indian pupils than by white. In general, pupils felt that there was need for cross-race interaction to be a feature of their classrooms, and welcomed teachers' efforts to encourage this. The degree of approval of teachers' intervention was significantly different for black and white pupils, with the former expressing more strongly that it was something that should happen. It is likely that this highlights the black pupils' greater sense of not being part of the dominant group in the classroom, and their greater need for assistance to become integrated into it.

1.2 School-based organisational structures

1.2.1 The National Senior Certificate option

The option of writing the National Senior Certificate examination had been introduced in response to the Indian parents' concern about the poor Matriculation results at the school. It was perceived to be an easier examination, but was written in racially segregated venues, and for black pupils, was seen to be under the control of, and therefore no different from, the black Department of Education and Training examination.

As was made clear in Chapter 1, it resulted in a racial division in the classes where the syllabus requirements for the Matriculation examination were different, as it necessitated teaching candidates for the two examinations separately. Thus, in Standard 9 and 10, the NSC English and Afrikaans classes were largely Indian.

The views of pupils on this racial divide were looked at in the previous section, where it was shown that for some the split was advantageous as it enabled the Indian pupils, who socialised together, to remain in one comfortable class of friends, while some missed the stimulation of heterogeneous groups.

For the Indian pupils, the benefits of the NSC option were that it allowed them to take an examination that did not make as many demands on their English language abilities as the JMB would. It also allowed them to write at venues near their homes, in the Indian Group Areas, instead of at the school. There was the perception that the candidates' chances of getting a good Matriculation pass were enhanced by the NSC option.

The racial bias in the NSC was clearly a factor in black pupils' choice of JMB instead of it, and this and the examinations' relative status were important for white pupils and for black. The subject restrictions made some Indian pupils choose the JMB, but the majority of these pupils found that the possibility of writing an easier examination outweighed the apparent advantages of the JMB. No Indian pupils commented on the racial bias in the NSC. It seems that for many pupils the choice of which paper to write was based on pragmatic rather than ideological considerations, and that the factor motivating the choice varied slightly from group to group, with the greatest overlap being between black and white pupils who valued the perceived higher status of the JMB examination. Even where black pupils conceded that the NSC option would probably be easier for them, they did not consider it seriously as an alternative to the JMB because of its link with the DET, an examination they had hoped to escape in their choice of attending a multiracial school.

Comments from pupils that led to these general points being made are provided in Appendix O, part ii.

2. Pupils' responses to aspects of curriculum content

The curriculum strategies impacting on social processes discussed thus far have largely focused on organisation - big or small groups, mixed ability or streamed, same race or mixed race. The other area where curriculum decisions could impact on social interaction is the whole area of content. This was alluded to in the discussion of the difficulties experienced by black pupils in the large Integrated Studies group, and the impact this had on their participation in class. The idea was inferred that participation to some extent reflected the extent to which the pupils felt at ease in the class, and that much of the lesser participation by black pupils was ascribable to their lack of comfort in the social context of the classroom and with the nature of the curriculum material.

The Integrated Studies teams' teachers, one of whom was also the senior English teacher, had made numerous comments about the need to incorporate curriculum material that was less Eurocentric, less orientated to the lifestyle and experience of white South Africans, that took on board more of the world view of black South Africans in the class. There were several reasons expressed for this: it would help the pupils learn about each other, and thus facilitate interaction; it would make black pupils more comfortable with the curriculum and enable them to make better academic progress; it would facilitate black pupils' participation in class discussion, and allow them to feel less intimidated by that learning process; it would validate the cultural background of the black and Indian pupils.

The principal and the Counsellor also favoured the introduction of an African language as a part of the formal curriculum in order to offer an option likely to be easier than Afrikaans and thus enhance the black pupils' chances of obtaining a good Matriculation pass. By being available to white pupils it

would also offer them the chance of learning a black language, which would hopefully validate its worth and encourage better communication.

It is to the pupils' responses to, and perspectives on these initiatives that attention will now be turned.

2.1 Responses to discussion of politics and current conditions in South Africa

There was a general sense that the discussion of politics afforded the opportunity for information to be shared.

Isaiah, a black boy in Standard 9, reported on this sharing of ideas:

> When we discuss, we share ideas. Say about rioting. We blacks know more and tell them how it is in the townships, and they tell us their experience. Some things the blacks know more than whites, others the whites know more, and we share ideas.

This sharing had several aspects of interest associated with it. I shall attempt to unravel these from the pupils' comments, and examine each in turn.

2.1.1 There was a sense that black pupils could contribute real-life experience that informed the rather limited view of the other pupils.

Many of the Indian and white pupils acknowledged that they had learnt things about the realities of life in their country that they had not been aware of before.

Jameela, an Indian girl in Standard 9, related how Tilasi, among others, broadended her knowledge in this way:

> We discussed politics a lot. People would say, 'Oh yeah, this is what happens to me.' And when we were discussing those township groups for our essay on democracy, Tilasi could explain how it was in his area, and I learnt a lot about life in townships.

and Anthony, a white boy in the same class, had clearly been excited by the learning he had undergone in this regard:

> I thought English was great. A wonderful class. The attitude is great, it's great. We have fights, 'cos talk about very personal things, like politics. We have learnt English in a relevant way. I've learnt a lot about South Africa as viewed by the black students, we've discussed so much of it. Sometimes I'm stunned by what people like Emmanuel have to say. And it's helped in writing essays. Maybe my English has suffered in some ways. But it doesn't matter, it's been outweighed.

(See Appendix O, part 12.1 for further related comments)

2.1.2 **Black pupils participated more in such discussions than elsewhere in class.**

Several black pupils noted that they had found themselves in the position of being in possession of information they could impart, and that this had made them feel that they had something to contribute to the discussion. This feeling that they had something they knew about, something the others needed to find out from them, enabled otherwise quiet pupils to contribute to class debate. Magezi, a black boy in Standard 7, compares work on Greek myths with work on politics in Integrated Studies:

> Some of the themes, like Greek myths I didn't know about, it was new to me. In politics I could participate. They had to know both sides. They don't know anything about the situation in Soweto, what's happening there. It's easier to speak about politics 'cos you've got something to say. You're the one who knows about the township.

Many similar remarks are reported in Appendix O, part 12.2

Shirley, a white girl in Standard 9, is one of many white pupils who noticed the greater participation of black pupils in this kind of debate than any other:

> We have a lot of political debate with Ms Chetty. It's very good, very necessary. It makes you aware, 'cos you hear the students' view. It's important to hear when the papers don't give you the truth of what's going on. Black students always had more to say in these discussions 'cos it's current in their lives. We're too protected as white people, not exposed to the harsh realities of what's going on.

This greater participation enabled some white pupils to see their black peers in a new light, and to gain some insight into why they were more often quiet in class. Jenny, a white girl in Standard 9, reflected of these aspects thus:

> With myself, the only time I can talk about things is when I can relate to them. I can't be inspired to think of ideas if I can't relate to the thing. In English we have had lots of discussions, and the black students aren't quiet then. I've seen everyone in our class speak, and have something sensible to say. Just for example, that thing with the army. They joined in then. Some of the quietest people - it was suddenly this new life in them. Moringe, Phungole, Khanyisa - she isn't quiet as a person, but usually is in class. Often they're too scared to speak, but when they have something to say, they really sound alright.

2.1.3 Some of the white pupils found themselves at a disadvantage in political debate.

Roderick, a white boy in Standard 9, was one of many who found that his security had been shaken by the focus of political work in his English class. He found that he was at a disadvant ge because of his narrow knowledge base, and had felt disgruntled about this:

> This year the English is difficult. There's always politics. I don't like it. She always relates it to the SA situation. Politics don't interest me. I know very little. I don't know why she wants to relate it to politics all the time. I think she wants to make us aware of what's happening in SA. I don't like it at all. Only some people know what's going on in politics, so only some people get high marks. They know what's going on. Others get lower marks and could get higher marks if they were doing something they were interested in...I'm not interested in politics. They're very complicated and I feel uncomfortable 'cos I don't know much and I feel I might say the wrong thing and upset somebody.

Other related comments are provided in Appendix O, part 12.3

2.1.4 Sharing of information not only told of the facts, but helped in the understanding of why certain things happened. Attitudes and opinions were challenged, stereotypes broken down.

Nadine, a white girl in Standard 9, found, that, although there had been a bit too much of it, political discussion had given her greater insight into motivations for certain actions:

> Sometimes the political discussion all the time gets irritating. But it is important to understand how people act, and why they act in a certain way.

Tiyani, a black boy in Standard 7, had been surprised to find white people who supported the move for change in the country:

> Political discussions are OK at school 'cos you get to know more from other cultures, know what they think about the situation. I'm often surprised. There are people who think a lot of other people, that's why they're here. They were not negative. It was a little bit surprising. The way things are here in South Africa it was a little bit surprising to hear such things from a white.

Linda, a white girl in Standard 9, notes how her and others' views of different groups had changed as a result of the frank discussion held in the English classes:

> Lots of whites have grown up believing blacks are dirty and to come here and realise they're not is difficult. Blacks are made to believe whites are the pits, and to communicate with these people you've been made to hate is difficult. Our English definitely helped. She made people talk and bring out true feelings. The topics she brought were the ones everybody joined in. People became emotional, and had to join in. You'd experience some kind of emotion in her lessons, and it brought out a lot of things people didn't realise.

Not all pupils were as excited by this kind of learning as Linda. Here Clive, a white boy in Standard 9, acknowledges rather grudgingly, that he did learn how people feel about things, but as he knew about his white friends, and was not that interested in the black pupils, this was learning he could dispense with:

> She almost did too many political debates and you forgot about learning. Hamlet was related to South African politics, and everything was, and it got too much. It was one place where black students did join in. They always seemed to blame us in a way. I didn't learn what I didn't know before.
>
> Did you learn how people feel about things?
>
> Ja, and in some cases that was new. It depended on how well I knew them. I know most of the white students, so got to know how the black students thought, so that was worthwhile, maybe, but I probably could have done without it. That's 'cos I'm lazy. I have friends, and, I dunno, it was interesting, but sometimes it got too much 'cos people got biased.

For some people, the kind of learning that occurred in political debate, the lack of certainty of it, was a cause for anxiety. Clare, a white girl in Standard 9, reflects on the mixed emotions

political debate had stirred up in her, and how she felt it might be easier in the other English class where 'she tells us what to know':

> In the beginning English was fine and then I didn't like discussing politics any more and it just got worse and worse. I felt bad about not wanting to talk or even think about it, and I should have been able to accept myself for not being political instead of feeling bad about it. I don't want to push, just want to do what I can in my own world. But it was very enlightening being in her class. Because she made me understand how some people feel and made me aware how some people think, and why they think like that. But I can't just deny everything else that I know from my other knowledge of this country.. I actually felt guilty, and then I felt angry that I was feeling guilty. I fe t resentful ard the teacher. And against my class. They all seemed so narrow minded in the opposite direction, like racist, not against whites, but against Afrikaners. I was sorry when I changed from Ms Chetty's class, but in a way now I feel more secure. She tells us what to know.

Camilla, a White girl in Standard 6, noted how, like many things that are good for you, learning more about the political situation and herself had been painful:

> I don't know much about politics, so I wouldn't talk much. But there were some who did know, and some would come up with weird suggestions and ways, quite frightening, almost nasty in a way. They'd tell you about things that happen in the townships. I found it frightening. Something of their everyday life that I never dreamt of happening. The class would almost tense up. I don't know anything, and feel really blind, and would go out of class thinking, 'Why am I white?' I suppose it was good for me to know I had these feelings inside me 'cos I'd never spoken to a black person about politics.

Many other reflections of pupils on the kind of learning that took place when political matters were discussed are given in Appendix O, part 12.4

2.1.5 The political subject matter was painful for many black pupils

For some black pupils, the reality of the township situation, brought to school, was painful, and something they preferred not to have to deal with there. Nanga shows how deeply distressing he found viewing Witness to Apartheid:

We saw Witness to Apartheid in IS. I wasn't pleased to see it at school. It reminded me of the township and I felt bad. Sort of missing the people. And seeing the shootings made me cry. I don't think we should talk about such things at school. I'm not interested in politics, and don't want to learn them at school.

Nanga, BB in Std 7

Other comments are given in Appendix O, part 12.5

2.1.6 There was some sense that certain political views were acceptable, and others not, and that certain responses were acceptable, and others not.

Many pupils expressed the opinion that it was not acceptable to hold certain views that would be seen as generally unpopular. Pupils with these views would be inclined to keep them to themselves:

I don't enjoy political discussions 'cos you end up in arguments, and it's not a nice atmosphere. You get people saying nasty things, and they classify you as a racist 'cos you're defending yourself and they're defending themselves. So I'd rather keep my nose out of that. It would end up as a black- white split, and I tried to stay neutral. We'd talk about the censorship of the news, and what was happening in the townships, and about guys going to the army. I closed my ears, and my friends, Ian and Thomas, we just sat there and talked among ourselves. The teachers would control it. They sat there and listened to each point. They didn't let everyone speak at the same time, and they know where to stop the discussion.

Charles, WB in Std 8

(See Appendix O, part 12.6 for similar comments)

2.1.7 The full discussion that took place in class made the writing of essays easier, and the setworks more accessible.

Several pupils noted that the discussions had made it easier to structure their thoughts and write essays. Shanti, an Indian girl in Standard 9, felt that the teaching of English had not been abandoned by Ms Chetty, but had simply incorporated debate. She gives this view here:

Sometimes I'd get fed up with the discussions. We'd go round and round in circles. But my essays were always so much better after we'd discussed things. She didn't waste time on the unimportant things. She never stopped teaching her lessons, just included all the political stuff in it.

(See Appendix O, part 12.7 for other similar comments.)

Karim, an Indian boy in Standard 9, notes how much easier it was to do comprehensions that related to things he read about in the newspaper:

> We had a lot of politics in English. The comprehensions were good. I could relate to them better. When I read the newspaper I see similar situations, so it wasn't foreign.

For Madakwile, in Standard 6, political debate was significant in helping him improve his English. He felt able to participate, and so practised speaking:

> I really enjoy the political discussions. That'd where I saw I'd improved my English 'cos I contributed a lot on the black side, and was feeding back to the class what I knew. I felt very happy.

but some thought that it would be better for their English to keep to the mainstream syllabus:

> I'm glad I'm not in Ms Chetty's classes. All that happens in her classes is political argument. They're always talking about capitalism and socialism, never get anywhere. They also complain, don't feel prepared for exams, don t feel they've learnt anything this year. In Ms Clarke's class there are never any political discussions, and it's boring. That's the trouble, too many in one, not enough in the other.
>
> Khazamula, B8 in Std 9

2.2 Discussion of pupils' responses to the inclusion of political debate in the curriculum

This exploration of pupils' responses to the role of political debate in class reinforced certain factors impinging on social interaction patterns and learning, and introduced others.

What is clear from the comments is the gap between black and white pupils' knowledge and understanding of political events in the country, and in particular, their impact on the lives of the black pupils at the school, the majority of whose homes were in the townships. In general, white pupils were largely ignorant of such matters, shielded from the need ever to go into the townships, and with a major source of knowledge the censored and biased South

African Broadcasting Service and a range of newspapers, all of which were constrained by a variety of strict controls from reporting much of what was happening in the country.

In discussion, therefore, black pupils were for once in the position of the possessors of relevant information, and were given a sense of value by being able to impart this knowledge to their white peers. This sense of empowerment meant that they talked more than usual in class, and through this, improved their self-image and their English. Because the material was not strange to them, and because the issues under debate were relevant to their experience, many enjoyed the discussions, and found it easier to deal with the material prepared for comprehension passages and with the essay topics. For some, the issues discussed in class were so painful that they were unable to enter into the discussion.

For all the pupils, the full discussion of the issues surrounding essay topics meant that they had a wide range of information and opinion on which to base their writing, and there was a sense that this improved their work, although in a different way from that which would have accompanied a more formal study of language.

The white pupils had a range of views on the value of political debate. The majority recognised that it gave them access to first hand accounts of what was happening in the country, and were pleased of this. Many found that they understood why certain things happened, and why their black peers had certain views. For some, though, the experience of not being the group with relevant knowledge was disempowering, and they felt they would have been better served with less politics and more material better related to their experience. Many also sensed a dominant view more radical than theirs, and found it awkward to express their more conservative, and sometimes racist views, and disassociated themselves from the discussion. Others, finding their attitudes challenged, looked more carefully at them, and found the process illuminating and painful.

For students on both sides of the colour line, the open discussion revealed a great deal about each others' emotions and attitudes that they found sympathy with, and certain stereotyped views were modified.

It seems, then, that the personal learning that the teachers hoped would result from political discussion certainly occurred in a large number of pupils, and the hopes of the senior English teacher that her black pupils would be empowered and motivated by the debate were fulfilled in many instances. The contrast between the black pupils' response to this material and the more abstract and less accessible work in some of the other classes, supported the Integrated Studies' critics' views that in part the reason for the difference in degree of participation lay in the nature of the material being discussed. The responses also show clearly that these discussions were particularly heated, and were often arguments rather than debates The feelings of inadequacy expressed by some members of staff in handling these discussions can be understood, and serve to highlight the need for staff to be helped to acquire skills to deal with such debate if it is to be as constructive as possible for all participating.

Table 24, below, shows pupil response to the question of appropriate frequency of political discussion in class, and whether or not they were satisfied with the present situation regarding this in the curriculum. It reflects the composite responses for all classes.

Table 24. Pupils' views on the amount of political discussion in class (Composite of all classes)

	Frequency with which politics should be discussed in class			Satisfaction with amount of political discussion in class		
	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %	Not enough %	Enough %	Too much %
Black	30	67	3	46	48	6
Indian	45	55	0	37	57	7
White	24	65	11	28	55	18

On inspection, there seems to be a stronger tendency for black and Indian pupils to choose 'often' rather than 'never' than is the case with white pupils. However, when this was tested for significance of difference using a chi square test, no significant difference was found at the 0,05 confidence level. Nor was there any statistically significant difference between black and Indian pupils. However, the difference between Indian and white pupils was significant at the 0,05 confidence level, suggesting that the Indian group would like to have political discussion in class more regularly than the other groups. (See Tables P13, P14 and P15 in Appendix P. Raw scores not percentages were used in these tables.)

However, when the apparently greater choice of black pupils than white for 'not enough' rather than 'too much' was tested for significance of difference, it was found to be highly significant. This makes clear the greater support for this aspect of the curriculum among black than white pupils. No significant differences were found among the other groups, suggesting that there is a greater degree of satisfaction with the amount of political discussion currently in the curriculum. (See Tables P16, P17 and P18, Appendix P. Raw scores, not percentages were used in these tables)

2.3 Responses to the use of non-Eurocentric material

As with the work on politics, material that was non-Eurocentric was introduced into very few subjects at Riverbend, and was found predominantly in the Integrated Studies course and the English classes of Ms Chetty. Within Integrated Studies, the main thrust to such work was in Standard 8, but there were elements of it in the other two years as well.

The variety of responses will be examined here, and linked to emerging themes about the pupils' responses to the curriculum.

2.3.1 Responses to the notion of a less Eurocentric curriculum

2.3.1.1 Many pupils had not thought of the possibility of alternatives to the given curriculum.

Because of it's small part in the curriculum, the possibility of work that focused more on African and other cultural contexts was one that had not occurred to many pupils. They had taken the existing curriculum bias for granted.

Lebea, a black boy in Standard 6, gave a response typical of others with this view:

> I've never really thought about it. From DET onwards it was always facing this way. I don't really think about it. I've got used to this way.

And David, a white boy in Standard 8, explained how he had never really thought there was much to learn about from Africa:

> We didn't learn much about each other's culture in class. A bit from just talking to each other. A Eurocentric curriculum? I think that's actually what it is like. Perhaps there isn't much written down history. Some people did myths and legends of Africa. We didn't really learn much. I didn't ever think about that. Hadn't actually thought there was much to learn about Africa, but when I think about it there must be a lot of things.

(See also Appendix O, part 13.1.1)

2.3.1.2 Some black pupils felt that the reason for so little African culture was racist.

For some black pupils, the exclusion of their culture from the curriculum was perceived as racist, and reinforced their view that they were inferior to whites.

Zodwa, a black girl in Standard 8, reflects this clearly:

> I think English is considered as more civilised, and a language for communication and therefore must be more learnt than other languages. I think the whole school is racist. Not consciously, but people hang round in groups. You see it at break. We don't learn enough about our own culture. They think English is the most important. It feels like I'm still inferior to the others - as a person, I expect.

(See also Appendix O, part 13.1.2)

2.3.1.3 Some white pupils saw a move to include less Eurocentric material as biased.

> The themes were interesting, like Religion and Relationships. But they weren't explored deeply enough. We just spent one period talking about Hinduism and then go and see the temple, and so, oh wow! We've done Hinduism and Islam. We had to choose a religion, but not our usual one, and do research on that.I hated the way they didn't enforce Christianity. I'm not a reborn Christian, more an agnostic, but the fact is there again we were doing the black religions and not the white. We saw a temple and a mosque, and that's all. We could have seen the church and the synagogue. This school is very much based on politics and religion and I feel it's unfair to a lot of the white people.
>
> Elaine, WG in Std 8

2.3.1.4 Many black and Indian pupils felt that they .. not derive any benefit from a curriculum that included their culture.

There were several perspectives that contributed to this general view.

Many students expressed the opinion that they knew about their own culture, had learnt about it at home, and so would prefer to learn about the culture of others.

Rirhandzu expressed this view as follows:

> I don't think I'd like to learn more about my culture, I know about that, I want to know about other cultures.
>
> Rirhandzu, BG in Std 8

For some, traditional aspects of culture were not seen as interesting, they did not find learning about them worthwhile. Hari, an Indian boy in Standard 8, expresses this view here:

> We did the theme on religions which was interesting. And useful, 'cos you don't always know what other people's customs are. We haven't done anything on Indian Art, Music or Drama. I don't know much about it myself. It doesn't capture my interests, so I don't mind if we don't do it.

Some like Kgatishi, a black boy in Standard 9, felt that he could find out what he wanted to know through his own research:

> It is generally a very Europe orient_d curriculum. I've found out a lot about African history and civilisations from books in the library. And I also hear about i at home. I haven't missed it in the school curriculum. I can find out on my own, same as about the Aztecs.

Aware of the Eurocentric system of which the school was part, several black pupils felt there was no value to be gained form learning African history.

Nkeke, a black girl in Standard 7, expresses this view very directly:

> For what I want to do knowing African history isn't the way to get on. There's a white system, and the way to get on is to go along with it.

and this point of view was shared by Clare, a white girl in Std 9:

> I don't know what the school can do about the curriculum 'cos you have to do what is set for Matric. In any school in the world I dunno if native people have a syllabus or way they can just learn about their own things, and if you want to be part of the big wide world you should know about it. It's all very well for you to have your past, but it's not always what you need to know about at school.

Ismael confirmed this view. He recognised that he was at school to learn English and various other things, and his culture could be dealt with elsewhere:

> But we're living in a Western society, and our race is a minority in the country and people don't want to accept the black man's point of view. We're at school here to educate ourselves in English and various other things, and I don't think many people would want to divert and recognise other cultures. I study at the Madrassa, and I learn from my grandparents.
>
> Ismael, 18 in Std 9

Bukuta felt that he had no need to learn more about his own culture, but it might be helpful for others:

> I prefer learning about English writers because I want to learn more about them. Basically, I come from a black family and my grandmother tells me about things, and I read in my spare time. And here I want to get to know about other people better, not just mix with them at school. But they have white ideas, and should learn others, if they are interested.
>
> Bukuta, 88 in Std 6

(See also Appendix O, part 13.1.3)

2.3.1.5 Several pupils expressed indifference to the idea of a less Eurocentric curriculum

Darryl, a white boy in Standard 8, felt that pupils were really not interested in each other's culture, and that that was just how it is:

> We haven't learnt much about African or Indian culture. We did that thing on religion, which threw some light on it. I could find out more, I suppose, but I don't. It's possibly a bit narrow minded of me, but they're not interested in my culture and I'm not in theirs, and there's no big thing about it. It just happens that way.

Beauty, one of the stars of the Drama class, was unperturbed by the Eurocentric nature of the plays chosen for production:

> The plays have all been American or British. I think there's no difference, it's all about things that happen in the world. I loved The Boyfriend, and being Mrs Frank. It was a big experience, learning how to be a mother. I hated dressing up though. I thought I looked like a monkey.
>
> Beauty, BG in Std 8

(See also Appendix O, part 13.1.4)

2.3.1.6 Some pupils felt that the curriculum should be less Eurocentric.

Patricia, a white girl who was friendly with several of the black girls in her Standard 8 class, felt that certain aspects of the curriculum disadvantaged her black friends:

> In the Drama class when Silas (BB) and them audition they never get [illegible]. But these plays they can't relate to and some teachers [illegible] they are stupid, but it's just that they can't relate to a play like The Boyfriend. It's just not in their blood, in their background. ('They' refers to a group of black pupils in the Speech and Drama class) Lydia (BG) had a good part last year 'coz Ms Williams wanted an all black cast for RAPS. That's the exception, though.

Macingilani, a black boy in Std 9, had been moved to compare the richness of the concert put on by a visiting non-racial school from Swaziland with the more Eurocentric approach prevalent at Riverbend:

> I feel quite depressed, ashamed, after hearing Waterford's choir. They go back into cultures: Chinese, Japanese, Swazi, Western music, Indian music and dances. We should be doing that at Riverbend, and we don't. When we come to school we forget about different cultures.

> When we go home after three months we link with our cultures again. You should have seen the Indian girl dancing. I looked at her and felt if an Indian girl here were to dance, she would feel ashamed. She was so confident.

Jacob, a white boy in Standard 9, also felt that the prevailing ethos of the school was white, and that this disadvantaged black pupils. He would have liked a less Eurocentric curriculum, although he felt it might make things harder for him:

> We've learnt practically nothing about other cultures. I'd like to know more. I know it would be harder. If you're reading about your own culture you know about it already, can imagine what it's like. With other things, you have to start right at the beginning. Possibly they should give us a choice. I think it would help the blacks. They know about their culture, and they could help us, and it would give them a fairer chance. In the curriculum Riverbend is a white school to which blacks come.

Some pupils accepted the fact that, while ideal, it wasn't possible to have a less Eurocentric curriculum, that was how the Matriculation system worked:

> We did some SA history last term. We tried in our class to look at it from both points of view, which is right, what Riverbend is about. But we learnt more about the white side. Zoomed over the black side. It's just unfortunate, that's how the syllabus is. Black history is not really in the syllabus, so teachers can't squeeze much in.
>
> Taki, BB in Std 9

(See also Appendix O, part 13.1.5)

2.3.2 Pupils perceptions of the advantages of less Eurocentric material

2.3.2.1 Black pupils found they could relate to the material more easily.

Gloria, a black girl in Standard 9, found that the work in class on a South African black poet had been easier for her than that set elsewhere. She felt 'included', that she 'could offer something':

> We don't do anything about black art, music or literature, though sometimes we do a poem by a black poet. We should do more. We are all at the - school. We should know how everyone lives. We do poems from Pol - I switch off. I've never been to England, don't know what the - talking about. They should explain things to us - like that the Coloureds are different - I was confused by that. If the poem

is set in Soweto you know what's going on, you're familiar with it, and you enjoy it; it's easy for you to relate the things to what you experience. We did a poem by Sipho Sepamla, and we explained and people started knowing what's going on in Soweto. I could offer something. I felt included. When you sit there and the poem is read and the words explained you don't know whats going on.

Phineas here notes how more familiar material would make him feel 'more free':

> I would feel comfortable if we learnt more about township life, African music. I'd participate more in discussions, would feel free, 'cos it's a thing that affects us, where I live. I remember we had a play here in the first term, Township Boy, and most of the white kids didn't understand that play as much as I did 'cos I see things in the township. I think it would be better for us to have an equal chance. In the papers Ms Silver gave us yesterday (TB evaluation), I told her we should learn more about SA politics.
>
> Phineas, BB in Std 8

2.3.2.2 *It made it easier to participate, as you had something to offer.*

Esther, a black girl in Standard 8, found that she was happier to talk in class when the material was to do with people including herself. She also found that many differences between people were merely skin deep:

> I remember when we did 'Religion' and the 'Roots' themes. I felt happier to talk then. Guess it had a lot to do with people including you. You can communicate that sort of thing. I was with Clara (WG) and it was interesting to see how nearly the same we were. It's just our skin colour that's different. The things I do now and the methods we're following and life-style are the same.

Mikateko and Vusiwana, part of the group of black girls in Standard 6 who reported such negative feeling in the discussion in Integrated Studies, here report very different feeling apropos discussion in Zulu:

> In Zulu we talked about different cultures, about the struggle, about - it all falls under culture - funeral arrangements, death and mourning, and we talked about funerals now and long ago. And about conditions in the townships, shacks and things like that. We sometimes talked about these in ES, too. I like to talk about these things. I feel happy and safe.

Many related comments are to be found in Appendix O, part 13.2.1

2.3.2.3 Information on Indian and African culture was enriching for other members of the class

Karim, an Indian boy in Standard 8, saw benefits in cross-cultural explorations that would prevent people giving offence to others inadvertently:

> In Drama we were concerned with the history of Drama in the theatre. The Greeks and the Medieval theatre. We never went into the history of South African theatre. We never did anything from the East, either, and there's a strong tradition there. India produces more movies than anywhere. I think it's a pity. We should do more. They'd find it fascinating. It would have a positive effect on some of them. Would get rid of some preconceived ideas, would be a protection, like in religions, you learn how not to offend someone through ignorance.

Marjorie, a white girl in Standard 8, was appreciative of the insights the theme on religion had given her:

> We did a theme on Religion. It increased your knowledge of other people's culture and I learnt a lot of things I wou. n't have in normal English. I learnt a lot of things about other people's point of view and what religion actually means.

Wisane, a black boy in Standard 6, wished he could have learnt more about the aspects of his classmates' culture that he was unaware of:

> I think we should have had more on backgrounds and cultures so we could get to know each other better. We used to talk about religions and the way people are brought up. We should have had more of it, it was interesting. I didn't know about Ramadan, the fasting. I was surprised. How could they do it for such a long time?.

There was sense that it improved inter-group understanding:

> In 'Roots' it was interesting to find out more about people. They let us know more about people - where they came from. It's what I'm saying. It's like IS is where we got to know each other very well. Also to know the things that were happening outside - we touched a little bit of politics, and did some history of England to know about other people and how they lived.
>
> Gavaza, BG in Std 8

Other comments are to be found in Appendix O, part 13.2.2.

However, some thought that more information on culture was unlikely to change attitudes much:

> The school hasn't done much to break down barriers. Most has been done in IS. We discussed different cultures. They can't do much, cannot change people's minds. I've heard it said that when the white boys are in the army and sent to the townships they will shoot and won't recognise you. We have the feeling that all white pupils have the same opinion. There's nothing the school can do about this
>
> Keizer, SS in Std 8

2.3.2.4 More Afrocentric material was important because it was a common thread among the pupils.

> We had one speaker - Raval Maran - to tell us about early settlements in this area. I think they could do a lot more about it, 'cos in the end, we're all Africans, all of us were born in Africa.
>
> Harold, WS in Std 8

2.3.2.5 Black pupils achieved better academically in work they were familiar with

> Often in IS I just kept quiet. They would be talking about ideologies, capitalism and communism, and I know nothing.
> More there some things in IS where you felt you did know something?
> Ja. When we did cultures. I know the Zulu culture, and the Xhosa. so I could say something. I felt maybe I belong. Could say something. I even got a good mark for the project.
>
> Mzamani, SS in Std 8

Because, in a sense, the inclusion of political discussion is part of the move toward a curriculum that is not entirely Eurocentric, similar responses to that initiative are to be found in the responses to the use of more directly African and Indian cultural materials. Many black pupils felt at ease with such material, that they could relate to it, that it made their academic work easier. They found it rewarding to have something to tell the others in the class, instead of being the group that did not know. Pupils from all the race groups described how they had learnt more about each other's cultures from work on them in class, and that the discussion had contributed to understanding of differences, and their relative significance.

The response to the notion of a less Eurocentric curriculum was interesting. A large number of pupils had not thought about curriculum in this context. Many simply assumed that that was how it was, and so there was nothing to think about. For some, there was

no motivation for change, no interest in learning about cultures, particularly those other than you own. Several of the white boys showed themselves to be locked into this Eurocentric view. Many pupils, however, perceived the advantages for themselves and for others in the notion of a less Eurocentric curriculum.

The response that is most different from responses to the political dimension in the curriculum is that of those black pupils who rejected a suggestion of an increase of their cultural material in the curriculum. Some felt it was fine for whites to learn more about it, but that they did not need to, having resources at home for finding out whatever they might need to know. A major reason behind their rejection of Afrocentric material, however, was that they did not see it as important in the context of the school system. They had identified the value system of the education offered, and realising that their culture had no place in it, had deemed it of no value.

2.4. Responses to the Introduction of Zulu as a subject in Standard 6

Zulu had been introduced in Standard 6 to offer the black pupils an alternative to Afrikaans at Matriculation level, and also to give them, hopefully a subject in which they would excel and so grow in confidence in their ability to achieve well in the school. It was also thought it should be learnt by white pupils who lived in a multiracial society.

For these reasons, great pressure was brought to bear on pupils to choose it rather than French, and the parents of any pupils who wished to choose the latter had had to demonstrate a 'very good reason for the choice' to the Headmaster. Needless to say, the effect of this had been that very few of the class chose French.

In the first term, the classes were mixed white and black, and the teacher was expected to teach in one class this amalgam of pupils whose first language was Zulu, those who knew it to speak

but had never learnt it formally, and those who knew not one word. This task was beyond her, and the classes were unruly and achieved little. In response to this, they were then separated into one with Zulu speakers and other black pupils who supposedly knew some Zulu, and one with the real beginners, the white pupils and Indian.

By and large, Zulu as it was taught was rejected by the pupils. There were differences in the reasons behind the white and black pupils' rejection of it.

The white and Indian pupils generally were favourably disposed toward the concept of learning Zulu. However, they found the teaching poor and lost interest. A few of them also resented it as it was 'hard' and there were too many new words to learn. Certainly in the beginning, some had felt a bit frightened of it because it was a new language. (See Appendix O, part 14.1)

From the black pupils the most commonly expressed response to learning Zulu was similar to that expressed by many toward the inclusion of Afrocentric material in the curriculum. It was not useful, they knew as much Zulu as was needed to communicate and saw no value whatsoever in learning Zulu as part of their curriculum, particularly as it was difficult for those for whom it was not mother tongue, and who found that the Zulu taught in class was not the Zulu spoken colloquially. There was a sense that it might be helpful for white and Indian pupils, but not for them.

Some of the verbatim comments on which this summary is based are in Appendix O, part 14.2

Pupils in other classes had a similar set of views:

> I wouldn't want to learn Zulu. It's boring as I can speak it. Maybe people from the other races would like to do it. I wouldn't like to do it for Matric. It's not needed. I come to school 'cos I'm planning for my future. None of the vernaculars are useful. You don't need to learn them, you only need to communicate.
>
> Sibelo, BB in Std 8

There were, however, a few pupils who had entered the school in Standard 8 who had been learning the vernacular at their previous school and saw it as a sensible alternative to Afrikaans which they found difficult and to which they had an aversion. Tabudi expressed this feeling thus:

> I'm thinking of the vernacular instead of Afrikaans. It's not my type of subject. I feel bad about Afrikaans. Don't like it, because of what's happening here. Why should we learn the language of someone who's oppressing you?

Some pupils had in fact seriously considered taking the vernacular, and had discussed this option with the counsellor, but nothing had come of it:

> I was doing the vernacular in the government school. Soyapi, Nithetho and I thought we'd do the vernacular instead of Afrikaans. We spoke to Mr White. He said he'd see to it. But as time goes on, we gave up. And it's too late now. Anyway, I got used to Afrikaans, and wanted to prove myself there.
>
> Tlhabana, 88 in Std 9

Other comments are provided in Appendix O, part 14.3

Thus, the attempt by the school to introduce Zulu was one that was poorly received by the majority of black pupils. There were few pupils who perceived the benefit of the vernacular, and where these were not Zulu speakers in Standard 6, as has already been mentioned, they had to make their own arrangements for studying the language and writing the public examination in it. White pupils in Standard 6 paid lip service to the idea of learning Zulu, but ,in fact made little effort to do so, taking full advantage of the new teacher who did not make the lessons enough fun.

2.5 Discussion of pupils' responses to less Eurocentric material

The inclusion of political debate, of culturally based material and of Zulu are all actions by the staff to make the curriculum less Eurocentric. A broad survey of the pupils' responses to political debate has been looked at. Table 25, below, gives further broad information.

Table 25. Percentage of each group agreeing or disagreeing with the statements concerning the importance of learning about three aspects of culture in a 'good' school (Black (B) = 62; Indian (I) = 30; White (W) = 85)

	Strongly agree			Agree			Disagree			Strongly disagree		
No.	B	I	W	B	I	W	B	I	W	B	I	W
8	31	17	22	45	50	59	16	30	16	5	3	4
12	47	43	41	47	43	47	3	10	13	0	0	0
17	52	40	58	40	50	47	5	10	14	2	0	0

A good school is one where pupils ...
8: learn a great deal about their own culture
12: learn a great deal in class about other pupils' culture
17: are encouraged to be proud of their own background and culture

Clearly, all are statements with which pupils in all groups generally agree. It is interesting to note, however, that the aspect of learning about your own culture is least strongly agreed with and most commonly disagreed with by all groups, particularly the Indians, who report particularly good resources for this aspect of their learning at home. This finding is in line with what might be expected from pupils' comments above, and so is the finding that there is no statistically significant difference in the responses of the different groups. (See Tables X2.22, X2.23 and X2.24 in Appendix X2)

Table 26 below, shows pupils' perception of the extent to which the characteristics of 'learn about own culture', 'learn about others' culture' and 'encouraged to feel pride in your own culture' are satisfactorily features of the school. The values are percentages of the pupils responding.

Table 28. The extent to which pupils perceive that Riverbend affords the opportunity for learning about three aspects of culture

Riverbend achieves:		Very well			Well enough			Not well enough		
		B	I	W	B	I	W	B	I	W
Learn about own culture		10	6	14	18	7	34	36	17	38
	%	16	20	16	28	23	40	56	57	45
Learn about others' culture		21	6	28	15	13	32	28	13	30
	%	33	19	31	23	41	36	44	41	33
Encouraged to be proud of own cult		12	3	19	26	15	37	28	16	22
	%	18	9	24	39	44	47	43	47	28

What is interesting about this table is the fact that it suggests that for all pupils, these aspects of learning are not particularly well achieved by the school. More than half the black and Indian pupils responding did not feel that they learn enough about their own culture at school, and nearly half of white pupils felt the same way. There was no statistical difference among the groups. (See contingency Tables P19, P20 and P21 in Appendix P.)

There was greater satisfaction about learning about others' cultures, noticeably among white pupils, but even here between 33% and 44% of pupils did not feel that they learnt enough about others' cultures. Again, there was no statistical difference among the groups. (See Tables P 22, P23 and P24 in Appendix P.)

There are slight differences in satisfaction with the degree to which the school encouraged pupils to be proud of their own background and culture - with white pupils more satisfied with this aspect than black and Indian pupils, where fewer felt that this was well achieved and more felt that it was not achieved enough. These differences were not statistically significant. (See contingency Tables P25, P26 and P27 in Appendix P.) However, the much higher percentage of black and Indian pupils feeling that they are not well enough encouraged to be proud of their background and culture does have something to say about the Eurocentricity of the

curriculum. Similarly Table 40 in Chapter 8 shows that more black than white pupils feel that 'learn about own culture' applies 'not at all' to Riverbend, and this difference is statistically significant. (Table 43, in Chapter 8)

3. Discussion of aspects of social interaction and the curriculum

From what has been described in this chapter, I think it would be true to say that many of the curriculum decisions and practic s had an impact on pupils' social interaction and, in particular for the black pupils, their self concept of achievement and their sense of ease within the school. In turn, social interaction impinged on responses to the curriculum. I think it would also be true to say that few teachers seemed aware of this dimension of the curriculum and did little about addressing the issues revealed.

Much of what has been considered here supports the idea that the curriculum was largely Eurocentric, and that the school remains basically a white school in its orientation despite the admission of black and Indian pupils. Where there were efforts made to introduce material that was not Eurocentric, the benefits of this were clearly perceived, particularly by black pupils, and particularly in the context of political debate. However, the paucity of non-Eurocentric material was not a state of affairs readily perceived by black pupils as a negative one. ' ' was o a large extent accepted by most, and its absence was ; ed by many as being in keeping with the kind of education that would lead to their future success. The 'steel bands, saris and samosas' type of material is not the sort of multicultural material that would be readily accepted in a school population such as this. Many black pupils see themselves as removed from their cultural heritage, and part of a broader urban culture. None-the-less, where material verging on this was brought in to the curriculum, mainly via the work on 'Roots' and 'Religions', the fact that black pupils had a

sound knowledge base made them more easily able to contribute to discussion, and opened the way for a more equal exchange of ideas than was usually the case.

Few pupils commented directly on the link between these dimensions of school life and academic achievement. However, from indirect references, it seems clear that where pupils felt at ease with the group, that they had something to offer, that they could participate in discussion and where material was not culturally loaded against them, they were more likely to do well, or at least make the most of the learning opportunities afforded in class. It seems likely, therefore, that those strategies related both to classroom organisation and curriculum content that facilitated greater cross- group interaction and ease, in addition to the actual role they played in pupils' personal and social development, were also helpful in improving academic achievement for black pupils. Clearly, these aspects of learning were somewhat haphazardly introduced and managed in the Integrated Studies and English classrooms, but they did at least happen there. They are aspects that many staff are ill equipped to deal with, and for which support would be needed if they were to become a more significant part of the curriculum.

The formal curriculum is only one area of school life with an effect on inter-group interaction. The informal socialising that happened out of class time, on the sports fields, in the boarding house and in the whole way of life of the school clearly was a major influence. This does not remove the role of the curriculum, and needs to be borne in mind by those making decisions about it.

The move in the school toward the more conservative aspects of teaching described in Chapter 4 would undoubtedly be to the detriment of these aspects of teaching and learning that seem to have value both in terms of viewing education as a holistic process, and in very likely contributing indirectly to black pupils academic achievement.

CHAPTER 8. PUPILS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR TEACHERS AND THE CURRICULUM

In order to deepen the understanding of the complexity of the debate surrounding which way the school ought to be moving, and the kind of education considered valid by the participants in the school itself, it is useful now to turn to a further examination of pupils' responses to the curriculum. Here, responses to questionnaire items which attempted to survey broad responses to certain aspects of the school and its curriculum will be analysed against the background of the debate and responses analysed in previous chapters.

1. Evaluation of subjects

Earlier chapters have made clear that differences existed between Integrated Studies and senior English, and other subjects with regard to the kind of knowledge, and the approach to teaching and learning typical in each. Pupils' comments on the nature of these differences, and their responses to them have been explored. Here an attempt will be made, by analysing questionnaire responses, to see if any patterns of evaluation are evident across the racial groups at the school.

1.1 Identification of subjects found most worthwhile, and those most enjoyed and least enjoyed

Pupils were asked to identify the subject they enjoyed most and least, and found most worthwhile. They were also asked to give reasons for their choices. Interviews with pupils had made clear many of the criteria whereby they were evaluating subjects, and the opinions they had of them. These perspectives were examined in earlier chapters. The purpose of the questionnaire was to attempt

to gauge the focus of responses, and to establish any patterns in these responses that might exist in a broader way than is possible in interviews.

Tables in Appendix S1 give the responses class by class, and tables in Appendix S2, S3 and S4 show the breakdown of pupils' reasons for their choices. I shall focus first on patterns of choice, and then consider pupils' reasons for their choices.

I shall consider their responses in the context of the subjects selected, and focus most carefully on those preferentially selected. It must be noted that these are choices of subject that were most enjoyed, least enjoyed and found most worthwhile. Obviously, those selected are not the only subjects in the categories of enjoyed, worthwhile or not enjoyed for each pupil, but the selection does give some indication of relative value attached to the subjects, and the reasons that are important in evaluating the different parts of the curriculum.

1.1.1 Integrated Studies

Integrated Studies is a clear choice of 'most enjoyed' subject for white pupils (except in Standard 7), and shares this position with Mathematics and Science in Standard 6. It is a less common choice for black and Indian pupils, except in Standard 7.

For white pupils, it is perceived as a particularly worthwhile subject in all years, even Standard 7 where it is not a noticeable favourite, but this is the case for black and Indian pupils only in Standard 7. Interestingly, its position as 'most worthwhile' is stronger for white pupils compared even to their evaluation of it as 'most enjoyable'. It is quite clearly the 'most worthwhile' in Standards 6 and 8, and even in Standard 7 where it is conspicuously low in the list of 'most enjoyed'. For black pupils it has a lower ranking on the list of 'most worthwhile', roughly in

keeping with pupils' view of it as 'most enjoyed'. For Indian pupils it is not generally perceived as 'most worthwhile.' It is seldom mentioned as the subject 'least enjoyed' by any group.

1.1.2 Mathematics

This is the subject enjoyed most by black pupils in Standards 8 and 9, and one of the favourites of whites in Standards 6 and in Standard 7. It is virtually no-one's favourite in Standard 8.

It is clear that it is generally perceived as one of the most worthwhile subjects, particularly by black pupils. It is chosen as this by black and Indian pupils in Standard 8 (but not, interestingly by whites, although it is one they enjoy), by blacks in Standard 7, blacks and whites in Standard 8. It is no-one's list in Standard 9.

It is low down on most lists of least liked subjects, but seen as this by more white than black pupils, particularly in Standard 9.

1.1.3 Science

Science is noticeably 'enjoyed most' by white pupils in Standard 8 (along with Mathematics and Integreted Studies), and also by Indians in this year.

It is clearly perceived as worthwhile by black pupils in Standard 8 (together with Mathematics), and by this group in Standard 9, and is the second most commonly chosen subject for black pupils in Standard 6.

It is disliked by white pupils in Standard 9 (together with Mathematics).

1.1.4 Others

Enjoyed most

The only other subjects noted by any number of pupils as being enjoyed most are Art, liked by white pupils in Standards 7 and 8, Geography and Accounting, chosen by black pupils in Standard 8, and English, chosen by all groups in Standard 9, and found worthwhile by white and Indian pupils in this year. It must be noted that this response came only (except for one pupil) from pupils in Ms Chetty's English classes, and not from Ms Clarke's

Enjoyed least

Afrikaans is a conspicuous choice for subject enjoyed least - for white and Indian pupils in Standard 6, for black and white pupils in Standard 7 and in Standard 8, and for all groups in Standard 9.

Zulu is clearly a subject not enjoyed much by any of the groups of pupils in Standard 6.

1.2 Reasons for finding a subject 'worthwhile', 'enjoyable', and 'not enjoyable'

The reasons for enjoying/not enjoying and finding subjects worthwhile were given by pupils in response to the question set in the questionnaire, and are given in the lists in Appendix S2, S3 and S4. They are interesting in giving broad patterns, and will be discussed here supplemented by information given in interviews and discussed in earlier chapters.

Tables in Appendix S4 give the breakdown of reasons for finding subjects worthwhile. Table 27, below, is a composite of the reasons. It gives an idea of the constructs pupils use in defining a subject as 'worthwhile'.

Pupils were not restricted in the number of reasons they gave for their choice. For this reason, the actual number of choices for a particular reason is given, as well as the percentage of total responses accorded each reason (rather than percentage of pupils choosing it).

1.2.1 Reasons for finding a subject 'worthwhile'

It is clear from this table that a subject's usefulness in the light of a future career is the most important measure of it as a worthwhile subject for all groups.

Table 27. Pupils' reasons for finding a subject worthwhile

	Black		Indian		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Interesting	3	4	2	6	4	5
Challenging	2	3			2	2
Career link/opens doors	36	54	15	49	39	44
I'm improving			1	3		
Improves/widens knowledge	1	1			9	10
Widens viewpoint/broadens mind	2	3	2	6	3	3
Learn about life/the world	5	7	6	17	10	11
Learn a lot	4	6	1	3	4	5
Wide range of topics	2	3	1	3	3	3
Gives confidence, independence					2	2
Challenges opinions	1	1			1	1
Improves my English	3	4	1	3		
Develops skills	1	1	1	3	2	2
Stimulating					1	1
Useful in life	2	3	1	3	3	3
Sharpens thinking	1	1	1	3	1	1
Improves communication	1	1	1	3		
Creative	2	3				
Now	1	1				
Background to English/Art					1	1
Learn others' views			2	6	2	2
Learn about myself					1	1

% = percentage of responses

Table 28, below shows pupils' ideas of where their future careers might lie.

Table 28. Pupils' career aspirations

	Black	Indian	White
Doctor	29	4	3
Paramedical	5	1	1
Homoeopath			1
Vet			4
Computer related	7	4	5
Electronics	1	1	
Art/music/drama/f to/Film/advert	5	4	22
Florist		1	
Inventor/scientist/research/Maths	4		5
Zoologist/geneticist/marine bio	2		10
Engineer	10	3	3
Businessman/banker/a. countant	0	0	4
Writing/journalism	3		7
Lawyer	5	1	9
Teacher/lecturer			4
Social worker	2	3	
Archaeologist			4
Model/beautician	2	1	
Architect/Int.design/bldg science	2	2	6
Pilot			1
Jockey			1
Game ranger			1
Guide dog trainer			1
Farmer			1
Travel/PRO	1		2
Sportsman		1	
Don't know	3	2	7

There is a strong concentration of black pupils' aspirations around careers in medicine, computers, engineering and research. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is such a strong perception among this group of Mathematics and Science as 'most worthwhile' subjects.

White pupils' choices, in contrast, concentrated more noticeably around careers in the creative arts, in those associated with animals and Biology, in architecture, journalism, the law and engineering. This perhaps accounts for the relatively lesser stress of this group on Mathematics and Science as notably worthwhile

subjects, and their greater valuing of English and Integrated Studies in this regard with these and Mathematics/Science together being selected as 'most worthwhile'.

Indian pupils' choices relate to a wide spread of careers, but there is a focus on those in finance, and in the creative arts and medicine. This relates to their choice of Mathematics and English as worthwhile for career purposes, and the small number choosing Business Economics.

From Table 27, it is apparent that for all groups, but particularly whites and Indians, subjects in which you learn about life and the world are considered worthwhile, and for whites in particular, those that widen your knowledge. As Integrated Studies and Ms Chetty's English class were particularly significant in these aspects, it explains these groups' choice of this subject as being 'worthwhile'.

The noticeable importance of a subject's relevance for a career compared with other criteria in black pupils' assessment of a subject as worthwhile suggests that the teachers' views that the different groups made slightly different demands on their education might have some validity.

1.2.2 Reasons for finding subjects least enjoyable

The reasons for individual subjects being found 'least enjoyable' are shown in tables in Appendix S3.

The noticeable dislike of Afrikaans is due to three factors - prejudiced views about it as the language of the oppressor, and the perception that the teachers were boring and lessons not much fun, and that it was in fact difficult and pupils did not do well at it.

The other subject noticeably 'enjoyed least' was Zulu - with pupils finding it boring, difficult and badly taught. It was also considered pointless, and a waste of time, as was Afrikaans. (Chapter 7 discussed pupils views on Zulu more fully)

The main reasons for disliking Mathematics was that it was difficult, and that pupils did not do well at it.

Table 29 gives the composite of criteria used in deeming a subject 'least enjoyable'.

Table 29. Pupils' reasons for finding a subject 'least enjoyable'

	Black		Indian		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Difficult/	13	18	8	24	19	19
Get lost/can't understand	13	18	1	3	3	3
Bad at it/don't do well	5	7	2	6	9	9
Boring	4	5	3	9	29	29
Lots of work	3	4	3	9	3	3
Bad teacher	11	15	4	12	7	7
Don't like it	6	8	4	12	7	7
No use to me/pointless	2	3	2	6	8	8
Rote learning/just get notes	4	5	1	3	5	5
Don't like the teacher	2	3	1	3	2	2
No discussion of relevance	1	1			2	2
Not interested in it	1	1			2	2
Vocabulary difficult			1	3	1	1
Class noisy	1	1			1	1
Too detailed	1	1	2	6	1	1
Don't know how to learn	1	1				
Poor background	3	4				
Hate projects					1	1
No challenge	1	1				
Eurocentric			1	3		
Teacher has pets	2	3	1	3		
Waste of time					1	1
Unstimulating	1	1			1	1

% = percentage of responses given by the group

Again, there is a wide spread, with clusters on a few of the criteria. For all groups, finding a subject 'difficult' was an important reason for not enjoying it. When 'get lost, can't under-

stand' is added to this value, it can be seen that these criteria together are particularly important for black pupils, together with having a 'bad teacher'.

White pupils lay more emphasis on whether or not a subject is 'boring' than they do on any other characteristic, or than any other group does. They also consider subjects to be not enjoyable if they are perceived as 'pointless', or a waste of time. To some extent, this concern with finding a subject difficult, not understanding and having a bad teacher highlights black pupils' concern with academic achievement, and their anxiety about it.

Indian pupils' emphasis is similar to that of black pupils, in that finding a subject difficult is the most important factor making it 'least enjoyable', with 'bad teacher' and 'don't like it' as second in importance.

1.2.3 Reasons for finding a subject most enjoyable

The composite of reasons given for finding a particular subject most enjoyable is given in Table 30, below. (See appendix S2 for reasons related to individual subjects.) While spread over a wide range, reasons are clearly clustered on a few main criteria.

For black pupils, having a good teacher is clearly the most important criterion. This is followed by being good at it and understanding it (together as important as having a good teacher), and by finding it interesting.

For Indian pupils, having a good teacher is also the most noticeable criterion for enjoying a subject, and this is followed by finding interesting, finding it fun and discussing relevant issues. Learning a lot and understanding it come next in importance.

For white pupils, finding a subject interesting is the most important criterion, followed by having a good teacher, finding it easy and then finding it fun.

Table 30. Pupils' reasons for 'enjoying a subject most'

	Black		Indian		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Easy/I'm good at it	12	13	1	2	15	11
Understand it	9	10	3	7	5	4
A challenge	3	3	1	2	4	3
Interesting	11	12	5	11	31	23
Fun	3	3	6	13	11	8
Satisfying	2	2	1	2	3	2
Work together	2	2	1	2		
Go at own pace					2	1
Good teacher	20	22	10	22	20	15
Like teachers	2	2				
Like pupils			2	4		
Learn about life/world	1	1			3	2
Views encouraged	3	3				
Discuss relevant issues	2	2	6	13	5	4
Activity based/p. ic work	2	2	2	4	6	4
Develops self					1	1
Different views/share ideas	2	2	1	2	4	3
Learn a lot/wide scope	5	6	4	9	7	5
Get to know others	1	1	2	4	1	1
Informal					1	1
Varied activities	1	1			1	1
Like animals					2	1
Think, don't cram	1	1			1	1
Pressure to work					1	1
Stimulating	2	2	1	2	1	1
Nice atmosphere					1	1
Like painting	1	1				
Can express self(art)	2	2			5	4
Relaxing					2	1
Creative					1	1
Gives confidence					1	1
Gain respect					1	1
Can see progress					1	1
Learnt new things	2	2			1	1

% = percentage of responses of each group

For both enjoying a subject most and enjoying a subject least a pattern of priorities can be said to emerge. Black pupils seem, in evaluating how well they enjoy a subject, to lay stress on how

well it is taught, and on whether or not they understand it and do well in it. For white pupils, while good teaching is significant, finding a subject 'interesting' and 'fun' is at least as important, and far more significant in their evaluation than it is in black pupils' consideration of a subject as enjoyable or not. Indian pupils are closer to white pupils in their evaluation in that they also place emphasis on finding a subject interesting and fun, but differ from them by laying more emphasis on the enjoyment of subjects where 'relevant' issues are discussed. Later it will be clear that there are differences in group's criteria for evaluating good and not good teachers. This will be shown to support the emphasis on 'understanding' and 'interesting' as important criteria for black and white pupils.

Different subjects had different reasons for being considered 'most enjoyable'. The different qualities of the subjects, and the different emphases on criteria making a subject 'most liked' are highlighted in the pupils' choice of most liked subject.

Mathematics, receiving approval particularly from black pupils, but also from white pupils in certain classes, was liked because the pupils understood it, found it easy, the teacher was good, it was a challenge, interesting, pupils liked working with numbers. Different definitions of a good teacher, and different qualities in the teachers of the top and other streams for Mathematics, meant that black and white pupils enjoyed Mathematics for slightly different reasons, although there was a core of common reasons for enjoying it.

English was liked by all groups in Standard 9 (if pupils were in Ms Chetty's class) because it taught about life, pupils felt that their views were encouraged, relevant issues were discussed, it was interesting and the teacher was good/nice.

Integrated Studies had varied activities in which pupils were involved, it was informal, covered a wide scope, you learnt a lot and widened your knowledge, it was interesting and relevant, you

shared ideas and learnt about others, and the teachers were nice. The anomaly of Integrated Studies as most liked by black and Indian pupils far more noticeably than for white pupils in Standard 7, and the converse in Standard 6, is difficult to explain. It can be noted that this was a year in Integrated Studies when a lot of work on 'conflict' was done, and in which there was a strong focus on South Africa in this context. A major feature of the Standard 7 Integrated Studies course was the emphasis on dramatic presentation and the linking of much of what was done to the South African situation. There was very little formal lecturing (which was far more a feature of Standard 6). It was also led by Ms Chetty who had a particular ability for drawing black and Indian pupils into the discussion. (as was shown in the comments about the Standard 9 English class). Those factors might account for the pattern of preference among the different groups.

Geography was seen to be interesting, about the world around, you could think. not just cram, and there was pressure to work.

Accountancy was generally favoured as a subject that had a good teacher, that was fun and in which you learnt about the world. Some verbatim comments about enjoyable and less enjoyable subjects are to be found in Appendix Y, part 2.

2. Evaluation of teachers

A major criterion in the assessment of a subject by pupils was the quality of the teacher. Having a good/nice teacher rather than a bad teacher is clearly a major factor for all pupils in their enjoyment of a subject. Difference in teaching style was also a distinguishing characteristic between the Integrated Studies teachers and 'the rest'. It is useful, here, therefore, to consider pupils' views of 'good' and 'not good' teachers.

They were asked, in Questionnaire 1, reproduced in Appendix B1, to think of teachers who were 'good teachers' and to write down why they considered them 'good'. They were asked to do the same for

teachers considered 'not good'. The class-by-class analyses are given in Appendix T1. Tables 31 and 32, below, give the composite of responses for each group regardless of Standard at the school. Appendix Y, part 1 gives some of the pupils' comments that give an added dimension to these brief description from the questionnaires.

Attention will be focused first on the qualities of a good teacher.

2.1 Qualities of 'good' teachers

Table 31. Pupils' perceptions of the qualities of a 'good' teacher

	Black		Indian		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Controls class	3	2	1	1	17	8
Makes us work hard	2	2	0	0	0	0
Checks work	3	2	1	1	0	
Explains well	27	21	20	24	30	14
Thorough	0		0		5	2
Makes sure you understand	17	13	1	1	4	2
Goes at right pace	1	1	1	1	1	0,5
Understands us/knows what we need	14	11	9	11	13	6
Patient	8	10	5	6	8	4
Helpful	9	7	6	7	12	6
Friendly	4	3	1	1	2	1
Kind	3	2	2	2	0	
Caring	5	4	1	2	3	1
Encouraging	2	2	1	2	4	2
Encourages you to participate	4	3	1	2	0	
Encourages discussion	1	1	1	2	5	2
Can tell our views/listens to us	4	3	3	4	4	2
Can ask for help	1	1	1	1	0	
Interesting	3	2	2	2	22	10
Knowledgeable	8	6	7	8	11	5
Humorous/fun	7	5	5	6	15	7
Enthusiastic	2	2	1	1	7	3
Nice activities/practicals	0		0		4	2
Makes lessons relevant	0		0		4	2
Broadens our views	0		0		4	2
Challenges/extends	0		0		6	3
Treats us like adults	4	3	3	3	5	2
Talks to us/relates to us as people	1	1	1	1	5	2
Fair/no pets	1	1	1	1	1	0,5

% of responses for the group

Again, responses tend to spread across, and cluster on, certain common criteria. For all groups, the most commonly mentioned quality of a good teacher is that he/she 'explains well'. Good teachers are also, primarily, those who 'understand us' and 'know what we need', are patient, helpful and knowledgeable.

There are also certain interesting differences in emphasis on important criteria. One of the most obvious is the black and Indian pupils' stress on 'explains well' as a quality. It is mentioned almost twice as often as any other, indicating its greater relative importance for these groups than for white, where the gap between this quality and the next [illegible]quently mentioned quality is not as great. Black pupil[illegible]'knows where you understand' as an important quality i[illegible]more than is the case with other groups. Again, t[illegible]rt the notion that careful and patient explanation [illegible]t it is fully understood, is particularly important for black [illegible]pils.

Indian pupils show a similar emphasis on 'explain well', and then stress 'helpf[illegible]' and 'knowledgeable' as important criteria.

For white pupils, although 'explains well' is the most important quality, it is fairly closely followed by 'interesting', and then by 'controls class' and 'fun'.

This analysis of perceptions of 'good' teachers suggests that for black pupils, more emphasis is placed on teachers who explain carefully, and who do not take knowledge for granted but check that pupils understand. They are less concerned than white pupils about teachers who make lessons fun and activity based. This is not altogether surprising, given the kind of teaching background from which many such pupils have come, their insecurity with regard to much of the conten[illegible], in particular in subjects like Integrated Studies, the fact that they are being taught in a language which is not their mother-tongue, and their concern for academic achievement.

2.2 Qualities of 'not good' teachers

Qualities of 'not good' teachers are shown in Table 32 below.

Table 32. Pupils' perceptions of the qualities of a 'not good' teacher

	Black		Indian		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Doesn't explain well	19	25	11	32	26	17
Can't see where to struggle	7	9	0		4	3
Doesn't care whether we understand/ doesn't take care we all understand	0	0	1	3	0	4
Just gives notes	3	4	0		5	0
Gives work, but doesn't teach us	2	3	1	3	0	
Doesn't go over work	2	3	0		5	3
Doesn't give guidance	1	1	0		5	3
Gives lots of work	2	3	0		0	
Doesn't understand us	2	3	1	3	7	5
Doesn't know work well	4	5	1	3	4	3
Poorly qualified	1	1	1	3	2	1
Impatient with students	5	7	3	9	6	4
Makes questions/ doesn't allow students to disagree	2	3	3	3	5	3
Shouts at us	5	7	0		0	
Temperamental	2	3	4	12	11	7
Isn't fun/too serious	2	3	1	3	2	1
Boring	2	3	2	6	18	12
Unimaginative	0		1	3	0	1
Talks too much	0		0		3	2
Too strict	0		0		4	3
Can't control class	5	7	3	9	13	9
Sloppy	0		0		1	1
Scatterbrained	0		0		1	1
Easily sidetracked	0		0		1	1
Unsure of self	0		0		3	2
Treats us like babies	0		0		3	2
Has favourites	3	4	0		4	3
Lectures on behaviour	1	1	0		1	1
Racist/Doesn't see black pupil point	1	1	1	3	0	0
Too tribalised	1	1	0		0	0

% = percent of responses for the group

For all groups, the quality 'doesn't explain well' is the most noticeably important for deeming a teacher 'not good'. However, it is a noticeably bigger percentage of the responses of Indian and black pupils than any other criterion (the gap being from 25% - 9%

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Qualities of 'not good' teachers are shown in Table 32 below.

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	Black		Indian		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Doesn't explain well	19	25	11	32	20	17
Can't see where we struggle	7	9	0		4	3
Doesn't care whether we understand/ doesn't make sure we all understand	9	5	1	3	0	4
Just gives notes	3	4	0		7	6
Gives work, but doesn't teach us	2	3	1	3	0	
Doesn't go over work	2	3	0		6	5
Doesn't give guidance	1	1	0		6	3
Gives lots of work	2	3	0		0	
Doesn't understand us	2	3	1	3	7	6
Doesn't know work well	4	5	1	3	4	3
Poorly qualified	1	1	1	3	2	1
Impatient with students	5	7	3	9	6	4
Hates questions/ doesn't allow students to disagree	2	3	3	9	5	3
Shouts at us	6	7	0		0	
Temperamental	2	3	4	12	11	7
Isn't fun/too serious	2	3	1	3	2	1
Boring	2	3	2	6	16	12
Unimaginative	0		1	3	6	4
Talks too much	0		0		3	2
Too strict	0		0		4	3
Can't control class	6	7	3	9	13	9
Sloppy	0		0		1	1
Scatterbrained	0		0		1	1
Easily sidetracked	0		0		1	1
Unsure of self	0		0		3	2
Treats us like babies	0		0		3	2
Has favourites	3	4	0		4	3
Lectures on behaviour	1	1	0		1	1
Racist/Doesn't see black pupils point	1	1	1	3	0	
Too tribal/cod	1	1	0		0	0

% = percent of responses for the group

For all groups, the quality 'doesn't explain well' is the most noticeably important for deeming a teacher 'not good'. However, it is a noticeably bigger percentage of the responses of Indian and black pupils than any other criterion (the gap being from 25% - 9%

for black pupils and from 32% to 12% for Indian, whereas for whites it is from 17% - 12%). The primacy of this criterion for black and Indian pupils is again apparent. If related criteria of 'can't see where we struggle', and 'doesn't care if we all understand/doesn't make sure we all understand' are added, the significance of this cluster is even more obvious for black pupils.

For white pupils, a second order group of reasons appears to be 'boring', not very different in significance from 'doesn't explain', particularly if 'unimaginative' is considered with it. 'Temperamental' and 'can't control the class', follow, and such things as 'just gives notes', 'doesn't understand us', doesn't make sure we understand', 'impatient'.

For black pupils, the quality 'boring', so important for white pupils, is very low down on the list of reasons for finding a teacher 'not good'. A second order of criteria for this group is the set already mentioned as similar to 'doesn't explain well'. These are followed by teachers who shout and who are impatient, and who can't control the class, though this is not weighted so highly as for white pupils. This set of criteria is one that seems to be commonly held by white and black pupils.

For Indian pupils, a second order of criteria includes 'temperamental' and 'can't control the class', with 'boring' not much mentioned, but third in order.

Again, there appears to be some difference in importance attached by white and black pupils to the qualities of boring and unimaginative teaching, which is hardly mentioned by black pupils, and explaining carefully and thoroughly, which, while important for all groups, are more emphasised by black than white.

2.3 Identification of "good" and "not good" teachers

Because of subject choices and streaming that so often followed racial lines, and because different teachers taught at different levels in the school, different groups of pupils tended to be exposed to different teachers to different degrees. It is not possible, therefore, to simply add up the numbers of pupils identifying different teachers as 'good' and make comparisons.

None-the-less, the analysis of teachers identified as good shown in Table 33, below, and the reasons for so defining them given in Appendix T2, offer some interesting perspectives.

Table 33. Teachers identified as 'good' teachers

	Black				Indian				White			
	G	7	G	G	G	7	G	G	G	7	G	G
Jones	10	11	0	3	5	4	4	4	5	8	16	7
Chotty	1	13	4	12	1	6	1	11	0	13	5	15
Driver	1	2	0	5	0	1	2	4	0	4	7	10
Silver	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	3	1
Ronnie	4	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	3	2	0	0
Walsh	2	3	1	0	4	0	1	7	13	2	0	3
Daventor	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	4
Marshall	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	2	6	3	0	2
Williams	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	4	5	4	1
Banks	0	4	3	6	0	3	2	1	0	2	2	0
Bolt	4	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	6	0	5	0
Green	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	9	0	6	1	3
Singer	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	2
Silcox	1	0	4	0	1	0	2	0	5	2	0	1
Stacks	0	0	4	5	0	0	4	4	0	0	1	0
Rawlins	0	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	1
Rhoda	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Phillips	0	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	4	1	2
Parks	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3
Clarke	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

In order to develop further the theme of different emphasis on different qualities f teachers by black and white pupils, I shall consider their comments about certain teachers in some detail.

Mr Jones

Mr Jones is clearly a much liked teacher by all groups. He was involved in all three years of Integrated Studies, and taught the weakest group English Skills in Standard 6, and the strongest group in Standard 8. He thus taught a predominantly black English Skills group in Standard 6, and a predominantly white group in Standard 8.

Black Pupils reasons for finding Mr Jones a 'good' teacher:
(Numbers in brackets give the number of pupils giving the reason)

explains well/clearly (8);
explains till you understand (7);
is patient (7);
explains, doesn't assume you know. (5)

Also mentioned are: can all give our views; understands you; clever; polite; takes his time when teaching; open minded; speaks language you can understand; has sense of humour; encourages people; can take problems to him; strict in a good way; relates to us/nice personality; interesting; tries to show the way; democratic/looks at students' views.

For Indian pupils the main reasons are similar:
explains well (5);
understands you (4).

They also include: patient; can all give our views; fun; caring; helpful; encourages you; talks to us,so knows our problems; can take problems to him; broad view of education; relates to us/nice person; interesting; knowledgeable; democratic, looks at pupils' views.

For white pupils, the most important characteristics are:
relates well to us/is a nice person (6);
is interesting (5);

is fun/has a sense of humour (5);
motivates nicely/sets high standards (5);
understands you/knows you (4).

Also mentioned are: patient; kind/caring/helpful; treats us like adults; trusts us; lectures clearly; broad view of education; can ask him questions; knowledgeable; democratic/looks at students' views; respects pupils; makes things easy to understand.

Clearly, the same person is liked for many common personal qualities and abilities to relate well to pupils. But there are important differences in emphasis. The black pupils like him particularly for his patience, his ability to explain carefully and the fact that he takes care with his explanations and does not take knowledge for granted. He clearly is meeting well the needs of the black pupils in his English Skills group.

He also appears to be meeting the needs of his top stream, predominantly white English Skills group, by being fun, challenging and stimulating in his teaching approach.

Pupils' descriptions of Mr Jones as a good teacher serve to highlight the difference in value attached to different qualities of a good teacher by black and white pupils in the school.

Ms Chetty

Pupils' evaluation of Ms Chetty as a 'good' teacher serve to emphasise another set of differences that I believe is important.

Black pupils' reasons for saying she is a good teacher:
gives everyone a chance to participate (5);
kind,caring, concerned (4);
explains properly/well (5);
makes sure you understand (4);
explains, doesn't expect you to know (3);
understanding (3).

Also mentioned are: helpful; patient; holds our interest; doesn't rush you; helps where you need it; teaches how to write; encourages all points of view; no pets; listens to our views; makes lessons meaningful; encourages us to listen to points of view and make up our own minds; allows discussion so we understand better.

Indian pupils' reasons:
helpful; kind; caring; understanding; explains well; motivated; well qualified; makes lessons fun; knows her work; encourages us to listen to views and make up our own minds; gets everyone involved; simplifies matters; encouraging

White pupils reasons:
holds our interest (5);
makes lessons fun (5);
makes lessons relevant and worthwhile (3);
Encourages us to listen to views and make up our own minds (3);

Also mentioned are: helpful; kind, caring and concerned; understanding; makes sure you understand; explains well; motivated and enthusiastic; makes us think of things we wouldn't have; imaginative; relates to us/nice personality; knows her work; pleasant to talk to; listens to our views; has more in mind than Matric; we have interesting discussions; we discuss and learn more; she is broad-minded; works with us and for us.

Clearly, again, there is a common set of qualities respected by all the pupils, but the relative weighting is significant. For black pupils, her ability to explain, her ensuring that everyone understands and her not taking things for granted are important. Added to this list, significantly, is the fact that she encourages pupils to participate. This active encouragement and the creation of a climate where this participation is possible, is clearly a more significant aspect of her work than it is for white pupils, who set more store by the fact that th[illegible]on, that lessons are interesting, relevant and worthwhile.

These two teachers, about whom many pupils commented because of their perception of them as 'good' teachers, serve to emphasise the differences in emphasis placed on certain qualities of teaching by different groups. Perusal of Appendix T2 will serve, I think, to confirm this distinction.

Pupils were also asked which teachers were 'not good' teachers. Table 34 below gives a breakdown of their responses. Again, it must be remembered that not all pupils were taught by all teachers, and the pattern must be interpreted with this in mind.

Table 34. Teachers identified as 'not good' teachers

	Black				Indian				White			
	6	7	8	9	6	7	8	9	6	7	8	9
Jones	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
Shetty	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Driver	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Silver	4	7	2	9	2	3	2	4	0	3	5	3
Ronnie	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
Welsh	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Devonter	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Marshall	0	2	3	0	1	2	0	1	2	3	1	0
Williams	1	1	7	2	0	0	2	1	0	2	7	9
Banks	0	4	8	3	0	2	4	3	0	10	14	0
Galt	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	0
Green	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	1	4	0
Hughes	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	5	4	1
Singer	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	1
Simcox	3	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	7	0	2	0
Stocks	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
Rawlins	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Khosa	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parks	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	5
Clarke	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Certain broad patterns emerge from the analysis of pupils' identification of 'not good' teachers.

Mr Banks

Commonly considered 'not good' (though liked as a person by the pupils) was Mr Banks. The reasons were very similar across all groups: he can't explain, can't control the class, and dictates notes without explaining.

Ms Silver

Ms Silver was similarly generally considered 'not good' by many of her pupils, though opinion was divided. Again, the reasons for finding her 'not good' were similar for all groups - with greater emphasis on the fact that she is not 'stimulating' among white than others. The common complaints are that she can't explain, isn't able to relate the work to the pupils, sticks to the textbook, doesn't seem in command of her subject and other similar qualities reported more fully in Appendix T2.

Others

Other teachers were considered 'not good' for a variety of reasons which are described more fully in Appendix T2. In general, there is a marked similarity about reasons for not considering teachers good, largely due to the emphasis of all groups on the inability to explain as the key ingredient in defining a teacher as 'not good'. Certain teachers were also perceived to have favourites, to be impatient and bad tempered. The Art teacher, who taught more white than any other group, was generally perceived to be a 'not good' teacher, with white pupils being fairly damning in their criticism, and the others having little to say. For white pupils she was seen as 'neurotic, having too little control, unable to communicate, uninspiring, uncreative, giving too little guidance, scatterbrained, unsure of herself, and unimaginative.

As I have shown, there were different emphases on reasons for finding teachers good for different groups, and although more similar, also differences in weighting of concepts of 'bad teach-

ing' among the groups (apart from the common emphasis on 'unable to explain'). Because of this, in some cases different teachers were liked by different groups for different reasons, (as was the case in Ms Chetty and Mr Jones described earlier) and, in certain cases, considered good by some and not good by others.

Two teachers provide good examples of this:

Mr Parke

Considered 'good' by black pupils because:
sets time for work; simplifies work; makes sure you understand (2); knows how to help you (2); explains well (2) Willing to help you; makes you think for yourself; makes work interesting.

Considered 'good' by Indian pupils because:

simplifies work; fun; we learn by discussing; spontaneous; objective historian

Considered 'good' by white pupils because:
Makes sure you understand; makes subject interesting (2); relates well to students; explains well (3); interesting to listen to; demands a high standard; keeps order; insists on homework being done; good historian(2)

The reasons for considering him a good teacher are fairly common to all groups, and show an appreciation of the control of work and ordered approach to teaching that he considered important.

He was considered 'not good' by no black punils. But several white pupils thought he was a 'not good' teacher because he: just reads notes and makes us copy from board; lazy(2); doesn't make work interesting; boring; gives us no work. Several Indian pupils had similar complaints: gives us no work; treats us like children; thinks we're at a military school.

Ms Clarke

Ms Clarke was generally not noted for being 'good' or 'not good'. But, where she was considered 'good' it was by black pupils who found her friendly and thought that 'she explains well'. No white pupils though she was 'good', and she did not teach any Indian pupils.

One black pupil thought she was 'not good' because 'she has favourites and ignores me', while several white pupils thought her 'not good' because she: is authoritarian; doesn't consider other views; has no feel for African history.

These teachers are two from the more conservative end of the spectrum of teachers, two who focus firmly on the Matriculation syllabus in their teaching, keep discussion and their pupils under tight control, and spend a lot of each lesson imparting information. These aspects certainly had some appeal for many pupils, from all groups. There is, however, a difference in the degree to which they are rejected - more so by white and Indian pupils than by black. The same difference is apparent in the pupils' evaluation of the senior Afrikaans teacher. He is considered good only by black and Indian pupils who consider that he explains well, imposes discipline, gives guidance, tries to make the lessons fun. Only white pupils find him 'not good', and give as reasons that he is boring, dull, repetitive and monotonous.

From what has been said by pupils in answer to these specific questions about the nature of good and bad teaching, it is clear that for all pupils, the bottom line for good teaching (and conversely for bad) is the ability to explain well. What is also clear, however, is that this is a more significant quality for black than white pupils compared with their evaluation of other qualities. Teachers who are fun, enthusiastic, and interesting, and whose lessons are not boring are appreciated by both groups, but more highly rated in comparison to other qualities by white pupils than by black pupils.

The quality of teaching had much to do with the pupils' enjoyment of subjects, and where teachers had the latter characteristics, classes were appreciated for them by white pupils, while black pupils tended to enjoy those lessons where teachers explained well, made sure they understood the work and encouraged them to participate. I think this analysis helps in the understanding of pupils' evaluation of subjects as enjoyable or not, and serves to explain, in part, the greater enjoyment of Integrated Studies by white than black pupils - it is more fun, more interesting and more varied in the kind of activities on offer. Other subjects, like Mathematics, had more structured activities, and generally, patient teachers who 'explained well'. English in Standard 9 was taught in such a way that it appealed to a wide range of pupils, and met different needs in the same situation.

3. Pupils' evaluation of factors facilitating learning

Related to the findings described above are those for the answers to the questions directed at what facilitates learning, or makes it more difficult. (items 11a and 11b of Questionnaire 1 shown in Appendix B1).

3.1 Factors making it easier to learn in lessons

Table 36, below, shows pupils' responses to the first of these two questions. Both numbers and percentages of responses are given.

For white pupils, three factors stand out as more important than the others: the subject is interesting; it's quiet in class, the lesson/teacher is interesting and fun. Here again is the emphasis on interest and fun. In line with the emphasis on good teachers being those who can control the class is an emphasis here on a class that is quiet and where people listen, a quality less important in black pupils' evaluation of what assists in learning, and probably related to the fact that white pupils tend to be in the

The quality of teaching had much to do with the pupils' enjoyment of subjects, and where teachers had the latter characteristics, classes were appreciated for them by white pupils, while black pupils tended to enjoy those lessons where teachers explained well, made sure they understood the work and encouraged them to participate. I think this analysis helps in the understanding of pupils' evaluation of subjects as enjoyable or not, and serves to explain, in part, the greater enjoyment of Integrated Studies by white than black pupils - it is more fun, more interesting and more varied in the kind of activities on offer. Other subjects, like Mathematics, had more structured activities, and generally, patient teachers who 'explained well'. English in Standard 9 was taught in such a way that it appealed to a wide range of pupils, and met different needs in the same situation.

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3.1 Factors making it easier to learn in lessons

Table 35, below, shows pupils' responses to the first of these two questions. Both numbers and percentages of responses are given.

For white pupils, three factors stand out as more important than the others: the subject is interesting; it's quiet in class, the lesson/teacher is interesting and fun. Here again is the emphasis on interest and fun. In line with the emphasis on good teachers being those who can control the class is an emphasis here on a class that is quiet and where people listen, a quality less important in black pupils' evaluation of what assists in learning, and probably related to the fact that white pupils tend to be in the

noisiest classes. The significance of a teacher who explains well is some way behind in order of importance, though is more important than many others after the first set.

Indian pupils have the same emphasis on lessons and teachers that are interesting and fun being important in their learning, as do white pupils, and, like them, a teacher who explains well and goes slowly is on a second order of importance, here together with an interesting subject, a quiet class and listening carefully.

For black pupils, the factor of a teacher or lesson that is interesting and fun is not much mentioned. The most important factor is 'the teacher goes slowly and explains well'. Very close behind it is a group comprising, 'the subject is interesting', 'I work with a friend or a group', 'it's quiet in class, and everyone listens', 'I participate and discuss' and 'I understand what we are talking about'.

Table 85. Pupils' response to the statement: 'It's easiest to learn in lessons when...'

	Black		Indian		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lesson/teacher interesting/fun	5	7	11	29	17	17
Subject interesting	9	13	4	10	24	24
Teacher is enthusiastic					6	6
Teacher goes slowly/explains well /fully/till you understand	11	15	6	16	10	10
I work with a friend/group/there are two of us	8	11	1	3		
Lesson relevant to me					3	3
There's a practical activity					1	1
Find out for myself			1	3	1	1
Quiet in class/everyone listens	9	13	5	13	22	22
I participate/ask Qs/discuss		13	3	8	6	6
My views encouraged	4	6				
I understand what we're talking about	7	10	2	5	4	4
Teacher lets us discuss	4	6	2	5	5	5
Like the teacher/teacher cheerful	2	3			2	2
I work alone/go at own pace	1	1			1	1
Class in same standard as me					1	1
I listen carefully	3	4	5	13	4	4
We take notes for revision	2	3				
Don't get too much work all at once	1	1				

Again, differences between groups are largely those of emphasis. Again, the black pupils emphasise the importance of careful explanation and understanding of the work, while other groups lay more store by interest and fun. Black pupils mentioning of working with a friend or a group reinforces the tendency noted earlier for this group to favour this strategy for a variety of reasons.

3.2 Factors making learning in lessons difficult

When Table 36, below, is examined, the differences in emphasis are again apparent.

Table 36. Pupils' responses to the statement: 'It's hardest to learn in lessons when...'

	Black		Indian		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lesson is boring/no discussion/just read from book/take notes/no activity/ teacher just talks	11	17	7	21	28	34
Subject boring	4	6	3	9	4	5
I don't know what's happening/don't understand	8	12	1	3	4	5
Teacher can't explain/goes too fast	9	14	4	12	2	2
Don't have a friend near me	1	2				
In big IB class	3	5				
Class restless/noisy	9	14	9	27	30	36
Don't like the teacher	4	6				
Teacher shouts/is impatient/in bad mood	4	6	1	3	2	2
I don't concentrate	2	3	8	24	5	6
I don't participate/ask questions	2	3				
Got lots of work/filled up	1	2				
Teacher doesn't help when you ask			1	3		
Have to go at pace of slowest					3	4
No jokes/humour in lesson	2	3			4	5
Personal problems	4	6			1	1
Teacher is not encouraging	1	2				
Teacher concentrates on favourites	2	3				

% = percentage of each group's responses

For white pupils, the only two factors strongly identified as making learning difficult in class are that the lesson is boring/no discussion/just read from books/no activity/teacher just

talks, and a noisy and restless class. Again, the emphasis on stimulation and class activity are notably apparent as factors in facilitating this group's learning. Teachers who go too fast or don't explain are barely mentioned.

For Indian pupils, the same two factors are important, along with their own lack of participation and asking of questions. At a second level of importance is a teacher who can't explain and who goes too fast.

For black pupils, the most often mentioned factor is a lesson that is boring and without activity, but, if 'teacher can't explain' and 'I don't understand/know what is happening', both very close in the number of times mentioned to the first factor, are taken together, they in fact become the most important. A noisy class is also noted at a second level of importance.

It seems that all the items analysed in this section support the view that there are core factors influencing pupils' evaluation of subjects as worthwhile, enjoyable and not enjoyable, teachers as good or bad, and the factors facilitating learning in class or making it more difficult. However, there also seems to be a recurrent difference in the emphasis placed by different groups on these factors.

4. Summary and discussion of pupils' perceptions of subjects, teachers, and factors facilitating learning

For black pupils, aspirations to careers in medicine, engineering and finance tend to make them value as worthwhile subjects such as Mathematics and Science. For white pupils, a greater emphasis on careers in 'the Arts' make subjects such as Integrated Studies and English seem more worthwhile for the same reason, with Mathematics and Science valued by those pupils who wish to pursue careers where these are important. In addition, white pupils' greater

spread of reasons for finding subjects worthwhile also encourages them to find worthwhile subjects which not only enhance career prospects but have dimensions of personal growth.

With regard to finding subjects enjoyable or not, teachers good or not and learning facilitated or not, two broad packages of factors are apparent. The first is that which includes understanding subjects, feeling that one does all in them, teachers who explain carefully and fully, and lessons where these are features. The other broad package contains factors such as lessons which are interesting, fun, where relevant material is discussed, where there is an emphasis on activity, and where teachers do more than impart knowledge and control learning (although a control of behaviour is seen as important).

Very broadly, these two packages contain the factors most often identified by pupils as important, regardless of race. However, it seems that consistently there is an emphasis on the former package by black pupils, and on the latter by white, with Indians generally being closer to the white group than the black. Black pupils also tend to note more frequently than other groups a positive response to being encouraged to participate, and to working in groups or with a friend.

I believe that this difference in emphasis mirrors the difference in ease within the school system felt by the different groups, and the greater anxiety about academic ability felt by black pupils, their greater need for academic support, and their greater alienation from much of the material and teaching style. Many of these differences stemmed from differences in previous school experience, aspirations about their futures, perceptions of what schooling is about, adequacy of previous academic background and familiarity with the cultural context of much of the curriculum material. For many black pupils, as a result, meeting the 'bottom line' of understanding and coping with curriculum material is a major priority, and other aspects of lessons and teaching somewhat supplementary. For many white pupils, particularly in subjects

where general knowledge is of value, such aspects are more readily taken for granted, and other dimensions of teaching and learning become important.

5. Pupils' perceptions of a 'good' school

Throughout my time at the school I constantly heard reference made, direct and indirect, to qualities of a 'good' school by teachers and pupils. In order to gauge the strength of opinion surrounding these, and to triangulate some of the information gleaned from other sources, I drew up a list to which pupils were asked to respond. Because of the emphasis on curriculum in this part of the case study, I confined myself largely to aspects related to this. I did, however, invite pupils to add other characteristics that they felt were important, and which had been left off the list. Very few took advantage of the offer, and many of those who did gave the essence of an already existent statement in other words. I have, therefore, not included any of the additions in this analysis.

The entire questionnaire containing the statements is in Appendix B2. The questionnaire required pupils to agree or disagree with the statements, in different degrees, to rank the 5 most important statements for them, and to indicate the extent to which Riverbend achieved the characteristics. It is to the analysis of this data that attention will now be turned.

5.1 Patterns of agreement and disagreement with the statements about a 'good' school

Table U1 that forms Appendix U shows pupils' agreement or disagreement with the statements as descriptions of a good school. In most cases, there was such obvious clustering around either agree or disagree, that it was not necessary to test for significance of difference in response. Where, however, the division between agree and disagree for any group was around the 60%/40% divide, chi square one sample tests for differences between the expected and

observed distribution of responses across two categories (agree and disagree) were applied to the data for each group. Where there was a 95% or greater probability that the differences in distribution were not by chance, the differences were considered to be statistically significant. The results are shown in Table 37 below. (The contingency tables used in the calculations are shown in Appendix XI.)

Table 37. Pupils' agreement and disagreement with 21 statements: 'A 'good' school is one where pupils.../are...'

		Black	Indian	White
1	have a chance of a good Matric	Agree	Agree	Agree
2	encouraged to think beyond classroom	Agree	Agree	Agree
3	encouraged get on with different others	Agree	Agree	Agree
4	encouraged to develop personalities	Agree	Agree	Agree
5	have opportunity to play sport well	Agree	Agree	Agree
6	encouraged to walk together for group	Agree	Agree	Agree
7	helped in class to understand society	Agree	Agree	Agree
8	learn about own culture in class	Agree	NS	Agree
9	mainly concerned with Matric work	Disag	NS	Disag
10	valued as people, not for being clever	Agree	Agree	Agree
11	encouraged to think of how make old better	Agree	Agree	Agree
12	learn about others' culture	Agree	Agree	Agree
13	helped to gain confidence	Agree	Agree	Agree
14	greed for success needing to achieve	Disag	Disag	Disag
15	encouraged to fit in to world as it is	Agree	NS	NS
16	encouraged to develop self-discipline	Agree	Agree	Agree
17	ened to be proud of background and cult	Agree	Agree	Agree
18	controlled in class to work hard	NS	NS	NS
19	encouraged to express opinions	Agree	Agree	Agree
20	encouraged to help others	Agree	Agree	Agree
21	encouraged to have say about class	Agree	Agree	Agree

It is clear that there is general consensus about which statements are criteria for a good school. In general, there was agreement that most of the statements described characteristics of a good school. However, certain interesting patterns of disagreement or split opinion are also apparent.

The most generally disagreed with statements are 9, 14, 15, and 18. For these four statements, all groups had more than 10% of pupils disagreeing strongly. For all of them, for each group, the

number disagreeing was either statistically significant, or at least the number agreeing was not significant, supporting that there was more disagreement than on the other statements where agreement was significant.

These are all statements related to aspects of conformity and control, and which emphasise a focus on work related to the requirements of a Matriculation examination and on streaming according to academic ability. From these responses it seems that a sizeable proportion of the pupils feel strongly that an education that is broader than that prescribed by the Matriculation syllabus is desirable. There is also a sense that streaming according to academic competence is not a notable feature of a good school, and that strict teacher control is not of great value. This set of responses suggests that pupils do not perceive as helpful (at least in principle) some teachers' views that there was a need to stick to the syllabus, control pupils' work and shoulder the responsibility for making them work hard. The general sense, gleaned from conversations with pupils, of resistance to these moves made by the more conservative group of teachers within the school is confirmed by these findings.

5.2 Strength of agreement and disagreement with the statements

Chi square tests for significance of difference were applied, to see if the differences in strength of agreement and disagreement on each statement across the groups were significant. The contingency tables set up are shown in Appendix X2. Where expected frequencies were very low, categories were combined. In effect, this meant that for those statements for which there was very little strong disagreement, the categories 'disagree' and 'disagree strongly' were combined. The four statements with which a noticeable number of students in each group disagreed strongly (9, 14 15, 18) allowed for these categories to be treated separately. Because of the likelihood of finding differences related to chance a probability level of 0.01 was taken as being significant, and Table 38, below, provides a summary of these results.

Table 38. Summary of findings of chi square tests for significance of difference in agreement/disagreement on 21 statements

	Black and white	Indian and white	Indian and black
1.	NS	NS	NS
2	NS	NS	NS
3	NS	NS	NS
4	NS	NS	NS
5	S	S	NS
6	NS	NS	NS
7	NS	S	NS
8	NS	NS	NS
9	NS	NS	NS
10	S	NS	NS
11	NS	NS	NS
12	NS	NS	NS
13	NS	S	NS
14	NS	NS	NS
15	S	NS	NS
16	NS	NS	NS
17	NS	NS	NS
18	NS	NS	NS
19	NS	NS	NS
20	S	NS	NS
21	NS	NS	NS

NS: Not significant at 0.01 confidence level
S : Significant at 0.01 confidence level

As can be seen from Table 38, generally, there was no statistically significant difference in the distribution of responses for each group on each of the statements of general disagreement (or lack of agreement), indicating that this is a core of responses held in common by all groups. Certain statistically significant differences in emphasis, are, however, interesting. The difference in strength of disagreement between black and white pupils about streaming (item 14)as a quality of a good school is significant at the 0.02 confidence level, as was discussed in Chapter 7.

There is statistically weaker disagreement from black than white pupils that pupils should be educated to fit in to society as it is (item 15). Given the fact that there were differences in the reasons for black and white pupils coming to the school, with white pupils often those who were unconventional and who had

chosen Riverbend because of it 'alterrative' image, and black pupils there because it offered a better chance of access to tertiary education than township alternatives, this is not a surprising finding. (See Appendix Y3 for some supporting verbatim comments.)

Within the remaining statements, all showing general agreement rather than disagreement or a split opinion for each group, there is again, a notable lack of significance in difference of response on most items.

The items where such differences occur between certain groups are numbers 5, 7, 10, 13, 15 and 20

There is a statistically significant difference in responses to item 5. The ability to play sport well is clearly a fairly unimportant characteristic of a good school for white pupils. There are highly significant differences in the distribution of responses for white pupils and each of the other groups, confirming that sport, although generally agread as a quality of a good school, is viewed more positively by black and Indian pupils than by whites. The greater participation in sport, and greater team membership by black and Indian pupils than white pupils is in line with this, and suggests that this is an area where these groups are positively affirmed in their abilities.

Also of interest is the statistically significant difference for black and white pupils on item 20 : 'encouraged to help others....', where the difference in strength of agreement between black and white pupils is significant and is, again, a reflection of their perception of holding a weaker academic position in the school.

The apparent greater emphasis on no 10 (valued for the person you are, not how clever) by white pupils compared to black is statistically significant.

From this analysis of patterns of agreement and disagreement, there seems to be marked similarity in pupils' views of which of these statements apply to a good school. Clearly, for all pupils, obtaining a good Matriculation is important, but should not be seen as something that is achieved by rigid teacher control and the absence of discussion of broader social and personal issues - characteristics that are not perceived to apply to a 'good' school. For white pupils in particular, the aspect of learning about the society in which pupils live is seen as important. Aspects of personal growth, such as developing self-confidence, your own personality and self-discipline are agreed by all groups to be important. Having a chance to get on with others who are different from yourself, and learning about your own and others' culture are similarly commonly perceived as aspects of a good school. Being able to express your own opinions and have a say about what happens in class is also important to all groups. Sport is less important for white pupils than the other groups.For black pupils, a school where those doing well are encouraged to help those who are not is seen as slightly more important than is this characteristic for other groups.

5.3 Selection and ranking of the five most important statements

In examining responses to the request that pupils indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with the statements, some measure of weighting of these statements relative to each other can be inferred. In order, however, to get a better indication of relative significance attached to the different characteristics, pupils were asked to choose the five that were most important to them, and rank them in order of personal importance.

Attention will now be turned to their selection of the five most important statements, and their ranking of these. Appendix VI shows how many of each group of pupils ranked each statement 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th.

For easier comparison of the ranking, the average rank of each statement for each group was calculated. Table 39 below shows this average ranking of importance for each statement for each group, and shows the statements ranked according to this value for each group. The calculation of these average rankings is shown in the tables in Appendix V2.

Table 39. Twenty one statements ranked according to average rank of importance

	Black pupils		Indian pupils		White pupils	
Rank	Ave. rank	Statement no.	Ave rank	Statement no.	Ave rank	Statement no.
1	2.72	1	2.63	1	2.40	1
2	1.54	19	2.03	15	1.95	19
3	1.19	3	1.25	3	1.94	16
4	1.08	16	1.19	4	1.79	4
5	0.90	4	1.00	19	1.47	13
6	0.89	13	*0.83	21	1.09	10
7	0.74	7	*0.83	10	1.06	3
8	0.72	10	0.74	5	0.90	2
9	0.70	20	0.74	2	0.90	21
10	0.59	17	*0.58	17	0.42	7
11	0.58	11	*0.58	16	0.39	11
12	0.54	21	0.51	11	0.35	12
13	*0.51	8	0.38	18	0.34	17
14	*0.51	2	0.32	12	0.25	9
15	0.38	12	0.29	7	0.18	8
16	0.35	18	0.25	8	0.17	6
17	0.27	5	0.22	9	0.13	20
18	0.19	6	0.12	6	*0.12	5
19	0.14	15	0.06	20	*0.12	18
20	*0.12	9	*0.03	13	0.08	14
21	*0.12	14	*0.03	14	0.04	15

* and 0: Tied values.

Spearman's rank correlation coefficients were calculated for each pair of groups, taking cognizance of the need to adjust the ranks for ties. The correlation coefficients for black and Indian pupils

was 0.74, for black and white, 0.66 and for white and Indian 0.81. All of these are strong positive correlations, significant at the 0.01 level. (The tables for the calculation of the Spearman's correlation coefficients are shown in Appendix V3)

Thus, there is a high degree of correspondence between pupils' choice and ranking of the five most important statements. To a large extent, this corroborates the inferences made by analysing the patterns of agreement and disagreement with the statements.

For all pupils, the characteristic perceived as most important is the opportunity the school affords the pupils in attaining a good Matriculation pass. Broadly speaking, the other characteristics high on the lists are numbers 19, 16, 13, 4, 3, and 13. These are those associated with personal development - being encouraged to express your own opinions, encouraged to develop self discipline, helped to gain confidence in yourself, encouraged to develop your own personalities, and also with the social dimension of being encouraged to get on with others who are different from yourself. This pattern supports that suggested by the analysis of patterns of agreement with the statements.

An important aspect of the characteristics chosen in the first five is what is missing from each groups' first five choices from the above set of seven characteristics (1, 19, 3, 16, 4, 13,) commonly in the first five. Number 13 is missing from the black pupils' set, but is the sixth choice. Number 16 (encouraged to develop self-discipline) is missing from the Indian pupils' set, and only appears at rank 11, suggesting that this is not as important a characteristic for Indian pupils as for the two other groups. Number 3 is missing from the white pupils' list, and is ranked seventh. This lower valuation of the characteristic 'encouraged to get on with others who are different' has been shown before as less important for white pupils than for the other groups, and this finding is confirmed here.

Generally low on all lists are numbers 14 (related to streaming), 15 (encouraged to 'fit in'), 9 (concerned mainly with work related to Matric), 5 (opportunity to play sport), 6 (encouraged to work together for the good of the group) and 18 (controlled by teachers and made to work hard). Again, this set is very like that suggested by the patterns of agreement and disagreement.

Statements 9, 14, 15 and 18, the aspects of teacher control and focus on Matriculation-related work, were those with which there was a notable measure of disagreement. Statement number 20, is however, noticeably more highly rated for black pupils than for the other groups, supporting the earlier findings that 'being encouraged to help others not as good at work as you are' is more important for this group than for the other two.

In the middle group fall those characteristics related to learning about your own and others' culture (8, 12), developing pride in your own culture (17) learning about the society in which you live (7, 2, 11).

5.4 Summary and discussion of pupils' perceptions of the qualities of a 'good' school

It seems that from the pupils' perspective, the kind of learning advocated by the Integrated Studies team is of value in the school. There does not seem to be a view that this is contra-indicated for the goal of academic success, something also highly valued. On the contrary, much of the perspective of the more conservative group of teachers, with a focus on Matriculation requirements and teacher control of pupils' work, is rejected by pupils as defining a good school. At the same time, there is a view that, although a quality of a good school, much of the sense of the need expressed by the Integrated Studies teachers and the senior English teacher for the curriculum to become less Eurocentric, encourage pupils' to have a knowledge of and sense of

pride in their own culture and to gain deeper insights into the broader society in which they live, while agreed with as important, are not high on the pupils' list of priorities.

When the patterns identified by analysing patterns of agreement and disagreement and of ranking are considered together, the pictures are remarkably similar. Apart from four aspects on the list, all those listed are considered aspects of a good school by most pupils. Within this general agreement there are, however, certain general weightings. Attaining a good Matriculation pass, and developing certain personal qualities: getting on with others, developing your personality, gaining confidence, expressing your own opinions and developing self-discipline form a set of commonly highly valued aspects of a good school, with some minor variations across the groups.

The other positively viewed dimensions that the statements related to: getting to know about your own and others' cultural background and traditions, developing pride in your own culture; learning about the world beyond the classroom, and thinking critically about it and how it might be changed; working co-operatively and helping others with their school work; and of playing sport are commonly generally viewed positively, with different weightings among different groups, but are not seen as the key components of what a school should be offering, and have a measure of disagreement associated with them far greater than the set above.

And for all groups, elements of control (18), of streaming (14) and focusing mainly on the requirements of the Matriculation examination (9), and of being encouraged to conform to society (15), are generally negatively viewed, and may be seen to be placed low in the rankings in Table 39. These placings are clearly in keeping with the value attached to developing self-discipline, expressing opinions, being encouraged to think of the world beyond the classroom, and developing your own personality. They are also clearly not seen to be prerequisites for attaining a good Matriculation pass.

6. Pupils' perceptions of how well certain characteristics apply to Riverbend

In the light of this analysis of pupils' perceptions of priorities in terms of a 'good education', it is interesting to consider the extent to which they perceive that they apply to Riverbend. Appendix W shows pupils' evaluation of this for each class in the school.

Tables 40, 41 and 42 below give the composite responses for all classes. Using the raw scores shown in these tables, it is possible to compute Cooper's statistic (discussed more fully in Chapter 2) for each group to determine whether their responses lie in any of the three categories in a statistically significantly distribution. This statistic approximates to the value of two thirds of the number of respondents to any item. For black pupils in this study its value is 41.3, for white pupils 58 and for Indians 20.6.

Table 40. Aspects of a 'good' school which apply to Riverbend 'not at all'

	Black	White	Indian	
1	6	8	0	good chance of getting a good Matric
2	4	2	1	encouraged to think of world beyond school
3	0	1	4	encouraged to get on with different others
4	8	4	3	encouraged to develop own personality
5	17	20	8	opportunity to play sport well
6	7	0	3	encouraged to work together for good of group
7	11	5	7	helped to understand society
8	28	10	13	learn about own culture
9	15	28	13	concerned mainly with Matric work
10	10	14	7	valued for person you are, not how clever
11	11	13	4	encouraged to think of making world better
12	18	17	4	learn about others' culture
13	6	9	3	helped to gain confidence
14	13	21	10	grouped ,or lessons according to ability
15	13	28	8	encouraged to 'fit in'
16	0	8	2	encouraged to develop self-discipline
17	16	23	5	encour ... to be proud of background and culture
18	15	13	8	contro ... ed to work hard
19	12	10	2	encouraged to e press opinions
20	15	15	5	encouraged to help others
21	15	22	5	encouraged to have say about what's done in class

Table 41. Aspects of a 'good school' which apply to Riverbend 'a little'

	Black	White	Indian	
1	18	33	15	good chance of getting a good matric
2	34	33	15	encouraged to think of world beyond school
3	20	24	18	encouraged to get on with different others
4	35	31	11	encouraged to develop own personality
5	20	48	18	opportunity to play sport well
6	27	38	14	encouraged to work together for good of group
7	39	48	18	helped to understand society
8	21	48	19	learn about own culture
9	20	42	10	concerned mainly with matric work
10	24	50	17	valued for person you are, not how clever
11	25	50	18	encouraged to think of making world better
12	22	40	16	learn about others' culture
13	30	33	17	helped to gain confidence
14	22	40	8	grouped for lessons according to ability
15	35	47	17	encouraged to 'fit in'
16	21	20	16	encouraged to develop self-discipline
17	21	45	17	encouraged to be proud of background and culture
18	22	35	16	control to work hard
19	29	19	10	encouraged to express opinions
20	28	51	18	encouraged to help others
21	28	39	21*	encouraged to have say about what's done in class

* Statistically significant

Table 42. Aspects of a 'good' school which apply to Riverbend 'to large extent'

	Black	White	Indian	
1	45*	54	10	good chance of getting a good Matric
2	24	52	16	encouraged to think of world beyond school
3	25	82*	19	encouraged to get on with different others
4	17	50	16	encouraged to develop own personality
5	14	13	7	opportunity to play sport well
6	26	32	15	encouraged to work together for good of group
7	17	33	0	helped to understand society
8	12	23	6	learn about own culture
9	10	14	6	concerned mainly with Matric work
10	16	23	8	valued for person you are, not how clever
11	20	28	9	encouraged to think of making world better
12	22	25	10	learn about others' culture
13	19	36	12	helped to gain confidence
14	25	24	14	grouped for lessons according to ability
15	10	11	6	encouraged to 'fit in'
16	34	47	12	encouraged to develop self-discipline
17	13	17	10	encouraged to be proud of background and culture
18	21	19	9	controlled to work hard
19	20	50*	14	encouraged to express opinions
20	17	10	9	encouraged to help others
21	16	24	6	encouraged to have say about what's done in class

* Statistically significant

In general, pupils' responses to most of the characteristics were distributed across the categories in such a way that no common opinion could be said to be held to any statistically significant extent. There were, however, four instances where the responses for a group did show a common opinion that was statistically significant. A statistically significant number of Indian pupils felt that the characteristic 'pupils are encouraged to have a say about what is done in class' was achieved 'a little'. Three other statistically significant findings will be discussed more fully.

The response of the pupils to item one is interesting. All groups felt that affording the opportunity of achieving a good Matriculation pass was a particularly important characteristic of a good school. Here it is shown that only for the black group was it commonly believed that this quality applied to Riverbend 'to a large extent'. In the other groups the responses are spread across 'a

little' and 'to a large extent' in a way which does not show that either view is commonly held in the statistically significant sense. Given the disadvantaged educational backgrounds of many of the black pupils in the school, and the generally poorer quality of educational provision for black pupils under the Apartheid system, it is not surprising that for this group Riverbend should be seen to offer a good chance of a good Matriculation pass. For this group, then, the school is perceived to be fulfilling this major requirement 'to a large extent'. Given the patterns of underachievement described elsewhere for this group, and their perception of their weaker academic status within the school, it is interesting to note that there is general satisfaction with the quality of education offered by the school in this regard. The school itself is not perceived to be found wanting with regard to affording opportunity for Matriculation success.

White pupils placed great value on 'being encouraged to express their own opinion', and here are seen to hold a statistically common view that the school achieves this to a large extent. This indicates that for this group, this important requirement of a good school is met by Riverbend. It was also seen as important for black pupils, ranking second for this group, but is not commonly held to be achieved 'to a large extent' by this group - a finding in keeping with other perspectives on this aspect of the school's success in this regard.

Interestingly, for the white group, the school is found to 'encourage pupils to get on with those who are different' to a 'large extent'. This was discussed in a previous chapter, where black and Indian pupils' lesser satisfaction with this aspect of the school, and their greater sense of alienation within it, were described.

In order to establish whether there were significant differences in perception of how well the characteristics applied to Riverbend, chi square tests were applied. The contingency tables and

results are shown in Appendix X3. Table 43, below, shows a summary of the results of the relevant chi square tests. Differences that were significant at the 0.01 level are shown as 'significant'.

Table 43. Summary of findings of chi square tests for significance of differences in perception of how well an aspect applies to Riverbend

	Black and white	Indian and white	Indian and black
1.	NS	NS	NS
2	NS	NS	NS
3	Significant	NS	NS
4	Significant	NS	NS
5	NS	NS	NS
6	Significant	Significant	NS
7	NS	NS	NS
8	Significant	NS	NS
9	NS	NS	NS
10	NS	NS	NS
11	NS	NS	NS
12	NS	NS	NS
13	NS	NS	NS
14	NS	NS	NS
15	NS	NS	NS
16	NS	NS	NS
17	NS	NS	NS
18	NS	NS	NS
19	Significant	Significant	NS
20	NS	NS	NS
21	NS	NS	NS

Clearly, for two thirds of the characteristics of a good school, there were no significant differences in perception of how well they applied to Riverbend across the three groups. Interestingly, the greatest number of significant differences in perception of the school's success are between black and white pupils. At the 0.01 confidence level, there are no significant differences between Indian and black pupils, and only two between Indian and white.

In the case of characteristic number 3, the chi square finding supports that of the Cooper statistic. White pupils feel more strongly than other black pupils that Riverbend encourages pupils to get on with others who are different and corroborates the result of the Cooper statistic.

Statement no. 4, 'encouraged to develop your own personality', is more strongly seen as a feature of the school by white pupils than by black.

The differences among the groups for numbers 6 and 19 are statistically significant. Noticeably fewer black and also fewer Indian pupils than white believe that the aspect 'encouraged to express your own opinion' applies to Riverbend 'to a large extent' - a finding which corroborates that of the Cooper statistic and supports much of what has been said in earlier chapters. Also, there is a statistically significant difference between black and white pupils in their perceptions of the extent to which 'encouraged to work together for the group' applies to Riverbend - with fewer white pupils feeling that it applies ' not at all'. Again, this is not unexpected in the light of previous findings.

For characteristic number 8 ('learn about your own culture'), 45% of black pupils and 43% of Indian pupils' choice is in the category 'not at all', compared with 19% for white pupils, and this difference in response is significant at the 0.01 level for black and white pupils. This reinforces the view that the curriculum is largely Eurocentric, and is perceived as such by black pupils who recognise that they do not learn much about their own culture.

7. Summary and discussion of findings regarding pupils' perceptions of a 'good' school and their evaluation of Riverbend in this context

This section on identifying characteristics of a good school, and measuring Riverbend in these terms, has made certain patterns clear. Overall, there is a marked degree of consensus about what constitutes a good school, and there is a marked correspondence in pupils' evaluation of the extent to which the characteristics apply to Riverbend. Within this broad generalisation, however, are some interesting differences.

Having a chance of attaining a good Matriculation pass was an aspect of a good school prioritised by all groups. Interviews with pupils suggest that black and Indian pupils seem to emphasise the attainment of a good Matriculation pass more heavily than any other quality, while, for white pupils, certain aspects of personal development are seen as very close in importance. It seems as if black pupils have a slightly different emphasis in their expectations of a good school, and in general place less emphasis on it as a source of assistance with personal development (though not with social interaction across race boundaries). At the same time, it must be stressed that this difference is one of emphasis, and that the broad spectrum of educational aims outlined is important for both groups. Reasons given for pupils' selecting the school support this difference in emphasis, as is shown by the verbatim comments given in Appendix Y3. The school counsellor's comments on patterns of counselling sought support the view that dealing with personal development is more of a priority for white pupils than for the other groups:

> The main concerns presented in counselling differ markedly from one cultural group to another. White students appear preoccupied with peer relationships, mainly of the same sex, and with the passage of adolescence. Specifically, they complain about being confused, unhappy, lonely and misunderstood. Black pupils presented with more practical problems like study skills, exam pressure and school work. Indian students seek consultation mostly about parental pressure to achieve and succeed at school, as well as the restrictions and confinement that the extended family system imposes.

Although the application of Cooper's statistic demonstrated that only the black group perceived the school as affording a chance of obtaining a good Matriculation pass 'to a large extent', there seems to be a general sense among all groups that they have a chance of a good Matriculation pass at Riverbend. This sense is strongest among white and black pupils, (69% and 64% of these groups, respectively, choosing the response 'to a large extent'), but even among Indians, 53% feel that this is something Riverbend achieves 'to a large extent'. There is no statistically significant difference in the responses among the groups when the chi square test is applied. Thus, although most of the staff felt that the school should be doing more to meet the academic aspirations of pupils of all groups, and particularly the black pupils, the pupils do not express, in response to this question, much dissatisfaction with the school in this regard. However, it is true that, in interviews, many white pupils expressed the view that that they had had the best the school could offer in the Integrated Studies programme, but in order to do well at Matriculation level would be better served by a more formal and disciplined school environment elsewhere.

Despite the general prioritization of a chance of a good Matriculation pass, there is general disagreement with the view that good schools are characterised by a concern in class only with work relevant to the Matriculation syllabus and strong teacher control that makes pupils work, and these aspects are not generally perceived to apply to Riverbend 'a lot'. In keeping with this, there is a fair measure of agreement with the statement that a good school is characterised by the encouraging of pupils to think of the world beyond the classroom, and of ways to make the world a better place. These, too, are seen to apply at least a little, with no significant differences among the groups, though white and Indian pupils tend to be more positive in their assessment of these aspects of the school. There is also a strong sense among all groups that pupils should be valued for the people they are, and not in terms of their academic ability, that success in this aspect is not the only measure of a person's worth. However,

for all groups, there is a sense that the school places too much stress on academic ability in its evaluation of pupils, and there is a rejection of streaming, particularly by black pupils, who, together with Indian pupils, tend to be more aware of this aspect of organisation. Black pupils also set more store by, and find fulfilled less satisfactorily than others, the aspect 'encouraged to help others', again reinforcing the tendancy for them to feel the need for academic support.

Certain other criteria were also perceived as particularly important for a good school. All groups noticeably agreed strongly and/or ranked highly numbers 3, 4, 10, 13, 16 and 19, although, as mentioned earlier, there were differences in the relative value ascribed by different groups to them. Thus, for all groups, there is also a strong sense that the development of personal qualities such as confidence, a sense of being encouraged to express your own opinion, the development of the more general 'own personality' and self discipline, are important aspects of a good school. What is interesting here is the difference in perception of the extent to which they are applicable to Riverbend. Numbers 3, 4, and 19 had a statistically different distribution of responses between at least two groups. In each case, it is black pupils who least positively perceive that the aspect applies to Riverbend. Thus, for black pupils, there is a lesser sense of the school encouraging groups that are different to get on with each other (although 40 - 50% of the groups believes that this happens 'to a large extent'), encouraging them to develop their own personalities or encouraging them to express their opinions. This tends to confirm suggestions in other chapters that black pupils are particularly sensitive to the informal social segregation among pupils according to race, and think that the teachers could do more about it, feel themselves less able academically, do not feel as at ease within the school, and are less able to participate as fully as other groups. It is significant that the school seems to be meeting better the needs of Indian and white pupils in these aspects of a 'good' school which all consider important, and confirms suggestions made earlier that the curriculum

serves white and Indian pupils better than it does black pupils. Several of these aspects are those which the Integrated Studies team aimed to develop, and it suggests that the reservations of members of this team about the extent to which their programme addressed the needs of black pupils in these regards is seen to be well founded. At the same time, however, it must be noted that these aspects were given scant attention elsewhere, suggesting that this dimension needs attention across the curriculum.

Overall, there is commonly relatively less agreement that there is value in learning about your own and other people's culture, and being encouraged to be proud of your background and culture, with no significant differences in views about this among the groups. Similarly, there is little difference among groups that the school achieves these aspects 'a little' or 'not all', with the noticeable exception of ' learn about your own culture'. Significantly black pupils more than white pupils make clear that this does not happen much at the school, and Indian pupils share this view to a large extent.

8. Discussion of pupils' responses to the school curriculum

In terms of the debate about the school and its direction, it seems that there is strong support for a curriculum that ensures that the academic aspirations of the pupils are fulfilled. This does not mean that the route proposed by many of the conservative teachers, who are particularly vociferous in their view that this is the key aspect of the school, is the one favoured by the pupils. They tend to reject the idea of strong teacher control, the exclusion of material not directly related to the syllabus, and the valuing of pupils according to their academic ability, and favour being helped to understand the society in which they live and being encouraged to develop self-discipline. It is clear that the kind of work done in Integrated Studies and the senior English classes is viewed as important, as it is only in these lessons that there was much work done that was not directly related to the Matriculation syllabus. In addition, it was only in these classes

where pupils felt that they had an opportunity to express their own ideas and to exercise self-discipline in their approach to their work. The difference in emphasis on these aspects of learning, does, however, further explain the finding that black pupils less than white pupils identified Integrated Studies and English as their most worthwhile subject. The fact that the characteristics of self-expression, developing your own personality and acquiring self-discipline were so important to white pupils is further reason for their particularly valuing Integrated Studies and senior English, apart from their emphasis on these as worthwhile because of their link with future careers. As mentioned several times, however, these were differences in emphasis, and suggest that Integrated Studies and English were of value to all groups because of these aspects of learning they offered.

At the same time, black pupils' feelings that certain key aspects of personal learning that they valued were not well achieved by the school, suggests that those curriculum areas designed to deal with them (Integrated Studies and English in particular) are better meeting white and Indian pupils' needs in these regards than black. This suggests that, instead of downplaying this dimension of the curriculum the school should be looking at ways of strengthening these aspects for its black pupils, both in areas such as Integrated Studies, and also in the rest of the curriculum. The reflection of the Integrated Studies teachers, including the senior English teacher, showed that they were well aware of the importance of these aspects of their work for black pupils, and the limitations of their work in meeting them well enough. Of particular importance in this regard is the aspect 'encouraged to express your own opinion'. Black pupils' lesser participation in classroom debate has been referred to and discussed in Chapter 7. Here it is shown clearly that participation is important for black pupils, and their sense of the school not encouraging them to do this is also evident. 21% believe it does not apply to the school at all, and only 32% believe it applied to a large extent. I believe that this highlights black pupils'

sense of 'not feeling free' within the school, of not feeling at ease and confident, and believe that, as several pupils indicated, it must have some bearing on their academic performance.

The information presented thus far suggests that several factors impinge on this feeling, and that there are certain curriculum practices that improve or exacerbate it. Certainly, unstructured, whole class debate is a situation in which black pupils generally feel out of their depth. This feeling is made worse by debate about material outside their experience, and noticeably lessened in situations where they feel familiar with the content under discussion. The noting by black pupils in Standard 9 of their enjoyment of their English lessons serves well to highlight this point.

Small group work, and pair work is also an arrangement in which black pupils particularly feel at ease, and the significance they attach to this and to co-operative learning has been shown in both the previous chapter and again here. In such work, the need to be with pupils of the same race, and to feel at ease with the group has been shown in the previous chapter.

In this context, too, must be noted the curriculum efforts to familiarise the different groups with each other, and to break down some of the cliqueishness which is a feature of the interaction pattern. It was generally perceived by pupils that the only attempts to decrease this were made in Integrated Studies and in English (Ms Chetty's class), where the nature of the material raised for discussion, and the mixed race small group organisation, served to do this. In the light of many black pupils noting that they (and others) did not feel at ease in the multiracial context of the school, these efforts had some value in relieving this sense in the classroom, and this was particularly valued by black pupils.

The emphasis of the Integrated Studies team on attempting to improve cross-race relationships, and assist pupils to feel at ease with pupils of different groups does seem to have value, as the

sense of unease in a big class is diminished as pupils get to know each other better, and particularly where friendships are forged. The need for this greater easing of racial tensions was described in Chapter 5 as one of the factors black pupils saw as contributing to their lack of academic success. It seems that the Integrated Studies team's efforts in this regard thus contributed to both social and, indirectly, to academic improvement. Grant and Sleeter, (1986, p.204) discuss research that looked at school practices designed to improve race relationships among pupils. They note that Slavin and Madden (1979) and Sharan (1980) both concluded that group work is an effective strategy for improving race relations in schools.

Thus, both organisational structures and content can be seen to influence black pupils' sense of ease within the classroom, and there is a need for teachers to bear these factors in mind. Although black pupils tend, in theory, to reject the notion of curriculum which emphasises their background and culture, in practice it is clear that when such material is introduced, many pupils participate more actively in class, and when reflecting on the experience note its positive effects both in term of facilitating learning and in increasing a sense of worth, of having something to contribute to the debate. The Integrated Studies teachers' and Ms Chetty's belief that this is an necessary aspect of curriculum change seems to be valid, and, presumably, attempts to increase the value of black culture and experience in the curriculum would be beneficial in this regard. For many black pupils this does not imply so much a focus on their traditional heritage, something many feel they have left behind in rural areas, but on the reality of their lives beyond the school and in the context of broad South African society.

Certain aspects of good teaching and factors that facilitate learning in class were also seen to be held in common by all pupils, but with slightly different emphases by different groups. Black pupils seem to set greater store by lessons where the teacher plays an important role in explaining and ensuring that

all pupils understand, while white pupils place greater value on lessons which the teacher makes interesting and fun. In this regard, the more conservative approach to teaching might be said to be felt by black pupils to be meeting their needs, possibly more so than the other groups' with different expectations of the school and less anxiety about their academic achievement. From the perspective of teaching style, it is clear that those teachers who recognise that pupils might lack background and understanding, ensure that this is provided, and make the moves to help and encourage pupils, are particularly appreciated. This set of needs is one of which the Integrated Studies teachers were particularly aware, and around which much of the work in the small English skills classes focused. At the same time, it must be noted that where the material was rooted in a context familiar to black students or where it was derived in class through a practical activity in which all shared, the need for such sensitivity to gaps in their background was largely removed. In addition, those organisational strategies which minimised the pupils' sense of inadequacy - such as small groups and classes - are also important.

It seems from the pupils' responses, that the sort of teaching and learning advocated by the Integrated Studies team (including the senior English teacher) deserves attention in the overall curriculum, and development and improvement at Riverbend, particularly from the perspective of the black pupils. The work done in these areas seems to be addressing aspects of broad education that all pupils find valuable, and lacking elsewhere in the curriculum. It also seems that, by addressing certain personal and social dimensions of pupils' development, initiatives in these curriculum areas contribute to academic development of black pupils in ways not found in other subjects at the school. Pupils do not seem to agree with the more conservative teachers that greater control and focus on the Matriculation examination requirements are prerequisites for success at Matriculation level, and were resistant to the changes within the school that were moving in that direct

It might be that by careful screening on admission, by formal transmission of content with little room for debate so that differences in general knowledge are not made apparent, by streaming according to ability, by well structured and paced lessons focused on the Matriculation requirements, by insisting that work be done in a set way, pupils, black and white would achieve academic success within the formal Matriculation system. If this were the case, this would be at the expense of much of the spectrum of learning that all pupils considered valuable.

Unless attention is paid to these curriculum areas, it seems likely that the school will remain 'a white school to which black pupils come', and one in which the opportunities for increased cross-racial interaction and friendships are not maximised, where opportunities for personal and social learning are not exploited, and where black pupils continue to be marginalised within the formal curriculum.

CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION

This study of Riverbend highlights some of the curriculum issues facing teachers and pupils at an 'open' school within the broad context of Apartheid education in South Africa where segregated and unequal schooling has been the norm. It has focused on one main issue that was clearly central to the school during the case study year. In essence, this issue was: what is the nature of the curriculum that best serves the needs and expectations of the pupils at the school? A number of findings related to this have emerged, and will be extrapolated and discussed here.

The analysis of the curriculum based on teachers and pupils' accounts indicates clearly that a tension existed between two groups of teachers on the staff. The tension that was apparent between these groups was not a new one at Riverbend. Many members of staff alluded to it as something that had pervaded the staff in previous years. In a nutshell, the focus of the debate revolved around two different approaches to teaching and learning that had little to do with the opening of the school to pupils of groups other than white. It had to do with the aims and purposes of school education, and the curriculum content and methodology best suited to achieving different sets of aims and objectives. It was a struggle between staff who saw themselves as educating for life in its broadest sense, with the Matriculation examination but one part of this, and those whose main purpose was to produce good Matriculation results for all pupils in the most efficient and effective manner, and who believed the two approaches were mutually exclusive. Essentially this tension could have existed between these teachers in an all white school, but was given an added dimension by the presence of black and Indian pupils at the school.

For the majority of staff, black pupils made no overt difference. This was the accepted school facade - all pupils are individuals, we don't see groups, we treat all pupils equally, and according to their individual needs. In reality, for the majority of staff this meant carrying on as they would have in an all white school, making no allowances for differences they theoretically did not acknowledge to exist.

What exacerbated the tension between the two groups of teachers was the reality, reluctantly conceded by many, that black pupils were underachieving. Nomothetic and more interpretive methods of analysis of marks and patterns of streaming suggested that there were differences in academic achievement, both within the school, and more particularly, at the level of the external Matriculation examination. It was generally perceived that black pupils underachieved. The effect of this was that both groups of teachers became more committed to their view of what constitutes appropriate education, and the battle lines were more firmly drawn as the more conservative and more powerful group on the staff took action to defeat their opposition.

This group of teachers focused more on measurable academic achievement as a goal of education, and, while acknowledging its importance, paid scant attention to the personal and social dimensions of the pupils' development. They accepted the reality of the Matriculation examination as the measure of school success, and believed that the way for pupils to achieve this success was through a formal, disciplined and structured approach to classroom learning, which focused on the demands of the prescribed syllabus and which was controlled by teachers in a fairly authoritarian manner. Their lessons tended to be 'whole class' based, involve little pupil activity other than answering questions and completing exercises, little group or pair work, and to be teacher-centred, with information being transmitted in a fairly unidirectional way from teacher to pupils. These teachers tended to avoid, and to curtail if it arose, debate of current social and political issues, and also much of the reflection by pupils on matters of

personal relevance to themselves. This group, as they themselves perceived, was largely located in the assimilationist paradigm. In their view, black pupils were welcome at the school, but their presence in no way suggested any need for the school to change. Most teachers who fell within this group felt that the phenomenon of a lower performance by black pupils was the result of a combination of deficiencies within the black pupils which made it difficult for them to cope within the school. In general, they thought that the school sh 'ld solve the problem of weak academic performance by black pupils by screening them more carefully before accepting them, making them repeat classes to 'catch up', and by exhorting them to work harder. In varying degrees, they were willing to offer extra help, but usually believed that the onus for obtaining such help lay with the pupil, and that, particularly in the senior years, they should not be expected to do remedial work in their subjects. They saw streaming, and the offering of bridging programmes to new arrivals in the junior years, as possible organisational strategies that might deal with the problem. On the whole, they did not see the underachievement of black pupils as a major issue, and had not devoted much time or energy to it.

For a small minority of teachers, the presence of black pupils made them look at the opportunities afforded for encouraging greater interaction and awareness between groups of pupils normally separated, who carried the impact of this separation to school, and who would live in a broader society made of different groups on leaving school again. In this sense, the cultural diversity of the school was perceived as a resource, something that could enrich their work. In addition, they perceived that black pupils brought different experiences and abilities to the school situation from white, and that the curriculum content should take account of this, and should be adapted to be relevant for this group of pupils as well as those from the dominant culture. They also had a sense of the need to encourage the members of the dif-

ferent groups, separated residentially and in much of their life experience by law, to get to know more about each other, and to break down stereotyped views of each other.

This second group of teachers had a commitment to education that was broad and active and which focused on the personal and social development of the pupils. They felt that there was a need to make the curriculum less Eurocentric, and to incorporate aspects of the black pupils' life experience and cultural background. They believed that the emphasis on such aspects, and on the personal and social dimension of pupils' education would contribute to the well being of pupils as people, to social interaction in the school and, it was hoped, in the broader society, and would also contribute to to pupils' academic development by giving them learning skills, self-confidence, independence and a greater sense of ease within the group and within the ethos of the school. They did not set their sights on the Matriculation examination, but by and large believed that the academic skills and personal confidence pupils' would acquire in their course would prepare them to tackle the more formal examination requirements of later years, or, in the case of the senior English teacher, better equip them by making their learning relevant and thus better motivated, more actively engaged and effective. Their lessons tended to be relatively open-ended, and were steered largely by pupil debate. They encouraged pupils' to do independent work, to challenge their own, each others' and the teachers' thinking and to relate their learning to the social and political issues of the broader society, and to think critically about them. Their lessons tended to be activity-based, embrace a lot of group work, and to revolve around the critical debate of key issues.

To a large degree, their thinking and work is located in the broad integrationist approach of the range of multicultural education perspectives, with some tinges of a more radical approach in work that encouraged pupils' participation in curriculum decision making and which attempted to address issues of racism, and to some extent, class and gender.

The pupils' accounts of the curriculum corroborated the identification of these two groups and the characteristics that distinguished each from the other. Black pupils, in their reflection on the factors contributing to black underachievement, suggested their awareness of gaps in their knowledge and skills base, and, thus, their need for assistance in closing these gaps to help them cope with the existing curriculum. Many felt disadvantaged by poorer competence in English than their white peers. Few expressed direct dissatisfaction with the Eurocentric nature of the curriculum or perceived it as contributing to their lack of success in other aspects than this. However, a major factor emerging from their reflection on factors contributing to their underachievement in the context of Riverbend was the difficulty they experienced in adjusting to the non-racial composition of the school, where many felt uncomfortable with pupils of other races. They also expressed difficulties in adjusting to the more informal and less disciplined nature of the school as a whole. And, significant for many, was their perception of themselves as underachievers and their belief that many teachers perceived them in this way, and the impact of this on their self-concept, motivation, and ultimate achievement.

It was clear that different organisational strategies and particular areas of content had different effects on pupils' learning in both the cognitive and affective domains, and that the latter interacted with each other.

Some of the organisational features, like the large group discussions so much a feature of the Integrated Studies sessions and somewhat of a trial for all shy pupils, exacerbated the black pupils' sense of inadequacy and unease as they had to participate with pupils with far more adequate knowledge, language resources, and a greater academic confidence. More white than black pupils reported enjoying the heady atmosphere of these discussion sessions, though all pupils acknowledged that they learnt a great deal from them. All pupils, but particularly the black pupils, reported liking working in small groups, largely for the greater

ease of participation and less threatening environment it afforded. These arrangements were really only a feature of the Integrated Studies and senior English classes, and pupils generally felt that the mixed race groups contributed to greater racial mixing. There was also a perception that the drama and other group activities, and the way of managing them in Integrated Studies, promoted the development of self-discipline, creativity, and group-based negotiation and leadership skills, and pupils generally valued these aspects of the work in Integrated Studies, and found the work enjoyable, challenging, and stimulating. Many pupils remarked how the approach to work had shown them a whole new dimension to learning, where they could be self-motivated and explore areas of personal interest, take the initiative and the responsibility for their own learning, learn from their peers without depending on the teacher for all direction, and find that their views and opinions had value. In addition, while acknowledging that they had not learnt much of formal subject knowledge, many pupils felt that they had expanded their knowledge base, seen interconnections between subjects, and developed useful information gathering and processing skills.

In other subjects, where teaching was more formal, pupils felt that they might learn the subject matter effectively, but had little chance to get to know each other, or to explore issues of relevance to themselves or to their society.

As has been mentioned, in most subjects, lesson content remained largely confined by the prescribed syllabus, and was not directed by pupil interest. Very little of it was linked to the pupils' own experience, or to issues of current debate in the broader society. In Integrated Studies and the senior English class (particularly the latter) attempts were made to include non-Eurocentric material in the curriculum in the hope that it would be more accessible to black pupils, give them a sense of having something to contribute to class discussion, promote debate about pertinent social and political issues and lead to concomitant greater social and personal awareness. This debate, in comparison with that on many

other topics, was generally more actively participated in by black pupils for the reasons suggested above, and certainly brought about greater awareness by each group of the attitudes and values of members in the others, increased knowledge about current events and their historical context, and served to break down some of the stereotypes pupils held about members of other groups. For some pupils, the political discussion was painful - it brought back memories of violent experiences and people suffering under oppressive legislation, it challenged views of what was right and just, and it frightened some with the intensity of emotion and anger expressed by others, and the sense of a slipping power base. Many black pupils reported feeling more at ease with South African-based material, less intimidated by it, and better able to contribute to debate. This made them feel more confident, pleased at being able to contribute to the class, and that their ability to write about issues was improved because of the amount of discussion which had prepared them for the writing task.

Most pupils acknowledged the largely Eurocentric nature of the curriculum, and by and large accepted it as inevitable, what was needed to succeed in the system, and what was significant for future advancement, though there was a recognition of the role Afrocentric material could play in bridging racial gaps and creating greater inter-race sensitivity, and in enhancing the participation and learning of black pupils, in particular, in the formal curriculum. Interestingly, while black pupils more than white felt that there was a need for more political discussion in class, they did not as a group feel a need for more Afrocentric curriculum material, although they did concede that it allowed them to participate more freely and actively than usual in class. There was a sense among certain black pupils that learning more about black culture, including an African language at school, was irrelevant, something of little value in the school context, and something that could be as well done at home. Many Indian pupils had the same views, believing that they learnt what was needed about their cultures at home or from private reading.

In general, pupils recognised the teacher-centred, more passive approach of much of the mainstream teaching, and the fact that very often they were being fed material which they merely had to swallow - some of it in a more palatable form than other, depending on the teachers' ability to be amusing and liven the lesson with anecdotes and a touch of humour, and, occasionally, some practical work. Many pupils found the content itself interesting, that they did acceptably well and understood the material, and enjoyed their lessons on these terms. Again, there was a sense that there may be more to learning than this, but this was what would get one through the mass of material required for the Matriculation examination, so that was that. In addition, for many pupils, there was a sense of security to be derived from a well presented lesson, where the teacher told you precisely and taught you directly what you had to know, and went to some pains to ensure that you did know it.

Thus, for all pupils there were certain common views about the curriculum as it was presented, with general agreement about the differences between Integrated Studies and one senior English class and 'the rest'. Within broad similarities regardless of race, there were, however, differences in response to certain aspects of content and organisation, as have been shown, and differences in achievement patterns across the groups. There was also broad consensus in evaluation of much of the curriculum across the groups, but again, certain interesting differences of emphasis.

In considering the qualities of a good school the pupils showed a high degree of correspondence in their choice and ranking of the five most important qualities from a list of twenty one, and in the pattern of their agreement and disagreement with the statements. Noticeably ranked first, and strongly agreed with, by all groups was that of offering a chance of a good Matriculation pass. Second to this choice for all groups was a package of criteria related to personal development - such as being encouraged to express your opinions, to develop self-confidence and self-discipline, and to get on with others who were different. For all

groups, the aspects of curriculum that had to do with learning about your own and others' culture, and about the broad society, while agreed as important, were ranked second to the former broad package. Generally low on all lists, and with stronger degrees of disagreement that they were important, were qualities to do with teacher control and a focus on work that was only related to the Matriculation syllabus.

Within this broad pattern of consensus are some interesting shades of difference. Black and Indian pupils seem to set relatively more store on the importance of a good Matriculation pass compared with the importance of the broad package of personal qualities than do white pupils. This is not altogether unsurprising, given the slightly different reasons for their being attracted to the school.

There was a general perception among the staff that white pupils differed from black and Indian pupils in their main reasons for being at the school. There was a view that, for white pupils, the chief attraction was its 'alternative' image, its lesser stress on formal discipline and its greater emphasis on the sort of education offered by the Integrated Studies programme than would be the case at either the state schools or other private schools. In addition, the fact that it was open was seen to give it further advantages over state schools for many parents. For Indian and black pupils, Riverbend was an open school which, apart from the opportunities this afforded for racial mixing, also meant that pupils would have access to better education than that afforded by the state system. The aspects of education offered by Integrated Studies were of secondary importance, particularly for black pupils. These pupils had as a main concern the escape from strife-torn township schooling, and access to good academic education. Numerous interviews with pupils suggested that these general perceptions were valid. These differences were reflected in slightly different expectations of the school, and of differences in evaluation of what it had to offer.

In evaluating the worthwhileness of a subject, there were marked similarities in focus on its link with future career access across the groups. However, differences in the sorts of careers favoured by different groups meant that subjects were evaluated differently by them in this regard. Black pupils' career aspirations tended to lie in a relatively narrow band of careers for which Mathematics and Science would be prerequisites, and these pupils thus perceived these subjects as 'most worthwhile'. White pupils had a broader spread of career aspirations, and a noticeable focus on careers in the more creative and expressive spheres, as well as a focus on Mathematics-and Science-linked options. This meant that they valued for career purposes a different set of subjects from those of black pupils, with Integrated Studies as more obviously perceived as 'worthwhile' than was the case for black pupils. In addition, the fact that white pupils tended to set more store on education directed toward personal issues and development meant that white pupils tended to rate Integrated Studies and English as 'most worthwhile' for these reasons, as well as the career linked reasons.

In view of their generally poor educational background in terms of the knowledge and skills required by the curriculum at the school, the fact that English was not their home language, the fact that academic achievement was such an important construct for black pupils, and the fact that black pupils tended to perceive themselves as less academically successful than their white peers, it is not surprising, either, that there is a greater emphasis among black pupils on teaching that is conventional and teachers who have as their most significant characteristic an ability to explain well, see and fill in gaps in knowledge without taking background information for granted, and a willingness to 'explain until you understand', while white pupils to a greater extent favour lessons that are fun and interesting, where teachers are creative and stimulating. Ease of learning in class is generally seen to be related to the quality of teaching - and therefore by inference to slightly different factors, and here also there is differential

attention paid to being able to understand the lesson and understanding what is going on (prioritised by black pupils) and finding the lesson interesting (prioritised by white pupils).

Given the different approaches to teaching and learning between Integrated Studies and the rest of the curriculum, and these slightly different emphases in definition of good teaching, the qualities of enjoyable lessons, and factors which facilitate learning in class, it is not surprising, again, to find that Integrated Studies is more noticeably considered the most enjoyable subject for white pupils, while a range of others, most noticeably Mathematics, is black pupils' most notably enjoyed subject.

Significantly, although all pupils are relatively positive in their perception of the school's success in this regard, black pupils rate more highly than do pupils of the other groups the extent to which Riverbend affords pupils the chance of obtaining a good Matriculation pass. Undoubtedly this is partly a matter of comparison with previous experience for many pupils. At the same time, however, it is probably true that, unlike black pupils reported in the British and American literature, there is no general sense here of the school being racist in its attitudes, and of black pupils being discriminated against within the system, although there are pupils who do hold this view. Indian pupils were the least satisfied with their chance of academic achievement at the school, and this is likely to be one of the reasons why this group has decreased in number in recent years. For many white pupils, too, there was a sense that the school served them best in the first three years, and then that they might be better served in the run-up to Matriculation at a more formal school, or even one of the cram Colleges, and many of the white pupils who left after Standard 8 left because of this perception.

In addition to these slight differences in weight attached to the criterion 'have a chance to get a good Matric', there were differences in evaluation of certain other criteria and the extent to

which they applied to Riverbend. Firstly, black and Indian pupils perceive as more important than did white pupils the characteristic 'pupils are encouraged to get on with others who are different' as a criterion of a 'good school'. Much of the material reported made clear that pupils were aware of an artificial quality to intergroup relations at the school, and that, although in theory everyone got on with everyone else, there were in practice noticeably racially linked cliques of friends, a host of stereotyped views of each other, and a lack of ease in each other's company. Many black and Indian pupils reported finding it a strain to be at a racially mixed school, and noted that, although this was a feature of their newness, it did persist to some degree even after they had been at the school for some time. Being in a class or group without a person of the same colour could be uncomfortable, and the presence of white pupils, generally perceived as better accomplished academically, could be inhibiting. Several pupils reported the importance of making cross-race friends in easing these tensions. Such tensions were perceived to have a negative impact on black pupils' academic achievement.

In keeping with this perception of the importance of this aspect, black pupils more than others felt that the teachers did not do enough to facilitate cross- race friendships, and wished that they would do more in this regard. They viewed the efforts made by the Integrated Studies and senior English teachers to forcibly mix small groups as helpful, and also believed that the kind of debate held in these classes also helped the different groups to get to know and understand each other better. In the light of this it is somewhat surprising that more store is not set by this group on Integrated Studies and English as most worthwhile and most enjoyable. The fact that this is not the case can possibly be ascribed to several factors. Firstly, the fact that they are not noticeably most enjoyed or worthwhile does not mean that they are not perceived as enjoyable or worthwhile. They undoubtedly were, and for these reasons among others. In addition, the greater value ascribed to other subjects serves to reinforce the reality of the value attached by black pupils to high status subjects which gave

access to high status careers, and the significance for them of structured learning and teacher directed lessons. The link between social ease and academic learning, so clearly articulated by so many does not seem to be a factor in the overall assessment of most enjoyable and worthwhile subjects. Perhaps, too, in classes where there was little debate based on general knowledge, and limited pupil interaction, social ease factors were less important, and so did not impinge as much on pupil's enjoyment of subjects. The fact that one of the three statements which white pupils significantly felt applied to Riverbend 'to a large extent' was that of being encouraged to get on with different others, shows that this group had a greater sense of ease among other groups, and also, possibly, less of a sense of a need to get on better.

Another criterion to which differential responses were given was 'encouraged to express your own opinion'. This was ranked as the second most important characteristic for black and white pupils, and the fifth such for Indians. It was agreed to be important by all groups, possibly a little more so for white pupils than the other groups. In the pupils' assessment of how well this characteristic applied to Riverbend, it was only the white pupils who felt significantly that it applied to the school 'to a large extent'. This supports much of the information derived from interviews and observations which suggested that black and Indian pupils are not as 'free' within the school, do not feel as at ease nor as able to participate in class debate as readily as the white pupils. Again, there were several reasons for this. Firstly, many black and Indian pupils came from homes and previous schools where children did not have as much right to participate in debate with adults as was the case with the white pupils at the school. They thus had a greater barrier to overcome to participate and express their opinions at Riverbend. Secondly, as has been mentioned, they had less confidence in their academic ability, were less at ease with all the curriculum material that formed the basis of debate, and also were less comfortable in the mixed race setting than were the white pupils, and hence were less readily able to express

access to high status careers, and the significance for them of structured learning and teacher directed lessons. The link between social ease and academic learning, so clearly articulated by so many does not seem to be a factor in the overall assessment of most enjoyable and worthwhile subjects. Perhaps, too, in classes where there was little debate based on general knowledge, and limited pupil interaction, social ease factors were less important, and so did not impinge as much on pupil's enjoyment of subjects. The fact that one of the three statements which white pupils significantly felt applied to Riverbend 'to a large extent' was that of being encouraged to get on with different others, shows that this group had a greater sense of ease among other groups, and also, possibly, less of a sense of a need to get on better.

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their opinions spontaneously. They needed more positive encouragement, more created spaces for them to do this - and these were clearly not as evident as they needed to be. The popularity of Ms Chetty for these groups in her senior English classes, and in the Standard 7 Integrated Studies course, was partly ascribable to her ability to find materials and strategies that enabled black and Indian pupils to offer opinions and to enter debate.

Although the characteristics related to the inclusion of aspects of culture in the curriculum were agreed to as important in a similar way by all groups, it is interesting that significantly greater numbers of black and Indian pupils than white believed that the characteristic 'learn a great deal about your background and culture' applied to Riverbend 'not at all'. This finding served to corroborate the view that the curriculum was largely Eurocentric. However, as has been mentioned, the omission of culturally based material was not perceived as a problem for most black and Indian pupils. For black and Indian pupils, more than was the case for white pupils, however, there was a greater positive response to the inclusion of political debate, and a view that this aspect of the curriculum could be further developed. The sense of empowerment this material afforded many black pupils can be seen as a major factor behind this view.

Overall, certain general points may be made about pupils' responses to the curriculum at Riverbend. Most notable, perhaps, is the degree to which pupils were aware of the difference in the two major components of the curriculum, the extent to which each had different learning aims and outcomes, and the way in which these were manifest in different teaching styles and strategies. In addition, pupils across the racial groups had a marked degree of common responses to the different components of the curriculum, and were very similar in their perception of what constituted good teaching, made learning easy, characterised a good school, and the extent to which the characteristics of a good school applied to

Riverbend. Given the markedly different backgrounds from which the pupils were drawn, such close correspondence in views was surprising.

However, within this broad pattern of consensus, there are shades of emphasis and subtle differences that have implications for curriculum decisions.

Firstly, the strong consensus on the importance of a chance of a good Matriculation pass confirms the need for the school to have a firm academic foundation, and to prepare pupils adequately for this examination. The differential success of black and white pupils at this level shows that the school is serving this function differently for different groups.

Given the reality of the poor educational background of many of the black pupils, particularly those recently arrived from township schools, this is not surprising. Many, under the circumstances, probably achieve better than they would had they not had access to an open school. The best route for the school to follow is somewhat ambivalent. From the perspectives of the black pupils, gaining a good Matriculation pass is probably the single most important ambition. Black pupils had career aspirations in areas that required good Matriculation passes, with good grades in high status subjects like Mathematics and Science, and these subjects were thus perceived as particularly worthwhile by them. Black pupils tended to show a preference for teaching styles that were very supportive, where there was an emphasis on structure and direction, and where the teacher took time to explain. They perceived streaming in a less favourable light than other groups, but many black pupils acknowledged that it made learning easier for them as it removed some of the pressure to keep up that they felt in mixed ability classes. Many saw moves to Africanise the curriculum as detracting from its value, and incorporating into it learning which could be acquired out of school.

At the same time, a second set of differences needs to be considered. There seems to be no doubt that black pupils feel less at home within the school, a situation resulting largely from their lack of ease with the mixed race setting, and their sense of being academically weaker and more inadequate than their white peers. They do not evaluate as positively as white pupils the success of the school in certain aspects related to personal and social development considered to be important, notably 'being encouraged to get on with others who are different', 'being encouraged to express opinions' and 'being encouraged to develop their personalities'. Certain curriculum content and organisational strategies within the Integrated Studies and senior English classes were particularly designed to assist in these areas - racially mixed small group work, drama presentations, content that is Afrocentric and based in black pupils experience - and black pupils acknowledged the role that these strategies played in this regard, and thus in facilitating learning. Streaming was seen to exacerbate black pupils' sense of a weaker academic position, and to reinforce their generally lower self concept of achievement, as did the large whole class debates in Integrated Studies.

Conversely, white pupils tend to be the high achievers in the school, and to perceive more positively the extent to which most aspects of a good school with which they agree apply to Riverbend. They tend to favour more than black pupils lessons that are fun and interesting, teachers who are enthusiastic and creative, opportunities for large class debates, and to perceive as the most worthwhile subjects like Integrated Studies and English at least as much as Mathematics and Science. There is a sense that these pupils are more at ease within the school than than other groups, and more at home with much of the curriculum material. There is a sense that, from the perspective of the white pupils, the school successfully encourages pupils to develop their own personality, to get on with pupils who are different, and to express their own opinions. It seems that, by and large, the school as it is meets the perceived needs of the white pupils more broadly than it does those of the other groups. At the same time, while many white

pupils see value in curriculum content and organisation which encourages knowledge and understanding of other groups, many perceive efforts to encourage mixing as irrelevant, preferring to allow such mixing to happen naturally. They and also see a shift in curriculum content away from what is familiar to them as disadvantaging them academically and in some way threatening.

These findings suggest that the decisions surrounding curriculum are complex. From the point of view of improving black pupils' academic achievement, certain findings suggest that for black pupils to do well in a school such as Riverbend, more conventional teaching styles are likely to be the most effective, particularly if classes can be kept small and pupils receive individual attention in class time as problems arise, and that a focus on traditional school content is preferred. These approaches are certainly approved of by many white pupils, but do not accord with their apparent preference for lessons that are more activity based and which require more creativity. Teachers will have to bear these different perspectives in mind.

At the same time, if personal and social learning are important influences on academic achievement, then aspects of the approach advocated by the Integrated Studies teacher and one of the senior English teachers must be of value in promoting black pupils' academic success. However, the aspects of personal and social learning advocated by the Integrated Studies programme are not perceived by the black pupils to be achieved by the school 'to a large extent'. From this point of view, these aspects clearly need strengthening, both within the Integrated Studies programme and in other curriculum areas. It seems likely that with greater ease within the school and greater confidence in their ability, black pupils academic achievement would be enhanced. White pupils, on the other hand, perceive that their needs for personal and social learning are generally well met by the curriculum as it exists, and particularly by the Integrated Studies and senior English

courses. Changes that will be necessary to meet black pupils' needs better will have to consider the impact on the presently fairly well satisfied white pupils.

An area of particular importance in this regard is that of curriculum content. Black pupils' ambivalence to the introduction of content rooted in tradition and culture will need sensitive handling, and, though useful in certain contexts, might not be as appropriate as material based in township life for all pupils. Attitudes to learning the vernacular were shown to be complex, and many pupils rejected this innovation. This and other areas of 'black' culture will need to be legitimised as part of the curriculum before many of the pupils at a school such as this one acknowledge their value, despite their recognition of the greater ease with which they deal with such familiar curriculum material. Social and political debate which draws on black experience was seen to be an important curriculum component for empowering many black pupils but, at the same time, served to alienate and disempower some of the white pupils. This poses the challenge both of finding legitimate curriculum material with which pupils from such a wide range of backgrounds can identify without any being disadvantaged, and also of providing teachers with skills to deal positively with responses to such material.

The curriculum challenge thus becomes one of meeting a variety of needs held in common, but weighted differently by different groups, and seen to be achieved to a different extent by the present school curriculum. If the needs of the black pupils are to be adequately met, it seems as if there is real motivation for a shift in curriculum content in the direction advocated by Ms Chetty and some of the Integrated Studies teachers. A continued Eurocentric curriculum, with a fundamentally assimilationist approach, will continue to deny black pupils the chance to feel in control of the material and not alienated by it. Much of the teaching style and strategy used in these lessons seems to be of value in this regard.

At the time of this research, there was a hidden agenda which meant that neither teachers nor pupils honestly addressed the issues presented by an open school. There was a facade, more directly exposed as such by many pupils rather than by teachers, of all being well in all ways. Probing soon revealed, however, that all members of the school community recognised that the pupil population was made of different groups, and that these groups had somewhat different needs and expectations of each other, themselves and the school. There were certainly tensions based on race, however sub-surface, among the pupils and on the staff. This research has shown some of these differences in the context of the curriculum debate, and it would seem that a first step in positive curriculum design would be to acknowledge the differences and plan accordingly.

In addition, the whole debate about where within the spectrum of multicultural approaches the school lies still needs to be addressed in a meaningful way. As made clear both here and in the literature review, there are different curriculum implications associated with the assimilationist, integrationist and transformationist approaches. At the time of the research, there seemed to be relatively strong support for the assimilationist approach from all but a few teachers, and even from many of the black pupils who see this as a way to social and economic mobility. Aspects of the integrationist approach, introduced in certain courses, showed that they had potential value for black pupils' academic success, and also, for all pupils, an important influence in improving cross-race knowledge and understanding, in breaking down stereotypes, and in challenging preconceived assumptions about how the world works. These innovations were very much in keeping with the school's liberal and progressive image, and evolved fairly naturally out of the existing Integrated Studies programme, largely as a result of the particular sensitivity of several of the teachers to the need for changes to accommodate the changed pupil population, and were evident in senior English and in patches in certain other classes. At the same time, such innovations were clearly threatening for many of the teachers, the prin-

cipal included, and for some of the pupils. The teachers perceived them as likely to disadvantage black pupils' progress in the current educational system, and likely to lower the standard of work of all pupils. They did not perceive the social and personal dimensions of learning associated with them as part of the brief of a school such as Riverbend. There were very few aspects of the transformationist approach evident in the curriculum, and little awareness of its possibilities. The senior English teacher, Ms Chetty, was certainly the person who experimented most with ideas associated with this approach, supported to some extent by two of the members of the Integrated Studies teams. She certainly had the clearest idea of the potential of this approach, and of ways in which to implement aspects of it in her teaching.

Outside the Integrated Studies team and Ms Chetty's English classes, there was virtually no debate about curriculum change that would make the curriculum more appropriate for pupils who came from cultures other than white middle-class, nor about initiatives to deal with the racism, classism and sexism that are features of South African society, permeated the school, and which are providing the focus for curriculum reform in more radical multicultural education initiatives. The curriculum debate at Riverbend is no different from that in many schools where the school has freedom to define for itself which of a range of educational philosophies and practices it wishes to subscribe to. The debate was essentially one between more conservative and more radical attitudes to education. The multicultural nature of the school suggested a radical approach to education, given that school by being multiracial was taking a stand against the Apartheid system which decreed that schooling should be racially segregated. However, within this context, the prevailing attitude to education within the school was increasingly conservative, and there was little real attempt made via curriculum practice to challenge the status quo. In many respects, as a large number of staff and pupils pointed out, the school was a white one to which black pupils came, one which had not changed in any real sense to accommodate them. The trend in the school was toward more structured, more

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syllabus-based teaching, with a more authoritarian relationship between pupils and teacher and greater teacher control on pupil behaviour and work than had previously existed. The fact that Ms Chetty and Mr Jones, one of the more radical Integrated Studies teachers, were both asked to resign from the school shows, among other things, the degree of resistance to their initiatives by more conservative elements on the staff.

One of the major foci of debate emanating from these findings is related to the degree of control exercised by the Matriculation examination, and the extent to which it inhibits or facilitates curriculum change in a school such as Riverbend. It seems unlikely that the present Matriculation examination with its Eurocentric bias, including that of medium of instruction, will ever provide equal achievement opportunities. It is undoubtedly weighted in the favour of white pupils. For real equality of opportunity to prevail, there needs to be major change on the macro - level, beyond immediate control of the school. However, this does not necessarily mean that there is no place for curriculum innovation at schools like Riverbend.

There was little to suggest that there was real substance to the senior teachers' fears that pupils in senior years were disadvantaged by not having done certain aspects of the curriculum required of the Matriculation examination, and not covered in Integrated Studies. It seems probable that important background content to Matriculation work could be covered in a concentrated form if needed.

It also seems that many of the skills and attitudes developed in the Integrated Studies programme would be of value in proceeding with work in higher standards. Even anti-Integrated Studies teachers acknowledged that pupils' had well developed independent study and writing skills. My own view is that there was little to

support the demise of Integrated Studies in the first three years of the school, and that the potential benefits outweighed the loss of coverage of certain content areas.

It did seem necessary to change certain aspects of the programme, as has been suggested, and one of these changes might well include better articulation with senior subject teachers, as much of the value of the programme lay in its teaching style and strategy, as much as in the details of the content on which it was based.

If the anticipated changes in Matriculation syllabuses that are hoped will accompany a change in government policy are long in coming, a partial short-term solution for schools like Riverbend might well be to continue with their rather schizophrenic curriculum, divided into the first three years where there is little notice taken of the formal curriculum content, and teachers are encouraged to experiment and reflect on their innovations, and a final two years where there is more formal attention to the requirements of the final examination. Clearly, such a division, as is also the case with the division of the curriculum into those subjects combined into Integrated Studies and those which remained outside it, notably Mathematics, Biology and Science, reinforces the status of the Matriculation examination as the arbiter of success and worthwhile learning, and of Mathematics and Science as the high status subjects, needing focused attention. While there are arguments for greater integration in the junior years, this separation does at least mean that the allegations that they deskill and further disempower black pupils levelled against both certain forms of multicultural education, and at aspects of progressive education, will not be applicable here, as high status subjects will be available and formally taught to all. The school has clearly defined itself as an 'academic' one, and this should serve to reinforce this statement. At the same time, of course, this does serve to compromise the legitimacy of alternative curriculum initiatives.

There also seems no reason why some of the changes that seem to be important in a school like Riverbend should not be implemented across the curriculum. Most important of these is the need for teachers to recognise the feelings of inadequacy many black pupils bring with them to the classroom, and to do something active about these. From pupils' accounts in this research, the following seem to be significant:

- teachers who play an active role in offering help, recognising that black pupils might feel embarrassed or too frightened of revealing ignorance to ask, who do not assume pupils are wilfully not bothering to learn but might feel overawed in the school situation, who do not take knowledge for granted, and fill in gaps as part of their normal teaching practice, are patient, and do not make pupils feel they are exasperated in the face of lack of understanding, who explain clearly and simply with examples drawn from pupils' reference points;

- content that enables black pupils to have something to offer class discussion, that they feel comfortable with, that as much as possible is rooted in black pupils' experience, and in common South Africa experiences and frames of reference;

- teaching strategies that allow for common experience in practical work, problem solving and creativity, so that there is something tangible and shared for discussion, not only material that relies on general knowledge;

- classroom organisation that is not intimidating, that is mixed ability rather than streamed, that features small group and pair work, that has a mixture of races in each classroom and acknowledges black pupils' need sometimes to work in their home language;

- classroom strategies that assist in breaking down racial tensions and awkwardness that exist outside the classroom, however subtle, and which come to class with the pupils and which are particularly intimidating for black pupils.

I do not see that approaches such as those outlined above, and drawn from pupils' perceptions of what facilitates learning, by definition preclude teachers from covering the content prescribed for the Matriculation examination, nor in teaching the skills and concepts required for it. Certainly there is ample justification for refining and improving these approaches, and adapting them to individual subject needs. Most of them are little more than good teaching practice.

Clearly this implies a great deal of commitment on the part of teachers: to find new material that is less Eurocentric, that lends itself to group and pair work rather than teacher transmission; to making time to actively help pupils; to experiment and reflect on their practice; to liaise with others and read widely; and to trust that black colleagues have much to offer their understanding of black pupils and their experience, and to draw on this expertise and work collaboratively with them. And, to some extent, this is where the difficulties lie.

At Riverbend, despite the fact that the teachers were teaching in a school that had defied the law by 'opening' to pupils of all race groups, that had made a positive statement against Apartheid schooling, there was little real commitment to dealing constructively with the challenges and opportunities afforded by the mixed race pupil composition. Some of the reasons for this were examined in Chapter 6, and will be briefly reviewed here.

The majority of teachers of the school, white, middle-class and relatively conservative were comfortable with their approach to their work, confident that it led to academic success, and unwilling to examine their practice critically. Many had not even considered the option of changing their practice and had little

knowledge of the debates surrounding multicultural education. They found the notion of change in broader society, and within the school, threatening. Few had any contact with black people, and little knowledge of the backgrounds of the majority of the black pupils in the school. Even those who recognised a need for change were unsure of how best to go about it, and found that they did not have access to relevant resources regarding content and methodology, nor skills for dealing with some of the debate that a more open curriculum might allow. They felt intimidated by the task, and gave up before they began. Those who did strive actively for change, and were committed to finding material and developing skills, found that the resistance from others on the staff undermined their energy and diverted their efforts towards defence rather than development. They met obstacles in the form of rigid timetabling and time allocations unsuitable for the kind of work they wished to do. They found they had insufficient time for meeting and reflecting. And for all of them, there was the inertia that made it easier to continue as before rather than genuinely work for change.

Grant et al (1986) suggest that these findings are not unusual:

> Research shows that teachers tend to perpetuate a Business-as-Usual approach, even when the constraints on their doing otherwise are weak. For example, as part of an ethnographic study of a school in which the official goal was to implement multicultural education, we found teachers tending to reproduce traditional teaching patterns, partly because their own backgrounds provided strong models for the status quo, and partly because they were not being pressured to do anything different.

Thus at Riverbend, where there was no official policy to implement anything other than assimilationist multicultural education, and where certain constraints were strong, it was not surprising that little change happened.

At Riverbend it was not only the teachers who did not seem anxious to bring about change. Among the pupils too, there was a certain ambivalence to the more radical dimensions of the curriculum, with

the status of more conventional work serving to make innovations illegitimate except in small doses and in junior classes. While there was a sense among all pupils, possibly particularly among the white pupils, that the kind of work done in Integrated Studies was valuable, there was also a sense that this kind of work was appropriate for the junior classes, but not altogether practicable in senior years where learning for the external examinations had to begin in earnest. Pupils in senior years, too, acknowledged the worth of much of what they did in Ms Chetty's class, and felt that it did contribute to their English skills as well as to broader areas of their work, but for many, at the same time, there was a lingering sense that they might have been better served by more attention to more formal work. And, has been mentioned, the change in the power relations among pupils that shifting from a Eurocentric curriculum implied were unsettling for many of the white pupils. They implied a threat to the group whose interests were preferentially served by the school, and many white pupils were not insensitive to this. Black pupils, too, were aware of this, as evidenced by their sense of empowerment in lessons where the material related to their experience, but were not convinced that informal attempts by certain teachers removed the legitimacy of the conventional curriculum, and generally continued to value the Eurocentric curriculum for the access it was perceived to give to upward mobility.

Another major factor of curriculum constraint for Riverbend is undoubtedly the fact that it was originally a white school, and that, although it has opened, there has been no real pressure for it to change from this position. In keeping with many other initially white and now open schools, its numbers show a bias towards white enrolment, reinforcing the notion that it is still a white school. Part of the raison d'etre for its opening was the idea of offering what was available to white pupils at the school to other groups as well. Inherent in this very basis of opening is an inbuilt obstacle to radical curriculum change.

Thus, it seems that for significant curriculum change to occur within schools such as Riverbend there will need to be major curriculum change at national level, as the reality of teaching for a Eurocentric Matriculation examination cannot be denied. Nor can attitudes of both teachers and pupils based on this reality be overlooked. Until this happens, it is likely that initiatives such as that of the Integrated Studies teachers and Ms Chetty are likely to remain as sporadic and relatively short-lived projects, largely dependent on the enthusiasm and energy of the individuals involved. In addition, teachers will also have to be exposed to the multicultural education debate, and will need assistance with materials and approaches that have not been part of their training for work in a segregated school system preparing pupils for their place in a segregated society. Many of the issues associated with multicultural education that is not assimilationist are sensitive, and can be difficult to handle constructively in class, and teachers will need help in these areas. There will also need to be a perceived need to change. Unless this happens, there is a strong chance that even within desegregated schools little real change in the educational status quo will take place. Certainly at Riverbend the opening of the school did not automatically lead to curriculum change nor to the staff's attempting to identify new curriculum needs and to grapple with ways to innovate change.

Given these realities, I think it is important to acknowledge the efforts made by the group of innovators within the formal curriculum at Riverbend, and to recognise that, although limited, there were other areas where teachers were at least beginning to question some of what was happening. The fact that the school had introduced Zulu in Standard 6, and had tried to make it compulsory, that the Counsellor was beginning to prod the staff toward addressing crucial issues, that pupils had space in the non-formal curriculum to invite guest speakers, and to organise debates and commemoration services on days of political significance suggested that there was growing awareness that black and Indian pupils made a difference to the school, that changes needed to be made in basic assumptions about previously taken for granted processes and

procedures. What seemed a pity in the year that this research was conducted was that little of this was receiving support, and that there was a pull towards a more conservative and assimilationist approach.

From the information presented in the main chapters in this report, it is possible to distil nine generic issues in this case study which may have implications for similar schools in South Africa:

1. Resistance to systematic curriculum change

1.1 Opening the originally all-white school to pupils of other races did not result in a marked change in curriculum. The prevailing responses to increased openness were attempted academic gatekeeping and assimilation.

1.2 Where alternative curriculum initiatives were implemented, they relied heavily on individuals' insight and enthusiasm, and were largely unsupported by the school's administration.

1.3 There was considerable tension between the more conservative and more radical groups of teachers on the staff. The former was firmly based in the assimilationist paradigm, concentrated on preparation for academic success as measured by the Matriculation examination, taught in a teacher centred and whole class style, and limited pupil discussion. The second set was more integrationist and even transformationist in approach, encouraged debate and discussion of pertinent issues, and attempted to make their work less Eurocentric. This group was defeated in the struggle for curriculum legitimacy, and little of their work survived in the school for more than a year after the research year.

2. Assimilation as an undeclared policy

2.1 There are strong constraints on curriculum change away from assimilation: the already established Eurocentric ethos of the school; teachers' limited knowledge and understanding of multicultural education issues; teachers' limited knowledge and understanding of the social world of black pupils; teachers' unwillingness to reflect critically on their work; prejudiced views about the competence of black teachers; lack of support for teachers wishing to try alternative methodology, confront contentious issues and use less Eurocentric materials; pupils' acceptance of the educational status quo, and perceptions of it as a gateway to future success; and the Eurocentric external examination.

2.2 There is a general reluctance to acknowledge the significance of race within the school. This results, inter alia, in too little attention being paid to curriculum content and strategy changes that are needed to accommodate black pupils' experience and learning needs, thus disadvantaging them; too little attention being paid to improving social interaction among the groups; and too little attention being paid to directly addressing racism as a social phenomenon.

3. Academic underachievement by black pupils

3.1 Black pupils tended to underachieve within the school and in the final examination, and were generally perceived as academically weaker than other groups.

3.2 There was a plethora of perceptions as to the reasons for black pupils' lower academic success within the school. The most prevalent were rooted in the deficiency paradigm, and black pupils' disadvantaged educational background and their poorer command of English were frequently cited example of this. Other perceptions acknowledged black pupils' estrangement from the prevail-

ing Eurocentric curriculum. Many black pupils noted the significance of a sense of alienation from the school milieu, and a sense of the operation of the self-fulfilling prophecy.

3.3 There was a noticeable lack of any concerted effort on the part of the staff, particularly in the senior classes, to address the issue of black underachievement. There was no school policy related to teaching through the medium of English as a second (or third language) for a large number of pupils. The apparent lack of effort to deal with black pupils' underachievement can be ascribed to such factors as: lack of real commitment to the black pupils' progress; a sense of inadequacy as to how best to deal with the problem; poor diagnosis on the part of the staff of many of the reasons for the underachievement; too little time devoted to staff development; reluctance to make changes that might alter the status quo; and the pressure of work which made additional commitments difficult.

3.4 Black pupils were particularly aware of their lower academic standing within the school. They brought feelings of academic inferiority with them, and many school practices reinforced their feelings of inadequacy. Such practices included: the use of inaccessible curriculum material, intimidating large group discussions; lessons that were paced too fast and which took certain knowledge for granted; streaming which resulted in a bunching of black pupils' in the lowest streams; implied bias in teacher expectations.

4. Positive attempts to facilitate black pupils' development

4.1 Certain school practices ameliorated black pupils' sense of academic inadequacy: curriculum content rooted in their experience; opportunities to be the holders of knowledge; practical work which allowed equal access to new material; small groups; teachers who facilitated their contribution to class discussion; teachers who were patient and who made sure of their understanding of new concepts; teachers who di not assume basic knowledge and

build on what was not there; teachers who genuinely offered help; streaming that allowed for pupils of lower performance to work together without pressure to keep up with high achievers.

5. Existence of racial divisions

5.1 Although reluctantly acknowledged, racial divisions were a feature of the interaction pattern of the school. They impinged on the academic life of the school by making pupils ill-at-ease in classes where their race group was notably in the minority.

5.2 Black pupils tended to be most aware of the subtle racial tension that existed. This contributed to their sense of alienation within the school and inhibited their participation in class debate.

6. Attempts to deal with racial tensions

6.1 Certain curriculum practices served to address the issue of racial tension: mixed race groups; activity based lessons; discussion in which differences and similarities between groups were explored; exercises in which the nature of such things as stereotypes and prejudice were explored; material that gave information about each group's culture and background; and lessons where contentious issues could be freely discussed.

6.2 Black pupils, more than the other groups, perceived a need for teacher intervention in this dimension of the curriculum, and felt that teachers did not do enough in this regard. White pupils held more strongly to the view that inter-racial ease would result naturally from spontaneous interaction.

7. Pupils' views about the Eurocentric nature of the curriculum

7.1 There was consensus that the curriculum was Eurocentric. This was more apparent to Indian and black pupils than to white.

7.2 While pupils agreed in principle that the curriculum should not be Eurocentric, a non-Eurocentric curriculum was not particularly highly rated as a quality of a good school.

7.3 The introduction of less Eurocentric material into the curriculum served to empower black pupils; to facilitate cross-group understanding and awareness; to encourage critical exploration of attitudes and values; to encourage black pupils' participation in debate and, as a result to promote their use of English and their sense of having a meaningful contribution to make. It also unsettled certain white pupils as the taken-for-granted power relationships based on possession of knowledge were disturbed.

7.4 Despite the apparent advantages associated with it, most pupils did not feel that there should be a less Eurocentric curriculum. There was a general perception that conventional curriculum material was of more value and opened the doors to future success. In this context, black pupils, in particular, rejected the move to introduce a black language, and saw little value in the inclusion of material from their culture into the curriculum.

8. Pupils' views on the curriculum in general

8.1 There was a marked degree of correspondence between all pupils' constructs of a 'good' school, with opportunities for succeeding in the Matriculation examination and for developing personal and social competencies seen as particularly important qualities of such a school. The former was possibly more important for black than white pupils, and the latter for white rather than black.

8.2 There was general agreement that the curriculum should not be focused only on the needs of the Matriculation examination, and that there should not be too much teacher control and direction, nor streaming. Attitudes to the value of the latter, were, however, ambivalent.

8.3 Most groups felt that the school met their requirements adequately. However, black pupils expressed less satisfaction with certain aspects than other groups. They felt less that they were encouraged to participate; less that pupils were encouraged to get on with groups different from themselves; less that more able pupils were encouraged to help less able; less satisfied with the amount of political debate in class; less satisfied with teachers' facilitation of racial mixing. They felt more strongly than other groups that they were given the opportunity to get a good Matriculation pass.

9. Differences in pupils' career ambitions, and subject and teaching style preferences

9.1 Black pupils tended to focus on a narrow range of high status professions for which Mathematics and Science were entry requirements. Indian pupils had a certain predisposition toward careers in finance. White pupils had a broad range of career ambitions, including careers in the Arts.

9.2 Career ambitions influenced pupils' evaluation of which subjects were most worthwhile. Black pupils tended to perceive Mathematics and Science in this light; white pupils had a broader spread that included English and Integrated Studies.

9.3 White pupils tended to enjoy most subjects that were creative, fun, and allowed for exploration and development of personal opinions, attitudes and self-knowledge. English and Integrated Studies were popular choices for this group, as was Mathematics where the teacher had the ability to make the work stimulating. Black pupils tended to favour subjects that they did well in, and which were carefully and systematically taught. Mathematics was particularly highly regarded by this group.

9.4 Black and white pupils differed slightly in the importance they attached to certain qualities of teaching. Black pupils tended to rate most highly teachers who were patient, explained

well, ensured that work was understood, and encouraged their participation. White pupils set more store by teachers who were fun, imaginative and encouraged debate and discussion.

A criticism levelled at case studies is that they are in-depth analyses of particular instances, and that their findings as a result are not easily generalisable. Christie (1992) issues 'a cautionary comment on case study research'. In this she showed, by analysing four cases, that 'it is problematic to make generalisations about open schools from single case studies'. (p. 205). She does however, concede, that the condensed studies of the four schools contribute to a general picture of open schools, and that while 'there is no doubt that the depth of investigation which the approach enables may make an important contribution to education research..., a combination of case studies may give a richer and more accurate account of what happens inside open schools than the depth study of a single school'. (p. 205)

The research conducted at Riverbend was indeed such an in-depth case study. It has attempted to look closely at what actually happens in a curriculum in one open school, and did not have as its intention generalisability to other situations. There is no doubt that Riverbend, with its progressive reputation, is substantially different from many of the more traditional private schools. At the same time, however, the study does open issues for teachers at the ever expanding number of open schools to reflect on and to consider in the context of their own work. It is interesting to note how many of the general findings /recommendations reported by Christie and Butler (1988) and by Christie (1992) are similar to those reported here. What this case study has done is to give some of the complexity associated with these issues in the context of the case. Given the similarity among many open schools of certain key elements, it might well be that there is more that can be generalised than might be expected. It is unlikely that the particular circumstances associated with this case will be replicated elsewhere, but hopefully, further

case studies around similar issues will serve to give a 'richer and more accurate account of what happens inside open schools'. This case study is a contribution to that mosaic.

The South African education system is likely to face great changes as the country moves into a non-racial democratic form of government. The role of the private schools such as Riverbend in that new education system is not clear. They have played a role in challenging Apartheid education. When schools are all officially desegregated, they are still likely to be among the relatively few schools that have a racially mixed population. The majority of the country's school-going population will be in the rural areas, and schools here are likely to be predominantly black. They will of course differ from racially mixed state schools in terms of their expense, and in terms of their independence. At present, very small numbers of black pupils attend private schools. It might be that a small number of black pupils will continue to have access to the opportunities afforded white pupils at such elite schools, and that attendance at such schools will allow 'a handful of blacks to move upwards within the existing system', as Gaganakis (1992) suggests is presently the case, and that they will play no role in social change. Muller (1992), however, agrees that private schools will still have a role to play in that, amongst other things, 'they offer crucial spaces for the development of curriculum or progressive teaching practices' (p.218). The research at Riverbend, and that reported by Christie (1988, 1990 a and b) suggests that at present very little significant curriculum exploration is in fact being carried out at such schools. However, the research at Riverbend and at a similar school (Christie 1993) also points to the potential that such schools have for developing valuable curriculum innovations if they can overcome certain constraints. If they cannot, and remain essentially assimilationist in their approach, if they continue to believe that just opening is enough, they are unlikely to have much to offer a new education dispensation that will be operating in a different political context.

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APPENDIX A

DISTRIBUTION OF LESSONS OBSERVED, AND INTERVIEWS WITH PUPILS

Table A1. Distribution of formal interviews with pupils

	Numbers of pupils in each group			
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
Standard 6	12	0	3	12
Standard 7	10	2	4	12
Standard 8	14	0	4	11
Standard 9	12	2	7	19
Standard 10	4	1	5	4
Total	52	5	23	58
Number possible	75	12	54	125

Table A2. Number of lessons observed and recorded

Subject	Number of lessons
Accountancy/BE	9
Afrikaans	6
Art	4
English	24
Guidance	13
Integrated Studies/ES	76
Mathematics	18
Zulu	5
French	1
Geography	9
History	8
Science & Biology	21
Speech and Drama	6

QUESTIONNAIRE 1. CURRICULUM QUESTIONNAIRE

NB : * Replaces the name of the school

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Your personal number ☐

Dear Student,

1. Please complete this questionnaire as fully as possible.
2. If you are unsure of anything, please ask.
3. Once again, we assure you that your answers will be read by us only.

Thank you for your assistance,

SUE COHEN AND TOM SWART

1a. The subject I have enjoyed most at * is _____

1b. I have enjoyed this subject most because _____

_____

_____

_____

2a. The subject I have enjoyed least at * is _____

2b. I have enjoyed this subject least because _____

_____

_____

_____

3a. The subject I do best in is _____

3b. I do best in this subject because _____

_____

_____

_____

4a. The subject I do worst in is _____

4b. I do worst in this subject because _____

_____

_____

_____

5a. The subject that is most worthwhile for me is _____

5b. I think this is worthwhile because _____

_____

_____

_____

6. Some things I would have liked to learn more about at school are

_____

_____

_____

7. When I leave school the work that I hope to do is _____

_____

8a. I feel the following teachers at * are good teachers:

_____

8b. For each teacher above, say what makes that teacher a good teacher (Write: Miss/Mr/Mrs _____ is good because he/she .....)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9a. I feel that the following teachers at * are <u>not</u> good teachers:

_____

9b. For each teacher above, say what makes you feel that teacher is not a good teacher (Write: Miss/Mr/Mrs _____ is not a good teacher because he/she ....)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

10a. Some of the things that help me in my schoolwork are _____

_____

_____

_____

10b. Some of the things that make schoolwork hard for me are _____

_____

_____

_____

11a. I find it easiest to learn in lessons when _____

_____

_____

_____

11b. I find it hardest to learn in lessons when _____

_____

_____

_____

12a. Are there any subjects where you feel you are not doing as well as you could?

YES ☐ NO ☐

12b. If YES, name the subject (or subjects): _____

_____

12c. Why do you think you are not doing as well as you could? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

13a. Are there any teachers who think you are doing as well as you can, when you know you can do better?

YES ☐ NO ☐

13b. If YES, which teachers? _____

_____

.. How do you react to this? _____

_____

_____

_____

14a. I like working in small groups (4-6 students) because _____

_____

_____

_____

14b. I *dislike* working in small groups (4-6 students) because _____

15a. The lessons in which I take part in discussion most are _____

15b. This is because _____

16a. If you have changed teacher and/or subject . . : year please complete the table below:

	FROM:	TO:	REASONS FOR CHANGE:
SUBJECTS:			
TEACHERS:			

16b. What do you feel about the change(s)? _____

17a. Are there any subjects where you feel you are not in the best class for you? (e.g. Maths group, English group, etc.)

YES ☐ NO ☐

17b. If YES, say which: _____

_____

17c. Explain why you feel it is not the best class for you: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

18. Write down the titles of any books you have chosen from the library this year to read for pleasure (not for a project) and have really enjoyed.

If you can't remember the title, say what sort of book it was:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!

SUE COHEN AND TOM SWART

APPENDIX B2

QUESTIONNAIRE 2. QUALITIES OF A 'GOOD' SCHOOL

NB : * Replaces the name of the school

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

INFORMATION:

The attached sheet has 21 statements made by different people about what makes a good school.

INSTRUCTIONS:

1. Read the statements and express your opinion about each by marking COLUMN 1 as follows (give each opinion from your own point of view):

   I agree strongly: ✓✓ I agree: ✓ I disagree: ✗ I disagree strongly: ✗✗

2. You might think some important aspects of a good school have been left out. Add any statements about what you think makes a good school in the spaces at the bottom of the list.

3. For each of the statements (including those you have added), put a mark in one of the boxes in COLUMN 2 to say whether you feel it applies to * to a large extent, a little, or not at all.

4. Choose the five statements from the whole list that you feel are most important for you in a good school, and write down their numbers in the appropriate gaps below:

   The most important statement is number _____

   The second most important statement number is _____

   The third most important statement number is _____

   The fourth most important statement number is _____

   The fifth most important statement number is _____ .

Thank you for completing this questionnaire!

SUE & TOM

STATEMENTS: A good school is one where students ...	COLUMN 1 Your opinion	COLUMN 2 This applies to me to a large extent	a little	not at all
1. ...have a good chance of getting a good matric				
2. ...are encouraged in class to think about what is happening in the world beyond the school				
3. ...are encouraged to get on with students who are different from themselves				
4. ...are encouraged to develop their own personalities				
5. ...have the opportunity to play sports well				
6. ...are encouraged to work together in their schoolwork for the good of the group				
7. ...are helped in class to understand the society in which they live				
8. ...learn a great deal about their <u>own</u> culture in class (language, art, history, music, etc.)				
9. ...mainly concern themselves with work in class that is directly related to the requirements of the matric examination				
10. ..are valued for the people they are, not how clever they are				
11. ..are encouraged in class to think of ways of making the world beyond the school a better place for everyone				
12. ..learn a great deal in class about other students' culture (language, art, history, music, etc.)				
13. ..are helped to gain confidence in themselves				
14. ..are grouped for lessons according to how good they are in a subject				
15. ..are encouraged to try to 'fit in' to the world as it is				
16. ..are encouraged to develop self-discipline				
17. ..are encouraged to be proud of their own background and culture				
18. ..are controlled by teachers in class in order that the students work hard				
19. ..are encouraged to express their own opinions				
20. ..are encouraged to help others who are not doing as well as they are				
21. ..are encouraged to have a say about what is done in class				
22. ..				
23. ..				
24. ..				

QUESTIONNAIRE 3. COUNSELLING AND GUIDANCE

NB : * Replaces the name of the school

Your personal number ☐

Dear Student,

1. Please answer the following questions as fully as possible.
2. If a question does not apply to you - put a line through its space.
3. Where necessary, put a cross in the right box.
4. Once again, we assure you that your answers will be read by us only.

Thank you for your assistance,
SUE COHEN & TOM SWART

1a. I went to the School Counsellors for and appointment -

- 0 times this year ☐
- 1 - 5 times this year ☐
- 6 - 10 times this year ☐
- more than 10 times this year ☐

1b. I see a counsellor on a regular basis (about once a week):

YES ☐ NO ☐

1c. My parents have seen the Counsellors (Ken Jennings and/or Grania Christie)

- 0 times this year ☐
- 1 - 5 times this year ☐
- 6 - 10 times this year ☐
- more than 10 times this year ☐

2a. Give the kinds of things about which you approached the School Counsellors this year concerning ACADEMIC MATTERS (e.g. teachers, subjects, teaching, learning, marks, careers, subject choices, etc.) Be as general or specific as you wish:

_____

_____

_____

_____

2b. What did the school counsellor(s) do? _____

_____

_____

2c. What do you feel about what the counsellor(s) did? _____

3a. Give the kinds of things about which you approached the School Counsellors this year concerning INTERACTION between you and other people and/or PERSONAL MATTERS (e.g. other students, teachers, staff, family, friends, and social and personal matters, etc.) Be as general or specific as you wish:

3b. What did the school counsellor(s) do? _____

3c. What do you feel about what the counsellor(s) did? _____

4a. Give the kinds of things about which either of the counsellors approached you personally this year concerning ACADEMIC WORK (e.g. teachers subjects, teaching, learning, marks, careers, subject choices, etc.) Be as general or specific as you wish:

4b. How do you feel about these approaches that the counsellors made?

5a. Give the kinds of things about which either of the counsellors approached you personally this year concerning INTERACTION between you and other people and/or PERSONAL MATTERS (e.g. other students, teachers, staff, family, friends, and social and personal matters, etc.) Be as general or specific as you wish:

5b. How do you feel about these approaches that the counsellor(s) made?

6a. Did a teacher suggest this year that you go to one of the counsellors

YES ☐ NO ☐

6b. If YES, say what it was about. Be as general or specific as you wish:

6c. DID you go to one of the counsellors as a result of this suggestion?

YES ☐ NO ☐

6d. How did you feel about the teacher's suggestion to go to one of the counsellors?

7a. Were there things you could have discussed with either of the counsellors, but felt you did not want to?

YES ☐ NO ☐

7b. If YES, say what kind of things: _____

_____

_____

7c. Why did you not approach a counsellor? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

8. What do you feel are the strengths of school counselling at * ?

_____

_____

_____

9. What do you feel are the weaknesses of school counselling at * and how could it be improved?

_____

_____

_____

10. What would make it easier for you to approach the counsellors?

_____

_____

_____

11a. The relationship betwee.. school counsellors and students at * is

Very good ☐ Good ☐ Not good enough ☐

11b. I feel this because _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

12. My parents feel that the school counsellors _____

13. What things of interest to you have you discussed in GUIDANCE CLASSES this year?

14. What things besides these would you have liked to discuss in GUIDANCE CLASSES?

15. What makes GUIDANCE CLASSES worthwhile for you? _____

16. What things could be done to make GUIDANCE CLASSES more worthwhile for you?

17. When you have difficulty concerning your work (don't understand it; not sure how to do it, etc.) say in order from 1 to 6 (1=most; 6=least) who you ask for help. Put 0 on the line of anyone you do not ask.

Friends . . . . . _____
Your Parents . . . . . _____
Your tutor . . . . . _____
Teacher of the subject _____
School Counsellor . . _____
A boarding house teacher _____

18a. Give your view on this statement:

Teachers should give us the opportunity to discuss South African politics in class:

Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Never ☐

18b. I feel this because _____

_____

_____

_____

18c. At * we discuss politics in class

Too much ☐ Enough ☐ Not enough ☐

18d. Do you think * should have a separate subject in which South African politics are discussed?

YES ☐ NO ☐

18e. Say why: _____

_____

_____

_____

19. BELOW ARE THREE STATEMENTS (A, B, & C). Put a cross in the box next to the ONE that best says what you think:

A. Teachers at this school do <u>not</u> do enough to get the different race groups at this school to get on well with one another. ☐ A

B. Teachers at this school do <u>enough</u> to get the different race groups at the school to get on well with one another. ☐ B

C. At this school, teachers do too much to get the different race groups in the school to get on well with one another. ☐ C

NOW, IF YOU CROSSED A, ANSWER SECTION 19A

IF YOU CROSSED B, ANSWER SECTION 19B

IF YOU CROSSED C, ANSWER SECTION 19C ON THE NEXT PAGE...

SECTION 19A:

1. Why do you feel that the teachers do not do as much as they can to get the different race groups to get on well with one another?

2. What do they do?

3. What should they do to get the race groups to get on well with one another?

SECTION 19B:

1. Why do you feel that the teachers do enough to get the different race groups to get on well with one another?

2. What do they do?

SECTION 19C:

1. Why do you feel that teachers do too much to get the different race groups to get on well with one another?

p.t.o.

SECTION 19C (Continued)

2. What do the teachers do? _____

3. What should they not do? _____

20. BELOW ARE THREE STATEMENTS (A, B, & C). Put a cross in the box next to the one that best says what you think:

A. Students at this school do not do enough to get the different race groups at this school to get on well with one another. ☐ A

B. Students at this school do enough to get the different race groups at the school to get on well with one another. ☐ B

C. At this school, students do too much to get the different race groups in the school to get on well with one another. ☐ C

NOW, IF YOU CROSSED A, THEN ANSWER SECTION 20A
IF YOU CROSSED B, THEN ANSWER SECTION 20B
IF YOU CROSSED C, THEN ANSWER SECTION 20C

SECTION 20A:

1. Why do you feel that the students do not do as much as they can to get the different race groups to get on well with one another?

2. What do they do? _____

SECTION 20A (Continued)

3. What should they do to get the race groups to get on well with one another?

SECTION 20B:

1. Why do you feel that the students do enough to get the different race groups to get on well with one another?

2. What do they do?

SECTION 20C:

1. Why do you feel that students do too much to get the different race groups to get on well with one another?

2. What do the students do?

3. What should they not do?

21a. What clubs/societies/organizations do you belong to outside school?

21b. Which of these clubs/societies/organizations that do not exist at * , would you like to have here?

21c. Why do you feel they do not exist at * _____

22. Perhaps you would like to comment on this, or any of the other questionnaires we have given you.

You may also wish to make any other comments that you feel will be useful to us in our research.

USE THIS SPACE FOR YOUR COMMENTS:

MANY, MANY THANKS FOR THE TIME AND EFFORT YOU GAVE TO US IN OUR RESEARCH!

SUE COHEN & TOM SWART

QUESTIONNAIRE 4. VIEWS ABOUT DIFFERENT THINGS

NB : * Replaces the name of the school

Please respond to each of the items according to the following scheme:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR ATTITUDE.
There are no right or wrong answers.

1.	There should be a close, warm relationship between students and teachers at *	5 4 3 2 1
2.	Parents should be consulted before any important decisions are made by * school.	5 4 3 2 1
3.	It should be of great concern to students what the cleaning, kitchen and maintenance staff at * feel and do.	5 4 3 2 1
4.	It doesn't matter if students fight physically sometimes - a little slap never hurt anybody.	5 4 3 2 1
5.	Boys are more important than girls and should be given preference at *	5 4 3 2 1
6.	It is more important for teachers to teach students than to be their friends.	5 4 3 2 1
7.	It is not important whether different race groups get on well at * or not.	5 4 3 2 1
8.	It is important to have students who get similar marks in the same class.	5 4 3 2 1
9.	Students who smoke cigarettes and drink on * campus should not be allowed to get away with it.	5 4 3 2 1
10.	Teachers should consult with students before making any important decisions concerning the students.	5 4 3 2 1
11.	Strict rules are necessary in the boarding house to prevent bad behaviour.	5 4 3 2 1
12.	Students should not show off their money with smart cars and clothes.	5 4 3 2 1

Please respond to each of the items according to the following scheme:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR ATTITUDE.

There are no right or wrong answers.

13.	The School Council should be a proper Representative Council which stands up for students' rights.	5	4	3	2	1
14.	Students and teachers should keep their political views to themselves.	5	4	3	2	1
15.	It doesn't matter too much if students make fun of gays and lesbians at *	5	4	3	2	1
16.	* should have a democratic way of deciding things - students and staff should have an equal vote on all matters.	5	4	3	2	1
17.	The school shouldn't make a big fuss about dagga smoking on campus.	5	4	3	2	1
18.	In class lessons should be arranged so that when students work together in small groups, these are racially mixed.	5	4	3	2	1
19.	The Headmaster has been appointed to a post of authority and he therefore has the right to make all important decisions himself.	5	4	3	2	1
20.	Teachers are older and better educated than students and therefore students should not argue with teachers' views in class.	5	4	3	2	1
21.	It is important to arrange classes so that there is a mixture of all race groups in each class.	5	4	3	2	1

Thank you for completing this questionnaire!

SUE & TOM

QUESTIONNAIRE 5. BROAD QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STAFF

NB : * Replaces the name of the school

Thanks a lot for agreeing to complete our previous questionnaire. Here is our final questionnaire - please would you be so kind as to complete this one for us as well!

Although we have interviewed most staff members, we cannot hope to get all the information we need, even in a lengthy interview. Thus we are turning to the trusty questionnaire to complete our data gathering. While completing this questionnaire, please bear in mind the following:

1. If you have already answered any of the items in this questionnaire during an interview with either of us, and have nothing to add, please write "refer to interview" in the space.

2. If any of the spaces are not sufficient for an answer, simply continue on to the back of the sheet.

3. Should you wish to <u>discuss</u> an answer with either of us, rather than <u>write</u> a response, please indicate that in the appropriate space.

We realise that every staff member is very pressured at the moment, and that we are imposing on your generosity. Thank you for this final labour which is not as long as it appears.

Please would you hand this questionnaire back to one of us personally to preserve confidentiality. We assure you that only we will read the responses, and that your responses will not be linked to you by name at any stage.

Many, many thanks for your time and assistance!

SUE & TOM

1. What do you feel is the worth of the tutor system -

   (a) for you?

   (b) for your tutees?

2. What sorts of matters did you discuss with your tutees as a tutor this year? Be as general or specific as you wish:

3. For you as a tutor, what sort of difficulties have you experienced this year in your rôle as tutor?

4. What changes (if any) would you like to see made to the tutor system?

5. What extra-mural(s) did you offer this year?

6. What has been the worth of the(se) extra-mural(s) for you?

7. What benefits did you perceive your extra-mural(s) to have for the students participating?

8. What difficulties (if any) have you experienced this year in your particular extra-mural(s)?

9. What changes (if any) would you like to see made to * extra-mural programme?

10. For you as a teacher at * ., what have been the benefits of having a Counselling Service at the school?

11. What sort of difficulties have you experienced with the Counselling Service at the school?

12. What changes (if any) would you like to see implemented in the Counselling Service at * ?

13. What changes (if any) would you like to see made to * curriculum (content and structure). Please motivate your suggestions:

14. In what ways do you feel the school as a whole reflects and accommodates the various race groups in the school?

15. What changes (if any) would you like to see made in regard to 14 above?

16. What do you feel you do as a subject teacher to reflect and accommodate the various race groups in your subject?

17. What changes (if any) would you like to see made in regard to 16 above?

18. What factors might make such changes difficult to implement?

19. Do you feel that the different race groups you teach have particular learning strengths/difficulties in your subject?

YES ☐ NO ☐

If YES, please -

(a) describe the nature of these strengths/difficulties;
(b) describe how you attempt to accommodate these strengths/ difficulties (if at all) - with what effects;

OR

(b) say why you do not attempt to accommodate these strengths/ difficulties:

20. Do you feel teachers at the school should actively encourage different race groups to get on with one another?

YES ☐ NO ☐

Please motivate your answer:

21. What attempts (if any) have you made this year to encourage race groups to get on with one another?

22. If you have made attempts to encourage race groups to get on, what were the responses to these attempts? Suggest reasons for the responses.

23. Are there any factors at play over which teachers have control in the school that may limit race groups' getting on with one another?

YES ☐ NO ☐

If YES, say what these are, and comment on <u>how</u> and <u>why</u> they operate:

24. BELOW ARE FOUR STATEMENTS (A, B, C, & D).
Put a cross in the box next to the one that best describes your opinion:

A. Students at this school do <u>not</u> <u>do anything</u> to get the different race groups at this school to get on well with one another ☐ A

B. Students at this school do <u>not</u> <u>do enough</u> to get the different race groups at this school to get on well with one another. ☐ B

C. Students at this school do <u>enough</u> to get the different race groups at this school to get on well with one another. ☐ C

D. At this school, students do <u>too much</u> to get the different race groups in the school to get on with one another. ☐ D

NOW, IF YOU CROSSED A, THEN ANSWER SECTION 24A
IF YOU CROSSED B, THEN ANSWER SECTION 24B
IF YOU CROSSED C, THEN ANSWER SECTION 24C
IF YOU CROSSED D, THEN ANSWER SECTION 24D OVERLEAF .....

SECTION 24A:

(a) Why do you feel that the students do not do anything to get the different race groups to get on well with one another?

(b) What should they do (if anything)?

SECTION 24B:

(a) Why do you feel that the students do not do enough to get the different race groups to get on well with one another?

(b) What do they do?

(c) What more should they do to get the race groups to get on well with one another?

SECTION 24C:

(a) Why do you feel that the students do enough to get the different race groups to get on well with one another?

(b) What do they do?

SECTION 24D:

(a) Why do you feel that the students do too much to get the different race groups to get on well with one another?

p.t.o.

SECTION 24D (Continued)

(b) What do the students do?

(c) What should they not do/do less of?

25. Have you noticed any tensions in the school this year related to race and/or culture?

YES ☐ NO ☐

(a) If YES, how have these race/cultural tensions manifested themselves?

(b) If YES, what (if anything) have you attempted to do about these tensions / why did you not do anything?

26. Have you noticed any tensions in the school this year related to sexism?

YES ☐ NO ☐

(a) If YES, how have these tensions related to sexism manifested themselves?

(b) If YES, what (if anything)have you attempted to do about these tensions / why did you not do anything?

27. Have you noticed any tensions in the school this year related to social class differences?

YES ☐ NO ☐

(a) If YES, how have these tensions related to social class differences manifested themselves?

(b) If YES, what (if anything) have you attempted to do about these tensions / why did you not do anything?

28. To what extent do you feel it is the school's rôle to facilitate political debate? Motivate you answer:

29. If you do perceive the school to have a rôle, suggest where, when how and by whom it should be fitted into the school programme:

30. What do you feel * 's political stance should be? Please motivate your answer:

31. Please comment on what it has been like for you to have had us as two full-time researchers in the school for this year:

32. Knowing what you do now, what would you have liked us to do / not to do in our rôles as researchers?

33. To what extent do you feel we have maintained a neutral stance during the course of the year? Please explain:

34. During the last two years, have you attended ny seminars/lectures/ conferences/courses, or read any books/journals that have been particularly useful for you in your subject or for you as a teacher at * ? If so, please indicate briefly what these were, and how they were useful.

35. Please make any further comments/suggestions about us and/or the research below:

MANY, MANY THANKS FOR YOUR TIME AND ASSISTANCE IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!

SUE & TOM

SUPPLEMENTARY VERBATIM COMMENTS FOR CHAPTER 4.

1. Quotations that show the staff's prioritization of skills development rather than fact accumulation

> I would prefer the term 'Humanities' - people, social issues, psychology. It doesn't matter which subject as long as people are learning and growing.
>
> Mr Jones

> The aim is not so much to fill them with a databank, though it is important that the store of knowledge is expanded. We aim to teach them how to learn.
>
> Mr Jones

> What we're trying to do is give them a . for the spirit of the age. That the Industrial Revolution was a time of change. We don't do just the socio-political history, but also the art, music and thinking of the time. They won't know that what's his face invented the spinning jenny, or when, so it's useless for their Matric - no dates, no facts.
>
> Ms Chetty

> The other members of staff feel we must actually teach content. People must come out with a whole stack of facts and knowledge. We don't feel that is our job. We feel our job is to provide children with the skills in order to be able to find information and to sift through that information and come up with a conclusion. Not just fill up their minds with a whole body of information which may or may not be useful later on. This is the thing. Every time the kids don't know something, like what is the capital of England, somebody gets uptight. The comparison they make is, 'My daughter is 9 years old and knows that, so why don't these children in Standard 6 or 7 or 8 or 9 or 10 know that London is the capital of England?'
>
> Ms Chetty

2. Quotations that show the kind of academic skills on which the Integrated Studies course was founded

> Well, in my mind ES is about spelling, tenses, essay structure. You pick it up as it comes out of the essays. We don't follow a sequence, it's flexible.
>
> Ms Sincox

> Well, the main aims are organisation, that's the main thing: how to enjoy learning, not bogged down by the syllabus, neither the children nor us; learn to research, write an essay, take notes. How to be original, to use your imagination, to be creative.
>
> Ms Silver

I see as important the development of research skills, the ability to analyse and synthesise, to enjoy discussion, poetry, to argue well.

Ms Driver

3. Quotations that support the statement that pupils perceived that Integrated Studies developed their communication and research skills

My English was bad when I came here - we speak Afrikaans at home. It's got much better. Doing speeches, debates, projects, plays and essays has helped me a lot in writing and speaking. It's mostly IS that helps. In other subjects mostly the teacher speaks or explains and you listen, so it's IS where you improve your English.

Hermann, WB in Std 6

Ms Simcox has taught me how to write and essay properly, to structure it well. There's been enough English. I've learnt how to precis, how to read faster but accurately, to sum up what I've read.

Charles, WB in Std 6

I learnt a lot to do with researching, to use the library. We learnt to take notes. They would give us passages and we'd have to take down key words and we'd build it up in our own words for a speech or an essay. They were quite strict and picky. They were free on what we put in it but we followed basic rules of how to do it. Say for a project we'd have to hand in a rough - a bubble which is a mind map, and a plan which was how we wanted to set it out and structure it and then from books we'd used we had to extract the key words, and then we'd draw up our rough in our own words and then our neat.

Esther, WG in Std 6

I had a lot of help with English. I liked Ms Simcox. She actually told you where your main problems were and explained clearly.

Khawera, BB in std 6

The projects were difficult in the beginning, but I got used to them. They showed us how to do them, and how to use the library and find books, and as we went on it got easier.

Mafanato, BB in Std 6

I enjoyed some of the themes - the easy ones. 'Sea Life' and 'The Universe'. Those were easier than 'Inventors' and the map of the school. They were hard 'cos we did them in the first term, and 'The Sea' and 'The Universe' were later. I was getting to know how to do a project, how to write essays, how to do bubbles and how to take notes.

Musa, BB in Std 6

I had difficulty finding books, but now it's better, I know. Mr Jones explained about going to the index. At the beginning it was terrible 'cos at my old school we just listened to the teacher. Now summarising was difficult. But Mr Jones showed me the method and it got better.

Lenias, BB in Std 6

I found the library work worthwhile. At my last school we did get projects but I never knew how to go about looking for information I needed, how to take key words and not plagiarise. Here they helped me a lot. They'd walk around and show you if you'd written a sentence how to take the keyword.

Mantwa, BG in Std 7

It wasn't as formal as it would be in English, but I learnt a lot of practical things, like writing essays. In Standard 8 we learnt a lot of skills, and I still use key words and things. We don't have to, but it's a good way.

Clara, WG in Std 9

4. Quotations that show pupils' perceptions of Integrated Studies as encouraging co-operative work

In IS you learn to work in groups, to work with people

Bradley, WB in Std 8

The teachers did sometimes put us with people. It was OK. Different, 'cos you weren't with your friends all the time. Most of the time not that nice, 'cos your friends weren't there, and you didn't have a lot in common with them. It didn't go so well with the others. There'd be a lot of arguments about what we'd be doing, though in the end we still made a play and it was OK. We had to like compromise.

Charles, WB in Std 8

You learnt a lot how to get on with other people in IS, or how to figure out something if you didn't get along with them. I dunno how. Maybe through Drama and joint projects. You had to figure out something together and if you didn't you got 0 so you had to do it.

George, WB in Std 7

5. Quotations that show pupils' perception that their self-confidence grew in Integrated Studies

Drama was good. It breaks your fear of speaking. Like we had presentations. I think Drama helped quite a lot of our fear.

Krishna, IB in Std 6

Well, in Drama we done a lot of plays and learnt a lot of skills, and we got better at them. And we've learnt how not to be nervous in front of a crowd, and to speak out.

Julian, WB in Std 6

IS stresses personal development. Somewhere you have to learn more about yourself and to have confidence in yourself.

Mantwa, BG in Std 8

I didn't like the Drama. Or the speeches. It made me nervous. But I have got less nervous.

Ian, WB in Std 6

I was a very shy person. I couldn't stand in front of people & I start talking, or generally participate in class. In IS I was brought out of my little shell. I was encouraged to talk.

Teakani, BG in Std 7

I found with speeches, the first time you're shaking, afraid of people. Now you're comfortable and just do it. We're used to the teachers.

Lenson, BB in Std 8

6. Quotation to show that Integrated Studies pupils perceived that Integrated Studies developed their creativity

Drama was great fun. You had suddenly to think up something, and do something. You had to be creative

Herbert, WB in Std 8

7. Quotations that show that pupils perceived Integrated Studies as integrating subjects, taking a holistic view of learning and giving space for the pursuit of personal interests in choice of what is to be learnt.

IS as holistic and integrating

IS is different from other subjects. It's broader, covers a lot more.

Donald, WB in Std 8

IS is a sort of a subject on it's own. The way that Geography, and History and English are all put together. Like doing a project, you learn more. You learn quite a lot from IS, the way they put everything together.

Jamiel, IB in Std 8

IS was very good. I learnt a lot, even though it was mixed Geography, History and English. I learnt more about people because of the plays and group discussions. We learnt about Astronomy and then Drama and the Environment. Different things, you know.

Grace, BG in Std 8

We learnt how natives in Australia lived and their traditional ways and we had projects to do. We got a broader view of things and places

Gopal, IB in Std 8

We learnt History and Geography, those were the main things in IS, and a bit of English.

Malose, BB in Std 8

The themes were nice. I enjoyed people of other lands. I've always wanted to travel, so it was fun to find the books. I did Greece, maybe 'cos I didn't know much about it. 'The Sea' and 'Sky' were also enjoyable. 'The Sky' was a little difficult not easy like 'The Sea'. I had books on 'The Sea' at home, but didn't know much about the sky, space and all that.

Rosimati, BB in Std 8

IS is different from other subjects. It's broader, covers a lot more IS there'll be freer discussion on a subject, and you can go into it more broadly. In Science, you do Science, but in IS it's open.

Graham, WI in Std 6

IS is a sort of subject on it's own. The way that Geography and History and English are put together, like doing a project, you learn more. You learn quite a lot from IS. The way they put everything together.

Hassan, IB in Std 6

I like doing one these and concentrating on all aspects of it. We had to do a project and a model of the planets It's nice to do all angles.

Gavin, WB in Std 6

To be honest, I enjoy IS very much. You do projects, and Drama and most things were combined - like Geography and History in one subject. You learnt skills and being creative.

Khazaoul, BB in Std 6

I thought it was one of the best subjects in school. It was all mixed on one theme. You would have a lecture on the history of gold, the geography of gold and after that would do project on that, and maybe go on an outing.

Tony, WB in Std 6

Integrated Studies as allowing pupils to follow their own interests

You are learning in IS, but never learning things you were not interested in. You could always find some aspect of the subject you were interested in.

Andrea, WG in Std 6

You learnt what you wanted to learn. I think that's a good thing 'cos you can't force a person to do something they don't want to do. It's better to choose your own work. We used to find information in the library. I could see which facts were important for me.

Eunice, BG in Std 7

It's nice in IS to choose what you want to learn. You can learn what you've always wanted to know.

Donald, BB in Std 6

IS was very enjoyable. We had a say in a lot of things. We had choice.

Vincent, WB in Std 6

I really enjoyed IS. We could do with the the theme what we wanted to. They'd guide us, give us an idea and the we could do any aspect that interested us.

Dorris, WG in Std 6

I like IS. It's fun. You learn about different things. If his doesn't interest you, you can find another thing that does.

Gezani, [illegible] in Std 8

In IS we mostly chose what to do. You could do any aspect that interests you. You have some theme to adhere to, but you can go about it any way you like. I enjoyed it. It's easier working on something you enjoy.

George, WB in Std 8

I really valued IS. If you need time on one subject, you could spend it. We've had the Standard 8 year to discover ourselves and find new things. I valued the fact that we could discuss things. We've been asked by the teachers what we'd like to learn about, and we did interesting things like war, religion, quite lot of poetry and some history.

Percy, WB in Std 8

8. Quotations that show teachers' participation in the evolution of the themes in Integrated Studies

The themes seem to have been established by tradition. The negative thing is that they're inclined to be taken as a syllabus - and we're supposed to respond to what's current and relevant for the group. The themes are OK, I suppose, it's what we do with them that matters.

Ms Driver

I don't know who chose the themes. I've only taught it for the last two years. By then the themes were there. I agreed with them, offered slight changes - very slight, 'cos I think they are well planned. This year I've been head of Standard 6 IS, and we've stuck to the programme with a few small variations, to be more like the Standard 6 syllabus and more ready for Standard 8. I've been happy with the themes.

Ms Silver

9. Quotation that shows Mr Jones' view of Integrated Studies in Standard 6 as rooted in the factual.

The themes in Standard 6 are less interpretive - they relate to the tangible. There's lots of ready debatable data. They give more discernible content than in the other years. The gold theme is relevant, it relates to the economic backbone of our country, and also the history of the country, and the political development of the country.

Mr Jones

10. Quotations that elaborate on the nature of non-Eurocentric work in Integrated Studies.

In Standard 8 IS I did a lecture on African origins. Also one on culture and customs. The kids were delighted, especially the African ones. Most of them did not know a lot of things - why we do some things and not others, like slaughtering a beast during vigils, digging a grave with a partition. They don't know why they are doing those things. Our family is still very deep in our culture, not like

the children here, most are too civilised to do that. They feel we do those things because we are ignorant. The white kids liked the African origins, had many questions. Clare was not aware we were from ages back, as far as the Bible.

Ms Khoza

In the 'Roots' theme in Standard 8 we try to make people aware of their origins and hopefully proud of them, and the film Greystoke is important there. In the whole handling of the conflict theme in Standard 7 we seem to have developed more and more the conflicts of race and religion.

Mr Jones

11. Quotations that show the staff's views on the need to choose more Afrocentric setworks

I do feel there is a need to Africanise the curriculum. I've been reading Ibsen. The names put me on the left foot, I'm already at a disadvantage. That part is easy. The difficult part is, because we're white, knowing how what we're doing is strange. So very aware socially conscious black staff members are essential, or we have no guidance and we're ignorant. Not necessarily black, but people with insight and information. We're so useless. We go on doing Lord of the Flies - what does it mean to Thabo from the township. So we need alternatives, don't know what to do. It's the way I was brought up, what I know, what I've been exposed to. We need so much more than that.

Ms Driver

We should be trying to find African literature, but don't want Gordimer or Lessing. I want something of the real politics and cry of Africa - right down from Standard 6

Mr Jones

12. Quotations that show that literature was used more for it's literary analysis potential than for exploring racism and sexism

It was the same with The Wave. I chose it because I couldn't put it down. We discussed the themes in terms of the book, not in any other way, though the did discuss a bit about peer pressure. Generally, they have to know the content, and say why they enjoyed the book. For Walkabout I gave a detailed test on who did what and when and where. For The Wave, I got them to analyse in a haphazard and free way, to discuss their reaction to the book. I don't ask them to relate the issues in the book to their own lives. They find it difficult to look into themselves, ask why they're doing things. If they do it naturally, that's OK. I don't want to force it, to take away the enjoyment.

Ms Silver

Walkabout is about survival. We go for fairly factual books, not much depth, but exciting. The issues were about survival and racial prejudice, and sexual inhibitions. We didn't discuss much in depth. I gave mine A8 words. Groups of 4 each had to look up 12. We discussed

the origin of words. We did discuss some of the issues in class, but not in depth, and just as regards the book, in the context of the book

Ms Simcox.

13. Quotations that show that little attention was paid to literature in Standard 7 Integrated Studies

In Standard 7 we did Lord of the Flies - sketchily, and The Sword and the Stone. We didn't spend much class time on them - one or two ES lessons, and never discussed intensively or in groups. It worries me sometimes that we don't achieve what we set out to achieve - why put books down if we're not going to do it.

Ms Driver

14. Quotations commenting on the nature of the work on film

In the work on films I did long shots, general terminology. I got a book from the library and presented it - boring, but I felt they had to have the terminology. From that they can interpret any film that way. Also, use of music, sound, overhead and underneath shots, lighting, colours - how the photographer and director influence your emotions, how he puts his message across, and the symbols used.

Ms Simcox

15. Quotations that show that work on racism entered the curriculum informally when appropriate

We do try to develop the sensitivity of the white group to the blacks. In media we developed their sensitivity to what was happening in the townships. The black students got quite excited - do tend to get very worked up as soon as you talk about politics.

Ms Simcox, St 5 IS

16. Views on the trivial nature of the Standard 6 Integrated Studies curriculum

Ms Silver's work is straight transmission of facts. She trivialise everything. IS becomes a trivial pursuit.

Ms Chetty

17. Quotations to show pupils' perceptions of efforts to make the Integrated Studies curriculum less Eurocentric

The only place at school where we talked about our cultures was in IS

Nasiring, BG in Std 8

IS helped me learn about other cultures. Especially 'Roots' and 'Relationships'. You learn about how people are, and what people learn from other people

Tintswalo, BG in Std 8

We did a project on cultures and each person had to say a speech and give information about their culture and what they do. We had to do a family tree and stuff. We had quite a few Zulus and Mosiens and Christians and stuff. I learnt about religions and people, and the people who don't believe in God. It was very interesting.

Sasop, IB in Std 6

18. Quotations to support the view that where there was political discussion in class, it was in Integrated Studies

We didn't do much political discussion. Only when the voting came up, we did discuss it in IS, and among ourselves. It wasn't really part of the lesson,it just came up.

Tony, MB in Std 6

We did sometimes have political discussions. Like when we were doing gold, we got on to the workers. Gajendra brought it up, and we spent half and hour or an hour on it. Ms Slocox let us talk, but then we got into it and started screaming, she said 'no'.

Vishnu, IB in Std 6

We had some political discussions in IS, but not much.

Tselagkelo, BB in Std 6

The only place at school where we ever talk about politics is in the English class with Mr Jones.

Gezani, BB in Std 6

Hassan would bring films. 99% of the time they were banned, but we'd see them anyway. When we did the Industrial Revolution we linked it to South Africa. We did the similarities between the workers in the 1880's and workers here, working for nothing. I learnt a lot 'cos of the discussions.

Bob, WB in Std 7

In the 'Conflict and Co-operation' theme we discussed South Africa quite a lot.

Cyril, WB in Std 7

South African politics came in a lot in the theme, and we had a lot of discussions on it [illegible] with the Three Waves'. We'd relate things to the situation here.

Milly, GG in Std 7

19. Quotations that support the view that there was space for the discussion of relevant issues in Integrated Studies

We did sometimes do Drama in Afrikaans. It helped you with your speaking, but not with getting to know each other the way it did in IS. I suppose it was because we didn't have to express our opinions, just to act something out.

Isaiah, BB in Std 6

IS is different from the other subjects. In Science, say, you'd arrive 'To-day you're doing blood. Take a blood sample. Read your book. Write a paragraph, and to-morrow there'll be a test.' It was based on the learning side, and IS is based on the learning and being with poop' ..

Graham, WB in Std 6

We wrote a couple of essays, and discussed the books we read - Good Times, Bad Times and Animal Farm. We linked ion to the real world. They didn't fit into themes - they related to things that actually happen

Lucy, WB in Std 8

In government school the teacher prepares the lesson, gives it, checks your homework. Here we discuss it, argue with other students in class. IS started that, particularly the group work

Indrin, IS in Std 9

20. Quotations that show the staff's view of the value of Drama

I see Drama as important for their personal development. The kid is challenged, has to be bold, step out, face a class. And many kids come out and shine, and grow in self-confidence, and awareness.

Mr Driver

21. Quotations that show pupils' perceptions of the role of small group drama work in developing leadership and negotiation skills.

Small groups were lots of fun. It taught you about working in teams. You all had to do your little bit. Everything had to run smoothly and you had to consider the other person's views. You had to not only give but listen. You have to be considerate. It takes a lot of self-discipline to work with a group, especially when everyone is different and you've got to try to get them all together. Some just follow, some want it all their way, some do nothing and you've got to get them to work together. It would generally sort itself out.

Fred, WB in Std 6

In Drama we usually have a lot of trouble. Like the time two groups wanted to do the same thing. We spent a whole week trying to sort it out. There was chaos for a week - and we had 1 and a half weeks - so it was tough to get it done. We had spent a lot of the time trying to negotiate it. We had to decide things as a group, and compromise.

Ricimati, BG in Std 7

22. Quotations that show how the trips were flexible enough to allow for informal work on attitudes and relationships

The aim of the trip to Sedwana is to sort out relationships - between students, and staff and students. This trip, racism came up. There were several incidents where people on the beach reacted negatively to our black kids. They were very hurtful. Makasela was alone on the beach, and they sc[illegible] his drawing and said: 'Kaffir, what are you do ng on the beach? [illegible]ot together round the campfire and discussed how it should be [illegible]d, how the person himself should react.

Mbhazima said 'We've got to understand that people are as they are 'cos of the way parents brought them up, and just got to love them.' The group applauded - very generous of him...

Jimmy and Patrick (WB) came in with a negative statement, 'What can you expect from a Dutchman?' Joyce (WG) spoke up, and said it was unacceptable, as bad as racism to blacks - she's half Afrikaans, Thys (WB) is Afrikaans, and such terms are unacceptable. The black students are quick to pick up racist statements against themselves - they often hear things that are not said - yet exist and racist in the same ways - so it was good that this group picked up the fact that there are other races with racism against them.

We decided we should stand together as a group, refuse to be spoken to by anyone. So one way was for the whites to support the blacks, not speaking to anyone, not taking lifts. We decided there was nothing to gain talking back or showing hurt - only solution was to ignore it - and that's when Mbhazima came out with his statement.

Ms Biccar

23 Quotations that show the staff's concern about the value of large group discussion for black pupils

They (other IS teachers) want to teach in one group because they are stimulated by each other, not 'cos the kids benefit. They don't care that the kids are either bored or intimidated in a big group.

Ms Chetty

There is a silent group in no big classes. The people at the back - Setlela, Shilavi, (BGs) the silent majority who don't participate, Khazimula (BB) - and I don't know why Tobogo is so quiet, he's got a good brain. They just lack confidence in a big group - they have to compare with Gloria (WG) and Indrin (IG). We as a staff take the easy way out - respond to a hand. We must be more conscious of drawing people out - don't do it enough. This is where our present general IS meetings have fallen short of needs. We should be discussing grammar and structural problems confronting us, and people's participation.

Ms Driver

24. Quotations that show that pupils felt that Integrated Studies helped them develop self-discipline

My last school was a government school. There was corporal punishment, and in that way it's not a right way of discipline. Now I'm getting self-discipline. Like when you fail a test, it's your problem. In my old school the teachers beat us up if I failed. Here, either I learn and I pass, or I fail. I tell myself to learn, I discipline myself. IS has emphasised this more than others. IS is most important for this. In IS you do projects. It takes about two weeks to do a project. Most people do it in the last minute. I don't do that. I do it whenever I have a chance. That's the best way of doing it.

Christian, BB in Std 6

The workshop was rather long, and I realised when I got to the end of it which was the night before that I should have worked a bit harder, and spaced out the work more evenly. And that's another thing IS taught me. Just something I had to learn.

Gaby, WB in Std 8

The projects were quite a challenge. You had to take something, and you were pretty well left on your own to make something of it. It was nice, I enjoyed it.

Harold, WB in Std 8

In our projects we started with basic taking notes, and they helped with that. Mostly it was up to you. They don't push you all the time for your project, and then the day before you realise it's got to be ready, so you learn to be responsible.

Sheila, WG in Std 8

I hated the big projects. I hate writing. But I learnt something from them, and it taught me, I realise. It taught me how to structure my work, it made me realise how precious time is. They'd give you a project to do in two weeks. We'd play around, wasting time till the last minutes, and that was really pressurising.

Beauty, DS in Std 8

I have learnt self-discipline - in IS mostly. Everything isn't put there for you You've got to discipline yourself to do it properly.

Clare, WG in Std 9

25. Quotations that support the view that the teachers in Integrated Studies were not the owners of knowledge

The teachers know more 'cos they are grown up. But in a discussion we'd all give our ideas and they'd learn something new. In other subjects it's really the teachers telling you 'cos we don't know so much. IS is more general knowledge. In Maths, Afrikaans and Science you have to be taught.

Tony, WB in Std 8

There isn't a lot of teaching. We have to do things ourselves and be creative

Alfred, WB in Std 8

We learnt from each other and not only from the teacher.

Bridget, WG in Std 8

You could talk and everything, and you discussed the different themes. It wasn't that they said this and you said 'ja'. You got lots of feedback from other people, not only the teachers, and you heard different opinions.

Charles, WB in Std 8

26. Quotations that show that pupils were aware of their independence as learners in Integrated Studies

I have actually found quite a lot of IS interesting. I enjoyed 'The Sky Above Us'. We had to do a big worksheet, and we just had to go to the library and I learnt a lot on my own. I think that's how they planned it. They wanted us to look up the answers, but every time I picked up a book I looked through it and I learnt a lot.

Dennis, WB in Std 6

In IS there's too much discussion and the movies to teach us. And sometimes you have to teach yourself by writing a project. So you understand your project, and know much more than being told by someone else.

Mabule, BB in Std 6

27. Quotations that support the view that Integrated Studies teachers were available to facilitate learning

We'd have research projects, and they'd always be there.

Harold, WB in Std 6

In the library you could call them to your table and ask, but mostly you had to get on with it. People didn't always know if they'd be allowed to present it in the way they wanted to. They'd say, 'Present it any way you want to.'

Arthur, WB in Std 6

28. Quotations that support the view that there was an open relationship with the teachers in Integrated Studies

The IS teachers are very open minded. They are very interesting to listen to, and they would also listen, and treat you as as a person not as a student. It's difficult to explain, just the way you felt.

Lucy, WG in Std 8

All of the teachers in IS, you felt you could go to them for anything you wanted to. They always had time for people. Always asked you, said 'hallo', were friendly. In a way you were like their friend.

Gaby, WB in Std 7

29. Quotations to support the view that most non-Integrated Studies teachers were were primarily orientated toward the Matriculation examination

You have a syllabus as such, but I think you are still free to interpret that syllabus the way you want to till you get to nine and ten.

Ms Marshall (Afrikaans teacher)

With regard to ths population, all that's important is that they know what's a birth rate, what a population pyramid is, what countries have what shapes, and the problems of over-population. I don't think it's a very important section, do you? We've done lots of climatology and geomorphology, and lots of mapwork. We've done isolines, con-

tours and distribution maps. I'll pick up the population when we do South African regional next year. I don't spend too much time on it - the amount they need for the Matric exam is minimal.

Mr Parks

I teach a lot of the practical skills - forms of statistical analysis, interpolation of isolines, tephigrams if I feel the class can cope, flow line diagrams. I aim so that when you give them a completed one they can analyse it. A lot of children struggle to read diagrams, so I try to make them understand by drawing them themselves.

Mr Parks

I educate for the best possible Matric results - but don't think that should happen lower down the school. My curriculum is definitely based on possible exam questions, not even on the syllabus. If there's a section that's seldom examined, I don't do much work on it.

Ms Stocks (Accountancy Teacher)

In Standard 8 we really do an introduction to what they will be doing in the next two years. We look a the Greeks, do a little bit of make-up, show them a video of how to make a movie, a little bit of dance drama, they do exercises. In the second term we start with the structure of the drama. We use our setbook, Our Town to look at things like the initial incident, rising action, the climax, falling action and the conclusion. Then we do themes, and characters and dialogue of drama. Then we look at very technical things, like the narrator, and what a stage manager does and so on. This is the basic thing we do with all plays - read, summarise the acts, look at the characters, themes and structure.

Ms Williams

In Standards 9 and 10 we do a lot of theory. I give them 50 questions to work through. I push them. It's ridiculous. I hate it. We get so narrow. I have to hammer things, push to the final paper. I hate it. The Matric syllabus is disgusting. We work ourselves to pieces.

Ms Williams (Speech and Drama teacher)

We do the JMB syllabus. We don't deviate. In the Standard 6 textbook, some sections are marked for advanced work, and we leave those out

Ms Silver (Mathematics Teacher)

30. Quotations to show that it was primarily academic skills of value fo the Matriculation examination that were focused on.

In Afrikaans the main aim is to improve their vocabulary and help them become fluent in Afrikaans.

Ms Marshall

I'm hoping to teach listening skills, that they should talk some conversational Zulu and that they should be able to write and spell.

Ms Khosa

In Accountancy, you teach basic principles, build on them and apply them. I try to get the kids to reason and use the basic principles

Ms Stocks

(In History) I try to cultivate critical analysis. They should have access to different points of view and discuss the merits of all without deciding which is right or wrong for them. It's difficult for the weaker children especially the black children, they want facts.

Ms Parks

I try to get them to see how things are linked, and to follow through a line that goes 'if this, then that'. The last exam paper had a lot of things they hadn't done, but which they could think about, like why artery walls are thicker. I also try to improve their note-taking skills. They take their own notes. I try to show them how to take notes in Bio, and how to study effectively.

Ms Bolt

Then we've got voice and diction, speech training. We do this about one period per week, to develop the speech organs and accent. It's a headache - need a special voice teacher here - but I encourage them to do exercises on their own - there's not enough time to do it every day in class. We also do the other side of practical work - physical exercises, stretches and push ups, to get relaxation.

Ms Williams

31. Quotations that show some teachers' reflection on the difficulties of making the curriculum less Eurocentric

Never got so far as African art and design this year. I feel a bit guilty. 7's wanted violence and fighter planes - I'm talking about the small group that rules the group. I would like to work on that more in the syllabus - I've spent those two years getting to grips with the syllabus for Matric. Now I feel more confident and will pay more attention to the juniors.

Ms Hughes

If there's time we do a bit of ecology - not this year, and diseases - not this year. We seem to have had such a disrupted time with the stayaways and the election thing. In the health thing we could go mad on the conditions people live in, but we tend to take on the interests of the children who have confidence and speak out, and that's not where their interests lie.

Ms Green

We haven't done much about black theatre and drama in general. I want to see if I can get any wisdom by looking at the syllabus and how we can change the syllabus to fit a school like Riverbend with different cultures in one classroom. We do explore the origins of theatre, but nowhere in the library is there a book on the origin of black theatre - there's Chinese, and European, but no black theatre. My only source is the kids, to ask their parents about rituals at weddings. It's difficult, 'cos I know so little about it. No and Kabuki is in the syllabus in Standard 10, before that it's Greek, Egyptian and the Renaissance. The syllabus section of theatre is vague - we could do

anything. We could do black theatre. I haven't done much. There are no books or records to show no black theatre. I perceive a need, but don't know how to do it. Going to Grahamstown is helpful - they see singing, dancing and acting on the stage.

Ms Williams

32. Quotations to show pupils' perceptions of the Eurocentric nature of the non-Integrated Studies curriculum

We didn't do any African based drama. We used to go out to see plays, but not even the political plays, more the Drama accredited plays that would be useful to a Drama student.

Abdul, IB in Std 8

We looked at Art from Europe, Chinese and Byzantian. None from Africa.

Claro, HG in Std 9

In History we've learnt nothing about African history. Everyone seems to think that Europe and America are more important than their own continent. In Drama we've learnt about Eastern theatre, which has been cut out of the syllabus by the JMB. It would have been nice to learn about Africa's Art and Drama. We do do some modern African theatre - go and see plays quite a lot. We've done The Diary of Anne Frank and in Standard 7 did Cry the Beloved Country. I think the school is too scared to try anything

Jenny, HG in Std 9

33. Quotations that show some teachers' inclusion of current material into the curriculum

It is possible in History, once they've grasped the facts, to interpret and to relate events to now. I did that with the strikes. I compared the 1913-1914 and 1922 strikes with 1987. I looked at the mine strikes, and issues with NUM. Showed them how the strikers in the early years were white miners, but a lot of issues were the same - wages, living conditions.

Ms Clarke

You can't divorce the politics from the economics. If I don't want to discuss politics, I say, 'Lets consider any government.' But it generally gets back to what happens here. If you look at the marketing boards you end up criticising the government, and then I say, 'Lets look at other systems, how would state run agriculture work?' We have to ask, ' Think of South Africa with it's borders shut. What are the resources of the country like? Look at our need for trade. What can sanctions do to the country?'

Ms Stocks (Accountancy)

You can link Biology and social and political issues. Evolution and genetics lend themselves to it. I teach with an evolutionary bias, and say, 'This is what they claim, that this follows on from this', and if the class is so inclined we do have discussion on Divine Creationism instead of Evolution. Human population and population dynamics could be a hotbed for political discussion - but we were

rushing to finish the syllabus. We could have discussed such things as, 'Do we need to send food to the poor?' 'Why are there poor people?' The same sorts of things as in Geography. In genetics you can talk about different groups and so on - but they're interested in their own genetics - 'if granny's got hair like that, why is mine like that?' Disease and malnutrition comes in to population, and in nutrition, but we discussed more of the biological aspects of malnutrition - what happens when you get this and that. And we skimmed over the population section. Got the basic things over, and didn't talk about it much.

Ms Green

In population geography I start with drawing a variety of pyramids, and then discuss growth rates, birth rates and so on. I go through the whole thing of birth control and traditional societies, and what are the solutions to over-population. In Standard 8 they have grand plans of compulsory sterilisation - I just let them talk.

Mr Parks

I don't teach SE. It's so simple, I can just direct the kids at what they have to learn. I try to introduce the topic, get them to discuss it, I get current reading to show them it's relevant to to-day, and then say, 'Take out your books, this is what you've got to know'. And I teach them how to answer the questions.

Ms Stocks

Well, in Standard 8 what we're trying to do is give general background. We do general characteristics: breathing; reproduction; locomotion; feeding. We use the British textbook, Life Study, it's very well set out and has very good illustrations. In Standard 7 we follow on to the human body. To a large extent, I allow their interests to steer the discussion. The black kids have wanted to know more about the Siamese twins. And there is time to do other things. Like when the pool was gungy we took stuff out to look at under the microscope, though it was nothing to do with what we were doing at the time.

Ms Bolt

I do try to do some work on pollution in the ecology section with the eights. The kids often say, 'Why are we doing this?' There's very little link to real social issues. I might draw in Aids when we do viruses, but very little. I can see that there is a need to link back to their world more. I bring in ethics where I can - like the genetic implications of a nuclear bomb, and can you sentence a future generation to a war that happened in the past.

Ms Green

I used an article on slang as an example of bad language - language that they shouldn't use. They must find substitutes. And we talked about accents. The South African accent is guttoral because of the influence of Afrikaans. The accent is OK - we live in South Africa, but they should avoid slang and colloquialism. Slang is OK to each other, but shouldn't be used in a letter to the managing director

Ms Clarke

We do discuss things that are off the syllabus - like are men or women better drivers, things like that. We try to use articles from other places than the book. We often use Huisgenoot - it's the magazine Ms Williams and I buy. We find an article to use for vocabulary, and sometimes a debate.

Ms Marshall, Afrikaans

I try to link Science with things that happen outside. When we were doing redox reactions I tried to show them that the reaction is used in industry to get iron, and I showed them the reaction. I tried a bit in the Standard 7 class to get them excited about Science. I brought in photos of a recent supernova which exploded 10 000 years ago an it's taken 10 000 year for the light to get here. I also tried to have a discussion in the Standard 7 class on whether something like the space programme is justified in term of the condition in the world, and I had an discussion about Hiroshima with the 9's, and one with the 8's about whether we've really progressed, with all our technology, is man happier?

Mr Banks

It difficult to choose Afrikaans books - there are so few available. We chose what we thought the kids would find interesting, and related more or less to their environment. One is about having a pet and growing attached to it. Boem, Beome, Boompie is about a young girl with a sick grandfather who wants to visit him but her granny doesn't want them to - a sort of family dilemma. Die Vere is a detective story. Rigbere is about a dog that a little boy adopts. And Skarlakon is a spy story.

Ms Marshall

34. Quotation to show how Ms Clarke would allow some discussion of current events - after the 'proper work' had been done

We've been doing a close reading of Hamlet. They find the language very difficult. When we've done that, then perhaps we can talk about the more general issues involved. Maybe we could say, 'There's something rotten in the state of South Africa - but can't do that if they don't understand Hamlet as a play first - must do that before asking them if they see any significance in the play. Or, I might say, 'Why must we do this play?' and sh y them the relevance of studying Hamlet. But, I must say 'What have I set out to do to-day?', and stick to that'

35. Quotation to show how/ why Mr Deventer avoided socio-political discussion in his classes

We don't discuss soc o-political issues in Afrikaans. I seldom allow it. We had one discussion this year - the kids were up in arms about rules - but they went on in English, and that's why I wouldn't encourage that kind of thing in class anyway - they can't express themselves in Afrikaans if they're emotionally upset - so I don't create scope for that I wouldn't choose comprehensions to develop that, though I might use a text if it came up in the book - but its so short lived you can't say you're getting anywhere with that.

36. Quotations to support statement that few subjects outside Integrated Studies did any work of broad social or personal relevance to the pupils, and that where the content lent itself to this, there was little discussion of issues.

> In English with Mrs Clarke we did read some articles on township life. But we didn't really discuss them. We looked at it from the English point of view. Some comments might fly, like, 'how true', but there won't be a huge discussion on it.
>
> Anna, WG in Std 9

> In Afrikaans we've read Swart Pelgrim which tells of black people going to the mines. But we do the book, don't discuss the issues much.
>
> John, WB in Std 8

> We did have some political discussion in History. When we did the Anglo-Boer war we did do something about it. But in History we just talked a little, in IS talked in more depth - so we know already and didn't need to talk much about it.
>
> Beauty, BG in Std 9

> Afrikaans was generally a bit of a bore. A non-event. We just read the books for content, and the books weren't the sorts of books you could get a discussion on.
>
> Harold, WB in Std 8

> In Afrikaans you just do things, write tests, do your homework. But in IS they take it out broader, and explain it better.
>
> Phetole, BB in Std 6

> We don't do many experiments, and not by ourselves. We mainly listen and make notes. I need it for architecture, or would drop it. It's not a subject that makes you interact with people. It has nothing to do with me. It's got to do with physical things in the world which have nothing t do with me.
>
> Tracy, WG in Std 8

> Afrikaans is easy. It's just the structure of the sentence, read the book, answer the questions. There's no lateral thinking. You don't have to comprehend any ideas about the world.
>
> Gina, WG in Std 8

> Afrikaans is boring. It's got three tenses and four of this and that, and you learn those things over and over again. We go round the class answering questions, or do an exercise, or read the setwork and answer questions on it. We never have discussion like in IS. We write essays on things like 'last night thieves came and stole my TV set' or 'How beautiful Cape Town is'. There are stupid topics like 'Trees' ad 'My first day at Riverbend' or 'The day I went to Gold Reef City'. It's just a subject you have to do.
>
> Clare, WG in Std 9

In History things are very straightforward. There's never any interpretation. I could usually read it up and I'd be OK. The tests are very straightforward, not like Maths and Science where you have to understand.

Nancy, WG in Std 9

We do discuss current issues in SA a little in History with Mrs Clarke. Like with the miners' strike, she brought in the 1988 one. It's not what she does, it's the way she does it. You never feel you've got into anything that much. We drew up two columns comparing the strikes, but didn't really go through it, or discuss it. We made sure of the 1913 and 1922 ones, but not the 1988. We didn't really discuss that one in class.

Andrea, WG in Std 9

We never have discussions. Not in English.

Rirhandzu, BG in Std 9

We haven't had one politically oriented comprehension. She has a June 16th poem she did, and we have some newspaper letters. But we just looked at it as a poem, didn't get into the politics. I think she's afraid, sort of.

Imran, IB in Std 9

English is English, and we've got the syllabus to get through in a limited time. We never discuss anything related to the school or anything else.

Sally, WG in Std 9

I've found English with Mrs Clarke very disappointing. She's into getting a good Matric. Somehow I think she's got a very narrow outlook on things. Poems tend to have a straightforward meaning, and you're not allowed to argue with her.

Nadine, WG in Std 9

Something I'd find useful in Science and Maths would be to know how things are useful in general terms. They isolate things, and I don't know why they're important. In Maths for example, I asked Ms Silver why we need geometry, and she said, 'Oh it's not important, it's just in the Matric syllabus'. And in Science, ticker tapes, what are they used for? I get lost 'cos I cant relate to them.

Shirley, WG in Std 9

37. Quotations that show some teachers' use of pair and group work, and of learner centred approaches.

We do a lot of improvisation. I give them a situation, 'You're a guest in a hotel, there's no hot water, what do you do?' These exercises are invaluable. Shy people can't be shy, they've got to complain. They want to die in the beginning, but do shed their skin. If I just look at the confidence they gain through that exercise, it's tremendous.

Ms Williams (Drama)

The usually work on their orals in two's. They work better. And they come out of themselves more, are more confident when in two's. When we do this we always mix our classes - they work better than when with a friend - and they must get to know each other. We pair them off down the list, it's not a group thing.

Ms Marshall (Afrikaans)

I'm a great one to get the children to help each other. To help with a worksheet, to work as a group for experiments. A lot to learning goes on when they try to explain things to each other.

Ms Bolt (Junior Biology)

38. Quotations showing pupils' perceptions of the amount of group/pair work outside Integrated Studies

In Afrikaans we mainly work on our own. She says she prefers us to do it on our own, 'cos then she knows we're working. So we only do groupwork when we do speeches.

Lindiwe, BG in Std 8

She put us in groups to do experiments. We did have some discussion. She's say, 'Do you know why this does this?' and we'd give our opinions. But it wasn't a big part of it.

Arthur, WB in Std 6

In Afrikaans we mainly do book work and comprehensions. We do do group work for speeches and dialogue. The two classes will combine, and we work with sentence also.

Gaby, WB in Std 6

In Maths I work with Khombo (BB). It's helpful 'cos you can explain better to your friend than letting the teacher 'cos you always understand your friend better.

Musa, BB in Std 7

In Maths we help each other. You must be a pair or three. We compare answers with each other, and if the answers are different we do it again. Then she tells us the answer, and the most difficult ones she does on the board.

Mahala, BB in Std 7

Maths is boring. But she puts you in partners. Gaby (WB) is cleverer than me, and helps, and sometimes I help him.

Joaneth, BG in Std 7

39. Teachers' quotations to show the general teacher centred approach in most non-Integrated Studies classes

We read a chapter - they read as I read. I stop after every two paragraphs, asking them to give the meaning of what's been read. I explain, and at the end of the chapter I give them a summary with questions and vocab from the chapter - a sort of comprehension exercise. In the Standard 8 I give them more vocab, and no summary.

Ms Marshall (Afrikaans)

We don't do workshopping of plays. I'm not a believer in workshopping. I prefer to take a play, prepare it - work out the movement, lighting, costume. They come, and I give them the scripts. With workshopping it's difficult. You don't know where it's going. I prefer to plan everything out.

Ms Williams (Drama)

In grammar, we work through the chapters in the book. Each is a different aspect of grammar. There'll be a chapter of the past tense, for example. But each has vocab, idioms, propositions. We work through that, and every now and then I give them a worksheet to break away from the book for a while.

Ms Marshall (Afrikaans)

I would have liked to do more practical work, and outdoor appreciation of nature work - you've chosen a bad year to be here - I've been very casual

Ms Green (Biology)

In the usual lesson I treat something, say pronunciation, say dla. I have a list of words that have that sound in them, and we drill those words, using verbs and nouns they know already to construct sentences, and then they write them down. We also play some games, and dramatise the conversations in the book to help them speak more freely.

Ms Khoza (Zulu)

In Standard 8 Biology you have to work to the syllabus for Matric. We use the set textbook. It's a boring book, but we have no say, it's part of Matric. There's more content to cover than in six and seven. You can't let the direction come from the class. There's more teacher direction. More lectures. And the questioning is directed at what the textbook would say, rather than the interesting aspects.

Ms Bolt (Biology)

40. Pupils' comments that elaborate on the teacher-centred and directed approach to learning in most mainstream classes, and give some pupils' responses to such teaching.

Biology and Science

In Biology and Science it's mainly telling, though we do have to do some questions or look things up. We have sometimes looked at slides. We look and tell her what we can see, and she draws what we should have seen on the board.

Joseph, WB in Std 6

I liked Science more at my old school. She gave us examples in class, and most of the time I got them right. It made me feel good about Science. It isn't the same kind of teaching here. Most of the time he dictates. It's not right. We don't learn, just sit there and take notes, take notes. I did quite well. I just learnt when I got home.

Meshak, BB in Std 8

In Science, Mr Banks does all the explaining, tells us the results and we write it down. I don't know one chemical he's mixed this year, but he's mixed a lot. I just learn it, and pass, but I don't think that's a good way of learning. I don't know anything, but I still pass.

Salim, IB in Std 9

We don't do much prac. work in Biology. We used to do more, cut up hearts and things. Now it's more just aiming for Matric. It's good in a way, 'cos I've learnt a lot already. And in Science he does the experiments.

Vasim, IB in Std 9

We did do some practical work in Biology, but it was mostly being told. We'd do a chapter in the book, say on breathing. And then maybe you'll see a video on how animals breath, and then you'll do a test.

Harold, WB in Std 6

In Biology she told us everything in class, and we took notes and she used a lot of diagrams to explain. There wasn't much discussion. IS was the only subject where we had a lot of discussion.

Steve, WB in Std 8

I enjoy Biology. Ms Green would draw it on the board and explain it as she goes along, and we'd ask questions and she'd answer us. We'd do the work, sometimes a prac and then she'd give us a worksheet. She'd explain it, and then you'd get a worksheet, and you'd know the answer if you'd listened in class.

Priya, IG in Std 9

In Biology she just used to tell us about something and we'd take notes, and read in the book. We didn't do much on our own, we were taught mostly.

Frank, WB in Std 8

In Science and those subjects we'll ask questions, but only in English, with Ms Chetty do we ever get to talk.

Prema, IG in Std 9

Science is presented as a body of facts. We never look at it in its broader context. Even the concept of an experiment is not looked at as something where you can hypothesise, draw conclusions, make predictions. It's just another way of adding facts to the storehouse of in your head. One step closer to understanding some concept that will help you pass your Matric.

Cyril, WB in Std 7

Mathematics

Mr Ronnie used to teach us everything, and when we didn't understand, he would start over again from the beginning, and we'd know everything very well.

Nqhuthu, BB in Std 6

In Maths she doesn't really teach, she simply gives you facts.

Boyd, WB in Std 6

Afrikaans

In Afrikaans we don't even discuss the book. We read it, do questions for homework. Then it's, 'Why haven't you done your homework?' Then you write a test. We went through the book chapter by chapter, and people didn't have a clue what the book as a whole is about.

Cyril, WB in Std 7

We are allowed to choose our topics for speeches.(in Afrikaans) I chose Communism, but we didn't discuss it.

Manji, IB in Std 9

We do some speeches, and will discuss the Afrikaans stuff, but don't go off the subject.

Cecil, WB in Std 8

Speech and Drama

Theory in Speech and Drama was the setworks. Very boring. The plays she chose didn't interest me. We had to do essays on each scene, and give character analysis. The discussion was only about the book. Prac was more fun - like putting a mask on and becoming someone else.

Rajeesh, IB in Std 8

Geography

We didn't have much discussion in Geography. We just talk in class, but we're not supposed to. We have to work things out in class, and answer questions. He just talks, and explains and writes on the board what he wants us to write down.

Fred, WB in Std 8

In Geography he'll get his point across quickly so you can listen to what he has to say and go over it for the test. First of all he'll go over the main points, and he doesn't usually take it out of the textbook, and we take notes from what he's saying, but if it's a system he'll go over it and we'll take the information from the book and do a drawing. He'll give a simpler explanation than the book, and then we'll make notes. We don't do any project work. And we don't have much discussion. We mostly get the work done 'cos there's tons of it. We learn new work every day.

Sam, WB in Std 8

He teaches us, mainly. We don't find out on our own. He manages to make it interesting with diagrams and slides, and also he takes articles and things like that, not just what's in the textbook. We did deserts, and he had some articles on conservation.

Sunil, IB in Std 8

Geography lessons are very relaxing. He knows a lot of general knowledge, always has something interesting to say that makes you want to learn. Geography is like a break from other subjects, not as strenuous, always say some drawing, some diagrams to copy from the book. And you might talk about your weekend.

Shirley, WG in Std 8

We did a lot of practical things, like see films. We followed a book, and would get it explained and further things taught. We didn't find out much for ourselves, it was very much being told what was what. I think there was a required syllabus, and we basically stuck to that. We didn't have much discussion. Geog to me is not the kind of thing you can have long discussions about.

Estelle, WG in Std 9

History

In History we've got Cedric Smith, and he knows a lot, so we always have discussion. She explains, and then we have discussion. The other class don't seem to have it - we're lucky to have Cedric. We don't really relate things to ourselves. We look at what happened, and how that affected now.

Do you learn to weigh the evidence and detect bias?

No, basically, she has her information and explains it to us. Then Cedric adds something. She gives us worksheets to do, and we go home.

Jenny, WG in Std 9

Mr Parks is very boring. He'll sit there with the Illustrated History open and read from it and explain to us. We had four discussions in the terms.

Linda, WG in Std 9

Cultural Studies

Cultural Studies was a very easy subject. Mrs Rawlins always made sure everybody got in the 90's. She'd spoon-feed you. She'd write down the notes for you and give you maps to learn. She did everything the simplest way.

Thandi, BG in Std 7

Cultural Studies has been wonderful. Like Troy. We learnt the Seven Wonders of the World, and then the Illiad. Mrs Rawlins basically researches the subject thoroughly and she makes it into a story, and each lesson she carries on telling us more of what happened.

Lynette, WG in Std 7

41. Quotations to show the view that many teachers felt the need to be in control in their class

I've come to realise I don't have to change at all. I feel I can stick with my values. I'm happy. The kids are happy. I can make clear that there are certain things I don't allow in my class - like no eating, no bad language, and that there is a certain dress code.

Ms Clarke

I'm feeling better 'cos I'm exerting myself. 'You will not' instead of 'please will you' - and a lot are responding well to that situation. I'm reverting to my old standards of presentation. I'm signing books now.

Mr Parks

42. Quotations that give further information on pupils' perspectives on the work done in their English classes with Ms Chetty.

She didn't stick to the syllabus, but we got it finished, and we learned so much. I learnt about life, and people and myself. I can't really say how. I just learnt to care about people. We used to have a lot of discussion, and fight, and our class used to get so angry we really wanted to shoot each other. We used to talk about things that were relevant - not that should be relevant - like the army, and the white guys having to go into it, and how did people feel. I think I learnt a lot of people i'd never realised 'cos their views that don't usually come out came out.

Jenny, WG in Std 9

If we did Hamlet, then we would relate it to what's happening in the country, or something we knew, so we weren't just learning a text out of context. It was put into a context we could relate to. It was political to a sense, but she never imposed that - it would come out of the class.

Rodger, WB in Std 9

Ms Chetty, she didn't want to bore us. She speaks, then wants you to get involved, be creative. Each individual is given a chance to express his views. You understand the whole topic. You can object, support. It's just like 'each one teach one', not just her teaching. Her classes are different from others. I feel confident. I speak and improve my English more. As I speak, my vocabulary improves. In other classes I don't feel free to speak so easily. If Mr Parks is teaching he will teach, write on the board, students fall asleep. He's doing the talking, we're listening and become lazy 'cos not doing anything, just listening.

Mlangeni, BB in Std 9

In Ms Chetty's class we talk about outside issues, and the school. About real life, cultures of other people and feeling so each individual about the school and about what's happening outside. It's great, 'cos when you come to a multiracial school learning won't just create friendships. Like Maths. We talk about Maths and forget each other. In English we express feelings and problems and how to solve them. In other subjects we are not learning about each other and the subject, just about the subject

Wiesno, BB in Std 9

In the government school there used to be organisations like SOYSCO, and most students were involved. Here it's different. Many people have forgotten the struggle. I'm very into politics, and we only talk about it in Ms Chetty's class.

Magezi, BB in Std 9

APPENDIX D

TABLES SUMMARISING THE RESULTS OF THE KRUSKALL-WALLIS AND MANN-WHITNEY TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE AMONG GROUPS IN SCHOOL BASED ASSESSMENT FOR EACH SUBJECT FOR TWO TERMS

Table D1. Summary of findings of Kruskall-Wallis test for significance of differences in performance among black, Indian and white pupils from Standard 6 to Standard 10 in the first and third[1] terms of 1997 (Part 1)

		Computed value of H		Associated Significance	
Subject	Standard	1st term	3rd term	1st term	3rd term
Integrated Studies					
	6	29.8409	12.1188	0.001	0.01
	7	8.6695	14.3205	NS	0.001
	8	5.5292	9.2611	0.01	0.01
English					
	9	10.0283	16.2812	0.01	0.001
	10	1.3510	0.9773	NS	NS
Afrikaans					
	6	9,5744	7,0907	0.01	0.05
	7	0,1648	0,8985	NS	NS
	8	1,0901	5,3594	NS	NS
	9	9,0408	11,5079	0.01	0.01
	10	4.24558	4.4880	NS	NS
Mathematics					
	6	0,5772	5,8609	NS	NS
	7	1,3325	0,8182	NS	NS
	8	..0138	2,3649	NS	NS
	9	1,0963	2,6894	NS	NS
	10	2.3450	0.9039	NS	NS
Science					
	General 6	17,3838	20,1154	0.001	0.001
	General 7	3,0905	3,1018	NS	NS
	Physical 8	11.2477	8,5288	0.01	0.05
	Physical 9	4,0769	0,8129	NS	NS
	Physical 10	0.2087	1.0815	NS	NS
Biology					
	7	---	8,8097	NS	NS
	8	4,9242	3,4779	NS	NS
	9	3,8188	3,4984	NS	NS
	1	0.2849	2.5252	NS	NS
History					
	9	3,5749	4,1868	NS	NS
	10	Only two groups. See Table D2.			
Geography					
	8	2,7690	3,9535	NS	NS
	9	5.7279	2,0364	NS	NS
	10	Only white pupils on the higher grade			

Table D1. Summary of findings of Kruskall-Wallis test for significance of differences in performance among black, Indian and white pupils from Standard 6 to Standard 10 in the first and third[1] terms of 1987 (Part 2)

Speech and Drama					
	6	1,6812	4,4745	NS	NS
	9	Only two groups. See Table D2.			
	10	Subject not offered to this class			
Art					
	6	Taken by some of the class in different terms			
	7	0,9802	0,1348	NS	NS
	8	1,2091	3,7142	NS	NS
	9	3.9575	1.175	NS	NS
	10	Only white pupils taking this subject.			
Business Economics					
	9	4,90610	5,447	NS	NS
	10	0.0173	5.209	NS	NS
Accountancy					
	8	0,1062	1,8	NS	NS
	9	0,0731	2,P	NS	NS
	10				
Cultural Studies					
	7	1,9809	0,4807	NS	NS
French					
	6	0.2832	1,6800	NS	NS
	7	1,8713	2,7272	NS	NS
	8	7.3571	8.8571	NS	NS
	9	Only two groups. See Table D2.			
	10	Only two groups. See Table D2.			

NS : Difference not significant

1 Note: The second, not third term results have been used in Standard 10.

Table D2. Summary of findings for Mann-Whitney tests for differences in performance between pairs of groups where only two groups took the subject

Subject			Findings for different pairs of pupil groups	
	Old	Tong	White and Black	Indian and White
History				
	10	1		I = W
	10	2		I = W
Speech & Drama				
	9	1	W = B	
	9	3	W = B	
French				
	9	1		I = W
	9	3		I = W
	10	1		I = W
	10	2		I = W

< = is better than
= = no significant difference between the two groups
Note: there were no subjects in which there were only black and Indian pupils

Table 09. Summary of findings for Mann-Whitney tests for differences in performance between pairs of groups where the Kruskall-Wallis test showed a significant difference among three groups

Subject	Std	Term	White & Black	Black & Indian	Indian & White
Integ. Studies					
	8	1	W > B	B = I	W > I
	8	2	W > B	B = I	W > I
	7	3	W > B	B = I	W > I
	8	1	W > B	I > B	W = I
	8	3	W > B	I > B	W = I
English					
	9	1	W > B	I = B	W > I
	9	3	W > B	I > B	W = I
Afrikaans					
	9	1	W =	I = B	W > I
	8	3	W = B	I = B	W > I
	9	1	W > I	I = B	W = I
	9	3	W = B	I = B	W > I
Science					
	8	1	W > B	I = B	W > I
	8	3	W > B	I = B	W > I
	8	1	W > B	I = B	W > I
	8	3	W > B	I = B	W > I

> : do better than
= : No significant difference between

APPENDIX E

TABLES SHOWING RANKED CLASS MARKS FOR EACH CLASS FOR TWO TERMS FOR EACH SUBJECT

Table E1 Integrated Studies: Standard 8: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BB 35	95	1	1	1		
BG 31	90	2	2	2		
IB 01	40	3	3		3	
WG 25	42	4	4			4
BB 48	44	5	5	5		
BG 53	45	6	6	6		
IG 02	49	7	7		7	
BB 49	50	8	9.5	9		
BG 43	50	9	9.5	9.5		
IB 46	50	8	9.5		9.5	
IB 55	50	9	9.5		9.5	
IP 27	51	12	12		12.0	
BG 44	53	13	14.0	14.0		
BB 57	53	13	14.0	14.0		
BG 47	53	13	14.0	14.0		
BB 54	54	16	17.0	17.0		
BG 50	54	16	17.0	17.0		
BB 45	55	18	17.0	17.0		
BG 52	56	19	19	19.0		
WB 38	58	20	20			20
BB 41	59	21	21.5	21.5		
WG 24	59	21	21.5			21.5
IB 54	60	23	25.0		25	
WB 34	60	23	25.0			0000025.0
WG 37	60	23	25.0			25.0
WG 39	60	23	25.0			25.0
WG 68	60	23	25.0			25.0
WB 36	62	28	28.5			28.5
WB 58	62	28	28.5			28.5
WB 29	63	30	30			30.0
WB 26	64	31	31.5			31.
WB 63	64	31	31.5			31.5
BB 42	65	33	34.5	34.5		
IB 22	65	33	34.5		34.5	
WB 20	65	33	34.5			34.5
WB 23	65	33	34.5			34.5
WB 30	67	37	37			37
WB 28	68	38	38			38
WG 65	69	39	39			39
WB 36	70	40	40			40
WB 21	71	41	41.5			41.5
WB 60	71	41	41.5			41.5
WB 32	73	43	43			43
WB 56	74	44	44			44
WG 51	82	45	45.5			45.5
WG 59	82	45	45.5			45.5
WB 40	84	47	47			47.0

Table E2. Integrated studies: Standard 6: Third term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BG 59	49	1	1	1		
IB 62	51	2	2.5		2.5	
WB 30	51	2	2.5			2.5
BG 47	52	4	4.5	4.5		
IG 27	52	4	4.5		4.5	
BB 35	53	6	7.5	7.5		
BG 48	53	6	7.5	7.5		
IG 01	53	6	7.5		7.5	
WG 89	53	6	7.5			7.5
BB 49	55	10	10.5	10.5		
IB 67	55	10	10.5		10.5	
BG 50	56	12	13	13		
IB 56	56	12	13		13	
WB 34	56	12	13			13
WG 65	57	15	15			15
BB 45	58	16	16	16		
BB 48	59	17	17.5	17.5		
WG 20	59	17	17.5			17.5
BB 44	60	19	19.5	19.5		
WG 24	60	19	19.5			19.5
BB 42	61	21	21.5	21.5		
BB 64	61	21	21.5	21.5		
BB 57	62	23	24	24		
BG 52	62	23	24	24		
WB 23	62	23	24			24
WB 28	63	26	26.5			26.5
WG 37	63	26	26.5			26.5
BB 41	65	28	30	30		
IB 22	65	28	30		30	
IB 46	65	28	30		30	
WB 33	65	28	30			30
WB 56	65	28	30			30
WB 29	66	33	33			33
WB 21	67	34	34.5			34.5
WB 63	67	34	34.5			34.5
IB 54	68	36	37		37	
WB 32	68	36	37			37
WB 66	68	36	37			37
WG 51	72	39	39			39
WB 38	74	40	40			40
WB 28	75	41	42			42
WB 36	75	41	42			42
WB 60	75	41	42			42
WG 59	76	44	44			44
WB 40	80	45	45			45

Table E3 Integrated studies: Standard 7: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BG 101	36	1	1	1		
IB 112	37	2	2		2	
BG 103	38	3	3	3		
WB 76	39	4	4			4
WB 77	41	5	5			5
BG 111	43	6	6.5	6.5		
WB 78	43	6	6.5			6.5
BB 93	46	8	8	8		
WG 91	47	9	9			9
WB 109	48	10	10			10
BG 115	50	11	11.5	11.5		
IB 108	50	11	11.5		11.5	
WB 74	52	13	13			13
BG 120	53	14	14.5	14.5		
WB 92	53	14	14.5			14.5
IB 70	54	16	16		16	
BG 85	55	17	17	17		
IB 107	57	18	18		18	
BG 98	58	19	19.5	19.5		
WB 108	58	19	19.5			19.5
BB 71	59	21	22	22		
BB P2	59	21	22	22		
IG 87	59	21	22		22	
BB 84	60	24	25	25		
IB 117	60	24	25		25	
IG 119	60	24	25		25	
BB 102	62	27	27	27		
WB 100	62	28	28			28
BB 97	63	29	30	30		
BG 89	63	29	30	30		
WG 73	63	29	30			30
WG 94	64	32	32			32
BG 81	65	33	33	33		
WB 83	66	34	34.5			34.5
WG 95	66	34	34.5			34.5
IB 110	68	36	37		37	
WB 80	68	36	37			37
WG 75	68	36	37			37
IB 105	69	39	39.5		39.5	
WB 86	69	39	39.5			39.5
BG 116	70	41	41	41		
BB 96	71	42	42	42		
WB 72	72	43	44			44
WB 114	72	43	44			44
WG 88	72	43	44			44
IB 118	74	46	46		46	
WB 90	76	47	48			48
WB 121	76	47	48			48
WG 99	76	47	48			48
WG 113	83	50	50			50

Table E4. Integrated studies: Standard 7: Third term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BG 101	50	1	1.5	1.5		
BG 103	50	1	1.5	1.5		
? 120	53	3	3.5	3.5		
IG 87	53	3	3.5		3.5	
WB 77	53	5	5			5
IB 107	54	6	6		6	
BB 93	54	7	7.5	7.5		
WB 76	55	7	7.5			7.5
BG 96	58	9	9.5	9.5		
IB 108	58	9	9.5		9.5	
BB 97	57	11	11.5	11.5		
BG 111	57	11	11.5	11.5		
BB 102	58	13	13.5	13.5		
IG 70	58	13	13.5		13.5	
BG 85	60	15	17	17		
IB 117	60	15	17			
WB 106	60	15	17			
WG 78	60	15	17			
WG 95	60	15	17			
BB 92	61	20	21.5	21.5		
BG 89	61	20	21.5	21.5		
BG 115	61	20	21.5	21.5		
WG 91	61	20	21.5			21.5
WB 76	62	24	24			24
BB 71	63	25	25.5	25.5		
BG 116	63	25	25.5	25.5		
BB 84	64	27	28	28		
BG 81	64	27	28	28		
WB 80	64	27	28			28
BG 122	65	30	30.5	30.5		
WG 94	65	30	30.5			30.5
IB 110	67	32	32.5		32.5	
WG 124	67	32	32.5			32.5
WB 123	68	34	34			34
IG 119	69	35	35.5		35.5	
WG 75	69	35	35.5			35.5
WB 92	70	37	37.5			37.5
WB 100	70	37	37.5			37.5
WB ?	71	39	39			39
BB 88	72	40	40.5	40.5		
WB 83	72	40	40.5			40.5
IG 118	73	42	41.5		41.5	
WG 88	73	42	41.5			41.5
WG 99	74	44	44.5			44.5
WB 90	74	44	44.5			44.5
WB 86	75	46	47			47
WB 109	75	46	47			47
WB 114	75	46	47			47
WB 121	76	49	49			49
WG 113	79	50	50			50

Table E5. Integrated studies: Standard 8: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BG 170	43	1	1	1		
BB 151	47	2	2.5	2.5		
WB 187	47	2	2.5			2.5
WG 150	48	4	4			4
WB 180	51	5	5			5
BB 164	52	6	6	6		
BG 171	54	7	7	7		
BB 166	55	8	8.5	8.5		
IB 175	55	8	8.5		8.5	
WG 134	55	10	10			10
BB 159	58	11	12	12		
BG 135	58	11	12	12		
BG 180	58	11	12	12		
BB 162	57	14	15	15		
BG 185	57	14	15	15		
WB 136	58	16	16			16
BB 167	59	17	18.5	18.5		
BG 156	59	17	18.5	18.5		
IB 180	59	17	18.5		18.5	
WG 179	59	17	18.5			18.5
BB 165	60	21	22	22		
WB 172	60	21	22			22
WG 179	60	21	22			22
WB 146	61	24	24			24
BB 158	62	25	27.5	27.5		
BB 161	62	25	27.5	27.5		
BG 158	62	25	27.5	27.5		
IB 142	62	25	27.5		27.5	
IB 143	62	25	27.5		27.5	
WB 181	62	25	27.5			27.5
IB 159	63	31	31.5		31.5	
WB 180	63	31	31.5			31.5
WB 140	64	33	33			33
BB 168	65	34	36	36		
BG 177	65	34	35	35		
WB 133	65	34	35			35
IB 154	67	37	37		37	
WB 147	68	38	38.5			38.5
WG 174	68	38	38.5			38.5
WG 144	71	40	40			40
WG 132	72	41	41			41
WG 183	73	42	42			42
WB 152	74	43	43			43
WB 145	75	44	44			44
WG 154	76	45	45			45
IB 178	77	46	46		46	
WG 140	80	47	47			47
IG 141	81	48	48		48	
WG 148	82	49	49			49

Table 58. Integrated studies: Standard 9: Third term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
WB 184	41	1	1.5			1.5
WB 185	41	1	1.5			1.5
BG 170	46	3	3	3		
WB 180	52	4	4			4
WG 179	53	5	5			5
BG 171	55	6	6	6		
CB 190	56	7	9.5	9.5		
BB 15'	56	7	9.5	9.5		
BB 183	56	7	9.5	9.5		
IB 175	56	7	9.5		9.5	
WB 194	56	7	9.5			9.5
WB 197	56	7	9.5			9.5
BB 188	57	13	13.5	13.5		
BG 166	57	13	13.5	13.5		
BB 189	58	15	16	16		
BG 195	58	15	16	16		
IB 190	58	15	16		16	
BB 169	58	15	16	16		
WG 190	60	19	19.5			19.5
WB 192	60	19	19.5			19.5
BG 164	61	21	21	21		
BG 150	62	22	23	23		
BG 165	62	22	23	23		
IB 159	62	22	23		23	
BB 161	63	25	26	26		
BB 162	63	25	26	26		
WB 172	63	25	26			26
BB 167	64	28	29	29		
BG 150	64	28	29	29		
WB 191	64	28	29			29
BG 177	65	31	31.5	31.5		
IB 142	65	31	31.5		31.5	
IG 143	65	33	33.5		33.5	
WB 148	65	33	33.5			33.5
WB 180	65	35	35.5			35.5
WG 178	65	35	35.5			35.5
WB 193	66	37	37.5			37.5
WB 148	66	37	37.5			37.5
WG 150	67	39	39			39
IB 139	68	40	41		41	
WG 145	68	40	41			41
WG 183	68	40	41			41
IG 141	70	43	43		43	
WB 152	71	44	44			44
WG 140	70	45	45.5			45.5
WG 144	70	45	45.5			45.5
IB 178	78	47	48		48	
WG 146	78	47	48			48
WG 154	78	47	48			48
WG 182	78	50	50			50
WG 174	80	51	51.5			51.5
WG 189	80	51	51.5			51.5
WB 147	81	53	53			53

Table E7. English (JNB NG only): Standard 9: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BG 201	27	1	1	1		
BB 236	34	2	2	2		
IB 232	36	3	3		3	
BB 228	37	4	4	4		
BB 229	39	5	5.5	5.5		
IB 194	39	5	5.5		5.5	
BB 201	42	7	8.5	8.5		
BB 208	42	7	8.5	8.5		
BG 227	42	7	8.5	8.5		
WB 259	42	7	8.5			8.5
WG 250	42	11	11			11
BG 255	44	12	12.5	12.5		
WB 202	44	12	12.5			12.5
BG 240	45	15	15	15		
BG 214	46	16	16.5	16.5		
WG 217	46	16	16.5			16.5
WB 222	47	18	18			18
BB 224	48	19	19.5	19.5		
WG 211	48	19	19.5			19.5
BG 223	49	21	21.5	21.5		
WB 219	49	21	21.5			21.5
IB 231	50	24	25		25	
IG 244	50	24	25		25	
WG 253	50	24	25			25
BB 234	52	27	27	27		
BG 192	53	28	28	28		
BG 230	55	29	29	29		
BG 218	57	30	30	30		
WB 205	58	31	31			31
BB 238	59	32	32	32		
IB 204	60	34	34.5		34.5	
WB 250	60	34	34.5			34.5
WB 248	61	36	36			36
BB 239	62	37	37	37		
WB 248	64	38	38.5			38.5
WG 247	64	38	38.5			38.5
WG 215	65	40	40			40
WB 208	66	41	41			41
BB [illegible]3	67	42	42	42		
WB 198	68	43	43.5			43.5
WG 191	68	43	43.5			43.5
IB 254	69	45	45.5		45.5	
WB 241	69	45	45.5			45.5
WG 210	70	47	47			47
WG 226	1	48	48			48
WG 214	74	49	49.5			49.5
WG 257	74	49	49.5			49.5
WG 225	75	51	51			51
WG 196	76	52	52			52
WG 237	77	53	53			53
WG 212	78	54	54.5			54.5
WG 262	78	54	54.5			54.5
WB 200	80	56	56			56

Table 23. English (JMB KG only): Standard 9: Third term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BB 230	20	1	1	1		
BB 224	30	2	2	2		
BB 234	42	3	3	3		
BB 201	43	4	5	5		
BG 192	43	4	5	5		
WB 248	43	4	5			5
BG 204	44	7	7	7		
WB 202	45	8	8			8
BG 240	48	9	9.5	9.5		
BG 255	48	9	9.5	9.5		
BB 228	48	11	11.5	11.5		
WB 217	48	11	11.5			11.5
BB 220	50	13	13.5	13.5		
BG 214	50	13	13.5	13.5		
BB 233	52	15	15	15		
ID 204	55	16	16.5		16.5	
WB 246	55	16	16.5			16.5
WG 247	56	18	18			18
BG 230	58	19	20	20		
WB 205	58	19	20			20
WB 241	58	19	20			20
WG 253	60	22	22.5			22.5
WG 262	60	22	22.5			22.5
IG 254	61	24	24		24	
WG 258	62	25	25			25
BB 239	63	26	26.5	26.5		
BG 223	63	26	26.5	26.5		
WB 213	64	28	29			29
WG 210	64	28	29			29
WG 215	64	28	29			29
BB 203	68	31	31.5	31.5		
WG 222	68	31	31.5			31.5
WG 257	60	33	33			33
IG 244	70	34	35		35	
WB 198	70	34	35			35
WG 211	70	34	35			35
WG 212	72	37	37			37
WG 237	73	38	38			38
WG 200	74	38	39.5			39.5
WG 250	74	39	39.5			39.5
WG 196	75	41	41			41
WG 226	76	42	42			42
WG 191	80	43	43			43
WG 219	82	44	44			44
WG 225	83	45	45			45

Table E9. English: Standard 9 (NSC only): First term

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Indian	White
IB 193	84	1	1	1	
IB 256	41	2	2.5	2.5	
IB 221	41	2	2.5	2.5	
WB 195	40	4	4		4
WB 260	49	5	5		5
IG 248	55	6	6	6	
IB 203	56	7	7	7	
IG 199	59	8	8	8	
IB 190	60	9	9	9	
IB 245	66	10	10	10	
IB 197	67	11	11	11	
IB 207	72	12	12	12	

Table E10. English: Standard 9 (NSC only): Third term

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Indian	White
IB 193	44	1	1	1	
IB 203	46	2	2	2	
WB 195	53	3	3		3
WB 260	54	4	4		4
IG 249	59	5	5	5	
IB 256	60	6	6	6	
IB 203	63	7	7	7	
IB 245	66	8	8	8	
IG 199	71	9	9	9	
IB 207	74	10	10	10	
IB 190	75	11	11	11	
IB 197	77	12	12	12	

Table E11. English (JMB HG only): Standard 10: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
IB 301	31	1	1		1	
IB 271	46	2	2		2	
WB 287	50	3	3			3
WB 288	51	4	4			4
BB 290	53	5	5	5		
WB 303	55	6	6.5			6.5
WG 302	55	6	6.5			6.5
WG 293	58	8	8			8
IB 278	59	9	9		9	
WB 298	62	10	10			10
WB 272	63	11	11.5			11.5
WB 290	63	11	11.5			11.5
WG 305	65	13	13			13
WG 278	68	14	14			14
BG 292	69	15	15.5	15.5		
WG 304	69	15	15.5			15.5
WG 277	70	17	17			17
IB 288	71	18	18		18	
WB 280	74	19	19			19
WB 281	79	20	20			20

Table E12. English (JMB HG only): Standard 10: Third term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
IB 301	37	1	1		1	
BB 290	44	2	2	2		
WG 302	46	3	3			3
WB 298	52	4	4			4
WB 283	53	5	5.5			5.5
WB 297	53	5	5.5			5.5
WB 272	57	7	7.5			7.5
WB 303	57	7	7.5			7.5
WG 278	59	9	9			9
BG 292	61	10	10	10		
WG 277	62	11	11.5			11.5
WG 305	62	11	11.5			11.5
WB 298	65	13	13			13
WB 280	67	14	14			14
IB 288	68	15	15		15	
WG 304	69	16	16			16
WB 281	76	17	17			17

Table E13. Afrikaans: Standard 6: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected Rank	Black (15)	Indian (7)	White (24)
BG 31	10	1	1.5	1.5		
WG 39	10	1	1.5			1.5
IB 55	28	3	3		3	
BB 49	37	4	4	4		
IB 61	30	5	5		5	
WG 65	39	6	6			6
BB 57	40	7	7.5	7.5		
WB 20	40	7	7.5			7.5
BB 36	42	9	10	10		
BG 47	42	9	10	10		
WB 28	42	9	10			10
IB 27	44	12	12		12	
BG 53	48	13	13.5	13.5		
IB 62	48	13	13.5		13.5	
BB 45	50	15	15.5	15.5		
BB 48	50	15	15.5	15.5		
BG 50	51	17	17.5	17.5		
WG 24	51	17	17.5			17.5
BB 34	52	19	20	20		
IB 46	52	19	20		20	
WB 03	52	19	20			20
BB 42	53	22	23	23		
BB 44	53	22	23	23		
IB 22	53	22	23		23	
WB 34	54	25	25			25
BG 52	56	26	25.5	25.5		
WB 58	56	26	25.5			25.5
WB 33	59	28	28			28
WG 37	60	29	29			29
WB 32	61	30	30			30
WB 30	62	31	31.5			31.5
WB 60	62	31	31.5			31.5
WB 21	63	33	33			33
IB 54	64	34	34.5		34.5	
WB 36	64	34	34.5			34.5
BG 43	66	36	36.5	36.5		
WG 66	66	36	36.5			36.5
BB 41	68	38	38	38		
WB 26	70	39	39			39
WB 28	71	40	40.5			40.5
WB 29	71	40	40.5			40.5
WB 56	73	42	42			42
WG 51	77	43	43			43
WB 38	78	44	44			44
WB 40	84	45	45			45
WG 59	93	46	46			

Table E14. Afrikaans: Standard 6: Third term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected Rank	Black (14)	Indian (7)	White (29)
WG 39	28	1	1			1
IB 55	35	2	2		2	
WG 05	36	3	3			3
IB 02	37	4	4		4	
IB 01	40	5	5		5	
WB 29	41	6	6			6
BB 49	42	7	7	7		
IB 27	45	8	8		8	
BG 47	46	9	9	9		
BB 35	49	10	11	11		
WB 30	49	10	11			11
WG 24	49	10	11			11
WB 03	51	13	13			13
BB 44	53	14	14	14		
BB 45	54	15	15	15		
BB 57	55	16	16.5	16.5		
IB 22	55	16	16.5		16.5	
WB 20	58	18	18			18
BB 04	57	19	20.5	20.5		
BG 53	57	19	20.5	20.5		
IB 40	57	19	20.5		20.5	
WB 33	57	19	20.5			20.5
WG 37	59	23	23			23
IB 54	60	24	24.5		24.5	
WB 32	60	24	24.5			24.5
BG 50	61	26	27	27		
BG 52	61	26	27	27		
WB 34	61	26	27			27
BB 42	62	29	29.5	29.5		
WB 21	62	29	29.5			29.5
WB 60	63	31	31			31
WB 26	64	32	32			32
BB 48	65	33	33.5	33.5		
WG 06	65	33	33.5			33.5
WB 38	66	35	35			35
BG 43	70	36	36	36		
WB 29	71	37	38			38
WB 56	71	37	38			38
WG 51	71	37	38			38
BB 41	72	40	40	40		
WB 38	73	41	41			41
WB 28	77	42	42			42
WB 40	80	43	43			43
WG 59	85	44	44			44

Table 815. Afrikaans: Standard 7: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
WG 77	29	1	1			1
BB 08	32	2	2.5	2.5		
WG 74	32	2	2.5			2.5
WB 109	33	4	4.5			4.5
WG 79	33	4	4.5			4.5
WB 114	37	6	6			6
IB 79	38	7	7		7	
WG 70	40	8	8			8
WG 81	42	9	9			9
BG 108	43	10	11	11		
IB 107	43	10	11		11	
WG 82	43	10	11			11
IB 105	44	13	13.5		13.5	
WG 78	44	13	13.5			13.5
BB 102	48	15	16	16		
BG 98	48	15	16	16		
WG 85	48	15	16			16
BB 71	48	18	18	18		
IG 87	49	19	19.5		19.5	
WG 100	49	19	19.5			19.5
IB 117	50	21	21		21	
BB 82	51	22	22	22		
BG 101	54	23	23.5	23.5		
IB II8	54	23	23.5		23.5	
BB 04	56	25	28	28		
BG 85	56	25	28	28		
BG 89	56	25	28	28		
BG 111	56	25	28	28		
BG 116	56	25	28	28		
BG 120	56	25	28	28		
WB 98	56	25	28			28
BG 115	60	32	32	32		
BB 87	61	33	33	33		
BB 96	62	34	34.5	34.5		
WG 94	62	34	34.5			34.5
WG 99	63	36	36			36
WB 72	64	37	37			37
WG 88	66	38	38			38
WB 109	69	39	39			39
BG 81	70	40	40.5	40.5		
WG 75	70	40	40.5			40.5
IG 115	74	42	42.5		42.5	
WB 83	74	42	42.5			42.5
IB 110	75	44	44		44	
WB 80	80	45	45.5			45.5
WB 90	80	45	45.5			45.5
WG 121	83	47	47			47
WG 113	84	48	48			48

Table B18. Afrikaans: Standard 7: Third term.

Student	Mark(s)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
GB 123	23	1	1			1
GB 77	28	2	2			2
BG 104	34	3	3	3		
BB 89	36	4	4	4		
WB 93	37	5	5			5
WB 114	39	6	6			6
WB 70	40	7	7.5			7.5
WB 100	40	7	7.5			7.5
WG 95	41	9	9			9
IG 117	42	10	10		10	
IB 70	44	11	12		12	
IB 101	44	11	12		12	
WG 92	44	11	12			12
BB 102	45	14	15	15		
BG 96	45	14	15	15		
IG 87	45	14	15		15	
BB 71	48	17	18	18		
BG 101	48	17	18	18		
WG 91	48	17	18			18
BG 111	49	20	20	20		
BB 92	51	21	21	21		
BG 99	52	22	22.5	22.5		
WB 100	52	22	22.5			22.5
GB 94	53	24	25	25		
BG 119	53	24	25	25		
BG 120	54	24	25	25		
WG 78	58	27	27			27
WB 96	57	28	28			28
BB 97	58	29	29	29		
BG 85	61	30	30	30		
WG 94	60	31	31			31
BG 115	62	32	32.5	32.5		
WB 103	62	32	32.5			32.5
BB 98	64	34	34.5	34.5		
WG 99	64	34	34.5			34.5
WG 88	68	36	36			36
WB 72	67	37	37.5			37.5
WG 124	67	37	37.5			37.5
IB 110	68	39	39.5		39.5	
WG 75	68	39	39.5			39.5
BG 81	70	41	41.5	41.5		
BG 122	70	41	41.5	41.5		
IG 113	72	43	44		44	
WB 93	72	43	44			44
IB 118	73	43	44		44	
WB 80	78	46	46			46
WB 90	78	47	47			47
WB 121	83	48	48			48
WG 116	84	49	49			49

Table E17. Afrikaans: Standard 8: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected Rank	Black (10)	Indian (8)	White (22)
WB 137	10	1	1			1
WG 148	22	2	2			2
WB 134	33	3	3			3
WG 150	34	4	4			4
WG 160	40	5	5			5
BG 129	41	6	6	6		
BG 170	45	7	7.5	7.5		
BG 171	45	7	7.5	7.5		
WB 131	46	9	9			9
BG 166	48	10	10	10		
IG 130	49	11	11		11	
BB 155	50	12	12.5	12.5		
WB 180	50	12	12.5			12.5
IB 176	51	14	14.5		14.5	
WB 172	51	14	14.5			14.5
BB 180	52	16	16.5	16.5		
BG 165	52	16	16.5	16.5		
BG 151	53	18	19	19		
BB 158	53	18	19	19		
WB 138	53	18	19			19
WG 179	54	21	21			21
IB 159	56	22	22		22	
BB 189	57	23	23	23		
BB 182	60	24	24.5	24.5		
IG 141	60	24	24.5		24.5	
BB 184	63	26	26	26		
BB 181	65	27	28	28		
BB 187	65	27	28	28		
IB 149	65	27	28		28	
BG 155	71	30	31	31		
BG 177	71	30	31	31		
WG 140	71	30	31			31
BG 135	72	33	33	33		
IB 178	73	34	34.5		34.5	
WG 103	73	34	34.5			34.5
WB 152	74	36	36			36
BG 158	77	37	37.5	37.5		
WB 147	77	37	37.5			37.5
WG 144	78	39	39			39
IB 139	80	40	40.5		40.5	
IB 142	80	40	40.5		40.5	
WG 173	81	42	42			42
WB 149	83	43	44			44
WG 132	83	43	44			44
WG 174	83	43	44			44
WG 154	85	46	46			46
WB 146	86	47	47.5			47.5
WG 148	86	47	47.5			47.5

Table E18. Afrikaans: Standard 8: Third term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
WG 184	25	1	1			1
BB 170	34	2	2.5	2.5		
WB 184	34	2	2.5			2.5
BB 171	35	4	4	4		
BB 180	36	5	5	5		
WG 100	39	6	6			6
WG 109	40	7	7			7
BB 151	42	8	8	8		
WG 120	45	9	10			10
WG 150	45	9	10			10
WG 179	45	9	10			10
BB 195	46	12	12	12		
IG 175	47	13	13		13	
BB 153	48	14	14.5	14.5		
BG 160	48	14	14.5	14.5		
BB 168	49	16	16.5	16.5		
WG 151	49	16	16.5			16.5
BG 162	50	18	18	18		
WB 149	51	19	19.5			19.5
WG 102	51	19	19.5			19.5
BG 109	52	21	21	21		
IB 159	53	22	22.5		22.5	
WB 172	53	22	22.5			22.5
IB 130	54	24	24		24	
BB 187	56	25	26	26		
BG 158	58	25	26	26		
BG 115	58	25	26	26		
BG 135	59	28	28	28		
BG 177	61	29	29	29		
BB 184	62	30	30	30		
WG 10	63	31	31.5			31.5
BG 150	63	31	31.5	31.5		
BB 101	64	33	33	33		
WB 180	66	34	34.5			34.5
WG 103	66	34	34.5			34.5
IB 143	67	36	36		36	
IB 139	70	37	37		37	
WB 152	72	38	38			38
IB 112	74	39	39		39	
WG 140	75	40	40			40
IB 170	76	41	42		42	
WG 140	76	41	42			42
WG 173	76	41	42			
WB 147	77	44	44.5			44.5
WG 144	77	44	44.5			44.5
WB 140	80	46	46.5			46.5
WB 149	80	46	46.5			46.5
WG 192	81	48	48.5			48.5
WG 174	81	48	48.5			48.5
WG 154	88	50	50			50

Table E19. Afrikaans (JMB only): Standard 9: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BG 229	21	1	1.5	1.5		
WG 219	21	1	1.5			1.5
BG 230	28	3	3	3		
WG 255	27	4	4			4
IG 226	20	5	6	5		
BG 231	20	6	6.5	6.5		
WG 217	20	6	6.5			6.5
BG 102	31	8	8	8		
BG 208	32	9	9	9		
BG 214	33	10	11	11		
IG 194	33	10	11		11	
WG 222	33	10	11			11
BG 224	34	13	13.5	13.5		
BG 229	34	13	13.5	13.5		
BG 240	36	15	16	16		
IG 222	36	15	16		16	
WG 258	36	15	16			16
BG 230	37	18	18.5	18.5		
WG 253	37	18	18.5			18.5
WG 250	38	20	20			20
BG 227	40	21	22	22		
IC 201	40	21	22		22	
WG 226	40	21	22			22
BG 201	41	24	24	24		
WG 211	42	25	25.5			25.5
WG 225	42	25	25.5			25.5
BG 265	43	27	27	27		
WG 248	44	28	28			28
BG 234	46	29	30	30		
IG 204	46	29	30		30	
WG 247	46	29	30			30
BG 238	47	32	32	32		
BG 233	48	33	33	33		
WG 237	50	34	34			34
WG 200	51	35	35			35
BG 218	53	37	38.5	38.5		
WG 241	53	38	38.5			38.5
BG 239	54	38	38	38		
WG 210	55	38	38			38
WG 202	57	40	40.5			40.5
WG 215	57	40	40.5			40.5
WG 257	58	42	42			42
WG 196	60	43	43			43
IG 254	61	44	44		44	
WG 196	62	45	45			45
WG 208	63	46	46			46
WG 262	64	47	47			47
WG 212	65	48	48			48
WG 205	69	49	49			49
WG 246	72	50	50.5			50.5
WG 219	72	50	50.5			50.5

Table E20. Afrikaans (JHS only): Standard 8: Third term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BB 226	22	1	1	1		
BB 231	24	2	2	2		
WB 217	25	3	3			3
BB 230	27	4	4.5	4.5		
WB 219	27	4	4.5			4.5
BB 224	30	6	6	6		
BB 220	31	7	7	7		
BB 102	32	8	8.5	8.5		
CB 230	32	8	8.5	8.5		
BB 222	34	10	10	10		
BB 206	39	11	11.5	11.5		
BC 214	39	11	11.5	11.5		
WB 211	30	13	13.5			13.5
WB 222	38	13	13.5			13.5
BB 234	37	15	15.5	15.5		
WB 259	37	15	15.5			15.5
BB 240	38	17	17.5	17.5		
WB 253	38	17	17.5			17.5
WB 248	41	19	19.5			19.5
WB 225	41	19	19.5			19.5
BB 201	42	21	21	21		
BB 204	44	22	22	22		
WB 220	44	23	23			23
BB 238	45	24	24	24		
BB 255	48	25	25.5	25.5		
WB 247	48	25	25.5			25.5
WB 237	47	27	27			27
BB 238	50	28	28	28		
BB 239	51	29	29	29		
IB 204	52	30	30		30	
WB 200	52	31	31			31
WB 250	53	32	32			32
WB 202	55	33	33.5			33.5
WB 241	55	33	33.5			33.5
BB 208	56	35	35.5	35.5		
WB 202	56	35	35.5			35.5
WB 198	57	37	37.5			37.5
WB 257	57	37	37.5			37.5
WB 210	60	39	39.5			39.5
WB 215	60		39.5			39.5
IB 254	63	41	41		41	
WB 196	66	42	42			42
WB 212	69	43	43			43
WB 205	70	44	44			44
WB 248	74	45	45			45
WB 218	79	46	46			46

Table E21. Afrikaans (NBC only): Standard 9: First term

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Indian	White
WB 105	27	1	1		1
IB 221	33	2	2	2	
WB 280	35	3	4		4
IB 256	35	3	4	4	
IB 108	35	3	4	4	
IB 293	44	6	6	6	
IG 243	45	7	7.5	7.5	
IB 199	45	7	7.5	7.5	
IB 245	49	9	9	9	
IG 207	59	10	10	10	
IB 190	58	11	11	11	
IB 187	60	12	12	12	

Table E22. Afrikaans: Standard 9 (NBC only): Third term

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Indian	White
WB 105	25	1	1		1
IB 221	28	2	2	2	
WB 280	36	3	3		3
IB 108	37	4	4	4	
IB 256	38	5	5	5	
IB 208	45	6	6	6	
IG 199	50	7	7	7	
IG 243	52	8	8	8	
IB 245	55	9	9	9	
IB 190	58	10	10	10	
IB [illegible]	59	11	11	11	
IB [illegible]	64	12	12	12	

Table B23. Afrikaans (JHB HG): Standard 10: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
HG 293	20	1	1			1
ID 301	30	2	2		2	
ID 271	42	3	3.5		3.5	
HG 272	42	3	3.5			3.5
HG 280	45	5	5			5
HG 302	46	6	6			6
BB 290	48	7	7	7		
BB 292	46	8	8	8		
HG 276	51	9	9			9
HG 303	52	10	10.5			10.5
HG 298	52	10	10.5			10.5
HG 277	54	12	12			12
HG 304	56	13	13			13
HG 299	58	14	14.5			14.5
HG 297	58	14	14.5			14.5
HG [illegible]	60	16	16			16
HG 305	60	17	17			17
HG 281	70	18	18			18

Table B24. Afrikaans (JHB HG): Standard 10: Second term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
ID 301	44	1	1		1	
HG 302	47	2	2			2
BB 290	49	3	3	3		
HG 272	51	4	4.5			4.5
HG 276	51	4	4.5			4.5
BB 292	57	6	6.5	6.5		
HG 298	57	6	6.5			6.5
HG 299	58	8	8			8
HG 303	60	9	9			9
HG 293	64	10	10			10
HG 277	66	11	11.5			11.5
HG 304	65	11	11.5			11.5
HG 280	66	13	13			13
HG 305	72	14	14			14
HG 281	74	15	15.5			15.5
HG 297	74	15	15.5			15.5

Table B29. Mathematics Standard 6: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BG 31	17	1	1	1		
BG 33	31	2	2	2		
WG 37	37	3	3			3
BG 49	40	4	4	4		
WG 36	44	5	5			5
WG 30	46	6	6			6
IG 01	47	7	7.5		7.5	
WG 09	47	7	7.5			7.5
IG 02	50	9	10		10	
WG 24	50	9	10			10
WG 23	50	9	10			10
WG 20	55	12	12			12
IG 05	56	13	13		13	
WG 03	61	14	14			14
BG 44	63	15	16.5	16.5		
BG 49	63	15	16.5	16.5		
WG 21	63	15	16.5			16.5
WG 53	63	15	16.5			16.5
BG 57	64	19	19.5	19.5		
WG 05	64	19	19.5			19.5
IG 46	65	21	21		21	
BG 48	68	22	22.5	22.5		
WG 51	68	22	22.5			22.5
IG 22	70	24	24		24	
BG 42	72	25	25.5	25.5		
BG 04	72	25	25.5	25.5		
WG 29	73	27	27			27
BG 52	77	28	28	28		
IG 27	79	29	30.5		30.5	
WG 25	79	29	30.5			30.5
WG 58	79	29	30.5			30.5
WG 03	79	29	30.5			30.5
BG 47	80	33	33.5	33.5		
WG 32	80	33	33.5			33.5
WG 00	81	35	35			35
BG 43	82	36	36	36		
IG 54	83	37	37.5		37.5	
WG 59	83	37	37.5			37.5
WG 26	84	39	39			39
WG 36	86	40	40			40
BG 35	87	41	41.5	41.5		
BG 50	87	41	41.5	41.5		
WG 28	88	43	43			43
WG 38	89	44	44			44
WG 40	91	45	45.5			45.5
WG 34	91	45	45.5			45.5
BG 41	92	47	47	47		

Table E26. Mathematics: Standard 8: Third term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BG 59	30	1	1	1		
IG 62	40	2	2		2	
WG 30	46	3	3.5			3.5
WG 35	46	3	3.5			3.5
IB 67	47	5	5		5	
BB 45	48	6	7	7		
IG 55	50	8	7		7	
WG 39	48	8	7			7
BB 42	54	9	9	9		
WG 66	56	10	10			10
. 41	57	11	11.5	11.5		
IB 61	.	11	11.5		11.5	
IB 46	60	13	13		13	
BB 49	61	14	14	14		
IG 27	63	15	15		15	
BB 35	65	16	16	16		
BB 47	66	17	17.5	17.5		
WG 37	66	17	17.5			17.5
IB 22	67	19	19.5		19.5	
WB 29	67	19	19.5	19.5		
WB 21	68	21	21			21
BB 48	69	22	22	22		
BG 50	70	23	24	24		
WB 20	70	23	24			24
WB 32	70	23	24			24
BB 43	71	26	26.5	26.5		
WB 34	71	26	26.5			26.5
WB 38	73	28	28			28
WG 51	75	29	29			29
BG 52	76	30	31	31		
WG 60	76	30	31			31
WB 69	76	30	31			31
BB 44	77	33	33.5	33.5		
BB 64	77	33	33.5	33.5		
WB 23	78	35	35.5			35.5
WB 58	78	35	35.5			35.5
WB 26	79	37	37.5			37.5
WG 59	79	37	37.5			37.5
IB 54	80	39	39		39	
WB 40	81	40	40			40
WG 24	82	41	41.5			41.5
WB 28	82	41	41.5			41.5
WB 36	85	43	43.5			43.5
WB 38	85	43	43.5			43.5
BB 57	90	45	45	45		

Table 527. Mathematics: Standard 7 : First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
[illegible] 78	85	1	1			1
[illegible] 109	15	2	2			2
[illegible] 70	10	3	3			3
[illegible] 77	87	4	4			4
[illegible] 117	20	5	5		5	
[illegible] 112	34	6	6		6	
[illegible] 78	35	7	7			7
[illegible] 113	41	8	8	8		
[illegible] 07	44	9	9		9	
[illegible] 05	47	10	10			10
[illegible] 101	50	11	11.5	11.5		
[illegible] 74	50	11	11.5			11.5
[illegible] 107	51	13	13		13	
[illegible] 04	56	14	14			14
[illegible] 100	60	15	15		15	
[illegible] 120	61	16	16.5	16.5		
[illegible] 80	61	16	16.5			16.5
[illegible] 75	62	18	18			18
[illegible] 109	63	19	19	19		
[illegible] 108	64	20	20		20	
[illegible] 76	65	21	21		21	
[illegible] 82	68	22	22.5	22.5		
[illegible] 88	68	22	22.5	22.5		
[illegible] 91	69	24	24			24
[illegible] 85	70	25	25	25		
[illegible] 97	71	26	26	26		
[illegible] 98	73	27	27			27
[illegible] 111	74	28	28	28		
[illegible] 89	75	29	29	29		
[illegible] 96	77	30	30.5	30.5		
[illegible] 91	77	30	30.5	30.5		
[illegible] 84	80	32	33	33		
[illegible] 110	80	32	33		33	
[illegible] 114	80	32	33			33
[illegible] 102	81	35	35.5	35.5		
[illegible] 98	81	35	35.5	35.5		
[illegible] 71	82	37	37	37		
[illegible] 116	83	38	39.5	39.5		
[illegible] 93	88	38	39.5			39.5
[illegible] 80	83	38	39.5			39.5
[illegible] 92	83	38	39.5			39.5
[illegible] 119	84	42	42		42	
[illegible] 118	85	43	43.5		43.5	
[illegible] 105	88	43	43.5			43.5
[illegible] 72	90	45	45			45
[illegible] 99	87	46	46.5			46.5
[illegible] 90	87	46	46.5			46.5
[illegible] 121	89	48	48			48
[illegible] 113	90	49	49			49
[illegible] 106	93	50	50			50

Table 220. Mathematics: Standard 7: Third term.

Student	Mark(s)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
WG 79	16	1	1			1
WG 125	20	2	2			2
WB 100	21	3	3			3
WB 79	24	4	4			4
IG 117	33	5	5		5	
WG 124	37	6	6			6
IG 87	40	7	8		8	
WB 77	40	7	8			8
WG 85	40	7	8			8
BG 101	48	10	10.5	10.5		
WB 78	48	10	10.5			10.5
WG 91	50	12	12			12
BG 120	51	13	13	13		
BG 103	53	14	14	14		
WB 94	55	15	15			15
IG 107	5	16	16		16	
BG 82	60	17	18	18		
BG 111	60	17	18	18		
IB 108	60	17	18		18	
WB 80	62	20	20			20
BB 97	63	21	21	21		
IB 70	64	22	22.5		22.5	
WG 114	64	22	22.5			22.5
BB 89	65	24	24	24		
BG 115	68	25	25	25		
BG 102	70	26	27.5	27.5		
WB 92	70	26	27.5			27.5
WG 75	70	26	27.5			27.5
WG 99	70	26	27.5			27.5
BB 88	71	30	30.5	30.5		
BG 81	71	30	30.5	30.5		
BG 85	72	32	32.5	32.5		
WB 109	72	32	32.5			32.5
BG 122	73	34	34	34		
WB 96	75	35	35			35
BG 98	76	36	36	36		
BB 84	77	37	38	38		
IB 110	77	37	38		38	
IB IIB	77	37	38		38	
WG 88	78	40	40			40
BB 71	80	41	41.5	41.5		
BG 98	80	41	41.5	41.5		
BG 116	81	43	43	43		
WB 90	82	44	44			44
IG 119	83	45	45.5		45.5	
WB 121	83	45	45.5			45.5
WB 72	86	47	47			47
WG 113	87	48	48			48
WB 93	88	49	49.5			49.5
WB 106	88	49	49.5			49.5

Table E29. Mathematics: Standard 8: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
WG 170	28	1	1			1
WG 100	28	2	2			2
BG 101	20	3	3.5	3.5		
IG 150	29	3	3.5		3.5	
BG 129	90	5	5	5		
BG 108	44	6	6	6		
WG 145	52	7	7			7
WG 138	53	8	8			8
BG 100	54	9	9	9		
WG 190	55	11	12			12
IG 130	56	11	12		12	
IG 141	56	11	12		12	
IG 170	60	14	14		14	
WG 103	60	15	15			15
BG 153	61	16	17	17		
BG 100	61	16	17	17		
WG 134	61	16	17			17
BG 135	63	19	19.5	19.5		
IG 175	63	19	19.5		19.5	
WG 175	66	21	21			21
BG 105	70	22	22	22		
WG 172	71	23	23			23
WG 152	72	24	24			24
BG 170	73	25	25	25		
IG 158	74	26	26.5	26.5		
WG 144	74	26	26.5			26.5
BG 177	75	28	28	28		
BG 171	77	29	29	29		
BG 155	78	30	30	30		
IG 143	80	31	32		32	
WG 131	80	31	32			32
WG 150	80	31	32			32
BG 151	82	34	35	35		
BG 102	82	34	35	35		
IG 142	82	34	35		35	
BG 156	83	37	37.5	37.5		
WG 132	83	37	37.5			37.5
WG 100	85	39	39			39
WG 140	90	40	40			40
BG 104	87	41	41	41		
WG 140	88	42	42			42
IG 139	89	43	43.5		43.5	
WG 154	89	43	43.5			43.5
BG 107	91	45	45.5	45.5		
WG 149	91	45	45.5			45.5
WG 140	97	47	47			47
WG 147	98	48	48			48
WG 174	99	49	49			49

Table E30. Mathematics: Standard 8: Third term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
WB 173	17	1	1			1
BG 170	22	2	2	2		
WB 164	23	3	3			3
BG 171	31	4	4	4		
BG 181	35	5	5	5		
WB 165	39	6	6			6
BG 180	40	7	7.5	7.5		
WB 172	40	7	7.5			7.5
BG 185	41	9	9	9		
IG 150	42	10	10.5		10.5	
WB 184	42	10	10.5			10.5
BG 195	44	12	12	12		
IG 141	46	13	13		13	
IG 180	47	14	14		14	
WB 180	48	15	15			15
BG 188	50	16	16.5	16.5		
BG 190	50	16	16.5	16.5		
WB 185	51	18	18.5			18.5
WG 182	51	18	18.5			18.5
WB 193	52	20	20			20
BG 158	53	21	21	21		
BG 85	55	22	22.5	22.5		
BG 188	55	22	22.5	22.5		
WG 178	56	24	24			24
WB 152	57	25	25			25
BG 151	59	26	26.5	26.5		
WG 140	59	26	26.5			26.5
WG 163	60	28	28			28
BG 196	62	29	29	29		
IG 175	63	30	30		30	
IG 139	64	31	32.5		32.5	
IG 176	64	31	32.5		32.5	
WG 131	64	31	32.5			32.5
WG 144	64	31	32.5			32.5
BG 182	60	35	35.5	35.5		
WG 160	66	35	35.5			35.5
BG 187	69	37	37	37		
BG 190	70	38	38	38		
BG 177	71	39	39	39		
WG 174	72	40	40			40
WG 150	73	41	41			41
WG 132	76	42	42.5			42.5
WG 154	76	42	42.5			42.5
IG 145	77	44	44		44	
WG 149	78	45	45			45
BG 184	80	46	46.5	46.5		
WG 183	80	46	46.5			46.5
IG 142	84	48	48		48	
WG 140	85	49	49.5			49.5
WG 148	85	49	49.5			49.5
WG 147	90	51	51			51

Table E31. Mathematics: Standard 9: First term.(Part 1)

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
IB 232	25	1	1		1	
WG 248	29	2	2			2
WG 260	31	3	3			3
WG 259	35	4	4			4
IB 194	30	5	5.5		5.5	
WG 252	38	5	5.5			5.5
IB 231	37	7	7.5		7.5	
WG 228	37	7	7.5			7.5
BG 214	42	9	9.5	9.5		
WG 241	42	9	9.5			9.5
WG 211	45	11	11.5			11.5
WG 247	45	11	11.5			11.5
WG 213	46	13	13			13
BG 234	47	14	14	14		
IG 256	48	15	15.5		15.5	
WG 257	48	15	15.5			15.5
WG 195	49	17	17			17
BG 229	53	18	18.5	18.5		
WG 255	53	18	18.5			18.5
IG 203	54	20	20		20	
BG 218	55	21	21	21		
BG 238	56	22	22	22		
IG 190	57	23	24		24	
IG 221	57	23	24		24	
IG 244	57	23	24		24	
BG 255	58	26	27.5	27.5		
IG 204	58	26	27.5		27.5	
IG 199	58	26	27.5		27.5	
WG 251	58	26	27.5			27.5
WG 217	59	30	30.5			30.5
WG 258	59	30	30.5			30.5
WG 212	60	32	32			32
BG 223	61	33	33.5	33.5		
WG 208	61	33	33.5			33.5
IG 243	63	35	35.5		35.5	
WG 246	63	35	35.5			35.5
BG 192	64	37	37.5	37.5		
IG 242	64	37	37.5		37.5	
BG 224	66	39	40	40		
BG 239	66	39	40	40		
IG 193	66	39	40		40	
BG 236	68	42	42	42		
BG 206	69	43	43.5	43.5		
WG 198	69	43	43.5			43.5
WG 205	73	45	45			45
IG 197	74	46	46		46	
WG 210	75	47	47			47
WG 250	76	48	48.5			48.5
WG 191	76	48	48.5			48.5

Table E31. Mathematics: Standard 0: First term.(Part 2)

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
[illegible] 254	77	90	90		90	
[illegible] 215	70	91	91.5			91.5
[illegible] 202	70	91	91.5			91.5
[illegible] 220	05	93	93.5	93.5		
[illegible] 233	00	93	93.5	93.5		
[illegible] 230	01	95	95	95		
[illegible] 201	04	96	96.5	96.5		
[illegible] 207	04	20	96.5			96.5
[illegible] 245	00	98	98		98	
[illegible] 100	07	99	99			90
[illegible] 240	09	00	00.5	00.5		
[illegible] 200	09	00	00.5			00.5
[illegible] 207	05	02	02.5		02.5	
[illegible] 219	05	02	02.5			02.5

Table E82: Mathematics: Standard 5: Third term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
WG 202	20	1	1			1
WG 207	30	2	2			2
BG 214	31	3	3.5	3.5		
WG 105	31	3	3.5			3.5
WG 241	32	5	5			5
BG 220	36	6	6	6		
BG 233	38	7	7	7		
BG 204	39	8	8	8		
BG 102	42	9	9.5	9.5		
WG 247	42	9	9.5			9.5
WG 250	44	11	11			11
WG 248	45	12	12			12
BG 206	47	13	14.5	14.5		
IG 242	47	13	14.5		14.5	
IG 244	47	13	14.5		14.5	
WG 217	47	13	14.5			14.5
BG 220	48	17	18	18		
BG 230	48	17	18	18		
WG 226	48	17	18			18
BG 224	50	20	21	21		
BG 230	50	20	21	21		
IG 100	50	20	21		21	
BG 235	51	23	24	24		
IG 100	51	23	24		24	
IG 243	51	23	24		24	
IG 221	52	27	27		27	
WG 212	53	27	27			27
BG 223	58	28	28.5	28.5		
WG 101	59	28	28.5			28.5
BG 234	59	30	30	30		
WG 109	60	31	31			31
IG 204	63	32	32.5		32.5	
WG 202	63	32	32.5			32.5
WG 246	66	34	34			34
WG 216	69	35	35			35
WG 205	70	36	36			36
WG 213	71	37	37.5			37.5
WG 210	71	37	37.5			37.5
BG 238	73	39	39	39		
BG 240	75	40	40	40		
BG 203	80	41	41	41		
WG 237	82	42	42			42
BG 201	83	43	43	43		
WG 200	84	44	44			44
IG 197	88	45	45		45	
BG 239	88	46	46.5	46.5		
WG 106	88	46	46.5			46.5
IG 245	89	48	48.5		48.5	
WG 219	89	48	48.5			48.5
IG 254	96	50	50		50	
IG 207	97	51	51		51	

Table E93. Mathematics (JHB MG): Standard 10: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
MB 283	24	1	1			1
MG 277	28	2	2			2
MG 302	40	3	3			3
MG 304	61	4	4			4
MG 303	68	5	5			5
MB 272	67	6	6			6
MB 287	69	7	7			7
IB 280	71	8	8		8	
BG 282	86	9	9	9		
BB 290	90	10	10.5	10.5		
MB 280	90	10	10.5			10.5
MB 281	62	11	12			12

Table E94. Mathematics (JHB MG: Standard 10: Second term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
MG 302	36	1	1			1
MB 303	46	2	2			2
IB 280	47	3	3		3	
MB 272	49	4	4			4
MB 280	63	5	5			5
BB 290	64	6	6	6		
BG 282	65	7	7	7		
MB 297	67	8	8			8
MG 305	77	9	9			9
MB 281	89	10	10			10

Table E35. General Science: Standard 9: First term.

Student	Mark(%)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BG 01	25	1	1	1		
BG 53	81	2	2	2		
BG 47	87	3	3	3		
IB 22	44	4	4		4	
IB 40	50	5	5		5	
IB 55	53	6	6		6	
IB 27	54	7	7		7	
IB 01	58	8	8		8	
IB 02	57	9	9		9	
BG 45	58	10	10.5	10.5		
BB 49	58	10	10.5	10.5		
BG 43	58	12	12	12		
BG 42	60	13	13	13		
BG 50	60	13	13	13		
WB 24	60	13	13			13
WB 30	61	16	16			16
WG 65	62	17	17			17
WB 25	65	18	18			18
WG 99	69	19	19			19
BG 35	70	20	20	20		
WG 66	73	21	21			21
BB 41	75	22	22	22		
WB 23	76	23	23			23
BG 44	77	24	25	25		
WB 20	77	24	25			25
WG 34	77	24	25			25
BB 48	78	27	27.5	27.5		
BB 57	78	27	27.5	27.5		
BG 52	81	29	30	30		
WB 33	81	29	30			30
WB 03	81	29	30			30
BB 04	83	32	32.5	32.5		
WB 21	83	32	32.5			32.5
WB 59	84	34	35			35
WB 37	84	34	35			35
WG 51	84	34	35			35
WB 28	86	37	37			37
WB 60	87	38	38			38
IB 54	92	39	40.5		40.5	
WB 29	92	39	40.5			40.5
WB 52	92	39	40.5			40.5
WB 56	92	39	40.5			40.5
WB 38	95	43	43.5			43.5
WG 59	95	43	43.5			43.5
WB 26	96	45	46			46
WB 36	96	45	46			46
WB 40	96	45	46			46

Table E9G. General Science: Standard 8: Third Term.

Student	Mark(s)	Rank	Corrected	Black	Indian	White
BG 38	37	1	1	1		
BG 47	47	2	2	2		
IG 40	81	3	3		3	
IG 27	83	4	4		4	
IG 61	84	5	5.5		5.5	
IG 67	84	5	5.5		5.5	
BG 45	86	7	8.5	8.5		
BG 49	86	7	8.5	8.5		
IG 22	86	7	8.5		8.5	
IG 55	86	7	8.5		8.5	
BG 35	87	11	12	12.5		
BG 60	87	11	12.5	12.5		
IG 62	87	11	12.5		12.5	
WG 24	87	11	12.5			12.5
BG 42	91	13	13.5	13.5		
WG 30	91	13	13.5			13.5
WG 20	94	17	17			17
WG 25	98	18	18			18
BG 43	99	19	19.5	19.5		
WG 39	99	19	19.5			19.5
WG 29	99	21	21			21
BG 44	70	22	22	22		
WG 34	71	23	23			23
WG 28	73	24	24.5			24.5
WG 32	73	24	24.5			24.5
BG 52	74	26	26	26		
BG 57	75	27	27.5	27.5		
BG 64	75	27	27.5	27.5		
WG 26	76	29	29			29
BG 48	77	30	30.5	30.5		
WG 21	77	30	30.5			30.5
BG 41	78	32	32	32		
WG 20	79	33	33			33
IG 54	80	34	34		34	
WG 33	82	35	35.5			35.5
WG 51	82	35	35.5			35.5
WG 60	83	37	37			37
WG 37	84	38	38			38
WG 29	86	39	39			39
WG 20	87	40	40.5			40.5
WG 56	87	40	40.5			40.5
WG 36	89	42	42			42
WG 38	90	43	43			43
WG 40	93	44	44			44
WG 59	94	45	45			45