

TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS, EDUCATIONAL
POLICY AND THE PLANNING OF INSET;
A STUDY IN THE CATHOLIC PRIMARY
SCHOOLS OF SOWETO

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ABSTRACT

Teachers' perceptions, educational policy and the planning of INSET: a study in the Catholic primary schools of Soweto

Interviews with principals, assistant teachers and certain other personnel suggest that these teachers (almost exclusively black women) believe that changes in school policy and resources would do more to improve their teaching than would their further professional development. However, they express interest in formal courses leading to certification that carries monetary reward. A strategy is proposed for a programme of in-service education for these teachers that takes into account the above and other findings, the evolving theoretical and policy perspectives of the Catholic church (both international and South African), relevant facets of the national context, and current thinking on INSET. This programme is embedded in a general process of school improvement and is seen as a normal part of the professional development of the teacher. The learning-process model of innovation used is non-~~over~~lative, participative and school focussed, and involves collaborative evaluation.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Lucienne W G Hunter

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Seventeenth day of December, 1988

PREFACE

This study emerged from a concern for the in-service education of teachers in the Catholic primary schools of Soweto and comparable contexts.

On the rationale of the importance for such INSET of the teachers' perceptions, the study focuses upon their views about the purposes of education, about ways in which their teaching could be improved, and about their own educational needs.

The first two chapters set out the problem and the research procedure. Appendices I and II explain certain specifically Catholic points of terminology and interpretation that are relevant here.

Chapters Three, Four and Five report on and discuss the two phases of the fieldwork. Appendices III to IX contain material used in the interviews, specific responses, and some discussion of points of detail. In the main body of the dissertation reference is made to these appendices where relevant.

Chapter Six contains a critique of the fieldwork methodology, and in Chapter Seven a strategy for INSET is elaborated on the basis of the fieldwork findings and within relevant educational, religious and social perspectives.

At the end of the dissertation there is a list of references relating to three types of material. In the text, each of these types is referred to in a particular way. The Harvard system is used for books and periodicals. Newspapers are named and dated. Archival materials are

To the teachers and
pupils of the Soweto
primary schools

given numbers which correspond to those in the reference list.

I wish to record my deep gratitude to many people:

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
ATASA	African Teachers' Association of South Africa
CED	Ciskei Education Department
CIE	Catholic Institute of Education
DET	Department of Education and Training
DPSC	Detainees' Parents' Support Committee
HP	Higher Primary (school)
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IEB	Independent Examinations Board
INSET	Inservice education of teachers
INSIP	International School Improvement Project
JC	Junior Certificate
JMB	Joint Matriculation Board
LP	Lower Primary (school)
Matric	The Senior Certificate and the Matriculation Exemption are popularly both referred to as "matric". The colloquial usage is followed in this dissertation.
NECC	National Education Crisis Committee
NP	National Party
OD	Organisational Development
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
rho	Spearman's rank correlation coefficient
SACBC	Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference
SBR	School-Based Review

SELP	Schools English Language Project
SEP	Science Education Project
Std	Standard (level of schooling)
TELIP	Teachers English Language Project
UNISA	University of South Africa
Vatican II	Second Vatican Council, 1962-1965
WRAB	West Rand Administration Board

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CHAPTER ONE: THE PROBLEM AND ITS BACKGROUND

=====

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The research described here is rooted in a concern, widespread among those in leadership roles in Catholic educational circles in South Africa, about the quality of education in Catholic schools in "Black areas".

Pupils attending such schools are, almost without exception, African, and their teachers likewise.

Those with formal responsibility in relation to these schools commonly hold the opinion that improvement in the quality of education in these schools can be brought about most effectively by raising the educational and professional level of the teachers.

This belief led the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), through a project committee of its Department of Schools, to set up a feasibility study of which one focus was the in-service education of teachers (INSET) in the Catholic sector (SACBC, 1982, 11). The writer of this dissertation was the research officer in that project.

In section 1.2 the aim and rationale for this present study is described.

This is followed by three reviews of literature.

The first is concerned with innovation in education and, in particular, with the part played by teachers' perceptions (1.3).

The second (1.4) consists of items that are central to

an exploration of modern Catholic thought on education. (As used here, the term 'modern' applies to the period since the Church's international assembly, the Second Vatican Council, 1962-65.)

The third group of sources relate to the Catholic response to the racially structured educational traditions and policies in South Africa (1.5).

(Literature relevant to the research procedure in the field study is reviewed in Chapter Two.)

Before proceeding, it should be noted that a degree of controversy surrounds the designation of those sometimes referred to as "Roman Catholics". Should they be called "Roman Catholics", "Catholics" or "catholics"? For reasons explained in Appendix 1, it has been decided to use the form "Catholics" in this dissertation.

1.2 AIM AND RATIONALE

This research is intended to contribute to the improvement of education for children attending these schools by clarifying some factors relevant to an INSET programme. It is essentially concerned with innovation in these schools.

The rationale for this study may be summed up as follows:

In the clarification of innovation priorities and in the implementation of innovation, a crucial variable comprises the perceptions of the institutional personnel, particularly those of the teachers. (Support for this proposition may be found in the works referred to below.)

This implies a need to ascertain and analyse these perceptions and to relate them to those of Catholic school policy-makers.

The aim of this study is to carry out this task in respect of the Catholic primary schools of Soweto. This will be done in the light of certain modern Catholic approaches to the role of the Church and to evangelization, and with reference to current South African discussion on community relations and school/community relations.

1.3 INNOVATION IN TEACHING: THE CENTRALITY OF TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS

Several authors agree that, at present, there are no blueprints for effective innovations in education, so it is necessary to concentrate upon factors which appear to favour, or impede, durable change (Morrish, 1976, 109; Havelock and Huberman, 1977, 243-245).

Until recently the research and diffusion strategy of change has been much in vogue. It consists of four broad steps: research, development, diffusion and adoption. According to Morrish, "The model, . . . , tends to underestimate the stages of diffusion and adoption through its assumption that the enlightened self-interest of the practitioner will lead to the eventual incorporation of the innovation" (1976, 120). It appears that there is considerable agreement that innovation conducted according to this paradigm has made little impact upon the curricula

and organisation of schools. So attention is now increasingly being paid to the user's perceptions of (a) the attributes and desiderata of the education process and environment, and hence of (b) any need for change (Bolam, 1975, 281; Havelock, 1975, 315-316; Havelock and Huberman, 1977, 245; Nisbet, 1981, 163 and 165; Dalin, 1978, 18). Theoretically, the user system can be of any size and complexity (Havelock, 1975, 315). In our case this system consists of the Supervisors, Principals, Assistant Teachers and Std. V pupils in the Catholic primary schools in Soweto. (A description of these four groups is given in 5.2.)

Others, while not holding the above position, nevertheless attach considerable importance to the teachers' perception of need for change.

The Australian Schools Commission (1973), in its Karmel Report (p.125), claims that

The effectiveness of innovation, no matter at what level it is initiated in a school organisation, is dependent on the extent to which the people concerned perceive a problem and hence realise the existence of a need, are knowledgeable about a range of alternative solutions, and feel themselves to be in a congenial organisational climate.

Husen, in a paper for the International Commission on the Development of Education, says that too often the innovatory process has been attempted without sufficient regard to securing the co-operation of teachers. H.M. Phillips says that Husen's basic thesis of the need to work with the teaching force is clearly right" (1975, 113).

Advocates of a strategy of innovation based on this

model hold that self-initiated and self-applied innovation will have the strongest user commitment and the best chances of long-term survival. (Major advocates include: Lippett, 1967; Watson, 1967; Jung, 1967.)

From his research into the opinions of teachers who had taken advanced courses in primary education at the University of Leeds, Alexander found that a critical factor in accounting for an INSET course's perceived success was congruence between:

a teacher's goals/expectations and his perception of its outcomes; between expectations and processes; between the world of the classroom as explored on the course from the outside and as perceived by himself from the inside (1981, 12).

Richardson said that there was

an increasing acceptance of the idea that educational research, if it is to have any real effects upon practice must include projects in which teachers in the field collaborate actively with workers from the universities and research institutes (1973, 38).

Eggleston comments that, in Britain in the 1980's, the dominant form of curriculum development is school-based (1980, ix).

According to Smyth (1982, 340)

Research findings canvassed in the area of teacher development suggest that teachers should be involved as full partners in their own professional development.

Freer's work suggests that the contexts in which such considerations are applicable include that of Soweto. In his discussion of a local project to improve the skills of teachers who use English as the medium of instruction in primary school he says that

At the preliminary survey stage and in the planning of the first workshops objectives tended to be somewhat paternalistic and prescriptive. Tutors identified needs and specified solutions with a minimum consultation with the participating teachers. With growing tutorial experience this situation changed, and the more teachers were invited to articulate their needs and problems the greater the increase in their enthusiasm for the project (1982, 238).

From all of the above, it is concluded that a first step towards planning a strategy of innovation is the delineation of the professional values and priorities of the actors in the system and, in particular, those of the teachers.

It is hoped that the result of this investigation will aid the decision-makers. However, decisions are likely to be made by means of a process of negotiation between a number of parties who do not wield equal power. Insights gained will not in themselves resolve controversies that arise from different value positions (Hamilton, 1976, 96-98). This problem is not one of the foci of this study.

1.4 CATHOLIC PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION

In order to provide a framework for certain facets of the empirical study it will be necessary to analyse the central features of modern Catholic thought on education. Authoritative international documents will be mentioned below, but it may be useful to draw attention first to a recent British study, Konstant (1981): Signposts and homecomings: the educative task of the Catholic community. This reflects at least four major shifts in Catholic

educational thought in recent decades.

- a. It represents a shift from a model of education in which received culture is transmitted from one generation to the next, to a model in which the teacher and pupil co-operate in a critical evaluation of received culture and changing society (ibid., 12).
- b. It represents a shift from a focus on the Christian education of children to that of adults (ibid., 15, 72).
- c. It represents a shift from an isolationist position in which Catholic energies were channelled into the provision of characteristically Catholic education for Catholics to one of "critical solidarity". As Konstant explains:

The pastoral theology of Vatican II requires the Church to be involved unconditionally with human concerns. Christians are to work side by side with their fellow men for the improvement of human life and the progress of human society. This they must do, not directly for evangelistic reasons, but because the task is itself, though anonymously, of a piece with the redemption of mankind (ibid., 7).

This is close to the thinking of the Vatican II document Gaudium et Spes. See Paul VI, 1965, 269-270.

In respect of the application of the notion of critical solidarity to education Signposts and homecomings is also at one with the Vatican II document Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis). Emmett Carter says that that which is most distinctive about the latter is

the insistence upon the integration of Christian education into the whole pattern of human life in

all its aspects. In this regard, the Declaration on Christian Education is totally in conformity with the spirit of Vatican II. The contrast is with a form of thinking and acting of another age when it was considered best to keep Christians away from the world lest they be contaminated thereby (1966, 635).

(In the Catholic tradition, "Magisterium" is the technical term used for the Church's teaching authority. This Magisterium has made numerous pronouncements of which Gaudium et Spes and Gravissimum Educationis are two. Such documents are treated with great seriousness by Catholics. Because several are referred to in this study, and to avoid interrupting the flow of the dissertation, Catholic understanding of the nature of this authority is discussed in Appendix II.

Those referred to in this dissertation are marked with an asterisk in the reference list.)

d. It represents a shift from a vision of the world in which it is seen merely as a testing ground to discover whether an individual Christian is worthy to enter the gates of heaven to one in which the Christian's involvement in the temporal world is viewed as essentially helping to build the eternal Kingdom.

In the Catholic educational ideal Konstant identified four strands:

- the communication of a Christ-centred perspective which discerns a meaning in human life deeper than or beyond the scope of the senses, culture, the pursuit of a career, politics, or any scheme of self-improvement derived solely from human endeavour (1981, 119);
- a deep respect for the individuality and integrity of

all people, including students of all ages and at all stages of development;

an insistence that all people are included in the scope of Christ's redemptive love (hence racism is anathema, poverty amidst wealth a scandal, and all people have a right to liberty);

communication of a sense of mission in students, encouraging them to continue Christ's work in the salvation and liberation of the world (*ibid.*, 120-121).

None of these strands should be lost to sight although different emphases will occur at different times (*ibid.*, 119).

Catholic education, in this view, proceeds by induction into a way of life.

This is in accord with the thinking of the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education (Garrone, 1977, 14) who says

The school must be a community whose values are communicated through the interpersonal and sincere relationships of its members

In 1982 this same body produced Lay Catholics in schools: witnesses to faith (Baum). This document maintains, and explores the implications of, the view that it is lay people (i.e. those other than priests, nuns and brothers), including lay teachers, whether Christian or not, who will substantially determine whether a school realises its aims (p.3). Emphasis is again placed upon the school as a community.

The heritage of Vatican II, therefore, would appear to include an increased respect for the individual conscience and for individual growth (an obvious tension area in a still authoritarian church), and also an orientation towards a greater involvement in social problems and issues (obviously with a high potential for intra-church tension).

1.3 CATHOLIC EDUCATION AND THE STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA

Hurley (1971) and Flanagan (1982) are important sources on the evolution of Catholic educational policy in South Africa. Both have been prominent participants in policy development for more than thirty years.

Under the circumstances of nineteenth century colonialism the Church "drifted imperceptibly into a two-pronged approach: a settlers' church for the whites and a missionary church for Africans and others" (Hurley, 1971, iv).

When the Bantu Education Act of 1953 phased out state aid for mission schools for Africans, the Catholic Church sought to retain and finance most of its schools but the number of these schools dwindled. The remaining unaided schools were still under state control as regards curricula, examinations and inspection (Flanagan, 1982, 94). Growing awareness of the interracial disparities in Catholic educational provision (in part) led the SACBC, through the Catholic Education Council, to commission Sr. Augusta Neal to carry out a survey of schools conducted by religious

congregations (SACBC, 1973, 17). In the report of this survey a redeployment of staff resources was recommended (Neal, 1971, 20 and 24).

From 1952 onwards the SACBC issued a series of statements critical of state policy on race relations and political structure. Over the years these became more forthright.

For the purposes of this study, the statement that was published in 1972 (9-15) is significant in two ways.

First, as Prior says,

it marks the beginning of a shift away from the tone and the content of the earlier documents. It shows the influence of radical concepts on the relationship between religion and politics introduced to the Second Vatican Council by Latin American theologians. Instead of listing contraventions to human rights, as was the practice earlier, it speaks about the need to redistribute wealth, the de-humanising effects of South African legislation, and the Church's responsibility to the poor.

It makes a strong statement of identification with the victims of oppressive political legislation (1982, 181).

Secondly it criticises the inequalities in the provision of education (SACBC, 1972, 13).

In June 1976 some Soweto school children in previously English medium state secondary schools demonstrated against the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in certain subjects. This soon gave rise to demands for the removal of "Bantu education". In confrontation with the police children were shot dead. Nationwide, over 500 people died in the months of violence that followed.

In January of the same year the SACBC passed the following resolution:

Realising that the Church must give witness to the Gospel in its institutions, the Conference favours a policy of integration in Catholic schools, encourages individual schools, ~~****~~ to promote the implementation of the policy according to circumstances and directs the Department of Schools to continue to study the question with a view to enabling the Conference to confirm and concretise the policy (p.20).

The day of the exclusively, white Catholic school was over (Flanagan, 1982, 91-92). However, schools that traditionally catered exclusively for black pupils have rarely, if ever, been integrated in the sense of having both white and black pupils. White pupils do not apply for admission to these schools.

Further, expenditure per pupil in the traditionally black schools continued to be markedly lower than expenditure per pupil in schools that had both black and white pupils. In 1979 the State spent R644 per annum on each white pupil, and R41,80 on each black child. Sr. Brigid Flanagan believes that "the Church's proportionate division of resources is not significantly different from this" (1982, 90).

The 'open schools' policy led to an exploration of its curricular implications, so that the educational programme would

include black cultural values as well as white, in such a way that black pupils will not merely be assimilated into the existing system but will remain authentic blacks enriched by western culture, just as whites must be enriched by African culture (*ibid.*, 93).

To promote this aim, workshops on African themes in history and literature were held at a number of centres in South Africa. The Bishops also sponsored a correspondence course in African Studies which was developed by the South African Committee for Higher Education (ibid., 93).

In their 1977 statement on "the current situation and citizen rights of bla " the Bishops recalled that the 1976 disturbances "began in Soweto with a demonstration on the part of the youth against a system of education which the students regarded as narrowing and limiting rather than developing their education". In this statement the Bishops publically committed themselves to work "for peace through justice" (SACBC, 1977a, 41).

The SACBC, at a plenary session in February 1979, called for a

consultation on Catholic schools in South Africa, aimed at formulating specific recommendations to be placed before the Conference and Major Superiors responsible for schools (p.16).

A plan for consultation at diocesan level was presented to the SACBC at its meeting in February 1980 and accepted.

Its objectives were:

- (a) to have the local Catholic community examine the Catholic school situation in the diocese or region of the diocese;
- (b) to determine the role, as seen by the local church, of the Catholic school in the diocese;
- (c) to formulate an overall plan and make recommendations as regards the future of Catholic schools within the diocese (SACBC, 1980, 57).

The following are some points made in the resulting

Diocesan reports.

It is clear that people want Catholic schools and consider them relevant, but existing schools touch only on a small percentage of Catholic youth. The schools must be really Catholic, not just nominally so.

Greater involvement on the part of the laity, especially black laity, is expected.

The whole area of educating in responsibility needs attention. Many black teachers feel they are not given enough responsibility. Religious often keep responsibility in their own hands and lay teachers and parents know very little about the running of the schools. Much needs to be done to encourage a spirit of co-responsibility and partnership.

(In Catholic circles the term "religious" refers to those who have taken vows of poverty, chastity and obedience i.e. those in the Church who bear the title Father, Brother, Mother and Sister. Outside the Catholic tradition the colloquial terms "priests" and "nuns" are more commonly recognisable.)

The Catholic school should not mirror the values prevailing in society, but should offer a model of what the ideal Christian society should be. Too often our schools conform to, instead of challenging unchristian values. A set of Christian values should be clearly set out and all Catholic schools should live these, while denouncing whatever is contrary to the Gospel in the surrounding society (SACBC, 1981, 151-152).

Emphasis was also placed upon the need "for a properly trained, competent and confident core of lay Catholic teachers" (SACBC, 1982, 132).

The authors of the report observe that

The consultation revealed that because of our apartheid society, the various sections of the Catholic community within the same diocese were completely isolated from one another. People

associated with the white urban schools and parishes were totally unaware of the conditions in black schools.

They are of the opinion that, inter alia

it is imperative that local Catholic communities as a whole accept greater responsibility for their schools, (SACBC, 1981, 150).

In their February 1981 discussion of the report the Bishop noted that

Many of the (same) suggestions had been made 10 years ago by Sr. Augusta Neal, At that time, religious were not ready to accept her suggestions, but they were now, and this was the time to act (SACBC, 1981, 86).

One outcome of the above was related to the upgrading of the teaching establishment in Catholic schools. At its meeting on the 24th March 1982, the "Department of Schools" (the SACBC's consultative board on education) set up, on instruction from its parent body, a committee to study the feasibility of establishing one or more institutions to provide for:

- a. the pre-service training of teachers (of all races) in a milieu conducive to Catholic religious and social formation;
- b. the in-service training of Catholic teachers particularly in the field of religious education;
- c. the preparation of curricular material in the religious and social aspects of education in both school and non-formal programmes (SACBC, 1984, 86).

(It was in this study that the present writer was the research officer. See 1.1.)

In relation to (a) it was reported at the SACBC plenary

session in February 1983 that

the President of the Conference had written to the Cabinet asking whether the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference could envisage being granted authorisation for a multiracial teachers' training college, should the feasibility study indicate that it would be worthwhile and within the means of the Conference to proceed with the project and apply for recognition. Dr. G Viljoen sent a very polite but very definite refusal to this request (SACBC, 1983, 82).

The following summary of recommendations was presented to the Conference in January 1984.

1. The possibility of establishing a Catholic college of education be not pursued.
2. The Catholic formation of teacher trainees should be carried out in formal and informal groupings of students attending secular institutions.
3. In relation to the in-service education of Catholic teachers, particular attention should be paid to religious education. Further, skills related to school management should be fostered. There should also be special concern for the teaching of those parts of secular subjects that have to do with South Africa and/or controversial themes of a historical and political nature (e.g. on the theme of social justice).

In-service education should be carried out by regional teams of experienced educationalists, mainly by means of in-school programmes and short residential courses. Catholic teachers' associations should also be encouraged and helped to become more deeply involved in in-service teacher education.

4. In due course provision should be made for the adaptation, or preparation, of teaching materials, in the fields of religious education and the "social" subjects, by writers working directly under Catholic educational auspices.
5. The staff involved in the activities above should constitute a Catholic Institute of Education, led by a suitably qualified

director (SACBC, 1984, 126).

Such an institute was established and a director appointed (SACBC, 1985, 88).

In summary, against a background of increasingly radical episcopal statements on social justice, the Catholic educational authorities have, in recent years, come to grapple with the schools' segregated and differentially resourced South African heritage, and to attempt a degree of racial integration (most of this illegal) and some curricular articulation of the problems of social justice.

1.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has indicated the centrality of teachers' perceptions in the development of an INSET programme. In the planning of such a programme in the Catholic schools in question, the application of these perceptions must logically be related to the evolving theoretical and policy perspectives of the Catholic Church, both internationally and specifically in South Africa. This study is concerned to explore both the perceptions and the perspectives, in the context of the distinctive attributes of the South Africa situation. In the light of relevant INSET experience, it will conclude by suggesting a plan for INSET in these schools (7.3).

This whole project takes place, of course, within the conceptual framework of this particular Christian tradition. For the purposes of this study, then, the validity of that framework is assumed.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH PROCEDURE =====

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of a description of the research procedure used in this study and of the reasons for the choices made.

First, attention is drawn to two studies in which the opinions of assistant teachers are solicited (2.2). These studies have influenced the present one.

Secondly, the general orientation that guided the choice of research methods is indicated (2.3).

Finally the modus operandi is described and justified (2.4.2).

2.2 TWO STUDIES

Most of 1.2 was devoted to indications of the significance, in educational development, of the perceptions of the teachers. Unfortunately, studies of such perceptions are rare, particularly in the Third World. Here two that are pertinent to the task in hand are described.

One notable article is by Musgrove and Taylor (1965). They describe an enquiry designed to establish how widely teachers in England conceived of their role and to which elements they attached most weight. This was compared with the parents' expectations and with the teachers' perceptions of the parents' expectations (p.171).

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The instrument used was a questionnaire which listed the six aims most commonly mentioned by parents in an

earlier investigation (Musgrove, 1961). The teachers were asked to rank those objectives as they valued them and also as their experience led them to believe they would be valued by parents. A sample of parents was asked to rank these same objectives as they thought they should weigh with their children's teachers (Musgrove and Taylor, 1965, 72).

The 470 teachers studied saw their work primarily in intellectual and moral terms, and were comparatively indifferent to training in social relationships. In general the parents emphasised the same aims as the teachers. However, the teachers saw the parents as little concerned with moral and social training. The teachers believed that the parents placed great weight on instruction and social advancement (*ibid.*, 174).

A similar strategy was employed as part of this study.

In Phase I the teachers in two Catholic primary schools in Kagiso were asked, *inter alia*, what further education they wanted for themselves. (See 2.4.2.2.) On the basis of their responses a series of statements was devised. Each one encapsulated a reason for wanting to obtain a Senior Certificate. (See 4.5.) In Phase II a sample of assistant teachers in Catholic primary schools in Soweto was asked to rate and "rank" these statements as an expression of their own motivation (2.4.2.3). In addition the "supervisors" and principals of their schools were asked to predict the assistant teachers' responses.

A local example of a study of teachers' perceptions is provided by Freer (1982, 223-241) who, as part of an

evaluation of an INSET programme undertaken in Soweto in 1981, solicited the opinions of the teachers taking part.

In that year English was to be introduced as the medium of instruction in Std. III classes (*ibid.*, 223).

In order to identify problems likely to be encountered as a result of this introduction, personnel appointed by the University of the Witwatersrand observed 36 teachers from 14 Soweto primary schools teaching a total of 103 class lessons in 1980.

The three project personnel involved in these surveys gave "high priority" to the provision of suitable texts in order "to provide a barely adequate school learning environment". They "also made reference to the low level of teacher competence in spoken and written English. Subsequent discussions with teachers suggested that the teachers themselves were cognizant of this factor, and many subsequently volunteered to attend remedial classes" (*ibid.*, 222).

Following this the Schools' English Language Project (SELP) was launched in 1981 "to improve both the English-medium teaching skills and raise the level of teachers' personal competence in English". Over 360 teachers of Std. III, from State schools, were involved from the outset.

A central feature of the programme was a series of workshops.

The workshops were organized into three 10-week cycles. In one cycle out of three a teacher would form part of an intensive group, which received 2 1/2 hours of workshop practice each

week. In the remaining two cycles that same teacher would join contact groups which held shorter workshops of 1 1/2 hours,

The workshops were convened and organised by seven university-appointed tutors.

In the first year of operation "evaluation tended to be of a formative and illuminative nature" (*ibid.*, 226).

In February/March and again in September, observations were made of the teachers' behaviour during workshops. Earlier they "appeared content to adopt a passive stance of listening and receiving . By September they were much more uninhibited in the way they questioned tutors and analysed teaching suggestions or replied to tutorial criticisms. Project tutors frequently remarked upon the growth in confidence of the teachers" (*ibid.*, 228).

The tutors attitudes were also noted.

Freer concluded that

Perhaps two of the outstanding features of the project are first, that it has taken time for some of the tutors to absorb the intricacies of the role they have to fulfil, and secondly, the teachers have required time to develop new attitudes, and gain in confidence and enthusiasm before many of the proposed teaching innovations have become internalized (*ibid.*, 228 - 229).

During March 1981 the project tutors were invited to attend a round-table discussion on the objectives of the workshops. Arising from the meeting each tutor was requested to submit an individual list of objectives. From the resultant lists twelve common objectives were synthesized. Each of the twelve was typed onto a separate card and the pack of cards given to each tutor, who was

required to state a priority order.

Given twelve options, the tutors placed the following objectives first, second and third, respectively, in order of priority:

To improve children's ability to speak English
To improve children's ability to read English
To help teachers with teaching problems.

A Kendal Coefficient of Concordance calculated for the tutors' priority lists indicated a level of group agreement which was highly significant. ($p < 0,01$) (*ibid.*, 227).

However, when a similar exercise was carried out with approximately 100 teachers comprising the first intensive workshop groups, a different group order of priority was revealed (*ibid.*, 227).

(The teachers' level of group agreement was also $p < 0,01$) (*ibid.*, 228).

Matching the two group lists, tutors and teachers, by use of a Spearman Rank Order procedure (Siegel, 1956, 202-213) yielded a coefficient of $-0,021$ ($t = 0,066$) which was not statistically significant, and raised the possibility that teachers maintained different priorities of workshop objectives from those of the tutors (*ibid.*, 228).

The first three objectives in the teachers' order of priority were:

To learn new teaching techniques
To help teachers with teaching problems
To learn to make children's learning more enjoyable (*ibid.*, 228).

This information was discussed with the tutors, who then resolved to make conscious attempts in the subsequent workshops to reconcile their views with those of the teachers, and to take greater heed of the teachers' opinions (*ibid.*, 228).

Freer also remarks that "Perhaps the most optimistic comment to make was that by October the teachers had become sensitive and receptive to the purposes of the workshops".

Further evidence to support this contention came from a qualitative survey of the beliefs of teachers and principals, administered during the final term of 1981. Teachers were invited to respond to an opinionnaire designed to quantify their group attitudes towards the project. To provide a measure of credibility for these responses, a modified form of the opinionnaire for principals, supplemented by the written observations of the evaluator, produced what Cohen and Manion (1980, 208) refer to as triangulation (1982, 229).

From Freer's report there is no evidence that, before devising the opinionnaires, he had held discussions with the teachers to determine their foci of concern as regards the outcomes of the workshops.

Neither is there evidence that Freer explored the teachers' perceptions of their educational needs in relation to the use of English in the classroom. Nor, apparently, did he determine the place of English among the teachers' own educational priorities. Given the constraints inevitably entailed in such a project in schools directly under the Department of Education and Training it might not have been appropriate to solicit the teachers' views on these subjects. For example, if the teachers were not to be allowed to influence the general thrust of the course then such information would not contribute to its formative evaluation within the limited framework adopted. In addition, considerable dissatisfaction might have arisen if the teachers had been encouraged to consider alternatives but had not been given a measure of choice.

The two variants of Freer's opinionnaire (that for principals and that for assistant teachers)

provided data which tended to be mutually supportive and statistically significant in that the majority of common-item statements on the two opinionnaires evoked similar responses.

Freer used a statistic devised by Cooper (1976, 647-655) to determine from Likert-type ratings whether a particular population of raters holds a particular belief (Freer, 1962, 229).

There were 21 item statements common to the opinionnaires completed by the principals and the assistant teachers.

Of these, thirteen were highly significant in 'agreement' or 'disagreement' for both (assistant) teachers and principals, indicating probable congruency between the two group-beliefs in regard to the opinionnaire statements (*ibid.*, 232).

Three examples of statements upon which the two groups agree are given below:

- The teachers have been given many new ideas.
- The teaching notes given to teachers in the workshops are easy to understand.
- Teachers have tried to use the methods and ideas discussed in the workshops (*ibid.*, 233).

In addition to the Likert-type statements on the opinionnaire, three open-ended sections invited (assistant) teachers and principals to comment in a less structured format, for example:

- a) Write down the things you think are good about the project;
- b) Write down the things you do not like about the project;
- c) What would you like added to the project? (*ibid.*, 232).

The comments received appeared to reinforce the views expressed in the opinionnaire statements with the exception of the suggested additions which moved outside the terms of reference of the project. However, even there, comments seem to support the view that teachers were enthusiastic about the scheme and would like teachers other than those in Standard 3 to have an opportunity to

take part in a similar project (*ibid.*, 233).

In a consideration of the relevance of experience gained from SELP to the study described here, the following points should be noted.

1. SELP and this study are both concerned with INSET programmes in primary schools in Soweto. They differ in that SELP involved teachers in state schools while this focuses upon those in Catholic schools.
2. Freer's evaluation covers 1981, the first year in which the SELP course operated. The fieldwork for Phase I of the present study was carried out in 1983 and that of Phase II in 1986. That is, both projects were undertaken within a few years of each other.

However they differ in relation to the stage of development of the INSET programme at which the research was undertaken.

In SELP's case, the teachers' opinions regarding their needs were not solicited in the planning process. Neither were they asked to contribute in any other way at this juncture. In light of the considerations reflected in the survey of literature in 1.3, this would appear to be a weakness.

This present study is concerned precisely with an exploration of teachers' perceptions prior to decisions being made about an INSET programme.

In this study the research procedures used are similar in some ways to those used in Freer's evaluation and there are also marked differences. The differing circumstances

surrounding these two projects account to a large extent for the disparity. Reflection upon the suitability of his research methods to his situation contributed insights that affected the choice of those used here.

Similarities and differences between Freer's evaluation and this study will be described in section 2.4.2.3.

2.3 ORIENTATION

Although there is a paucity of studies of teachers' opinions there are significant items related to approaches to such investigations.

In educational research there has been considerable dissatisfaction with the methodologies of experimental psychology, based on the normative approach to the study of man. Critics draw attention to:

1. The mechanistic image of man that it implies; and
2. as a consequence, the concept of behaviour as being man's response to the press of his environment (Cohen and Manion, 1980, 22).

Harre and Secord are among those who reject the vision of the "mechanistic man". In The explanation of social behaviour (1972), their purpose was

to provide a systematic and unified theoretical account of the new ways of thinking about people, and the new methods of studying their behaviour, which are becoming increasingly dominant in the social sciences (p.vi).

They postulate an "anthropomorphic" model of man in which the subject of social investigation is conceived of as

a biological individual whose characteristically human actions are generated by the conscious self-

monitoring of its performance in accordance with certain sets of rules which it represents to itself in the course of making anticipatory and monitoring commentaries upon its performance, and which it subjects to critical appraisal in retrospective commentaries (*ibid.*, 93-94).

It is claimed that this model "is derived from contemporary philosophical analysis of the concept of a person". The argument is based upon the assumption that the use of language distinguishes human beings from all other creatures (*ibid.*, 84). It also draws upon ideas derived from the application of system theory to animal and human behaviour. They endeavour to establish that

all these lines converge on a model that people have of themselves, and that is embedded in much of the logic of ordinary language (*ibid.*, v).

They stress that their anthropomorphic model of man is the heart of what we take to be the most radical proposal of this book, that we should treat people, for scientific purposes, as if they were human beings, as we know and understand them in everyday life (*ibid.*, 87).

Harre and Secord also believe that man

is to be taken seriously as a commentator on his actions and (is) the main contributor to their understanding (*ibid.*, 105).

This is not to imply that statements about the self, or about others, are to be accepted uncritically. Indeed they say that

There seems to be no independent and universally applicable check by which doubtful cases of avowals or ascriptions, confessions or attributions can be decided and genuine reports distinguished from mistakes or lies (*ibid.*, 107).

Nevertheless they insist that the phenomena which such statements "purport to report both really exist and are

relevant (*ibid.*, 105). (Emphasis in the original.)

It was the above approach which informed this present study's overall rationale and the choice of research methods, particularly of those used in Phase I.

Harre and Secord point to some of the methodological consequences of accepting this view.

They believe that

a person's use of ordinary language in describing his own and other's actions, in thinking about and preparing himself for action, is vital to a proper behavioural science.

In discussing studies of how individuals describe other persons they say that

Typically, the investigator has provided participants with his own terms, using trait-words, and moreover, has required participants to use a numerical scale to estimate how much of a trait the target person possessed. By imposing his own conceptual methodology on participants, the investigator has abrogated all possibility of learning how individuals in free situations conceive of other persons (*ibid.*, 299). (Emphasis in the original.)

The general thrust of this criticism strongly influenced the choice of research method used in the pilot-feasibility study undertaken in Phase I. Among the main purposes of the research at this stage was to uncover the teachers' foci of concern regarding the improvement of their pupils' schooling and regarding their own further education. The open-ended questions were couched in the broadest terms possible. (See 2.4.2.2.)

Harre and Secord's criticisms of much of the research into how individuals describe other persons also affected

the selection of research methods in Phase II, but to a lesser degree. The intention then was to survey the opinions of people who had a day-to-day influence upon the six Catholic primary schools in Soweto. (See 2.4.2.3.)

As Cohen and Manion say, at each phase of a study the problem is to choose the research mode best suited to the task in hand and rigid adherence to one theoretical orientation to the exclusion of competing theories is to be avoided (1980, 213).

Further it is here accepted that no simple directive can be given regarding the methods to be combined because this will also depend to a large extent upon

the particular situation, and the relative weightings which the researcher considers desirable to assign to the methods providing him with data (*ibid.*, 217). (Emphasis in the original.)

In Phase II, statements derived mainly from comments made by Kagiso teachers in Phase I, were rated on a Likert-type scale, and ranked, by a sample of teachers in Catholic primary schools in Soweto. (See 2.4.2.3.) This procedure is closely akin to the mode criticised by Harre and Secord. However it should be noted that the statements cannot be said to be expressed in the researcher's own terms alone. Further, attention was paid to the answers to open-ended questions and spontaneous comments.

In summary, the orientation of this study is based upon the anthropological model of man described by Harre and Secord but the choice of research methods was not strictly confined to those entirely compatible with this perspective.

When a survey of opinion was required, rather than an in-depth exploration of the attitudes of individuals, ratings and rankings were used in conjunction with methods that gave respondents greater control over the choice of focus of attention.

2.4 METHODOLOGY AND RATIONALE

2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

It has been indicated that the satisfaction of the teacher's needs as they perceive them is central to the success of an INSET programme. (See above, 1.3.) However, it is evident that a variety of other people influence the outcome of such an undertaking. Therefore, in planning INSET, it is necessary to solicit the views of all those who contribute directly to the schools. In this study two such categories of people are identified: The supervisors; and the Std. V pupils. These two groups and those referred to as "principals" and "assistant teachers" are described in 5.2.

The opinions of those called upon to give expert advice in an INSET programme are obviously also of importance. Two such people are included among the group here named 'supervisors' (5.2.2). However, an INSET programme like that proposed in Chapter Six would probably involve a variety of other resource people. As these could not be identified at the research stage it is obvious that their opinions could not be sought. However it will be clear

from the argument presented in Chapter Six that, for present purposes, this is not significant.

Some of the people interviewed also mediated ideas from international and South African Catholic sources, therefore an analysis was made of

- (i) policy statements relevant to the clarification of the orientation of the present-day Catholic Church in relation to issues of education internationally;
- (ii) the position taken by the Catholic Church in South Africa on issues in education in the context of recent and current state education policy.

Areas of congruence and conflict in opinion were identified.

In the remainder of this chapter the modus operandi will be described.

2.4.2 MODUS OPERANDI

2.4.2.1 Introduction

The fieldwork for this study was divided into two phases. These are described in the sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3 below.

In 2.4.2.4 the extent to which triangulation was achieved in the design of this study is discussed.

2.4.2.2 Phase I, Kagiso 1983

In October/November 1983 a pilot cum feasibility study was carried out in Kagiso. This black dormitory township was chosen because it is near to Soweto but not part of it.

The schools concerned were St. Peter's Higher and Lower, and Mofumahadi Higher and Lower, Catholic primary schools. Henceforth each pair of schools will be referred to as St. Peter's and Mofumahadi respectively. (The reason for regarding each pair of schools as a single unit is given in 3.3.)

All the teachers (principals and assistant teachers) were interviewed in order to establish, in broad outline, what they perceived to be their main educational needs. The investigation was limited strictly to the discovery of the teachers' foci of concern. It is believed that it would have been inappropriate to have formulated a series of questions that reflected the researcher's conception of the main issues at hand. Instead, a very small number of general questions were asked and no outcomes were hypothesised.

This is characteristic of illuminative research.

The illuminative approach

is not a standard methodological package, but a general research strategy. It aims to be both adaptable and eclectic. The choice of research tactics follow from decisions in each case as to the best available techniques: The problem defines the methods used, not vice versa (Hamilton and Partlett, 1977, 13-14).

Of relevance to this study are comments made by Nisbet (1980, 6). Speaking as a researcher he says that

Traditional empirical research,, starts from our assumptions, our framework of thought, and it imposes that framework on what we innocently call the 'subjects' of our experiments. (Emphasis in the original.)

In contrast, in illuminative research

it is important to build constructs on the basis of open-ended enquiry.

In speaking of illuminative evaluation, Hamilton and Partlett observe that there are "three characteristic stages: investigators observe; inquire further; and then seek to explain" (1977, 14). In this study, Phase I corresponds to the first of these stages. It was felt that an open-ended and discursive form of interview was the most suitable for the exploration of the topics in question. (Compare *ibid.* :6.)

Questions 1 and 2 were:

1. What should be the aims of a Catholic primary school in Kagiso today?
2. (a) How well are these aims being achieved in these schools?
(b) Should these schools be changed in any way to meet these aims better? If so how should they be changed?

The teachers were encouraged to express their aims in terms of objectives that would serve as a guide to what it was hoped to achieve in practice. These statements were meant to be specific and spontaneous. (Following Shipman, 1979, 8.)

The replies to these two questions were intended to give an understanding of the values, preferences, attitudes, beliefs and information base underlying the answers to the third question: What types further education and

professional training do teachers in these schools need? That is, it was assumed that the answers to the first two questions would clarify and, to a large extent, explain the respondents' reasons for giving the answers they did to the third.

It was intended to encapsulate the most important of these perceptions in a small number of statements for use in Phase II. (See 4.3, 4.4.4 and 4.5.)

The interviews were conducted in English because this was the only language that was commonly used by all the participants. Most of teachers were non-native speakers of English but the great majority had received a substantial part of their education in this language. Further, those who taught children receiving their fifth or subsequent year of schooling taught through this medium. So it could be expected that the teachers spoke fairly fluent, if not standard, English. However it could not be assumed that they could read and write it easily and confidently. The above indicated that it would be more appropriate to interview respondents than to ask them to complete a questionnaire without the help of the researcher. However, had the use of spoken English proved problematic, arrangements would have been made for the interview to be conducted in the appropriate African language by a linguistically qualified person. In the event this situation did not arise.

The above considerations also suggested that an unstructured, rather than a structured, form of interview be

used.

According to Cohen and Manion (1980, 243) the structured interview

is one in which the content and procedures are organised in advance. This means that the sequence and wording of the questions are determined by means of a schedule and the interviewer is left little freedom to make modification.

In contrast, in the unstructured interview the interviewer is given greater flexibility and freedom. If a question is not fully understood the interviewer can reword it. She can also obtain clarification if a respondent's comment is garbled.

Of advantage in relation to all respondents, whether native English speakers or not, is that the unstructured interview allows probing when an answer is insufficiently elaborated. Further, some people may not wish to commit certain critical remarks to paper but may feel free to express them orally (*ibid.*, ')

The open-ended questions used were well adapted to serve the purposes proposed because they supplied a frame of reference for respondents' answers but exerted a minimum of restraint upon them. (Compare *ibid.*, 249.)

The research interview is defined by Cannell and Kahn (1968, 527) as a

two-person conversation, initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research - relevant information, and focused by him on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction or explanation.

T.M. Kitwood, in his unpublished dissertation presented

to the University of Bradford in 1977, records the results of his "examination of views of the interview held by those who write theoretically about it and those who actually use it as a research tool". Kitwood is cited by Cohen and Manion (1980, 244-246).

There are three recognised conceptions of the interview.

First, it can be seen as "a potential means of pure information transfer". This accords closely with that of psychometricians (*ibid.*, 244).

Secondly, it can be viewed as "a transaction which inevitably has bias, which is to be recognised and controlled" (*ibid.*, 244-245).

Cohen and Manion have pointed out that in both these views the inherent features of interpersonal transactions are regarded as if they were potential obstacles to sound research, and therefore to be removed, controlled, or at least harnessed in some way.

Thirdly, the interview can be regarded as "an encounter necessarily sharing many of the features of everyday life".

The message that proponents of this view would express is that no matter how hard an interviewer may try to be systematic and objective, the constraints of everyday life will be a part of whatever interpersonal transactions he initiates.

In relation to the subject of this investigation the last of the above seemed to be the most apposite. The researcher did, of course, "try to be systematic and objective" (*ibid.*, 245).

The desire to improve validity influenced the choice of the mode of 'recording' responses described below.

Considered opinions were required, rather than off-the-cuff answers. To facilitate careful thought on the relevant matters, interviewees were each sent a letter at least 48 hours before the proposed encounter with the researcher. The letter requested an interview and briefly explained its purpose. The major questions to be raised were included. Interviewees were offered the choice of being interviewed alone or as members of small self-chosen groups of colleagues. (See Appendix IV.)

Accompanying the above was a copy of a letter of introduction from Bishop R.J. Orsmond to the principal of the school. In it he asked that the researcher be given 'every assistance' and, in particular that she be allowed to interview, among others, staff and pupils. (See Appendix III.)

In the event the teachers of St. Peter's school asked to be interviewed en masse. A meeting with the whole staff was held and thereafter they agreed to be interviewed singly or in small groups. (See 3.6.)

The teachers at Mofumahadi were interviewed only singly or in small groups, as requested by the researcher.

Where, during these interviews, further clarification was required concerning their purpose, this was given as candidly as possible.

Cohen and Manion (1980, 254) point out that

One of the problems that has to be considered when

open-ended questions are used in an interview is that of developing a satisfactory method of recording replies.

One solution is for the interviewer to write notes in the course of the interview. However

this has the disadvantage of breaking the continuity of the interview and may result in bias because the interviewer may unconsciously emphasise responses that agree with his expectations and fail to note those that do not.

Such bias is even more likely if the notes are written only after the interview.

The following mode of recording responses was devised with the intention of reducing such bias.

The interviewer posed the first question and listened to the respondent. After a few points had been made the interviewer summarised, recording this on a dictaphone.

This procedure, of course, also interrupted the flow of the response but nevertheless it was found to be superior in a number of respects to the practice of taking written notes. In the first place, when the researcher spoke into the dictaphone she did not have to lose eye-contact with the interviewee and this made it easier to sustain and enhance rapport. Further, quite naturally, the interviewees remained silent while the recording was being made. This contrasts with a situation that frequently arises when written notes are taken. Some interviewees are tempted to talk non-stop. In such a case the researcher struggles to keep up with the flow of ideas and may have to ask the interviewee more than once to be quiet for a moment to allow the researcher to catch up. This can be very irritating

for the interviewee. When a dictaphone was used interviewees, virtually without exception, listened intently to the interpretation that was made of their comments. They were encouraged to correct any misrepresentations that occurred. Thus they controlled the record of their opinions. This appeared to encourage them to express sensitive material. In such instances the interviewer formulated a generalization on the basis of an account of a specific instance and tried it out on the interviewee. When the respondent agreed, if necessary after reformulation, this was recorded. This mode of recording responses also gave the respondents opportunity to consider what they had said. It appeared that this often stimulated further ideas.

An account of the opinions expressed by the teachers of Kagiso is given in Appendix IV. During a visit to one of the Kagiso schools the "St. Angela's stimulus paper" was given to the researcher. (See Appendix V.) On the basis of the opinions expressed during the staff meeting at St. Peter's, during individual and small group meetings, and in the St. Angela's Stimulus Paper, three sets of statements were formulated for use in Phase II. (See 4.3, 4.4.4 and 4.5.) They were incorporated in three questionnaires. (See Appendix VI.)

2.4.2.3 Phase II, Soweto 1986

Phase II of the fieldwork was carried out in the Catholic

primary schools in Soweto in late 1986. On each of six sites there is a higher and a lower primary school. For the purposes of this study the higher and lower primary school on each site is regarded as one school. (See 5.1.)

The participants consisted of people who had direct influence upon these schools and took part in the schools' activities on a day-to-day basis.

For the purposes of this study the participants were divided into four categories: principals, supervisors, assistant teachers and Std. V pupils.

The opinions of all the principals and all the supervisors were solicited whereas those of only a sample of assistant teachers and Std. V pupils were collected. (See 5.2.)

The adult respondents were interviewed singly, the children in groups of five.

During each interview with a supervisor, an assistant teacher, or a group of five pupils, one questionnaire was completed. During each interview with a principal two questionnaires were completed. On all occasions the researcher read the questions aloud and recorded the interviewees' responses. (See below and 5.3.)

The Teachers' Questionnaire contained questions and statements designed to reveal the teachers' personal opinions concerning their own aims of education (Set B), the means of improving their own teaching (Set A), and, where applicable, their reasons for wanting to pass the Senior

Certificate examinations (Set C).

The Supervisors' Questionnaire contained questions/statements on the same topics. It differed from the Teachers' Questionnaire in that Set A was intended to elicit comments about the best way of improving the teachers' teaching and Set C about the teachers' reasons for wanting "matric". (The Senior Certificate was popularly referred to as "matric" and this usage is adopted in this study.)

The Pupils' Questionnaire contained two lots of Set B statements about the aims of education. Set BI was intended to solicit the pupils' opinions concerning their own aims of education; Set BII, the pupils' perceptions of their teachers' aims. The Set A series of statements related to the pupils' views about the best way to help them to learn. There was no Set C in this questionnaire.

The Teachers' Questionnaire was completed by principals and assistant teachers, the Supervisors' Questionnaire by principals and supervisors, and the Pupils' Questionnaire by Std. V pupils.

The form of the interview used with the adults was far more structured than that used in Phase I.

However, while it included the standardised question-wording characteristic of a structured interview (Cohen and Manion, 1980, 243), its procedure provided flexibility in allowing explanatory additions where necessary, and the opportunity for supplementary comments by respondents. A

variety of types of response was stimulated. These ranged from spontaneous comments to a "scale". The latter is a set of verbal items to each of which the interviewee responds by indicating degrees of agreement or disagreement" (Cohen and Manion, 1980, 247). It was hoped that, by using a judicious mix, the advantages of the gestalt would exceed the sum of each type's individual strength and likewise the disadvantages would be diminished. In the event this appears to have happened.

The questions/statements used during the interviews elicited four types of response.

First, as noted above, some people volunteered comments, sometimes on subjects not explicitly referred to by the researcher. These comments were recorded by the latter. As she did so she voiced the words that she was writing down. On the one hand this practice discouraged further comment while the researcher was writing. On the other, it was intended to ensure that the interviewee knew what was being recorded so that any misapprehensions could be corrected.

(It may be noted that this procedure was similar to that used in Phase One in that the interviewer immediately checked with the interviewee the content of what was being recorded. However, on this occasion a dictaphone was not used.) These comments were incorporated in the discussion of responses where appropriate. (For example, see 5.5.4.3, discussion of responses to statement A2.)

It is notable that Cohen and Manion do not refer to

such spontaneous remarks in their discussion of responses made during interviews. They limit themselves to answers to questions. Here it is assumed that an interview will exhibit many of the features of a conversation occurring in everyday life. (See 2.4.2.2.) Therefore it is to be expected that the interviewee will raise associated ideas of her own initiative. If these are proffered then it is consistent to take cognizance of them.

(The interview's features shared with ordinary conversation did not, of course, include the proffering of the researcher's opinions!)

Secondly, some questions were open-ended. For instance, in Set C, people who said that they wanted more education for themselves were asked what education it was they sought.

These two types of response have the disadvantage of being relatively difficult to code and quantify (*ibid.*, 249). Here no attempt was made to do so. They were used solely for purposes of illumination.

Cohen and Manion (1980, 247) point out some of the advantages of open-ended questions

they are flexible; they allow the interviewer to probe so that he may go into more depth if he chooses, or clear up any misunderstandings; they enable the interviewer to test the limits of a respondent's knowledge; they encourage co-operation and help establish rapport; and they allow the interviewer to make a truer assessment of what the respondent really believes. Open-ended situations can also result in unexpected and unanticipated answers which may suggest hitherto unthought-of relationships or hypotheses.

The above corresponds in general with the researcher's experience of responses to open-ended questions. However, in relation to the respondents' spontaneous comments it was exemplified much more powerfully and dramatically. (See 5.5.3 to 5.5.5.) In addition the latter was of benefit in another important respect. (See below in relation to the rating and ranking procedures.)

Thirdly, respondents were presented with statements. In relation to each one they were asked whether they agreed strongly, agreed, disagreed, or disagreed strongly.

The advantage of this procedure is that the individual's response can easily be "located on a scale of fixed-alternatives" (*ibid.*, 247). It "is collected in the form of usable and analysable data" (*ibid.*, 250).

The rating given to each statement on this Likert scale, by each person, was given points. The number of points accorded to each statement by members of a participant group (i.e. supervisors, principals, assistant teachers, or pupils) was found. Then the statements in each set were arranged in order of importance congruent with the views of that particular group. (See 5.5.2.) That is, in this study, the scale was used not to differentiate between individuals' attitudes but between the attitudes of groups.

It was when rating these statements that the interviewees were most frequently stimulated to make spontaneous comments. These remarks were often invaluable in illuminating the interviewee's understanding of a

statement and of the issues it raised as well as in contributing to the correct interpretation of the rating made. (See 5.5.3.3, 5.5.4 and 5.5.5.)

The Pupils' Questionnaire did not include open-ended questions.

Fourthly, in relation to each set of statements, the adult interviewees were invited to add further statements and then to choose from the (possibly augmented) set the three statements which they regarded as "most important or would help you/them/us most". Here this procedure is referred to as "ranking". (It is recognised that this is not a strictly orthodox use of the word ranking. However, a more suitable term was not found.)

The number of times that a statement was chosen by members of a particular group was compared with the numbers of times that other statements in that set were chosen by the same people. On this basis the statements were arranged in order of importance. (See 5.5.2.)

The procedures described here proved to be very satisfactory when used with adults. However problems arose in relation to the slightly modified form that it had been intended to use in interviewing the Std. V pupils. It is thought that these difficulties arose in part because the interviewer used English and not an African language, or a judicious mix of English and an African language.

The children typically remained silent unless addressed directly by the researcher. In the course of all the

of this study that is concerned with the responses of the Std. V pupils. The results might have been far more satisfactory had the children been interviewed in a suitable African language. This was not done partly because a suitable interviewer was not readily available. However the questionnaire could easily have been translated and each child given a copy. This might have alleviated some of the problems experienced.

The process of interviewing used in this study has been described above. Below are noted two potential problems and some actual problems. Then there is a brief description of the quantitative procedures followed in interpreting the responses.

First, it has been noted that, in order to facilitate comparison between the supervisors', the principals' and the assistant teachers' ratings and rankings of statements in each set, these were arranged in order of importance. (See Tables 5:5, 5:9 and 5:12.) It has also been mentioned that, after respondents had rated a set of statements, they were invited to submit additional ones. They were free to rank the latter among the "three most important". This might have made it difficult to compare ratings and rankings. As it happened, relatively few people inserted further statements and, of those who did, only a very small number included such additions in the rankings.

Secondly, there is reason for regarding the ratings as merely a rough guide to the respondents' opinions. Suppose

that, to a person who spoke English well, a statement appeared so evidently correct that it was quite uncontroversial. In such a case she might calmly say that she "agreed" with it. However, in response to a statement about a topic that at the time was being hotly debated, she might assert that she "agreed strongly". These divergent responses would not necessarily reflect differences in the strength of conviction about the matters in hand although it could be claimed that in both instances her feelings were positive. The extent to which this difficulty affected the results of this research are not known.

In addition to the two potential problems described above, other difficulties were recognised.

In relation to the means of improving teaching, the rating and ranking procedures used were somewhat crude methods of measuring opinion. Many problems arose in connection with the statements in Set A. (See 5.5.4.2.) These, taken in conjunction, seemed likely to cast serious doubt on the results obtained.

In relation to statements in Set C no problems similar to those encountered in connection with those in Set A were identified and none of the Set C statements seemed to be controversial. The problems encountered in relation to Set B appeared to be intermediate between the severity of those associated with Set A and the apparent absence of difficulties connected with Set C.

In view of the above, three treatments of the ratings and rankings were used to clarify the results of these

procedures.

(a) Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (ρ) was calculated to assess the degree of consistency that existed between the ratings and rankings made by each group. This statistic was also used to measure the correlation of the ratings and rankings made by one group with those of another. (See 5.5.2. and 5.5.6.)

(b) In order to get a clearer picture of each group's priorities, those statements that were both rated and ranked among the first three, and among the last three, in order of importance, were identified. Thus the consistency with which an opinion was held, as well as the value attached to a statement, was taken into account. (For example, see Table 5:14.)

(c) Tables were inspected to see whether the average rating and the average ranking accorded to a statement by a particular group differed markedly. (For example, see 5.5.4.3.2, A1: class size.)

Further insight into the thinking behind the selection of the research methods described above may be gained from a brief comparison with those used in Freer's evaluation of SELP. (See 2.2 and Freer, 1982, 223-241.)

a) Freer says that, in 1981, evaluation of SELP inclined towards the illuminative (*ibid.*, 226). In 2.3 reasons are given for adopting the same approach in this study.

b) Freer was a participant observer in the tutors' discussions of policy and also recorded his perceptions of

the teachers' behaviour during some workshops (*ibid.*, 227). The subject of the present study neither called for, nor lent itself to, such observation.

c) Both Freer and this researcher sought teachers' opinions and both required assistant teachers to rate and rank a number of statements. However the two studies differ in regard to the basis on which the statements were derived. In Freer's study the seven SELP tutors were asked to submit individual lists of objectives for the workshops. From these lists twelve statements were devised. Both the tutors and 100 assistant teachers placed these statements in order of importance (*ibid.*, 227). It should be noted that the tutors' (not the teachers') foci of concern formed the substance of these statements. This study differs from the SELP evaluation in that almost all the statements to be rated and ranked were based upon the responses made by teachers in comparable schools. (See 2.4.2.2 and Chapter Four.)

(In the last term of 1981 the assistant teachers participating in SELP were asked to complete an opinionnaire "designed to quantify their group attitudes towards the project". The opinionnaire used was based on one previously completed by the principals. Freer does not say how the items originated. See *ibid.*, 229.)

d) The opinionnaires rated in the SELP evaluation were not completed in the context of an interview, therefore insights from spontaneous comments were not forthcoming.

e) It should also be observed that in the SELP evaluation

the assistant teachers were, in the main, asked to express opinions about very sharply defined topics e.g. "The workshops have encouraged teachers to work together" (*ibid.*, 233). (Views on slightly broader themes were solicited by the invitation to "write down the things" that were good, bad and missing from the project. However the teachers may well have been somewhat inhibited by having to write in English. See *ibid.*, 230-233). This contrasts the questions put to the Kagiso teachers. These were designed to stimulate the participants to reflect aloud about their professional work in general. (See 2.4.2.2.)

f) Both Freer and this researcher used Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (ρ) to assess the degree of association between the priorities of one group with those of another. (Freer, 1982, 228 and in this present work, Chapter Five, for example, 5.5.6.)

4. Triangulation

Designing the modus operandi for this study attention was to the notion of triangulation.

Webb (1970, 449) says that

most students today would agree that it is appropriate to draw simultaneously on multiple measures of the same attribute but which do not overlap on measurement errors specific to individual methods.

In an earlier usage, "triangulation" referred exclusively to the application, to one focus of study, of two or more methods of data collection. However Cohen and

Manion (who acknowledge their dependency on Denzin in this) have identified "the six principal types of triangulation used in research" of which the methodological is only one (1980, 211).

There follows a brief consideration of each of the forms of triangulation and an indication of the degree to which it has been sought and achieved in this study.

1. Time triangulation "attempts to take into consideration the factors of change and process" (Cohen and Manion, 1980, 211). A decision whether or not to investigate possible variations in the data over time was deferred at this stage.

2. Space triangulation "attempts to overcome the parochialism of studies conducted in the same subculture" (*ibid.*, 211). This form is obviously not germane to this investigation of the opinions of a particular group of people.

3. That form referred to as "combined levels of triangulation"

uses more than one level of analysis from the three principal levels used in the social sciences, namely, the individual level, the interactive level (groups), and the level of collectivities (organisational, culture or societal) (*ibid.*, 211).

The subject of this study lends itself to investigation at the individual and interactive levels

In Phase I, opinions were gathered at a meeting of the staff of St. Peter's school and from small self-chosen groups of two or three friends at both St. Peter's and Mofumahadi schools. Some interviews were also held with

individuals. (See 2.4.2.2.) Thus, in this phase, opinions were collected at both of the relevant levels.

First, experience in Phase I suggested that matters raised in the course of a group interview were also alluded to during at least one subsequent interview with an individual from that group, usually being discussed in greater detail than before.

In Phase II opinions were gathered from groups of five Std. V pupils but individually from the supervisors and teachers.

There were two major reasons for restricting data collection to the individual level in relation to the adults.

First, experience in Phase I suggested that opinions garnered in a group situation were not notably different from those expressed by people interviewed above.

Secondly, because Phase II was carried out towards the end of the school year, and therefore close to the examination period, it would have been extremely difficult to arrange meetings of suitable length with groups as well as with individuals. Interviews with individuals were considered to be more important than those with groups because opinions expressed privately to the researcher were thought likely to be more illuminating than those voiced before peers.

4. Investigator triangulation "engages more than one observer" (*ibid.*, 211).

In this investigation all the fieldwork was carried out

by this author. Assistance was not available. This was a matter of concern.

Cannell and Kahn (1968, 549-550) describe ways in which respondent and interviewer characteristics may interact to create bias.

Each person comes to an interview with many fixed attitudes, personality characteristics and stereotypes of other groups.

Both respondent and interviewer also possess characteristics that are visible to the other and suggestive of group membership and group identification - age, sex, race, religious background, income and educational status.

If the interviewer and the respondent are widely divergent in their background characteristics, we would anticipate widely differing attitudes and motives. Such divergence makes mutual understanding more difficult, and may limit seriously the interaction that can take place between the two.

In this case there were, in particular, unmistakable differences between the researcher and the teachers interviewed.

The researcher is white, all but four of the teachers are black. The interviewer was affluent in comparison with everyone she interviewed. She is a university graduate. Only a very small proportion of the interviewees had studied at university level. Most had attended a college of education for two or three years. Many had not completed their schooling previous to this. (See Table 5:12.) Further, the interviews were conducted in the interviewer's home language. English is, in general, only the formal language of black primary school teachers.

The importance of the racial difference between the

researcher and the black teachers ~~was~~ dramatically illustrated by a black nun who refused to be interviewed, apparently on these grounds alone. (See 3.6.)

However a strategy was devised that made some measure of investigator triangulation possible.

Of the sample of 31 assistant teachers in Soweto, fifteen wanted a Senior Certificate. They were asked to rate and rank statements each of which encapsulated a reason for wanting this qualification.

Nine principals and eight supervisors associated with these schools were presented with the same statements and asked to rate and rank them in a way that reflected the assistant teachers' motives. The principals and supervisors could do this only on the basis of previous conversations with the teachers. There was a high correspondence between the opinions expressed by the assistant teachers and those of the principals and supervisors. (See Table 5:12 and, in particular, Table 5:13.) This agreement suggests that, in relation to this theme, the measures yielded valid and reliable data.

5. Theoretical triangulation "draws upon alternative or competing theories in preference to utilising one viewpoint only" (Cohen and Manion, 1980, 211). They remark that

Researchers are sometimes taken to task for their rigid adherence to one particular theory or theoretical orientation to the exclusion of competing theories (*ibid.*, 213).

Given the setting of this investigation, it is not surprising that many of the perceptions immediately suggest

the relevance of the familiar theories of reproduction and resistance in relation to education. In this study the omission of such approaches does not deny their validity. However the focus of this dissertation is the opinion of teachers working within the Catholic education structure in South Africa and a paradigm relevant to this contextual relationship is called for. That selected is embodied in Avery Dulles' Models of the Church (1976). The central features of this framework of analysis are set out in 4.4.4.

On the other hand, teaching in a Catholic school is not simply an ecclesiastical activity but is also connected to secular educational enterprises. Therefore attention is paid to the insights provided by four leading philosophers of education: Hirst, Peters, Barrow and Warnock. (See 4.3.)

The teachers' opinions are also believed to be strongly influenced by their experience of intergroup relations. In relation to these the choice of theories has been eclectic. (See Appendix VIII and Chapter Four.)

In relation to some other themes raised by the teachers' responses cognizance is taken of a variety of other theories. For example, in relation to moral education reference is made to the thinking of Kohlberg, Dykstra, Murdoch and Gilligan. (See 4.4.4.)

6. Cohen and Manion observe

that all research methods act as filters through which the environment is selectively experienced,

they are never atheoretical or neutral in representing the world of experience. Exclusive reliance on one method, therefore, may bias or distort the researcher's picture of the particular slice of reality he is investigating. He needs to be confident that the data generated are not simply artefacts of one specific method of collection. And this confidence can only be achieved as far as normative research is concerned when different methods of data collection yield substantially the same results (1980, 208).

Methodological triangulation uses either

- a) the same method on different occasions, or
- b) different methods on the same object of study (*ibid.*, 211).

Type (a), "congruence between independent measures of the same objective", was sought in Phase II (*ibid.*, 213). In addition to the use of spontaneous comments, open-ended questions, and, most particularly, of rating and ranking procedures, there was also a test of consistency in relation to one group's responses to one set of statements.

It was noted in 2.4.2.3 that in two questionnaires the principals were asked to respond to Set B statements concerning the aims of education. Results were therefore available from four measures (two pairs of ratings and rankings) of the opinions of principals in relation to this set. A high degree of consistency would suggest that a degree of confidence could be placed in these measures. A low consistency could be a function of the principals' behaviour, or the inadequacy of the measure, or both (5.5.3.2 and Tables 5:3 and 5:4).

From the above it can be seen that, in this study, four types of triangulation were achieved to a greater or lesser degree.

CHAPTER THREE: PHASE ONE, KAGISO 1983

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3.1 INTRODUCTION

It has been noted that Phase I of the fieldwork for this study was designed to reveal the teachers' main foci of concern in relation to their own educational needs. (See 2.4.2.2.) It was carried out in schools in two sites in Kagiso. These schools were believed to be very similar in context and ethos to the target schools on six sites in Soweto and to be served by teachers who were likely to share the views of their Soweto counterparts.

In this chapter attention is drawn to a number of considerations that are likely to have affected the Kagiso teachers' views.

Section 3.2 Choice of Schools contains a brief description of Kagiso.

In section 3.3 a description of the two schools in Kagiso I is given.

A short history of some contentious matters relating to each of the schools is provided in 3.4. Statistical information about the two schools is given in 3.5.

The contextual circumstances in which the interviewing took place are described in 3.6. These include, inter alia, accounts of events that many interviewees would probably regard as evidence of oppression by the state. Furthermore, the referendum, which took place during Phase I and in which the opinions of only the white group were solicited, was widely perceived among blacks as structural

injustice.

Section 3.7 provides a conclusion.

3.2 CHOICE OF SCHOOLS

For the purposes of Phase I it would have been possible to interview a sample of teachers from the Soweto schools in question. However, had serious difficulties been encountered, these might have had a deleterious affect on Phase II. Therefore it was decided to interview teachers from schools nearby but as similar as possible to the Soweto schools.

In several important respects the people of Kagiso live under conditions very similar to those prevailing in Soweto.

Kagiso is a large dormitory town approximately north-west of Soweto. At their nearest points they are less than ten kilometres apart. It is reserved for people officially classified according to race as black. The older section, Kagiso I, is north of the Chamdor Industrial Township. Kagiso II, considerably larger in area, lies south and west of Chamdor. The two parts are limited by land, demarcated as sports fields, to the west of Chamdor. Most of the wage earners of Kagiso work either in Chamdor or in Krugersdorp, one of whose industrial suburbs lies, as the crow flies, less than two kilometres to the north.

Soweto is also a large dormitory town (much larger than Kagiso) reserved for black people. It too has areas where the population is long established and newer parts to which people have been moved from other areas. Most of Soweto's

wage earners commute to their places of work in white areas.

The circumstances under which the people of Kagiso and Soweto live will obviously affect their attitudes.

3.3 DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOLS

For over 50 years there has been a Catholic primary school opposite St. Peter Catholic church in Kagiso I. Today, on this site, are St. Peter's Lower Primary Catholic school and St. Peter's Higher Primary Catholic school. These schools functions as one. They share teachers, buildings and playgrounds.

Separated from the St. Peter's schools by a few strands of loose wire are the Mofumahadi Higher Primary Catholic school, (including a Std. VI class), the Mofumahadi Lower Primary Catholic school and the Mofumahadi Pre-primary Catholic school. These schools too are, socially, and as far as internal administration is concerned, a single unit, though technically three schools. Also part of this unit are Std. VI classes that are officially part of St. Peter's Higher Primary.

For most purposes in this study, the schools on the St. Peter's site will be regarded as one school, and those on the Mofumahadi site as another.

The two Catholic schools in Kagiso have obvious similarities but they also have distinctive features. For example St. Peter's is housed in relatively old buildings, one of which was condemned shortly after this

pilot study was carried out. The toilet used by the teachers is located in one corner of a shed which is also used to store gardening equipment. Mofumahadi's buildings were built much more recently and provision for toilet facilities was clearly made in the original plans. In 1983 one classroom had large fissures in the walls through which it was possible to see the grass growing outside. It was explained that the school was built on an old rubbish dump. It is presumed that the cracks are the result of subsidence.

The major differences between the two schools are thought to arise largely because St. Peter's is controlled directly by the diocese whereas Mofumahadi is administered on behalf of the diocese by the Ursuline Sisters. For many years the principal of St. Peter's has been a black layman who depended solely upon the diocese for funds and other resources. In contrast, the principal of Mofumahadi has been a white nun who, in addition to the help available from the diocese, has had access to the resources of her congregation.

Other differences between the schools, and many of their similarities, arise from their histories. The latter are described below.

3.4 HISTORY

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The histories of the St. Peter's and Mofumahadi schools, though distinct, were both dominated by changes that resulted from The Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953. (This is

also true of the Catholic primary schools in Soweto.)

After 1957 the "mission" schools (Church schools traditionally intended for African pupils) were no longer subsidized by the state (1). The Bishops had to decide whether to give up control of these schools or to pay for them themselves.

Sr. Brigid Flanagan comments that

Many bishops simply could not conceive of a Catholic church without schools. The majority felt that, without schools, the church would lose its influence, vocations would diminish and many Catholics would fall away from the church (1982, 87).

(The bishops) regarded the school as an essential part of the church's evangelising effort, and certainly large numbers of converts were made from among non-Catholic pupils admitted to mission schools (*ibid.*, 86).

It was decided to keep the schools even though the Church could not afford to match the salaries paid by the State.

The decision to reduce salaries by 25 per cent without any consultation was resented by the teachers.

Further,

The subsequent story of the teachers in Catholic schools is not a happy one. Over the next ten years their position deteriorated as they experienced a continuing decline in salary, working conditions, morale and prestige (*ibid.*, 88).

Histories of St. Peter's and Mofumahadi schools covering parts of the last thirty years are given here.

This tale of two schools illustrates ways in which a complex bureaucracy (that of the Catholic church) mediated

those substantial constraints upon institutional development and parental choice entailed in the Bantu education policy, and in the case of Mofumahadi, the group areas policy.

3.4.2 ST. PETER'S

The schools presently known as St. Peter's were originally known by this name but in official documents dated 1957 they are referred to as the "Lewisham R.C. Bantu schools formerly St. Peter's Luipaardsvlei", either Lower Primary or Higher Primary (3). Requests to change this name to St. Peter's were made in 1980 (4). The schools are known in the Church as St. Peter's Lower and Higher Primary. However, in 1983, on an official document, these two schools were jointly referred to as "Lewisham Primer Privaatskool". Here the Church usage is followed.

These mission schools were subsidized by the government from 1931 or 1932 until 1957. At the end of that year subsidies were discontinued and they had to be registered as private schools if they were to continue (2)(3).

Early in 1958 both schools received a letter from the Inspector of Bantu Education, approving their applications for registration, subject to certain conditions (5)(6).

Two of these conditions were to become the basis of much contention between the Department and the then manager of the schools, the Rev. G Martin O.M.I. Condition 5 states

That provision be made for the instruction of religion to the non-adherents of the church according to the departmental syllabus (4)(5).

Condition 6 relates to the number of pupils that may be enrolled in any year.

In 1957 these schools served the whole community in their vicinity which included approximately 1 500 baptized Catholics (2)(3). Fifty-one percent of the 395 pupils enrolled in the Lower Primary (LP) school were Catholic (2), and 49% of the 211 in the Higher Primary (HP) School (3). Thus out of the 606 children enrolled in the two schools, 50% were Catholic. In 1958 permission was given to enrol only 250 pupils in the LP (6) and 220 in the HP (5). Thus the 1957 LP enrolment was to be cut by 37% in 1958 while the HP enrolment was to remain constant. On the 14 February 1959 the school manager informed the Inspector in the Bantu Education Department at Krugersdorp that those children who were not Catholics would not be admitted or re-admitted to the Lewisham schools in 1959 (7). Before the reopening of the schools the parents of such children had received the following letter:

Dear Parents:

According to the regulations given by the Department of Bantu Education, we are not allowed to give your children religious instruction according to our Catholic faith. We are sorry to have to tell you that your child may not be admitted or re-admitted to our Roman Catholic school at Lewisham in 1959 unless they are members of the Roman Catholic Church.

This step was taken after consultation with the manager's religious superiors and the General Superintendent of R.C Bantu schools (8).

Presumably non-Catholic pupils had previously received

religious instruction according to the Catholic faith and their parents had, at least, been prepared to tolerate this state of affairs in order to keep their children at this school. The letter quoted below indicates that this situation continued in 1959. A copy of a letter, dated 19 March 1959, from the Secretary for Bantu Education to the Inspector in Krugersdorp, was sent to the manager for his information. It says that

the Rev. G Martin must be informed (sic) that, in the light of the fact that he has wilfully disregarded a condition imposed by the Honourable the Minister on the registration of the above named school (Lewisham Lower Primary R.C. School) the registration of the school will be withdrawn unless he complies within one month with the condition "that provision be made for the instruction of religion of the non-adherents of the church according to the Departmental syllabus".

In the meantime the inspector concerned should investigate the possibilities of establishing a lower primary Bantu Community School in the particular location (9).

On the 3 August 1959 the manager, Fr. G Martin, writes that a Sub-inspector had recently visited the school and had found that 100% of the pupils were Catholic (10).

On the 14 August the Inspector, Mr C A McDonald, in a letter to the Superintendent General of Catholic Bantu Schools, says that

I told Father Martin that the enrolment of the LP school has been exceeded by 114 according to the latest quarterly return.

I said he should ask you to write to the Department and ask for permission to increase your roll as there is no accommodation for the children in community schools (11).

In a letter of the 15 August, Fr. Martin asks the Inspector to recommend to the department that the LP school be allowed to take a further 100 pupils. He explains that this is necessary because the "Bantu population from Munsieville Location of Krugersdorp" is being moved to the Kagiso Location. He adds that

With the system of double session for the sub-standards, we have the accommodation for that number and also the staff for the same (12).

A "double session" implies that "the same teacher manages two class groups during a NORMAL SCHOOL DAY, e.g.: First session (07h30 to 11h00) substandard A and second session (11h30 to 14h00) substandard B" (13).

The Secretary of Bantu Education refused permission to increase the enrolment of the LP school, apparently because

The Department's condition of a maximum enrolment was consistently contravened (14)(15).

In an extract from a minute dated 23 December 1959, from the Secretary of Bantu Education, it is noted that

The Quarterly Returns reveal the fact that instead of limiting the enrolment to 250 pupils as per decision dated the 21st March, 1958, the enrolment has been as follows:

March 1958	388 pupils
June 1958	390 pupils
September 1958	397 pupils
December 1958	386 pupils
March 1959	404 pupils
June 1959	364 pupils

The manager should be warned that unless the conditions of registration are observed the school will have to be closed (14).

In a letter of the 29 February 1960, to the new Inspector in Krugersdorp, Mr C H J Schutte, the manager says that he was

informed of this refusal only on the morning of the first day of the new school year. He thereupon refused to re-admit about 100 pupils and sent them to the local state schools (community schools). He remarks

Many parents of those children forced by the Department to leave our school came to complain that the Principal of your Community school refused to take them in as they were from a R.C. School. So these children are roaming about in the streets when we have an empty classroom, emptied by the Department of Bantu Education.

Admission was also refused to approximately 100 more children who wished to enter the school for the first time.

In the last week in February 247 pupils were on the registers of this school (15).

According to the Quarterly Returns, in March 1960 there were 244 children enrolled at the Lewisham Lower Primary Roman Catholic Bantu School in Luipaardsvlei, Krugersdorp.

In June 1960 the Secretary of Bantu Education writes to the manager:

As you have,, now limited the enrolment to comply with the Department's ruling, an application for an increased enrolment for 1961 will be favourably considered provided:

it can be shown that it is necessary in order to provide educational facilities for Roman Catholic pupils, " (16). (Emphasis in the original.)

On the 2 August 1960 the General Superintendent made a request to increase the enrolment of the LP school from 250 to 300 in 1961 (17). Permission was granted (18).

In 1962 the LP school was allowed to increase its enrolment to 360 pupils

op voorwaarde dat slegs Rooms-Katolieke lidmate en die kinders van Rooms-Katolieke lidmate as

nuwelinge to die skool toegelaat word (19).

February 1964 Fr. Martin says in a letter to the Inspector on the Krugersdorp Circuit that

the influx of people from Munsieville Location to our Kagiso Location has created a real problem for the school position.

He asks to be allowed to take 50 more children in the LP school (20). Permission was granted to increase the roll to 410 in March 1964 under the same conditions as before (21).

In August 1969 permission was granted to increase the number of children allowed to attend the HP school to 280 (22). The maximum had remained 220 from 1 January 1958 until this date (5).

To conclude, a few comments should be made about the attitudes of the teachers employed at St. Peter's in 1983 to the two major issues raised in the correspondence referred to above.

In 1983 there was, in practice, no official restriction on the number of pupils that could be admitted to Catholic mission schools. From the evidence available it is not clear whether the relevant regulation had been revoked or was in abeyance. Further the type of religious instruction to be provided for non-Catholic pupils was no longer an issue. It is possible that all the pupils were officially Catholics, or were preparing to become Catholics. In such a case the regulation in question could not apply.

However, at least those teachers who had been employed at St. Peter's in 1959 must have been aware that, at that

time, there had been conflict between the Department of Bantu Education and their school manager. They had probably also been emotionally involved. Their accounts of those events, and the accounts given by other people, may have influenced the staff members' attitudes, inter alia, towards St. Peter's, the Church, the Catholic school system and the state schools. (See, for example, Appendix IV: PIN-33 to 38, PIL-1 to 9, MBN-25 to 46, MBN-62 to 67.)

3.4.3 MOFUMAHADI

Mofumahadi was profoundly affected by the Group Areas Act (No. 77 of 1957) as well as by the Bantu Education Act.

The present-day Mofumahadi HP and LP schools in Kagiso I have their origins in St. Mary's Roman Catholic School, 34, 7th Street, Krugersdorp. St. Mary's has been formally recognised since 1928 (1)(23). Eventually fine school buildings were erected next to the site of the old mission church in today's black residential area of Munsieville.

St. Mary's official statistical returns for 1954 show that 691 boys and girls were enrolled at the school, 472 pupils in the LP classes and 219 in the HP. 82% of all the children spoke one of the Sotho cluster of languages, 69% of the total using Western Sotho or Tswana (24).

As required under the Bantu Education Act, in 1957 application was made to register the Mofumahadi LP (4) and HP schools (1)(23). (N.B. Mofumahadi is a Tswana title of respect used in addressing Mary the mother of Jesus and is

thus an equivalent of the old English form, St. Mary.)

In that year the LP school had 445 pupils, 154 non-Catholic day pupils, 256 Catholic day pupils and 25 Catholic boarders.

It served the Munsieville community which included 2 600 baptized Catholics (1).

The school was registered as an unaided school as from the 1 January 1958, subject to the condition, among others, that no boarders be admitted after the 31 December 1958. Curiously there was no stipulation regarding the maximum number of pupils to be enrolled. Provision was to be made for "the instruction of religion to the non-adherents of the church according to the departmental syllabus" (25).

In 1958 it is recorded that all 455 pupils in the school were Catholics (26).

The HP school was also registered (27).

In 1957 there were 94 non-Catholic pupils of whom 3 were boarders, and 149 Catholics of whom 39 were boarders, a total of 243 (23).

The issue of the relevant registration certificate was subject to the following conditions:

- (5) that no boarders be admitted;
- (6) that only children of the adherents of the Roman Catholic Church be admitted and that children of non-adherents of the said church be absorbed in the existing neighbouring Bantu Community school(s);
- (7) that the enrolment in any year may not exceed 250 pupils (27).

In 1958 there were 233 students in the HP school, all of whom were Catholics (28).

In this year a new regulation was promulgated. The manager was informed that

Circular No. 24/302 and 23/302 dated 25 August 1958 specifies that a location for registration of non-subsidized schools outside a location must be accompanied by a permit from the Group Areas Board (29).

On the 28 February 1961 permit No. 375/61 from the Department of the Interior states that

1. By direction of the Minister, the Mofumahadi Roman Catholic School members of the white group are hereby authorized
 - (b) to allow member(s) of the native group to occupy the land or premises specified hereunder, subject to the conditions mentioned in paragraph 3 below.

Paragraph 3 conditions reads

That this permit shall be valid until withdrawn at the discretion of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (30).

On 28 October 1963 a "Certificate of Registration of an Unaided Native School" were issued by the Department of Bantu Education to each of the Mofumahadi schools (31)(32).

The certificate relating to the LP school says that

- (10) The total number of pupils enrolled may not exceed 300 from the 1st June without prior Departmental approval.
- (12) As from the 1st June 1962 only Roman Catholic members and children of Roman Catholic members from the Munsieville Bantu Residential Area may be enrolled as new pupils (31).

The maximum number of pupils to be enrolled in the HP school was reduced from the 250 allowed in 1958 (27) to 215 from the 1 June 1962. Condition (12) given in relation to the LP school also applied to the HP (32).

On 2 December 1969 a further permit was issued

authorising

Bantu pupils and Bantu teachers to occupy the
Mofumahadi Roman Catholic School

until the 31 December 1970 (33).

In April 1969 W P Bezuidenhout, Secretary of Bantu
Education writes that

Goedkeuring is verkry vir die verandering van
Standplaas van bovermelde skole (Mofumahadi Laer
en Hoer Primere Rooms-Katolieke skole), vanaf die
huidige standplaas te Munsieville na standplaas
no. 450 in die Kagiso Bantcewoonbeurt (34).

Munsieville had been declared a White Group Area and
its black population were to be moved to Kagiso I and II.
An informant says that the Catholic negotiators had wanted
to build their new school buildings on a plot opposite the
Catholic church in Kagiso II. Permission to do this was
refused and a state school was built there instead. The
Catholic authorities were told that Mofumahadi could move to
the site adjoining St. Peter's or close down. So
Mofumahadi was built in Kagiso I.

In the years that followed many of the Black residents
of Munsieville moved to Kagiso but many remained. The
declaration making Munsieville a White Group Area was
rescinded in 1986. However the buildings of St. Mary's
mission were destroyed to make way for a road. (See 5.4.)

The removal of Mofumahadi from Munsieville to Kagiso
and the continuing controversy surrounding the future of
Munsieville can reasonably be expected to have affected the
opinions of the Kagiso I teachers in 1983.

3.5 STATISTICS 1983

3.5.1 INTRODUCTION

The statistics in this section are based upon information provided in respect of their schools by the principals of St. Peter's and Mofumahadi on the Department of Education and Training form entitled "Annual return of schools on the first Tuesday of March 1983" (35)(13).

At both St. Peter's and Mofumahadi the lowest class is given as Sub. A. At St. Peter's the highest class was said to be Std. VI and at Mofumahadi, Std. V (35, 4)(13, 4). However, in practice, the Std. VI classes referred to, and a pre-primary class, were accommodated on the Mofumahadi site. Socially, and for purposes of internal administration, they were part of that school.

Below, information concerning Std. VI pupils has been omitted unless otherwise stated.

In some cases the teachers commented on matters related to the information given below. Examples of such comment are provided at various points in the data.

In 3.5.2, 3.5.3 and 3.5.4 facts and opinion are given concerning pupils, teachers and school buildings and facilities.

Apart from providing data relevant to some of the opinions expressed by the teachers interviewed, the detail which follows is intended to illustrate the features of what may be regarded as typical Catholic primary schools in the context of this study.

3.5.2 PUPILS

The number of pupils enrolled in these schools on 1 March 1983 was as follows:

	St. Peter's	Mofumahadi
Boys	263 (56%)	201 (51%)
Girls	205 (44%)	195 (49%)
Total	468 (100%)	396 (100%)

At St. Peter's there were 12% more boys than girls. At Mofumahadi the boys' enrolment exceeded that of girls by 2% (35, 3)(13, 3). These differences were not commented upon by the Kagiso teachers.

At St. Peter's, the average age of the girls in each class was consistently lower than that of the boys in the same class. In addition, the average age of the girls at St. Peter's was consistently lower than that of their male and female counterparts at Mofumahadi.

In both schools the difference in age between the youngest and the oldest in the class tended to increase standard by standard from Sub. A upwards (13, 4)(35, 4).

At St. Peter's 20% of the pupils were repeating a standard (i.e. 16% of the boys and 24% of the girls) (35, 3). At Mofumahadi 18% were repeating (i.e. 18% of boys and 19% of girls) (13, 3).

In neither school was there a child who had been away from school throughout the previous year. (There was one such child among the 110 Std. VI pupils.) (See 35, 3 and 13, 3.)

In order to obtain a pupil/teacher ratio, the total

pupil enrolment was divided by the number of staff members. In calculating the pupil/teacher ratio at St. Peter's the 110 Std VI pupils, and the two people said to be their teachers, were included. The ratio arrived at was 57,8. At Mofumahadi the corresponding ratio was 36.

The pupil/classroom ratio was calculated by dividing the total pupil enrolment by the number of classrooms. At St. Peter's (the Std. VI classes were once again included) the pupil/classroom ratio was recorded as 64 and, at Mofumahadi, 56,5 (35, 3)(13, 3).

At both schools some teachers spoke of the size of the classes as problematic. (See Appendix IV: P/L-13 to 16, MBL-2 to 9 and MWN-18 to 22.)

The pupils were classified according to "population group" as follows:

	St. Peter's %	Mofumahadi %
Xhosa	6	11
Zulu	5	3
North Sotho	7	7
South Sotho	11	9
Tswana	66	66
Tsonga	3	2
Venda	-	-
Swazi	1	-
South Ndebele	1	-
Coloured	-	1

Thus, the mother-tongue of 84% of St. Peter's pupils, and 82% of Mofumahadi's, was a Sotho language (N. Sotho; S. Sotho or Tswana) (35, 5)(13, 5).

The teachers were also classified according to population group. At St. Peter's nine out of ten teachers spoke a Sotho language at home. (Seven spoke Tswana.) At Mofumahadi seven out of twelve spoke a Sotho language (five spoke Tswana), and two spoke an Nguni language (one was Zulu and one was Xhosa). Three of the teachers were white (35, 9)(13, 9). One of these was French-speaking and the others English.

The preponderance of Sotho-speaking people in both schools may have affected the teachers' opinions but no reference was made to this fact.

All the pupils from Sub. A to Std. II were instructed in the medium of Tswana. From Std. III to Std. V English was used (35, 5)(13, 5). One teacher at Mofumahadi drew attention to a problem that arose because the children were studying in a foreign language" (Appendix IV, MWT-32). Others mentioned the difficulty that some teachers and pupils had in communicating. (For example, Appendix IV, MWT-18 and MBN-17.)

3.5.3 TEACHERS

At St. Peter's ten teachers were listed and, at Mofumahadi, twelve. All the approved posts were filled.

At both schools there was a considerable difference in

age between the youngest and the oldest teacher. At St. Peters the age range was 35 years, and at Mofumahadi, 49. The teacher's ages are given below.

Age in years	St. Peter's	Mofumahadi
20 - 29	1	3
30 - 39	3	3
40 - 49	4	1
50 - 59	-	3
60 - 69	2	-
70 - 79	-	2

There was a corresponding range in years of teaching experience. At both schools there was a teacher who had had only one year's experience. At St. Peter's the person with most experience had taught for 39 years, and at Mofumahadi, for 49 years.

At St. Peter's age differences between teachers were not mentioned. However at Mofumahadi tension between some of the older and some of the younger teachers was much in evidence. (See Appendix IV, MBN-10 to 20.)

At St. Peter's there was no variation in the teachers' qualifications. Each person's "highest qualification" was recorded at St. "I" plus a "Teachers' Qualification". They were all employed on a permanent basis (35, 9). At Mofumahadi there was a wide range of qualifications. Three people had passed either Stds. VI, VII or VIII but did not have a teacher's qualification. Two people had passed Std. VI and had teachers' qualification. Four had passed Std.

VIII and had professional qualifications. The three with the highest academic certificates, all of whom were white, had teacher's qualifications. Two had passed Std. X (or its equivalent) and one had a degree. Nine of the twelve teachers at Mofumahau were employed on a permanent basis and three were temporary (13, 9).

3.5.4 PLANT

St. Peter's was housed in its own buildings and had nine classrooms and an office for the principal but no staffroom, library, or laboratory. There was no record of there being a storeroom but the researcher saw a shed in which gardening equipment was stored. (See 3.3.) Seven toilet seats had been provided for the boys and nine for the girls. (There was no record of a toilet for the staff. In fact the staff used a toilet in the corner of the shed referred to above.) (See 3.2.)

Some teachers complained about the lack of staffroom, library and laboratory (Appendix IV, PIL-5).

The condition of the buildings was rated on a five point scale ranging from "very weak" to "good or new". The principal of St. Peter's judged his school's buildings to be "noticeably better than satisfactory" (35, 2). This was at variance with the opinion of some of his teachers and with that of the researcher. (See Appendix IV, PIL-2 to 3, PIL-6 and 3.3.)

St. Peter's had only one standard sports field in the

school grounds, a netball field. One teacher wished for more recreational facilities for the children (Appendix IV, PIL-9).

Mofumahadi was also housed in its own buildings. Seven classrooms, an office for the principal, a staffroom, three "general storerooms", but no laboratory, were provided. There were six toilet seats for boys, ten for girls, and two for the staff.

The principal regarded the condition of the plant as "satisfactory". The teachers did not comment on this matter.

Mofumahadi, like St. Peter's, had only a netball field in the school grounds (13, 2).

3.6 CONTEXTUAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE INTERVIEWING

During the last four months of 1983, the period of Phase I of this research, certain prominent Kagiso personalities and the present researcher were involved in (separate) occurrences relevant in different ways to this study. The Kagiso events will inevitably have heightened the political consciousness of the interviewees. Those concerning the researcher appear to have increased her credibility to the respondents.

The account of these developments follows, in general, the sequence of occurrence, with the result that the description of the Kagiso community events is preceded by some of the material relating to the researcher, and

followed by the remainder of it. A description of the circumstances that prevailed during the researcher's visits to Kagiso complete this section

Before undertaking the proposed research permission was obtained from Bishop R J Orsmond, then Vicar General of Johannesburg. He also furnished the researcher with a letter of introduction addressed to the "Principals of all Catholic schools in the diocese of Johannesburg". (See Appendix III.)

The research in Kagiso was initiated on the 12 October 1983 by a visit to Fr. Samson Kataka O.M.I. at St. Peter's church. At the time he was parish priest serving Kagiso I and the manager of St. Peter's HP and LP schools. He was given copies of two letters.

The first was Bishop Orsmond's letter of introduction. The second was from the researcher to the teachers whom it was intended to interview. The letter was intended inter alia, to stimulate the teachers' thinking on matters related to the subject of this research. Considered opinion was being sought, not off-the-cuff responses. (See Appendix III.)

It emerged that, some years previously, Fr. Kataka had been interviewed by a woman who intended to write a series of biographies of people who lived in Soweto. Although she had undertaken to show him, before publication, that section that concerned him, she had not done so. He felt it important that he read the draft of any report on Kagiso people that was written by this researcher. She gladly

promised to send him a copy of such a draft and to discuss it with him.

Fr. Kataka also said that it would be inconvenient for the teachers to be interviewed at that time because examinations were imminent. The researcher apologised for not having come earlier and explained the reasons for her tardiness in terms of her current personal circumstances:

The researcher had arranged to commence the field work in mid-September. On the 7 September her eldest daughter, Catherine (23), had been detained by the Security Police. The girl was being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. This meant that she was not entitled to access to a lawyer, nor to communicate with anyone other than the police and other state officials. She was in solitary confinement and could be imprisoned indefinitely without charges being laid and being brought to court. A little more than three weeks later, on the 26 September, her status was changed to that of "potential witness" for the State in a case in which her friends Carl Niehaus and Jansie Lourens faced charges of High Treason. She continued to be held in solitary confinement, did not have right of access to a lawyer, and was not allowed, by right, to communicate with anyone other than the police or other State officials.

In September Catherine's detention was reported, or referred to, several times in Johannesburg newspapers. (See Rand Daily Mail, Extra Edition, 8 September 1983. Rand Daily Mail, 8 September 1983, 9 September 1983.

16 September and 30 September 1983. The Star. 8 September 1983, 13 September 1983, 16 September 1983 and 30 September 1983.) It was also the subject of an editorial in the Pretoria News (10 November 1983).

On the 13 September the researcher demonstrated against her daughter's detention by holding a placard outside the Johannesburg police head-quarters, John Vorster Square. It read "My daughter, Catherine Hunter, 304th detainee this year". The Sowetan published a photograph of the researcher and the placard (15 September 1983).

Black people in general were expected to be sympathetic to a mother in this predicament because very large numbers of them have had a friend, a relative, or themselves have been, in gaol, often detained without trial. When the subject arose naturally the researcher spoke freely about her family's situation.

However, it is believed that this aroused more than sympathy in this highly political community.

Her daughter's detention moulded the researcher's image. The mother's apparent identification with her daughter's plight helped to establish that she, though white, was opposed to the policies of the ruling National Party and so she and black interviewees, in general, supported a common cause. It meant that the Hunter family shared something of the sufferings of the "oppressed" in being "persecuted". To at least one interviewee it meant a great deal more. It was affirmation that this family was authentically Christian. A nun from the convent in Kagiso

commented, in essence, as follows:

If we, as Christians in South Africa, are not persecuted, there is something wrong with our Christian lives. We live in a country that regards itself as Christian, but what sort of Christians are people who do not see oppression for what it is? Nobody who is truly a Christian can live in present day South Africa and not see that this situation is abnormal. In South Africa a black woman meeting a white woman doesn't see that white woman as a sister, as a fellow Christian. She sees her as a white woman. If we, as Christians, do not see this state of affairs as abnormal, then it would be better for us if we were not Christians.

This was particularly significant because of two trials involving people well known in the community. One was held during the period of this pilot study and the other was pending. The feelings that these aroused could have hardened attitudes towards a white stranger who asked probing questions about (potentially) politically sensitive educational issues.

In the first case three people stood accused of taking part in the activities of the African National Congress (ANC) or, alternatively, of furthering the aims of the ANC. The State alleged that they organised a meeting, held in St. Peter's church hall, Kagiso I, on 8 August 1982, to commemorate National Women's Day and that at this meeting they created support for the ANC. All three pleaded not guilty (The Star, 11 November 1983).

The accused were Mr George Moiloa (29), from Kagiso; Miss Amanda Kwadi (31), of Orlando East, Soweto; and the Rev. Moflefe Tsele (27), address given as the Munsieville Lutheran church (Rand Daily Mail, 12 November 1983).

George Moilola was an organiser of the Young Christian Workers. This is a Catholic association that originated in Belgium. However not all its members are Catholics. Amanda Kwadi was an executive member of the Federation of South African Women (Rand Daily Mail, 12 November 1983). The Rev. Molefe Tsele was employed as a full-time worker at the Kagiso Self-help Centre. This had been founded, inter alia, by Fr. Kataka and a minister of the Apostolic Faith Mission. During 1982 the latter had been detained for several months in John Vorster Square. The Urban Foundation, a body independent of the State, that advocates free enterprise and relies for its funds on the business community and overseas donors, erected a building for the use of the Self-help Centre in the grounds of the Apostolic Faith Mission in Kagiso II. There, besides self-help and educational projects for adults, were held supplementary classes for high school pupils. Educational tours were also arranged e.g. to the Planetarium.

(The Rev. Tsele later became one of the leaders of the National Education Crisis Committee. See 5.5.6.)

On Monday, 7 November 1983, this researcher went to St. Peter's church to find Fr. Kataka. She was told that he was in Krugersdorp where he was wanted as a witness for the State in the case against Moilola, Kwadi and Tsele. Further, she was told that, at the Sunday mass, Fr. Kataka had told his congregation from the pulpit, that he did not expect to return to St. Peter's on Monday evening and that

he might be away for a long time. In this instance the researcher had to respond to the unspoken. Her capacity to do so contributed to a sense of greater solidarity between her informant and herself. This was of significance to this project because the informant referred to was in daily intimate contact with several of the teachers interviewed.

The researcher inferred that Fr. Kataka intended to refuse to give evidence in this trial and expected to be imprisoned for this crime. Section 189 of the Criminal Procedures Act makes it an offence to refuse to take the oath, give evidence, or answer any questions unless one has a "just excuse". The maximum sentence is two years if a normal offence is involved, and five years for an offence under security laws (Rand Daily Mail, 23 September 1983, b).

This expectation was based upon an awareness of the stance taken by Fr. Stanton and others as described below.

In September the Johannesburg newspapers had given much publicity to the refusal of the frail, elderly sub-priest of St. Peter's Priory in Rosettenville, Johannesburg to answer questions concerning Carl Niehaus. Anton Harber of the Rand Daily Mail wrote on 23 September (a):

Last week the quiet, 62-year-old Anglican priest was given a simple choice by a Johannesburg magistrate: answer questions about an acquaintance detained without trial or go to jail.

He did not know the questions and did not even know if he could provide the answers.

He refused to take the oath and have the questions put to him.

He told the court he did not even know the person involved very well and had no knowledge of what Mr Carl Niehaus was accused of doing.

(At the time no charges had yet been laid against Carl Niehaus.)

Father Stanton is one of the people who in recent years have been jailed for what is in most cases evidently an act of conscience. Given the choice of prison or giving evidence in political trials, people have chosen prison.

They consider South Africa's security laws unacceptable and would not assist the State in convicting people under these laws.

Some of them are well-known people. Philip Dhlamini, a trade unionist closely involved in the municipal strike that paralysed Johannesburg in 1980, is serving 18 months for refusing to give evidence.

Mr Thami Mazwai, a senior journalist, was recently released after spending a year in prison for his silence.

Many more are unknown, almost faceless people whose conscience did not permit them to give evidence for the State. Last year alone, more than 15 people were imprisoned for their silence, according to the Survey of Race Relations.

And the Race Relations researchers say they believe it is happening so often, and so many times so quickly in obscure courtrooms, that it often goes unreported in the Press.

The result is that no one seems certain of just how many people have been jailed for this offence in previous years.

In some ways, Father Stanton got off lightly. In one case last year, a man who refused to give evidence was given a five-year sentence.

In other cases the witnesses have gone to jail for their silence while the accused have been acquitted.

Mr Mordechai Tsatsa, for example, spent a year in Modderbee Prison because he would not give evidence. The accused was freed.

Father Stanton was sentenced to six months in prison.

On the 30 September members of the Black Sash and the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee (DPSC) stood in silent protest along two of Johannesburg's main roads as they commemorated the second anniversary of the founding of the DPSC. (The Star newspaper published a photograph of one of these people holding a placard saying 'Release Father Stanton, prisoner of conscience'. See 30 September 1983, a.) (Fr. Stanton served his sentence in full.)

On the 11 November 1983 Moilola, Kwadi and Tsele were acquitted. Mr Soggot, SC, defending,

.... asked the court to acquit them as there was no evidence to suggest that holding a Women's Day celebration furthered the aims of the ANC.

He said that the charges were not clear and the whole case rested on allegations that the accused, by virtue of holding the commemoration service, furthered the ANC's aims.

He said the celebration was an annual event.

Mr A van Wyk, for the State, did not call for the conviction of the accused.

The magistrate, Mr W Aucamp, said there was no evidence that the arrangements the accused had made for a commemoration service would be profitable for the ANC or furthered its aims (Rand Daily Mail, 12 November 1983).

The three accused had been in detention for three months.

Fr. Kataka was not called to the witness box.

The press had also given attention to a second case that featured a person prominent in Kagiso. The accused was Sr. Mary Bernard Ncube, a member of the religious congregation called the Companions of St. Angela, who lived in the convent adjacent to the St. Peter's and Mofumahadi

schools. At the time she headed a special project of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Reconciliation. She worked mainly among nuns (Inter Nos, September/October 1983). She was also active in the affairs of the Kagiso community.

In December 1983 Sr. Bernard said in court that in 1980 (or 1981) she had received, through the post, a copy of a speech given by the ANC leader, Oliver Tambo. She had neither solicited it, nor knew who had sent it. She read it, put it with other papers in a drawer in the convent's community room and forgot it.

At about 3 a.m. on the 4 March 1983 policemen knocked loudly on the door of the convent. The Sisters refused to let strange men enter at that hour of the night. At 5.30 a.m. two policemen and a policewoman were allowed in. The policewoman took Sr. Bernard (aged 48 years) into a room and ordered her to strip naked. The policemen searched the convent and found Tambo's speech. Later Sr. Bernard was taken to John Vorster Square for interrogation. She reported that she was asked whether she was a member of the Federation of South African Women and the Kagiso Residents Organisation. She was detained overnight and then released on bail (JR News, Autumn 1983).

Sr. Bernard appeared in court on 8 and 22 March and on other occasions. On 22 September the leader of the Defence team, Mr Kuny SC, opposed a further remand on the grounds that it

had already been postponed five or six times and that the police had had more than enough time to do their investigations. He also argued that it was unfair on the accused, as another postponement would not only waste time and money but weigh heavily on her mind (Inter Nos, September/October 1983).

Evidence was led once more on 1 December.

It was claimed that the police had established that the copy of Tambo's speech had been duplicated from Sechaba, a banned publication. (Its source was not indicated on the copy.) Further, the Prosecution argued, that although Sr. Bernard may not have known that it was copied from Sechaba, she should have known that it was illegal to possess a copy of a speech of Oliver Tambo.

Sr. Bernard was convicted of possessing a banned document and sentenced to 12 month's imprisonment, of which 8 months were suspended for five years. She was granted leave to appeal (The Star, 8 December 1983).

This sequence of events was surely not seen as being merely the result of a tardy and erratic system of justice but as organised oppression, as persecution.

(In 1985 Sr. Bernard was acquitted in the Supreme Court in Johannesburg.)

Newspaper reports of a further happening, that occurred before the last interviews were carried out, certainly affected the image projected by the researcher.

She challenged the Prime Minister at a public meeting.

On 2 November 1983 a referendum was to be held. As it was put in an editorial in The Pretoria News, some 2,7 million South African voters - whites

only, less than a tenth of the population - confront the most crucial decision in this nation's 73-year history. They are asked to vote 'yes' or 'no' to this question.

Are you in favour of the implementation of the Constitution Act, 1983, as approved by Parliament?

We reiterate that the answer should be 'no'. We see no safe future in a system which places near-dictatorial powers in the hands of one man (especially one so mercurially arrogant as Mr P W Botha), which ignores some 70 percent of the people - the blacks, and which involves Coloureds and Indians on a permanently separate and inferior basis because of their race (1 November 1983, a).

For several weeks before polling day the media gave prominence to the issues involved. Some of these were of considerable interest to Africans even though their position was not to be affected directly by the proposed constitutional changes.

The culmination of the National Party's Witwatersrand campaign was to be a rally, addressed by the Prime Minister, in the Johannesburg City Hall on Monday, 31 October.

On the evening of the 31 October the Johannesburg City Hall was packed with National Party (NP) supporters. In the foyer those who were unable to gain admittance watched the proceedings on television (Die Vaderland, 1 November 1983). The NP supporting newspaper, The Citizen, claimed the crowd to be "about 2 000" strong (1 November 1983, b). (The Opposition Rand Daily Mail, of 2 November a, estimated 1 000.)

The Prime Minister was given a five minute standing ovation on his arrival and again after his speech (The Citizen, 1 November 1983, b).

After the speeches the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, invited the audience to ask questions. The researcher got attention with some difficulty. The Citizen noted that

A hush fell over the packed City Hall in Johannesburg when Mrs Lucienne Hunter's voice rang out demanding to be noticed during the question time.

She intended to ask the Prime Minister for a personal undertaking to work for justice for detainees under the new constitution. In the event she identified herself and said,

My daughter, Catherine Hunter (23), has been held in solitary confinement, in John Vorster Square, for 8 weeks. She is wanted as a State witness. She is not accused of any crime (1 November 1983, a).

Then it was made nearly impossible for those present to hear her question. Mr Pik Botha had a microphone. The researcher, speaking from the gallery, had not.

The next day this exchange was variously reported in several newspapers. (See The Star, 1 November 1983; The Citizen, 1 November 1983, a; Pretoria News, 1 November 1983, a, b, c.)

The same day the Pretoria News published this second editorial:

Unforgivable!

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha acted unforgivably last night. The Prime Minister did not do much better. Their carefully contrived face of "New Nationalist reason" fell apart at the Prime Ministerial meeting in Johannesburg when the mother of a woman who has been detained for six weeks as a POTENTIAL State witness in an upcoming treason trial stood up to demand to know just what was going on. All the Prime Minister told this unhappy woman was that there was a communist

onslaught and our laws were adapted to meet the threat. What a thing to tell a parent with a child - against whom no charge has been laid - in Security Police custody! To laughter from some of the other bullies there Mr Pik Botha then told an offensive joke with direct bearing on his anguished questioner. Such people cannot be trusted with true consensus politics. Last night they displayed all the sensitivity of the truncheon (1 November 1983, b).

On the morning of the referendum the Rand Daily Mail carried, on the front page, a large coloured photograph of the researcher under the banner "Mum's impromptu pow-wow with PW" (2 November 1983, b). In the accompanying article, 'I wanted to know child's fate', it was recorded:

Mrs Hunter has no doubts about which way she will vote today.

"Whether this tragedy and injustice was done to my daughter or not, I would still have voted 'no' never 'yes'", she said.

"I would like to tell everybody to keep on fighting for justice and peace - regardless of personal consequences. This, I believe, is the way of true patriotism in South Africa" (a).

Later that morning the researcher was in the schoolgrounds of St. Peter's when one of the teacher's caught sight of her through an open door. The teacher came running out in much excitement, waving a copy of the Rand Daily Mail. She said that she had been showing the children the picture of the researcher and telling them that it was the same lady that they had seen visiting the school. She then called her class, who were dispersed in the playground, to see the picture and the researcher juxtaposed.

(Catherine was released after 9 weeks. She was not

asked to give evidence because Carl Niehaus admitted to the two acts in connection with which her testimony was required.)

On the 1 November 1983 the Rand Daily Mail also carried a report of the detention, in the Ciskei, of the secretary-general of the SACBC, Fr. Smangaliso Mkhathshwa. The then president of the SACFC, Archbishop Denis Hurley, on behalf of its administrative board, criticised Mkhathshwa's detention (c).

During that first conversation with Fr. Kataka, Mr Mzimela, principal of St. Peter's school entered. Opportunity was taken to explain the researcher's mission and to give him Bishop Orsmond's letter of introduction and the stimulus letter. It was agreed that the researcher would deliver sufficient copies of both of these letters to Mr Mzimela on the 17 October for distribution to each of his teachers.

The next day the researcher spoke on the telephone to Br. Ephrem King, the superintendent of mission schools in the diocese of Johannesburg. (The term "mission school" is used in the Church for those situated in black residential areas.) Having discussed the general purposes of the research Br. Ephrem offered his help. He was asked to tell the Principal of Mofumahadi that the researcher would visit her on Monday 17 October.

Overt resistance to being interviewed was soon expressed by some of the staff of St. Peter's.

On the 17th the researcher first took the letters intended for the St. Peter's schools' teachers to Mr Mzimela's office. Mr Mzimela said that his teachers wished to meet the researcher and suggested that she give them the letters herself. The teachers then came in ones and twos to the researcher who spoke briefly to them before giving them the letters to read elsewhere, at their leisure. At least one teacher gave the impression of being aggressively suspicious of the purpose of this research.

Arrangements were made to interview the staff of St. Peter's school.

Then the researcher went to Mofumahadi to see the headmistress. After discussion the principal offered to distribute the letters to her staff.

Interviews with the teachers were set up by the principal.

On 20 October the researcher returned to St. Peter's expecting to interview some teachers alone or in groups of two or three. On arrival she was told that the teachers were at that stage unwilling to speak to her individually or in small groups. However, they were ready to come en masse to a meeting at which she explained the purpose of her research. This the researcher was happy to do. The teachers were then prepared to proffer opinion on a number of issues raised in the stimulus letter. The researcher recorded on a dictaphone a summary of each teacher's comments in the hearing of all. However the researcher did not know the teacher's names and so could not attribute any

comment to any particular person. The encounter ended on a cheerful note and the teachers agreed to be interviewed in a less anonymous way on later occasions.

In a private moment Mr Mzimela suggested that, in return for their co-operation, the researcher should give his staff a "party". She was happy to do this and undertook to "surprise" them after the interviews had been completed. Not knowing what the teachers would enjoy most she asked the advice of one of the members of staff. When the fieldwork in Kagiso was finished, the researcher arrived at the school at the beginning of the mid-morning break. The teachers were about to have tea together. She gave them four two-litre bottles of cold drink, five packets of biscuits and a large packet of sweets. This was much appreciated.

The teachers at Mofumahadi were given a similar party.

In the latter part of October and in early November the researcher spent several days interviewing in Kagiso I.

At St. Peter's these encounters took place in the Headmaster's office which he kindly vacated for the purpose. It was a rather dark room. Sometimes the noise of the children playing made it difficult to hear.

The teachers came in one by one. On each occasion a chair for them to sit on had to be fetched from a nearby classroom. It was, in almost every case, very difficult to put them at ease. Some, indeed, clearly never did relax. On the whole the teachers seemed to have prepared themselves

for the interview, some speaking from notes. A number of people, to begin with, gave responses in terms reminiscent of categories typically used in teacher training colleges in the past e.g. they spoke of the children's moral, mental and physical development. However, opinions that appeared to be more individual and more deeply held, were given when they were asked to illustrate with examples drawn from their own experience.

At Mofumahadi the interviewer had the use of the library and, whenever she was there, was served tea and biscuits on a tray. These she shared with those being interviewed. The teachers each came in with either one or two friends of their own choice. It was comparatively easy to make them at home. They too had obviously given thought to their responses to the stimulus questions. They also, initially, spoke in formal terms but were easily led to express themselves more personally.

The contrast between the atmosphere prevailing during interviews at St. Peter's and that at Mofumahadi, led the researcher once again to invite staff members of the former school to be interviewed with a friend or friends. Several accepted with alacrity and thereafter relationships between interviewees and interviewer were much warmer. It had probably not been clear to the St. Peter's staff that this option was open to them.

However, while the researcher retained the impression that most of the staff of Mofumahadi spoke to her more willingly than their counterparts at St. Peter's, the one

teacher who refused any contact whatsoever with the interviewer came from Mofumahadi. A black nun who was close to this woman told the researcher not to take this stand as reflecting upon her personally. It was simply that the researcher was white and the teacher black. The latter did not trust "whitey".

The teachers' opinions recounted in Appendix IV were gathered by means of interview. However one important further source of opinion came to hand. This was a stimulus paper prepared for a discussion to be held on the 21 October 1983 by the Companions of St. Angela living in the Kagiso convent (Appendix V). This discussion was coincidental to this research. Several of these nuns taught at the St. Peter's and Mofumahadi schools. No attempt was made to discover what had been said in the course of their deliberations.

In view of the history of the people of Kagiso and of its two Catholic primary schools, and the detention of prominent black people well known in the community, it is probable that adverse opinions about whites and the structure of South African society would only be expressed to a researcher who could be expected to identify to some extent with black people's anger and sense of oppression. However, it would appear that this researcher's white skin was nevertheless an insuperable barrier to communication with one of the teachers at Mofumahadi.

In view of the researcher's "involvement" in the manner

described above, doubt might be cast on her objectivity. A response could be suggested invoking the nature of a research interview as described in 2.4.2.7 and drawing attention to the fact that the absence of such involvement might have made her unacceptable to many of the interviewees. It might be said, therefore, not only that absolute objectivity is unattainable in this type of study but that some of its modes of pursuit would be self-defeating i.e. self-invalidating.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Chapter Three has provided data about the setting of Phase One. The research procedure applied has already been described in Chapter Two Research Procedure.

The responses to Phase One interviews are detailed in Appendix IV. Now, in Chapter Four, the Phase One interview data are analysed, their theoretical implications are pursued, and their implications for Phase Two are indicated.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION OF PHASE I FINDINGS IN LIGHT OF
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RELEVANT LITERATURE
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4.1 INTRODUCTION

In Appendix IV a report on the opinions of the Kagiso teachers is given. These opinions are expressed in "units" and arranged according to "theme" which are presented in "clusters" (IV.1.3). Such an arrangement provides a degree of implicit comment. In the present chapter the opinions are discussed explicitly. This process includes a relating of these views to those of some relevant theorists and of certain Catholic authorities.

For the purposes of Phase II, a number of statements are derived from the above procedure. Most encapsulate significant opinions of the Kagiso teachers. Others are based upon the writings of the theorists and Catholic authorities. In Phase II a random sample of assistant teachers Catholic primary schools in Soweto, and all of those who radiate formal authority over them, are asked to rate, rank the statements, in order to assess the degree of support for these opinions. This survey of wider opinion is reported in Chapter Five.

This discussion is divided into four parts.

In 4.2 some opinions of philosophers of education concerning the nature and scope of the aims of the primary school are explored.

4.3, labelled "Knowledge, and some impediments to education", the focus is upon the acquisition of knowledge

and understanding.

4.4 deals with the subject broadly termed "socialization".

In 4.5 generalisations are made about the teachers' perceptions regarding their own education.

4.2 NATURE AND SCOPE OF AIMS OF EDUCATION

The following remarks concern the Kagiso teachers' responses to questions concerning the aims of their Catholic primary schools. In this introduction we are concerned with the appropriate nature and scope of these answers.

From a reading of recent works by Hirst and Peters (1970) Barrow (1981), and Warnock (1977), two conclusions may be drawn.

First, that no activities can be said to be, in principle, beyond the scope of the school.

Secondly, that decisions concerning the curriculum are made primarily on the basis of value judgements concerning the kind of adult that it is hoped the child will eventually become.

In Chapter 2 of The logic of education Hirst and Peters (1970) begin an exploration of the kind of answer that a prospective teacher might satisfactorily give when asked for reasons for her choice of profession. This leads the authors to a deeper penetration of the concept of education.

The teachers in Kagiso, and Hirst and Peter's hypothetical prospective teacher, are asked to address

essentially the same question: as a school teacher, what are your aims?

Hirst and Peters reason that the crux of the question concerns the nature of education which they say

is to be understood in terms of a family of processes through which people become committed to what is valuable in a way that is illuminated by some breadth and depth of understanding (*ibid.*, 109).

Barrow is in agreement with Hirst and Peters in regarding education as being "essentially to do with the mind" and as being "purely cognitive (to do with knowledge, understanding and perception)" (1981, 38).

Hirst and Peters also contend that

Public forms of experience are absolutely central to the development of knowledge and understanding (1970, 32). (Emphasis in the original.)

They postulate seven "forms of knowledge" or "modes of knowledge and experience" which include mathematics and the physical science (*ibid.*, 62 to 66).

Barrow concedes that these last two

provide clear and good examples, for they are obviously to be distinguished not just by their different content, but by their reliance on quite different kinds of test for truth, just as Hirst says.

However he says that "the remaining five of the seven forms that Hirst and Peters discern are by no means so obviously distinguishable" (1981, 41).

Mary Warnock would agree with Hirst and Peters that "the concept of 'education' is a very fluid one" (Warnock, 1977, 12; Hirst and Peters, 1970, 25). The latter pair

suggest that

At one end of the continuum is the older and undifferentiated concept which refers just to any process of bringing up or rearing in which the connection either with what is desirable or with knowledge is purely contingent.

At the other extreme is the more recent, and more specific, concept which links educational processes

with the development of states of a person that involve knowledge and also suggest that they are desirable (1970, 25).

Hirst and Peters hold the latter position. In their book they analyse the concept and explore its implications for the curriculum, for teaching, and for the authority structures of schools and colleges (*ibid.*, IX and 25).

In contrast, Warnock considers it better

to be flexible about the concept of education, and not to insist that our first, or even our last, task is to define it exactly.

In this way she hopes to avoid ruling out certain questions that, in realistic and political terms, require answers (1977, 13).

This approach would seem to be further justified by the consideration that the four philosophers of education named all agree that schooling, and primary schooling in particular, is concerned with much besides education in the narrow sense.

For example, Hirst and Peters say that schools

are in loco parentis and are concerned with the health and general welfare of their pupils. At the primary level, when children can assume less responsibility for their own welfare, these concerns are more important, but they can be regarded as necessary conditions for education as well as required by a more diffuse conception of

the teacher's role (1970, 109).

In The philosophy of schooling, Barrow expresses his agreement that the children's health and physical fitness should be of concern to teachers (1981, 62). He expatiates on the role of the latter:

primary or junior school teachers , are in the interesting position of being only marginally related to education. By and large primary school teachers do not educate so much as lay necessary foundations for education or contribute elements of education. (This) is to say that, rather than contributing directly to the provision of some part of that breadth of understanding that constitutes education, they teach certain skills that in practice are necessary to the later development of such understanding (skills such as those of reading, writing and numeracy). . . . Besides overseeing a necessary first step towards education, they play a crucial role in schooling both by developing a favourable disposition in children and by taking the first steps in socialisation (*ibid.*, 60 to 61).

Further, he is of the opinion that

one cannot set limits a priori on the responsibilities of schooling, I cannot see a clear line of reasoning to suggest any principle or set of principles whereby we may set a limit to what schools should do (*ibid.*, 42).

If such limits cannot be demarcated then none of the aims indicated by the Kagiso teachers can be excluded on the grounds that they are outside their proper concern as primary school teachers.

4.1 KNOWLEDGE, AND SOME IMPEDIMENTS TO EDUCATION

In this section attention is focussed upon the transmission of knowledge in the Kagiso schools. However the informants said little that was directly upon this subject. But they

did speak at length about certain impediments that they encountered in their daily work that were relevant. Most of these would also bear upon the proper socialization of the children. Although this is recognised these problems will not be referred to again in the next section.

Warnock (1977), Barrow (1981), Hirst and Peters (1970) all see education as preparation for a future state and not simply as a desirable process in itself. Indeed the latter pair criticise the proponents of "progressive education" for having abnegated their moral responsibility to stipulate appropriate ends (1970, 31). They emphasise the "crucial place of value judgements in education, judgements which clearly must govern not only the ends and aims of education but the processes of teaching and learning as well" (*ibid.*, 86). In similar vein Warnock speaks of the "final unavoidable question" which concerns "the good life, in pursuit of which we undertake to educate people" (1977, 129). She insists that "any discussion of educational issues will be composed largely of value judgements" (*ibid.*, 166).

Warnock believes that "it is impossible wholly to separate educational from moral and political arguments". For this reason she insists that

others besides teachers must be expected to hold, and argue for, serious opinions. Not only must parents be prepared to argue for what they want their children to have educationally, but employers, consumers, and society as a whole must think about their demands and the theoretical justification of them (*ibid.*, 10 to 11).

This presumably implies that there should also be

channels to convey the opinions of these agents so that they can exert appropriate influence on those who take decisions.

The author of the St. Angela's Stimulus Paper complained of the absence of such arrangements. She said that the "System of Education" was not "democratic". The "people who are directly affected by it, do not take any active part in the decision-making of what subjects are to be taught, how they should be taught, or who is to teach".

There is no Education Committee involving parents, or at least teachers in the drawing up of the Syllabus." She suggested that this was a widespread complaint that resulted in the 1976 demonstrations. She called for "a democratic control of education" (Appendix V,2).

A young woman at Mofumahadi remarked that it was difficult to produce change in Catholic schools because they were all controlled by the state. She believed that if the Church had greater autonomy its schools would be very different (MBN-34).

Almost everyone would wish that children at primary school level would develop the prerequisites for, and proper dispositions towards, the acquisition of knowledge and understanding.

This most obviously begins with speech, literacy and numeracy. On this basis, says Warnock, it is possible for the children to acquire knowledge for themselves by learning to frame questions, observe, look things up and criticize what other people tell them.

Apart from this, what knowledge teachers are to share with or impart to their pupils will be determined according to what will be interesting, useful, fruitful for further knowledge, and perhaps by other tests (1977, 125).

One might have expected the Kagiso teachers to refer to local instances of such issues, e.g. the need to learn English at an early age because this language is the official medium of instruction from the fifth year onwards.

The Kagiso teachers made only occasional direct mention of such matters. However they spoke at length about impediments to success. They apparently attributed the problems they experienced to factors beyond their control. Nobody drew attention to her own personal inadequacies.

However a few people did speak of the shortcomings of their colleagues. At Mofumahadi, two older women; one black, one white; commented on the poor English spoken by some of the younger teachers (MBN-17 and MWT-18). Another person said that her class had been taught by an unqualified teacher the previous year. As a result she had spent the first quarter teaching her pupils what they should already have known. Only in the second term had she been able to start on the year's syllabus (MBL-13).

The most frequently mentioned dissatisfactions concerned the large number of pupils in each class and the presence of slow learners.

The author of the St. Angela's Stimulus Paper said that as a result of the overcrowding individual attention could not be given to pupils and that very little written work was done (Appendix V,3).

During an individual interview at St. Peter's one teacher attributed her inability to complete the syllabus, not to any fault in the syllabus, but to the fact that she had sixty-eight pupils in her class (PIN-65).

At this school, where classes consisted of between forty-three and seventy-six children, the number of pupils per class became something of a joke between the teachers and the researcher. Almost all the teachers complained good-naturedly at some time or another (PIL-13 to 17).

For two of these teachers it appeared that the slow-learners presented an even more pressing problem (PIL-18 to 19).

At Mofumahadi the complaints were more vociferous. Five black teachers, in four different interviews, raised the matter. One young woman stressed that it was impossible to give the appropriate individual attention when there were sixty children in the reception class (MBL-2 to 5 MBL-7).

Three teachers expressed regret at the inclusion of slow learners in their classes. As a result these teachers felt less able to do what they conceived as being their proper work: teaching children of normal intelligence (MBL-7 to 9).

All three white teachers at Mofumahadi expressed distress at the size of classes. One said that she felt passionately about it and battled endlessly to get smaller numbers (MWN-18 to 20).

This person had also had experience of teaching slow learners. She was frustrated because she could not give the dull children in her class the personal attention they needed, nor adopt a syllabus appropriate to their needs (MWN-23 and MWN-25 to 28).

It would seem that the Kagiso schools were displaying, in disfunctional form, a tension characteristic of Catholic schools.

In their 1981 report, Signposts and Homecomings, to the Catholic Bishops of England and Wales, the authors ask:

Can our schools, precisely because they are Christian schools, present a richer and more mature view of educational theory and practice?

In answer they comment:

It is not enough, because it is not realistic, to say they should persuade by their very excellence. Individual Catholic schools may indeed give a magnificent example of what the best school should be (as will individual county schools). But much depends on how excellence is assessed. One of the paradoxical strengths of the Church is that it is in every sense Catholic - it is for the weak and for the strong, for those who fail as well as for those who succeed, for sinners as well as for saints (Konstant, 1981, 5).

Many of the Kagiso teachers strongly valued academic success as measured by examination results. This was most frequently evidenced by the pride they took in their pupils' achievements.

At St. Peter's four teachers expressed their satisfaction with their pupils' results in the public examination sat at the end of the eighth year of school and their other scholastic attainments. (See PIN-24, 26 to 28 and PIN-32.)

Another pair spoke sceptically of the value of such accomplishments and so indicated, indirectly, their colleagues' values (PIN-29). A third person criticised the way in which children were motivated to do well (PIN-15 and 16). She also insisted that "clever children should not be encouraged to think that they were better in some way than slower pupils" (PIN-17).

This last speaker manifested within herself a resolution of this tension. In PIN-48 she states her belief that "every person that God created had a unique contribution to make to the family of man". In this way she justified her sense that clever and slow pupils are equally valuable as people. But she was also known for her pupils' outstanding performance in public examinations over several years (PSN-1).

Other Kagiso teachers focussed instead on the practical difficulties involved when children of widely differing intelligence were placed in the same class.

One teacher at St. Peter's said that "she did not know how to teach slow learners. They needed a teacher to themselves" (PIL-19).

At Mofumahadi one African teacher complained that her attempts to help her pupils to achieve proper standards in, for example, English and Mathematics, were undermined by the presence of seven retarded children in her class of fifty-eight children (MBL-7).

As was noted earlier, a white nun expressed great

concern for the welfare of the slow pupils in her care at Mofumahadi which she felt quite unable to serve adequately under the circumstances (MWN-23 and MWN-25 to 28).

She put into words her awareness of the tension under discussion here. She recalled that Jean Vanier had commented that, in South Africa, Catholic schools appeared to be elitist with regard to academic achievement. She was disturbed by this observation and "felt that she had been virtually compelled to contribute to this by a combination of having to teach too many children too many facts" (MWN-29).

Nevertheless she appreciated academic excellence and good examination results (MWN-32).

Another white nun expressed her pleasure in the Grade A class who, thanks to the "Break through to Tswana" teaching scheme, could "read almost everything in Tswana and could produce a page of written Tswana" (MWT-9).

To sum up: In Kagiso, the compassionate inclusion of retarded children in classes that were already very large can be interpreted as an expression of the Catholic sense of the essential equality of all people regardless of their gifts. However, in practice, their presence created problems that were perceived as insuperable under the circumstances. Several teachers seemed primarily concerned with the welfare of the majority of pupils who were of normal intelligence. A small number of others, and in particular a white nun at Mofumahadi, were also concerned with the special needs of slow learners that were not being

met. No one suggested separate classes for slow learners presumably because of the impracticality of such an arrangement given the paucity of resources.

Some of the Kagiso teachers also felt handicapped by certain of the syllabi they were required to follow and also felt powerless to improve their situation in this respect.

The author of the St. Angela's Stimulus Paper offered her perception of contemporary classroom activities. She said that the children were merely required to reproduce what they had been told. Critical thinking was not encouraged, initiative killed. There was no "choice of subjects" at primary school level. "There is no consideration for differences of talents. Pupils are just bundled up in one big lump" (Appendix V,2).

These strictures are highly reminiscent of Hirst and Peter's depiction of the authoritarian teacher who typically

thought his job was to equip children with essential skills such as reading, writing and arithmetic, (and) to fill their heads with necessary information Methods were used which emphasized formal instruction and learning by heart. Children were instructed en bloc without careful attention to individual differences; (1970, 29 to 30).

During an individual interview at St. Peter's one teacher expressed very similar ideas (PIN-48). At the same school a pair of friends concluded that at this school "children learnt only to read, write and reproduce what they were told" (PIN-29).

A white nun from Mofumahadi largely corroborated this image. She taught a class that was preparing to write a

public examination. She claimed that she had to 'stuff, stuff, stuff facts into children, many of which would not be of any use to them'. At best this "process might constitute a form of memory training". One of the boys in her class "had a real feeling for history but would do no better than the others in the examination" (MWN-29 and, also, MWN-34). She felt that drama should play an important role in education and in another school had put her ideas into practice. However, at Mofumahadi "there was never time to do any of the nice things" (MWN-33). "She had no room to manoeuvre" (MWN-36). (A number of teachers objected strongly to the history syllabi, and textbooks, on other grounds. See PIN-61 to 62.) She also gave a description of a type of lesson that she believed was frequently given by her black colleagues. "The children were told to open their books to a particular page. The teacher read aloud from the book. The children answered questions and perhaps some written work was done". She admitted having done this many times herself "because she had so much work to get through". In addition, the children were not using their mother tongue and so "it was not reasonable to expect them to read from their textbooks in preparation for discussion or for a dramatization" (MWT-32).

Another white nun regretted that the syllabi could not be changed to "suit their mentality". She noted that her pupils "want and need to reach the same standard of education as the whites" (MWN-37).

She also indicated a weakness in the education that was being provided. She said that "Our children haven't a clue about many elementary concepts - lake, forest, certain animals, machines, erosion etc.". They needed the experiential knowledge that could be gained from "outings to farms, factories, places of geographical and historical interest". To accomplish this a minibus, at the very least, would be required (MWN-38).

In other words, some teachers at both schools felt that a substantial amount of what they taught was boring and irrelevant.

This problem of the teaching of inappropriate knowledge calls to mind Mary Warnock's insistence that:

what one does at school must at all costs be felt to have some point; and that point may be either intrinsic (it is fun to do) or extrinsic (it is worth doing as a means to something else) or,, both (1977, 154). (Emphasis in the original.)

Further obstacles to proper education were seen to result from a lack of material resources (PIL-1 to 9, MBN-29 to 30, MBL-10 to 11, MBL-19, MWN-22 and MWL-2). Perhaps most damaging was the absolute lack of a library at St. Peter's, and the relatively few books available at Mofumetadi.

Under these circumstances it would be very difficult for the Kagiso teachers to provide a setting in which their pupils could learn to enjoy work. However no one referred to this problem.

Mary Warnock maintains that work is "an important ingredient in the good life" (1977, 144).

Work can also bring deep satisfaction. She says that

It should not be forgotten that mastery, reducing things to order, learning to be able to do things well, simply getting things right, are real pleasures. Indeed if Nietzsche was right, these things constitute almost the whole of human motivation (ibid., 150).

It would also appear that in Kagiso school experiences were unlikely to enhance the children's imagination.

Warnock uses this term to cover "a human capacity shared by everyone who can perceive and think, who can notice things and can experience emotions". It is "that element in perception which makes what we see and hear meaningful to us". (She claims that this concept of imagination is related to that analysed by the philosophers Hume, Kant and Wittgenstein.) (See ibid., 151 and 152.)

She notes that

its connexion, . . . , with creativity, and especially with artistic creation, is central; but its exercise is by no means confined to this (ibid., 152).

For example, imagination

is the means by which a future can be envisaged which is different from the present. It is the necessary condition of change, to say nothing of revolution . . . the ability to imagine is necessary before there can be any criticism of what is currently on offer (ibid., 170 and 171).

In Kagiso a person and persons was apparently influenced by Paulo Freire. (See VIII.2.) This person(s) undoubtedly valued an imagination that could envisage a future that was different from the present even though the term was not used in this connection.

Warnock says further that

Educating a child's imagination, . . . , is partly educating his reflective capacity, partly his perceptive capacity; it may or may not lead to 'creativity'; but it will certainly lead to his inhabiting a world more interesting, better loved and understood, less boring, than if he had not been so educated (1977, 152 to 153).

She is convinced that imagination is not enhanced when the curriculum is boring (*ibid.*, 153). In order to stimulate children they should have some freedom of choice and should be encouraged to follow their bent (*ibid.*, 155). They should be enabled to seek information in their chosen field and to communicate it (*ibid.*, 164). She believes that

it is far more likely that pupils at school will learn the essential skills of communication, and, equally important, of taking part in a genuine exchange of ideas and information, if they are becoming specialists and enthusiasts about some subject matter, whatever it is (*ibid.*, 157).

Mary Warnock makes two other recommendations concerning the stimulation of imagination.

She believes that a modicum of solitude is necessary for the growth of imagination, and, as this is so,

children should be able to be alone, and enjoy solitude, (and) this possibility must somehow be preserved at school, even though actual physical solitude is most unlikely to be achieved there (*ibid.*, 163).

Although one person noted that the children's homes were often very crowded (MWL-4) no one referred to a need to provide pupils with opportunity for solitude.

Warnock also believes that "the contemplation of natural beauty is . . . central to the education of the imagination . . . and is something for which all children

should somehow be given the opportunity" (*ibid.*, 162).

In Kagiso, only one teacher, and only in passing, mentioned the aesthetic development of children (MWN-16). Although most of the pupils lived in what might be described as a slum, no one suggested that they should be taken elsewhere to enjoy the scenery.

Nor, in Kagiso, did anyone express any desire to foster creativity.

Perhaps in this regard a comment made by Barrow about his own position should be recalled. He says that he holds

an apparently minority view among educationalists that creativity, . . . , is not merely something schools probably can't do much about, but is something they should anyway not be much concerned with (1981, 73).

Finally, in this section concerning knowledge, competence levels should be mentioned.

Konstant says that, in Catholic schools,

an essential requirement is an appropriate competence and the maintenance of high standards in all teaching and educational activities undertaken (1977, 119).

It would seem that the results obtained by Kagiso pupils in the public examinations were thought by their teachers to be at least as good as those obtained by their counterparts in the local community schools (PSN-1 and PIN-24). However, the education they received was almost certainly inferior to that provided for white children everywhere on the Witwatersrand. Teachers in white schools were better qualified and better equipped with the necessary material resources. The Kagiso teachers interviewed did

not make this comparison.

In conclusion it should be recalled that, from this discussion, it was intended to generate a series of statements. These were to be presented to a sample of assistant teachers in Catholic primary schools in Soweto, and to those in immediate authority over them, in order to gauge the degree of support for each statement. It was hoped that the results would illumine opinions regarding the further education of the teachers. (See 2.4.2.2.)

The following statements arose from the above discussion. They are presented here in the form in which they appear in the teachers' questionnaire. In the questionnaire for principals and church-based education officials these statements occur either in identical form or in one slightly adapted to the different category of personnel being questioned. They are numbered as in the questionnaire. (See VI.3.)

(From the "A" set of statements.)

- A1. I would teach much better
if I did not have so many children
in my class.
- A2. I would teach much better
if someone showed me how to use
better teaching methods.
- A5. I would teach much better
if some of the syllabuses were improved,
e.g. history and religion.
- A6. I would teach much better
if I did not have some children in
my class who learn very slowly.
- A9. I would teach much better
if I had the furniture, books and

apparatus I need.

(From the "B" set of statements concerning pupils at the respondent's school "at the end of Std. V".)

B1. They should be well prepared for
their exams and ready for high school.

It will be noted that these six statements relate closely to the opinions expressed by the teachers. None of the statements reflect omissions remarked upon in the discussion e.g. the difficulty in providing pupils with (a) opportunity for solitude, (b) a setting in which they could learn to enjoy work and (c) experiences likely to enhance their imagination. This is consonant with Nisbet's notion of illuminative evaluation as quoted in 2.4.2.2. However, the illuminative research strategy is essentially flexible, and statements based on ideas derived from relevant literature would have been incorporated had it been thought appropriate. Such inclusions were not considered to be expedient because they would have elicited responses of a somewhat different nature. It was thought that the opinions expressed by the Kagiso teachers were likely to be concerned with matters that, in general terms at least, had been widely discussed among teachers in Catholic schools in Soweto. Therefore, in reaction to the questionnaires, the interviewees were likely to give considered opinions. In response to statements evolved only from the literature the teachers' opinions were likely to be off the cuff. These differences in the nature of the responses would have made comparisons between the reactions to particular statements

less valid.

(In the event the questionnaires included one statement that seemed to encapsulate an idea unfamiliar to the Soweto teachers i.e. A3 "I would teach much better if the children were not encouraged to compete for marks". The problems that arose in relation to this statement may have arisen primarily because the concept was strange to the interviewees. See 5.5.4.2.)

4.4 SOCIALIZATION

4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this commentary discussion has centred, first, upon the appropriate nature and scope of answers to questions about the aims of primary schools and, second, on the prerequisites for, and proper disposition towards, the acquisition of knowledge and understanding. Below, the term which may be broadly termed "socialization" is examined.

This section is based, in part, on the argument presented in two substantial appendices. In order to facilitate recall of the main points resumes are presented here. There follow summaries of Appendix VII: The opinions of Kagiso teachers that relate to religious conviction and Appendix VIII: Kagiso teachers' comments that reflect experience and perception of intergroup relations.

4.4.2 SUMMARY OF APPENDIX VII: THE OPINIONS OF KAGISO
TEACHERS THAT RELATE TO RELIGIOUS CONVICTION

4.4.2.1 Introduction

It was noted that the Main Committee: HSRC Investigation into Intergroup Relations in South Africa stated that, from empirical research,

it is clear that the spectrum of interests related to religious convictions display much variation, extending from the narrower personal sphere, via the family, the church community, the wider community to what is experienced as the total situation (Marais, 1985, 68).

In Appendix VII the opinions of the Kagiso teachers that relate to religious conviction are classified into the categories suggested above. It should be noted, however, that these categories cannot be placed rigorously on a continuum relating to a particular characteristic.

The teachers did not distinguish between religious education and a more general socialization so no attempt to make such distinctions are made here.

4.4.2.2 "Narrower Personal Sphere"

The very great majority of comments made at both St. Peter's and Mofumahadi related to the interior life of individuals.

Most of these focused upon Sunday observance which, in the Catholic tradition, consists pre-eminently of worship at mass.

It could be argued that attendance at mass on a Sunday is not rightly classified as a "narrowly personal" matter because worshippers at such a service are not only present

as individuals but as a community, and also represent all Christians wherever they may be. However these last two aspects were not mentioned by any of the respondents so inclusion of these comments in this section appears justified.

It would seem that at both schools teachers spent considerable effort attempting to persuade and ensure that pupils attended church regularly on Sundays. Teachers from both schools also expressed disappointment at the small number of pupils who continued to attend mass on Sundays after they left their Catholic primary schools.

At both schools in Kagiso mass was celebrated during school hours at least once a month. At Mofumahadi, in particular, the children were also encouraged to worship frequently in ways that were typically Catholic.

At both Mofumahadi and St. Peter's emphasis was placed on the importance of "respect". However this concept is problematic here because the word appears to have been used in a variety of related ways and the meaning had to be deduced on each occasion.

At St. Peter's, and in the St. Angela's Stimulus Paper, there were a number of comments that appeared to reflect a concept of respect that arose from a "full recognition of the dignity of each individual, created in God's image" (Ratzinger, 1986, 43).

At Mofumahadi only the African teachers appeared to be concerned that children learned to show respect. In their case the word indicated forms of polite behaviour that had a

particular cultural expression. Most frequently mentioned were proper conversational language and demeanour and prompt obedience to adult neighbours.

4.4.2.3 Family

A very few comments related to religious conviction and family life.

It should be noted that the schools appeared not to be concerned to influence their pupils' parents. At St. Peter's the question of a Parent/Teachers Association was not raised. At Mofumahadi the researcher asked one young woman whether there was such. She had to consult her companions to discover that there was. None of the three had ever attended a meeting nor had any further information about it (MBN-9).

4.4.2.4 Church community

Only one comment was made that spoke directly of the Catholic community. During the staff meeting at St. Peter's one woman appeared to assume that, under normal circumstances, fellow Catholics should have much in common, but under contemporary South African conditions, even this community could be riven by class (PSR-1).

However, despite the paucity of comments on this subject, there is an abundance of evidence of belief in the superiority of Catholic education and way of life, and pride in being associated with the Church.

4.4.2.5 Wider community

Here the "wider community" is taken to be the equivalent of the "people living in one's neighbourhood".

At St. Peter's only four units reflected attitudes to this wider community. The four speakers would approve of people who cared for the weak and initiated efforts to improve the environment.

At Mofumahadi none of the African teachers reflected upon Christian involvement in the needs of the neighbourhood.

Of the three white nuns, one mentioned that members of the youth club were encouraged to contribute to the hungry. Another said that people looked upon Christ as the "white man's God". Her pupils needed to be strongly committed Christians "who witness to those who consider Christ and Christianity irrelevant" (MWN-2).

4.4.2.6 Total situation

Reference has previously been made to the person, or persons, apparently influenced by Freire. Hereafter, for the sake of brevity, this respondent/s will be referred to as "Ms X".

Ms X displayed profoundly Christian values. She unmistakably related her religious convictions to issues concerning society as a whole and believed that each individual Christian had a role to play in bringing about justice and peace nationwide.

4.4.2.7 Conclusion

From this Appendix it is abundantly clear that almost all the teachers in Kagiso were primarily concerned with the implications in the "narrower personal sphere" of the religious education of their pupils.

4.4.3 SUMMARY OF APPENDIX VIII: KAGISO TEACHERS' COMMENTS THAT REFLECT EXPERIENCE AND PERCEPTION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS.

4.4.3.1 Introduction

This summary of Appendix VIII, apart from this introduction, consists of seven parts. First a brief explanation is given of how the contemporary structure of South African society arose and why there is a problem of legitimacy. In the next five sections attention is focused on comments that reflect experience and perceptions of intergroup relations. These include the opinions offered by Ms X, those concerning black/white perceptions, history and religion, and those that reveal a sense of membership of a group that suffered relative material deprivation. The last part deals with opinions and practices that are significant in changing intergroup relations. Attention is drawn first to an observation made earlier, in the part on religion, that none of the teachers had called for greater contact with whites. There follows a discussion of language.

In this Appendix frequent reference is made to The

South African Society: Realities and Future Prospects by the Main Committee: HSRC investigation into Intergroup Relations (Marais, 1985). This report amounts to a compendium of recent research into intergroup relations in South Africa and so is highly pertinent.

4.4.3.2 Structure of South African society

The official ordering of group relations was initiated and institutionalized by whites. There resulted a hierarchical ordering of society which has a distinctly layered character. People who belong to a particular ethnic or colour group can simultaneously be described as a particular class. In such a society the potential for conflict is high

The majority of Africans reject the legitimacy of the current political dispensation.

4.4.3.3 Paulo Freire

Some of the opinions relating to intergroup relations appeared to be influenced by the ideas of Paulo Freire as expressed in the first two chapters of The pedagogy of the oppressed (1972). In VIII.2, this observation was examined and a certain dependence was demonstrated in relation to the St. Angela's Stimulus Paper; the ideas expressed by the first speaker at the St. Peter's staff meeting (PSN-1 to 6); and the opinions in the cluster IV.2.3.1.3 "Society and Schooling" expressed by one person in the course of an interview at St. Peter's (PIN-3 to 14). It was noted that

a single person could have been the source of all these opinions. (No one at Mofumahadi displayed an acquaintance with Paulo Freire.)

Here are presented only the conclusions drawn from the argument given in Appendix VIII.

Two important departures from Freire's thinking were noted. First, he speaks of the non-formal education of adults. The Kagiso person, or people, applied his ideas to the formal schooling of children. Secondly, Freire makes no reference to moral education. In contrast, the author of the Stimulus Paper and the first speaker at the St. Peter's staff meeting accorded it a central place.

Then it was asked to what extent, if at all, Freire's ideas were in keeping with those of the Magisterium.

Richard Shaull observes that

Freire operates on one basic assumption: that man's ontological vocation (as he calls it) is to be a subject who acts upon and transforms his world, and in so doing moves towards ever new possibilities of fuller and richer life individually and collectively (Freire, 1972, 12).

From an examination of Freire's concept of 'dialogue' it was decided that Shaull was correct.

That Freire's basic assumption had much in common with the Catholic concept of evangelization was demonstrated with reference to the Apostolic Exhortation Evangelii Nuntiandi (Paul VI, 1975, 204-242). However there are also profound differences. The essential difference between Freire's creed and that of the Church appears to lie in the proclamation of 'salvation in Jesus Christ' (ibid., 217).

This is a central tenet of the teaching of the Church. Freire appears to believe that man, unaided by God, is able to decide what is best for himself and to bring about the necessary changes in his condition. In the eyes of the Magisterium this difference is crucial.

Here, the central question is whether the opinions expressed by those informants at Kagiso who were influenced by Freire are compatible with those of the Magisterium. There is strong evidence to suggest that they are. These teachers are in no danger of attempting to reduce their mission "to the dimensions of a simply temporal project". There is no question of their wishing "to replace the proclamation of the kingdom by the proclamation of forms of human liberation". They would no doubt agree that their contribution to liberation, would, like that of the Church, be "incomplete if she neglects to proclaim salvation in Jesus Christ" (*ibid.*, 217).

Only those opinions that appear to have been affected by Freire's thinking were discussed up to this point. All of them were expressed by a teacher or teachers at St. Peter's, and the author of the Stimulus Paper who also may have been a teacher at this school. Apart from these opinions there is no evidence that teachers, at St. Peter's or at Mofumahadi, see a need to bring about structural changes in South African society in relation to their professional work.

4.4.3.4 Black/white perceptions

Apart from those apparently influenced by Freire, the Kagiso teachers do not speak of themselves primarily as members of an oppressed class.

Nonetheless they are manifestly aware of divisions based upon race and, in South Africa, class divisions and those based on race largely coincide.

At St. Peter's some teachers exhibited their perceptions of whites and white society and how they believe whites view Africans. Africans. Their sense, as Africans, of being excluded and the victims of white domination, is, according to the HSRC's Main Committee, fairly typical of, at least, urban Africans.

4.4.3.5 History

Of the five sections in which the focus is upon comments that reflect experience and perceptions of intergroup relations, the first two consisted of the opinions expressed by Ms X and those opinions concerning black/white relations. This third section bears upon remarks that were made about history as a school subject.

At St. Peter's a number of comments were made concerning the history taught at school. All these opinions related to intergroup relations and evidently several teachers found repugnant some aspects of the syllabus they felt required to teach. The author of the Stimulus Paper was also critical. In contrast the

observations on this subject recorded at Mofumahadi did not reflect this general concern. At this school only one white nun touched upon it and her remarks arose from a sense of not being able to arouse a love of history in her pupils.

In as far as the history syllabus in question does serve the purposes of a dominant group holding a particular ideology, the Magisterium, (in the person of one of its prominent members, Cardinal Ratzinger) would, with the author of the Stimulus Paper and the teachers of St. Peter's, object.

The Main Committee explains the relevance of history (and religion) to intergroup relations. They say that

Each community has a set of basic orientations explaining its *raison d'être*. These orientations offer an explanation of the individual's and the group's place among others, thereby presenting a frame of reference which, ..., must *inter alia* ensure the continuity of the group. In modern society this framework is formalized, to a greater or lesser extent - the two most obvious forms of this being history and religion. History relates man and group mainly on the basis of historiocultural facts, while religion does this on the basis of values (Marais, 1985, 65).

4.4.3.6 Religion

Some comments on religious matters, made at St. Peter's, had obvious bearing on intergroup relations. However, in view of the HSRC's finding that 84% of blacks "felt that religious movements should try to bring the different population groups together", most remarkable was the absence of any call at St. Peter's, or at Mofumahadi, for closer contact between races in connection with matters educational. Indeed, in the Stimulus Paper there was

evidence of resistance to the most common arrangement for interracial mixing in Catholic education, the "Open" school.

It was particularly surprising that at Mofumahadi no such call for racial mixing was heard. During term time the three white nuns who taught at this school commuted from their convent attached to the historically white school, St. Ursula's, in Krugersdorp. The pupils from these two schools apparently had no contact whatsoever. The Main Committee points out that, in respect of intergroup relations, this is very serious indeed. They believe that education at all levels should contribute towards intersocial, intercultural and intersport activities" (*ibid.*, 170).

As early as 1972 the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference pointed to the

Legislation and conventions (that) divide even those who are called to live and work with us, (SACBC, 11).

They said that, in collaboration with other Christians and all who were willing to work with them, Catholics must do everything in their power to stop this fragmentation of brotherhood and love.

Another aspect of religion that is relevant to intergroup relations is a Christian community's focus of concern and its range.

In Appendix VII it was made abundantly clear that the great majority of teachers were almost exclusively concerned with religion in relation to the "narrower personal sphere".

Shortly before his death in August 1980 Mandlenkosi Zwane, Bishop of Swaziland, attempted to answer the question "How do black Catholics respond to the South African situation?"

From personal observation he distinguished between five groups: the traditional; the coopted; the liberals; the angry rejectors and the concerned rejectors.

It would seem that most of the teachers at Kagiso can be categorised as "traditional" and are concerned to inculcate their values in their pupils. Bishop Zwane said that

Probably most black Catholics fall into this group. They are good cultic Christians: they attend church regularly and they obediently carry out their religious duties (1982, 115).

He also noted that

Catholics are often more dedicated to the ritualistic practices of their religion than to the quest for justice (*ibid.*, 118).

In contrast the person(s) influenced by Freire seems most akin to the "concerned rejectors" Bishop Zwane said that they "have a deep concern: they value and look for peace ... They ... are militant and angry" (*ibid.*, 117). He believed that more and more young people were joining this and the "angry rejectors" group. (The latter have totally rejected the God revealed in what they term 'white man's christianity'.) (See *ibid.*, 116.) Together these groups reflected "the movement in the whole subcontinent towards militancy against the white status quo" (*ibid.*, 117).

The concerned rejectors at Kagiso are much closer to the mind of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the authors of three major ecclesiastical documents, encyclicals Pacem in Terris (1963), Populorum Progressio (1967) and Justice in the world (1971), than their traditional colleagues (John XXIII, Paul VI, Synod of bishops, 1971).

4.4.3 7 Relative material deprivation

Up to this point four types of opinion that relate to intergroup relations have been noted. They include those apparently influenced by Freire, and those concerning black/white perceptions, history and religion. There were also a very large number of remarks that revealed a sense of membership of a group that suffered relative material deprivation.

Ms X, probably influenced by Freire, identified herself primarily as African and compared her situation, and that of Africans in general, with that of whites. Apart from Ms X, many people seemed, in this context, to view themselves as teachers in a Catholic school whose reference group consisted of colleagues in state schools. Some remarks revealed neither identification nor reference group.

At St. Peter's there were a number of complaints about the poor condition of the plant. At both schools the teachers complained about the absence of equipment and the low salaries they were paid.

4.4.3.8. Changing intergroup relations

Finally attention is drawn to opinions and practices significant in changing group relations.

Earlier it was noted that none of the Kagiso teachers called for closer contact with whites. This is significant in relation to the possibility of changing racial attitudes.

The Main Committee concluded that

The primary condition for contact to result in more positive attitudes is that such contact must occur spontaneously, informally, between people of equal status and on a friendly basis. . . . it must be stressed that there is very little of this type of contact in South Africa today (Marais, 1985, 90-91).

In neither school was there any evidence that anyone hoped to facilitate such contact between adults or children of different races.

The school can also contribute to better group relations by teaching languages effectively. Black urban children need to learn English and Afrikaans formally.

This subject was raised only at Mofumahadi. There, most importantly, it was claimed that the younger teachers spoke poor English in the classroom and frequently lapsed into Tswana.

It was noted that if the pupils did not learn to communicate effectively in one of the official languages they would not only be personally disadvantaged, their capacity to act as mediators between the races would be reduced.

4.4.4 DISCUSSION

In 1983 the teachers in Kagiso seem to have held in common, at least in essentials, a broadly Catholic outlook on life. They also appeared to agree that a central part of their professional task was to initiate their pupils into the beliefs and way of life of the Church.

Barrow says that

socialization is,, the name given to the process of influence and habituation that comes to bear on people as they grow up within a community (1981, 54).

Here it is assumed that, in the course of socialization, the child learns the religious convictions and moral code of his primary group (in Cooley's sense) and his behaviour is moulded to conform with them.

In relation to the school's role in socialization Barrow declares that

There cannot be a question of anyone or any group or agency opting out of its contribution towards socialising, for it is defined in terms of all the agencies there are; one is socialised as a result of the impact one's family, one's neighbourhood, one's peer group and, of course, one's schooling. The only question can be whether an agency like the school should take thought for the matter or let its contribution be haphazard. Common sense implacably and forthrightly replies that, since socialisation is going to take place and is a crucial aspect of society, it would be best for those who will inevitably play a major part in it, such as schools, to put a lot of thought into it (1981, 54-55).

It is evident from what was said that the teachers at Kagiso had given much thought to at least some aspects of socialization.

They did not distinguish between their religious

convictions, morality and cultic practice (such as attendance at mass on Sundays). Morality and cultic practices evidently flowed from religious conviction. Some people overtly linked their moral positions with their faith. For example, in PSN-10 to 14 and PIN-40, love of God is expressly linked with love of neighbour. This is, of course, a basic Christian tenet.

In this discussion no attempt is made to distinguish between the inculcation of religious beliefs, morality and the encouragement of cultic practices.

The teachers were not questioned about their religious affiliations but it might have been expected that most, if not all, were Catholics. It emerged that some were not. One older teacher remarked that, in the hard times they were experiencing, Catholic schools were employing non Catholic teachers (MBL-14). It is notable that their identity did not emerge from the interviews.

This suggests that although some members of staff may not have been Catholics, they shared with their Catholic colleagues, in large measure, a common view of life.

A unity of vision, at any rate in essentials, is seen as of vital importance in the past decade's most authoritative official international Catholic statement on education. This is The Catholic School (1977) by Cardinal Garrone of the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education. He maintains that

Evangelisation is,, the mission of the Church; that is, she must proclaim the good news

of salvation to all, generate new creatures in Christ through Baptism, and train them to live knowingly as children of God (*ibid.*, 6).

In order to provide this training she, among other things,

establishes her own schools because she considers them as a privileged means of promoting the formation of the whole man, since the school is a centre in which a specific concept of the world, of man, and of history is developed and conveyed (*ibid.*, 7).

The school has to review its entire programme of formation, both its content and the methods used, in the light of that vision of the reality from which it draws its inspiration and on which it depends.

Either implicit or explicit reference to a determined attitude to life (*Weltanschauung*) is unavoidable in education because it comes into every decision that is made. It is, therefore, essential,, that each member of the school community, albeit with differing degrees of awareness, adopts a common vision,, based on adherence to a scale of values in which he believes (*ibid.*, 13).

Without exception the teachers appeared to agree that a central part of their professional task was to initiate their pupils into the beliefs and practices of the Catholic church. No caveats were expressed.

Barrow, arguing from a perspective very different from that of the ecclesiastical statement quoted above, would regard the action implied in the previous paragraph not as education but as indoctrination. He says that

It follows directly from the nature of religious discourse that, if schools attempt to initiate children into a particular religion, if, that is to say, they take particular steps with the intention of committing children to a set of beliefs, they are guilty of indoctrination. For we have defined indoctrination as the intentional implanting of belief so that it will stick, by

non-rational means (1981, 150).

Perhaps with strictures of this nature in mind, Konstant argues that Catholic education

proceeds not by indoctrination, for it does not seek to override the individual conscience nor to impose a way of thinking which is not freely accepted. It proceeds rather by induction into a way of life and relies principally, through parents, teachers and others, on developing relationships of love and understanding (1981, 121).

Barrow makes it clear that the nub of the matter lies with the teachers' intentions. In Kagiso the issue of indoctrination was not raised. However some people's disappointment in their ex-pupils' failure to attend Sunday mass regularly suggests that these teachers saw, as one index of their professional success, the continuing performance of religious observance by their former charges. If so then Barrow would probably find them guilty of indoctrination.

However Barrow does not a priori exclude religion from schools. He believes that

It is entirely in order to study religions, perhaps historically or merely with a view to learning more about them, (1981, 150).

He distinguishes between "teaching religion" and "teaching about religion" (*ibid.*, 151).

Hirst and Peters would support the inclusion of religious education in the school curriculum. (N.B. Their conception of education relates only to knowledge and understanding.) One of the seven forms of knowledge that they identify concerns the religious domain.

They assert that

Religious claims in their traditional forms certainly make use of concepts which, it is now maintained, are irreducible in character. Whether or not there are objective grounds for what is asserted is again a matter on which much more has yet to be said. The case would certainly seem to be one that cannot be simply dismissed (1970, 64).

They also argue that

The radical independence which each of these modes has in relation to the others, is only one aspect of the situation. What is also important is the pattern of relationships between them (*ibid.*, 65).

Certain knowledge and understanding in one domain may be necessary to that in another. For example "some religious claims presuppose historical truths, whilst others demand moral understanding" (*ibid.*, 65).

They note that these "fundamental structural relations" have numerous implications for the choice of educational objectives (*ibid.*, 66). If their conclusions are correct then a decision not to educate a person in one form of knowledge would not only limit his development in relation to it alone, but also to other forms. This appears to imply the inclusion of religious education, (education in the sense used by Hirst and Peters), particularly in the primary school.

So, given that the Kagiso teachers shared, in general, a common Catholic outlook, their ideas on intergroup relations will now be examined in light of opinions expressed in The South African society: realities and future prospects (Marais, 1985).

From the point of view of intergroup relations the HSRC Main Committee believes that problems arise when the concerns of any group are concentrated too narrowly on any part of the spectrum ranging from "narrower personal sphere" to the "total situation" (*ibid.*, 68). Presumably in this instance the danger is that the teachers would not be motivated to contribute to the improvement of South Africa's dramatically bad intergroup relations.

In Kagiso there is considerable evidence to suggest that this fear is well founded. Only Ms X mentioned this aspect of socialization and even she did not call for closer contact between the people connected to the Kagiso schools and those of another race.

The HSRC Main Committee notes that

it is common knowledge that contact between children of different groups just does not occur in practice. In fact, the (State's) education policy explicitly discourages such contact (*ibid.*, 81).

As a consequence the stereotypes that children develop are not based upon first hand experience.

Given the appropriate circumstances, they believe that if children (and teachers, and parents,) of different races met more frequently their attitudes to one another would improve. They claim that

For the sake of sound intergroup relations, education at all levels should contribute towards intersocial, intercultural and intersport activities (*ibid.*, 170).

In 4.4.3.6 it was noted that the teachers in Kagiso conveyed no wish for their pupils to have the opportunity to

meet their white peers. This is contrary to the directives of the SACBC.

Also in 4.4.3.6 it was suggested that the great majority of these teachers were akin to Bishop Zwane's "traditional" group whereas only Ms X was more like the "concerned rejectors". Their different attitudes and behaviour may stem from their having adopted (albeit unconsciously) different models of the church. Avery Dulles, the eminent American Jesuit ecclesialogist, has identified five such models. In each of these the church is regarded as primarily (respectively) "Institution", "Mystical Communion", "Sacrament", "Herald" and "Servant" (1976). It would seem that the teachers who were traditional Catholics had adopted an institutional model of the church whereas, in contrast, Ms X, the concerned objector, had adopted a servant model.

Here, Dulles' institutional model will be examined first and an assessment will be made of the degree to which the majority of the Kagiso teachers held this image of the church. Then the same procedure will be followed with regard to Ms X and the servant model.

Dulles' ideas are described in some detail not only because they are important to this discussion but also because they form the basis of certain argument presented in, for example, 7.2.1.

In Appendix VII: The opinions of Kagiso teachers that relate to religious conviction, a number of generalisations are made and are supported by reference to the opinions

recounted in Appendix IV. Here some of these generalisations are repeated without further justification.

At the beginning of this description of the concept of the institutional model a possible misconception should be averted. That which Dulles refers to as the institutional vision of the Church "is a view that defines the Church primarily in terms of its visible structures" (1976, 31). This is not the same as an acceptance of the institutional element in the Church. Most of those who do not hold the institutional model would acknowledge that the Church could not perform its mission without some stable organisational features.

In order to clarify this model it is helpful to explain how this theory would conceive of the bonds that unify the Church, its beneficiaries and the nature of the benefits it bestows. A full account is not attempted. Only those aspects that pertain to the Kagiso teachers' attitudes, or are required for the purposes of explanation, are included.

People who accept an institutional model in its most rigid and extreme form limit membership of the Church to those who

profess the approved doctrines, communicate in legitimate sacraments, and who subject themselves to the duly appointed pastors (ibid., 37).

The beneficiaries of this Church are its own members.

The Church is the school that instructs them regarding the truths they need to know for the sake of their eternal salvation. It is the refectory where they are nourished from the

life-giving streams of grace, which flows especially through the sacraments (*ibid.*, 38).

This is not to imply "it is indifferent regarding the eternal destiny of the rest of men". On the contrary, it

gives strong support to the missionary effort by which the Church goes out to non members. But it seeks to save souls precisely by bringing them into the institution. For the proverbial old-style missionary - who is not a totally mythical figure - success is statistically measurable: How many baptisms have been performed, how many persons have entered the Church, how many continue to come regularly to Church and receive the sacraments? (*ibid.*, 38, 39).

From all this it is clear what the Church does for its beneficiaries: It gives them eternal life.

They have only to be docile and obedient, and to rely on the ministrations of the church (*ibid.*, 38).

If the greater proportion of Kagiso teachers embraced this model then their preoccupation with Sunday observance becomes more intelligible. It suggests that they fear that their pupils will abandon the Church which is likened to the

boat of Peter, which carries the faithful to the farther shore of heaven, provided they remain on board (*ibid.*, 38).

If others in Kagiso share this outlook it is understandable that they were tempted to think that no more was required of them than mere attendance at mass and the reception of Communion (PSN-11 and 14, PIN-39 to 40).

No wonder that the author of the Stimulus Paper complains scornfully that "sacraments consumerism" was being advocated (Appendix V,3).

The Kagiso teachers also displayed some other attitudes that might be expected from people who hold the

institutional model of the Church.

Characteristic is a

hierarchical conception of authority. The Church is not conceived as a democratic or representative society, but as one in which the fullness of power is concentrated in the hands of a ruling class that perpetuates itself by cooption (Dulles, 1976, 35).

The clergy, especially the higher clergy, are seen as "the source of all power and initiative". At the base "the faithful people play a passive role and seem to have a lower position in the Church" (*ibid.*, 36).

In other words, the clergy are seen as benefactors bestowing good things upon helpless parishioners.

In Kagiso the only benefactors mentioned were priests or nuns and there were indications of a desire for a continuing dependence upon them.

For example, two previous parish priests were spoken of with approval by an elderly teacher at St. Peter's. They had taken an active interest in the school. One had wanted to know how many of the pupils were Catholics and who had been to confession and had received Communion. More priests of this type were wanted. The Bishop too should come to see for himself what was happening in the township (PIN-43)

Another person said that "The Bishop wanted the people to build their own schools but the people did not have the money. The Bishops had to provide" (PIL-2).

At Mofumahadi two women, approaching retirement spoke with great appreciation of Ursuline nuns. The

headmistress had cared for them when they had been in financial straits. "She had been like a mother to them" (MBL-34).

They agreed that

They had to thank the Ursulines for what they were. These sisters had given them the correct line. Their husbands and their children had also been brought up by the Ursulines.

They needed sisters in these (Catholic high) schools to bring up nice girls who would go on to training college and later return to teach in Catholic schools (MBN-66).

Also characteristic of people that embrace the institutional model is "a strong sense of corporate identity" (Dulles, 1976, 39). In Kagiso there was abundant evidence of this.

However the Kagiso teachers differed in one respect from the typical proponents of this model. There was very little suggestion that these teachers hoped to make converts. Only two people, and in the mildest possible way, suggested that this was desirable (PIN-47).

In conclusion it should be pointed out that this model has a number of serious defects. Among the most serious is that it "has a comparatively meagre basis in scripture and in early Church tradition" (Dulles, 1976, 40). Biblical sources place much more emphasis on the prophetic, i.e. the discernment and proclamation, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, of God's will in the crisis of their own days (Richardson, 1957, 179)

Jesus was highly critical of the institutional religion of his day, and he based his authority not on any

institutional appointment or office but on the Spirit by which he spoke. Paul's ecclesiology gives a major place to nonofficial charisms. "(His) models of the Church tend to be more organic, more communitarian, more mystical" (Dulles, 1976, 40).

The institutional model was dominant in the Roman Catholic Church from 1600 for approximately 350 years. Since 1940 other models have vied for supremacy (*ibid.*, 28).

Here it is of note that

Since Vatican II the Servant model has become popular because it satisfies a certain hunger for involvement in the making of a better world - a hunger that, although specifically Christian in motivation, establishes solidarity between the Church and the whole human family (*ibid.*, 28).

The thinking of Teilhard de Chardin and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, among others, prepared the way for this new secular thrust (*ibid.*, 87). (".... secular, because the Church takes the world as a properly theological locus, and seeks to discern the signs of the times". See *ibid.*, 86.)

This model was "suggested in some of the later documents of Vatican II, notably The Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et spes)" (*ibid.*, 27).

In order to obtain a clear picture of the institutional model it was found helpful to see how the bonds that unified the Church were conceived, who its beneficiaries were, and to explore the nature of the benefits bestowed. The same procedure is followed here.

In Kagiso, Ms X i.e. the concerned rejector, appears to subscribe to the servant model of the church. Evidence for this supposition will be juxtaposed with the description of this model.

According to the secular ecclesiologists the bonds that unite members of the Church

are not so much the traditional bonds of doctrine, but rather the sense of mutual brotherhood that springs up among those who join in Christian service towards the world (ibid., 90-91).

.... some assert that these bonds cut through the traditional denominational divisions and form a new communion among those who have been ecclesiastically estranged from one another (ibid., 91).

Ms X certainly denied the legitimacy of denominational divisions. In PIN-1 she is recorded as having stated emphatically that "she did not want to differentiate between 'Catholic' and 'Christian'". Christ ordered the apostles to baptize "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. He did not order them to baptize Catholics or Anglicans or anything else".

According to Dulles, those who hold the servant model feel that the beneficiaries

are not exclusively, or even primarily, the members of the Church itself. Rather they are those brothers and sisters the world over, who hear from the Church a word of comfort or encouragement, or who obtain from the Church a respectful hearing, or who receive from it some material help in their hour of need.

The Church's mission, in the perspective of this theology, is not primarily to gain new recruits for its own ranks, but rather to be of help to all men, wherever they are (ibid., 91).

Like Freire, Ms X's main thrust is to enable learners to contribute towards the establishment of a just society. She criticises the schooling provided for black children on the grounds that it "does not produce a student who will have (the) analytic tools that will be of value to society" (Appendix V.2). Further, in the St. Angela's Stimulus Paper, in the section titled "Proposals for a better future education", she states that she wants schooling that will produce "a Critical Mind to improve society" and "A motivation to learn and in order to contribute in society and to prepare for a new society" (*ibid.*, 5). These are the only proposals that she makes that refer to desired pupil characteristics. This gives them added prominence.

However, unlike Freire, the just society that Ms X envisages is the embodiment of Christian values. She insists

that children needed, above all else, to be given Christian values. If, throughout society, good values were inculcated in homes, schools and churches, a society would be built that would be quite different from the (unjust) contemporary one. Everything stemmed from Christian values. If true values were held everything would be changed immediately (PIN-13). (See also PIN-2 and -9.)

This vision of a society in which everyone lives wholly according to the Gospel values is tantamount to a vision of the ultimate coming of the Kingdom of God.

In the same way as Dulles offers a critique of the institutional model of the Church he offers one of the servant model.

In favour of this model Dulles says that

it can be convincingly argued that the modern world very much needs something the Church alone can give: faith in Christ, hope in the ultimate coming of God's Kingdom, and commitment to the values of peace, justice, and human brotherhood, all of which are dominant biblical themes (ibid., 91, 92).

The Church's service can also include

prophetic criticism of social institutions, and thus help to transform human society into the image of the promised Kingdom.

However,

One serious objection to this theory is its lack of any direct biblical foundation (ibid., 92).

For the contemporary reader it is surprising to see how little the New Testament makes of the Church's responsibility toward the temporal order (ibid., 94).

However there is a certain "indirect foundation" in the Old Testament. "The so-called Servant Songs in Isaiah are applicable to the Church as well as to Christ" (ibid., 93).

Dulles warns that

the concept of service must be carefully nuanced so as to keep alive the distinctive mission and identity of the Church (ibid., 95).

The notion of the Kingdom of God which is rightly used by secular theologians to point up the dimension of social responsibility, should not be separated from the preaching of Jesus as Lord. The servant notion of the Kingdom, . . . , goes astray if it seeks to set itself up in opposition to the kerygmatic (ibid., 96).

(Kerygma, as used by theologians, has a richer meaning than can be conveyed by 'proclamation' or any similar word in English.)

It implies, not just the conveying of a message in word, but includes the idea that the act and the person conveying it are also, in their own way, part of the message. The supreme form of kerygma is in the liturgy of the Eucharist with its combination in the sacramental event of prayer,

scripture reading, exhortations and homily (Konstant, 1981, 123). (Emphasis in the original.)

The institutional and servant models can be seen to differ in a variety of fundamental respects. How does one evaluate and reconcile them?

To Dulles it is self evident that each model has its uses and limitations (1976, 129).

He says

we must presume that the basic assertions implied in each of our five ecclesiological types are valid. Each brings out certain important and necessary points. The institutional model makes it clear that the Church must be a structured community and that it must remain the kind of community Christ instituted.

The servant or "diaconal" model

points up the urgency of making the Church contribute to the transformation of the secular life of man, and of impregnating human society as a whole with the values of the Kingdom of God.

On the other hand the five models postulated also, to some extent, come into conflict with each other.

Taken in isolation, each of the ecclesiological types could lead to serious imbalances and distortions (*ibid.*, 183).

In view of this

Our method must be to harmonize the models in such a way that their differences become complementary rather than mutually repugnant. In order to do so, we shall have to criticize each of the models in the light of the others. In this way it may be possible to gain an understanding of the Church that transcends the limitations of any given model (*ibid.*, 185).

However in relation to the institutional model, he modifies this opinion somewhat. He says that it "cannot properly be taken as primary".

Without calling into question the value and importance of institutions, one may feel that this value does not properly appear unless it can be seen that the structure effectively helps to make the Church a community of grace, a sacrament of Christ, a herald of salvation, and a servant of mankind (*ibid.*, 187).

In Kagiso the acceptance by the majority of teachers of the institutional model does indeed seem to have led to a distortion of the Christian message.

Further their outlook may well be shared by their fellow parishioners. In general, schools 'reflect very closely the concepts and values of their surrounding communities' (Morrish, 1976, 164).

However South African society is undoubtedly in a period of rapid social change. Between 1983 and 1986 Kagiso was the scene of violence and racial conflict unprecedented in its history. During the second State of Emergency (1986), three nuns from the convent of the Companions of St. Angela adjacent to the Kagiso schools were detained without trial by the police (*The Star*, 30 July 1986). They included two sisters who had taught in these schools in 1983 and so had been subjects of this study. It is likely that, in response to the traumatic experiences of the Kagiso community, the teachers' image of the Church will change.

Konstant's Study Group say that the models of the Church discussed here

embody its search for understanding of its own life and mission. Underlying this search is the recognition of the guiding and formative influence of the Holy Spirit.

.... it is always understood that the inner life of the Church and the work of the Church in the world depend upon the gift of the Spirit, who 'will lead you to the complete truth'. (Jn. 16:13).

.... there is a presence and influence of the Holy Spirit both in the developments in the Church and in the emergence of different models as ways by which the Church grows in the understanding of herself and her mission in response to the needs of the time (Constant, 1981, 84).

The growth of the whole Church in its self-understanding and in its response to the needs of the time is not so much the work of experts and officials as it is the result of the readiness of ordinary Christians to learn, reflect and pray about contemporary needs and problems (*ibid.*, 85).

This is implied in Dulles' assertion that

In order to win acceptance, the images must resonate with the experience of the faithful. If they do so resonate, this is proof that there is some isomorphism between what the image depicts and the spiritual reality with which the faithful are in existential contact. Religious experience, then, provides a vital key for the evaluation and interpretation of symbols (1976, 18 to 19).

He notes that

In terms of sociological theory, one may say that the form of the Church is being constantly modified by the way in which the members of the Church externalize their own experience and in so doing transform the Church to which they already belong. With the myriad possibilities left open by scripture and tradition, the Church in every generation has to exercise options. It becomes what its leaders and its people choose to make of it. The fact that the Church of a certain century may have been primarily an institution does not prevent the Church in another generation from being more conspicuously a community of grace, a herald, a sacrament, or a servant (1976, 187 and 188).

In times of rapid cultural change,, a crisis of images is to be expected. Many traditional images lose their former hold on people, while the

new images have not yet had time to gain their full power (ibid., 19).

Under the circumstances the Catholic community in Kagiso may well move towards the adoption of a servant model of the Church.

It should be noted here that Ms X did not fall into the extremist trap.

Dulles claims that

Some radical proponents of the secular ecclesiology so emphasize the importance of peace, justice and prosperity in this life that they lead one to question whether there is any authentic hope for persons to whom these goals are unattainable (ibid., 95).

At Kagiso no hint of such misapprehension is evident.

Previously, attention was drawn to Barrow's strongly held conviction that, because of the nature of religious discourse, it is anti-educational to prevail upon children to internalise a particular faith (1981, 150). However, having concluded that morality and religion are logically distinct, he advocates moral training in primary schools.

He says that

In the sphere of moral upbringing training is important both for its own sake and as a means to moral education. Socialization demands a degree of moral training, which is to say familiarising children with the moral demands and expectations of society and habituating them to various practices, and moral education would be impossible with people who had no moral sense and no moral beliefs or attitudes in the first place (ibid., 171).

He discerns two aspects of moral education both of which "are essential to the educated moral mind" (ibid.,

175). Teachers must endeavour to

provide philosophical understanding of the moral sphere and practical appreciation of the moral dimensions to particular situations (ibid., 176).

It is likely that a philosophical understanding of the moral sphere would be beyond all but very exceptional primary school children and so this subject need not detain us at any length here.

However, the programme based on McPhail's work, many of the North American "values clarification" exercises, and Kohlberg's proposals for stimulating moral development, are all concerned with the second feature (ibid., 175 and Kohlberg, 1974, 10).

It should be noted that, in The logic of education, Hirst and Peters dwell at some length on Kohlberg's theories. They view them as an example of a conception of mental development as a

progression along a public mode of experience whose stages can be charted by reference to the form of experience as distinct from its particular content (Hirst and Peters, 1970, 46 to 48).

When addressing an American national Catholic education conference in 1974, Kohlberg argued that

The Natural Law perspective holds that there are universal principles of justice acknowledged everywhere. Justice is a continuing preoccupation of the child. The development of the notion of justice in children has been found to follow six stages, the order of which is constant across different societies. The different stages have been found to be associated with different kinds of behaviour in moral situations (1974, 5).

Given the existence of moral stages, we hold that they provide a universal or non-relative and non-arbitrary approach to moral education. They

define the aim of moral education as that of stimulating movement to the next stage of moral development. As we have begun to develop the process for doing this, it rests on having students discuss moral dilemmas in such a way that they confront the limits of their reasoning and that of their fellow students. One important stimulus to moral development is what we call cognitive conflict, the sense of uncertainty which arises when one's easy judgements lead to contradiction or uncertainty when facing decisions. A second stimulus is exposure to the next stage of reasoning above one's own. We have found that students understand all stages of reasoning below their own, but reject them. They often understand the next stage up, though never more than one stage up. They prefer and will assimilate reasoning at the highest stage they understand. We rely, then, on the existence of students at different stages in the same classroom, and engage in a Socratic process of discussion and disagreement among the students (*ibid.*, 9).

In Kohlberg's first two stages a "preconventional" mode of problem solving is used. This is typical of pre-adolescent children. In late pre-adolescence the conventional mode of the third and fourth stages becomes dominant. The "post-conventional", or "principled" level first appears in adolescence (Kohlberg and Scharf, 1972, 3).

This suggests that part of the process recommended by Kohlberg could be used during the primary school years.

(*Inter alia* it should be noted that he claims that there is evidence that the "development of religious faith follows a parallel sequence of stages". See 1974, 5.)

Craig Dykstra, in Vision and character: A Christian educator's alternative to Kohlberg (1981), concedes that Kohlberg has discovered four of what Dykstra refers to as stages in the development of social reasoning". (Dykstra claims that "Psychologists are unable to get replications of

Kohlberg's data on Stage 5, and Stage 6 has dropped out of Kohlberg's own scoring manual".)

Dykstra believes that these stages in the development of social reasoning chart

The ability to adjudicate explicit claims in situations of social conflict. The arenas of our lives where such conflicts most often arise are political or social policy situations.

(More recently Kohlberg has called the type of education he advocates "civic education". See Dykstra, 1981, 28.)

Although Kohlberg's work has dominated the field of development of moral thought and judgement for twenty years, (Times Educational Supplement, 20 June 1986), the teachers in Kagiso gave no indication of familiarity with his ideas. This is noteworthy in view of their concern with morality and the particular importance of social justice to at least one person.

Carol Gilligan's work appeared equally unknown.

However, one woman, who elsewhere emphasized the importance of justice, expressed opinions that exemplified a reference for a feminine, as opposed to a masculine, mode of thinking and set of values, as identified by Gilligan (PIN-15 TO 17).

Gilligan points out that Kohlberg's theories are based empirically on a study of eighty-four boys whose development (he) has followed for a period of over twenty years (1982, 18).

However, she says

when one begins with the study of women and derives developmental constructs from their lives, the outline of a moral conception different from that described by Freud, Piaget or Kohlberg begins

to emerge and informs a different description of development. In this conception, the moral problem arises from conflicting responsibilities rather than from competing rights and requires for its resolution a mode of thinking that is contextual and narrative rather than formal and abstract. This conception of morality as concerned with the activity of care centres moral development around the understanding of responsibility and relationships, just as the conception of morality as fairness centres moral development to the understanding of rights and rules (*ibid.*, 19).

These differences arise from early life experiences and gender identity. Both boys and girls, as small children, are generally parented by a woman.

For boys and men, separation and individuation are critically tied to gender identity since separation from the mother is essential for the development of masculinity. For girls and women, issues of femininity or feminine identity do not depend on the achievement of separation from the mother or on the progress of individuation.

As a result, in general,

males tend to have difficulties with relationships, while females tend to have problems with individuation (*ibid.*, 8).

A boy's experience

of inequality and interconnection, inherent in the relation of parent and child, ... give(s) rise to the ethics of justice

In contrast

care, the ideals of human relationship - the vision that self and others will be treated as of equal worth, arise from a girl's experience of life (*ibid.*, 62).

This, in part, accounts for differences in preferred modes of thinking and value systems.

... the morality of rights differs from the morality of responsibility in its emphasis on separation rather than connection, in its consideration of the individual rather than the

relationship as primary, (*ibid.*, 19).

The teacher from Kagiso whose thinking appeared typically feminine expressed a strong dislike of competition in the classroom based upon a dislike of separation. She said that children were encouraged to gain recognition by earning higher marks. In practice greater innate ability was rewarded. Clever pupils were led to feel superior to slower classmates. In contrast she would prefer that the children felt themselves to be of equal worth and motivated only by a "desire to serve the people of God better". This suggests that connection is valued above separation. However she does not pursue her thinking to its logical conclusion. She does not entirely eschew prizes (PIL-15 to 17).

Dykstra distinguishes between two approaches to moral philosophy: "juridical ethics" and "visional ethics".

Kohlberg's work is based on the former in which the focus is upon

making judgements about the rightness and wrongness of particular acts as a judge in a law court might do.

The result is a theory of moral development that finds little room for any substantial religious connection

In contrast, the purpose of Dykstra's book is to explore the implications of visional ethics on religious education (1981, 1 to 3).

The principal contemporary thinker to articulate the centrality of vision in the moral life is the Oxford moral philosopher and novelist, Iris Murdoch (*ibid.*, 144).

She indicates that a person's morality is an ongoing quality of life rather than a series of disjointed responses to isolated situations. When considering someone's morality we consider

their total vision of life (their) configurations of thought which show continually in their reactions and conversation. These things, which may be overtly and comprehensively displayed or inwardly elaborated and guessed at, constitute what, making different points in two metaphors, one may call the texture of a man's being or the nature of his personal vision.

We differ not only because we select different objects out of the same world but because we see different worlds (Murdoch, 1966, 202).

There are people whose fundamental moral belief is that we all live in the same empirical and rationally comprehensible world and that morality is the adoption of universal and openly defensible rules of conduct. There are other people whose fundamental belief is that we live in a world whose mystery transcends us and that morality is the exploration of that mystery in so far as it concerns each individual (*ibid.*, 208).

According to Dykstra,

These differences lie at the level of fundamental assumptions. They are not resolvable by abstract argument. Which assumptions one makes depends on the shape of one's own experience. The choice between them is a moral, even religious, choice (1981, 34).

James McClendon is critical of "decisionism", ("The tendency in moral philosophy to concentrate solely on dilemmas, decisions, and actions") (Dykstra, 1981, 22).

In McClendon's opinion decision and action are often a more or less spontaneous response to what is perceived rather than a result of conscious rational deliberation.

He claims that Scripture offers some support for this contention.

Jesus, according to Matthew's judgement-parable of the sheep and the goats, tells his hearers that the actions by which their final destiny is judged are not the result of their deliberate choices, but are instead ones in which they act unknowingly, and yet showed themselves for what they truly were: it is "unconscious" acts of charity and mercy (or their absence) which are the true harbingers of our last estate, these and not our informed 'decisions'. (Matthew 25: 31-45) (See McClendon, 1974, 19.)

It would seem that Konstant and his Study Group apply a visional view of ethics to Catholic education. They claim that it is distinctive because it brings into all human activities "a special perspective which is derived from communion with Christ" (Konstant, 1981, 121).

In Kagiso there was no mention of visional ethics but there is little doubt that many, if not all, of the teachers subscribed in practice to such a position. For example, at St. Peter's one teacher said that "Catholic teachers were more responsible (than teachers in community schools) because they knew that they represented God and that they were sent to look after the little ones. This was why these teachers continued to 'follow' (be concerned with the progress of) the children even after they had left St. Peter's" (PIN-34). At Mofumahadi, two elderly women, both in financial straits, said that they "did not seek better paid posts. They were Catholics. They were offering themselves, sacrificing" (MBL-29).

This pair's explanation exemplifies that which Konstant describes as "one of the central messages of the Gospel" i.e.

that man must learn to die in order to discover

life. This, however, does not involve a narrow preoccupation with death. The principle - expressed by Christ as taking up one's cross daily - must also be applied to daily living. It is realised in the response of the Christian to suffering and in the generosity and unselfishness with which he responds to the demands of life in his everyday endeavours. The message of Christianity brings its own special vision of death in life and life in death (1981, 118).

Warnock is in sympathy with Murdoch's position vis a vis the assessment of an individual's morality. Warnock says that

behaving well, though it doubtless includes the reaching of good decisions at particular times and on specific occasions, does not consist in this alone. For we may hold that even a good decision needs something else before it can certainly be properly so described. It needs, in Aristotle's words, to arise out of a 'steady and unalterable state of character' (1977, 132).

She believes that one learns by experience what it is to be morally good. Further, people both judge and admire what is good simultaneously. Therefore "it follows that this part of morality must be taught to children by example" (ibid., 135).

Translated into Christian terms, Konstant's Study Group express very similar sentiments.

They

would stress particularly the need for teachers to aim to discover in their own lives a genuine integration between faith and life. If their pupils are to commit themselves to a 'free adherence to God in faith', they must first be able to see this present in others (1981, 141).

Warnock continues by saying that teachers must manifestly want to be moral and

you cannot be committed to morality without holding that some things are right and others

wrong (1977, 140).

Of course teachers may be wrong in their opinions.

Within limits, Warnock does not take this very seriously

Children will learn soon enough that there is more than one view of the rights and wants of other people. What we want is that they should be resolute in defending their own moral position. They will not learn to do this if they have never experienced anyone who does whole-heartedly defend what he believes to be right (*ibid.*, 141). (Emphasis in the original.)

The teachers in Kagiso gave abundant evidence of having firm convictions concerning right and wrong.

It also seems that most of them were largely in agreement. Indeed there was a disturbing lack of diversity of opinion about such matters. Apart from Ms X only two people questioned the values inculcated in the Kagiso schools. This pair, interviewed together, queried the achievements of past pupils. Some were highly qualified but they used their qualifications for their own purposes, not for the benefit of the community (PIN-29). They also drew attention to the ill effects of formalism. Some teachers, they said, led children to think that their sins would be forgiven if they were merely present at mass on Sunday and that it was a mortal sin not to be there (PIN-39 to 40).

Warnock also says that only if a teacher exercises virtues such as fairness, honesty and generosity in the classroom is he "in a position to reproach his pupils for failing to do so" (1977, 135).

A similar position was evinced independently by a young

woman and an older person, at Mofumahadi. They both felt that teachers could not censure children for not attending mass on Sunday if they did not do so themselves (MBN-46 and 52).

(However Warnock would be at pains to point out to children that failure to attend mass on Sunday is more like breaking a rule than immoral behaviour. She feels it to be of the "greatest importance" that children distinguish between these two types of transgression. See 1977, 138. The Kagiso teachers did not make such distinctions.)

Learning by experience (or by example) is, of course, but one of the effects of the "hidden curriculum" which Warnock believes may be more important than overt teaching in the area of moral education (*ibid.*, 130).

Konstant uses the term to cover the

ethos of a school and the influences, apart from the explicit curriculum, which affect pupils and help form their attitudes (1981, 26).

He wonders whether the ethos required is best described in the phrase "community of faith" (*ibid.*, 4). Implicit in this suggestion is the idea that

the most favourable circumstances which enable and facilitate an individual's growth in faith, arise when he belongs to a group of people (a family, a parish or school, for example) who share that faith and embody it in their way of life (*ibid.*, 7).

This growth depends on the person's developing relationships of love and understanding. It is these relationships which lie at the heart of the process, for they embody through Christ in the Church the saving and healing love of God (*ibid.*, 121).

In relation to Catholic schools

The desired hidden curriculum is effective insofar as the institution itself measures up to the qualities of a Christian community (*ibid.*, 141).

This focus on community is consistent with a model of the Church in which it is seen pre-eminently as a mystical communion. This view

harmonizes with several biblical images, - most notably with two images that have figured prominently in modern Catholic ecclesiology,: Those of the Body of Christ and the People of God (Dulles, 1976, 46).

The latter is the principal paradigm of the Church in the documents of Vatican II (*ibid.*, 48).

In this model

The primary factor that binds members of the Church to each other is the reconciling grace of Christ (*ibid.*, 53).

It should be noted, however, that there is

a certain tension between the Church as a network of friendly interpersonal relationships and the Church as a mystical communion of grace (*ibid.*, 56).

It is not evident that the two necessarily go together and most Christians do not experience their family, Catholic school and parish as several parts of the same "primary group" in Cooley's sense (*ibid.*, 43).

Of course the hidden curriculum operates whether or not anyone is aware of its functions.

Barrow believes that most socialization occurs by this means which "benefits from, indeed trades upon, ... institutional setting" (1981, 117).

As Wasserman points out, the way a school is organised and governed may have a far from benign outcome.

The governance structure of many schools teaches students that they have no significant control over their lives. Schools, that they must conform to arbitrary rules or be punished, and that they should go along with what the majority thinks and does even when they disagree. In other words, the hidden curriculum has a profound influence on the moral and civic education of students (1978, 164).

In Kagiso nobody commented on the governance of the schools. Not even the author of the Stimulus Paper, who complains that neither parents or teachers have any say in drawing up the syllabi, questioned the way in which the schools were organised.

This is a significant omission if Kohlberg and Turiel are correct in thinking that, in schools,

the fundamental condition for moral development, for development of a sense of justice, is not moral discussion but a just society. So Dewey's demand that education supply the conditions for development means making the schools just (1971, 54).

Implied here is a democratic structure in which the pupils participate in making decisions about how the school should be organised including the formulation and enforcement of rules.

Although Hirst and Peters rarely use the term 'moral education' some aspects of this subject are discussed at length in The logic of education.

They appear to agree with Warnock that children "need to learn to modify their selfishness and even their affections, and (that) this is the essence of morality" (Warnock, 1977, 130).

Their approach to the topic is via a consideration of

the education of the emotions, which is closely related to experience of interpersonal relations.

Personal relationships

arise more or less spontaneously in the context of communal activities. Teachers, by their example and by their encouragement, can do much to foster or impede them. They are surely pre-eminently the sort of things that are more effectively fostered individually by example than by instruction or exhortation (Hirst and Peters, 1970, 103).

Such personal relations can manifestly be conducted at very different levels. These differ largely with respect to

depth and breadth of understanding and sensitivity, the attainment of which is characteristic of an educated person (*ibid.*, 104).

The author of the Stimulus Paper would agree. She says that moral education should enable pupils "to be aware of other people's feelings" (Appendix V,4). Hirst and Peters believe that central to the development of this more discriminating level of personal relationship is the form of knowledge referred to as "interpersonal understanding". If taught with its development in view, history, literature and social studies can contribute. Also helpful is participation in drama and in games in which the intentions and plans of others have to be divined. "But probably as much is contributed indirectly by being with people whose language and whose dealings with others exemplify it" (1970, 104).

At Mofumahadi one person spoke with distress about the way some adults behaved towards children but did not relate

this to moral education. She said that some parents were too hard and induced fear in their children. Teachers too were sometimes culpable. One might address a child as "You. The one with the ugly nose" instead of using his name. Some teachers also told children they were stupid and so "bothered a child's heart and prevented it from co-operating properly" (MBN-57). At St Peter's one person remarked that children should not fear their teachers, but did not elaborate (PIT-21).

Barrow deals with another aspect of moral education. It is closely related to Hirst and Peter's concerns. Feelings cannot be educated but

By contrast one could educate the emotions, because there is that element of cognitive appraisal in emotional responses, and education is about understanding.

Emotionally mature people or emotionally educated people (I use the phrases interchangeably) are those whose feelings are appropriate and allied to cognitive appraisals that are reasonable (1981, 67).

Barrow believes that schools should seek to educate the emotions.

Emotional immaturity is a dangerous and debilitating limitation for both the individual himself and society as a whole (*ibid.*, 63).

He argues that ignorance in this sphere is particularly harmful as it is "practically impossible to steer clear of the emotional dimensions of life" (*ibid.*, 69).

At St. Peter's three teachers hoped to train their pupils to control aggression. One teacher's thinking was very similar to Barrow's. She felt it to be important that

children develop correct emotional habits.

She described a child who typically reacted with unnecessary anger. When accidentally bumped by his desk partner this child's immediate reaction was to hit out and start a fight. This child might easily grow into a quarrelsome person (PIN-51 and 53).

As the concern of this study is the inservice education of teachers in Catholic schools, it would be appropriate to conclude this section by reviewing the opinions of the Kagiso teachers that relate to the specifically Christian ideal of education. This will, of course, necessitate a certain amount of repetition of comments made previously.

In 1.4 it was noted that Bishop Konstant, in Signposts and homecomings: the educative task of the Catholic community (1981, 119), identified four elements in the Christian ideal of education which must be kept in balance. These are:

- (a) a perspective centred on faith in Christ as Saviour of all men;
- (b) a deep respect for the individuality and integrity of all human beings;
- (c) a recognition that all men and women without exception are the children of God and that there is no way to peace except through justice; and
- (d) a sense of mission, a commitment to the continuation of the salvific work of Jesus Christ in the world (ibid., 119-121).

(a) The first (of the key elements) is the communication of a perspective - centred on faith in Christ as Saviour of all men which discerns a meaning in human life deeper than, or beyond the

scope of, , the pursuit of a career, politics, , or any scheme of self-improvement derived solely from human endeavour. While penetrating deeper than these values, it does not deny to any of them their just validity, (*ibid.*, 119).

In Kagiso the teachers, without exception, appear to have shared, in large measure, a common Christian outlook on life. They also seemed to have assumed that a central part of their professional work was to initiate their pupils into the beliefs and practices of the Catholic church. None expressed any caveats regarding this aim.

In connection with interests related to religious convictions the great majority of these teachers were concerned primarily with matters of personal salvation. Most notably they were anxious to ensure that their pupils attended mass regularly and received the Sacraments. From their comments it was inferred that they held, in Dulles' terms, an institutional model of the Church. Although this outlook was dominant in the Catholic church for approximately three hundred and fifty years following the Reformation, it is now felt to be inadequate as a primary model. The institutional aspect of the Church is valuable only insofar as it serves some other vision of the Church e.g. as mystical communion, sacrament, herald or servant.

A small minority of the staff, perhaps only one person, gave evidence of espousing a servant model of the church. This person(s), Ms X, was apparently influenced by Paulo Freire. Her major concern was with the creation of a just society in South Africa, based upon the values of the Gospel. This person's perspective on the Church is one

that was suggested in some of the later documents of Vatican II, most notably Gaudium et spes, and has become popular among Catholics since the Council (Dulles, 1974, 27).

Konstant elaborates on the ways in which a Christian perspective is communicated. He says that it

is conveyed gradually in ways appropriate to each individual, and its instruments are: explicit religious teaching, the sacramental life, prayer, quiet reflection, example (the perception of the operation of that perspective in others), an appreciation of the works of creation, and especially the growth of human relationships in the light of Christ's commandment of love (1981, 120).

In the Kagiso schools the children received explicit religious teaching daily and the sacramental life and prayer were vigorously encouraged. It appears that, without exception, the staff supported these activities. None mentioned a need to provide opportunity for quiet reflection.

Several people stressed the need for teachers to set their pupils a good example. To illustrate: several were critical of those who taught religion but did not attend church regularly or, in their private lives gave rise to scandal. Nobody distinguished between cultic observances which are binding upon Catholics and moral principles.

Apropos the encouragement of an appreciation of the works of creation one person said, in relation to Biology, that it was "good to know about God's creation" but was severely critical of the syllabus which she believed was unrelated to the pupils' interests (PIN-48). No one

suggested that these slum children be given the opportunity to enjoy natural beauty.

Concerning the growth of loving human relationships several informants indicated the importance of "respect". This word was used to cover a number of related concepts. (See Appendix VII, VII.2.3.)

On one hand, at Mofumahadi, six people implied that children should be taught polite modes of communication in order to show respect. These included a proper choice of words and body language (MBN-37 to 39 and 56).

Children also had to show their respect for adult neighbours by obeying them promptly, giving their orders priority over the mother's instructions if need be (MBN-40 and 49).

On the other hand, regardless of differences in wealth, education or race, respect was everyone's due simply because they were people.

(b) These notions of respect relate to the second of Konstant's strands. This is

a deep respect for the individuality and integrity of all human beings.

Konstant says that this, on the part of teachers, includes

a respect for students of whatever age, which is based on an appreciation that they also are baptised into Christ, and that the measure of their union with Him is not identical with the measure of their physical, mental and emotional development (1981, 120).

The Kagiso teachers did not speak explicitly of the respect that teachers owe their pupils but, in some cases,

it was implied.

A small number of people were concerned about the bad treatment meted out to children in the classroom. They said that children should not fear adults nor should they be demeaned by being addressed discourteously e.g. as "You. The one with the ugly nose" (MBN-57).

It was noted earlier that the inclusion of slow learners in classes already too big perhaps arose from a sense of the inestimable and equal value of each person regardless of talents.

As a result of such respect for each person Konstant says that recognition must be given to the pupil's "need for the opportunity to exercise responsible choice - even at the risk of their choosing badly" (1981, 120). In the schools in question only one person spoke of a need for pupils to have a measure of freedom of choice and then only in relation to subjects to be studied. There was no expressed desire for a just and democratic institution in which pupils had some say in the governance of the school.

(c) Konstant's third element also results from the belief that all men are essentially of equal value. He says that

it is clear that any form of racialism is totally unacceptable, that the poverty and want of the developing countries are a scandal as contrasted with the wealth of the West, that widespread unemployment involves a distortion of human life and values and that all men have a right to liberty. The specifically Christian perspective on these problems - . . . - offers no neat solution, but it demands the recognition that there is no way to peace except through justice.

To this aim all Christians are committed by their vocation and their involvement in the mission of Christ and his Church to all mankind (*ibid.*, 120).

None of the Kagiso teachers, in relation to their professional work, spoke of a desire to promote peace in South Africa. Indeed only the person(s) influenced by Freire spoke of schooling in relation to society. This person or persons stressed the need to create a just society and believed that if pupils were imbued with Christian values in their homes, schools and churches South African society would be transformed. In her opinion one of the central tasks of the school was to prepare children to contribute to the renewal of society.

(d) The last of Konstant's four key elements in the Christian educational ideal is the promotion of a sense of mission which

derives from the mission of Christ, so that Christian education is also for others, to enable Christians through their lives to play their part in the Church's work to renew the face of the earth (*ibid.*, 121). (Emphasis in the original.)

The small minority who accept a servant model of the church is clearly committed to such a mission.

In contrast the majority, who had adopted an institutional model, did not explicitly mention mission. It might have been expected that these people would have been eager to convert others to Catholicism. However only two people referred to those who had become Catholics as a result of association with Kagiso schools. The informants were pleased with this outcome but did not suggest that

they, as teachers, aimed to convert. Of course, in this connection it must be remembered that the pupils attending these schools were all, at least officially, Catholics.

It is also as well to remember that among Catholics it is understood that Christians evangelise, i.e. "renew the face of the earth", by a variety of means. These include providing their neighbours with an example of Christian life. Therefore the absence of comment by the Kagiso teachers does not necessarily imply a disregard for mission.

From the above discussion of "socialization" arose eight statements to be rated and ranked by a sample of assistant teachers in Catholic primary schools in Soweto and those in immediate authority over them. These all relate to aims of education and were presented as being "about what pupils at this school should be like by the end of Std. V". Only the first statement in Set B ("They should be well prepared for their exams and ready for high school") did not derive from this section. The eight statements in question are listed below.

- B2. They should know Jesus as their personal friend and saviour.
- B3. They should be well behaved: They should show respect, speak politely and obey adult neighbours.
- B4. They should have some white Catholic friends of their own age whom they see quite often.
- B5. They should know and believe the most important teachings of the Catholic church.
- B6. They should be determined to work for a just South Africa, based on Christian values.
- B7. They should attend mass regularly, receive Communion frequently, and be determined to go on in this way

after they leave this school.

B8. They should want to convert others to the Catholic church.

B9. They should be growing into peaceful people who get on well with their neighbours.

(Appendix VI)

4.5 TEACHER EDUCATION

At St. Peter's one elderly woman observed that when speaking of their own further education, her colleagues always talked of training as pre-school teachers or of matric (PIT-1). This was largely borne out by the researcher's experience.

If it meant a salary increase, this woman too would like to qualify as a pre-school teacher. "She loved little ones, loved teaching them." She mentioned that the training given in Johannesburg was very good. (The name of the agency was not given.) "There were pre-school teachers in creches and they even had a lady supervisor who worked with them" (PIT-3).

The only other person who wanted this training did not refer to the means by which she hoped to get it (PIT-5).

The great majority of African teachers at St. Peter's and at Mofumahadi wanted to further their education by obtaining a "matric". (They did not differentiate between a "Senior Certificate" and a "Matriculation Exemption" certificate, and referred to both as a matric.) Four of the exceptions were elderly people approaching retirement. These included two at St. Peter's who were both over sixty and two of unknown age at Mofumahadi (PIT-2 and MBT-1).

During the interviews at Kagiso the teachers were not questioned about their educational and professional qualifications because, when asked about their further education, they might be prompted to respond in terms of formal education only. It is therefore particularly notable that these teachers did answer almost exclusively in this way.

Those who wanted to get a matric were evidently confident of being able to study at this level even though some mentioned having previously failed courses (PIT-6 to 11, 13, 15 and 17; MBT-2 to 7, 9 and 10).

However they were conscious of a number of impediments to success.

Several at Mofumahadi felt that they were, or had been, prevented from studying towards matric by a lack of money (MBT-2 to 6). One said that she could not afford to buy the necessary books (MBT-2). Others seemed to assume that their success depended on their returning to school as full-time matric students. They believed they could not obtain bursaries (MBT-3 to 6).

Some others envisaged part-time face-to-face study. Nevertheless none attended the available night schools (PIT-5 to 8, and 11; MBT-7,9 to 12). One woman said that "she had never met anyone who had completed a course at night school and had subsequently written ~~their~~ examinations" (MBT-11). However, perhaps night schools were not unpopular per se but for reasons specific to the

local operations. Two people spoke with appreciation of the tutoring provided for teachers at the Catholic school in Dobsonville (PIT-8). Another said that "if the Catholics opened a right school everyone would come "because they knew they would get a good deal" (MBT-12).

Despite the expressed need for face-to-face teaching those who were, or had been, engaged in preparation for matric exams, felt able to learn by studying a textbook (PIT-6 to 7, 9, 10 and 15; MBT-2,9 and 10). One of these people told of how she had similarly learnt sufficient mathematics for teaching purposes. Likewise another had taught herself accountancy (PIT-11 to 12).

None of the Kagiso teachers spoke of using a correspondence course nor of wanting to do so. Nor did they speak of wanting access to a library.

Some people felt that part-time studies were impossible in view of their many other responsibilities (PIT-9, MBT-13 to 15). One young wife and mother described her daily round. Only on a Sunday afternoon did she have any time to use at her own discretion (MBT-13).

Two people spoke of their need for better qualifications in terms of security. They agreed that "A J.C. was no longer any use. They might be told that they were unqualified teachers so must go away. If one looked at job advertisements in the newspaper one never saw 'J.C. plus experience' one saw 'degree plus five years' experience'" (MBT-8).

Only one of those who expressed a desire to study for

matric linked this with a wish to improve her skills as a primary school teacher. She said she had so little time to spend on studies that even if she did pass the examinations "the certificate would have little meaning as her understanding would be superficial. This was unsatisfactory as she wanted to have a full background of knowledge from which to teach (PIT-9).

However at Mofumahadi some people referred incidentally to ways in which they hoped to improve their performance in the classroom.

One person wanted to be free to consult teachers in nearby community schools who had particular expertise (MBN-25). Two others wanted to receive occasional help from D.E.T. inspectors (MBN-27).

At St. Peter's, one person, who apparently did not wish for further education for herself, spoke of the needs of her colleagues in general. Her focus of concern was the improvement of the pupils' education.

Speaking with considerable conviction, she said that, above all else, teachers needed courses, based on their religion, which dealt with matters such as justice, so that they could give the children the education that was wanted. (They) also needed to update their knowledge of academic subjects and teaching methods but these were of lesser importance (PIT-19 and 20).

She also urged the provision of lectures in psychology. Children should not fear their teachers. Teachers should be able to cater for each child's individual needs (PIT-21).

Nobody called for any special effort to be made to contribute to the teachers' religious formation. 41

matric linked this with a wish to improve her skills as a primary school teacher. She said she had so little time to spend on studies that even if she did pass the examinations "the certificate would have little meaning as her understanding would be superficial. This was unsatisfactory as she wanted to have a full background of knowledge from which to teach" (PIT-9).

However at Mofumahadi some people referred incidentally to ways in which they hoped to improve their performance in the classroom.

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course, this process is believed to take place, at the initiative of the Spirit, throughout the normal course of a Christian's life. However, traditionally there have been certain practices that have been thought to be particularly helpful. These include retreats.

At St. Peter's, two friends, interviewed together, spoke of their experience.

One had been educated at a Catholic high school and teacher training college. The students had gone on retreat each year. She had not been again until she took part in three organised for teachers by the Diocesan superintendent for mission schools. One was held at the seminary in Hammanskraal and two at a place run by the Good Shepherd Sisters.

Her friend had not been to a Catholic school and had not had previous experience of a retreat. She had been very bored during the retreat at the venue provided by the Good Shepherd Sisters. However, she had enjoyed the one in Hammanskraal. It had been led by two priests, one of whom was a charismatic. They had sung and clapped and had had a wonderful time. This had been the one place that she had "paid to God". This was because she had been active. It was much better than going to church and just sitting, and singing, and "receiving" (Communion), and looking to see who else receives. Some people always receive and some people never receive. However some people had not liked the clapping and so they had divided into two groups.

The first woman was asked whether she would take the opportunity to go on another retreat. She said emphatically "Yes. Definitely. For the rest. No Kids. Nothing. For the rest".

At St. Peter's three people spoke of ambitions beyond primary school teaching.

One needed to pass matric. Then she would like to do a course in housecraft in preparation for high school teaching (PIT-13).

Another would have preferred to have become a nurse and, later, a Sister Tutor. Several years previously she had left teaching and had undergone three years' training in a hospital. Family circumstances had forced her to abandon her new career. She hoped to get her matric that year. The following year she hoped to be able to afford to study with UNISA. She had not decided what course to take as she did not know what options were open to her. On graduation she would continue to be a primary school teacher (PIT-14 to 15).

The third person wanted primarily to study towards a degree. If this did not soon become possible she would go nursing in the hope that there would be greater opportunities in this field for university studies. However if she remained a teacher she would choose to teach in the primary school (PIT-17 to 18).

At Mofumahadi no one spoke of studying further in order to teach in a high school or to leave the profession. However one young woman made it clear that she was prepared

to leave her current job to do any work that paid well (MBL-26). Another person wanted to continue teaching in a primary school but would have preferred to work in a state school where salaries were higher (MBL-27).

(In response to questions about their educational needs, some of these teachers have obviously slid into their desires!)

At Mofumahadi, none of the three white nuns wanted to further their own studies. (It will be remembered that two were over seventy years' old.)

The youngest of the three, in her mid-fifties, had had a variety of educational experiences. These included a two-year period of initial teacher training, a course in the use of Montessorri methods, and most recently, a year doing Development Studies at Kinnage in Ireland. This was given by the Holy Ghost Fathers and had included missiology. Following this she had undertaken development work in very primitive communities in western Ireland. She had subsequently returned to Botswana where her time was intended to have been divided between development work and religious education in schools. The latter had grown to the point that the former had been excluded. She remarked that, over the years, she had often thought that she ought to study towards a degree. However she had always been very busy and she knew that her other activities would always take precedence over her academic work (MWT-2 to 6).

Although these sisters did not wish to further their

own education in a formal way two evidenced considerable interest in the in-service training of their African colleagues.

An older person listed opportunities that the next year would be, were currently, or in the recent past had been, available to teachers at Mofumahadi. She mentioned eight projects intended to increase their ability to teach. None of these led to a recognised qualification. She spoke with approval of another model of in-service teaching training that had been tried in Dobsonville. This too was intended to improve the teachers' skills in the classroom and had not led to a formal qualification (MWT-7 to 12 and 20).

She believed that some teachers had become very set in their ways and profited little from the courses they attended. A second sister concurred. She felt that after the initial period of teacher training they no longer cared to learn. Some people who had "been in the same rut for forty years" did not want to get out of it, did not welcome new ideas. It was not their heavy domestic responsibilities that discouraged attempts at further courses (MWT-12 to 14).

The first speaker said that the teachers needed to increase their knowledge. Their background was inadequate (MWT-17).

She was particularly concerned with the low standard of English spoken by the younger teachers. In the classroom they too readily lapsed into Tswana (MWT-18).

She noted that many of these teachers were struggling

to get a matric. She felt that it would be helpful if they could "join a class" (MWT-19).

This person felt that the long term solution to the problem of ill educated teachers lay in the initial period of education and training (MWT-21).

The third nun, in a separate interview, expressed the opinion that in Johannesburg, in-service training of teachers had probably not gone very well because the organisers had not consulted the teachers. The organisers had given the teachers what they, the organisers, thought was necessary (MWT-25).

This woman made a number of suggestions concerning ways in which her African colleagues could be helped to be better practising teachers. She drew on her experience as a teacher in a demonstration school attached to the College of Education in Serowe, Botswana. None of these suggestions appeared to be intended to lead towards recognised qualifications (MWT-22 to 24, 26 to 31, and 33).

She gave an example of how, at Mofumahadi, she had stimulated a young teacher to make a teaching aid by drawing her attention to an article in Child Education (MWT-23).

Another person said that "there was only one way to bring about change in schools. The teachers needed people to work with them in the classroom". She spoke with approval of a mode of in-service training of teachers that had been tried out at St. Angela's in Dobsonville. "Lecturers from the University of the Witwatersrand had come

to the school and there shown the teachers what had to be done. They had also followed up this instruction. It was this follow-up that was so very important" (MWT-12 and 15).

There was no suggestion that a process of teacher education should be initiated and carried out within the school in such a way that everyone both contributed and received.

In conclusion some comparisons will be made between the opinions of the African and European teachers in Kagiso.

In the short term, black teachers, other than those close to retirement, in general wanted to improve their formal qualifications by studying towards matric. Many were in fact doing so. They seemed very confident in being able to study at this level even though several had had experience of failing subjects outright, or of getting low symbols, in this examination. Very few wanted this qualification primarily in order to improve their competence in the classroom. The great majority hoped in this way to earn a higher salary, improve their job security, and/or make it possible for them to leave the primary school. After obtaining a matric many would have liked to work towards a degree through UNISA.

Very few of these teachers sought ways to improve their teaching skills. Nor did they request additional activities designed specifically to foster their religious formation.

One middle-aged woman, who did not speak of her own educational needs, felt that her colleagues needed "courses"

and "lectures" to enable them to be more effective primary school teachers. She did not say whether these were to lead to certification or not.

Elderly black teachers were generally concerned about their financial situation on retirement. Most wanted to learn skills that would make it possible to continue earning after they left primary school teaching.

The white teachers at Mofumahadi were all nuns and therefore could expect to be cared for in their old age. The two that were over seventy did not desire further personal education. In comparison with her black colleagues the third nun had had rich and varied educational opportunities. She did not ask for more.

Two of these women spoke at some length concerning in-service teacher training for their African associates. One told of eight programmes available to them. The other had many suggestions to make that were largely based on her own experience. All of their comments were focussed on the improvement of the quality of teaching in the primary school. They did not speak of certification.

From the above it is clear that, in Kagiso, the majority of black teachers i.e. the young or middle-aged, and the three white nuns, had very different views concerning the purposes to be served by the in-service education of the black teachers.

That part of the questionnaire following the statements in Set B was based on this final section of the discussion

of the Kagiso teachers' opinions.

First, questions were asked in order to reveal how many people wanted further education, what they wanted, and why.

Then attention was paid to those who wanted to study for a Senior Certificate or a Matriculation Exemption (both referred to as "matric"). They were asked whether they were working towards a matric at the time of the interview. If they were not they were asked to explain why. All these respondents' motives for wanting this award were thereupon explored in greater depth. The eight statements below were designed to do this. Each starts with the words "I want to pass matric because".

- C1. I want to pass matric because
I no longer want to be a school teacher.
- C2. I want to pass matric because
I want to earn more in my present job.
- C3. I want to pass matric because
I want to be a better teacher.
- C4. I want to pass matric because
I want to have a better chance of getting a job in a community school.
- C5. I want to pass matric because
I want to get a job, any job, that pays more.
- C6. I want to pass matric because
I want to study for a degree.
- C7. I want to pass matric because
I want to become a high school teacher.
- C8. I want to pass matric because
in the future, a teacher without a matric will find it difficult to get a job.

Three statements in Set A also relate to this section on Teacher Education.

It was hoped that responses to statement A8 in Set A

("I would teach much better if I passed matric") would illumine reactions to No. C3 of Set C ("I want to pass matric because I want to be a better teacher").

In Set A statement A4 ("I would teach much better if my English was better") and A7 ("I would teach much better if I was a better Christian") are derived from considerations addressed both in this section on teacher education and in the previous section in which socialization is discussed (Appendix VI).

4.6 CONCLUSION

This research is concerned with the improvement of the quality of education provided in the six Catholic primary schools in Soweto. It is assumed that this improvement in quality can be brought about most effectively by raising the educational and professional level of the teachers by means of an INSET programme. (This, of course, in no way denies the importance of material conditions in the schools.)

A review of the literature suggests that the teachers' perceptions are central to the success of such a programme. It is this that provided the rationale for the present illuminative evaluation of the teachers' perceptions.

In order to construct a framework for the testing and studying of the perceptions of the Soweto teachers, an exploration was made of the perceptions of a small sample of teachers in Kagiso who were likely to be similar to the research population in certain significant ways.

In the present chapter, the Kagiso teachers' opinions regarding their aims of education have been broadly classified into those that relate to knowledge and understanding and those that relate to socialization. They have been discussed in the light of relevant literature. An account has also been given of the teachers' preferences concerning their own educational needs.

In relation to the above, three sets of statements have been devised for use in Phase II.

When an INSET programme to be provided by the church is being planned, it is reasonable to expect that those in authority will take cognizance of the teachers' perceptions of their own educational needs. However, it will be recalled that evangelization is seen to be the essential task of the church and that Catholic schools are established as one means of fulfilling this mission. (See 4.4.) Therefore, account will also have to be taken of the opinions of international representatives of the Magisterium (teaching authority of the church) and of those of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference. The opinions of the supervisors (see 5.5.2) and the pupils (see 5.5.5) are also significant as they exert influence upon the schools on a day-to-day basis.

For these reasons, comparisons have been made here between the opinions of the Kagiso teachers and those of some international representatives of the Magisterium and those of the SACBC. In Phase II the opinions of the supervisors of the Soweto schools and of a sample of the Std

V pupils were collected. In Chapter Five these are compared with those of the Soweto teachers.

CHAPTER FIVE: PHASE II, SOWETO 1986

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5.1 INTRODUCTION

The very large dormitory township for black people near Johannesburg is divided, for administrative purposes, into three major sections. They are named "Soweto", "Diepkloof - Meadowlands" and "Dobsonville". Here popular usage will be followed and the entire area referred to as "Soweto". The designations Diepkloof, Meadowlands, and Dobsonville will be used, among others, to indicate particular smaller subdivisions of Soweto.

Phase II of this research consisted of a survey of the opinions of teachers in Catholic primary schools in Soweto, those in immediate authority over them, and of the Std V pupils in four of the six schools having higher primary classes. The research was conducted at six primary school sites.

At the end of March 1986 3 557 children were enrolled in these mission schools (i.e. those Catholic schools that de facto enrol only black pupils). They constituted 59% of all pupils attending mission schools (including high schools) in the diocese of Johannesburg.

The enrolment per school was as follows:

St. Peter Claver's, Pimville	723
St. John Berchman, Orlando East	453
St. Matthew's, Moroka	698
Holy Cross Schools, Diepkloof	841
St. Martin de Porres, Orlando West	529
St. Angela's, Dobsonville	<u>313</u>
Total	3 557

In the second section of this chapter (5.2) the participants are identified and some biographical information is provided.

The procedure carried out during interviews, and some reactions, are described in 5.3.

In 5.4 is a description of some factors which are thought to have contributed to the emotional climate which might have affected the teachers' reactions to the researcher's visit and the interviewees' responses.

In 5.5 the results are presented and analysed.

5.2 PARTICIPANTS

The participants are divided into four categories: principals, supervisors, assistant teachers and Std V pupils. Here each category is described and particular attention is paid to the relationship between principals and managers (a subset of supervisors). Finally, there is provided a set of tables giving the distribution of the principals' and teachers' sex; age; religious affiliation;

church category; and academic and professional qualifications.

5.2.1 PRINCIPALS

In two cases the lower and higher primary classes were combined to form one school under a single principal. (This occurred at St. Peter Claver's in Pimville, and St. Angela's in Dobsonville.) On the other four sites the lower and higher primary classes had separate head teachers. (These were St. John Berchman's, Orlando East; St. Matthew's, Moroka; St. Martin de Porres, Orlando West; and the Holy Cross schools, Lima and Lourdes, in Diepkloof.) At two of these sites (St. Matthew's and Holy Cross) there were high schools on the same property.

There were thus ten principals of primary schools, with different patterns of responsibility.

The principal of one of the schools was detained by the police on 12 June 1986. She was still in prison during this period of fieldwork (Diocesan News, November 1986,a). For purposes of this research the person acting in her place was deemed principal of the school.

All the principals were women; three were nuns and seven lay people; nine were black and one white. (In Table 5:1 below, demographic data concerning the nine African principals are given in a form that facilitates comparison with the assistant teachers. Information about the white principal was omitted for reasons now to be explained.)

The white principal was also manager both of her school and of the other primary school on the same site. It was decided to record information about this person and her responses as those of a supervisor because principals are in some respects subject to managers but not vice versa. In addition she was, in three other important respects, more like the average supervisor than the average principal. That is, she was white, a nun, and had had more formal education. (She had a qualification in remedial education equivalent to a master's degree.)

2.2 SUPERVISORS

The term supervisor has been used here to describe that category of person who had immediate authority over school staffs. The inclusion here of one person who cannot be described precisely in this way is justified above. See

There were nine supervisors, seven women and two men. They were all white and all members of religious congregations. They had all taken vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Their popular designations: two of the women were Notre Dame Sisters, one was an Ursuline, the others Holy Rosary, Holy Cross, Holy Family and Mercy Sisters. Of the men one was a priest of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the second a Marist brother.

Among the supervisors was the superintendent of the Catholic schools in the diocese. He had responsibility for

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Among the supervisors was the superintendent of the mission schools in the diocese. He had responsibility for

schools on twelve different sites.

Two others were engaged in the upgrading of teachers. Their distinctive roles and perceived priorities call for more detailed explanation at this stage.

One of these was concerned exclusively with religious education. She said that, for a number of years this had, unfortunately, been seen merely as another subject to be taught in school. In contrast she saw religious education as the sharing of Christian faith and way of life.

In 1985 she had spent half the year working with teachers in one of these primary schools and the second half in another. In 1986 she had concentrated on a third.

On the basis that "you can't give what you haven't got" she typically began by focussing on the individual teacher's relationship with God. She sought to encourage and guide the teacher's own religious development contributing appropriate insight from the scriptures.

Having spent six months in a school she was unable to devote any further time to it. She felt that this was her handicap.

The second person concerned with the in-service training of these teachers had, for thirteen years until retirement, been the principal of a college of education in Scotland. After this she had, for six years, held a senior post in the administration of her congregation. During this period she was based in Rome but had travelled extensively worldwide.

She was concerned to improve the teaching of English

and mathematics in one of these Soweto schools and in a school near Klerksdorp. Since February 1985 she had alternated between the two schools, spending a term in one and then a term in the other. She intended to continue in this way until the end of 1987.

She would normally begin by observing the teachers in the classrooms. From time to time she took over a class in order to demonstrate another method of dealing with a topic.

The remaining six supervisors were all "managers". Their role, that of principals, and their relationship, is described below.

The supervisors were not asked to give their ages. However it emerged that three were past the usual age of retirement. One was 77 years old.

It was evident that all but one person had other major responsibilities besides that of being manager of a primary school. (The exception was elderly.) For example, one young woman was also assistant teacher in, and manager of, the high school on the same site.

The diverse nature of those in this category raised the question of whether it was justified to regard them as a single group. After a comparison had been made between the responses of the managers with those of people who played other roles, it was concluded that these people could appropriately be regarded as belonging to one group for the purposes of this research. (See Appendix IX, The supervisors: one group or two?)

5.2.3 ROLES OF PRINCIPALS AND MANAGERS

Managers and principals were all supplied with a copy of an undated document entitled "manager and principal" (36). It was devised by a previous superintendent of the Johannesburg diocesan mission schools in 1978 or 1979. It is an official statement that outlines the responsibilities of principals and managers and provides guidelines for their relationship.

The document states that the manager's role can be divided into three broad areas, viz.:

1. Link between school and diocese and parish
2. A motivator and resource person for the school staff, helping them to have a clear idea of the identity of the school as a Catholic school and of its specifically educational aims
3. Administrator (*ibid.*, 1).

Only this last aspect is elaborated upon here.

The manager is responsible for the administration of the school's finances and decides upon salaries and terms of employment which should be in accord with those drawn up for the Diocese (*ibid.*, 1-2).

The principal is appointed on the recommendation of the manager and is accountable to her (*ibid.*, 1-2).

The principal is responsible for the day-to-day administration of the school. (The manager is warned "to be careful not to interfere".) The principal must ensure good communication with parents. She is also to see to the maintenance of buildings and equipment. In this regard she

must work close'y with the manager (ibid., 2-3).

The manager and the principal are also to co-operate in relation to a variety of other matters. For example they are to decide together on the hiring and firing of assistant teachers. The manager is to consult the principal about the amount to be paid for school fees and the method of their collection (ibid., 1-2).

It is stressed that "a happy relationship and good communication is very important" (ibid., 2).

At two schools the researcher had clear evidence of tension between the manager and principal and, at a third, suspected that relations were strained.

At one of these three schools the researcher had been unable to telephone the school and arrived unannounced. The principal was very welcoming. That day interviews were conducted with her and the selected members of her staff. There was no time to speak to pupils and the manager was absent. The following day the principal introduced the researcher to the manager. The latter was courteous and patiently answered the researcher's many questions, but forbade her to interview assistant teachers or pupils because, it was said, it was too near to exams and they could not afford the time. The researcher explained that she had already spoken to the teachers but, in deference to the manager's wish, would not approach the pupils. The principal was clearly disappointed when told of this decision. She felt sure that her pupils would have

conducted themselves very well and wanted the researcher to meet them.

At another school the researcher asked a principal whether she might use the telephone on her desk. This request was greeted with roars of laughter from the two principals present. It was locked and the manager kept the key. As the latter was away no calls could be made.

After having spoken critically about her manager one of these principals said with considerable vehemence "I thank God I am not a nun". Later she modified this by saying that she had met nuns who, unlike her manager, were sympathetic and generous.

At a third school the researcher gained the impression that the principal was allowing herself to be interviewed because she had been told by the manager to do so. In response to A10 ("Is there anything else that would help you to teach better?") this woman said fiercely

work satisfaction. If I had more job satisfaction I would teach much better.

She did not elaborate. It was surmised that her relationship with her manager was the cause of her dissatisfaction but no further relevant evidence emerged to prove or disprove this.

5.2.4 ASSISTANT TEACHERS

Eighty-seven assistant teachers were employed in the six schools. From a list supplied by the superintendent a random sample of thirty-one people (36%) was drawn.

Information about them is given in Table 5:1 below:

Table 5:1

Demographic data about principals and assistant teachers in relation to sex, age, religion and church category (in Catholic terms).

		Principals N = 9	Sample of assistant teachers N = 31	All assistant teachers N = 87
		%	%	%
Sex	Males	-	3	6
	Females	100	97	94
Age	20 to 29 years	-	19	Not known
	30 to 39 years	22	39	
	40 to 49 years	33	13	
	50 to 59 years	11	13	
	60 to 69 years	33	16	
Religion	Catholic	100	(N = 29) 76	Not known
	Other	-	24	
	Christian			
Church category (in Catholic terms)	Nuns	22	-	2
	Lay people	78	100	98

Table 5:2

Principals and assistant teachers' academic and professional qualifications.

Category	Description	Principals N = 9	Assistant Teachers N = 31
a3	Any standard lower than a Senior Certificate and without a professional qualification	-	7
a2	Std 6 or 7 and two-year professional qualification	2	4
a2m	Senior/Matriculation certificate without a professional qualification	-	4
a1	Std 8 or 9 and a two-year professional qualification	-	8
A(m+1)	Senior/Matriculation certificate with an appropriate one-year professional qualification	-	-
B(m+2)	Senior/Matriculation certificate with an appropriate two-years' professional qualification	6	5
C(m+3)	Senior/Matriculation certificate with an appropriate three-years' professional qualification	1	3

Each teacher, at the end of her interview, was asked to state her formal academic and professional qualifications. These were translated into the above categories in use in the Department of Education and Training in 1986.

One principal had some academic qualifications that are not reflected here. She was studying with UNISA towards a BA degree and had passed four subjects (Education 1 and 2; Southern Sotho 1 and 2). In 1986 she was to write Southern Sotho 3.

The sample of assistants can be subdivided into three groups namely: those who had passed matric (N = 12), those who wanted to pass matric (N = 15) and those who had not passed matric and did not want to do so (N = 4).

In relation to statements in Sets A and B, the opinions of the first two groups were examined in order to see whether, in this respect, they differed markedly from each other and from the whole sample, and should be treated separately. (Set C was not treated in the same way because only those who wanted to pass matric responded to it.) The procedure followed is described in 5.5.2 below.

It was discovered that there were no substantial differences in opinion between the sample as a whole and the two groups in question. The sample and the two groups all both rated and ranked A2 and A9 among the three most important statements in Set A, and likewise B1 and B3 in Set B. Similarly A6 and A7 were both rated and ranked among the three least important statements in Set A, and B6 in Set B.

Therefore it was decided not to divide the sample of assistant teachers into smaller units except where it was particularly advantageous to do so, e.g. in the discussion of reactions to A8 in 5.5.4.3.

5.2.5 STD V PUPILS

Class structures showed a variety of practice. In one school there were three Std V classes, in another only one. In one school the Zulu-speaking children were placed

together in one class and their Northern Sotho-speaking counterparts in another. In another school the Zulu and Northern Sotho-speaking children were only separated for instruction in their home languages. At the latter it was remarked that separation according to home language led to trouble.

In the six schools there were eleven Std V classes. Pupils from eight classes were interviewed. It was not the researcher's free decision to omit the remaining three classes. At one school the manager did not wish the children from the two Std V classes at that school to be interviewed (see 5.2.3). At another school the principal refused such permission in relation to her single Std V class (see 5.3).

At each of the four schools at which pupils were interviewed five children were selected at random from the attendance register of each of the Std V classes.

Of this sample of 40 pupils 42% were boys and 58% girls; 93% were Catholics, 7% Christians belonging to other denominations. Out of these 40 children 25, from four different schools, were asked to say how old they were. (Only after 15 children had been interviewed was it decided to record of the ages of the pupils.) 72% were either 12 or 13 years. Their ages ranged from 11 to 16 years.

5.3 PROCEDURE

The initial contact with each school was by telephone. The

researcher spoke first either to the principal or to the manager, depending on who took the call. The purpose of the research was explained and it was stressed that it was undertaken with the permission of Bishop Orsmond. An appointment was made to interview the principal.

Interviews with principals began with explanation concerning the purpose of the study. Then any questions were answered and the letter of introduction from the Catholic Bishop of Johannesburg was produced.

In only one case did a principal resist the continuation of the interview after these preliminary steps had been taken. After persuasion she agreed to be interviewed a week later.

During each interview the researcher sat next to the head teacher and placed the questionnaire on the table between them. Then the researcher read each question and statement aloud. If one was not immediately understood she repeated or explained it, as requested. She recorded all the responses and remarks that were volunteered. (See 2.4.2.3.)

Two questionnaires were completed in each interview with a principal. The first, the "Teachers' Questionnaire", was intended to elicit opinions related to their own continuing education. The second, the "Supervisors' Questionnaire", contained questions and statements on the same topics as the first. However, except in relation to the statements in Set B, on this occasion the principals were asked to express opinions

relating to the further education of assistant teachers. With respect of Set B statements they were, once again, to give their own opinions about the aims of education. (These statements appear in identical form in the two questionnaires.) It is noted in 5.5.3.2 that none of the eight principals whose opinions are reflected in Tables 5:3, 5:4, 5:5, 5:6 and 5:8 objected to being asked to undertake the same task twice.

When both questionnaires were completed the researcher asked whether she might interview a sample of assistant teachers, using the first questionnaire only. The principals were assured that, apart from exceptional cases, this would take less than twenty minutes per person.

None of the principals resisted this request. (Nor, to the researcher's knowledge, did any of the assistant teachers raise objections.)

All the teachers gave the impression of giving seriously considered responses. Further they appeared to regard the rating procedure as entirely separate from that of ranking. In this they differed from two of the supervisors. Having rated a set of statements these two, on each occasion, looked over the record of their ratings and picked out the three statements that they had rated most highly and declared them the "three most important". In contrast, the teachers (and the remaining supervisors) gave the strong impression that they ranked the statements without reference to their previously expressed opinions.

The researcher also asked whether she might meet the staff en masse in the staff room during a break. She wished to explain her presence and to give the teachers some biscuits and sweets as a token of gratitude for their participation in the survey. (It will be recalled that, in 1983, one of the Kagiso principals had suggested that such a gesture be made. This was done to the evident pleasure of the staff in the two schools. In the six Soweto schools in 1986 it was repeated with some trepidation as it was not known how it would be received. In the event these small gifts were accepted, apparently without reserve and with great appreciation.)

The proposal of meeting with all the staff was greeted enthusiastically by all but one principal. This person accepted the biscuits and sweets graciously but did not want the researcher to meet those assistant teachers who were not to be interviewed. She appeared to feel that the researcher would not be welcome in the staffroom. The matter was not pursued.

At one school when the researcher invited questions a woman asked aggressively 'Do whites know what is going on in the black 'townships'?' The researcher acknowledged the widespread ignorance among whites; and mentioned briefly the experience, by various members of her immediate family, of detention, of lengthy imprisonment, and of being the victims of petrol-bombing, teargas and a police-dog bite. That response appeared to mollify the questioner.

Apart from the initial response of the teacher referred

to above the researcher was made to feel a welcome guest in the staffrooms that she visited.

The principals of higher primary schools were also asked to allow a sample of five pupils from each Std V class to be interviewed.

One principal refused this request. She felt that it was too near exams and they could not spare the time. She was very worried about these children. They were the weakest Std V class the school had ever had. Their schooling had been interrupted "many times in the last two or three years". In 1985 the school had had to close in September. It was only in April 1986 that they had been able to begin on the work prescribed for that year.

At one further school, for reasons indicated in 5.2.3, it was decided not to interview pupils.

Where this was allowed, five children from each Std V class were chosen at random and each quintet was interviewed as a group.

On each occasion the chairs were arranged in a circle. After introductions it was explained that a number of statements were to be read aloud and that, after each one, each child was to say whether he agreed strongly, agreed, disagreed or disagreed strongly.

At one school the children appeared not to understand the words "agreed" and "disagreed". (The researcher thereupon explained these terms.) In addition many of the statements were not understood. Some pupils asked for

clarification but others appeared to choose a rating at random. Some children always repeated whatever the child before them had said. All the members of one group "agreed strongly" with all the statements in both sets BI and BII. At another school all the members of a group "agreed strongly" with all but two statements in sets BI and BII. In view of these circumstances the pupils' ratings must be regarded with extreme caution. The experience demonstrates clearly the weakness of using questionnaire results without this kind of face-to-face interviewing procedure.

Unlike the adult respondents, the children did not each have a copy of the questionnaire before them to which to refer. The children had to recall the statements in order to rank them. In practice the statements presented by pupils as rankings bore little resemblance to those that they had rated. Because of this it was decided to record verbatim whatever the children said. Later all the responses were examined, categories devised, and individual statements classified accordingly.

5.4 CONTEXTUAL CIRCUMSTANCES

There follows a description of some events that took place before or during the period in which fieldwork took place in Phase II. These events are thought to have contributed to the emotional climate likely to affect the opinions expressed in interviews.

Interviewing took place during the second State of Emergency, declared in June, 1986; a period of great stress

for the people of Soweto.

In the week before fieldwork commenced, a newspaper told of an incident that took place outside the Holy Cross schools. The Weekly Mail reported that

A Diepkloof child, aged about nine, was carried .. between two cantering horses mounted by members of the Security Forces before being placed inside a Security Force vehicle and driven away, eyewitnesses said.

It was claimed that the child had been carried between the two horsemen for a distance "described as about two blocks".

Flabbergasted witnesses were told they could not ask the child his name so that they could tell his parents what had happened (19 25 September, 1986).

A few days later the state Bureau for Information confirmed that, on 23 September,

members of the security forces fired teargas at pupils from the Lima-Lourdes Primary School (The Star, 25 September 1986).

A witness claimed that

Children, aged between five and seven years, fled in panic, vomiting from the teargas fumes (The Star, 27 September 1986).

Neither of these incidents was mentioned when the researcher visited these schools.

At Lourdes lower primary school, during a mid-morning break, the researcher, looking through the staffroom window, saw an armoured vehicle driving past very slowly. About ten armed soldiers were peering intently over the school wall at the children playing there. In some anxiety the researcher drew a teacher's attention to what was happening.

The teacher glanced out, shrugged, and remarked "You get used to it".

The Diocesan News, (distributed free to all parishes), reported that in the previous May "an estimated 200 South African Police and South African Defence Force members in twenty vehicles" raided the high school on the same property. The principal of the school is quoted as saying that

Seven loudspeaker intercoms were ripped off the walls. I counted thirty three windows broken.

One can only conclude that the police are intent on indiscriminate provocation (June, 1986).

She also said that "a total of only 11 weeks of effective schooling took place in this school in 1986" (The Sowetan, 3 November 1986).

At another school an informant claimed that, on the previous Sunday "We had the army in the church". Soldiers had surrounded the building during mass and 'some went in with guns'. The reason for this behaviour was not known.

The informant complained that some whites were unsympathetic. "They think we exaggerate about what happens in the township."

On the wall surrounding the St. John Berchman school someone had spray-painted, in large letters, the words "Azanian Liberation Front, ALF leads you to a socialist state". Next to the wall were the wrecks of two burnt-out cars. Across the dirt road between the school and the church a hen and her chicks were pecking at morsels from a

very large refuse pile.

In The Sunday Star of the 5 October 1986 it was reported that

Soweto is groaning under the weight of piles of rubbish and a backlog of unpaid rent bills adding up to R24 million in the last four months, and the deficit is rising.

The two "sister" townships of Soweto, Diepkloof-Meadowlands and Dobsonville, are experiencing similar problems.

It was observed that

There seems no hope of recovering the millions owed the council (in Soweto) because the rent boycott, instead of tapering off, is escalating.

In Dobsonville, large tents had been erected just outside the grounds of St. Angela's school. It was said that they had been supplied jointly by the South African Council of Churches and the Catholic bishops. The tents housed families evicted for failure to pay rents.

Elsewhere a manager confided that she had not paid the school's electricity or water bills for three months because she was afraid of possible retaliation if it was discovered that she had broken the boycott.

At another school it was recounted that permission had recently been sought to use the church for a public meeting. The parish priest had refused but had instead offered a hall that was somewhat smaller. As it happened the church had, by mistake, been left unlocked on the evening on which the meeting was to be held. The meeting took place in the church which was afterwards left spotlessly clean.

A fortnight previously two young men had been

"necklaced" two blocks away from this church. (Their hands and feet were tied together, a tyre forced over heads and arms, doused with petrol, and burnt to death.) It was said that, shortly before, the two had murdered a youth and they had been killed in revenge.

When the researcher telephoned one school to make an appointment to interview the headmistress she found her distraught. The previous day one of her Std IV pupils had come to her office to deliver a death threat from the "comrades". (She did not know who the comrades were and the messenger appeared to be acting under duress.) She had been deemed a "hard-headed principal" because she insisted on classes being held throughout the normal school day. Other schools in the vicinity closed at noon. Hers remained open until 2 p.m. She had been told that if she did not desist her office would be gutted. If this did not deter her she would be necklaced. She was also afraid for the safety of her pupils, her teachers and the other school buildings. She had discussed the matter with her staff but had not yet decided what to do. If she acceded to the comrades' demands she would be seen as a cowed victim who could be bullied further. If she notified the police it would only precipitate disaster.

She was proud that, up to that time, her pupils had not missed a single day's schooling. (In contrast, another of these Catholic schools had been closed from September 1985 until the end of that year.)

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) decided t

mark October 1 as a day of mourning in memory of the 177 miners who had died in the Kinross mine disaster in September. A number of other organisations followed suit. The Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO, now known as SANSCO) called on "all students to support this day in whatever way they deem fit" (The Star, 30 September 1986).

The researcher was told officially that the Soweto Catholic schools would be closed on that day. One principal said that she feared retribution if this was not done. However at least two of these schools opened as usual. The principal of one of these schools said, over the telephone, that "All is well at the moment but we do not know what will happen".

During one interview there were long silences during which the principal dabbed at the tears that poured from her eyes. The day before she had helped to move furniture belonging to the few Sisters of St. Angela's who had continued to live in the convent attached to the premises of the old St. Mary's school in Munsieville. She said that as we spoke it was probable that the bulldozers were destroying St. Mary's mission of which the convent was a part.

In the Verwoerd era Munsieville had been declared a "black spot" that had to be removed. In March 1985 this decision was rescinded by the State President.

In the November 1986 issue of the Diocesan News it was reported that the residents in the nearby white suburb of Dan Pienaarville were fearful of their black neighbours and

continued to demand that the township be moved. (The Sunday Star of 13 July 1986 reported that 11 000 people had signed a petition to this effect.) The response of the Krugersdorp Town Council was to give urgent attention to the construction of a road, planned thirty years previously, to separate the two. It was to cut through St. Mary's mission, founded in 1926, where the first community of the Companions of St. Angela was formed in 1954.

Thus, said the Diocesan News,

the road has become a political issue and both a physical barrier between white and black and a symbol of apartheid. The fact that the mission has to go because it is in the path of the road is not simply perceived as an expropriation issue but also an emotional sign that apartheid is very much alive (November 1986).

(In addition to the above, it will be recalled that one of the principals of these Soweto schools was in detention during this period of fieldwork. See 5.2.1.)

A R Morphet (1986, 68) suggests that the "educational culture" of Soweto is lodged between what he calls the "economic culture" on the one hand and the "political culture" on the other. The above description indicates something of the background to the emotional climate relating to the political culture that was prevalent in Soweto at the time that the fieldwork was undertaken. The respondents undoubtedly felt under immense pressure and the effects of this could be expected to be reflected in their reactions to the researcher and responses to the questionnaire.

5.5 RESULTS

5.5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section the responses obtained from supervisors, principals and assistant teachers and Std V pupils, will be presented and compared.

First it will be explained how the ratings and rankings were treated in order to compare them (5.5.2).

In 5.5.3 opinions related to the aims of education will be discussed.

Those concerning factors that enable teachers to function better are explored in 5.5.4.

Section 5.5.5 is devoted to a consideration of opinions about the needs and desires associated with the further education of those teachers.

In the final section (5.5.6) observations will be made concerning the relationships between the statements belonging to one set and those belonging to another, and some conclusions from the teachers' responses will be noted.

In sections 5.5.3 to 5.5.6 the policy related to structure is to discuss, first, responses to particular statements. (See 5.5.3.3.2, 5.5.3.3.3, 5.5.4.3, 5.5.5.2, 5.5.5.3, and 5.5.5.5.) Secondly, to look at relationships between responses to statements in a particular set. (See 5.5.3.4, 5.5.4.4 and 5.5.5.5.) Thirdly, to look at the connections between the reactions to some statements in different sets. (See 5.5.6.)

In 5.5.3 to 5.5.5 frequent reference is made to remarks made by interviewees. Those made by supervisors,

principals and assistant teachers were spontaneous. Examples mentioned include some comments made by the supervisor who declined to rate and rank statements and by the principal whose ratings and rankings are not reflected in the tables. None of the pupils volunteered any comments of this sort.

It will be remembered that, when asked to rank the statements, the children, unlike the adults, had to rely entirely upon recall. It was found that their "three most important statements" on a subject bore only slight relationship to the original set. For example, one pupil, when asked to rank B1 statements, responded quite typically by saying "I want to be a true Christian. And a great soccer player. To complete my Std V with great marks at the end of the year". (The boy's wish to be a "true Christian" may be an echo of the statements concerning religious aims such as B2, B5, B6, B7 and B8 and his desire to obtain "great marks at the end of the year" may reflect B1.) Some children were hard put to make three statements. In all but one case the researcher insisted that they do so. The exception was a girl who managed to produce only two sentences.

These responses were recorded verbatim and some are quoted below.

5.5.2 PROCEDURE FOR COMPARING RATINGS AND RANKINGS OF STATEMENTS

The responses made by each of the groups (supervisors, principals, assistant teachers and pupils) were dealt with separately. In some cases the reactions of subgroups of the above were isolated.

First, each rating on the Likert scale was given points as follows:

"agree strongly"	+ 2
"agree"	+ 1
"disagree"	- 1
"disagree strongly"	- 2

Secondly, the sum of the points accorded to each statement was found.

Thirdly, the statements were arranged in order of importance according to the number of points each had been awarded.

In the discussion that follows the results of the above procedure are referred to as "ratings" as they are derived from the respondents' ratings of statements.

After each participant had rated the statements in a particular set she was asked whether she wished to add further aims/means/motives as appropriate. She was not asked to rate these additions.

Then she was asked to choose from the statements in that set (including her own additions, if any) the three that "would help you most"/were the "most important", as

applicable. This process is referred to here as 'ranking'. (This is not a strictly orthodox use of the term but appears to be the best brief label for the process described.)

A frequent ranking of statements additional to the original set might have made it impossible to compare the ratings and rankings of groups of respondents. However, in practice, it had little effect. Very few people made additions which they subsequently ranked. Below, attention will be drawn to those occasions when this occurred.

Three different modes were used to inform judgements concerning (1) the degree of consistency that existed between the averages of the ratings and the rankings made by one group, and (2) the correlation of the ratings and rankings made by one group with those of another.

Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (ρ) was calculated. This is a measure of association which can be conveniently used when there are fewer than 30 variables (Siegel, 1956, 202-212; Guilford and Fruchter, 1981, 294-296). The results were used to ascertain degrees of significance at the $p < 0,05$ and $p < 0,01$ levels (Behr, 1983, 188). However Johnson (1977, 101) remarks that

It's difficult to describe particular values of ρ (ρ) in terms of "weak", "moderate", "strong", etc. This is a frequently encountered problem with many measures of association applied to nominal- and ordinal-scale variables, and you'll have to get used to some vagueness.

Therefore other ways of judging consistency were used in conjunction with ρ .

In order to obtain a clearer picture of each group's

priorities those statements that were both rated and ranked among the first three, in order of importance, were identified. Likewise those among the last three, in order of importance. (See Tables 5:8, 5:11, 5:13 and 5:14.)

Tables were also inspected to see whether the average rating and ranking accorded a statement by a particular group differed markedly.

5.5.3 AIMS OF EDUCATION

5.5.3.1 Introduction

Opinions concerning the aims of education were elicited in response to statements, in one of three forms, in Set B. These were presented to the adults as being "about what pupils at this school should be like by the end of Std V". (The wording used in giving instructions and in the individual statements can be found in Appendix VI. The latter are repeated, and mnemonics provided, in Table 5:6 below.)

Here, a test of consistency will be discussed first (5.5.3.2).

Secondly, the responses to statements in Set B will be explored (5.5.3.3).

Finally, conclusions will be drawn (5.5.3.4).

5.5.3.2 A test of consistency

It was noted in 5.3 (Procedure) that the principals were asked to respond to this set of statements, in identical

form, twice. Thus there are the results of four measures (two pairs of ratings and rankings) of the opinions of one group of people concerning one set of statements. Here the results obtained from these measures are compared. They provide an indication of the consistency with which these opinions are held by this group. If there is a high degree of consistency this will, in turn, suggest that a degree of confidence may be placed in these measures of opinion. (Low consistency may be a function of the principals' behaviour, or the inadequacy of the measures, or both.)

In this comparison the responses of two of the ten principals have been omitted. In one case the person has been classified as a "supervisor" for reasons explained above (5.2.1). The second set of reactions was excluded because the interviewee refused to rate four of the statements (Nos. B4, B6, B7 and B8).

None of the principals objected overtly to being asked to respond to these statements a second time. In each case it seemed as if they were paying the same serious attention as before to the expression of their opinions.

In Table 5:3, the points allocated as the result of the rating procedure on both questionnaires are given. In each case the Teachers' Questionnaire was presented to the interviewee first.

Table 5:3

Principals' responses to Set B statements in the Teachers' and the Supervisors' questionnaires, using the rating procedure

Points allocated on:			
Statement Number	Teachers' Questionnaire N = 8	Supervisors' Questionnaire N = 8	Change from first to second responses
1	14	11	-3
2	16	14	-2
3	15	13	-2
4	10	10	0
5	13	12	-1
6	16	15	-1
7	13	12	-1
8	6	4	-2
9	16	13	-3
Mean	13,2	11,6	-1,67

The principals were asked to rate two identical sets of Set B statements. The first set was presented to them as part of the Teachers' Questionnaire, the second as part of the Supervisors' Questionnaire.

The statements are identified by digits. For example, statement number one is "They should be well prepared for their exams and ready for high school". (See Appendix VI and Table 5:6.) They are not further identified here as the content of the statements is not pertinent to the degree of consistency between responses.

The procedure described in 5.5.2 was followed in allocating points to the statements.

In all but one case, the scores obtained on the Supervisors' Questionnaire were lower than those on the Teachers' Questionnaire. However, it must be noted that the discrepancy was very slight indeed, averaging only 1,67 points per statement. The person whose scores on the two questionnaires varied most showed an average difference of only ,56 points per statement. Further, the ratings made by two of the principals accounted for more than one half of the difference. It seems probable that such disparities occurred because the principals were asked to respond to these statements in their capacities, on the one hand, as teacher, and on the other hand, as supervisor.

Rho was calculated. The two sets of ratings correlated at a $p < 0,01$ level of significance on a two-tailed test (Behr, 1983, 183). This indicates a high measure of consistency.

Table 5:4

Four measures of the principals' opinions concerning the aims of education, expressed in statements 1 to 9 in Set P

Order of importance	Rating procedure		Ranking procedure	
	Teachers' Questionnaire N = 8	Supervisors' Questionnaire N = 8	Teachers' Questionnaire N = 8	Supervisors' Questionnaire N = 8
1	2, 6, 9	6	2	2, 3
2		2	6	
3		3, 9	3, 7	6
4	3			5
5	1	5, 7	1	1, 7
6	5, 7		4, 5	
7		1		4, 9
8	4	4		
9	8	8	[8,9]	[8]

The principals' priorities were obtained by asking them to rate and rank two identical sets of statements. The first set was presented to them as part of the Teachers' Questionnaire, the second as part of the Supervisors' Questionnaire.

In this table the statements are identified by digits. For example, statement number one is "They should be well prepared for their exams and ready for high school". (See Appendix VI and Table 5:6.) These statements are not further identified here as the content of the statements is not germane to this measure of the consistency with which opinions are held.

The position of a statement in a column indicates, in order of importance, the place accorded to it by the principals. For example, on the Supervisors' Questionnaire the principals rated

statement B6 as of prime, and B8 as of least, importance.

On the Teachers' Questionnaire three statements (B2, B6 and B9) were rated equally highly. They were apportioned the same number of points and this was more than any other statement received. Therefore these statements were placed together first in order of importance. Statement B3 got the next highest number of points and comes fourth in order of importance.

When responding to the Teachers' Questionnaire none of the principals ranked statements B8 and B9 among the "three most important" therefore these statements are shown in square brackets ninth in order of importance.

When the principals responded to the Supervisors' Questionnaire it was found that the correlation between their ratings and rankings was significant ($p < 0,05$). However when responding to the Teachers' Questionnaire this correlation was not significant. Thus it can be claimed that the principals rated and ranked consistently when using the Supervisors' Questionnaire but not when using the Teachers' Questionnaire.

As previously noted, the ratings obtained on each of the two questionnaires correlated at the $p < 0,01$ level. The rankings did likewise.

Statement B9 ("They should be growing into peaceful people who get on well with their neighbours"), scored high on both questionnaires when the rating procedure was used, but scored low on both questionnaires when the ranking procedure was used. Logically it is, of course, possible to "agree strongly" with a statement about a matter which one regards as trivial. However it seems that these respondents tended to agree enthusiastically with statements

that they considered to be of importance. (See Table 5:6.) There is no evident corroborating reason that suggests why this statement should be an exception or the only exception.

In order to eliminate the effect of the anomaly above, scores relating to 89 were removed. The remaining data appear in Table 5:5.

Table 5:5

Four measures of principals' opinions concerning the aims of education, expressed in statements 1 to 8 in Set B.

Order of importance	Rating procedure		Ranking procedure	
	Teachers' Questionnaire N = 8	Supervisors' Questionnaire N = 8	Teachers' Questionnaire N = 8	Supervisors' Questionnaire N = 8
1	2, 6	6	2	2
2		2	6	6
3	3	3	3, 7	3, 5
4	1	5, 7		
5	5, 7		1	1, 7
6		1	4, 5	
7	4	4		4
8	8	8	8	8

In this table the responses made to statement B9 are omitted to make the pattern of fairly consistent data clearer.

Rho was calculated for four pairs of responses. The principals' ratings and rankings on both the Teachers' and the Supervisors' Questionnaires correlated significantly ($p < 0,01$). Their ratings on the two questionnaires also correlated at the $p < 0,01$ level. However, their rankings correlated at the $p < 0,05$ level.

It can be seen that statements B2, B3 and B6 were accorded most support when measured in each of four ways.

B4 and B6 received least support when measured in each of the four ways.

Thus, apart from the unexplained responses to statement B9, the principals displayed a high degree of consistency of opinion. This, in turn, suggests that a degree of cautious confidence can be placed in these measures of opinion.

5.5.3.3 Responses to statements in Set B

5.5.3.3.1 Introduction

Table 5:6 below is designed to facilitate comparison among the reactions of supervisors, principals, assistant teachers and Std V pupils concerning the aims of education and, in the case of pupils, their perceptions of their teachers' priorities.

The information given in this table refers to responses to the statements in Set B. These statements, though essentially the same, were presented to the interviewees in slightly differing forms. For example: in the questionnaire for principal supervisors and that for teachers, B1 appears as "They should be well prepared for their exams and ready for high school".

Pupils responded to this statement twice. In set BI it reads "I want to be well prepared for my exam and ready for high school" and in BII as "My teachers want me to be well prepared for my exams and ready for high school".

Set B statements can be divided into four categories viz., those designed to elicit attitudes towards each of the following:

a) Catholic beliefs, values and practices:

Statements B2 (friend and saviour),

B6 (a just S.A.),

B7 (mass and Communion),

B5 (teachings), and

B8 (convert);

b) Schooling and the children's future:

Statement B1 (exams and high school);

c) Behaviour affecting interpersonal relationships:

Statements B3 (well behaved), and

B9 (peaceful people);

d) Intergroup relations:

Statement B4 (white friends).

(A key to the mnemonics used here is attached to Table 5:6 below.)

First the supervisors', principals' and assistant teachers' responses to each statement will be given in some detail (5.5.3.3.2). The statements will be dealt with in the order in which they are given above. Occasional reference will be made in passing to the opinions of the Std V pupils.

Secondly, the pupils' reactions will be discussed (5.5.3.3.3).

schoolings

of supervisors, principals, assistant teachers and pupils as expressed in response to statements in Set B

Supervisors N = 8		Principals N = 8		Assistant teachers N = 11		Pupils N = 40	
Rating	Ranking	Rating	Ranking	Rating	Ranking	Ratings only	
						"My teachers want me to ..." (Set BII)	"I want to ..." (Set BI)
friend and saviour)	2 (friend and saviour) 6 (a just S.A.)	2 (friend and saviour) 6 (a just S.A.) 9 (peaceful people)	2 (friend and saviour)	2 (friend and saviour)	1 (exams and high school)	2 (friend and saviour)	1 (exams and high school)
(a just S.A.) mass and Communion)			6 (a just S.A.)	1 (exams and high school)	3 (well behaved) 7 (mass and Communion)	3 (well behaved)	5 (teachings)
	5 (teachings)		3 (well behaved) 7 (mass and Communion)	3 (well behaved)		1 (exams and high school)	4 (white friends)
teachings)	1 (exams and high school) 3 (well behaved) 7 (mass and Communion) 9 (peaceful people)	3 (well behaved)		7 (mass and Communion) 9 (peaceful people)	2 (friend and saviour) 6 (a just S.A.)	9 (peaceful people)	9 (peaceful people)
(exams and high school) 1 (well behaved)		1 (exams and high school)	1 (exams and high school)			7 (mass and Communion)	2 (friend and saviour) 6 (a just S.A.) 7 (mass and Communion) 8 (convert)
		6 (teachings) 7 (mass and Communion)	4 (white friends) 5 (teachings)	5 (teachings)	4 (white friends) 6 (a just S.A.)		
4 (white friends) 1 (peaceful people)				4 (white friends)	9 (peaceful people)	5 (teachings)	
		4 (white friends)		6 (a just S.A.)	5 (teachings)	8 (convert)	
8 (convert)	4 (white friends) 8 (convert)	8 (convert)	8 (convert) 9 (peaceful people)	8 (convert)	8 (convert)	4 (white friends)	3 (w aved)

In section 5.3 it was noted that the principals were asked to respond twice to the statements in Set B. In order to simplify Table 5:6 only one set of responses is recorded.

In section 5.5.3.2 it was established that the principals had displayed a fairly high degree of consistency of opinion so the decision not to include both sets of responses was felt, in large measure, to be justified. It was decided to include the responses to the Teachers' Questionnaire rather than those made to the Supervisors' Questionnaire because the former was presented to the principals first. Therefore their responses were made under conditions comparable to those pertaining when responses were made by people who rated and ranked these statements only once.

None of the supervisors ranked B4 or B8 among the "three most important" statements in Set B. Therefore their identifying digits have been placed in square brackets in lowest position in order of importance.

Statements are identified by numbers and mnemonics. A key is provided below.

In order to facilitate the interpretation of this table mnemonics are provided for each of the statements that are referred to on it.

Statement number	Statement	Mnemonic
B1	They should be well prepared for their exams and ready for high school.	exams and high school
B2	They should know Jesus as their personal friend and saviour.	friend and saviour
B3	They should be well behaved: they should show respect, speak politely and obey adult neighbours.	well behaved
B4	They should have some white Catholic friends of their own age whom they see quite often.	white friends
B5	They should know and believe the most important teachings of the Catholic church.	teachings

B6	They should be determined to work for a just South Africa, based on Christian values.	a just S.A.
B7	They should attend mass regularly, receive Communion frequently, and be determined to go on in this way after they leave this school.	mass and Communion
B8	They should want to convert others to the Catholic church.	convert
B9	They should be growing into peaceful people who get on well with their neighbours.	peaceful people

5.5.3.3.2 Responses of supervisors, principals and assistant teachers.

In section 5.5.3.2 it was noted that, on the Teachers' Questionnaire, the principals' ratings and rankings of the statements in Set B did not correlate significantly. Nevertheless, it was concluded that, apart from the unexplained responses to statement B9, the principals displayed a high degree of consistency of opinion. The assistant teachers' ratings and rankings also did not correlate significantly. However, the supervisors' ratings and rankings did correlate ($p < 0,01$). In the absence of corroborating evidence the above suggests that the results displayed in Table 5:6 should be approached with great caution but cannot be dismissed out of hand.

a) Catholic beliefs, values and practices

Five of the nine statements reflect Catholic beliefs, values and practices.

B2 (friend and saviour)

In B2 ("They should know Jesus as their personal friend and

saviour"), the individual and emotional aspects of a relationship with Jesus Christ are stressed.

B2 was rated and ranked as being the most important aim by both supervisors and principals.

B2 was also accorded first place by assistant teachers when using the rating procedure but only fourth place when ranked. It might have been possible to deduce the reason for this discrepancy had some people volunteered comments about the statement. However, with one exception, these were not forthcoming. (That one person stressed that pupils should know Jesus "especially as saviour".)

None of the principals commented on this statement.

One supervisor said emphatically that "without this the Catholic school has achieved nothing that belongs to the reason for its existence".

If the attitude encapsulated in the statement were a person's sole expression of religious belief, if this person was concerned only to foster his own exclusive relationship with God, this, in modern Catholic circles, would be felt to be a distortion. In addition, in the opinion of the Main Committee: HSRC Investigation into Intergroup Relations,

Those whose religious orientation is aimed only at the personal sphere confine religion to a "spiritual" matter which is not integrated with that person's wider experience of reality. This leads to a withdrawal from social and political issues (Marais, 1985, 68).

Another supervisor showed an awareness and concern for these possible limitations. She noted that

If they really knew Jesus as their personal friend

and saviour the others (other statements) would all follow.

She did not want the children's attitudes to be "isolationist",

i.e. 'Jesus and me' without reference to anyone else - without concern for others. Mustn't be an individualist approach.

It is clear from this person's other responses that she wished this personal relationship to be allied with a determination to strive for social justice.

B6 (a just S.A.)

B6 ("They should be determined to work for a just South Africa, based on Christian values") was rated and ranked almost as highly as B2 (friend and saviour) by both supervisors and principals.

One principal wished to emphasize the need for the application of Christian principles to social problems. She said forcefully,

They want freedom, freedom. Freedom for what? Not just freedom for anything. Christian values are important.

A supervisor was sceptical about the possibility of achieving such an aim with pupils in Std V.

You are asking a lot of junior children. In the black atmosphere children are influenced by the tone of their respective localities. You can do what you like but you can't change anything. Children learn from people in their own locality rather than from us. (In considering this statement we are) entering the social and political side. That's not the religious side. We can't do much about that.

The assistant teachers rated B6 (a just S.A.) in a very low position (8th) but ranked it much higher (4th).

Some assistant teachers had difficulty in understanding this statement and asked that it be repeated and/or clarified. It would probably have been more intelligible had the words "work for a just South Africa" been replaced by "work for justice in South Africa". One teacher interpreted "a just South Africa" as meaning "only in South Africa, not elsewhere". She insisted that people educated in South Africa should be free to work where they chose. Again, this indicates the need for caution in interpreting the findings.

B7 (mass and Communion)

Opinions were not consistent concerning aim B7: "They should attend mass regularly, receive Communion frequently, and be determined to go on in this way after they leave school".

In the supervisors' ratings it was placed high (it was felt to be second in importance to B2), but it was ranked less highly (in fourth place together with three other statements).

One supervisor objected that children were

only required to attend mass on Sunday. (They were) only bound to receive Communion once a year at Easter. We can encourage them to receive (Communion) more frequently but that is all they are bound to do.

In the principals' ratings it was placed sixth in importance. However they ranked it highly (third place).

One principal had been scandalised to discover that in one Std V class in her school only two pupils had been to church the previous Sunday. She felt that it was

particularly important that her children continued to attend mass regularly after they left primary school because

they get Catholic formation only from attending mass and hearing sermons.

She added that they needed sacraments, "especially Confession". She believed that the children knew nothing about it. "Some Std Vs have even forgotten the formula."

Another principal observed that commitment to these practices had deteriorated. "The little bit of Christianity we had is a question mark today."

The assistant teachers rated it in fourth position but ranked it second.

One said that

children do not want to go to church. Once they've left Catholic school you don't see them any more in church.

Another felt that it was important that the children be baptized.

Within the staff's priorities the pupils rated this particular aim fifth. In relation to their own they rated it fifth together with B2 (friend and saviour), B6 (a just S.A.) and B8 (convert). Only B3 (well behaved) was rated lower.

B5 (teachings)

Opinions were also mixed regarding B5: "They should know and believe the most important teachings of the Catholic church".

The supervisor's viewed aims B5 and B7 (mass and Communion) as of almost equal importance.

One person pointed out that the word "know" was used in a specialised sense in theology. "It is a matter of faith, knowing in a special way."

The principals rated B5 (teachings) and B7 (mass and Communion) as of equal importance but ranked B7 more highly. None commented.

The assistant teachers rated B5 (teachings) low and ranked it even lower (in 6th and 8th positions respectively).

One woman focused on knowledge. She asked

What is the fun of attending a Catholic school and leaving without knowing any of these things?

Two others were more concerned with the aspect of belief. One mentioned that some pupils were not Catholics. "We can try and teach them (the non-Catholics) but we can't ask them to believe." A second person, a Methodist, asserted that "There are many beliefs. Not just Catholics'."

The pupils perceived that B5 (teachings) was not among their teachers' top priorities. In response to statements in BII, each of which began with the words "My teachers want me to", their combined ratings accorded it seventh place in order of importance. In contrast they themselves valued this aim highly, putting it second only to B1 (exams and high school).

The children's enthusiasm for B5 (teachings) may be a correlate of their particular level of religious development. At least the Catholics among them were being

strongly encouraged to commit themselves to this church and perhaps they could be expected to want to understand its main tenets. It might have been predicted that their teachers, more mature Christians, would value personal relationship with Christ above knowledge.

B8 (convert)

None of the three groups rated or ranked any aim lower than B8: "They should want to convert others to the Catholic church".

B8 stimulated more people to make additional comments than did any other statement in Set B. (The informants who did so included six supervisors, one principal and six assistant teachers.)

Certain observations indicated some support for this aim. One assistant teacher said that she encouraged her pupils to invite their playmates to accompany them to church on Sundays. A supervisor observed that

We don't want them to be militant. We want them to convert by their example.

A supervisor and an assistant teacher felt that it was not possible for children to achieve this aim.

Other people felt at one with Christians in general and attached relatively little importance to the conversion of members of other denominations to the Catholic church. For example a supervisor said:

I don't make it my business to convert people to the Catholic church if they are good living Christians. However I won't stop them. If they showed signs of interest I would encourage them. (However) for me, being a Christian is what's

important.

A principal said of non-Catholic churches "God is there". An assistant teacher was convinced "that we all believe in one living God".

Others were even less enthusiastic about proselytization. One supervisor said doubtfully "I don't disagree". A second said "I'd be very hesitant about this", and a third insisted firmly "They shouldn't want to make other people Catholics".

Two Protestant assistant teachers were clearly against this proposition.

It must be noted that a call to "convert others to the Catholic church" is not identical to a call to "evangelize". Of the latter Pope Paul VI said in Evangelii Nuntiandi

The person who has been evangelized goes on to evangelize others. Here lies the test of truth, the touchstone of evangelization: it is unthinkable that a person should accept the word and give himself to the kingdom without becoming a person who bears witness to it and proclaims it in his turn.

Evangelization,, is a complex process made up of various elements: the renewal of humanity, witness, explicit proclamation, inner adherence, entry into the community, acceptance of signs, apostolic initiative (1975, 214-215).

It may be noted that those people who felt that pupils "should be determined to work for a just South Africa, based on Christian values" (B6) were implicitly advocating a process that, in the Catholic tradition, would be regarded as a form of evangelisation. In his encyclical Pope John XXIII (1963, 7) exhorts the faithful

to take an active part in public life, and to work

together for the benefit of the whole human race, as well as for their own political communities. It is vitally necessary for them to endeavour, in the light of Christian faith, and with love as their guide, to ensure that every institution, whether economic, social, cultural or political, be such as not to obstruct but rather to facilitate man's self-betterment, both in the natural and in the supernatural order.

They are to

involve themselves in the work of these institutions, and strive to influence them effectively from within.

Later he remarks that

Daily it is borne in on us the need to make the reality of social life conform better to the requirements of justice (*ibid.*, 72).

In general, both supervisors and principals appear to give high priority to religious aims. Both groups rated and ranked B2 (friend and saviour) and B6 (a just S.A.) in first and second places. This suggests that these people in immediate authority over the schools want pupils, above all else, to experience a close personal relationship with Jesus which finds expression in involvement in society as a whole. Their rejection of "convert-making", and the comments made on this subject by a number of people, implies a sense of being at one with Christians of all denominations. The above, taken in conjunction, intimates the possibility that this group may embrace a model of the church that is predominantly that of "servant". (See 4.4.4.)

In addition these two groups would also appear to have sympathy with colleagues who stress the cultic aspects of religion. The supervisors rated B7 (mass and Communion)

highly, and the principals ranked it fairly highly.

b) Schooling and the children's future

B1 (exams and high school)

The supervisors and the principals seem to be somewhat at variance with the assistant teachers. The latter, while giving high priority to religious matters, were also concerned that their pupils "should be well prepared for their exams and ready for high school" (B1). This aim was both rated and ranked very high by the assistant teachers. (It was placed in second and first place respectively.) The supervisors rated and ranked it in fifth and fourth places. The principals both rated and ranked it fifth.

Only one person offered a comment immediately after having been read B1. This supervisor indicated that "being ready for high school" was of more importance than "being well prepared for exams".

After B1 to 9 had been rated, the interviewees were asked whether "anything important was missing" from the series of aims implied in these statements. At this juncture many people suggested additions that could be interpreted as relating in one way or another to B1 (exams and high school).

For example, a supervisor said

They should be able to converse well and intelligently in English. At home they never hear English spoken. They might write English but are very poor conversationally.

Another said firmly that Std V pupils "should be convinced of the importance of education". Two assistant

teachers expressed similar opinions.

Other people hoped that, on entering high school, pupils would have a capacity for independent judgement and action.

A supervisor said

I would like them to have some sort of ability to disagree with the peer group, particularly when they are under pressure. Not simply to be sheep. Particularly if it can be involved with some sort of leadership.

Another observed

They go into high school and there's a boycott but they're not asking themselves: why? what for?

A principal thought likewise.

Others spoke of ways in which they hoped the children would be prepared for their future in general.

One principal was of the opinion that her pupils should be prepared for life. She hoped that, at the end of Std V, they would already be actively involved in parish activity and community projects, that they would have joined youth groups where their problems were discussed. She was the only interviewee to express the wish that these children would engage with the community beyond the school.

She also said that they should be ready "to develop themselves by attending careers courses".

Related to this last point is a supervisor's desire for a basic attitude to the future. She said

I would like to see them with a certain sense of hope for the future; for their own future and that of their people. They should not go forward in a sense of despair.

(Two teachers stressed the need for children to participate in sports. They did not mention the purposes to be served by this.)

c) Behaviour affecting interpersonal relationships

Set B includes two statements that relate to behaviour affecting interpersonal relationships that might or might not stem from religious conviction (B3 and B9).

B3 (well behaved)

B3 ("They should be well behaved: they should show respect, speak politely and obey adult neighbours") gives three examples of good behaviour that were felt to be important by some of the black teachers in Kagiso. The required modes of showing respect and speaking politely mentioned were those valued by these Tswana speaking people. The demand that children be obedient to adults living in their neighbourhood also appeared to be a manifestation of their culture. (The researcher does not know how widely these attitudes are shared.)

Two of the supervisors (white) recognised that this statement carried cultural content peculiar to black people. One remarked,

This is what African culture would expect but it's being corroded.

A third supervisor, who had been in South Africa only a short while, appeared to interpret this statement out of experience of anonymous urban populations where children are in danger of being molested by adults. She said, suspiciously,

I don't know about 'obey adult neighbours'. One doesn't know what they will be requiring of them.

A fourth asserted that "we try to give them a Christian culture" which, it was claimed, was not synonymous with "Western culture".

None of the African principals commented on this and only one of the assistants did so. The latter elaborated on the notion of respect. It was due to

Anyone who is older and even younger.
Respect all round.

The supervisors who, it will be remembered, were all white, rated B3 (well behaved) fifth in importance, and ranked it marginally higher. The principals (all African) rated it fourth and ranked it slightly higher. The assistant teachers (also all black) rated it in third place and ranked it, with B7 (mass and Communion) in second place.

This variety of opinion may reflect different traditions. It is, perhaps, to be expected that the all-white group of supervisors would place less emphasis on B3 (well behaved), with its African cultural overtones. Of the African groups, it is possible that the principals place 3 lower on their list of priorities than the assistants because the former were more westernized.

B9 (peaceful people)

The second statement that related to behaviour that might or might not be motivated by religious beliefs is B9: "They should be growing into peaceful people who get on well with their neighbours".

Earlier, attention was drawn to the contrast between

the principals' rating and their ranking of this statement. (As a result of the rating procedure it was accorded top place; as a result of rankings, bottom.) (See 5.5.3.2.)

Those Kagiso teachers who mentioned this subject clearly used the term 'neighbours' to mean people living in close proximity to the children. However this word is ambiguous. Four people who commented on B9 interpreted it to encompass all the people of South Africa. One supervisor remarked that "If they grow into peaceful people they would work for a just South Africa". Four of these interviewees (including the person quoted above) saw a close connection between B9 and B6 (a just S.A.). An assistant teacher felt that they were "the same", a supervisor believed that "one flows from the other". A second supervisor said

They should be growing into peaceful people but it mustn't be the aim. It sounds as if they should stay down there.

This probably reflects a conviction that justice is a prerequisite to peace. She did not want to suggest that black people should peacefully (passively) accept their lot instead of fighting for their rights.

d) Intergroup relations

B4 (white friends)

The last statement in this set to be discussed here is B4: 'They should have some white Catholic friends of their own age whom they see quite often'. This was included not because it encapsulates an opinion on an issue of importance

to the Kagiso teachers but because it is a practical expression of counsel given by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

From 1952 (at the latest) the Bishops had exhorted their flock to heal the breach that had developed between the different racial groups (Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, no date; The Bishops speak: Vol. I. Pastoral letters 1952-1966). In their 1957 "Statement on apartheid" they had a "special word" for "our beloved Catholic people of white race" that could equally well be addressed to those of other races.

The practice of segregation, though officially not recognised in our churches, characterizes nevertheless many of our schools, and the social life of our people. In the light of Christ's teaching this cannot be tolerated forever. The time has come to pursue more vigorously the change of heart and practice that the law of Christ demands. We are hypocrites if we condemn apartheid in South African society and condone it in our own institutions (*ibid.*, 16).

In Chapter Four it was noted that the Main Committee: HSRC Investigation into Intergroup Relations asserts that, for the sake of sound intergroup relations, schools should facilitate the growth of friendship between children of different races (Marais, 1985, 81 and 170).

The significance of the reactions to B4 (white friends) derives from the above.

B4 was rated and ranked low by all groups. The supervisors rated and ranked it in seventh and eighth positions respectively; the principals in eighth and sixth; the assistant teachers in seventh and sixth. Only B8

("They should want to convert others to the Catholic church") was consistently placed lower in order of importance.

One supervisor commented on B4. This person said

I wouldn't answer that. There is this movement emphasizing ethnic mixing. It's political. I want to keep out of it.

A principal, who refused to rate this statement, remarked that, in the past, she "would have said yes, but not now". She had recently attended a meeting at which others present had concluded that whites were all right when they were very young but not after they had left school. This probably reflects opinion concerning the South African Defence Force soldiers operating in the black townships.

An assistant teacher found the suggestion inconceivable. It was explained to her that the researcher was interested in her opinion of the desirability of the statement, not whether opportunity for such relationships could be arranged. In response the teacher was dismissive. She said "they (black pupils) never see any (white children). It's something abstract".

Further comments were made by a principal and three assistant teachers. These were all positive.

The principal insisted:

If we don't do that we encourage apartheid. We must preach and practice anti-apartheid.

An assistant teacher recalled that

Once they (the children) did have visitors from white schools. They made friends. It was so nice. I don't know what happened (to bring this to an end). Was it the unrest?

A second said thoughtfully

Yes. I think for communication's sake. And to improve their language.

A third was enthusiastic. She "agreed strongly" with the statement and added

Especially in Soweto. They (black pupils) don't know them (their white counterparts).

5.5.3.3.3 Pupils' reactions

In relation to the aims of education, the pupils interviewed were asked to respond to Set B statements in two different forms. The first (BI) was designed to elicit what they wanted "to be like by the end of Std V"; the second (BII) to evoke perceptions of "what your TEACHERS want you to be like by the end of Std V".

It will be remembered that in 5.3 it was concluded that the ratings made by the Std V's should be regarded with extreme caution. This notwithstanding, the results of the rating procedure showed that the number of children who genuinely expressed opinions were sufficient to reveal that they perceived their teachers' priorities with a considerable degree of accuracy. The pupils' ratings of set BII statements correlated significantly with the principals' ratings of Set B at the 5% level, and with the assistant teachers at the 1% level.

In response to the BII set of statements (each of which began with the words "my teachers want me to") the pupils rated B2 (friend and saviour), B3 (well behaved) and

B1 (exams and high school) of almost equal importance and substantially more important than other aims. This is in close accord with the assistant teachers' ratings and rankings. The principals also rated and ranked B2 (friend and saviour) as the most important aim; B3 (well behaved) was placed fourth and third respectively; and, on both measures, B1 (exams and high school) was fifth.

The children believed that B4 (my teachers want me to have some white Catholic friends of my own age who I see quite often) was by far the least important of their teachers aims. In this they were correct: their teachers did not give high priority to this aim, but it was of higher priority to the teachers than the pupils realised. In responding to B8 ('My teachers want me to convert others to the Catholic church') the children were quite right in thinking that their teachers placed convert-making very low in order of priority.

It will be remembered that, in response to the question "which THREE of the above are the most important?", the children had to recall the statements unaided. In the event the responses they gave would have been appropriate answers to the question "What do your teachers want you to be like at the end of Std V?".

On examination it was found that the children's answers could be classified, almost without exception, into four categories. The first related to religion e.g. "to go to church every Sunday"; the second to schooling e.g. "to be well prepared for my exams", and "to have strong education";

and the third to personal behaviour e.g. "to love one another", and "to be response (responsible)". The fourth category reflected the children's thoughts about possible careers. In view of the wishes of some adult participants that pupils have hope for the future and pay attention to the choice of a career, these statements were deemed relevant. For example one boy said "the teacher always tell us that there will be a priest in the class and I want to be a priest".

Of the 120 statements made by the children, 57% were concerned with schooling, 34% with behaviour, 8% with religious matters and 2% with career choices.

The fact that the pupils were interviewed shortly before their examinations may account in part for the high proportion of statements concerning education. It emerged from the children's comments that some were receiving extra tuition after school hours. A child at one school said "Our teacher tells us to come on Saturdays to revise". (Very few responses were grammatically correct.)

The results obtained from the childrens' ratings of the statements concerning their teachers' priorities encourage one to think that their ratings of statements concerning what they themselves "want to be like at the end of Std V" may genuinely reflect their opinions.

The children gave top priority to being well prepared for their exams and ready for high school (B1). In this they were very like the assistant teachers. Second and third in order of importance to the pupils, were knowing and

believing the main teachings of the Catholic church (B5) and having some white Catholic friends of their own age whom they saw quite often (B4). In relation to these last two their opinions differed markedly from those of both the principals and the assistant teachers.

Regarding B5 (teachings), it is probable that this aim is typically of concern to young people in the process of being initiated into a church. They want to comprehend the teachings of the church and realise that, as members, they are expected to believe certain dogma. The adults, beyond this first stage, are engrossed with the implications of their faith in terms of relationship with God and neighbour.

The childrens' response to B7 suggest that they are open to contact with white peers. One group claimed that they met white counterparts at Saturday school and at the City library.

Pupils gave almost equal weight to the other statements in set BI.

The pupils' ratings of BI statements did not correlate significantly with the supervisors', the principals' or the assistant teachers' ratings of the corresponding statements.

In lieu of ranking the statements given in this set the children made statements that nearly all began with the words "I want to". These were classified into the same categories as were used in relation to BII.

The pupils' own priorities differed somewhat from their perceptions of their teachers' priorities: see Table 5:7 below.

Table 5:7

Pupils' own priorities in relation to the aims of education, and their perceptions of their teachers' priorities, expressed as percentages of the number of statements volunteered.

	Education %	Behaviour %	Religion %	Careers %	Others %
Pupils' priorities	52	24	17	5	3
Pupils' perceptions of teachers' priorities	57	34	8	2	0

A comparison of the children's perceptions of their teachers priorities and their own indicates that the pupils felt at one with their teachers in the attention they paid to education. However the children felt that their mentors placed greater emphasis on good behaviour than they did themselves, and the pupils saw themselves as giving higher place to religion than their teachers did. Possible careers were mentioned by only one group of pupils. One girl volunteered joyfully that she wanted to be "a musician, like a disco singer". Later she said she wanted to be "a doctor, a dressmaker or a cooker". This group evinced gay enthusiasm for the future.

5.5.3.4 Conclusion

In order to obtain a clearer picture of each group's

priorities those statements that were both rated and ranked among the first three, in order of importance, were identified. Likewise those among the last three, in order of importance. These are presented in Table 5:8 below.

Table 5:8

Aims of schooling:

statements from Set B that were both rated and ranked highest, and lowest, in order of importance

Group	Statements both rated and ranked among the <u>first three</u>		Statements both rated and ranked among the <u>last three</u>	
	Number	Mnemonic	Number	Mnemonic
Assistants N = 31	B1	exams and high school	B8	convert
	B3	well behaved		
Principals N = 8	B2	friend and saviour	B4	white friends
	B6	a just S.A.	B5 B8	teachings convert
Supervisors N = 8	B2	friend and saviour	B4	white friends
	B6	a just S.A.	B8 B9	convert peaceful people

An examination of Table 5:8 reveals that there was a close correspondence between the supervisors' and principals priorities.

These two groups each both rated and ranked B2 (friend and saviour) and B6 (a just S.A.) among the two most important aims. This suggests that they were both highly

concerned that the children experience a close personal relationship with Jesus which found expression in involvement with society as a whole.

In addition, both groups rated and ranked B8 (convert) lowest in order of importance. (See Table 5:6.)

This combination of priorities suggests that these two groups hold in common a "Servant" model of the church. (See 4.4.4.)

Their responses to B7 (mass and Communion) were very mixed but it does seem that they do have some sympathy for those people who stress the cultic aspects of religion.

As the three most important aims the supervisors rated B2 (friend and saviour), B6 (a just S.A.) and B7 (mass and Communion). In these positions they ranked B2, B6 and B5 (teachings). All these statements fall into the category "Catholic beliefs, values and practices". (See Table 5:6.) Perhaps this is not surprising in view of the fact that this group consisted of seven nuns, a religious brother and a priest; all people who had formally dedicated their lives to God.

The principals rated B2 (friend and saviour), B6 (a just S.A.) and B9 (peaceful people) together, first in order of importance. They ranked B2 and B6 first and second respectively and B3 (well behaved) and B7 (mass and Communion) jointly in third place. (See Table 5:6.) B2, B6, and B7 relate to "Catholic beliefs, values and practices" and B3 and B9 to "Behaviour affecting interpersonal relationships". It will be recalled that

statements in the latter category may or may not stem from religious conviction. (See VII.2.3 and here, discussions of B3 and B9.)

The principals (all in fact black, and nearly all laypeople) shared with the supervisors (all white religious) a high valuing of the specifically religious concerns albeit with some different emphases. In the case of the principals, this valuing was associated with one reflecting African traditions in respect of good behaviour and interpersonal relations.

However this may be, it can be confidently claimed that both the supervisors and the principals gave priority to aims that, in the classification system used in Chapter Four, would be seen to contribute towards the process of socialization.

B1 (exams and high school) is closest to representing the category "Knowledge" discussed in that chapter. (The only other contender is B5: "They should know and believe the most important teachings of the Catholic church". Hirst, Peters and Barrow would certainly consider the acquisition of a knowledge of the teachings of particular religious beliefs an appropriate aim. However Hirst and Peters would not wholeheartedly support an intention to implant a belief in these teachings and Barrow would dub this indoctrination and condemn it.) The supervisors rated B1 (exams and high school) fifth in order of importance and ranked it fourth; the principals both rated and ranked it

in fifth place. In other words, to B1 neither group gave prime importance.

In addition, these two groups in immediate authority over the schools, each both rated and ranked B4 (white friends) among the three least important aims. (See Table 5:8.)

Here, in the section entitled "Intergroup relationships", it is pointed out that the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, as early as 1957, had called for an end to the practice of segregation in Catholic schools (n.d., 16). In relation to their schools it would seem that the supervisors and the principals did not give high priority to interracial contacts.

Further, it might be inferred that these two groups did not see any close connection between the establishment of friendly relationships between people of different races and the fight for justice in South Africa. (See VIII.5.)

The assistant teacher's opinions differed from those of the supervisors and principals in some notable respects.

First, the assistants did not both rate and rank among the three most important statements, a single one of the five belonging to the class "Catholic beliefs, values and practices". However they did value B2 (friend and saviour) quite highly. It was rated first and ranked fourth. Further, they rated and ranked B3 (well behaved) among the three most important statements and through it they may have given expression to their religious convictions. (The thirty-one assistant teachers were all African.) (See

VII.2.3 and here, discussion of B3.)

Secondly, unlike their supervisors, the assistant teachers both rated and ranked B1 (exams and high school) among their two most important aims. (See Table 5:8.)

In this they were in close accord with their Std V pupils who viewed B1 as of prime importance. However the children thought that their teachers placed B2 (friend and saviour) and B3 (well behaved) above it. (They placed B3 at the bottom of their own list of priorities!) (See Table 5:6.)

With regard to the priority given to B1 (exams and high school) by the assistant teachers and the Std V pupils, the findings of Schneier are of interest.

His opinions are based upon a study he undertook entitled 'Occupational mobility among blacks in South Africa'. A major part of the fieldwork was carried out in Soweto in 1981 (Schneier, 1983, 54). The data on occupations rested upon the compilation of a ten-year work history for each respondent (*ibid.*, 36).

He claims that,

- (a) In relation to the Soweto sample, the effect of a person's socio-economic origins is mediated by education.

As he explains

it appears that occupational achievement among respondents is powerfully influenced by prior educational attainment which is in turn influenced by the socio-economic background of the respondents. Socio-economic origin also directly influences the occupation of the respondent but

most of its influence is mediated through the respondent's education (ibid., 69).

Further, he maintains that,

- (b) It was found that most of the observed occupational mobility was not random. From this it was deduced that there are 'forces' at work which establish differentials in the occupational opportunities open to respondents.

He concludes that "Education was found to be the most important of these forces" (ibid., 132).

He also asserts that,

- (c) Education is clearly the most important criterion for determining eligibility for middle class occupations (ibid., 77).

More particularly,

Employment in the semi-skilled (manual) category is most highly correlated with an intermediate level of education (Std 3 - Std 7). It is highly but negatively correlated with respondents with a secondary level of education (ibid., 72).

.... there is a positive and relatively highly significant association between the senior levels of schooling (Std 8 - Std 10) and employment in non-manual occupations found to be those in which there was the greatest degree of occupational inheritance) (ibid., 71).

It may be that the assistant teachers and their Std V pupils sense that schooling plays such roles and, accordingly, give it top, or nearly top, priority. However corroborative evidence from research is not available. As Morphet (1986, 66) says

There is little reliable interpretative research on schooling (in Soweto) We simply do not know enough to make reliable and valid statements on how the residents of Soweto understand and use educational resources.

Thirdly, the assistant teachers placed B6 (a just S.A.) lower in their list of priorities than did the supervisors and principals. The assistants rated it eighth in order of importance and ranked it fourth.

It would, perhaps, be enlightening to take the assistants' response to B6 in conjunction with their reaction to B7 (mass and Communion). The latter was rated fourth and ranked second. These results suggest that they, in Bishop Zwane's terms, tend towards being "traditional" i.e. "good cultic Christians". (See VIII.5 and 4.4.3.5.)

Although the supervisors and principals were not in close concurrence with the assistant teachers concerning the chief educational aims to be pursued in their schools, all three groups agreed upon B8 (convert). They all both rated and ranked it last in order of importance. (The pupils rated only B3 below B8.)

There was also a considerable degree of unanimity between the supervisors and the teachers regarding B4 (white friends). It was neither rated nor ranked above sixth place by any of the three groups. Their opinions were at variance with their Std V pupils who placed it third in order of importance. (See Table 5:6.)

In one respect the supervisors and pupils had more in common with each other than they had with the two teacher groups. The supervisors and the pupils gave higher priority to B5 (teachings) than did the teachers. Of all the groups the children were the most positive: they placed it second in order of importance. (See Table 5:6.)

5.5.4 MEANS OF IMPROVING TEACHING

5.5.4.1 Introduction

Opinions concerning factors that would contribute to better teaching were obtained in reaction to the nine statements in Set A, of which there were three forms. In the Supervisors' Questionnaire each statement began with the words 'Teachers would teach much better if'. This questionnaire was completed by the supervisors and the principals. In the Teachers' Questionnaire Set A statements each began with "I would teach much better if". This was completed by the principals and all the sample of assistant teachers. Pupils alone responded to the Pupils' Questionnaire in which these statements began "We would learn much better if".

Here, reactions to these statements are discussed under three headings i.e. "Problems" (5.5.4.2); "Responses" (5.5.4.3); and "Conclusion" (5.5.4.4.). The first of these sections is concerned with elements that diminish the validity of comparisons between responses to statements within Set A. The second deals with the opinions of the interviewees in relation to each statement in turn. In the last, the relative importance of each of the statements in the opinion of the groups of respondents, is explored.

5.5.4.2 Problems

From interviewees' comments it appears that responses to Set A statements were strongly affected by a number of factors that diminish the validity of comparisons between

responses to one statement with those of another. Consequently the relative importance of a statement, derived from rating and ranking procedures, must be interpreted with great circumspection.

Immediately below, attention will be drawn to some of these factors. Others will be mentioned later.

All the statements in Set A contained the word "better". This almost certainly caused widespread, but not necessarily always serious, problems in comprehension.

Two principals and five assistant teachers, from four different schools, disclosed by their comments that they interpreted the word "better" to mean "good". In each case this emerged in response to A7 ("I would teach much better if I was a better Christian"). For example, one older woman protested indignantly "I am a better Christian. I am not a bad one". She plainly found this supposed slur very offensive. (In another interview a young person reacted to A7 by giggling nervously.) One of these five assistant teachers also responded to A4 ("I would teach much better if my English was better") by saying "It is better".

In addition it is noteworthy that two supervisors, both native speakers of English, said in response to A7 that the teachers in their school were "good Christians" and did not speak of a hope that, in order to become more competent teachers, they should become even better Christians. Like the seven teachers just mentioned, these supervisors became defensive when it was suggested that the religious life of

school staffs be improved.

That teachers became defensive, and revealed that they understood "better" to mean "good" only in response to A7 and, on one occasion, to A4, suggests that they were prepared to entertain the possibility of improvement resulting from the means suggested in the remaining statements. If this is correct then, for the purposes of this study, their idiosyncratic understanding of the meaning of "better" would have little deleterious affect in relation to all but A7.

A second type of problem arose because a number of teachers had difficulty in understanding A3 ("I would teach much better if the children were not encouraged to compete for marks"). Where necessary it was explained. However, in such a case it often happened that when a respondent had formed an opinion, she could not confidently translate it into a rating. Sometimes the rating elicited was at variance with other observations that were volunteered. On other occasions a teacher would give her opinion in general terms and then would try to leave it to the researcher to interpret it in terms of a rating. When such a teacher was experiencing great difficulty it appeared appropriate to the researcher to do so.

One woman demonstrated that apparent incomprehension could not be taken at face value. It emerged in conversation that she found it inconceivable that children be not encouraged to compete for marks. "We want them to compete and get better marks!" she objected. "Isn't that

what it's all about?"

In relation to some statements the pupils demonstrated levels of misunderstanding that rendered their responses valueless. For example, questions addressed to the first group of pupils to be interviewed revealed that they did not understand A5 ("We would learn much better if some of the syllabuses were improved, e.g. history and religion"). They did not know the words "syllabus" or "history". One boy said that "History is something that is happening now in our world - like soldiers shooting people". Other children chimed in with examples such as "strike" and "not attending schools".

Another factor that seriously affected the ratings and rankings arose because several statements were inapplicable to a substantial number of interviewees. For example, only nineteen out of the thirty one assistant teachers could respond appropriately to A8 ("I would teach much better if I had passed matric"). The remainder had already passed this examination. (Unfortunately their opinions were not solicited in response to a matching statement such as 'I teach much better because I have passed matric'.) Consequently it was decided to omit ratings and rankings of A8 from Table 5:9.

Statements A1, A3, A4 and A5 were similarly affected but to a much lesser extent.

This problem is associated with Set A statements, but to a much lesser extent with Set B, because of the nature of

The principals were asked to respond to two forms of Set A statements. The Set A statements in the Teachers' Questionnaire were designed to elicit the principals' opinions about ways in which their own teaching could be improved, those in the Supervisor's Questionnaire to elicit their opinions about the ways in which their teachers' capacities could be increased.

One principal did not rate a number of statements. Therefore her responses are omitted from this table. Some of the comments she made are recorded in the text.

For reasons explained in section 5.5.4.2, reactions to statements A3 and A8 are omitted from this table.

Set A statements in the form in which they appear in the Teachers' Questionnaire are given here.

In order to facilitate interpretation of this table mnemonics are provided for each of the statements that are referred to on it.

the material being explored. Set A is designed to elicit very personal responses. For example, each assistant teacher was stimulated to express opinions concerning those elements which would help her, individually, to teach better. These are necessarily closely related to her special circumstance e.g. the number of children in her class, whether pupils in her school were encouraged to compete for marks, whether she had passed matric, etc. These circumstances can be expected to vary widely. In contrast Set B statements were concerned with a theoretical issue: the aims of education. Opinions concerning this matter are, relatively, independent of the individual teacher's situation.

The last type of problem to be discussed here occurred in relation to A6. The words "children who learn very slowly" are ambiguous. They were variously interpreted as referring to those pupils who were of very low intelligence to those who had learning disabilities and to those normal children who learnt more slowly than their more intelligent classmates.

5.5.4.3 Responses to statements in Set A

5.5.4.3.1 Introduction

The order of importance in which the statements in Set A were placed by the various groups interviewed is displayed in Table 5:9 below.

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Supervisors N = 8		Principals N = 8		Principals N = 8		Assistant teachers N = 31		Pupils N = 40	
Supervisors' Questionnaire		Supervisors' Questionnaire		Teachers' Questionnaire		Teachers' Questionnaire		Pupils' Questionnaire	
Ratings	Rankings	Ratings	Rankings	Ratings	Rankings	Ratings	Rankings	Ratings	Rankings
2 (methods)	1 (class size)	5 (syllabuses)	5 (syllabuses)	5 (syllabuses)	5 (syllabuses)	9 (equipment)	1 (class size)	9 (equipment)	
4 (English)	2 (methods)	9 (equipment)	1 (better Christian)	9 (equipment)					
					1 (class size)	2 (methods)	9 (equipment)	2 (methods)	
1 (class size)	9 (equipment)	1 (class size)	2 (methods)	4 (English)	9 (equipment)	4 (English)	2 (methods)	7 (better Christian)	
5 (syllabuses)		9 (equipment)	9 (equipment)						
	4 (English)	7 (better Christian)		7 (better Christian)	7 (better Christian)	1 (class size)	5 (syllabuses)	4 (English)	
	7 (better Christian)								
(equipment)		2 (methods)	1 (class size)	2 (methods)	6 (slow learners)	5 (syllabuses)	4 (English)	5 (syllabuses)	
		4 (English)		6 (slow learners)					
6 (slow learners)	5 (syllabuses)		6 (slow learners)		2 (methods)	7 (better Christian)	7 (better Christian)	1 (class size)	
(better Christian)	6 (slow learners)								
		6 (slow learners)	4 (English)	1 (class size)	4 (English)	6 (slow learners)	6 (slow learners)	6 (slow learners)	

Statement number	Statement	Mnemonic
A1	I would teach much better if I did not have so many children in my class.	class size
A2	I would teach much better if someone showed me how to use better teaching methods.	methods
A4	I would teach much better if my English was better.	English
A5	I would teach much better if some of the syllabuses were improved e.g. history and religion.	syllabuses
A6	I would teach much better if I did not have some children in my class who learn very slowly.	slow learners
A7	I would teach much better if I was a better Christian.	better Christian
A9	I would teach much better if I had the furniture, books, apparatus and other equipment that I need.	equipment
	(For reasons already explained, A3 "I would teach much better if the children were not encouraged to compete for marks" and A8 "I would teach much better if I passed matric." do not appear on Table 5:9.)	marks matric

Rho was calculated to determine whether there was a significant correlation between the ratings and rankings made by the supervisors in response to the Supervisors' Questionnaire. Similarly, rho was obtained for the relationship between the principals' ratings and rankings in response to the Supervisors' and the Teachers' Questionnaires, and between the assistant teachers' two types of response to the Teachers' Questionnaire. In all four cases there was no significant correlation. This indicates that these results must be approached with the utmost caution.

In addition another test of consistency was applied to the data on Table 5:9.

Each pair of ratings and rankings made by a particular group was examined to determine the number of items that fell within not more than two places of each other in order of importance. For example, the following results were obtained from an examination of the responses made by the assistant teachers.

Statements	Order of importance	Difference in order of importance
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	Ratings	Rankings	
A1 (class size)	4	1	3
A2 (methods)	2	3	1
A4 (English)	3	5	2
A5 (syllabuses)	5	4	1
A6 (slow learners)	7	7	0
A7 (better Christian)	6	6	0
A8 (equipment)	1	2	1

In relation to only one statement (A1: class size) were the ratings and rankings more than two places apart in order of importance. The average difference in levels of order of importance was 1,14.

Among the supervisors' ratings and rankings there were two statements that were more than two places apart. The average difference was 1,71. The principals rated and ranked only one statement on each of the Supervisors' and the Teachers' Questionnaires more than two places apart. The mean difference per statement was 1,57 and 1,71 respectively.

These results suggest that a modest degree of correlation does exist between the ratings and rankings of each of the groups.

Set A Statements can be divided into two types.

On the one hand there are those that indicate that improved teaching would result from the professional.

development of individual teachers. This group consists of A2 (methods), A4 (English), A7 (better Christian) and A8 (matric).

A7 is included in this category because Garrone in The Catholic School (1977, 16-17) asserts that

The extent to which the Christian message is transmitted through education depends to a very great extent on the teachers. The integration of culture and faith is mediated by the other integration of faith and life in the person of the teacher. The nobility of the task to which they are called demands that they reveal the Christian message not only by word but also by every gesture of behaviour. This is what makes the difference between a school whose education is permeated by the Christian spirit and one in which religion is only regarded as an academic subject like any other.

This view is endorsed by Konstant (1981, 104).

On the other hand there are statements in which it is declared that teaching would improve if suitable changes were made to school policy and resources. A1 (class size), A3 (marks), A5 (syllabuses), A6 (slow learners) and A9 (equipment) are of this kind.

However, the overall pattern of material within this section suggested that it would not be fruitful to treat material associated with these themes as separate sub-sections: it would be more appropriate to present the responses in the order in which the statements appear in the questionnaires. This treatment is followed by a brief interpretive conclusion.

5.5.4.3.2 Responses

A1 (class size)

Statement A1 ("I would teach much better if I did not have so many children in my class") met with very mixed reactions from the principals and the assistant teachers.

The principals, in relation to their own needs, rated it as being of least importance but ranked it second. As regards the needs of their staff it was rated third and ranked fifth. The assistant teachers rated it fourth but ranked it first.

Both principals and assistant teachers gave the impression that the size of their classes was a matter of considerable significance to them. The opinions expressed during the interviews must, of course, have been affected by the actual sizes of their classes. These varied from 23 in a remedial class in one school to 63 in a Sub A in another. (See Table 5:10 below.)

Table 5:10

Number of pupils per class

School	Number of assistant teachers in sample	Maximum number of pupils per class	Minimum number of pupils per class	Average number of pupils per class
A	4	56	42	50
B	4	45	23	31
C	6	57	42	51
D	8	63	33	46
E	5	41	34	38
F	3	45	34	40
Total	30	63	23	44

All but one of the assistant teachers included in the sample were class teachers. The figures given above refer to the size of their classes. The exception was a sewing mistress who taught a number of different classes.

However the teachers' reactions could not be predicted on the basis of the size of their class. The 27 year old mistress of a Sub A class of 56 remarked that this was "not too many with small ones". In another school a Std III teacher (aged 43) also had 56 pupils. She said that a class of this size was "uncontrollable".

Fourteen assistant teachers indicated the size of class they preferred. These varied from approximately 25 to 45. One 63 year old woman who had 54 pupils described her class as "just the right size".

Two supervisors said the classes in their schools were too big. At one of these schools there were between 45 and 50 children in each class. The supervisor of this school felt the optimum number to be 35.

Two others indicated that, in their schools, the numbers had been reduced over the past few years. One said

We used to have seventies [seventy plus pupils per class]. In the Higher Primary we now have forties. And in the Lower Primary a maximum of 38. Its because the numbers have got smaller that our teachers are beginning to move You can't implement new ideas when there is no room in the classroom.

Another supervisor said "numbers shouldn't make any difference to the actual teaching but numbers might affect the reception of the children. [The degree to which the children absorbed the information presented to them by their teacher.] The more you have the more difficult to control. [The larger the class the more difficult for the teacher to control.]

The pupils rated A1 (class size) very low in the order of importance.

A2 (methods)

A2 ("Teachers would teach much better if someone showed them how to use better teaching methods") was both rated and ranked as first in order of importance by the supervisors. However five of these made it clear that demonstration of new methods was necessary but insufficient. This group all believed strongly in "follow-up" i.e. close supervision of the teacher in the classroom until she habitually uses the new methods.

One person described how she had prepared a lesson with a small group of teachers. Then she had given a demonstration lesson. The following day she supervised the preparation of another lesson and one of the teachers gave the lesson in the presence of her colleagues. "It was fantastic". A few days later the supervisor unexpectedly visited the school in order to observe this teacher in the classroom. "We were back to square one because she didn't know I was coming." The teacher had reverted to her previous method of teaching.

Another supervisor said that:

Teachers are inclined to be lazy . . . It's easier to do it the way you have been doing it for twenty years. Then you use the stick if the children don't respond.

A third insisted that

African teachers, even though they are shown, don't implement. Many won't. I think it stems from an innate lack of initiative, creativity, imagination. If you want them to do something there must be unending follow-up. If (only) they could get past the attitude that teaching is just yakking at kids. That is if they could involve children in discovery methods.

A fourth supervisor felt that

the lower primary teachers are putting a lot more into the change than (those in) the higher primary. The higher primary (teachers) feel that the pressure is to cover the syllabus and pass the exams.

Another person concurred. She said that "the whole system is exam ridden". The teachers used poor teaching methods in the higher primary classes because "they are always working towards an examination". She was of the

opinion that "apart from the top class which is about to transfer to high school, continuous assessment is more appropriate".

Another supervisor, in reaction to A5 (syllabuses) asserted that

Having to work towards an exam, having to finish the syllabus, doesn't help teaching. In English the children are taught stilted English which they have to know for exam purposes. Like using "shall", sounds and diminutives.

In general the principals, whether in relation to themselves or to their staffs, placed A2 (methods) lower in order of importance than did the supervisors or assistant teachers. One person shed light on the reason for her lack of enthusiasm when she remarked

We (each) have a different way of teaching. If she (the teacher) doesn't implement that method (the new one she had been shown), you can show her (again) but she would prefer her own methods.

Such conservatism was criticized by another headmistress. She said that she would like to encourage "activity" and "play methods". Some of the older teachers in particular used "old methods" which did "not appeal to the children of today. Sometimes half grade one pupils fail. In the Cape they all pass." However, it was difficult to introduce reforms because "Teachers are lazy".

In contrast to this, three principals, when invited to suggest "anything else that would help them to teach better" (A10) indicated that they wanted their teachers introduced to new methods. (Another gave a similar response to A5.) These four appeared to envisage this being done by means of

lectures given as part of a course. It is not clear why these head teachers did not recognise this possibility as being covered by A2 (methods).

One person wanted "information to be given about new developments". Teachers should be shown how to use new apparatus such as computers. Further "Teachers don't know how to use overhead projectors".

Two principals wanted regular "refresher courses" in religion, perhaps once a year.

No one in this category mentioned a need for "follow-up" nor did they question the influence of examinations on their teaching.

Regarding A2 (methods), the opinions of the assistant teachers were more like those of the supervisors than those of their principals. The assistant teachers rated and ranked A2 as second and third in order of importance.

Stimulated by statements four of the assistant teachers spoke of a "refresher" or "upgrading" courses. A further four mentioned such courses when asked whether there was "anything else that would help you to teach better" (A10). Another person did likewise in reaction to A5 (syllabuses).

Two assistant teachers were sceptical of the value of being shown new teaching methods. One woman (62), who had been teaching since 1945, asked "Aren't methods personal? Especially if we have been trained?" The second claimed that "Teaching depends mainly on the teacher. If someone comes and shows me better teaching methods, or gives me more

teaching aids, if I can't teach it won't help".

A similar view was held by a supervisor who said:

Some teachers are not even qualified and they teach better than the qualified. Teaching is a gift. Its a vocation. Some teachers give wholeheartedly and teach well. Others are lazy.

The pupils rated A2 (methods) second in order of importance.

There was a very noticeable omission in the supervisors' and teachers' comments concerning methods of teaching. There were no references whatsoever to ideas circulating at the time in Soweto in relation to "people's education for people's power".

Some of these notions are embodied in a draft document, "People's education: English in Standards 9 and 10", produced by the English subject committee of the National Education Crisis Committee, presumably in the course of 1986. For further information about this document see below in 5.5.6.

In the document it is said that

in keeping with the implications of people's education for people's power, the programme (in question) is intended to make possible a high degree of participation in the classroom by the learners themselves, on a mutual and co-operative basis. Such an approach stresses the need to provide students with the means of access to the use of English in a variety of forms and situations. Therefore the role of the teacher is envisaged in this programme as one who makes access to linguistic experience possible in a number of ways, and not as one who is in sole control of what is taught, how it is taught and to whom it is taught. By virtue of training and experience, teachers have a crucial and influential role to play, but that role is more one as the facilitator of learning than as one who

makes all the significant decisions (37,2).

A3 (marks)

For reasons explained in 5.5.4.2, A3 (marks) ratings and rankings were omitted from Tables 5:9 and 5:11. Nevertheless attention is drawn here to spontaneous comments evoked by this statement ("I would teach much better if the children were not encouraged to compete for marks").

A principal and four assistant teachers were in favour of competition for marks. Another principal, and one of the teachers on her staff, said that pupils "should not compete for marks but for knowledge".

Four supervisors were in two minds about the value of competition in the classroom.

The first, with many years of experience in white schools, remarked that "The mark system does motivate" but felt "unable to answer this from an African point of view". A second, who did not know whether pupils were encouraged to be competitive, thought that "Everyone must have some goal if you want results". A third person was also doubtful of the value of competition. She said "Half and half. Sometimes it can motivate". After some thought she continued

In remedial reading class if someone does better than previous day everyone rejoices. This is in contrast to ordinary class where if someone does very well the others feel bad.

"It's the only way the teachers know how to teach" lamented the fourth. "I'd love to say yes (in response to A3)."

The principals of three schools on separate sites claimed that their pupils were not encouraged to compete for marks. Eleven teachers from schools on five sites concurred. Two teachers of Sub B classes appeared to deny only that "the little ones" were not stimulated to be competitive. They did not refer to the practice among older pupils.

One assistant teacher made it clear that she did not advocate competition between individuals but nevertheless used a competitive spirit to motivate her pupils.

If you say "you are better than that one," some children are embarrassed and don't work hard. Sometimes a child who is not so clever doesn't put up her hand and relies on the clever ones.

If I've divided them into groups I say I want to see which group scores the highest.

Of the twenty five pupils who rated A3 only two "agreed" with this statement and none "agreed strongly". However, in view of the difficulty that their elders experienced in understanding this statement, the pupils' reactions must be treated with great caution.

One group of five pupils insisted that they were not encouraged to compete for marks. This may well be but it cannot be doubted that all the pupils encountered had been very strongly motivated to work for their examinations.

Two supervisors were stimulated by A3 (marks) to talk about examinations.

One person, who had had experience of only one school in Soweto, said "Of what I have seen children do not seem to compete for marks". However, she protested, "The whole

system is exam ridden. They are always working towards an exam". She claimed that this led teachers to use bad teaching methods.

Examination questions were based upon information given in the textbook. In the main pupils were only required to recall this body of knowledge. They were not asked to extend it nor to apply it to other situations.

As a result teachers taught directly from the textbook. Their questions to the children required only that they parrot what they had been told and the teachers were satisfied when they obtained this. At this juncture in a lesson this supervisor had occasionally taken over a class. Her questions to the children usually revealed that they could not think for themselves.

The second supervisor complained that "We shouldn't have to allow children's lives to be governed by examinations".

A4 (English)

In the six Catholic primary schools of Soweto, English is the medium of instruction in Stds III to V. In Stds I and II English was taught as a subject and, in one known case, arithmetic was taught through this medium. Therefore, in the context of this research, it was important to gather opinions regarding A4 ("I would teach much better if my English was better") from the twenty-one assistant teachers in the sample who taught classes between Std I and Std V. Nine of these "agreed strongly", seven "agreed" and five

"disagreed". Three, one of whom had disagreed with the statement, ranked it as one of the three most important means of improving their teaching. From this it would appear that these teachers rated A4 fairly highly but ranked it somewhat lower.

In Sub A and B the pupils were taught exclusively in the vernacular and English was not taught as a subject. From this it might appear that improvement in the teachers' English was irrelevant to their teaching skills and two people made this point. The remaining eight teachers were happy to respond to A4. Three "agreed strongly", four "agreed", and one "disagreed". Three ranked it among the three most important means of improving their teaching. Thus it would appear that this group was rather more enthusiastic about improving their English than their colleagues who taught English and/or taught through the medium of English. No reason for this suggests itself.

Table 5.9 reveals a second unexplained phenomenon. In each of the four sets of ratings and rankings A4 (English) is rated more highly than it is ranked.

The supervisors rated it first in order of importance but ranked it fourth. One person who "agreed" with A4 said that the teachers' "English is Sowetan English. For example 'work' is pronounced as 'wek'". Another felt that "even if their English is not perfect they can convey ideas". A third supervisor claimed that, at her school, "English was not a problem" but ranked A4 among the three most important means of improving teaching.

In respect of their own teaching, the principals rated A4 (English) third in order of importance but no one ranked it among the three most important means to improvement. In relation to their staff the principals rated it fifth but, once again, no one placed it among their rankings. None of the principals made comments in response to A4 on either questionnaire.

The assistant teachers rated it third and ranked it fifth. They too made few additional remarks.

Pupils ranked A4 fourth in order of importance.

In general the upgrading of the teachers' English was not accorded high priority.

A5 (syllabuses)

In response to A5 ("I would teach much better if some of the syllabuses were improved e.g. history and religion") a number of general comments were made and there were some about the history and religion syllabuses. Only one person spoke about the syllabus of any other subject. (Concerning the English syllabus she said "it should bring the child quickly nearer to the spoken language".)

This might suggest that the examples given in the statement served to focus unduly the attention of the respondents upon the two subjects mentioned. However experience in Kagiso suggests that this might not be the case. There the teachers received no such prompts. Nevertheless they too commented on the teaching of history and religion with only a very few remarks about any other

subject.

On both the Teachers' and the Supervisors' Questionnaires the principals rated and ranked A5 as the most important means of improving teaching.

One of the two people who made general comments said

We want equal education. That is causing all that rioting business in these schools. The syllabus we are using is quite different from the whites We are far behind the times How can we teach if we do not have the required knowledge as teachers?

The other remarked that syllabuses were too long.

With regard to the syllabus in religion one principal observed

Some teachers are not Catholics. Perhaps if the syllabus were improved it would help them to see our Catholic way.

The supervisors and the assistant teachers gave far lower priority to having the syllabuses changed.

The supervisors rated A5 (syllabuses) third and ranked it sixth.

One, harking back to her earlier remarks concerning A2 (methods) said:

It goes back to having to pass exams. They get stuck with the syllabus they've got. You have to learn facts and there's not much scope for activities, projects and that kind of thing.

Another person seemed to be in sharp disagreement with the above view. This supervisor insisted that

You can have a horrible syllabus but the initiative and preparation of the teacher could improve the quality of what they are teaching.

The woman, who had previously spoken of the effect of syllabuses on teaching methods, commented in relation to A10

that

If they (the teachers) weren't tied to the exam syllabus. I get the feeling that they are stuck with "this is what the Department (of Education and Training) says we must do and they're the authority up there". Some are willing to change things after attending in-service courses run by the Department because the Department says this is the way to do it.

Two others spoke of the history syllabus. One remarked

The history we are teaching is not the right one for our children. We don't teach about great black leaders of the past. (Its) always Jan van Riebeeck. All the way to matric.

The other said angrily

some facts, one doubts if they are true or just there to favour some nations.

The two people who commented on the history syllabus seemed to be in broad agreement with each other and with the two principals who referred to it.

One asserted that "The history syllabus is not a true reflection of the history of the country" and the other claimed that the history taught was "all from the white point of view".

With regard to the teaching of religion a supervisor said that all the Catholic schools used the diocesan syllabus based on the "People of God" series of books. (In fact there seems to have been an exception.) The informant was satisfied with it. Another, apparently talking about the syllabus advocated by the Department of Education and Training, said that it was a "scripture syllabus". This was "quite different from religion". Scripture was only

part of religion. This person, who prepared pupils for First Communion and for Confirmation, used the "'Penny Catechism' because it contains moral truth, truths of faith and sacraments". It was claimed that modern catechisms contained "more psychology than religion".

The assistant teachers rated A5 (syllabuses) fourth in order of importance and ranked it fourth.

Three of the general comments made seemed to suggest that many syllabi were dated. For example one woman said

Most are not improved. We have had the same syllabuses for years and years. They should get ideas from teachers. What they think about this and this.

Four respondents complained that the history syllabus was too long and one also said that it was irrelevant to the children's interests.

None of the assistant teachers complained of bias. One woman hinted at resistance by her pupils to the content of some history lessons. She remarked

Times are changing. When we were children we took what your teacher told you. What was in the history book. But not now.

Four assistant teachers commented on the syllabus for religion. Two were satisfied with it. One said she found it difficult to understand but did not ask that it be changed. (She hoped that "workshops" would be provided.) The fourth said "I sometimes find that I have no better method for religion. They (the pupils) find it difficult to understand". Suitable teaching aids were not available. She did not suggest a solution to her problems.

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that

If they (the teachers) weren't tied to the exam syllabus. I get the feeling that they are stuck with "this is what the Department (of Education and Training) says we must do and they're the authority up there". Some are willing to change things after attending in-service courses run by the Department because the Department says this is the way to do it.

Two others spoke of the history syllabus. One remarked

The history we are teaching is not the right one for our children. We don't teach about great black leaders of the past. (Its) always Jan van Riebeeck. All the way to matric.

The other said angrily

some facts, one doubts if they are true or just there to favour some nations.

The two people who commented on the history syllabus seemed to be in broad agreement with each other and with the two principals who referred to it.

One asserted that "The history syllabus is not a true reflection of the history of the country" and the other claimed that the history taught was "all from the white point of view"

With regard to the teaching of religion a supervisor said that all the Catholic schools used the diocesan syllabus based on the "People of God" series of books. (In fact there seems to have been an exception.) The informant was satisfied with it. Another, apparently talking about the syllabus advocated by the Department of Education and Training, said that it was a "scripture syllabus". This was "quite different from religion". Scripture was only

part of religion. This person, who prepared pupils for First Communion and for Confirmation, used the 'Penny Catechism' because it contains moral truth, truths of faith and sacraments". It was claimed that modern catechisms contained "more psychology than religion".

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Most are out of date. We have had the same syllabuses for years and years. They should get ideas from teachers. What they think about this and this.

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None of the assistant teachers complained of bias. One woman hinted at resistance by her pupils to the content of some history lessons. She remarked

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A6 (slow learners)

A6 ("I would teach much better if I did not have some children in my class who learn very slowly") was rated and ranked as among the three least important means of improving teaching by all groups of respondents. (This includes the principals' reactions to both the Supervisors' and the Teachers' Questionnaires.)

In assessing this outcome it must be remembered that interviewees made various interpretations of the words "children who learn very slowly". Some thought they referred to pupils who were retarded; others to children with learning problems or to normal pupils of low intelligence. (See 5.5.4.2.)

Only one person suggested that it would be better if the "slow learners" were removed from her school. This principal said that

retarded children should go to special schools because it delays the progress of the whole class (However) we must sacrifice to take those children because there are not enough special schools for them.

She added that she did not have many such children.

Four assistant teachers and a supervisor made it clear that they felt it to be normal to have some children who learn very slowly .

Another five people wanted additional facilities within their schools for children with learning difficulties.

One school already had such provision. One of this school's principals claimed that there, children with

learning difficulties were the "focus of attention". Three of the five assistant teachers volunteered that they had a "special interest in slow learners". One said

I prefer to have children with problems. I like to have a class with very high, medium and low and to move a child from one to a higher one.

At another school an assistant teacher explained how she coped with children of different capacities.

I divide my class. This group are fast catchers. They have work to go on with. Then I concentrate to the slow catchers. I am very happy when I see the slow on the same level as the fast catchers.

Only one person expressed concern for the most able children. A supervisor asserted that

The brighter children are sacrificed for the sake of the slower. The slower children must, of course, have the help they need to grasp the basics. But the quicker children should be usefully occupied while the teacher is giving the necessary extra help to the slower. Because the teachers are using rote methods, and total class participation all the time, the bright ones are held back.

She recommended that group work be used to solve the problem but warned that large classes militated against such practice particularly if the teacher were inexperienced in working with groups.

One supervisor objected to A6 on the grounds that "you don't teach better because you have cleverer children".

A7 (better Christian)

It will be recalled that in relation to A7 ("I would teach much better if I was a better Christian") seven teachers revealed that they did not distinguish a difference in meaning between the words "good" and better.

5.5.4.2.) This should be borne in mind in interpreting responses to this statement.

Only the pupils rated A7 (better Christian) above fourth in order of importance. With one exception (discussed below) the rankings were equally low.

The principals, speaking of the means of improving their own teaching, both rated and ranked it fourth. In relation to their staff's needs they rated it fourth but ranked it as being of the highest importance. The researcher can offer no explanation for this discrepancy.

The assistant teachers both rated and ranked A7 sixth in order of importance. This is particularly significant in view of the inservice education of teachers that was provided by the Diocese in these schools. (See 5.2.2 and A2: methods.)

In response to A7 one supervisor retorted "I dispute Pagans sometimes teach very well". Another supervisor a principal and an assistant teacher made comments in similar vein. However, the last and a further supervisor thought that an improvement in a teacher's personal life might make her a better teacher of religion because, said the supervisor, her "attitude to the children would be of better quality".

Five more people (a supervisor, two principals and two assistant teachers), all of whom agreed with A7 in general, believed that any improvement that resulted would be the consequence of necessarily improved attitudes to pupils. A principal made this typical observation: "If you are a

better Christian you have motherly love and patience".

Only one person felt poor Christians to be inferior teachers. This principal said

Unqualified Christian teachers do better than qualified unChristian teachers because they (the former) have a responsibility to the children.

In response to A8 another principal remarked that

Some people with degrees are quite hopeless - if they don't have Christian values.

A8 (matric)

In 5.5.4.2 it was noted that 12 of the 31 assistant teachers in the sample had passed matric and therefore could not respond appropriately to A8 ("I would teach much better if I passed matric"). For this reason responses to this statement were omitted from Tables 5:9 and 5:11. Here are recorded the reactions of the 61% of assistant teachers who had not passed matric.

8 people (41%) "agree(d) strongly" with A8, and 7 (37%) "agree(d)" i.e. 79% of this group believed that a matric would help them to teach better. Only four disagreed. 10 (53%) ranked A8 among the three most important means of improving their teaching.

None of those who agreed with this proposition elaborated on their opinions. In contrast, three of the four who disagreed made additional comments. One said "I am trained, matric can't make me a better teacher really than I am right now". Later in the interview she seems to have second thoughts about this. She added "matric will help me because I'll have a wider background". This woman,

and another who disagreed with A8, both ranked it among the three most important means of improving their teaching.

Two of the nine principals had not passed matric. One of these disagreed with A8 and the other disagreed strongly. The former (aged 46 years) said

its necessary to have matric but, from experience,
I know it doesn't help you to teach better.

Seven of the principals who themselves had matric "agreed", and a further two "agreed strongly", that their assistants would teach better if they passed this examination. However not one of the nine ranked A8 among the three most important means of improving teaching.

Five of the eight supervisors agreed with A8 (matric), one "strongly"; three disagreed. Only the person who "agreed strongly" ranked it among the three most important means of improving teaching.

Five supervisors made comments whose general thrust was expressed by the person who said

I agree that they should pass matric. But just
passing matric won't make them teach better.

It was generally held that teachers would gain confidence by passing this examination and would have a better "background". They would also earn more money and this was recognised as important.

Two supervisors and two principals cast in doubt the efficacy of both initial teacher training and matric. One of the principals insisted that

If someone is not a "Born teacher" matric or even
a teachers' training college won't help.

The pupils' ratings suggest that they attach great importance to their teachers having passed matric. They placed it third in order of importance among eight Set A statements. (A3 was omitted.)

Further reference will be made to these responses to A8 when Set C statements are discussed.

A9 (equipment)

A9 ("I would teach much better if I had the furniture, books and equipment I need") was rated first in order of importance by the assistant teachers, and ranked second.

The principals gave it almost the same degree of precedence. On both the Supervisor's and the Teachers' Questionnaires it was rated first and ranked third.

According to the pupils' ratings it was of prime importance.

Several teachers asked whether "equipment" included "apparatus". They were assured that it did. This question arose so frequently that the researcher added the word "apparatus" to A9 in subsequent interviews. This appeared to be the term used by teachers to refer to pictures and charts.

Four teachers felt burdened by the need to make apparatus. One asserted that

Your family suffers if you have to spend time making apparatus at home.

Two principals and one assistant teacher felt a need for teaching aids which would be regarded as sophisticated in black primary schools in South Africa. One principal

said

We need more radios, photostat machines. (We do have one but, because of the unrest conditions, its kept in a convent in a quiet white residential suburb.) We have an overhead projector. A school also needs a video for things like stories

A principal of another school had recently mounted a fund raising campaign in order to buy overhead projectors and three assistant teachers from three different schools felt that they had all the equipment they required.

A further three spoke of books. One said that where she taught

reading books belong to the school. They are not bought by the children. This is good.

A second wished that she could have a "little library" just for the small children that she taught.

The third, a principal, said

We have a problem. The children don't have books. Its been a very tough year.

She probably was referring to textbooks.

The supervisors valued A9 (equipment) fairly highly but less so than the principals, assistant teachers or pupils. Their attitude is perhaps best expressed by the person who remarked

Availability of equipment etc. would not of itself make them better teachers but is a pre-requisite.

Other comments made by the supervisors were very similar to those made by the teachers with one notable exception. Two supervisors claimed that the necessary books and equipment were available to the teachers but were

not used "either (because) they don't know how or they are a bit lazy".

A10

Having responded to the nine statements in Set A, interviewees were asked "Is there anything else that would help you/them to teach better?", as appropriate.

It has been noted that several wanted "courses" or "workshops". These answers were discussed with reactions to A2 (methods). Others spoke of matters which were related to other statements. Those comments referred to below are means to better teaching that are significantly different from those mentioned in A1 to A9.

One supervisor was acutely aware of her teachers' anxieties. She observed that they came from an "unrest situation which was a worry to them". She wished that "the situation was more conducive to teaching". The teachers suffered from "the insecurity of not knowing what tomorrow will bring". This also affected the children. She marvelled that "they do as well as they do".

An elderly assistant teacher spoke with pain of her family's recent experiences.

Two principals spoke of problems that they confronted daily. One complained that "being a principal as well as teaching is too much work. I have no assistant or deputy. I can't do either job thoroughly". The other regretted that the parents were so unco-operative. Sometimes they did not "want to help us to raise funds. (Further) we have to run after them to get them to pay school fees".

Two people drew attention to a need for added buildings. A supervisor said that her school required a science laboratory and a library. A principal wanted more classrooms.

5.5.4.4 Conclusion

Table 5:11

Means of improving teaching:

statements from Set A that were both rated and ranked highest, and lowest, in order of importance

Group	Statements both rated and ranked among the <u>first three</u>		Statements both rated and ranked among the <u>last three</u>	
	Number	Mnemonic	Number	Mnemonic
Assistants N = 31	A2 A9	methods equipment	A6 A7	slow learners better Christian
Principals: re themselves N = 8	A5 A9	syllabuses equipment	A2 A6	methods slow learners
Principals: re assistants N = 8	A5 A9	syllabuses equipment	A4 A6	English slow learners
Supervisors N = 8	A1 A2	class size methods	A6 A7	slow learners better Christian

It was noted earlier in this discussion of responses to statements in Set A that they can be divided into two types. On the one hand there are those which indicate that improved teaching would result from the professional development of individual teachers. This group consists of A2 (methods), A4 (English), A7 (better Christian) and A8 (matric). On

the other hand there are those statements in which it is said that teaching would improve if suitable changes were made to school policy and resources. A1 (class size), A3 (marks), A5 (syllabuses), A6 (slow learners) and A9 (equipment) are of this kind.

The principals, neither in relation to themselves, nor in connection with assistant teachers, both rated and ranked a statement requiring teacher development among the three most important means of improving teaching.

The supervisors both rated and ranked A2 (methods) first in importance. However, five of the nine supervisors who were interviewed felt that an introduction to better teaching methods was a necessary but insufficient means of bringing about change. Four felt that, in addition, the teachers' inertia had to be overcome. Two others were convinced that many bad classroom practices arose from the need to complete set syllabi in preparation for exams.

The assistant teachers both rated and ranked A2 (methods) among the most important three statements. Eight of those who made spontaneous comments revealed that they envisaged learning about teaching methods exclusively within the context of a course of lectures. There was no mention of 'follow-up'.

The pupils rated A2 (methods) second in order of importance.

None of the other statements that imply a need for teacher development was both rated and ranked highly by any

of the three groups of respondents. However A2 (methods), A4 (English) and A7 (better Christian) were all both rated and ranked among the three least important by at least one group each. (See Table 5:11.)

The principals, in relation to themselves, both rated and ranked A2 (methods) among the three least useful means of improving their teaching.

The improvement of the teachers' English was not given high priority and, indeed, the principals placed it among the three least important ways of improving their assistants' teaching.

The assistant teachers and the supervisors both rated and ranked A7 (better Christian) among the three least important means of improving the assistants' teaching.

It was in relation to this statement that seven teachers revealed that they understood the word "better" to mean "good". Further, in some cases, A7 evidently aroused a certain defensiveness and resistance to the notion that improvements were desirable. (See 5.5.4.2.) It may have been that this gestalt was more widespread than the teachers' spontaneous remarks indicated. If so this may account to some extent for the low value accorded to A7 (better Christian).

The low priority accorded to A7 by the assistant teachers becomes of greater significance in view of the inservice education of teachers that was provided by the Diocese at schools on two of the six sites in Soweto. (See 5.2.2.) It would seem that these efforts to upgrade the

teachers were meeting with resistance.

A8 (matric) was not included in Table 5:9 because 39% of the assistant teachers had passed matric and so could not respond appropriately to this statement.

Of the 61% who had not passed this examination, 79% believed that matric would help them to teach better and 53% ranked A8 among the three most important means of improving their teaching. Nobody elaborated upon her responses.

Seven principals, who themselves had matric, agreed (two of them "strongly") that their assistants would teach better if they passed this examination. However not one of them ranked A8 among the three most important means of improving teaching.

The two principals, who themselves did not have matric, both disagreed (one "strongly") with A8 in relation to their assistants. Neither ranked this statement.

The supervisors were in general in favour of teachers passing matric but at least five of the eight were not wholly convinced that this would help them to teach better.

It is plain that the assistant teachers who had yet to pass matric were more convinced of the usefulness of this qualification in the classroom than were their superiors.

In brief: In Set A the four statements A2 (methods), A4 (English), A7 (better Christian) and A8 (matric), affirm that improved teaching would result from the professional development of individual teachers. The supervisors and the assistants gave high priority only to A2. The

principals gave high priority to none of the four. Further A2, A4 and A7 feature among at least one groups' set of three statements having least support. (See Table 5:11.) (Responses to A8 were omitted from Tables 5:9 and 5:11 for reasons explained in the section 5.5.4.2.)

In contrast, three of the statements that embody changes in school policy and resources were each, in the opinion of at least one group, among the three most important means of improving teaching. These three were A1 (class size), A5 (syllabuses) and A9 (equipment).

The supervisors placed A1 among the three most important means of bringing about improvement in teaching. It was also claimed by two of these people that the size of classes in their schools had been reduced over the previous few years, indicating that they, at least, had acted upon this conviction.

The teachers, both principals and assistants, gave the impression that the number of pupils they were required to teach was a matter of considerable significance to them. However their ratings and rankings of A1 (class size) were inconsistent. It was also evident that their perceptions of the optimum number of pupils per class varied considerably.

In both the Teachers' and the Supervisors' Questionnaire the principals rated and ranked A5 (syllabuses) as the most important means of improving teaching. It is not possible for this group of respondents to give higher priority to a statement. The spontaneous

Comments suggested that they felt the history syllabus to be most in need of reform. (It is thought that this choice cannot be assumed to arise merely as a result of the example given in the statement.) The remarks made by two of the supervisors revealed that they were in accord with the principals' view that they were required to teach the history of South Africa from a white standpoint.

A9 (equipment) was alone in being rated and ranked by the assistant teachers among the two most important means of improving teaching. It was placed almost as highly by the principals. The pupils concurred.

The comments volunteered by supervisors disclosed that most people in this group believed equipment to be a necessary but insufficient means of improving teaching.

A6 (slow learners) was placed among the three least important means of improving teaching by the supervisors, by the principals in relation to themselves and to their assistants, by the assistant teachers and the pupils.

At one school special provision was made for children with learning problems, and five teachers from other schools wanted similar facilities.

There was widespread and unmistakable concern with less able children.

Only one person, a supervisor, drew attention to the needs of the more successful pupils. She claimed that the brighter children are being sacrificed for the sake of the slower".

A3 (marks) is the last of the statements relating to school policy and resources to be referred to here.

It was not placed on Tables 5:9 and 5:11 for reasons explained in section 5.5.4.2.

Many shades of opinion were expressed in relation to this statement.

Further, it emerged that many people, and particularly teachers of the youngest children, believed that their pupils were not urged to compete with their classmates.

Two supervisors were stimulated by A3 to speak about examinations. One person protested that "the whole (school) system is exam ridden".

It was plain that the Std V pupils interviewed were highly motivated to pass their forthcoming examinations.

All in all, in improving teaching, the professional education of teachers was little valued in comparison with changes in school policy and resources.

5.5.5 'THE TEACHERS' EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

5.5.5.1 Introduction

The questions and statements in Set C bear upon the further educational needs of teachers.

Here the responses of the assistant teachers concerning their own needs will be discussed first (5.5.5.2).

Secondly, the principals' opinions about their own needs, and those of the assistant teachers, will be explored (5.5.5.3).

Thirdly, the supervisors' opinions about the teachers

needs (those of both the principals and their assistants) will be described and examined (5.5.5.4).

Some general conclusions relating to the material in section 5.5.5 as a whole will be drawn in the Conclusion (5.5.5.5).

Table 5:12 below shows the supervisors', the principals' and the assistant teachers' reactions to statements in Set C. These concern the assistants' reasons for wanting matric.

Table 3.12

Reasons for wanting to pass metric

Table 3.12 shows the statements in Set C by assistant teachers who wanted to pass metric, concerning their own motives, and by supervisors and principals in relation to the assistants' rationale for wanting this qualification

Assistant teachers N = 15		Supervisors N = 8		Principals N = 8	
Ratings	Rankings	Ratings	Rankings	Ratings	Rankings
1 (better teacher)	1 (better teacher)	2 (earn more in present job)	2 (earn more in present job)	8 (difficult to get a job later)	2 (earn more in present job)
2 (earn more in present job)	2 (earn more in present job)	8 (difficult to get a job later)	8 (difficult to get a job later)	2 (earn more in present job)	3 (better teacher) 8 (difficult to get a job later)
8 (difficult to get a job later)	6 (degree)	1 (better teacher)	3 (better teacher)	3 (better teacher)	
6 (degree)	8 (difficult to get a job later)	6 (degree)		6 (degree)	6 (degree)
7 (high school teacher)	7 (high school teacher)	5 (any job that pays more)		5 (any job that pays more)	4 (community school) 5 (any job that pays more)
6 (any job that pays more)	6 (any job that pays more)	7 (high school teacher)		7 (high school teacher)	
4 (community school)	4 (community school) 1 (no longer a teacher)	4 (community school)		4 (community school)	
1 (no longer a teacher)		1 (no longer a teacher)	1 (no longer a teacher) 4 (community school) 5 (any job that pays more) 6 (degree) 7 (high school teacher)	1 (no longer a teacher)	1 (no longer a teacher) 7 (high school teacher)

In order to facilitate interpretation of this table, the statements are given in the form in which they appear in the Teachers' Questionnaire and mnemonics are provided

Statements	Mnemonics
C1. I want to pass matric because I no longer want to be a school teacher.	no longer a teacher
C2. I want to pass matric because I want to earn more in my present job.	earn more in present job
C3. I want to pass matric because I want to be a better teacher.	better teacher
C4. I want to pass matric because I want to have a better chance of getting a job in a community school.	community school
C5. I want to pass matric because I want to get a job, any job, that pays more.	any job that pays more
C6. I want to pass matric because I want to study for a degree.	degree
C7. I want to pass matric because I want to become a high school teacher.	high school teacher
C8. I want to pass matric because, in the future, a teacher without a matric will find it difficult to get a job.	difficult to get a job later

One principal could not decide whether to agree or disagree with C2 (earn more in present job). Had she "agreed" this statement would have been rated on a par with C8 (difficult to get a job later) in order of importance.

Another principal failed to rate C4 (community school). If she had disagreed with this statement it would have been rated as equal in importance to C1 (no longer a teacher).

None of the supervisors ranked C1 (no longer a teacher)

teacher), C4 (community school), C5 (any job that pays more, C6 (degree) and C7 (higher school teacher) among the three most important reasons for wanting matric. Likewise, none of the principals ranked C1 (no longer a teacher) or C7 (high school teacher). Each of these two clusters of statements is placed in square brackets in eighth position in their respective columns.

There are grounds for confidence in these findings.

First, the assistant teachers' spontaneous comments did not indicate that they found the statements ambiguous nor that they had other problems in comprehension. (C3 and C4 both contained the word "better" but this did not seem to have caused any problems. For difficulties in relation to the use of this word see 5.5.4.2.)

Secondly, the range of the assistants' ratings was wide. C3 received the most positive response. In relation to it 14 people "agreed strongly" and one person "disagreed", giving a score of 27. This is in contrast to reaction to C1 which received the most negative response. Ten people "disagreed" with C1 and five "disagreed strongly". This produced a score of -20. (The greatest possible range was +30 to -30.) This suggests that the assistant teachers felt strongly about these statements and that there was a high degree of unanimity in the group.

Thirdly, the range of the assistant teachers' rankings was wide. Statement C3 (better teacher) was ranked by 13 out of 15 assistant teachers; C1 (no longer a teacher) was ranked by none. They were therefore placed first and last in order of importance.

Fourthly, the supervisors', principals' and assistant teachers' ratings and rankings each correlated significantly at, respectively, the 1%, 5% and 1% levels.

Therefore these findings merit serious consideration.

5.5.5.2 Assistant teachers

The assistant teachers were asked to respond to those questions which applied to them in the form in which they were presented in the Teachers' Questionnaire. In addition those people who wished to obtain a Senior Certificate were required to react to eight statements. These concerned the assistant teachers' motives for wanting this qualification.

Twelve (39%) of the sample of the thirty-one assistants had obtained a Senior Certificate. These teachers did not indicate whether their pass had been at a university-entrance level i.e. that formally called "matriculation". Only rarely did a teacher distinguish between the two pass levels in what is one examination. Both were almost universally referred to as "matric". This usage is followed below.

All these people, including two who were over sixty, wanted more education for themselves.

Five wanted to learn more about methods of teaching. One of them said she wanted a degree and hoped to find a "degree in methods". She wanted to teach the "small ones".

Two more women wanted degrees. One was going to enrol for the first time the following year. She intended to

remain teaching in the lower primary school on graduation. The second had to obtain a matriculation exemption before she would be eligible to enrol.

A third teacher was engaged in studies towards a Secondary Teachers' Certificate at Vista University.

Two people wanted a post-matric professional qualification in education.

Thus ten out of the thirteen wanted education relevant to teaching.

Of the remaining three teachers one wanted to prepare to be a church functionary (a lay associate); one wanted to learn dress making so that she could sew in her spare time to augment her income; and the last, aged 62, wanted to train as a pre-school teacher so that she could continue to work after retirement from primary school teaching.

Nineteen (61%) of the assistant teachers had not passed matric and four did not wish to do so.

Three of the latter were over sixty years of age and were the only assistant teachers who did not want further education of any sort. One (aged 68) remarked that she was finished with most of the things'. She wanted "to know the Lord more" and "to thank him for all the things he has done for me".

The fourth woman who did not want to complete her schooling, claimed that matric "doesn't help the child. It only helps me". She had not completed her Junior Certificate and had no professional qualifications. She was engaged in a non-certificated course in remedial

education at the Johannesburg College of Education and hoped to continue the following year.

Fifteen assistant teachers wanted to pass matric. (48% of the sample of 31.)

It should be noted that these people were asked the questions "Do you want more education for yourself? and, if they answered "yes", "what do you want?" before the question "Have you passed matric?" was posed. In response to the second question twelve (39% of the sample of 31) volunteered that they wanted matric, i.e. before they could have been prompted to reply in this way by question 3.

The responses of the 15 assistant teachers who wanted matric are presented in Table 5:12 above.

An examination of Set C statements 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7 provides abundant evidence that the great majority of these assistant teachers preferred to continue to be employed in Catholic primary schools. This statement is substantiated below.

C3 ("I want to pass matric because I want to be a better teacher") and C1 ("I want to pass matric because I no longer want to be a school teacher") were rated and ranked first and last in order of importance respectively. This suggests that most of the teachers wanted to remain in the profession.

Two statements tested the teachers' need to move away from the Catholic primary school either to a community school or to a high school. (C4: "I want to pass matric")

because I want to have a better chance of getting a job in a community school" and C7: "I want to pass matric because I want to become a high school teacher".) C4 was both rated and ranked in seventh position and C7 likewise in fifth.

The conclusion that these teachers did not wish to leave the Catholic primary school system was confirmed by the low placing of C5 ("I want to pass matric because I want to get a job, any job, that pays more"). It was rated and ranked sixth in order of importance.

The case is further strengthened by the placement in second position on both scales of C2 ("I want to pass matric because I want to earn more in my present job"). In spite of the teachers' considerable desire for more money it seems that they were not prepared to leave their jobs solely to earn more.

Few comments were made in relation to these statements.

No one was stimulated by C1 or C5 to add any remarks.

In response to C3 (better teacher) one woman confirmed that she wanted to be a better teacher but expressed doubt concerning the efficacy of matric for this purpose. There is no reason to think that her colleagues, who rated and ranked C3 first in order of importance, shared her scepticism to any great extent. Indeed there is strong evidence that they did not. Responses to A8 (matric) indicate that 79% of these fifteen teachers believed that matric would help them to teach better.

A relatively young person (34) spoke movingly in

reaction to C2 (earn more in present job). She said

The question of salaries is heartbreaking. You become so miserable at month's end. You can't make ends meet.

She added that when she had passed matric and, perhaps, also had a degree, she would become a high school teacher. She insisted:

if there was a post in a high school I would go. If they offered me R1 000 there and I got R500 here. If the salary was better I would go. Not just to be a high school teacher (but because I would be paid more money).

However another person was uncertain about the benefits of obtaining a matric. She said

Suppose I get a matric. Because I am in a Catholic school I might be told that they can't afford to pay me the salary of a person with a matric. I know I don't get paid as much as a teacher in a government (school) with the same qualifications. (Then) what happens if your husband dies?

(She had taught in the same school for 17 years.)

When asked what further education she wanted one person said that she wanted to teach housecraft in a high school but was unable to get the requisite training. As second best she intended in 1987 to enrol at Vista university for a general diploma in education.

In response to C7 (high school teacher) a third person admitted that she had previously wanted a transfer to a high school but "now the situation in high schools makes me think twice".

A twenty-six year old teacher remarked:

In the high school, so many riots. I don't want go there. The children are uncontrollable.

Most of them are my age.

Only one person suggested that she seriously considered moving to a community school. She said

If we had the same benefits as the community schools, especially study leave with pay, I would not go to a community school. We also need the same salaries. I'll wait a few years to see if there are changes. More especially if the government is subsidising.

These fifteen teachers, who had not completed their schooling, in general appeared confident and ambitious. They saw matric both as desirable in itself (its attainment meant an increase in salary and they believe it would make them better teachers) and as a prerequisite to further advancement.

Their desire to pass matric was reinforced by a certain insecurity. High in order of importance was placed C8 ("I want to pass matric because, in the future, a teacher without a matric will find it difficult to get a job"). It was rated third and ranked fourth.

Only one person made an observation in response to C8. She claimed that the

DET (Department of Education and Training) has sent a circular. They say without a matric you will lose a job. In community schools no jobs for them next year (i.e. in 1987).

The researcher could not authenticate this. One person suggested that it might be a rumour that had arisen as a result of a letter that had been sent to certain schools in Natal some time previously.

The degree of importance attached verbally by these teachers to the attainment of a matric certificate was

confirmed by their actions. Eleven of the fifteen intended writing matric examinations at the end of 1986. Those who were not going to do so said that they had been prevented from studying by personal problems.

These teachers' faith in formal education, rewarded by certification, as a step towards upward mobility, was also displayed by their reactions to C6 ("I want to pass matric because I want to study for a degree"). It was rated fourth in order of importance and ranked third.

Five women spoke in more detail about their hopes regarding university studies. These seemed to be general rather than specific. For example one person gave her reason for wanting to enrol at Vista as "Just to upgrade".

Two people expressed a need to study full-time at a university which offered face-to-face teaching. One said "I want to go behind the desk". She could not say which university she wanted to attend. They are all striking. If I didn't have commitments I would go to a university where there were no strikes". The other said that the following year she would embark on a two year diploma at Vista. This she regarded as "upgrading", and inferior to taking a degree which could only be satisfactorily obtained at an institution using traditional modes of teaching.

Six teachers gave reasons for wanting matric additional

Two women wanted more general knowledge.

that "A person who has passed matric has a broad minded .

A third wanted to increase her "thinking powers".

If I have to teach a subject like biology I have to get into the details before I impart the knowledge to others.

A fourth said that

We want to lift the standard of black education. So we must be highly qualified.

The fifth wanted "to help all the slow children in the primary school". She also wanted "to learn about drama so that the children could put on a show to raise funds".

The sixth teacher said enigmatically "Better statistics". It appeared that she referred to the categories used by the Department of Education and Training in deciding upon salaries.

These assistant teachers were also asked to speculate about what they would want if they did not need a matric. They were invited to suppose that they could start now to learn whatever you like. Or you could decide not to study any further.

Two people did not respond.

Six wanted education for teaching purposes. These included two people who wanted to become school librarians and one who wanted to teach housecraft at high school level.

Four wanted to sew and knit better in order to augment their income. One of these wanted this in addition to

said "I would learn anything that I could gain something from". For the same purpose another person wanted a degree.

Of the four people who did not want matric, three did not respond. One (aged 68), who had previously said that she wanted no further education, said that she wanted to learn English and maths so that she could teach better.

5.5.5.3 Principals

The principals responded to the relevant Set C questions and statements in both the Teachers' Questionnaire (pertaining to their own educational needs) and to those in the Supervisors' Questionnaire (concerned with their perceptions of assistant teachers' needs and motives).

The principals' wishes regarding their own needs will be discussed first. Then their views concerning the requirements of assistant teachers will be explored.

Two of the nine principals did not have a Senior Certificate. One, over sixty, wanted no further education for herself. The other, a much younger woman, wanted a matric. The latter reacted to the statements in Set C. Her responses reflect her motives alone, and, as the only person in this category, her responses are not

were under sixty, including one who was fifty-seven, did want to study further.

Two were working towards a B.A. degree with UNISA. Another had also been enrolled but, for health reasons, had to abandon the course.

The remaining two principals both wanted to be more competent professionally. They did not specify the means by which this was to be effected.

The principals expressed opinions about what they believed to be the assistant teachers' wishes concerning the latter's own education, and also about what they, the principals, thought that their assistants needed. The principals' perceptions of the assistant teachers' references will be discussed first.

Eight principals thought that "most teachers in Catholic primary schools in Soweto want(ed) further education for themselves".

The exception remarked "Some do, some don't". None of the four women on her staff wanted any. Two of these considered themselves too old to learn and the remaining two lacked interest. It may be significant that the informant was herself over sixty and had no ambitions of this sort. This does not imply that the principal was the cause or a cause, of her staff's lack of enthusiasm. A variety of factors may have contributed to it. For example, the manager's influence in the selection of staff, over a considerable period of time, may have been of greater

significance. (It should be noted that there were evident differences between the staffs of different schools in their attitudes towards their own education. For example, in one school there was a very marked interest in remedial education.)

The eight principals who thought that the assistant teachers wanted to learn more indicated that there was a widespread desire for self improvement. The attainment of a Senior Certificate was seen as essential. Having obtained a matric the assistants were said to want academic and professional qualifications. Their main aim was to earn higher salaries. They also wanted to be better teachers.

One person spoke of the difficulties her teachers experienced in trying to get the further education they wanted. Her staff of eleven included nine who did not have matric and six who had not trained as teachers. In order to get professional qualifications they would have to attend a College of Education full-time. This was impossible for most because they were their families' breadwinners. There was no paid study leave in Catholic schools.

The principals' ratings of Set C statements indicate that they were very accurate in their assessment of assistant teachers' stated motives for wanting to obtain matric. (The principals' and their assistants' ratings correlated at the 1% level.)

C2 ("They want to pass matric because they want to earn more in their present job"), placed second in order of

importance by the assistants, was ranked by six of the principals as being among these assistant teachers' three most important motives.

C3 ("They want to pass matric because they want to be better teachers") was placed slightly lower in order of importance by the principals than by the assistants. (It was rated and ranked in third place by the principals and in first place on both measures by the assistants.) However these disparities in order of importance do not necessarily indicate differences in opinion because the variance in scores between first and third place is very small indeed. For example, as a result of the assistants' ratings, statement C3 was given 27 points and C8 (which was third in order of importance) 24. That is, the average difference in points per assistant teacher was ,2. C1 and C7 (they want to pass matric because "they no longer want to be school teachers" and because "they want to become high school teachers") were not ranked by any of the principals. They were correct in thinking that the motive encapsulated in C1 featured very low down in the assistants' list of priorities. However C7 was both rated and ranked fifth by the assistants, indicating that some entertained hopes of teaching in the secondary school. The principals appear to have been unaware of this.

The principals' opinions about the education that assistant teachers needed differed in one important respect from their opinions of what they thought these teachers

wanted, and from what the teachers actually wanted. In addition to academic and professional qualifications five principals felt that assistant teachers needed education related to religion.

This opinion was also reflected to some extent in the principals' responses, concerning the needs of their staff, to A7 ("They would teach much better if they were better Christians"). It must be remembered that becoming "a better Christian" entails increased knowledge and insight as part of spiritual growth.

One person felt that the teachers on her staff who taught religion had "got very stale" and needed "a lot of help".

Another was concerned about the number of non-Catholic teachers that were employed in Catholic schools. She had four on her staff. She felt that they needed

a talk. They shouldn't necessarily be converted but should have an idea about our religion. They should know what we expect from them.

A third woman suggested that teachers should learn more about their religion so that they could serve the community by participating in activities outside the classroom. She said that

Teachers in Catholic schools need some guidance, courses in religion. Parish priests interpret changes in different ways. For example, in other Catholic churches ordinary people are being called to the ... pulpit to come and preach. Sometimes you find a person has no experience, no knowledge of preaching. It causes ill feelings because the person may be preaching directly against somebody. Its like a person grabbing an opportunity of giving out to some anger. Teachers should be able to preach and have a deeper way of receiving

this Christianity and passing it on.

(None of the principals mentioned that they wanted more religious education for themselves. However the last person quoted may well have wished to be a preacher.)

The types of education that the assistant teachers wanted for themselves, and the vision that the principals had of their assistants' felt needs, also differed in another way. Six of the 31 assistant teachers (19%) wanted to learn dressmaking and knitting. They all hoped to use these skills to augment their incomes. The principals did not seem to envisage this possibility.

5.5.5.4. Supervisors

The supervisors reacted to Set C questions and statements in the Supervisor's Questionnaire regarding the further education of "teachers in Catholic primary schools in Soweto". No distinction was made between principals and assistant teachers.

They all agreed that these teachers required further education, but two people doubted whether the teachers wanted it.

Seven supervisors described what they believed the teachers wanted. There was a general agreement. One person expressed the general consensus succinctly:

If they haven't matric, they want that.
If they have matric but are not qualified, they want that.
It's normally the next step up.

There was also a recognition that the teachers wanted

higher salaries.

These perceptions were accurate.

The supervisors also agreed in general that the teachers needed a Senior Certificate and professional training, and two people explicitly recognised the legitimacy of the teachers' wish for more money.

Five people believed that most teachers who wanted a matric were studying towards it at the time. In this they were correct. Two people thought not and two people were unable to say.

The supervisors' ratings and ranking of the statements were almost identical with those of the principals. The supervisors' ratings and rankings correlated with those of the principals at the 1% level. Their ratings both correlated significantly with those of the assistant teachers ($p < 0,01$) and there was no significant correlation between their rankings and those of the assistants. So the general comments made in the previous section, in broad terms, apply equally here.

Few comments were elicited by these statements. Only two will be recorded here, both from people with long experience of these schools.

Regarding the question of whether the teachers wished to remain employed in Catholic primary schools one said

All want to remain school teachers. In recent years many have gone into industry because the pay is better. If there was equal pay they wouldn't have gone.

This person also remarked They're looking every day

for a loan"

The second observed:

Many of our teachers have passed matric during the last five years and none have left the school.

5.5.5.5 Conclusion

Statements from Set C that were both rated and ranked highest, and lowest, in order of importance are given in Table 5:13 below.

Table 5:13

Reasons for wanting matric:

statements from Set C that were both rated and ranked highest, and lowest, in order of importance.

Group	Statements both rated and ranked among the <u>first three</u>		Statements both rated and ranked among the <u>last three</u>	
	Number	Mnemonic	Number	Mnemonic
Assistants who wanted a matric N = 15	C2	earn more in present job	C1	no longer a teacher
	C3	better teacher	C4	community school
Principals N = 9			C5	any job that pays more
	C2	earn more in present job	C1	no longer a teacher
	C3	better teacher		
Supervisors N = 9	C8	difficult to get a job later		
	C2	earn more in present job	C1	no longer a teacher
	C3	better teacher	C4	community school
	C8	difficult to get a job later	C5	any job that pays more

The fifteen assistant teachers who wanted matric both rated and ranked C2 (earn more in present job) and C3

(better teacher) among the two most important reasons for wanting this qualification. They also both rated and ranked C1 (no longer a teacher), C4 (community school) and C5 (any job that pays more) as the three least important statements in Set C. There is reason for confidence in these results.

The scores accorded to these statements by the assistant teachers are as follows:

Statements both rated and ranked among the <u>first three</u>			Statements both rated and ranked among the <u>last three</u>		
	ratings rankings			ratings rankings	
C2 (earn more in present job)	25	11	C1 (no longer a teacher)	-20	0
C3 (better teacher)	27	13	C4 (community school)	-16	0
			C5 (any job that pays more)	-15	1
highest possible scores	30	15	lowest possible scores	-30	0

It was noted in 5.5.5.1 that the range of scores allocated to the statements placed first and last in order of importance, was great. Nevertheless the scores accorded to C2 and C3 were very similar, as were those accorded to C1, C4 and C5. This indicates that the assistants distinguished sharply between the group of two statements that they looked upon as most important, and the group of

three that they regarded as least important.

This suggests that these women are not tempted to change jobs. They do want more money but, it seems, not at the cost of leaving their posts in Catholic primary schools.

The supervisors' and principals' perceptions of the assistant teachers' reasons for wanting matric were identical, and very close indeed to the assistants' own account of their motives.

The supervisors and principals correctly predicted that C2 (earn more in present job) and C3 (better teacher) would be among the assistants' three strongest reasons for wanting matric. They also correctly identified C1 (no longer a teacher), C4 (community school) and C5 (any job that pays more) as the three statements of least importance to the assistants.

The supervisors and principals also believed that C8 (difficult to get a job later) was among the assistants' three most important reasons for wanting this qualification. In fact the assistants did rate it in third place but ranked it fourth. (Once again it must be noted that a difference of one place in order of importance may result from very small differences in average scores. See 5.5.5.3.)

It must be concluded that the supervisors and the principals were well aware of the assistant teacher's stated motives.

There is evidence that a substantial number of te

wanted post-matric education for themselves. Six of the nine principals, and all twelve of the assistant teachers who had passed matric, said that they wanted such education (5.5.5.2 and 5.5.5.3). Among the assistants who had not passed matric, seven "agreed strongly" and six "agreed" with statement C6 (degree). Thus there is evidence that 67% of the principals and 81% of the assistant teachers wanted post-matric education. In addition, those assistants who were ~~not~~ motivated to pass matric by a desire to study towards a degree may have wanted post-matric education of another sort.

It seemed that the majority of these teachers wanted certificated courses that would help them to become better primary school teachers. However it appeared that they did not have a clear idea of an appropriate curriculum to follow by part-time study. In fact, for those who wanted a professional curriculum with a primary school focus, such a path (e.g. a B. Primary Ed. or College of Education course) does not exist in part-time form.

5.5.6 INTER-SET RELATIONSHIPS AND SOME OMISSIONS

In this section observations will be made concerning relationships between the responses to statements belonging to one set with those belonging to another. To facilitate this, Table 5:14 below has been included. In addition some comments will be made about matters about which opinion was not directly elicited.

Throughout this discussion differences in correlation

between each group's ratings and rankings of each set of statements should be borne in mind. (In section 5.5.3.2 it was remarked that, logically, it was possible to agree strongly with a statement about a matter which one regards as trivial. However it seems that these respondents tended to agree enthusiastically with statements that they considered to be of importance.)

It will be remembered that the principals responded to identical sets of Set B statements (concerning the aims of education) in the Teachers' and Supervisors' Questionnaires. In order to simplify Table 5:6 only one set of reactions was recorded there: those made in response to the Teachers' Questionnaire. (It was decided to include the responses to the Teachers' Questionnaire, rather than those made to the Supervisors' Questionnaire, because the former was presented to the principals first. Therefore their responses were made under conditions comparable to those pertaining when responses were made by people who rated and ranked these statements only once. (See comments accompanying Table 5:6). The ratings and rankings of the nine statements did not correlate significantly. However their ratings and rankings of statements in the Supervisors' Questionnaire did correlate ($p < 0,05$) and the ratings on the two questionnaires, and the corresponding rankings, both correlated at the 1% level. So it was concluded that the principals had displayed a fairly high degree of consistency of opinion (5.5.3.2).

The supervisors' ratings and rankings of the statements in Set B correlated ($p < 0,01$).

The assistant teachers' ratings and rankings did not correlate significantly.

This suggests that the results displayed on Table 5:6 should be approached with great caution but cannot be dismissed out of hand (5.5.3.3.2).

In relation to Set A statements, concerning the means of improving teaching, there was no significant correlation between the ratings and rankings made by any of: the supervisors, the principals on the Supervisors' Questionnaire, the principals on the Teachers' Questionnaire, or by the assistant teachers. This suggests that these results must be approached with the utmost caution. (See 5.5.4.3.1.)

In relation to Set C statements, concerning the assistant teachers' reasons for wanting matric, there was a significant correlation between the ratings and rankings made by the supervisors ($p < 0,01$), the principals ($p < 0,05$) and the assistants ($P < 0,01$). Therefore these findings merit serious consideration. (See 5.5.5.1.)

It was noted in 5.5.3.4 that the supervisors and principals gave priority to aims that in Chapter Four would be seen to contribute towards the process of socialization. In contrast, they set much less store upon BI (exams and high school), that statement closest to representing the category knowledge.

The supervisors and principals differed in this regard from the assistant teachers who rated BI in second place and ranked it in prime position.

It was thought that the supervisors' and principals' emphasis on socialization, and the assistants' stress upon knowledge, might find expression in their respective performance in relation to the means of improving teaching. However, it would seem that this had occurred.

This contrast might be attributed to the role by which the participants were generated. In Chapter Four they were not assigned to a role to which that has emerged here. For example, the supervisors and principals in the class were not the primary teachers. As might equally be thought, the contrast with socialization and the acquisition of knowledge.

However, two patterns can be discerned.

TABLE 1 from an examination of the responses given by the assistant teachers, a clear and consistent picture emerges.

This group considered its pupils' academic success of prime importance and would contribute more towards it. They both rated and ranked BI (exams and high school) among

their two most important aims. They also rated and ranked A2 (methods) and A9 (equipment) among the three most important means of improving their own teaching. This is consistent with B1. (It is, of course, not being suggested that they necessarily knew how best to improve their teaching.)

The fifteen assistants who wanted to pass matric (and therefore responded to the statements in Set 2) did not provide any evidence that they, as a subgroup, differed in this respect from the sample as a whole. (See 5.2.4.) The pattern of responses they provided about their preferences was wholly in harmony with the above.

These fifteen people said that they wanted to matric primarily in order to become better teachers and to earn more while remaining in their posts in Catholic primary schools. They rated as most important, better teacher, and as the two most important reasons for wanting this qualification. Moreover, in response to A8, item 1, 10 of this group indicated that they believed that matric would help them to teach better.)

Further evidence of their intention not to change jobs was provided by the three statements which they rated and ranked least in order of importance. These were C1 (no longer a teacher, 4, community school) and C5 (any job that pays more). It was particularly noteworthy that C5 was placed in this position in view of the value accorded C2 (earn more in present job). Apparently almost nothing

would tempt them to move.

The above is all the more remarkable when viewed in light of Schneller's work. Speaking of respondents in Soweto he says that

The proportion of the sample employed in the aggregated professional (category) is smaller for 1981 than for initial employment. The probable reason for the decline in the proportion of the sample in the professional category between the first job and 1981 job, is the incidence of subjects training as teachers and starting off as teachers, but subsequently moving to more lucrative categories of employment (1983, 54).

In addition

downward mobility has occurred only from the professional occupational category and has been into the large senior clerical, and clerical occupational categories. Again this is likely to be a result of people who train as teachers subsequently choosing to move to more lucrative occupations. It is apparent that the changes have all been to categories of employment which are likely to be more highly paid (bearing in mind that the bulk of the semi-professional category consists of teachers) (ibid., 55).

The supervisors and principals' perceptions of the reasons for the respondents' wanting matric were consistent and very close to the assistants' own perception of their own motives. Clearly in this matter, the assistants' stated motives were well understood by the supervisors and principals.

The general pattern is to be seen in the responses given by the supervisors and the principals to three statements that relate to intergroup relations.

Here it will be suggested that the supervisors are inconsistent in placing B6 (a just S.A.) high in order of importance while looking up on A5 (syllabuses) and B4 (white

friends) as of considerably lesser importance. The principals are rather more consistent in that they placed both B6 (a just S.A.) and A5 (syllabuses) high in their order of priorities. However they also placed B4 (white friends) among their least important aims.

Each of the groups "principals and supervisors" both rated and ranked B6 (a just S.A.) among the two most important statements of aims.

However their opinions diverged in relation to A5 (syllabuses). The principals, both in relation to the improvement of their own teaching and that of their assistants, rated and ranked A5 pre-eminent among the statements of means to that end. The supervisors rated it third in order of importance, and ranked it sixth. (See Table 5:9.)

Statement A was presented to interviewees as follows:
"...and that the better use of the syllabuses were made in the study of history and religion." Two principals and two supervisors made statements regarding the history syllabuses in the following order (5.5.4.3.) They were in broad agreement with the original originators of units PSN-7, PIN-61 to 62, PIN-64 and with the author of the St Angela's Stimulus Paper (Appendix V, 2). In general these four people felt that those who developed the history syllabuses were biased, and wrote the accompanying textbooks, did so from a white man's point of view. Some respondents also felt that school history was being used by whites to

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