An investigation of secondary school teachers' perceptions of the challenges in a changing education system.

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Acknowledgements

Statement

I hereby declare that the work in this thesis has been researched and undertaken by myself and has not been submitted for a degree elsewhere.

Yours truly,

Cleo Eshun-Wilson

As the candidate's supervisor I have/ ~~have not~~ approved this thesis / ~~dissertation~~ for submission.

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Abstract

Change is an inevitable factor in education, however integration in South Africa began only in the 1970's and was officially implemented in the 1990's, when wide-scale 'mixing' of learners from different race groups at schools began to occur.

This study aimed to examine the difficulties teachers were experiencing in dealing with the current changes within education. This study was conducted in Kwa-Zulu Natal, in four previously racially divided state secondary schools. Twelve respondents overall were interviewed, four of whom were in managerial roles.

Results indicated that teachers were still adjusting to the new population of learners schools now catered for. Difficulties experienced by teachers centred on cultural and linguistic differences with learners. Since the parent population had changed in accordance with learner admission, similar linguistic and background difficulties were reported to complicate teacher-parent relationships. Schools in general appeared to battle with implementing a form of integration that would suit the needs of all the role players involved.

Generally teachers complained about being unhappy with the changes implemented by the education department. The dominant feeling was one of hopelessness and frustration, as teachers were of the opinion that changes had negatively affected their teaching, the population that they taught, as well as their personal lives. Teachers in this study were of the opinion that they were not supported by the education department, and few found support amongst their colleagues.

In addition to the changes brought about by government, schools were faced with problems of their own, some of which had historical roots. Some schools were able to deal with problems successfully by supplementing school funding from governing bodies, whilst other schools were not as fortunate and have had to deal with their lack of resources indefinitely.

Despite all the negativity, teachers were positive about their role that they could play in education, and felt that they had valuable suggestions to make to the education department that could result in positive change in the teaching field.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION & OVERVIEW

This chapter will explain the reasons behind the desire to conduct this research (see the complete motivation in Chapter Three. Section 3.1.). It also provides a brief history of the education system and defines terminology used in the thesis.

1.1. DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

From 1991 onwards, schools have been in a state of transition since they were progressively able to admit learners of all race groups. This resulted in a very different face for education than was previously the case. Although total separation on every level between Black and White became official policy only after the National Party election victory in 1948, its foundation had been laid nearly half a century previously in a policy then known as *segregation* - not by Afrikaners, but by British Government officials. Penny, Appel, Gultig, Harley, & Muir, (1992:2) say that segregation or 'own education' as this form of schooling was also known:

> was rooted in the ideology that the aim of education was to lead children to responsible adulthood, which was defined within the parameters of a reified notion of the child's cultural heritage. Culture in this model corresponded to race, ethnicity and language and segregated structures were accordingly consolidated to nurture and reproduce these 'own' cultures.

The idea of separation was based on the model in other countries, which provided separate education facilities based on the linguistic and cultural diversity of its peoples (SANEP, 1985). Penny *et al.*, (1992) add that separate education was based on the Christian National Education initiative. This ideology was rooted in Afrikaner Nationalist thought and aimed to create distinct cultural and racial boundaries (Chetty, 1995) or what Alexander (1990:22) termed "artificially imposed 'ethnic' differences" and the aim then, was to provide an education that prepared people for an "oppressive and exploitative position" in society (Alexander, *ibid.*:107). In fact, according to Majeke, (1978:69) a question that was asked by the South African rulers of that time was: " How shall we prepare the Black man for his particular place in this society?".

Even private schools were initially prohibited from providing higher quality education for Bl ack[1] learners. In the 1970's though, a number of private schools had elected to open their doors to Black learners. According to Vally & Dalamba (1999) these learners tended to be children of Black diplomats, government officials or wealthy parents and not children of ordinary folk. In 1959 universities were also segregated (Christie, 1991), as Blacks were prevented from attending universities classified as 'White' (Reader's Digest, 1995).

One dimension used to justify the opposition of integration was the mother tongue principle, which stated that children would benefit more from learning in their own mother tongue initially. The government also attempted to explain their behaviour by using 'research' to validate their educational policy. For instance Freer (1992:2) demonstrated this when he stated that "culture has long been misconceived ... and has assumed an almost genetic significance". Another reason given for inferior Black tuition, according to the commissioners in South Africa, was that it was expensive.

As a result of separation policy, laws were introduced to separate education, namely, the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963 and the Indian Education Act of 1965 (SANEP, 1985; Christie, 1991). In accordance with these laws bodies were created to deal with issues related to each race group. This resulted in the development of the various departments of education:

- The department of Education and Culture: the House of Assembly was intended for Whites,
- The department of Education and Culture: the House of Representatives (HOR) catered for Coloureds,
- The department of Education and Culture: the House of Delegates: (HOD) administered schools for Indians,
- The department of Education and Training (DET): was responsible for Black schools in urban areas, whilst the Department of Education and Culture (DEC) was responsible for Black schools in the various homeland states (SANEP, 1985), as well as many non-rural areas, such as schools in KwaMashu and Umlazi.

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[1] The term Black, is not intended to be derogatory, but is used for ease of clarification. It refers to the classification according to the apartheid laws, in which this group comprised of native South Africans. It is not an all- encompassing terms used to describe Coloureds and Indians as well, as is the international norm.

Government funding of the various departments of education differed vastly, and was based on racial lines, with the DEC and DET receiving the least funding. The effects of segregation on Black education were disastrous, due to this disparity in funding, and will be described below. Chundra (1997) stated that Black parents, aware of the financial discrepancy, felt that the standard of education in their schools was lower and had wanted their children to be educated in other education departments.

Even though the financial resources provided for Coloureds and Indians was superior to those offered to Black schools, these population groups were also aware that resources, facilities and the level of education in White schools superseded their own. This partly explains the migration of Black, Coloured and Indian learners to previously racially separated White schools, once 'open' education was permitted.

Chundra (1997) noted that due to limited resources in Black schools, the migration of learners to open schools virtually occurred in one direction only, i.e. Blacks migrated to both White and other racially divided schools, whilst Coloured and Indian learners predominantly began to attend White schools. This phenomenon of one-way migration is slowly changing today as learners of all races are beginning to attend all previously racially divided schools. The conditions in Black schools, though are still largely inferior as a result of this historical financial deprivation.

1.1.1. Conditions in Black schools

A significant aspect of education within the apartheid era was to ensure that social strata were reflected within the schooling environment, hence the favourable treatment towards White education with poor provisions for Black education. Black schools were riddled with problems that the other racially divided schools did not face as a result of this disparity. The figures found in the literature (Christie, 1985; Human Awareness Programme, 1990; Penny et al., 1992), regarding the funding provided to previously racially divided schools differ, especially as funding per learner varied in the different provinces. However the fact that Black schools received the least was clear as is indicated by the following figures. Penny et al. (1992) mentions that the DET received at least four and half times less than White children did, even as late as the 1980's.

Year	African	Coloured	Indian	White
1953-4	R 17	R 40	R 40	R 128
1969-70	17	73	81	282
1975-6	42	140	190	591
1977-8	54	185	276	657
1980-1	139	253	513	913
1982-3	146	498	711	1211
1984-5	227	639	1112	1702
1986-7	369	887	1714	2299
1988-9	656	1221	2067	2882

(Source: Blignaut, 1981 & SAIRR Surveys in Christie, 1985:108)

Table. 1.1:   The disparity in funding provided for the previously segregated schools

In the 1988/9 budget R 4,2 million was spent on White education, whilst R 1,9 million was spent on African education, according to the Human Awareness Programme (1990). To give an example of the practical implications of this disparity White, Indian and Coloured learners were given exercise books, pencils and rulers, whilst verbal reports of people who attended Black schools indicated that they had to buy their own stationery and in some cases even their own textbooks.

Chetty (1995) elucidated other factors, which negatively affected Black education:

   i)   inadequate schooling facilities, e.g. buildings, furniture
   ii)   increasing pupil enrolments
   iii)   an inadequate supply of qualified teachers
   iv)   insufficient poor quality readers
   v)   high failure rate coupled with a high dropout rate.
   vi)   poor pupil attendance for a variety of reasons

The Human Awareness programme (1990) and Alexander (1990) add that another factor which may have contributed negatively to the quality of education for Black learners was the unrest which resulted in millions of rands in damage to Black schools. There is no doubt that inadequate funding contributed greatly to these factors.

In addition, the qualifications of teachers also played a significant role in determining the quality of education Black learners received. Many teachers in Black schools were under-qualified according to Freer (1992). Approximately 13% of the teachers that were employed by the Kwazulu Education Department had not passed their Senior Certificate and 9% had no teaching qualifications at all. In fact, the Human Awareness Programme (1990) stated that 94,6 % of the teachers were under-qualified or had no qualifications at all. Christie (1991) attempted to give a clearer picture of the differences in the qualifications of teachers as indicated below, in which she discussed training of teachers in 1991, wherein it was obvious that few Black teachers had received tertiary education.

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Highest Qualification	%	%	%	%
University Degree	5	13	43	32
Std 10	62	63	57	68
Below Std 10	32	24	0	0

Source: SAIRR Surveys in Christie, 1991: 130

Table 1.2.   Teacher Qualifications in South Africa in 1988:

With regard to the pupil-teacher ratio in 1988/9 it was 41,2 learners to one teacher in African schools; 25,4 to 1 for Coloured schools and 16 to 1 for White schools (Christie, 1991; The Human Awareness Programme, 1990). The Human Awareness Programme mentioned that there was a surplus of White teachers and an unprecedented need for teachers in Black schools. Hartshorne (1966) and Heugh, (990), estimated that 50% of teachers in Black education were under the age of 30 and that this implied that they themselves were exposed to disrupted schooling and that this may have affected their competency in the English language, as well as their teaching ability.

Bot (1990) states that the result of these factors was that teachers are demoralised in Black schools. Chundra (1997:4) reminds one that even though teachers may themselves have been recipients of inferior education, that they "were able to achieve success despite being caught up in educational systems designed to systematically generate inequality and repression".

According to the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), (1993) there were large discrepancies between the pass rates amongst students in different education departments, especially in the first and last year of schooling. Adams (personal communication: 10 May, 1997) elaborated on this when he stated that the highest admission rate in Black schools was in Grade 1 with only about 10 % completing matric, whilst Gordon (1983) said that of the 600 000 Black children to begin school in 1965, only 5% finished in 1980. Pillay (1995) and the NEPI document (1993) supported this view. The NEPI (*ibid.:*25) document stated that "African students attending ex-HOD schools showed evidence of low achievement and high drop-out rates". This document (*ibid.*) continues to say that increasing class sizes was the result of high failure rate. The tendency to send children to school as early as possible, although they were emotionally immature for school (Gordon, 1983), contributed to large class sizes.

Other factors which negatively affected many Black learners was the political turmoil they faced (e.g. Black protest against the education system was seen in boycotts, clashes with the police [Carrim, 1992; Christie, 1991]) and Black-on-Black violence. Teaching virtually came to a standstill in 1985 and 1986, ten years after the 1976 uprisings, when students demanded 'liberation before education' (The Human Programme, 1990:21). Not only parents but learners themselves desired to escape the boycotts and repression in their own communities and believed in the fact that they would obtain a better quality of education elsewhere (Leibowitz, 1990).

Parents believed that improved education would increase the chances of their children attending White universities (Gaganakis, 1992) and would result in improved social and employment opportunities. To name an example of why parents desired education in other schools, NEPI (1993) mentions that DET and homeland schools did not offer certain subjects that other racially divided schools did. This may explain another reason why the entry into schools was largely mono-directional, i.e. from previous Black-only schools to non-Black schools.

It is also important to note that due to the large classes mentioned above, mediated learning experiences in traditional Black classes were minimal. I have heard of Black schools where 200 learners have to be educated in one sitting, under a tree, as was alluded to in The Star 5/07/89 (in The Human Awareness Programme, 1990). This does not augur well for when these learners attend previously segregated, and more westernised schooling environments. As

was mentioned above, some of the teachers in Black schools did not possess the necessary qualifications to teach their learners properly. Teachers, in some cases, did not possess the ability to speak fluent English and so continued to teach in their mother tongue, possibly disadvantaging the learners who were later going to attend English medium schools.

Many Black schools, as mentioned above, had limited resources. It was not uncommon to hear of schools that had no electricity, or access to telephone services. In some areas the situation has remained largely the same. Broken windows letting the cold in, are common sights in schools fortunate enough to have buildings. Most schools that have buildings may not have furniture or facilities such as laboratories and libraries.

There have apparently also been difficulties with the organisation surrounding examination papers in Black schools, as is indicated by the following report. Thandeka Qqubule, a reporter for the Weekly Mail, who posed as a learner at a school in Soweto, noted that during the exam period at this school, "exam papers often did not arrive and when they did many had missing pages, were illegible or riddled with errors. Neither students nor teachers knew the exam time-table and examinations were postponed at random regardless of the fact that pupils would be able to get the papers from friends at other schools" (Weekly Mail 02.06.1989 in The Human Awareness Programme, 1990:17).

Social conditions in Black homesteads were also poor. For instance, Black children suffered from malnutrition (e.g. kwashiorkor, marasmus) which negatively affects brain development. In addition many parents were often absent due to migration labour. The result of this absenteeism was that children could be looked after by illiterate minders e.g. neighbours and grandparents. According to Coults (in Chetty, 1995) the above factors can result in short concentration spans, lack of ability to think with insight, retarded language development and behaviour problems.

It is obvious what an unfair advantage some schools had in comparison with the deprived Black schools. However, it is important to note that since the new government came into power in 1994, there have been steps to rectify the situation in some Black schools, e.g. improvement of physical resources, schemes to upgrade teacher qualifications as well as curriculum development, however, the task has been of gargantuan proportions and is ongoing.

1.1.2. Change in Access regulations

It is no doubt easy to understand then, why both Black parents and learners would be willing to escape the presiding atmosphere of 'disadvantage' that prevailed in Black education, and why they would be eager to take advantage of any change in former schooling patterns.

Change in desegregated schooling, though beginning as early as the 1970's in some sectors (Chetty, 1995), (e.g. private schools were open for all races since 1986), took longer to occur in government schools (NEPI 1993). On 2nd February 1990 the then president F.W. de Klerk, announced that the "all schools for all people" campaign had begun (*ibid.*).

In addition to the formal opening of schools, the fact that the Population Registration Act was repealed by the Tricameral Parliament on 28 June 1991 resulted in the abolition of the racially based Land Measures Act and contributed to children of different races being allowed to attend formally racially restricted schools. Although the reason behind opening schools to all races may sound morally righteous, the decision to open schools had its roots in the existence of internal resistance and a deteriorating economy according to Penny *et al.* (1992).

Penny *et al.* (1992) add that by September 1990 White state schools were given three models to choose for the new operation of their schools. These models, i.e. A, B, or C, are described below in Section 1.3. (Definitions of terms used). In some cases parents were included in the decision-making process. The voting procedure was statistically quite complicated with about 80% of the parents needing to vote in favour of one particular model. Model B proved to be the most popular for White schools overall.

Interestingly, within HOR and HOD schools, non-White learners of all racial classification had been allowed to enter in small numbers. So that even though official desegregation of HOR and HOD began in 1985 (Carrim, 1992) African learners were already in attendance at these schools. For instance, when Mr. Carter Ebrahim, opened Coloured schools to all races in 1986, the House of Representatives had 1049 Black learners in their schools (Leibowitz, 1990) at that stage.

When access to schools was no longer based on race, the number of Black children in non-DET schools increased. According to Chetty (1995:1), the influx of Black learners into Indian

schools began in 1990, after President De Klerk's announcement in parliament that "all schools were open". The number of Black learners in Indian schools escalated as follows, according to the Race Relations Survey in 1991-1992 (Chetty, *ibid.*):

1991:	11274
1992:	21940
1993, June:	29290
1993, July:	30177

When the doors were opened to all races, there were concerns about the form that access would take, especially in Model B schools where the onus was on schools to select their own entrance requirements. Mr. M. Maharaj, spokesman for the DEC, said that the onus was on the principals of various HOD schools to test Black learners being admitted, to grade their academic performance and potential. The president of the Teacher Association of South Africa, Mr. P. Naicker, stated in The Post (21/02/1990 in Chetty, *ibid.*) that testing was a pre-requisite and that it had historical roots in overseas educational institutions. This support for testing resulted in Black learners, who were seeking entry into previously racially divided schools, being required to write tests, to show their competence in primarily the English language. Certain schools required a demonstration in the ability to read, comprehend, write legibly and show mathematical competence (Chetty, 1995). Language proficiency tests, intelligence quotients and aptitude tests had been included (Carrim, 1992). Exam papers of the precious standard / grade were also used to gauge whether or not learners were ready for the next standard. If they passed the paper, they were seen as 'ready', whereas if they did not they had to repeat that year (Metcalfe, 1991:20). Based on the results of these tests, children were sometimes placed one or two standards / grades below that in which they should have been (Moonsamy, 1995). These tests were not standardised across schools. According to Carrim (1992) the HOD schools used more selection tests than most other schools, whilst 61% of the HOR schools did not employ them at all.

Besides testing, procedures engaged in at schools, the government also had its own stipulations regarding entrance to schools. Mr. R. Maharaj, public relations officer for the ministry of Education and Culture in the ex-House of Delegates (The Post: 31/01/1990 in Chetty, 1995) said that learners were allowed access to a school provided that they:

- were proficient in the medium of instruction of the school
- were of an age approximating that of the class average
- lived within walking distance of the school

Bot (1990, in Pillay, 1995:2) goes on to explain that other requirements were that "the medium of instruction is (sic) one of the two official languages" and that "no additional staff or increased expenditure will (sic) result".

With the great influx of Black learners, the medium of instruction came under scrutiny. Coloured, Indian and White schools had generally been taught in the medium of English when schooling was segregated. Learners who had attended these schools in the past were predominantly mother tongue English speakers. (There were also government schools, under the House of Assembly, whose medium of instruction was Afrikaans or a combination of English and Afrikaans). The language policy in Black schools differed though, with children learning in their mother tongue until Grade 4, as a result of the Act 90 of 1979 (Southey, 1990).

According to the policy research group of the NEPI (1993), the year of change over to English, which occurred in Black schools after grade 4, was very stressful. This was because suddenly learners were required to listen, talk, read and write all subjects in a language that was merely a subject before (Chetty, 1995). According to Chetty (*ibid.*), a few researchers observed two similar lessons in the same standard; one was however conducted in Sepedi and the other in English. It was found that the children in the English class had what was described as a "glazed look of fear" (Chetty, 1995) on their faces. On the other hand those in the Sepedi class tended to be more alert. It was reported that all the learners in the Sepedi class put their hands up to answer questions and they made more attempts to answer when compared with the other class. French (1990) says that the introduction of English may have been a major factor in the high dropout rates in Std. 3 (currently known as Grade 5) in Black schools.

In fact, Macdonald (1990) mentions that on observation of some township schools it was noticed that English was not used exclusively from Grade 5 upwards. Teachers would use their mother tongue to explain concepts. According to NEPI (1993), these children in Grade 5 had a vocabulary of 800 English words and required 5000 to cope with English subjects. Lemmer, (1993) states that the introduction of Afrikaans as well in Std. 1 (Grade 3), made matters worse.

Macdonald (1990:39) stated that:

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There are good historical reasons why we should expect that young Black learners might have difficulties with learning English effectively in the early years of primary school. These historical reasons work together to determine that their teachers do not speak English with confidence or fluency and that by and large the children use outmoded materials and have relatively little time to learn English formally. They have almost no contact with English speakers (either children or adults, being physically separated from white communities) and yet despite all this their community wants them to learn through the medium of English as soon as possible.

Macdonald reminds one here of the difficult situations faced by Black learners, mentioned above. In all then, learners from DET and DEC schools experienced great tribulation learning the English language, yet because it promised future success, it was used to achieve upward mobility, for instance to gain entrance to tertiary education or at least obtain a matric certificate (Malefo, 1991). Parents were even more willing, with the opening of schools to all races to ensure their children attended English medium schools. In addition, there was the incentive that parents who were unable to afford school fees would not have to do so, according to the government, which suggested that state bursaries would be offered. This was significant, as school fees at some of the non-DET schools were higher than what parents were used to paying at DET schools.

In essence then, the change in access to schools, created problems that were previously unseen, and unpredicted. Little research was conducted at the inception of this change of schooling. Only after desegregated schooling had been in existence for a while was it deemed fit to investigate the process and emerging issues. Popular local research endeavours, for instance Christie, (1985, 1991); Penny *et al.* (1992) and Chundra (1997) came about as a result. This study will compare its findings to Chundra's, namely in this chapter, Chapter Three and Chapter Six.

The face of education has changed even more since the official opening of schools in 1990. Other changes in the education system were the amalgamation of all the previous education departments, with only one national body overseeing educational problems, with different provinces supervising problems experienced, as well as the introduction of a new curriculum.

1.1.3. Change in Curriculum

Curriculum 2005 is the new education system that is a joint initiative of the Minister of Education and the Minister of Labour. The plan is to implement Outcomes Based Education (OBE) in all South African schools according to the following time frame:

Grade 1:   1998
      2, 7:   1999
      3, 8:   2000
      4, 9:   2001
      5, 10:   2002
      6, 11:   2003
      12:      2004.

The reason that the government is implementing OBE is due to the fact that the previous South African education system fell short of international standards, especially in the areas of mathematics and science (except in a few private schools). The second reason for the introduction of OBE is to empower people to participate effectively in all processes of a democratic society (Wedekind & Harley, 1997). The National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training (NCSNET) & National Committee for Education Support Services (NCESS), (1997) said that the OBE system was learner centred and outcome based. It aimed to promote skills and values, which were needed by both learners and the broader society (NCSNET & NCESS, 1997). Another aim is for learners to become more familiar with their own environment and with each other as the curriculum should reflect the multi-cultural nature of South African society (Commission of SAIRR in Laurence, 1987). Another aim was to produce critical learners (Gultig, 1997) - learners able to understand the function of their social, political and economic context (Vally & Dalamba, 1999).

OBE makes provision for learners with disabilities, out of school children and other children with special needs (Department of Education Policy document, 1997). Another aspect that OBE will hopefully assist with is the practising of a democratic nation within the classroom. According to Appleton's Hidden Curriculum (1983, in Laurence,1987:98):

> Studies have shown that most classrooms are not true models of democracy. For example, rules of behaviour and conduct are established unilaterally by the teacher without any collaboration with the students on a democratic scale. Even the questions employed in most instances are reproductive. The nature of teaching is clearly anti-dialogical, since it does not encourage dialogical participation through questions.

Previously subjects were not linked. The concept of integrated studies was a notion that came out in 1987 at Sacred Heart College. It combined English, Geography, History and Biology into one subject. In OBE, the traditional subjects will be merged to form the following eight (Department of Education Policy document, 1997:8) learning fields i.e.

- Language, literacy and communication

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- Mathematical literacy, mathematics and mathematical sciences
- Human and social sciences
- Natural sciences
- Economic and management sciences
- Life orientation
- Arts and Culture
- Technology

The curriculum is to be made applicable to the local area, e.g. geography and history lessons are to include content on the area the school is located.

The emphasis will be on developing skills in problem solving, data collection, analysing information, communication, teamwork and skills for independent working. Paulo Freire (in Christie, 1991) believed that teachers 'deposited' knowledge into the empty minds of learners and that little or no critical thinking occurred. OBE calls for greater participation on the part of the learners (The Human Awareness Programme, 1990). It is envisaged that one of the major benefits of OBE will be that it will allow for more critical learners, fostering better adults and that the teacher will be more creative, thus catering for individual needs. Learners will be taught to identify their own weaknesses and strengths and to relate these to the real world. In addition, this system will allow for a diminished emphasis on examinations, as assessment will occur on an ongoing basis (Gultig, 1997). Teachers will be given a framework to measure the attainment of certain criteria, with an indication of which targets will need to be reached within certain stages. If different learners perform at different levels they will be streamed accordingly (Christie, 1985). Teaching strategies may also be required to alter, based on the needs of the learner.

Another change that OBE will introduce is the greater involvement of parents. This includes policy involvement. As education is free up to the ninth grade, and the government is under greater financial pressure to put money elsewhere, parents will also need to assist with funding more than they have in the past e.g. with materials, such as text books, work books, computers, rent.

Another aspect to OBE is the language policy. This relates to the learning of a local Black language in all schools.

There are however problems with the implementation of the OBE system. For example, there were reports that many rural schools were not even aware that they are expected to alter their manner of teaching at the initiation of this write-up. In schools where training has begun, teachers and principals feel that they are not well informed as regards the changes that they are supposed to make in their classes. The latest on the curriculum is that curriculum 21 is to be the new name, but that the basic tenets of OBE will remain (OBE Workshop, 2000)

Although at the time of this research OBE had not yet been introduced into the high school context, teachers were aware of its imminent approach and already had developed preconceived ideas about its implementation and future success.

1.2. MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING THIS RESEARCH PROJECT

In the light of the above historical overview, I was particularly interested in the potential issues that a multi-racial schooling system could bring to the fore. I was under the impression that much more research had been carried out on learners within the multi-racial setting (e.g. Leibowitz, 1990; Dela, 1994; Chetty, 1995; Moonsamy, 1995; Pillay, 1995) and although still wanting to find out about the quality of relationships between learners, I wanted a different, perspective, namely that of the teachers.

Possible language difficulties that could arise in schools, especially in the high schools, was a concern, as classes comprised learners whose mother tongue was not English. Secondary school teachers could experience difficulty with both teaching and assessing these learners. My suspicions with regard to teachers having difficulty communicating with learners and transferring knowledge of their subject to non-English speakers was confirmed, when I had an informal conversation in 1997 with an associate of mine, who taught at a former Coloured, secondary school in a predominantly Coloured area, in Pietermaritzburg, Kwazulu-Natal.

I was particularly concerned about assessment and wondered how teachers were required to assess learners who were poorly skilled in the English language. (This issue of failing learners was rather close to my heart as I had been compelled to fail a pupil in Grade 4, who was unable

to speak English, when I taught at a primary school in Northern Kwa-Zulu Natal, in 1996). For instance, one aspect that may prove to be frustrating to teachers is that, according to the Handbook for Principals mentioned in Chetty (1995), "no pupil is allowed to spend more than 2 years in any class or standard". This implies that a pupil cannot fail twice and in cases where this should occur they then need to be promoted to the next standard / grade. The issue of assessment was worrisome as at high school level, the consequences for failure were more dire than at primary school level.

I had also read about the difficulties implementing Outcomes Based Education (OBE) and wondered how teachers would be able to assess using this system, especially as policy prevented teachers from failing learners. Of interest was how teachers were going to conjoin non-failure with learners battling with a language issues, as well as learners who traditionally did not measure up the criteria for promotion to the next grade. These I knew were just some of the problems that teachers experienced. Indeed I came to realise that I wanted the teachers to describe all the difficulties they encountered, hence the phenomenological nature of this dissertation.

The reasons for selecting teachers as my sample, as well as high schools, instead of primary schools is expounded on in Chapter Three. A brief explanation of my reasoning should suffice at this stage. Teachers in general had not been studied in local research - learners had been (e.g. Leibowitz, 1990; Dela, 1994; Chetty, 1995; Moonsamy, 1995; Pillay, 1995), as had principals (Penny *et al.*, 1992) but not much local research existed on the perspectives of teachers in the face of the changing education system. I thought it would be appropriate to hear their voices on a phenomenon (i.e. integrated education) that has become so integral to current education. It was only after initiating this study, that I came across Chundra's (1997) study, which had done just that, i.e. explored teachers' opinions on the state of education.

As with the selection of teachers (Chapter Three, Section 3.1.6.), the selection of schools is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. Section 3.1.4.) Just a brief note is included on the selection of schools at this stage. As this chapter explains, historically there have been unequal treatment to schools along racial lines. Schools were previously divided according to the apartheid racial classification (i.e. Black, Coloured, Indian and White) were all approached to be included in the study.

(Please find further aims in Chapter Three, Section 3.1.1.). One of these aims was to contribute to the growing body of literature on integrated education, but from a new angle, i.e. the perspective of teachers)

Interestingly there appears to be a growing interest in the perceptions of adults involved in the education system, when compared with previous literary exploration, such as Christie's (1985) *Open schools: racially mixed catholic schools in South Africa 1976-1986,* which investigated the outcomes for integrated learners in private schools. For instance Penny *et al.*'s (1992) study, *Just sort of fumbling in the dark. The advent of racial integration in schools in Pietermaritzburg,* focused on principals and their perceptions of the changes to the education system. Chundra's (1997) study, *An exploration of English First language teachers' perceptions, concerns and challenges in the desegregated secondary school class room,* which followed Penny *et al.*'s study a few years later, like my study, displayed an interest in the perspectives of teachers, and the concerns and experiences within the a changing education system. This study was a follow up of hers.

The areas of interest covered in Chundra's study overlap with the issues in this study. For instance, she was interested in exploring how teachers dealt with issues that emerged in integrated schools - issues such as language, culture, standards, how teachers dealt with change, - areas that are encompassed in this study as well. The differences between these two studies appear in the theoretical underpinning of each. Whilst this study was examined from a Vygotskian perspective, Chundra focused on production and specifically reproduction theories. Her study also explored integration within private schools, whilst this one did not. Even though both studies concentrated on the 'voices' of teachers, Chundra's focused solely on the issues of the language teacher, whilst this study included teachers of various subjects, e.g. languages, commercial and trade subjects.

Despite the differences between these two studies, they provide a rare opportunity to compare local literature, as both occur within a similar geographical area, under the rulership of the same government, and within schools on the brink of educational change. These three studies i.e. this one, that of Chundra (1997), as well as Penny *et al's* (1992) provide a significant comparison base, as each occurred within high schools in the Natal region, with approximately a five year difference between each. The value of these studies may only be evident with time, as they may prove useful for future research endeavours.

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1.3. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Terminology used in this thesis correlates with that used in the literature, for instance in local research such as Chundra's (1997) study. Phrases and abbreviations commonly used in education circles in the past as well as terms used by the interviewees are also defined below. Please also note that phrases I employ such as: 'previously racially segregated schools' are meant to be self-explanatory and are explained in the context in which they are used. For instance the term just used refers to schools which in South Africa's racially divided past, catered for specific racial groupings only, hence the terms 'previously' and 'segregated'.

Historical Phraseology

These are phrases that were much used in the apartheid era.

- *Apartheid*

  Hendrik, F. Verwoerd, born in the Netherlands, was the originator of the system that discriminated between people on the basis of colour. He created the 'blueprint' which was to be used for later apartheid developments. Afrikaner intellectuals (Pinchuck, 1994) though coined the term.

- *CNE: Christian National Education*

  Afrikaners used religious principles to justify the exclusion of the Black race from education which was reserved for the White child. CNE was the term used for the educational philosophy, which determined policy.

- *Racial Groupings*

  The Population Registration Act which was passed in 1950, made provisions for definitions of people, according to physical characteristics, and led to the establishment of identity documents. Reference is made to the following race groups: Black, Indian, White, Coloured. These terms are not intended to be derogatory, but are used for ease of identification, in line with previous classifications used in education by the government.

Current Terminology used in Education

- *Education Departments*

Department of Education and Culture (DET): This is the department which was responsible for managing the education of Black learners

Department of Education and Culture (DEC): This department catered for Black learners in rural areas

House of Delegates (HOD): This department catered for Indian learners.

House of Representatives (HOR): intended for Coloured learners

- **Open Schools**

  Clase in 1990 introduced new policy allowing entry of Black learners could be allowed into White government schools from 1991, according to the following three models. White government schools were given the option of remaining as they were or they could have chosen one of the following models.

  - *Model A*: schools could close down as government schools and re-open as private but would receive reduced financial subsidies from the state.

  - *Model B*: they could remain as government run schools, that they could decide on their own admission requirements

  - *Model C*: the school could become government aided with teacher's salaries being paid by the government (Penny *et al.*, 1992 & Christie, 1991).

- *OBE – Outcomes Based Education*

  This is the new philosophy underpinning education, as the government attempts to correct the unfair educational provisions of the past. The idea is that it will meet children at their level. Continuous assessment is the key, with a limited policy of failing learners.

- *Redeployment* is the government's attempt at redressing imbalances in pupil-teacher ratio by placing excess teachers in schools where they are deemed necessary.

Terminology used in the literature

- *BICS:* Basic Communication Skills

- *The Critical Period Hypothesis*

  This refers to what is believed as the biologically determined period when language acquisition occurs naturally and effortlessly, (Brown, 1987 in Moonsamy, 1995).

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- *EFL*: English first language
- *ESL*: English second language
- *L1*: This is an abbreviation for first language or mother tongue
- *L2*: Second Language. According to Cann (1992) there is a distinction between L2 and a foreign language. The former is necessary as it has a social function, whilst the latter occurs when contact is made outside of the social community.
- *LEP*: Limited English Proficiency. Lemmer (1993) defines LEP learners as those who have to acquire a level of English equal to mother tongue speakers, as well as receive instruction in English.

- *NGO's*: Non-governmental organisations

- Powney & Watts, (1987:17-18) distinguish between the words *'respondents'* and *'interviewee'*. 'Respondent' is to be used when the interviewer maintains control; e.g., where a schedule is involved. 'Interviewee' is to be used when the perceptions of a particular person are sought, and where the interview is less structured. In this study I have elected to use both terms, as a schedule was used, though I allowed myself the freedom to alter the contents of the schedule when deemed necessary (See Chapter Three).

1.4. OUTLINE OF CONTENTS

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction & 0verview
Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework & Literature Review
Chapter 3: Research Design & Methodology
Chapter 4: Results & Analysis of Data
Chapter 5: Discussion
Chapter 6: Conclusion
References
Appendices

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & LITERATURE REVIEW

The reasons for undertaking this study include my interest in the influences of the past on current education, as well as the changes in the education system being implemented and how these affects people involved in education, at grassroots level, i.e. teachers and learners.

There are many theoretical frameworks which may have relevance as a basis for this study and the four areas which I have chosen to explore are in themselves dense. I have therefore been selective in this theoretical description and literature review in order to keep the focus on literature which has direct relevance to the study. In this chapter

2.1.   the theoretical framework which guided this study,

2.2.   definitions of culture and integration in schools

2.3.   culture and language

2.4.   and teachers and change will be examined.

I have decided to examine this research from a Vygotskian perspective. His theory with regards to the role of the mediator as well as the learner, the transfer of culture, and the acquisition of language proved integral to this study. Thereafter issues related to having an education system where learners and teachers of various races, cultures, religions, and socio-economic backgrounds are thrown together are examined predominantly from the perspective of the teacher. An overview will be given of the various models of interracial and intercultural mixing, as will be the consequences of such 'mixed' contact. Language and the problems that it creates within the realm of communication on both a social as well as an academic level will be examined. Finally a few obvious changes that have recently occurred within the South African system (e.g. class size, curriculum development) will also be investigated.

2.1.   THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING: THE WORK OF VYGOTSKY

The theory of Lev Vygotsky has been important in informing, implicitly, my approach to this thesis. Although other theoretical orientations may also have been applicable, for instance discourse analysis, Vygotskian theory appeared to offer more, as his writing concentrated on factors important to this thesis, namely language, the transfer of culture, the process of

learning, multi-cultural settings and the role of the mediator. Each of these will be described in this chapter.

Lev Vygotsky was a Russian who was educated as a lawyer and philologist. He began his career in psychology after the Russian Revolution in 1917 and concentrated on the relationship between the individual and society, as it influences the learning process. Vygotsky introduced the concept of the ZPD, or zone of proximal development, which when translated from Russian means "the zone of closest or nearest development" (Rogoff & Wertch in Maged, 1997:198). According to Moll (1990) the development of this concept occurred just before his death.

De Guerrero & Villamil (2000) say that the learner has two levels of development, the actual and the potential. Vygotsky described the ZPD as: "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1962:83). This means that the learner may on his / her own achieve a certain level of achievement regarding a task, however, they will be able to gain better skills of mastery if assisted by someone else, who is at a level superior to that of the learner. Akhurst (2000:213) says that Vygotsky shifted away from the idea that the individual was solely responsible for his success or failure instead "locating learning firmly within social and cultural contexts".

The ZPD is represented graphically in figure 2.1 below.
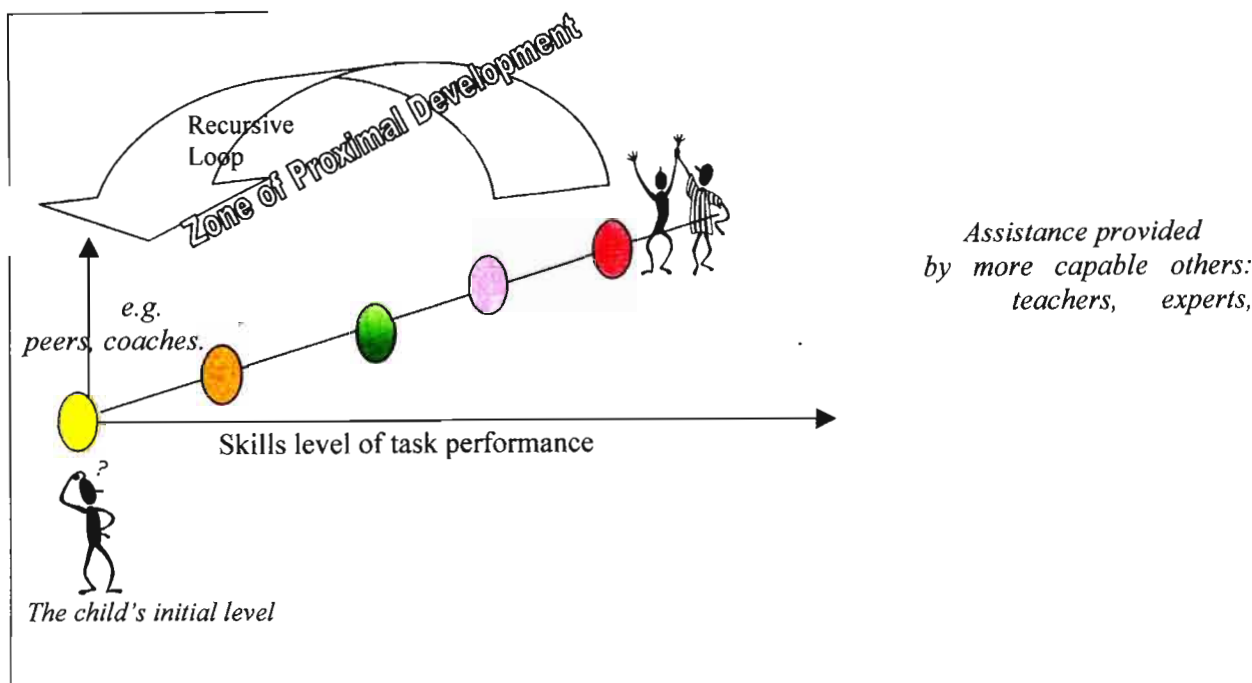
Fig. 2.1.   A graphic representation of Vygotsky's ZPD.

It is important to note that the boundaries between each of these stages are not clear and distinct.

The Y or vertical axis represents the learner's progress, whilst the X or horizontal axis represents the various levels of task performance. In the ( ) above diagram, the represents the learner's level in terms of performance on tasks. At first the teacher is in control, but the aim is to have the learner in control at the end of the learning process. This is also the level at which instruction begins. The aim of the teacher is to instill confidence and competence, and at this stage the 'teacher' (e.g. parent, teacher, peer, coach) assists.

The level of self-control developed by the learner is acquired through a process known as internalisation or self-regulation. This is represented as ( ) At this level the teacher's presence is required less and less. Bruner (in Gordon 1983:60) terms this the "hand-over principle", where the responsibility shifts from teacher to the learner.

Internalisation is described as the change of internal structures brought about by mediation from the caregiver (Cole, John-Steinar, Scribner, & Souberman, 1978). The process of internalisation consists of a series of transformations:

a) a process is transformed into an interpersonal one (every function of the child, occurs on two levels, first on social level then individual),

b) an operation that initially represents an external act is reconstructed and begins to occur internally, in a symbolic way,

c) transformation of an inter-personal process into an intrapersonal one is the result of a long series of developmental events.

Performance at, the final level, is called automation and fossilisation. Instruction is no longer necessary and further assistance could be seen as interference. Internalisation of a particular skill or concept has occurred.

However de-automation might also occur. One may find that a task one was able to do previously has been forgotten and once again the involvement of others is necessary, e.g. the need for physiotherapy after trauma. De-automation may also be necessary when one wants to improve a current level of performance. At any point in time, learning involves self-regulation, as well as assistance from others.

The teacher's role in the learning process is therefore important, as epitomised by Vygotsky's statement: "The path from object to child and from child to object passes through another person" (Vygotsky, 1978:86). Within Vygotskian theory, it is important that the person guiding the learner finds the current level of the child and then discovers what the learner is able to do with assistance, i.e. finds "those functions that have not yet matured, but are in the process of maturation, functions that will mature tomorrow, but are currently in an embryonic state" (Vygotsky, 1978:86). Capable teachers will structure activities such that learners will be able to gain mastery over the task, creating scaffolding for the learner. Rodgers (1984:118) says that the term 'scaffold' is a metaphor. Literal scaffolding used in the building industry has various functions, according to Bruner & Ross (in *ibid.*). It provides support, it functions as a tool, it extends the range of the worker, it is used selectively to aid the worker where needed. In a similar manner, the teacher has to provide appropriate scaffolding at appropriate times.

The Israeli, Feuerstein[2], described how scaffolding can be achieved through the teacher mediating learning experiences: "The mediator selects a stimuli that are most appropriate and then frames, filters and schedules them; he determines the appearance or disappearance of certain stimuli and ignores others" (Craig, 1985:85). As Feuerstein indicates, the teacher is to assist the learner by determining which stimuli should be focused on. This stimuli according to Vygotsky should not be too high above the level of the learner. In the following section I examine how a teacher can assist learners as Vygotsky emphasised the means of providing mediation for the learner, especially in formal settings, such as schools.

2.1.1. Assisting learner performance

When Vygotsky first described the ZPD, he merely mentioned that there needed to be: an establishment of the level of difficulty which the child has to attain, the provision of assisting performance from an adult, as well as an evaluation of the child's independent performance. Vygotsky (1962:107) wrote this about the way in which educators may offer assistance: "the teacher, working with the pupil, has explained supplied information, questioned, corrected and made the pupil explain." Moll (1990) however says that the presence of these factors does not necessarily represent the ZPD. The traditional 'rote drill and practice' instruction (Moll, 1990:7), may appear to be fulfilling Vygotsky's requirements on initial examination, but the whole activity may not result in creating an opportunity for a learner to improve their potential.

According to Tharp & Gallimore (1988) learner performance may be assisted in the ZPD by using six basic techniques. They suggest these means are intertwined, can occur in combination as well as simultaneously during the course of teaching. These six means of assisting are as follows: modelling, using contingency management (when concentrating on positive rewards), giving learners feedback, asking questions, instructing and giving the learners a specific cognitive structure to use or through peer-group work.

Akhurst (2000) elaborates on these six means of assisting performance. She describes modelling as a process whereby a particular behaviour is offered for imitation. As simple as this sounds, the process is more complex and involves mental processing of the modelled behaviour. Contingency management she says, is a system whereby rewards and punishments

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[2] He was an Israeli psychologist, whose ideas on mediation were influenced by Vygotsky & De Guerrero & Villamil (2000) states that the full potential of his ideas has not been exploited by teachers.

are offered, and are arranged to follow the behaviour. Punishments are minimised and social reinforcement of praise and encouragement, consumables, tokens, privileges and symbolic rewards are used. Positive reinforcement ensures correction and continued behaviour. Feedback needs to be part of assessing performance and should be informative. Akhurst (*ibid.*:217) says that this is most effective if "standards have been set and procedures for comparison are established". Clearly set out goals may lead to learners being internally motivated. With regard to asking questions, Adams (pers. com. 10/1995) says that there are two types. Assessment questioning determines unaided levels of performance, whilst assisting questions produce mental operations that learners cannot perform alone. Adams (*ibid.*) continues to say that this form of questioning is rare in classrooms, as well as in teacher training institutions. Cognitive structuring provides explanatory structures that provide frameworks for thinking and acting, whilst instructing is a linguistic means of assistance, which needs to be embedded in a context of other effective means, such as feedback, cognitive structuring and contingency management, to be effective.

In addition to these methods of assisting learners, Lidz (in De Guerrero and Villamil, 2000) adds that the mediator has to make meaning, i.e. mark important aspects, note differences and detail, as well as regulate the task, which, in essence, is manipulating the task to assist problem solving, e.g. mention a principle of solution.

Although teachers within classrooms are required to engage with and utilise these means of performance, Vygotsky (1962:78) says that it is not necessary for only the teacher to act as mediator: "... it is not necessarily the most expert members of the group who are more helpful in inducting newcomers; participants with relatively little experience can learn with and from each other, as well as from those with greater experience". Akhurst (2000) implies that on close examination of Vygotsky's phrase "more capable peers", the 'expert' could either refer to a literal teacher, as well as a peer.

Hillerbrand (1989, in Akhurst, 2000) cited research indicating that "thinking aloud by novices about their cognitive processes has considerable advantages over thinking done by experts". Referring to collaborative work, Vygotsky, (1962:264) says: "participants contribute to the solution of emergent problems and difficulties according to their current ability to do so, and at the same time they provide support and assistance for each other in the interests of achieving the goal of the activity". Indeed this concept of peer teaching has been researched by other

authors (e.g. Kamwangamalu & Virasamy, 1999; Vally & Dalamba, 1999) and found to bear mostly positive results.

Even though Vygotsky was of the opinion that 'teachers' could be of any age, in this thesis the 'teacher' generally refers to the educator, and the 'learner', the actual school going student, unless otherwise stated. It is also important to note that Vygotskian theory implies teachers can be learners as well, and that the traditional roles of teacher-learner might be reversed at times. As mentioned in Section 2.1.2. teacher-learner instruction is predominantly one-way, namely from teacher to learner. Edwards and Mercer (1987) say that 'joint understandings' need to develop between teacher and learner. This notion of two-way learning is still not widely known or practiced in the teaching field.

2.1.2. Teachers and the ZPD

This section considers the role of the teacher in a classroom, as a mediator of the activities which occur.

Tharp & Gallimore (1988) state that teachers tend to dominate in class - to control the topic and the participation. One reason that may explain this need for control, is the perception that without it, disciplinary problems may occur. Another reason for this one-way teaching method, is that teachers may not have the necessary skills which Tharp and Gallimore (*ibid.*) list. They continue to say that the notion teachers appear to have of assisting is one of directing and assessing. They add that there is seldom 'joint productive' activity (*ibid.*:191), which according to Lidz (in De Guerrero and Villamil, 2000) is trying to experience the activity through the child's eyes.

This inability to teach cooperatively is evident in teachers, principals, curriculum specialists, and other authorities. To rectify the situation, Tharp and Gallimore (1988) discuss exercises which are designed to assist teacher performance. For instance, the teacher is assessed by a superior, with the development of a particular skill in mind. This provides for a consultant-teacher type interaction, where feedback to the teacher is immediate and where additional assistance can be requested. The two people meet to discuss the performance in detail and together work out the detail for further improvement and goals, thus the teachers are

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developing within their own zone of proximal development. Video-tapes of teacher sessions, or sample lesson plans may be used in these discussions.

2.2. DEFINITIONS OF CULTURE & INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS

One aspect of life that learners will learn from their teachers is culture (Vygotsky, 1962) Vygotsky uses the term 'transfer' of culture, i.e. looking at it from the teacher's perspective, whilst Atkinson (1999) calls this process 'receiving' culture, i.e. looking at it from the learner's perspective. Before examining how culture is transferred in this way, a brief definition of culture follows.

One difficulty with 'culture' is its definition. Jantjies (1995) describes culture as being multiple and complex. Cross (in Freer, 1992) defines culture[3] as a neutral concept, though Atkinson (1999) adds that it has the power to act as both a dividing and unifying factor. Matsumoto (1994) goes further when he says that culture is also a set of behaviours shared by a group of people, which is communicated from one generation to the next via language or some other means of communication. Van Zyl (1994) says that it has in the past come to be associated with ethnicity, in the sense that biological differences such as hair and skin have been focused on as primary factors. Though 'culture' has come to have a 'bad name', it is merely a word. - but a value-laden one nonetheless.

Atkinson (1999) adds an interesting dynamic to these descriptions when he describes culture as fluid and ever-changing and reminds teachers to view learners as individuals - who comprise of class, ethnic, racial, religious, political, educational, geographical, national, sexual, experiential backgrounds and not as members of a stereotypical cultural group.

Stereotyping in South Africa may occur as a result of the segregation which occurred during the apartheid past, which ensured that cultural experiences of different ethnic groups were vastly different, as laws prevented easy movement between areas and in some cases finances (due to disparity in salary payments as well as educational provision) severely limited the opportunity to travel (Chetty, 1995).

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[3] The term 'culture' has in the past been used to differentiate amongst people. Although this connotation may still be attached to this word, my intention is merely to recognise that as a result of people having lived apart - cognisance needs to be taken of this fact when better communication and better living together is aimed for, whether as a teacher or learner.

To really become acquainted with each other teachers and learners may need to learn about each other's culture, and how this may affect their behaviour and interactions.

2.2.1. Culture and Self-Construal:

In this section, the manner in which the concept of 'self' develops in relation to culture is discussed.

Matsumoto (1994) compares a western construal of self versus a construal of self that is more common in non-western cultures. According to Kitayama and Markus (in Matsumoto 1994:19) the two main types of self-construal can be represented as: "the squeaky wheel that gets the grease", or "the nail that sticks up shall get pounded down". The first metaphor indicates that self-expression and assertiveness are considered virtues, e.g. in America, whilst in the metaphor of the nail, independent self-expression is frowned upon, as in some Asian communities. Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, & Trumbull, (1999:101) add to this description when they define individualism and compare it with a more communal sense of self:

> with individualism independence is important and individual achievement and scientific information is separated from social contexts, with collectivism, the child is seen as part of the family, helpfulness and interdependence is important, group success is primal and scientific information is embedded in social experiences, e.g. the helping of another student when engaged in an academic exercise, or when helping to rub the board clean.

The difference in these two views are represented by Matsumoto (1994:24) as follows:
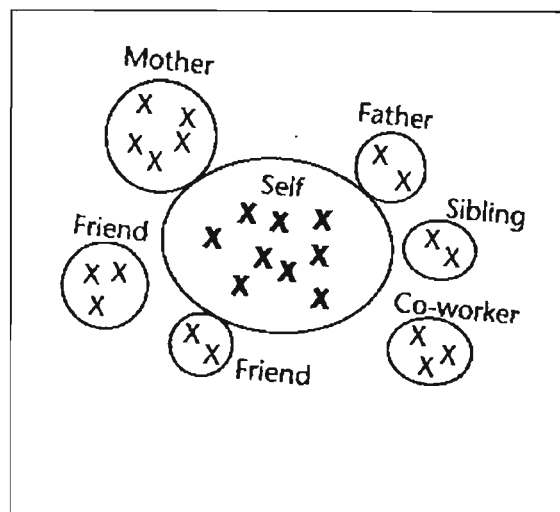
Fig. 2.2.   Independent Construal of Self

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The above figure represents a western notion of self, where a strong desire is to actively strive for and seek individual success. The self is graphically portrayed as a separate entity with no overlap between itself and others. The most salient self-relevant information (indicated by the bold Xs in the middle) consists of the attributes and qualities thought to be intrinsic, constant and stable to the self, e.g. goals, rights, abilities and the like. Kitayama and Markus (in *ibid.*) name this *achievement motivation.*

The second view of self-construal is represented as follows:
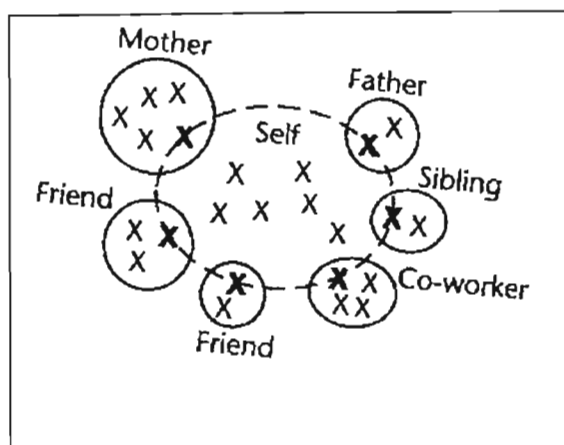
Fig. 2.3.   Inter-dependent Construal of Self

In contrast to figure 2.2, figure 2.3. indicates that some non-western cultures do not value separateness, and rather value what Matsumoto (1994:20) calls the "fundamental connectedness of human beings". Individuals in these cultures may have been socialised into "being sympathetic", "reading other people's minds", "engaging in appropriate actions" and the like (Matsumoto, *ibid.*). Consequently the most salient aspects of the conscious experience is inter-subjective - rooted in interpersonal relationships. Figure 2.3. illustrates how the concept of self is more intertwined with those of others in the community. The self is flexible, and the most salient information about the self (bold Xs) relate to self in relationship with others, or more specifically those features of the self related to social contexts. Matsumoto (*ibid.*) adds that people with interdependent selves are aware of their internal attributes, such as attitudes, abilities, and personality traits. These attributes are merely less important in consciousness, and tend not to have primary focus in thought, action and feeling. Matsumoto (*ibid.*) also says that any culture can have variations with regards to their independent versus interdependent

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construal of self, and that there may be differences in self-construal dependent upon factors such as gender and even different ethnicities within one culture.

From my understanding, many black cultures, and in the case of this study, the Zulu culture, value a collectivist consciousness. This is known as *ubuntu,* which is the spirit of humanity expressed in a distinctly African notion that people are people through other people (Pilger, 1998).

Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, & Trumbull, (1999) mention that when children from a collectivist background encounter individualistic schools there is room for conflict, as their self-construal may differ vastly from the process of self development in their adopted culture.

2.2.2. Background of 'Integrated' schooling

Many different terms are used to describe integrated schools. Terms such as 'open', mixed, desegregated, integrated, multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual are all used interchangeably, without clear differentiation amongst each of the terms (Chundra, 1997).

Although multi-culturalism was initially viewed in a positive light, the entire concept of multi-cultural education has come under the microscope for re-examination. To understand this shift in focus, a brief historical explanation follows. When segregation in schools was abolished in the USA, a plethora of theories abounded as to which approach would be most ideal. Desegregation and assimilation came to be thought of as synonymous initially. Desegregation was seen as a process which merely involved closer physical proximity of members belonging to different groups, in the same school, irrespective of actual statistical differences in the numbers of races (St. John, 1975; Chundra, 1999). Theorists such as Slavin soon realised that, although the contact theory worked in laboratories (i.e. if people of different races came into contact with each other, it would improve race relations), it was not sufficient in the classroom, if no additional interventions were made (Hawley, 1980).

Gordon (1983) says that assimilation which was also known as the 'melting pot' or 'salad bowl' approach (Cross, in Freer, 1992:179; Matsumoto, 1994:XI) became popular in the 1970's. Gordon, (*ibid.*) describes assimilation as a mono-cultural policy, or what Penny, Appel, Gultig, Harley & Muir, (1992:16) call an assimilationist-incorporationalist approach, as the dominant

race saw it as the duty of the 'minority' group to adapt, even though the aim was to compensate for deficits and minimise economic disadvantage, hence equalising society (Cross, in Freer 1992). This approach prevailed in most multi-cultural western societies, with access being given to learners of cultures different to the mainstream culture of a school (Coutts, 1992), but accompanying this access was the subordination of their home cultures.

The implication is that the dominant groups are superior in some form, and that the 'immigrant' group (Greely, in Stephan & Feagan, 1980:146) may lower existing standards (Vally & Dalamba, 1999). Murphy, (1998) says that assimilation has been successful in creating the illusion that European characteristics epitomise the pinnacle of the evolutionary scale and that there is seldom movement in two directions between western culture and that of another.

Acculturation is seen as a form of assimilation. Herskovitz (in Groenewald, 1976) defines the process of acculturation as follows:

> ... whenever peoples having different customs come together, they modify their ways by taking over from those with whom they newly meet. They may take over much or little, according to the nature and intensity of the contact or the degree to which the two cultures have elements in common, or differ in the basic orientations, but they never take over or ignore all, some change is inevitable.

Such an approach places emphasis on minimising cultural differences and encourages conformity. Minority groups[4] are expected to become assimilated into the mainstream of the dominant group culture. They are required to adopt the language, cultural modes and values of the dominant group. Little recognition is given to the individual's needs from diverse cultures. Lemmer and Squelch (1993) add that assimilation can result in lowered self-esteem and poor self-concept as well as cultural alienation.

Watson, (in Freer, 1992) discusses the integration approach, which is comparable to the assimilation approach in that it is used in those countries that attempt to integrate minority groups, through the school system, by using language and external pressures to achieve this goal.

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[4] Please note that even though I use the term minority group, this refers to the minority of the new races in previously segregated schools and does not refer to the statistics of that group nationally, i.e. black learners are still the minority in certain government schools, but they are the majority in the country.

The concept of multi-culturalism appeared next. Multi-culturalism emerged in the USA in reaction to the civil rights movement, in reaction to assimilation ideology in the 1970's and became widely accepted (Gordon, 1983). Multi-cultural education was seen as a service that was provided for the socially elite at one stage, as indicated by the private schools and the types of learners there. Coutts (1992:8) defines multi-cultural education below:

> Essentially it implies the presence of children drawn from different racial, cultural and socio-economic class backgrounds learning together in the same classrooms. It tends to be characterised by a non-racial or anti-racist stance on the part of teaching staff. It encompasses a policy of systematically exposing pupils to a variety of cultural heritages in an endeavour to offer broad 'liberal' general education, while fostering tolerance and empathy.

Multi-cultural education or what Watson (in Freer, 1992) calls the separation approach, occurs in schools where learners of different cultures are found. Each values and realises that they can enrich each other though some assimilation will occur (Coutts, 1992). Multiculturalism recognises and accepts the existence of other cultural groups and views diversity as an asset, rather than a handicap, encourages acculturation, which means that people's cultures are shared, modified and enriched thorough interaction (Lemmer & Squelch, 1993), as expressed by Cross (in Freer 1992:186): "cultural and ethnic diversity should be seen as enrichment for a national culture, and as an asset rather than a handicap".

Vally & Dalamba (1999) warn that with this approach there is a very real danger that learners could learn to stereotype different cultures and races. This is especially the case, as schools that espouse this approach tended to introduce various cultures by exposing learners to their dress, food, dances and religious practices, thus emphasising 'surface' or superficial manifestations of culture. Vally & Dalamba (*ibid.*) felt that the danger with this programme was that caricatures could be reinforced.

Although there are those who are opposed to multi-culturalism, such as Christie (1985) who feel that it is an approach which can be very value-laden, there are advocates of multi-culturalism such as Alexander (1990:77) who feel that it can serve as a positive uniting factor to South Africans:

> It is essential to re-conceptualise culture in South Africa as capable of being transformed by the interaction of all positive and constructive elements in the different traditions that have constituted South Africa. These traditions are firstly...the African tradition, the European tradition, the Asian tradition and also the modern American...Now out of these major cultures we are to re-constitute a single national culture.

Anti-racism, according to Vally & Dalamba (1999), is an approach which South African schools are recommended to adopt. This approach acknowledges that racial and cultural differences exist. The next step is to challenge one's own beliefs and pre-judgements. This, Vally & Dalamba (1999) say, is true essence of integration - where attitudes are changed.

South Africa is still trying to find the most optimal approach to integration in schools. Berens, Potenza, & Versfeld, (1992) state that in South African schools there are mainly three different types of integration processes to choose from, namely:

A: where the school management and staff turn 'colour-blind' = assimilation

B: where each culture and language is allowed to exist in its own right = multi-culturalism

C: where a common identity is sought within the one school = anti-racist

For those people who prefer the assimilation approach in South Africa, their reasoning may follow Macdonald's (1990:61) thoughts: "At this point in South African educational history, we cannot afford to take this position of ensuring minority children have due respect paid to their culture in the classroom whatever its theoretical tenability, since the notions of cultural relativism in education can land us in the position of neo-apartheid thinking".

Watson (in Freer, 1992) mentions another approach, i.e. the recognition approach which recognises minority language, culture and education in the national constitution. Pratt (1991, in Atkinson, 1999) uses the term 'transculturation' to represent this celebration of difference, and creativity. Coetzee (1992) gives three examples of programmes that have been developed and implemented and found useful as teaching methods and formats in other countries to assist with this recognition approach:

- Peace Education: relates to international relations as well as daily interpersonal and family relations;

- Peer Mediation Training: Learners within the schooling context are trained to resolve conflict amongst their peers, without the traditional intervention of the disciplinary structures in their school.

- Education for Mutual Understanding: stresses self-respect and respect for others, as well as the interdependence of people (Coetzee, *ibid.*).

- Conflict Resolution Programmes are newly practiced programmes in South Africa. They have a significant role to play in seeing conflict in a positive light. These programmes aim for alternatives to violence and encourage joint problem solving.

These activities can be offered to both teachers and learners and can be offered within and after school hours.

Having discussed the various forms of contact, it is important to note that, just as the USA is moving away from the melting pot idea to consideration of a conglomeration of *micro-cultures* (Matsumoto, 1994), there are still proponents of segregation. In South Africa, Vally and Dalamba (1999) state that there are a number of different ways in which one can covertly segregate schools. One way is by increasing school fees, (even though, according to the Government Gazette (1996:6) "no learner may be refused admission to a public school on the grounds that his or her parent is unable to pay or has not paid the school fees determined by the governing body"). Other exclusionary tactics are by using certain languages as the only language of instruction and by having rigid religious practices or elitist sports (i.e. expensive sports, which exclude the socio-economically deprived parent and child).

2.2.3. Integration in Schools

Vygotsky saw schools as 'cultural laboratories' (Riviere, in Moll, 1990:1), where it was their function to instill cultural norms. Macdonald (1990:62) explains the historical development of the concept of schools as purveyors of culture: "the concept of education as the maintainer and propagator of culture was ... developed in England in the 1930's to 1950's, by Clark, who saw the first business of education as being to induce conformity in terms of the culture in which the child is to grow up".

Schools and their management of multi-racial and multi-cultural learners have recently come under investigation. Despite this, Chetty (1995) and the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), (1992) mention that there is little local information regarding the reaction of Black learners to multi-cultural and multi-racial schools. Even though more international research surrounding issues in mixed schools exists, the findings are not always applicable to the South African situation. For instance, St. John (1975) stated that one of the problems with research that was conducted in the United States was that it measured children's'

reactions at one point in time only, with few researchers doing long term studies. She added that many studies also tended to focus on the experiences of the minority learners, and not on the majority learners. Minority learners in most American research refer to learners being integrated. The situation in South Africa varies compared with the USA, in that though the majority of the population is Black, they may or may not be the majority in some schools. The integration of Black learners in South Africa may hold different experiences to that of the international arena.

South Africa is in a transition teething phase where an interaction of cultures, best suited to our conditions is still developing. Research in general shows that where more than one culture exists, one culture may establish itself as the dominant one (Macdonald, 1990). Whilst we strive for some sort of balanced provision amongst our learners, there may be unfortunate consequences for learners belonging to a less dominant culture. Richards (in Malefo, 1991), states that the dominated culture develops a learned helplessness pattern with an external locus of control and becomes passive. This most certainly has implications for the interactions in classrooms. Wallace and Adams (1987) state that the learners then do not perceive of themselves as being generators of information and do not see themselves as being in charge of their own learning.

In addition, conventional patterns of behaviour may become devalued, or inappropriate, in certain cultures. The affected culture may have to make a paradigm shift with the possible consequence that in the grey land between paradigms, there may be a loss of cognitive efficacy (Macdonald, 1990; Moonsamy, 1995).

One of the dangers in aiming for integration into another culture is that children may be constrained from fully engaging in their own culture, as this may be judged to be inferior. Feuerstein developed a programme for cognitive remediation, when he realised that children, not from Israel, but, for instance, from Morocco, were not on par educationally, with their counterparts from more developed countries. This was because parents stopped mediating culture to their children, as they judged their own culture as inappropriate and inferior. These children then suffered from cognitive deficiencies, as a result. Feuerstein felt that children who have had their culture mediated by adults have the capacity to assimilate another culture as the first experience builds cognitive frameworks and attitudes that will function in the newly adopted culture (Moonsamy, 1995).

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Not only is ignoring their own culture, detrimental cognitively, Gordon (1983) adds that in the case of Zulu children the initial mediation of culture leaves much to be desired. This is so since many parents work away from home for long periods of time, and childminders, usually females (e.g. grandparents, neighbours), tend to become the primary caregivers. These caregivers tend not to have had much formal education themselves and may even be illiterate. The result is that these children have not had adequate mediated experiences that will prepare them for schooling. To make matters worse, in addition to poor initial mediation, Chundra, (1999) says that there is a vast gap between the home background of Black learners and that of the westernised-schooling context where some find themselves.

Another danger is that children who are successful in adopting another culture and language may face possible rejection from their own communities, as is stated by Moonsamy, (1995:89): "There is imminent danger that the learning of English may isolate Blacks from their own people". In both scenarios the child is the victim (Craig, 1985). St John (1975) very nicely phrases the dilemma that the Black child finds himself in. First they have to deal with the marginal role they may play in their new society, especially if there is a difference between home and school culture (Walker de Felix, 1990 in Jacobson & Faltis, 1990). They may then have to create a link between their two worlds and the result may be a weakened identity with their own cultural and / or racial group (Deane, 1993).

For learners who are successfully integrated facing derision from their community is another phenomenon that has come to light in research (Chundra, 1997; Vally & Dalamba, 1999). Listening to racist jokes at school or from learners of the mainstream culture can occur at school, with terms such as 'choc-ice' or 'coconut' being used by ESL learners community members on the other hand (Chetty, 1995; Chundra, 1997).

Research indicates that, in addition, to being alienated from their own culture, they may face alienation with regard to pedagogic practices in class, alienation from the culture in the class, from opportunities to learn, as well as from positive reinforcement from their peers as well as from their teacher (Gordon & Barkhuizen, 1994). The last point is seldom mentioned in research and these authors say that 'narcissistic' reinforcement (important in the development of the self-concept) is lost, when learners know that they are not doing well and can't be praised by the teacher (for instance, due to a paucity in the language on the teacher's part).

Learners from a culture different to that of the school may not understand the school's culture, as meanings are obscured and reasons for certain behaviours are unintelligible, and may be poorly understood themselves (by age-mates and teachers). Matsumoto (1994:6) states that "we may interpret someone else's behaviour based on our own cultural background and come to some conclusion about that behaviour based on our own beliefs of culture and behaviour." This may result in 'culture shock', according to Richards (in Malefo, 1991) which is defined as anxiety which results from the disorientation encountered upon entering a new culture. For instance, Chetty (1995) mentions that learners have to learn about foreign and meaningless content, such as the French Revolution in History (and not about African struggles for example) or about electricity which they may not even have in their own homes. Gordon & Barkhuizen (1994: 60), prefer to call this feeling 'alienation'. They add that the use of another language may also contribute to this feeling of alienation.

In fact, Hawley (1981) adds that when any learning occurs, transformation within the individual's identity occurs. When one takes into account that culture transfer is also encapsulated under learning, the implications are significant. In Chundra's (1997) study, she states that according to reproduction theories, within schooling contexts, learners may demonstrate acceptance of their adopted culture, or they may resist it. Woods (Lynch, 1989 in Chundra 1997) adds other responses, namely they can conform, retreat, rebel, become ritualistic or become intransigent.

Quiroz, Greenfield, & Altchech, (1999) emphasize the import of culture when they explain how it has the potential to influence everything that goes on in schools: how staff dress, what they talk about, their willingness to change, the practice of instruction, and the emphasis given the student learning. In terms of reproduction theories, Macdonald (1990) and Cummins and McNeely (in Pillay, 1995) says when minority groups in European and American originate from contexts whose background and value systems do not accord with the mainstream culture usually represented and embodied by the teacher, transference of culture does not necessarily occur. This makes me wonder if learners are not having their culture mediated at home, and are not adopting the culture of the school, what form of self-identification, traditions and cultures are likely to develop. Differences in culture and ways of constructing the self (Matsumoto, 1994) may pose communication problems, especially as South African schools move into an era of greater cultural diversity.

One result of such difficulty forming relationships is that integrated learners may band together forming cliques (Leibowitz, 1990; Zanger & Landurand, 1995; Chetty, 1995). Chetty (*ibid.*) mentioned that the Black learners in the school he interviewed tended to socialize with themselves during breaks, and preferred to speak their home language with each other during class time. Chundra (1997) says that teachers need to investigate the type of separation integrated learners engage in, i.e. to examine if learners of like cultures or races are engaging in purely social relations, compared to overtly experiencing major social difficulties with other learners and staff.

- Teachers and integration

Delpit's words succinctly sums up the situation in present day South African education: "There can be no doubt that issues of diversity form the crux of what may be one of the biggest challenges yet to face those of us whose business it is to educate" (1995:178). Teachers generally have taken one of two approaches, namely that there is a problem with the learner, or they equate all learners, denying any individual characteristics and differences.

Research indicates that teachers have for decades fallen into the trap of seeing what they want to see. Chundra (1997:30) relates how teachers who originate from a culture different to that of their learners feel that second language learners have a 'deficit' or suffer from 'cultural deprivation'. According to Rosenthal's fulfilling prophecy (St. John, 1975; Moonsamy, 1995) teachers will treat learners differently based on their beliefs. In turn, McGregor (1971) believes that English second language learners will respond intelligently only if treated as intelligent beings and will be slow and unresponsive if the teacher believes them to be.

The alternative to seeing learners as the problem may be to use the approach described in the following quote. Delpit (1995:178) spells out the consequences of an anti-racist approach when she quotes Vivian Paley:

> In her book, Vivian Paley openly discusses the problems inherent in the statement...well intentioned teachers utter, I don't see color (sic), I see children'. What message does this send? That there is something wrong with being black or brown, that it should not be noticed? I would like to suggest that if one does not see color (sic), then one does not see children. Children made 'invisible' in this manner become hard pressed to see themselves worthy of notice.

Denial of who a learner is may have devastating consequences on their self-identification.

For South African schools attempting to avoid the above two pitfalls, Coetzee (1992) mentions aspects within education which will contribute to creating an ideal situation for integrated learners. These factors are: management style, organisational aspects, resource availability, no discrimination on the basis of sex, race, gender, ability/ disability, and the social aspects of the school (e.g. sports and leisure, ethos of the school, temperament and personality of the teachers). Carrim (in Vally & Dalamba, 1999) adds that it is also necessary to have structured programmes to help teachers cope with multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-ability classes and to assist learners to develop anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-discrimination awareness in school in South Africa.

The only manner in which integration can be successfully achieved is through active involvement of the teachers, other educational authorities, learners and their parents.

- The question of standards

One of the concerns parents and teachers expressed when desegregation was first implemented was the question of standards (Penny *et al*, 1992; Vally & Dalamba, 1999). This concern was expressed by teachers in Bot's (1990) survey, where 73% felt that educational standards would be lowered in a multi-racial setup. In contradiction with these teachers and parents beliefs, St John says (1975) says that longitudinal studies of desegregated schools indicated that racial mixing did not result in negative consequences for the majority group learners, i.e. there are no findings indicating that the more Blacks that are in a school, the less achievement oriented the dominant group attitude and behaviour will be.

2.3.   CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

Before engaging in a discussion on how these two aspects interact, a brief note is made on the use of terminology when referring to second language. Chundra (1997) mentions that the term 'second' is stressed in literature. She feels that this feeds into the notion of 'deficit', as it acts as an indicator of educational disadvantage. She continues to mention that there are different views in which one may conceive of language. According to Ruiz (in Baker, 1993 in *ibid.*) language could be viewed as a problem, a right or a resource. In South Africa, laws after the 1994 election stipulated that all 13 of the country's languages would be given recognition. Thus the issue of right is appeased, however, language is predominantly viewed as a problem and not a resource. The following discussion examines this attitude.

Vygotsky's theory (1978) stresses that culture is transferred through language. Giroux and McLaren (1980, in Leibowitz 1990) say that "it is through language that we come to consciousness and negotiate a sense of identity...As language constructs meaning, it shapes our world, informs our identities and provides the cultural codes for perceiving and classifying the world". Dela (1994:44) adds to this when she says:

> Verbal language acquisition is a requirement for the acquisition of a culture and is necessary for the individual in obtaining a complex cognitive social and moral aspect of the culture in which he lives. Without the language phenomenon, the acquiring of community interests values and traditions are impossible. Language is thus a form of culture.

Language and culture appear to be intertwined with one's understanding of self (Vygotsky, 1962), or to use the term Matsumoto (1994) prefers, construal of one's self'. Not only is culture and language integral to understanding one's self, it also is important in social relations.

According to Moonsamy (1995), just as culture can serve to be a dividing factor, so can language. For instance, differences in cultural expectations and self-construal may pose communication problems not only amongst learner, but between learners and teachers as well. Studies show that language is used to discriminate against people who are not familiar with the dominant language and who, as a result, are excluded from certain discourses (*ibid.*). According to Leibowitz' (1990) & Chetty (1995), cliques could form in a mixed educational context because of differences in language.

Even if the L1 speakers are not responsible for creating the perception of differences, ESL learners see each language as playing a separate role, i.e. English is to be used in education settings only, and the mother tongue for friends and family, according to Gordon & Barkhuizen (1994). This results is contradictory roles for each language, especially if there is a need to maintain one's identity. Gordon & Barkhuizen's (1994) study of two ESL learners showed that each coped with the English setting of their environments in different ways. One highlighted her differences, whilst the other attempted to underplay hers so as to better fit in.

In addition to the difficulty with the social aspects of language, the meaning of words are not immutable but actually develop said Vygotsky (1962). For instance, he goes on to explain that words may be associated with events and memories, and that old meanings may change. Word meanings are thus dynamic, rather than static formations (Vygotsky, 1962). This can only make the situation for L2 learners more difficult, especially since the situation is made worse by the fact that internal speech occurs in an abbreviated fashion (*ibid.*). In addition, Phillips

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(1972, in Jacobson, 1990) adds that cultural norms such as the perception of when it is appropriate to talk may seem obvious to a mother tongue speaker, but not to an ESL learner.

Vygotsky's theory (1978) stressed that the context in which teaching and learning occurs is important. The link between egocentric speech and solving difficult problems is made. Children mature and later their egocentric, socialised speech is internalised. Vocabulary affects functions such as perception, sensory-motor operations and attention. The significance of lacking vocabulary to express oneself was displayed in the experiments of Binet and Stern when they found that two year olds appeared to be limited in their descriptions of pictures, when compared to older children (Vygotsky, 1978). They are of the opinion that language and perception is linked and add that in the solution of nonverbal tasks, even if a problem is solved without a sound being uttered, language plays a role in the outcome (because it is part of 'inner speech'). Vygotsky (1962:151) thus says that "to understand another's speech, it is not sufficient to understand his words - we must understand his thought". ESL learners may think correctly but have difficulty expressing the thought.

2.3.1. Second Language Acquisition.

With all these different methods abounding, an obvious question might be: "Do teachers take into account how a second language is actually learned?". Looking at how a child learns a mother tongue, Krashen, a well know proponent and researcher of L2 acquisition, states that language is internalised, whilst additional languages are learned on a sub-conscious level (Cann, 1992; Delpit, 1995, Davey 1995). The learning of a mother tongue goes through various stages, as does the learning of an additional language. It is believed that one uses the mother tongue as a basic foundation on which to build other languages. Delpit (1995) mentions that children who have not yet developed the basic vocabulary in their own language, are likely to be unable to express their experiences in a second language. She adds that experiencing difficulty in deducing relationships, generalising and abstract terminology are possible consequences.

For children who have been robbed of their vital experiences in their own mother tongue, further obstacles are faced when they encounter the target language as they may lack an understanding and experience of the target language's heritage (Lemmer, 1993). Friederes (in Chetty, 1995) and Leibowitz (1990) added that these children lack a heritage in fables, nursery

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rhymes, proverbs, metaphors, songs and games in the second language. Unfortunately for these learners the fact that L1 learners have been made aware of these aspects of their language since their early infancy places L2 learners at a disadvantage.

"The child's biggest part in his learning at school is through language. Humans sing in a language, discuss social science in a language, explain mathematical methods in a language and think in a language" says Tiedt (in Dela, 1994: 35). The consequences of Limited English Proficiency (LEP) can thus be enormous. In Pillay (1995) one of the interviewees stated that he was concerned, as 90% of his second language learners had failed English in the mid-year exam. The interviewee said: "Data will show that whilst students and teachers perceive development on the part of second language students, progress has not been proven via exam scores over a period of one year" (Pillay, *ibid.:*100).

Peace's research (in Derrick, 1977) studied the difficulty immigrant L2 learners experienced in other countries and indicated that the problem they have in acquiring English is shown by errors in syntax, morphology and relevance. Hence they will have difficulty in expressing themselves in spoken and written work and their school progress generally will be adversely affected. Problems L2 learners may experience are spelled out by Ervin -Tripp (1978). He says that the reality of the learners' first language acquisition is seen as an encumbrance to them, as the learner will transfer rules applicable to the L1 erroneously. This is termed 'negative transfer' or 'interference' (Madden & Krashen, in Moonsamy, 1995). Odler (in Moonsamy, *ibid.*) mentions that the negative transfer could occur in the form of pronunciation (i.e. an 'accent') and grammatical errors (e.g. the erroneous use of the pronouns 'he' and 'she', as there is no sex distinction in the indigenous languages). Spelling errors may also occur due to incorrect pronunciation.

2.3.2. Factors affecting second language acquisition

Although the L1 can be viewed by some as an encumbrance, Dela (1994) says that the attainment of L2 skills requires a sound foundation of the earlier functions i.e. perfecting these skills in one's mother tongue.

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When learning to read, Gani (1989, in Dela, 1994:18) states that there are certain factors that will affect reading achievement. It would seem that all these factors also apply when learning a second language:

Child Factors:	Home:	School:
Physical conditions	Socio -economic status	Attendance
Sensory reception	Stimulation	Teachers
Perception	Language development	Instructional method
Maturation	Attitude	Classroom environment
Intelligence	Quality of family life	Mental health
Language development		Assessment of performance
		Motivation / Interest

Table 2.3.   Factors which affect both reading achievement as well as L2 acquisition

The learner's make-up is important when acquiring a language. In the learning of a second language, age has been found to be an important factor. The younger you are the easier it seems to be to learn a second language, (Fromkin & Rodman, 1988). Moonsamy (1995) mentions an important neuro-functional theory, i.e. the Brain Plasticity theory, which reasons that learners under the age of 12 years learn language easier than after this age. During this *critical stage* language can be learned, without special teaching and learning. This is because the brain, or more specifically the left hemisphere, which is believed to be the language area, becomes rigid after this stage is reached. Once the critical stage is reached, language can then only be acquired according to Krashen (in Fromkin and Rodman, 1988). He distinguishes between *acquiring* a language and *learning* a language. The first he says occurs when children pick up their first language, whilst the latter occurs in a more formal setting where he says that "rules, being aware of them, and being able to talk about them" is important (in Fromkin and Rodman, *ibid.*:391).

Odendaal (1991) also suggests that the attitude of the learner is imperative in contributing to learning a language. He says that if the learner's attitude is negative, (compare the June 16, 1976 boycotts over Afrikaans), or if he does not like the language, his language acquisition will be blocked. Motivation and one's level of inhibition is therefore influential. Personality factors also contribute. For example, extroverts have been found to acquire a second language

quicker than introverts; and gender (females may tend to be less assertive learners), also plays a role (Moonsamy, 1995). Layton, Quandt and Tiedt, (in Dela, 1994: 65) include another factor important in second language acquisition:

> The child who does not view himself as a speaker will not do the necessary preparation to speak in front of others. The teacher therefor (sic) has the task to first build verbal self-confidence in the child, because only then will the child be prepared to speak in front of others and have the opportunity thereafter to become an effective speaker.

The learner thus has to be prepared to risk social failure and personal embarrassment when learning to speak a second language. Fear of such a situation, or what Malefo (1991) would term "language shock", may be preventing certain children from becoming more adept in the English language. Besides speaking in the L2, absorbing the L2 is prohibited by fear, according to Odendaal (1991:3), "fear and anxiety filter out learner input, in other words, no language goes into the learner's mind if he is anxious or afraid". In fact, according to Brown & Ferrara (in Moonsamy, 1995:72) second language acquisition may be affected by either too much or too little anxiety. Vygotsky agreed with the thought that there was a link between "affective and intellectual phenomena" (Wertsch, 1985 in Akhurst, 2000). Bruner (1985 in Akhurst 2000) adds that there is also a link between a learner's support system and the acquisition process.

Parental support, intelligence, the amount of English spoken at home, as well as the amount of association with L1 speakers, affects first language acquisition and also contributes to L2 acquisition (Cann, 1992; Stewig in Dela, 1994). Malefo (1991) mentions examples of people who have been deprived of parental feedback and the disastrous consequences this has had on their language development.

In addition to the mother tongue offering up its own challenges in the face of acquiring an L2, Vygotsky mentions that research into inner speech indicated that the normal grammatical rules do not apply to inner speech. Mental thought as (mentioned in Section 2.3.) occurs in summarised version, not in entire sentences, but mere one word units, at times, or to use Akhurst's (2000:272) description of inner speech as: "abbreviated.... predicativity, the agglutination of words and the predominance of sense over meaning". In addition Vygotsky (1962:125) states that "the relation of thought to word is not a thing but a process, a continual movement back and forth from thought to word and from word to thought". This may indicate the difficulty that children who are ESL speakers have with external speech, as inner speech is more likely to be in L1, but also abbreviated. Vygotsky (1992) says that inner speech is a

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"distinct plane of verbal thought...the transition from inner speech to external speech is not a simple translation from one language to another" - referring to inner and external speech as two different languages.

Not only do learners have to contend with the problems of inner speech, acquiring a second language, but for some learners, the manner in which they learned that second language initially is vital. Historically in ex-DET schools, according to Edmunds (1988 in Moonsamy, 1995) when the year of change over to English occurred in Black schools, only ½ hour lessons were given, which amounted to 3 hours a week. There was little or no exposure to the English language outside of the classroom. In addition the teachers themselves were not fluent in the English language and may have exhibited poor pronunciation and bad semantics. Proponents of the idea that first the mother tongue should be firmly entrenched before a second language is introduced may feel that the L2 was introduced too soon.

Another aid in second language acquisition is the group of 'families' that the language belongs to. Mascher in Chetty (1995) calls these *cognate* languages. These languages have similar structures because of their common origins. Languages can also be classified according to linguistic traits (Fromkin & Rodman, 1988). The second language learner can thus guess, and probably accurately at that, if they are unsure about something. According to Dela (1994) English has an uneven rhythm. If the mother tongue has more or less the same rhythm as English, the child will more easily adapt and will in all probability be able to make accurate guesses. But in many cases languages have different rhythms. English and the Nguni languages are seen to be non-cognate languages.

Liebowitz (1990) mentions that Black pupils may have enough basic 'survival' knowledge to understand simple daily communication, but this is inadequate when the teacher uses academic and instructional English in the classroom. This supports Vygotsky's (1962:109) view that it is the more "primitive aspects of speech" that are acquired first. Vygotsky (1962) stated that there was a difference between spontaneous and non-spontaneous concepts. Spontaneous concepts relate to everyday experiences, whilst non-spontaneous concepts refer to knowledge taught to a learner during formal education. Akhurst (2000) states that non-spontaneous speech or scientific concepts as she calls them are decontextualised and socio-historical in origin, making identification with practical aspects for a second language learner more difficult.

Cummins (in Chetty, 1995) uses different terminology, though referring to similar concepts when he distinguishes between Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Acquisition Language Proficiency (CALP). Cummins in Lemmer (1993) says that BICS include aspects such as pronunciation, basic vocabulary and grammar. BICS allows learners to converse in daily, uncomplicated language. CALP is the more sophisticated version of language and is required for academic purposes. Saville-Troike (1983 in Jacobson & Faltis, 1990:40) phrases the required shift as follows "they must learn to learn through the medium of English". Cummins (in Lemmer, 1993) is of the opinion that BICS can take up to two year to learn, whilst CALP may develop only after 5 to 7 years, which is necessary for cognitively demanding tasks.

Vygotsky, (1962) said of the learning of a language foreign to one's own, namely that the higher forms of the language actually develop before the more basic, spontaneous fluent aspects of speech. "....Easy spontaneous speech with a quick and sure command of grammatical structures comes to him only as the crowning achievement of long, arduous study" (Vygotsky, 1962:109). In fact Ellis (in Moonsamy, 1995) and Parkinson (in Chetty, 1995) says teachers need to realise that there may be a "silent period" for L2 learners. (This is comparable to when L1 babies learn a mother tongue (Odendaal, 1991).

Another factor teachers may need to keep in mind is that some learners may be using a 3rd language or an 'nth' language (Padilla, 1990 & Chetty, 1995).

A further complication regarding language is raised by Brown (1987, in Moonsamy, 1995:52) who states that: "At present the indigenous African languages of South Africa are under-developed and lack an adequate technical vocabulary which is required to convey concepts of mathematics and science".

- Teaching ESL learners

Berens et al (1992) and Lemmer (1993) ask the question: "Who teaches languages in our schools? We all do. Every teacher is a language teacher and every class is a language class" (Berens et al. 1992:24). This statement makes the teaching of ESL the duty of all teachers, not only those who teach the English language, but those who teach other content subjects as well.

Vygotsky saw language from a social perspective and thought of learning as a collaborative exercise. Maged (1997:21) notes that the term 'instruction' in English has a very different meaning in Russian - where the word, 'obuscenie' implies collaboration between teacher and learner, not just one way interaction from teacher to learner. There appears to be a loss of this meaning in translations. The collaboration between teacher and a second language learner needs to be closely examined, especially as Vygotsky stressed the importance of language in the teaching or mediating process, since the explaining and teaching of concepts relies on the extensive use of language. If the level is above the ZPD of the learner, that is above the learner's level of understanding, it is the responsibility of both the teacher and learner to establish where the confusion arose. This is called *corroboration*. Adams (personal communication: 10 May, 1997) felt that in the normal course of events in the average classroom, corroboration does not occur.

Besides actual difficulty with acquiring a second language, the manner in which L2 language is taught is significant as well. Teachers have an important role to play. Ellis (in Leibowitz, 1990) feels that teachers influence motivation. They also affect language acquisition. They do this by endorsing and practising certain approaches when they teach L2 learners.

In traditional classrooms settings, teachers dominate talk. They generally ignore children, talk over them, and dominate the proceedings, (Johnstone, 1989 in Maged, 1997). In these settings, the amount of talk allocated per student would only average between 20 and 30 seconds at best, per class period, severely limiting the learners' opportunities to talk (The Department of Education and Science, 1975). As previously mentioned (Layton, Quandt & Tiedt in Dela 1994) learners need to practice speaking, both to peers, classmates and teachers to learn a L2 effectively.

The design and structure of the traditional classroom also makes it difficult for second language acquisition to occur with subject matter instruction. Milk (1980) says that one factor which can impede second language acquisition is the fact that learners may be grouped according to proficiency levels, e.g. L1 learners in one group, L2 dominant learners in another (De Villar, 1990 in Jacobson, 1990:136).

Lack of time is another factor to consider. The Black learners that Chetty (1995), and Vally and Dalamba (1999) interviewed suggested that if the teacher were to speak slower, and use

simpler language, it would facilitate their understanding. The problem with this "go-slow" idea mentioned by two teachers Chetty (*ibid.*) interviewed, was that this would delay the completion of the syllabus. Another teacher in Vally & Dalamba (1999) stated that teachers should be capable of changing their pace when teaching, as well as being able to repeat more frequently if necessary, which is an important aspect of the ZPD (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Lemmer, 1993), without too much of an encumbrance on their daily routine. In fact all of the teachers Delpit (1995) interviewed, felt that a good teacher was one who was not time bound, as they would not stick to the curriculum rigidly, but ensured that all of their learners had grasped a concept before moving on.

One other solution that has been mentioned in the literature with regard to the language of instruction is early second language exposure. Cummins in Chetty (1995) showed that learners perform better in English only classes when they have developed major content area concepts in their native language and have had at least 4 years exposure in English only classrooms.

As previously mentioned (section 2.1.2.1), the manner in which teachers teach language affects acquisition. Using both languages in class to teach has been used by teachers in the past, and one of the most popular is to have concurrent translations. This method, according to some researchers is one of the worst forms of bilingualism. The aim of this practice is for all learners to be able to comprehend, but the result might be that the L2 speakers are inadvertently taught that the target language, usually English, is preferred.

Chetty (1995) says using group work is effective, as this is supportive and allows individuals to ask questions. It provides more learning practice as well as the ability to hear the first language spoken. Tharp and Gallimore, (1988) & Lemmer (1993) say that the Vygotskian concept of repetition is often avoided, yet is very necessary, if one takes into account that this is how L1 learners learn their mother-tongue. Use of more cues (gestures, pictures, demonstrations) and translators are suggested by Moonsamy (1995). Lemmer (1993) says that LEP learners need individual attention, whilst Derrick (1977) adds that informality of atmosphere contributes to absorption of language indicating a possible reason as to why formal L2 classes may fail. External factors that influence acquisition of mother tongue are: family, peer group, and school, according to Romaine (in Leibowitz, 1990), as well as social skills (Hatch & Long in Moonsamy, 1995). Walker de Felix (in Jacobson & Faltis, 1990) feels that a sense of emotional well-being will only develop with improved second language skills.

As is evident from the above discussions, for second language acquisition to be successful a multitude of factors needs to work together. Teachers need to realise that for effective second language acquisition to occur successfully, they need to take into account the above mentioned factors, as well as educate themselves where there is a need. Tomaselli (1993) mentions that in schools in certain states in the USA, networking amongst teachers is actively engaged in. Corroboration should occur amongst teachers as well, to improve their professional skills.

2.3.3. Methods used for teaching a second language

There are a variety of methods that have been used world-wide to teach a second language. These include the Reading method, where the learner reads the language; Suggestopedia where one learns a language through listening to music; the Cognitive Code where the learner discovers the rules themselves and the Audio-lingual method which assumes that language is learned through imitation, positive reinforcement and repetition. The Behavioural approach, makes use of imitation and drills. Other methods that are used are the Direct-Method and the Grammar-translation method. In the first method the learner is to learn as if thrown into a foreign country. In the Grammar-translation method the learner has to remember rules, words and be able to translate them from the mother tongue to L2 and vice versa. This method was predominantly used in the 'extra' or 'language enrichment' classes that learners, who battled with English, attended. The following quote from Stewig & Very (in Dela, 1994:41) emphasises that this model has not always been successful in South Africa.

> The serious and sincere intention to equip all our children with a command of both languages (English/Afrikaans) is evident, but who can honestly express satisfaction with the standard attained in the second language by our matriculants after 12 to 13 years of 'exposure' to it at school. Somewhere along the line there is a breakdown in our attempt to equip our children in the second language and particularly in the ability to communicate orally. They are not really at home in everyday intercourse in English.

Although these comments relate to Afrikaans mother tongue learners who were learning English as a second language, since the same technique was used in teaching black learners English the results would no doubt be similar.

All the above techniques determine the type of programme schools adopt in dealing with their ESL learner. These methods all vary in that they are either additive or subtractive. According to Chundra (1997) additive bilingual programmes make use to the mother tongue, encouraging other learners to gain another language. In subtractive programmes, the aim is to replace one language with another.

The two most popular language programmes are the immersion programme and the recently favours communicative approach. The immersion model, tends to be subtractive. Learners faces the possibility that they may not have a full grasp on either their home language or the L2. They may also become monolingual (Chundra, 1997). Macdonald (1990) states that black parents want to send their children to school where they can be taught in English and hence, in essence, approve of the immersion model. In this model it is assumed that the L2 learner will quickly 'pick' up the language by associating with L1 speakers. Swain and Johnson (1997, in Walker & Tedick, 2000) state that for a programme to qualify as an 'immersion programme' the following is needed:

> a) that the L2 be the medium of instruction,
> b) that the immersion curriculum parallels the local curriculum,
> c) that there is support for the L1.,
> d) that the programme aims for bilingualism,
> e) that the exposure to the L2 is predominantly classroom confined,
> f) students enter with similarly limited levels of L2 proficiency,
> g) the classroom culture is that of the L1 community.

This model, though, does have flaws. "The immersion modes is generally considered not to work with minority groups in European and American contexts whose background and value systems do not accord with the mainstream culture usually represented by the teacher!" (Pillay, 1995:6). This is a common situation in South African schools, where the cultures of Black learner and non-Black teacher generally differ. One reason why the immersion model may not be succeeding in the South African classroom environment is as Johnstone, (1989 in Maged, 1997) stated that "talk in the classroom" is sadly neglected. Research in the 1980's (Wood, McMhon & Cranstoun, 1980; Wells, 1986) indicated the scene is in all likelihood still similar in today's classrooms, i.e. too often the teacher dominates a period designated for conversation, with the learners passively listening.

In the past a variety of combinations of above methods were used in schools, when teaching second languages. Most South Africans, who are bilingual to some extent, have experienced some form of this sort of second language instruction.

The latest form of teaching L2 is known as the Communicative Approach. This is definitely an additive approach as it encourages the use of any language that assists in the process of communication. Here four aspects of language, i.e. linguistic, discourse, sociolinguistic and strategic are taught. The first aspect, i.e. linguistic refers to the ability to know sentence

structure, the ability to infer the meaning of large units of spoken or written language, to connect utterances or sentences to a theme or topic. The next two relate to the ability to use language appropriately to a given communicative context, taking into account the roles of the participants, the setting and the purpose of the interaction, whilst the last refers to the ability to compensate for imperfect knowledge of rules and other limiting factors such as fatigue, distraction and the ability to enhance communication. In keeping with this, techniques used to teach language in this approach are: group discussion, chain story construction (where the whole class creates a chain story), role-play, debates, use of audio-visual aids, real-life experiences. Judicious use of the mother tongue is also allowed (Richards & Rodgers, 1986).

The role of the teacher, who teaches communicative competence, is different from the role that the traditional language teacher played, in that the teacher has to serve as facilitator - to facilitate the communication process, between activity and text and learner and between learners, researcher and learner. They are researchers in that they have to be aware of the nature of learning, as well as analyse observed experiences, as well as be willing to learn from the learners themselves. Other roles are that of an analyst (in determining the needs of learners, on both a formal and informal level), counsellor and group process manager (noting errors and then creating opportunities for correction at a later date). Moonsamy (1995:17) notes that "regulative, directive responses have been shown to retard language development". As can be seen in this last method, the role of the educator differs from their traditional role, requiring teachers to perform roles they may never have played before and which may be seen as requiring more effort on their part. This approach falls more in line with Vygotsky's notion of the role of the teacher.

Heugh (1990), brings to light that the National Policy Project has been working towards having not only bilingual, but preferably trilingual learners, but also trilingual teachers, thus favouring the additive approach, and the notion that teachers should be able to communicate with a variety of learners in a multitude of languages. Tikunoff and Vasquez-Faria (1982) found that teachers who had developed their own performance in the native tongue were more successful at teaching LEP learners. These teachers tended to focus on learner participation and group work. Bilingual teachers also tended to use the language and culture of the learners.

In addition to the basic language teaching methods, some schools have introduced extra lessons and bridging classes for Black ESL learners (NEPI, 1993). According Chundra, (1997)

these fall into three categories. The first is where the learner is removed from normal class functions and given remedial education in the English language. The second is a support programme, whilst the last is separate provision completely.

2.4. TEACHERS & CHANGE

Moving towards more multi-lingual teaching environments is only one of the changes to have taken place in the education arena. Part of the initial aim of this study was to examine how teachers were managing with the changes in the education system. There appeared to be little research on how teacher react in the face of change, but literature does exist, predominantly from countries outside of South Africa.

2.4.1. Factors affecting the teachers' perceptions of change

For instance, according to Broadfoot *et al.* in Chundra (1997), there are seven key factors which affect the efficacy of teachers. These are: excessive role demands, status, lack of recognition, professional isolation, uncertainty about their success, powerlessness to control their work environment, alienation, and a rapid drop in teacher morale.

Many other factors have also tended to add to teacher stress. Factors such as gender, age, experience, expectations, do have a role to play in the management and consequences of stress (Van der Linde & Van der Westhuizen & Vissing, 1999). Interestingly, these authors (*ibid.*) state that there has been no research performed on females to investigate whether or not they experience higher rates of burnout than men. (They define 'burnout' as a multi-dimensional phenomenon that includes emotional, physical, and cognitive exhaustion. They include depersonalisation and a lack of personal accomplishment). They say that it would be interesting to examine the plight of female educators who are experiencing change within the current South African education system as 'traumatic'. They (*ibid.*: 192). say that the causes of burnout can be attributed to: "role conflict, role uncertainty, work overload, an unsatisfactory classroom climate (e.g. discipline, routine), low decision-making powers, little support from colleagues, problems with pupils and a lack of management sensitivity in schools". Miles and Huberman (1993) add to when they state that tension in schools, lack of acknowledgement and support and low self-esteem come into play. Gold (1985 in Van der Linde & Van der Westhuizen, & Vissing, 1999) adds that unrealistic expectations, loosing contact with one's

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objectives, teachers who are constantly worried and hot-tempered or idealistic, competitive and dedicated can all have burnout. These authors add that parental pressure as well may add to teacher stress.

Van der Linde & Van der Westhuizen, & Vissing, (1999) found that the background and work ethic of teachers influenced their stress levels. For instance, Afrikaans teachers from urban areas, who tended to try to raise the level or standard of education of disadvantage learners experienced more stress and more tension between their roles at home and at school. In contrast the collectivist approach of Tswana teachers appeared to have contributed to a distribution of the stress and tension, hence lower stress levels in these teachers.

Van der Linde & Van der Westhuizen, & Vissing, (1999) state that younger teachers appeared to have less stress, probably because their home environments differed, e.g. no children, unmarried status, enthusiasm for new job.

Additional influential factors according to Bagwandeen (in Chetty, 1995) are that teachers are thrust into class with a few months of experience and little academic training to deal with the changing education system and that although there has been some guidance for teachers in the form of seminars, workshops and literature, there has been no structured attempt at grass roots level to solve the many problems facing teachers and learners.

Please note that I have selected three areas raised by teachers in this study as signalling change and stress. These are curriculum, assessment and class size.

2.4.2. Curriculum Change

The Department of Education Policy document, (1997:1) indicates the desire on the part of the government to shift away from previous curricula.

> In the past the curriculum has perpetuated race, class, gender and ethnic divisions and has emphasized separateness, rather than common citizenship and nationhood. It is therefore imperative that the curriculum be re-structured to reflect the values and principles of our new democratic dispensation

The department has thus introduced the concept of constructivism into their changed viewpoint of the curriculum. Constructivist learning implies that the learner is active and that learning is a social activity. The following general principles apply in constructivist learning environments:

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- Knowledge develops: Knowledge is not fixed, but changes and develops over time.
- Learners are persons actively engaged in constructing knowledge. This occurs on both an individual and collective basis. Learners should be encouraged to share and participate, the focus is not on whether or not the learner is "bright" or "stupid".
- Learning is social and hence language-based. Learning depends on communication between educator and learner as well as amongst learners themselves.
- Teachers encourage knowledge construction instead of knowledge reproduction. The presentation of real-worlds settings is vital here. (WCED Educator's Manual, 2000:17)

Jean Piaget was apparently the first proponent of this theory, as he believed that children or learners should be thought of as active constructors of their own knowledge and not passive recipients. Another proponent of this theory was Vygotsky. As a result of these ideals, the government has introduced Outcomes Based Education. (See Chapter 1 for further details).

Delpit, (1995) feels that besides the academic side of the curriculum, the social aspects would also be closely scrutinised. She says that in a multi-racial, multi-cultural setting there needs to be a move away from a Eurocentric curriculum. Teachers should prevent that a Eurocentric middle class discourse be allowed to dominate or be seen as superior simply because the majority of the students, or those in charge of the school belong to this background. In the United Kingdom even in schools where there are no minority learners, the curriculum still has to be changed (Deane, 1993). The same should occur in South Africa.

Multi-culturalism should be seen in daily life of the school, in assemblies, concerts, on walls, on pin-boards, in the curriculum. Parks (1993) says that a multi-cultural education should include education about character, i.e. being good; moral education, which is about respect, caring and being fair; anti-violence e.g. gang behaviour. Parks (*ibid.*) also feels that overt and covert racism, as well as fears should be addressed.

In the United Kingdom, when a new curriculum was introduced into the primary schools in the early 1990's, researchers found that the response of teachers could be categorised in the following manner (Croll, 1996:15):

- *Compliance*

   This is a process where the teacher in a situation of change is willing to accept change and adjusts practices in the classroom. Croll continues to add that teachers can be

partners, be implementers of policy or policy makers e.g. in their routines in class, and what they prioritise.

- *Incorporation*

    In this pattern of behaviour in the face of change the teacher appears to accept the change, but is in fact merely incorporating the changed features into their existing modes of functioning.

- *Resistance*

    Teachers can be viewed as opponents of government policy says Croll (1996:15), especially where workload is concerned, as well as other conditions of service, e.g. curriculum. They may hope that change will not be enforced and may actively resist change.

- *Creative Mediation*

    This occurs where teachers take charge of the changes and respond in creative ways to the challenges change may present.

- *Retreating*:

    Teachers submit to change, but feel deep-seated resentment which could result in alienation and demotivation.

The manner in which teachers have responded to change is evident from the following result in the United Kingdom: teachers' responses in the face of a changing curriculum in primary schools in the United Kingdom resulted in 25% of the teachers feeling that they had to contend with unnecessary paper work, 23% felt more stressed and anxious, whilst 17% felt that the new curriculum brought about greater personal enjoyment. Hoyle (in Croll 1996) warns that job dissatisfaction is a possibility when teachers feel that their roles are being extended and continues to add that 58% felt that there was deterioration in teacher-pupil relations due to time pressure and added stress in teaching.

2.4.3. Assessment

Assessment as mentioned in Chapter 1, was of interest, due to the fact that the entire purpose and means image of assessment was to change, with it becoming more objective or skills oriented and having to occur on a more consistent basis, not merely exam-oriented at the end of the year (Gultig, 1997). The Department of Education's Policy document (1997) states that assessment is to be continuous, formative and summative, which means that continuous

assessment should take place to ascertain whether outcomes have been achieved at appropriate levels of complexity or not. Assessment strategies for each of the eight learning areas are currently being re-examined (OBE Workshop, October 2000).

Delpit (1995) gives suggestions for what she terms 'authenticated' assessment. In this form of assessment, she recommends that teacher take into account the learner's background, and gives an example of the Athabaskan community, where the person with the higher status is expected to do most of the talking. In another culture, people in conversation are expected not to mention the 'obvious'. This would have dire consequences in an examination setting. She continues to add that the traditional form of paper and pencil testing may 'prove' a teacher's deficit assumption regarding a child, unless they are assessed in another manner, such as using situations that occur in reality in the assessments.

Failure, according to this new curriculum is justifiable in very limited circumstances as OBE is more learner-centred and each learner is streamed according to their abilities (Christie, 1985). One of the justified circumstances occur when a learner has been absent without justifiable reason for long periods of time. The other proviso is that the child will need to benefit from a repeat in the grade. This is especially the case in primary schools (Penny et al. 1992). In fact, according to the Handbook for Principals mentioned in Chetty (1995), no learner is allowed to spend more than two years in any grade.

Other assessment techniques Genesee and Hamayan (in Chundra, 1997:43) recommend are: "student observation, student journals, teacher checklists, narrative records, student portfolios and conferences". Lemmer (1993) and Jansen (1995) introduce the concept of testing in the language of the learner, since they fear as do Delpit (1995) and Hakuta and Croula (1987:41) that tests conducted in English result in learners "run(ning) the risk of being diagnosed as slow, inadequate or even retarded because of their language handicap". Jansen (1995) says that within the South African education system there is a need to reeducate the type of assessment, which rather shows evidence of learning than proficiency with the English language. To prove this Parkinson (in Moonsamy, 1995) mentions that Australian children whose mother tongues is not English and who have difficulty with language related tasks perform better on numeracy skills.

2.4.4. Class Size

Due to the 'opening' of schools and staff redeployment policies, a greater intake per class has occurred in most government schools. Maged (1997) & Bot (1990) state that the pedagogy of the teacher determines the effectiveness and quality of instruction and the class size does not impact positively or negatively on the quality of the instruction. Maged (*ibid.*) quotes a major study performed in the United States, named Project Star (Student Teacher Achievement Ratio) which was conducted from 1986-1990. Various research projects have been undertaken in the light of this study to either verify or refute the claims that this study makes. Firstly, the notion that bigger classes negatively affect learner achievement were borne out in a study using the Stanford Binet Achievement Test, where the researchers found that learners in smaller classes performed better on intellectual tests. These findings were supported by later studies (Folger, 1989; Johnstone,1989 and Folger & Breda, 1989 in Maged, *ibid.*). Thus the findings suggest that bigger classes negatively affect learning situation.

However there were studies that were performed in the same time span which proved other wise. For instance, Helen Bain *et al.* (Maged, 1997) studied 50 teachers in 1989 and found that effective teaching depended on :

- High expectations for student learning
- The provision of clear and focused instruction
- Close monitoring of student learning
- Teaching using alternative strategies if children did not understand
- Use of reward to promote learning
- Efficiency of classroom routine
- Set and high standards of classroom behavior
- Excellent, maintained personal interaction with learners.

Three of these above mentioned factors i.e. instructions, monitoring, use of rewards and interactive learning, all fall in line with Vygotsky's optimum manner in which to achieve the ZPD of learners.

Litke in 1993 found that learners did not feel that their learning was detrimentally affected by large class numbers, but that good quality teaching was indeed possible with large classes. Goettler-Sopko in 1990 found that academic achievement did not necessarily improve with a reduction in class size, but that larger classes did affect the morale of the teachers, as well as

the stress levels of teachers. Bot (1990) would agree with this assessment adding that other factors such as availability of text books, and quality of teacher training also had an impact.

In general, teachers and their responses to change depends on factors such as the age and years of experience of the teachers, as well as whether or not a supportive and collaborative culture existed at school (Osborne, in Croll, 1996). Hoyle (in Croll, 1996) warns that job dissatisfaction is a possibility when teachers feel that their roles are being extended. Suggestions are made in Chapter Five as to how teachers may handle stressful circumstances. For instance Berens *et al.* (1992) felt that stress could be alleviated within education if one displayed a willingness to change and possessed an open mind.

2.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a theoretical framework (drawn from South African and international literature) which assisted in the exploration, of the consequences of desegregation in schools. The following chapter deals with the research methodology. Findings are reported in Chapter Four and discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with a number of different areas that comprise this research endeavour. It highlights the concerns that brought about the specific questions that this thesis aimed to answer, as well as the manner in which data was collected and analysed.

3.1.   RESEARCH CONCERNS

Prior to beginning this research, I was concerned about the changes that were occurring within the field of education in South Africa. One aspect of change that interested me was the integration of Black children into previously racially divided schools. My concerns related to how teachers were dealing with these learners within the classroom situation. For instance, I was interested in the role that language would play. Hartshorne (1966:7) stated that: "The teaching of the [English] language itself continues along conventional lines and little or no attention is given to the particular problems arising from its use as a medium of instruction." I was interested to discover how English teachers taught this language to these learners, as well as how teachers of content subjects dealt with language related issues. I wondered what experiences occurred when these learners wrote tests and examinations. What methods did teachers employ to overcome any difficulties they encountered in their dealings with L2 learners? I also wondered how learners coped with their dilemmas in this setting e.g. language-related issues, as well as on the playground.

I realised that my area of interest regarding language within the South African multi-racial classroom context was an area of interest that had come under recent scrutiny (Leibowitz, 1990; Cann, 1992; Dela, 1994; Chetty, 1995; Moonsamy, 1995; Pillay, 1995; Chundra, 1997). Besides my concerns about these 'open' schools, I had heard about other governmental policy changes in education and had my own ideas about the possible difficulties that these changes would bring about in practice, in the classroom. I had heard of changes that affected both learners (e.g. class sizes) and teachers (e.g. redeployment). Due to my belief that teachers could give their perspective on the impact of these changes on themselves, the learners, as well as the education system in general, I thought that they were the most appropriate people with whom to conduct this research.

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3.1.1. Research Aims

I was interested in the experiences, feelings, and stories of teachers and thus planned for this study to be phenomenological in nature with the focus on teachers and how they were affected by changes implemented in schools - what Chundra (1997:54) called the "teacher-change nexus". The study aimed to examine the following:

- the exact nature of the problems that teachers were facing, e.g. multi-racial issues, language barriers, assessment difficulties
- to find out how teachers dealt with these problems on both a personal level, as well as what coping strategies they had employed to deal with these difficulties
- how they thought the problems within education could be addressed and whether or not they had any advice or suggestions for the education ministry
- if there were any aspects of teaching that still held positive sway over teachers and which resulted in them staying in the profession
- the reason\(s) teachers chose to enter the teaching field as their expectations may have exercised influences over the manner in which they viewed the current difficulties they faced
- what form the relationship between teacher and learner took, in light of the difficulties teachers may have been experiencing.

3.1.2. Questions prompted by Research Concerns

Once my aims had been ascertained it was easier to continue with my study. If I may be permitted to expound on the steps, which preceded deciding on these aims, one will understand the merry-go round I found myself on. For instance, at the beginning of the study it was necessary to decide whether to interview teachers or learners. Doubt assailed me once I had decided to choose the teachers and I wondered if I was indeed making the 'right' choice. I pondered long and hard about the wisdom of neglecting the learners' 'voices' when I decided that I wanted to conduct the interviews with teachers. If I decided to leave learners out completely, would principals need to be included? If principals were excluded, leaving only teachers to be interviewed, which teachers should be selected - should solely language teachers, content subject teachers, or both be selected, as I thought that some issues would differ depending on the subject they taught.

Other than choice of people, choice of institution was another factor to contend with; namely, whether or not the study should be conducted at primary or secondary schools. Research in related fields (e.g. multi-cultural education) appeared to have been based mainly in primary schools (Dela, 1994; Chetty, 1995). These studies also tended to concentrate on primarily ex-HOD schools (Moonsamy, 1995; Chetty, 1995; Dela, 1994). In contrast, I wanted to study secondary schools, as I was of the opinion that the impact of policy changes would exercise greater influence over the lives of learners who were about to leave school and enter into the world of adulthood. I also had a wish for this study to be representative of all race groups. I felt that the possibility that the previously racially segregated schools could render different issues was too strong a possibility to be overlooked. The final decision was to interview governmentally run, co-ed, secondary schools. The schools selected fell into the traditional racial classification of Black, Indian and White, as the principals of these schools were the only ones agreeable to participating in the research.

An irritating realisation was that as old questions were resolved, new ones replaced them. For instance, after selecting the schools, I had to consider the 'qualities' needed of the teachers to be interviewed. I wanted teachers to vary in terms of age, gender, race, experience in the teaching field and subject specialisation. As my preference was for teachers to freely participate in the study and not feel coerced, there was no guarantee that the above requirements for a representative sample would be met.

As is evident from my constant use of the word 'interview' above, this was the data collection strategy that I wanted to employ. I was curious as to the form that the analysis of the data from the interviews would take, as well as the process that the write-up would entail. The questions seemed endless and I discovered unceasing, in both their prevalence and presence during every aspect of this thesis.

3.1.2.1.   Insecurity and lack of knowledge

The constant questioning created a state of constant acute agony (Alexander, 1990: 102) and insecurity. As a novice researcher, uncertain of broaching a task correctly, I hated being solo, or being the 'Lone Ranger' as Bogdan and Biklen (1992:78) would label this state. I took solace in the statements expressed by them that "feeling uncomfortable" was part of research. Indeed, not knowing was not seen as a wholly negative concept, because as Francis Bacon (Alexander

1990:102) reports, "those who start with certainties will end in doubt, those who start with doubts will end with certainties."

3.1.2.2. Literary Explorations

I discovered that reading literature on how to conduct research, as well as other appropriate literature to enlighten and support my ideas, was vital. I must, however warn novice researchers of a snare that I fell into, which was reading too broadly and in too much detail about areas that were merely tangential to my study. The benefits of broad-based reading, though, exceeded the negative aspects thereof, as is demonstrated by the fact, that once finding the study by Chundra (1997) I realised its significance, as it was so closely linked to what I had in mind for my study, namely examining difficulties teachers experience, within the currently changing education system. Bogdan & Biklen (1992) mention that it is to a study's credit to have a model on which to base its ideas. I used Chundra's study in similar fashion. Chundra's study was however not replicated in whole or in part for this thesis, although both these studies used qualitative methods (e.g. interviewing), as I came across the author and her work, after having completed the collection of data (for instance, the interviews) for this study. Chundra's study presented many opposing results to mine, for instance the positivity of teachers in her sample, when compared to the negativity of the teachers in this study. Both her study and that of Penny, Appel, Gultig, Harley & Muir, (1992) were amongst the first few local research ventures to examine problems within education, after recent policy changes, from the perspective of the staff involved at schools. Mine was a follow-on in that it examined the perspectives of teachers (like Chundra, but unlike Penny *et al.* who interviewed principals) and compared findings as seen throughout this thesis with that of Chundra's findings.

3.1.3. Reasons for employing Qualitative vs. Quantitative Research

It would be said by some that qualitative research is "mushy, fuzzy and weak" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:327) and that it is a method engendered by "soft scientists" (*ibid.:*10). However, as I was interested in the reality of teachers' experiences and wanted to hear about the frustrations and tears, as well as the joys and laughter caused by the current changing education situation. I did not want to follow the traditional interviewing approach, which Owens (in Carter & Delamont, 1996: 56) explains as having "taken a restrictive view of the

role of emotions". Nor did I want to quantify their experience and lose the depth of meaning that a more phenomenological approach would no doubt render.

Qualitative research differed from quantitative in that:

- It is undertaken in a *natural setting* (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992), i.e. the school. If I had not been successful in gaining access to this venue, I would have been happy to interview the teachers in another natural setting, mainly their homes, if limited hours during the school day necessitated it.

- It is *descriptive* (Boulton & Hammersley in Sapsford & Jupp, 1996; Kvale, 1996). I found this to be true as is evident in my descriptions of the schools, the areas in which they were located, the descriptions of teachers - all of which contributed to a fuller picture of the phenomena being studied. The term 'descriptive' also implies that the researcher is able to quote responses (Bogdan & Biklen, 1990; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

- *Meaning* (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992) is an essential concern in this type of research. Meaning comes from the perspective of the participant, but also from the interpretations of the researcher e.g. meaning in gestures, nervous giggling. Some researchers (e.g. Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, in Chundra, 1995; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998) feel that one way to ensure that the 'meanings' of both the respondent and the researcher coincide is if the researcher shows the respondent a near finished written product, or is able to return to teachers to verify their meanings. I, however, was not able to verify meaning to this extent, though I did verify meaning by enquiries during the actual interviews.

- It is *inductive*, which means that one does not have to prove or disprove a hypothesis (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). This was another advantage, as I was uncertain of the intricacies that the data would be reveal. On the other hand, with quantitative research, I would have needed a detailed plan of operation (which for myself as a novice was unnecessary with qualitative research, especially as the themes tended to unfold during the course of data collection).

- It is concerned with *process* (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). According to Denzin & Lincoln (1998), being able to expound on one's experiences during research is a relatively new

phenomenon, and one which is enjoyed by many researchers. I found that elucidating on the steps engaged in during research created greater insight and I think that this aspect of qualitative research will prove beneficial to future researchers.

- Chundra (1997) also stated that qualitative research reports create fewer barriers to the reader who has little research experience.

There were three disadvantages I found with qualitative research. The first detracting quality about qualitative research was its time consuming nature e.g. the conducting of interviews, transcribing of data, as well as the data analysis (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). The second feature was succinctly encapsulated by Cohen & Manion (1998) when they stated that qualitative research, unlike quantitative research does not have a unified theoretical and methodological base. LeCompte & Preissle (1993) highlighted another disadvantage, which may be more important for fellow researchers:

> The personal tailoring of the interaction between ethnographer and informant is simultaneously strength and a weakness ... It is a strength because it promotes the collection of data that more richly represents the experiences of the participant, - its is a weakness because it makes comparison and replication more difficult.

This difficulty with replication was a concern, as I greatly desired to see other studies addressing issues that I had merely touched on.

Quantitative research techniques would not have given me the same level of interaction with the respondents that I desired, nor would I have been able to interact with the data as I have done. This is because quantitative data, in comparison, is empirical and hence distant. Denzin & Lincoln (1998:10) call quantitative data a science that "silences too many voices". Although quantitative techniques for the large part was not quite suitable for this study, they have as a whole have not been totally shunned and are included to some extent. Cohen & Manion, (1989) make mention that the utilisation of both qualitative and quantitative research methods is not unheard of. Quantitative techniques were employed during data analysis when I attempted to discover the significance of a theme. I used a method of counting (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Sapsford & Jupp, 1996) in which a theme was given one point for each time it was mentioned by a respondent, and counted as significant if more than half the respondents mentioned it (Gaganakis, 1992).

Although this study otherwise eschews quantitative data, I was concerned about two aspects associated with this type of research, i.e. the validity and reliability of qualitative data, which, according to Flick (1998) has been under the spotlight since the 1980's and is difficult to guarantee in qualitative research. Reliability is defined as "...whether the researcher sees what he or she thinks he or she sees. Is his version grounded in the versions in the field?" (Flick, 1998:225). According to Powney & Watts (1987) there are different ways to examine reliability. One form that they mention is *interviewer reliability*. In this study I was the only interviewer, which solved this potential research hazard. They add that inconsistency in asking questions does decrease reliability.

In this study altering the shape of the original questions was the norm and is permitted in qualitative research and did occur in this study - though some reliability was maintained as I was the sole interviewer. With less formal interviews, the interviewer is free to alter the sequence of questions, to rephrase questions, to explain and add to them (Cohen & Manion, 1989). In essence the framing of questions also depended on the respondent, e.g. whether or not they understood the question and needed further clarification. In some instances scheduled questions were not asked as they were discussed spontaneously by the respondent.

Validity in qualitative research according to Flick (1998) has received more attention than reliability and can be defined as correctness of content i.e. an accurate representation of what was actually said and a sincerity in terms of self-presentation of speaker. One way to confirm content has been termed "communicative validity" (Flick, 1998:3) and can be guaranteed if a second meeting is arranged after the first with clarification, for instance of meaning, on the agenda. Internal validity is another form of validity whereby different people confirm one thing (Flick, 1998:36). This was indicated in some instances where the majority of the sample felt similarly or perceived a particular aspect of teaching from a similar stance. Kitwood (in Cohen & Manion, 1989:319) state that the 'distinctively human element' validates qualitative data. This self-same human aspect may contribute to the invalidity of a study if subjects are tempted to present a misleading picture of themselves and their situations (Flick, 1998). I believe that the respondents presented as honest a picture as possible, albeit a subjective one. Bias may also affect validity. Cohen & Manion (1989:318) explain how this is possible:

> The sources of bias are the characteristics of the interviewer, the characteristics of the respondent, and the substantive content of the questions. More particularly, this will include: the attitudes and opinions of the interviewer; a tendency for the interviewer to seek answers to support his prejudgments.

In support of this quote, I must admit to finding that each of the interviews differed, depending on who the respondent was and our ability to relate to each other. (See impact on each other in Section 3.2.2).

A trend which post-modern researchers support is that assessing the validity and reliability of qualitative data is antithetical to the very nature of this type of research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Whilst I hope that the measures I followed have resulted in data which is verifiable and an honest record of the interactions, the data will have been influenced by my interests or what Powney & Watts, (1987: 11) would call "my filter", the participants' own agendas and our interactions. This is acceptable in qualitative research since each person's contribution is valued as relevant. Admittedly this makes generalisability of this sort of research difficult (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

3.1.4. Selection of Schools

I intended to conduct a cross-racial study what included at least one school that fell into the previous racial classifications i.e. Black, White, Indian and Coloured. I preferred the inclusion of government schools, as they would have been affected by changes in government policy. This stratification of schools would also have permitted cross-examination in terms of the types of problems experienced as well as the coping measures implemented.

Once the decision to study secondary schools was made, the actual decision of which individual schools were to be selected was the next concern. Choice of schools proved to be a convoluted process. I had initially gained entry into an ex-House of Representative school, whilst completing my M1 at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg, Kwazulu-Natal. It had been my intention at that stage to interview four teachers of the English language from this school. Due to a change in location of the researcher, the final selection of four schools in the central South Coast, KZN, catered historically for Indian, White and Black learners. The location of the schools was important, as travel can be its own burden. (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). As it worked out, the schools were located in different areas (i.e. rural vs. urban, different socio-economic areas). I thought that this was beneficial to the study, as it would ensure richer data.

Another important criteria was that schools had to be government run. Private schools were excluded because they became multi-racial long before government schools did (Christie, 1985) and offered subjects and curricula different from government schools, even writing different examinations from the National ones.

Having chosen schools located in the area of my home meant making contact with schools and people that I had once been familiar with. My initial thoughts that this familiarity was an advantage were challenged on reading Taylor and Bogdan (Chundra, 1997:59) who warn 'new' researchers against studying friends and familiar surroundings as familiarity "could bias their ...findings". I reasoned that as I has been absent from the community for years and had had no contact with the teachers, principals and schools for almost a decade I had no invested interest. I found, however, that having previously been a member of the community proved to work in my favour, as I gained access to some of the schools with relative ease. This membership also meant that I had knowledge about some of the schools' origins and population which was advantageous to this research project.

The first school visited was Hamilton High, which was located on the edge of a residential area, at the outskirts of the town. This school was the newer of the two schools in the town closest to my home and had developed the image of being more liberal over time, as it was the first school in the area to be multi-racial. Its population was primarily Indian, though Coloured learners had attended it in the early years of its existence. For these learners to attend this school legally, an exemption form was filled in by their parents and permission gained from the appropriate Education Departments. In 1989, the first white learner attended the school.

Walking around the school, I noticed that there was graffiti on the walls and a lack of toilet paper in the toilets. This first visit to the school, which took place a week prior to the interviews, indicated that many things had changed since my days as a learner when I had attended it for 2 ½ years. For instance, the staff composition had changed. Some teachers from 10 years ago were still teaching at the school, but there were also a number of new faces.

The other ex-HOD high school in this area was Mohammed High. It was situated in a more industrial area, also on the outskirts of this town. It was the first high school to open in the area and lay less than a kilometre away from Hamilton High. It comprised of both older and more

recently built buildings. It was a school that historically catered for the predominantly Indian population in the community but also had Coloured learners in attendance in the 1980's.

The third school, Thandeka, an ex-DET school, was situated within the very heart of a township, about 10 kilometres away from Hamilton High and Mohammed High. It was situated within the confines of a predominantly Black community and was the only high school in that area. Its population consisted of predominantly Black learners, although learners of mixed origin, who would have been classified as 'Coloured' under the previous Race Act, were also in attendance. Entrance to the school was via a bumpy, potholed, dirt road. Some of the rooms that I was able to see had no furniture, although being utilized by members of the staff at the time. The school had no electricity, or phone and no fencing, (unlike the other schools). Running water was a commodity that they did possess. Although learners wore plain clothes or mismatched school uniform articles, an element of neatness was attempted. Before lessons began, learners assembled for a short assembly, which was enlivened with enthusiastic singing. The last school, Saint Cyprian's was an ex-NED school located in the heart of a middle to upper-middle class residential area, approximately 10 - 15 kilometres away from the other schools. The buildings and facilities seemed to be better than those at the other schools I had interviewed.

In my aim to be representative of all races I attempted to gain entry into a Coloured school, in an area further inland from the south coast, approximately 80 kilometres from the four schools described above. This would have been the only school, which housed boarders. I pondered about the comparative value of data originating from this school, taking into account its distance from the other schools. I did however have a strong desire to include the school, as it was the only Coloured school in the region and had been in existence for many years. In fact, Coloured parents over the years had shown an affinity to this school, preferring to send their children to this institution rather than to Mohammed or Hamilton High. The principal of this school was reluctant to permit me to interview his teachers, so this school was not included in the study.

Below is a table, indicating the geographical site of the schools, as well as their population groups.

Site	Setting	Socio-economic Class of Location:	Historical Population:	Current Population
1. Hamilton High	Semi-urban	Middle - lower	Predominantly Indian	Multi-racial
2. Mohammed High	Semi-urban	Middle-lower	Predominantly Indian	Multi-racial
3. Thandeka	Rural	Middle-lower	Predominantly Black	Predominantly Black
4. Saint Cyprian's	Urban	Middle-Upper	Predominantly White	Multi-racial

Table 3.1.   Schools, their settings and their historical populations

Teachers were also helpful in suggesting schools located in the vicinity, which they knew were experiencing difficulty, i.e. network sampling of schools occurred.

3.1.5. Gaining Access

Even before beginning this research endeavour, permission to conduct research at schools was requested from the appropriate education authorities, i.e. the then the House of Delegates. This was done in 1997. (See Appendix 1- letter to the department requesting permission to conduct the study). Permission from this avenue was unnecessary as I found that only one of the principals of the five schools contacted requested that I receive permission from the now amalgamated education department. This principal being the one who did not give permission for his teachers to be interviewed and who was left out of the study.

Much is written about the procedures of gaining entry (Chundra, 1997; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992. Gaining access or "getting in" as Denzin & Lincoln (1998:57) would call it, to the above schools was not difficult. LeCompte and Preissle (1993: 111) state that: "The issue of whom to contact to initiate collection of data requires researchers to identify gatekeepers - people who can facilitate access to the desired group of people." I made telephonic contact and visited principals, as they controlled access to both the schools and teachers. My easy entry into

schools may have been due to my historical connections with the some of the schools, and / or may have been due to the fact that I was a student and principals may have sympathised with my position (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The primary concern expressed by principals was the amount of time that the teachers would lose if they were to take part in this research. The success of entry lay in the principals' perception that the researcher would be non-disruptive (Chundra, 1997).

Entry into Hamilton High was relatively easy, as I had been a learner at the school 10 years before. Initial contact was telephonic, followed by a visit in person. During the meeting the principal seemed quite eager to get to grips with the details of the study. He wanted to know exactly what it was that I wanted to investigate, the number of teachers that would be required, the criteria involved in the selection of these teachers and the duration of interviews. He was duly informed about the purpose of the study, the diversity required of the sample, as well as the requirement that the interviewees volunteer. He was informed that the interviews were intended to be on a voluntary basis. In fact all principals were informed about the requirements of the study.

Initial contact with Mohammed High School was in person. This principal also seemed keen to hear the specifics of the study, but seemed more interested in the length of the interviews, suggesting that I should have used questionnaires instead. We agreed on a follow-up appointment whereupon he would inform me about the teachers who would be participating in the study.

At Thandeka, I visited the school in person in the hopes of making contact with the principal. On my first visit to the school he was absent, but his deputy, who took down my details, assured me that she would have him contact me. He never did. After numerous phone calls (to his personal cell-phone as the school had none), during which time I became well acquainted with his answering machine, I realised that contact with the principal could only be made with personal visitations to the school.

Access to Saint Cyprian's was telephonic. I was unable to speak directly with the principal, but made contact with the deputy principal. Over the phone we discussed all the details regarding the study, so that when I did visit the school the first time, it was to interview some of the teachers.

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3.1.6. Participant Selection

As discussed above, it was decided to have interviews with teachers only, as the study would be too large, if other respondents such as learners and principals were included as well. Research of these last two population groups could in fact be separate studies in themselves (e.g. Penny et. al. 1992). A relatively small sample was desired, so as to facilitate in-depth investigation. A minimum of two teachers from each school would have been sufficient. I had hoped that their differences, i.e.:

- different race groups,
- different sexes,
- different ages,
- a wide spectrum of experience within the teaching field (namely 'old' versus. 'new' teachers)
- different subjects and
- different grades.

would be more representative and would produce a diverse range of opinions.

The respondents were not given any form of remuneration for data or their participation. I had never had personal contact with the any of the teachers interviewed prior to the actual interviews. Powney & Watts (1987) encourage researchers not to have a personal relationship with the interviewees. Only two teachers had been in the one of the settings when I was a learner, but had not taught me at all and were not interviewed. One of the interviewees has been a learner at one of the schools when I was a learner there as well. I however did not have any contact with her during this time.

As a novice researcher, I thought that the ideal sample was important and within my powers of control. My notions of what the ideal sample entailed were however negated by the practicalities in the field. I had intended to have teachers freely volunteer their services. This however did not occur, as teachers were selected by their superiors (at Hamilton High and Mohammed High) or contemporaries (at Thandeka) in some instances. To elucidate on the method used to choose respondents, I describe in detail the selection at the various schools.

Schools	Number of Respondents	Selection Process
Hamilton	2	Selected by principal
Mohammed High	3	Selected by principal / deputy if 'free'
Thandeka	3	One volunteer. Others selected by network sampling.
Saint Cyprian's	4	All volunteered

Table 3.2.   Selection of Respondents

At Hamilton High the principal informed the staff, during a staff meeting, that a research endeavour was to occur at their school. They were given the details of what the study aimed to investigate, but he forgot to ask for volunteers. As a result of this oversight, on the morning of the interviews he commandeered - probably with my requirements in mind - a young, female Science teacher, who had begun teaching a few years ago, as well as a male, content subject teacher, who had 10 years of teaching experience. When each was asked, about this sudden change to their day, their reply was that they were used to 'surprises'. During the introductory patter, when the content subject teacher asked if he would have volunteered if given the choice, his reply was a firm 'no'. He later revealed that the principal probably forgot to ask for volunteers as he has quite a lot on his plate. (In addition to managing the school and attending meetings he also has to teach 22 periods a week). Although I would have liked to have discussed the issue with the principal I was unable to, as he was unavailable after the interviews were conducted and so the issue was left unbroached.

At Mohammed High, the principal reluctantly gave his permission, as he feared that interviews would rob teachers of their most valuable resource, i.e. time. He willingly offered his own services in exchange for those of his teachers. In spite of his concern, he agreed to give me access to his teachers. During selection, confusion reigned. On the day arranged for the interviews, when I arrived at the school, the principal was late. The deputy-principal (who was called to action, in the light of the absent principal) had not been informed by the principal of my reason for being at the school, so I had to explain my purpose again. Although the principal

had promised to arrange that I speak to a biology teacher, this teacher proved to be unavailable on the day. The deputy managed to 'find' me a teacher who happened to be 'free'. This was how the participants were selected at this school. When the principal became available this sampling technique of choosing teachers who were invigilating or who had a free period continued. Interestingly, I had met a young, male English teacher, in the waiting room, (whilst waiting for the principal to arrive) who had taught for 10 years and who was willing to be interviewed. This teacher was not asked by either the principal or the deputy-principal to participate in the study.

At Thandeka, the principal gave me freedom to approach his teachers. He had however not informed his staff about the research endeavour. Fortunately, the head of one of the language departments approached me and volunteered her services. LeCompte and Priessle (1993) were of the opinion that the people who are drawn towards researchers and who volunteer their information may be atypical of the group being investigated. This teacher was one of the few who did not belong to the same race group as the majority of the learners - a possibility presenting interesting issues. At this school network sampling occurred, as a result of the above head's organisation. LeCompte & Preissle (1993:73) describe network sampling as "a strategy in which each successive participant or group is named by a preceding group or individual".

In only one out of the four schools (i.e. Saint Cyprian's), did teachers volunteer to participate in the study and then I decided to include all respondents.

In the end the sample consisted of twelve participants. Of these four were involved in managerial and administrative tasks in an official capacity.

The criterion of convenience (which refers to the easiest selection of cases under given circumstances), as well as network sampling (where teachers referred the researcher to others) was used in the selection of my participants.

Please see Table 3.3 below, which gives additional information regarding each teacher, who was included in the sample.

School's Name	Gender	Age	Home Lang.	Position	Race	Subject	Grades Taught	Yrs teaching
Hamilton	M	Young	E	Teacher	I	Natural Science	10 - 12	10
	F	Young	A	Teacher	I	Commerce	10 - 12	± 5
Mohammed High:	F	Young	E	Teacher	I	Language	8	5
	F	Young		Teacher	I	Language	8, 11	7
	F	Middle-aged	E	Teacher	I	Language	12	10
Thandeka	F	Middle-aged	E	H.OD	I	Language	8	Unknown
	F	Middle-aged	Z	H.O.D	B	Commerce	Unknown	Unknown
	M	Middle-aged	Z	H.O.D.	B	Science	8, 9	6
Saint Cyprian's	F	Middle-aged	E	Teacher	W	Commerce	10- 12	13
	M	Young	E	Teacher	W	Woodwork	7-12	25
	M	Young	E	Teacher	I	Science	9 - 12	4
	M	Middle-aged	E	Teacher Management	W	Natural Science, Art	Gr. 12 & 10,11,12	26

Table 3.3.   Respondent Information

3.1.7. Deciding on Data Collection Method

I had considered various methods of data collection. For instance, observation would have given me access both to teachers and learners and their interaction in the classroom. Many researchers, who investigated areas related to this research topic tended to employ the use of questionnaires (Leibowitz, 1990; Chetty, 1995; Cann, 1992; Moonsamy, 1995). Their questionnaires tended to be quite lengthy and detailed. There was also the danger that teachers would answer the questions with responses that they thought I might want. I also felt removed from the process and would have had no inkling as to how teachers felt filling in the questionnaire. There was also the possibility that I would have been incapable of questioning them on their comments or written phrases which I did not understand (Chundra, 1997). In truth, any of the above methods could have been used in conjunction with interviews, but this would have required a lengthier amount of time of research than was available both for teachers and myself.

I decided that a once-off interview would be conducted. Penny *et al.* (1992:18) names this once off visitation having "one bite of the cherry". I found that some principals were reluctant to offer even this much of their teachers' time and counted myself as fortunate that I was able to get even this once-off chance. The "direct oral interaction" (Powney & Watts, 1987:7) was what I desired and the only research tool that provided me with this was the interview method. Sapsford & Jupp, (1996:96) says that the ideal in the naturalistic or unstructured interview is to approximate the 'feeling' of the unforced conversations of everyday life. Sapsford & Jupp continue to say that: "The conversation appears less artificial, more natural and more resembles a conversation between equal participants". To aim for this comfortable rapport was my desire. The advantages of employing the interview technique that I found appealing were:

- Cohen and Manion, (1989:307) state that the researcher is "free to modify the sequence of questions, change the wording explain them or add to them"

- They state (*ibid.*) that the advantage of interviewing is that it allows for greater depth than with other methods of data collection.
- that contact with the interviewee occurs in an interpersonal environment.
- that the knowledge sought is expressed in normal language, and not using statistics. This allowed for emotional displays and for the 'voices' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:172) of teachers to be heard.
- As the *life-world* of the interviewee is being studied, they are the 'experts' (Walker 1985 in Chundra, 1997:64). This view is supported by Kvale (1996:1):

> If you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk to them? In an interview conversation, the researcher listens to what people themselves tell about their lived world, hears them express their views and opinions in their own words, learns about their views on their work situation and family life, their dreams and hopes.

- Denzin & Lincoln (1998) states that the advantages of conducting interview is that it can act as a catalyst for social change and policy.

Kvale (1996:30-31) discussed various features of the interview method that I found advantageous:

- *Deliberate Naiveté.* The interviewer is permitted to exhibit openness to new and unexpected phenomena, rather than having ready-made categories and schemes of interpretation. I was assured of instantaneous feedback to questions and could query things that I did not understand. I found that playing the naivete was useful on occasion, as my ignorance was evident in certain spheres and my preconceived notions were on occasion challenged.

- The interview can result in *insights* for both interviewer and interviewee and this may result in *change*. The process of being interviewed may produce new awareness, and the respondent may in the course of the interview come to change his or her descriptions and meanings about a theme. According to Denzin & Lincoln (1998), qualitative research has in the past proven itself capable of being an agent of social change.

- *Positive Experience.* A well-carried out research interview can be a useful enriching experience for the interviewee, who may obtain new insights into his or her life situation.

It allows one to, as Turkmen (in Cohen & Manion, 1989) states, get inside a person's head. It makes it possible to measure what a person knows (knowledge or information), what a person likes or dislikes (values and preference), and what a person thinks (attitudes and beliefs). These advantages, I feel outweigh the negative aspects of interviewing.

One disadvantage of interviewing, according to Cohen & Manion (1989) is that the respondent may feel tempted to portray themselves in as positive a light as possible. They may also pre-empt what they think the researcher wants to hear. Cohen & Manion (*ibid.*) add that the researcher makes an assumption not only that the respondent is knowledgeable about the topic under discussion, but that they have insight into the topic as well. In addition, there may be preconceived notions on the part of both parties, i.e. the interviewer may have misconceptions of what the respondent is saying, whilst the respondent may not fully understand what is being asked of them. An even riskier limitation of interviews is that the interviewer may undergo "on the job-training" (Powney & Watts, 1987:4). Fortunately for me this was not my first time interviewing people for research purposes, however, much learning did occur during and after the interviewing process.

There are various sorts of interviewing techniques. Cohen & Manion, (1989) state that there are four types of interviews, i.e. structured, unstructured, non-directive and focused. In the *structured interview*, the sequence of word is organised before hand, resulting in a fixed schedule. Even diversions from the schedule are pre-planned. In *unstructured interviews* the interviewer has more freedom and control over content, sequence, words and the like. Wilson (in Sapsford & Jupp, 1996). feels that the term less structured is more appropriate because the researcher does have a series of foci. Cohen and Manion, (1989:307) say of the less formal interviews, that the researcher is "free to modify the sequence of questions, change the wording, explain them or add to them" . With n*on-directive interviews* respondents can be spontaneous and can discuss their subjective feelings. *Focused interviews* are usually ones in which the respondent has been part of a particular event and where they substantiate or disprove a particular hypothesis.

I chose the semi-structured, or as Feldman (1995:2) would call it "flexibly structured" interviews. As the sole interviewer I became the *bricoleur* (Lévi-Strauss in Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 3) or Jack of all trades in this research endeavour.

A highly significant disadvantage of interviewing, according to Powney & Watts, (1987:4) says that "methodological critiques of interviewing are difficult to find in the educational literature", implying that interviewers may not even be aware that they are engaging in behaviour that is not approved of, or which is erroneous.

3.1.7.1.   Choice of Interview Questions & Schedule Construction

Open-ended questions were used, as this allowed coverage of both my concerns i.e. issues with race, language and assessment, and permitted teachers to raise their own issues. Powney & Watts (1987) say that open questions allow tentative hypothesis to grow from the data rather than having a pre-set list of hypotheses. I adapted the questions used by Akhurst (1997) which seemed to suit the needs of my study and which had been found to elicit rich data previously. Deciding on which questions to include incorporated the following steps:

- As was previously mentioned, I scrutinised questionnaires included in related research endeavours.
- I consulted with colleagues and friends who were in the teaching profession about their concerns,
- I relied on my own experiences as a teacher, (even though this was for only one year and at a primary school in Northern Natal, in a semi-rural area),
- I had discussions with professionals in the language department at the University of Natal,
- I relied on assistance from my supervisor.

Chundra (1997) emphatically states that novice researchers have difficulty deciding on which topics to include in questions. No doubt as a result of this and my lack of experience, the interview schedule (Appendix 2) is flawed. Bogdan & Biklen, (1992) state that questions invariably reflect the interests of the researcher and perhaps equal or even more important events or issues may have been excluded. The only recourse for the researcher then, is to be aware of these and to face them when working with the data (Cohen & Manion, 1989). (In fact, when reviewing the data it became obvious that the schedule did not cover other important areas of change that may have occurred in schools in the recent past (Chundra, 1997) e.g. admission policies, assessment, school ethos).

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The question schedule consisted of ten questions. The questions ranged from what I thought were easy questions, to ones which were more difficult to answer. The easier ones dealt with personal and historical data, which I intended to use to create rapport. Schatzman and Strauss (in LeCompte & Preissle, 1993:172) divide questions into five groups:

> Reportorial questions eliciting a respondent's knowledge factors in a social situation usually preceded by interrogatives such who, what when, where, and how, (2) devil's advocate questions eliciting what respondent's view as controversial, (3) hypothetical questions encouraging respondent speculation about alternative occurrences, (4) posing-the-ideal questions eliciting respondent's interpretations and (5) propositional questions eliciting or verifying respondent interpretations.

Questions would also be divided as follows, according to Patton (1990) in LeCompte & Preissle (1993:171)

> 1) Experience and behavior questions that elicit what respondents do or have done, 2) opinion and value questions that elicit how respondents think about their behavior and experiences, 3) feeling questions that elicit how respondents react emotionally to or feel about their experiences and opinions, 4) knowledge questions that elicit what respondents know, about their worlds, 5) sensory questions that elicit respondents' descriptions of what they see, hear, touch, taste and smell in the world around them and, 6) background and demographic questions that elicit respondent's descriptions of themselves.

The questions included in the schedule (Appendix 3) are divided according to the above definitions. *Experiential questions* were Question 1, 2, 4, 5a, and 7 in the interview schedule. These questions dealt with reasons for teaching, teacher expectations versus the reality in the classroom, teacher experiences of rewards and difficulties in the education field, as well as their experiences with learners, respectively. Questions related to 'rewards' were included so that teachers would have the opportunity to relate what they found to be positive experiences in the teaching field, whilst the 'difficulties' related to both experiences at home or as a result of their career paths or in their community, as well as within the school bounds. The *'ideal'* *question* was based on what they envisioned as the qualities of the perfect teacher (Question 3). The first three questions were intended too be *reportorial*.

Knowledge or propositional questions related to OBE and desegregation (primarily language-related issues (Question 5b). These latter types of questions were raised if teacher did not mention them spontaneously and were questions that were not incorporated in the supervisor's original questioning. *Hypothetical questions* asked how to change government practices (Question 8, & 10). Question 9, which asked about the future of education, can be viewed as an *opinion question* as well as a *devil's advocate question.*

The phrasing of the questions plagued me. Boulton and Hammersley (in Sapsford & Jupp, 1996: 283) say, "With interview data, it is necessary to remember that the questions are likely to have influenced the answers given." I only truly realised the importance of the phrasing of questions <u>during</u> the interviews with teachers. For instance, with Question: 5 a - *What aspects of teaching do you find difficult?* I may have implied to teachers that they should experience problems with teaching. I also discovered after the interviews had been conducted that I would on occasion ask what Patton (in LeCompte & Preissle, 1993:174) calls 'double-barrelled' questions. This may have confused teachers, as they had to remember long-winded questions - e.g. in one case a respondent even asked me to repeat the question.

3.1.7.2.   Triangulation of Research.

Chetty (1995:44) mentions that data triangulation is a necessity as "every form of data is potentially biased and that the use of a variety of different forms of data collection, e.g. observation, interview, and questionnaires can eliminate or high light biases". Lather's statement (in Leibowitz, 1990) that the inclusion of many data sources, methods and theoretical schemes adds to the validity of findings and is advantageous in overcoming any bias and prevents the researcher from seeing only a "slice of reality" (Cohen & Manion, 1989:12) concerned me. I had only utilised one data collection strategy, namely interviewing. As was previously mentioned, I felt that triangulation of my data would have had to have been engaged in to ensure better reliability of my results. Time constraints however prevented this.

If, however one interprets triangulation as Flick (1998) does, saying that it is studying a phenomenon from different peoples' perceptions, then I have indeed fulfilled this requirement.

Chundra (1997), however, encouraged me with the knowledge that one could compare one's results to those of other researchers as a form of triangulation. In this case, I decided to study her results as her study closely resembled my own.

3.2. DATA COLLECTION

3.2.1.   Pilot Study

At the first school visited, Hamilton High, the recording device failed to record clearly due to high levels of background noise - a phenomenon that was only noticed after the interviews were completed. At the time of this discovery, I thought of including this school as a pilot study. The school gave me the opportunity to examine the effectiveness of my equipment, as well as the appropriateness of the questions, i.e.: whether or not respondents understood the questions as originally phrased, did they think of the whole gambit of possible responses to any question or did I need to prompt them? (Wilson in Sapsford & Jupp, 1996). I was also able to revise the schedule, the order of questions, and it also gave me an idea of the length of time that interviews could take - the first interview was 2 hours long, whilst the following one was 20 minutes. My introductory speech and rapport building skills were re-examined. It gave me insight into how the 'feel' of the interviews would differ from interviewee to interviewee. After interviewing at this school I felt more confident to conduct the interviews which were to follow. I decided to include the data from these teachers, as I thought it too valuable to be lost and recorded as mere training.

3.2.2.   Conducting the Interviews

Disclosure of the nature of the study began prior to each interview. This provided teachers with the opportunity to question the interviewer, conjure up images, experiences and stories of the areas the research questions covered, possibly even creating new thoughts and ideas on 'old' themes. None of the teachers asked any questions related to the study, except for the principals and deputy principals (when agreeing to have staff partake in the study). Chundra (1997) states that teachers could possibly have used the time granted them (from the date that they were informed by the principal of my research project to the interview dates) profitably by thinking about their teaching experience, consulting with peers and so forth.

Small talk was engaged in initially to 'break the ice' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 67) as some appeared nervous about being interviewed. I found that this introductory patter varied in different settings, depending on the teacher and retrospectively think that this could have biased results due to non-standardised treatment of respondents. All were assured of

confidentiality, which I found resulted in teachers being willing to reveal more. Denzin & Lincoln (*ibid.*) state that rapport can result in more informed research. Introductory chitchat and informing teachers that their revelations would be treated confidentially assisted with creating positive rapport. I found that a casual attitude, though professional stance, a pleasant countenance, non-technical use of language, a neutral tone, displaying interest in their stories told, being supportive, and empathic added to greater rapport (Lofland, 1971 in LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

Although it was my intention that all respondents give consent to participation, this did not happen in all cases. In some instances, I felt that teachers <u>assented</u> to the situation that they found themselves in, and that this assenting did not necessarily imply <u>consenting</u>. The dictionary definition of these terms, will clarify what I mean. Assenting implies compliance, whilst consenting, implies "voluntary acceptance or allowance of what is planned by another" (Universal Dictionary, 1986:102; 339). To illustrate this point, a female language teacher at Mohammed High wanted to know if her principal of her school would "need to sign anything" that she mentioned in her interview, indicating not only that he may be privy to her revelations, but that he may not sign, if he did not approve of her opinions. The possible consequences of this could no doubt be that she could invite trouble if her views were unpopular or not politically correct, and that her views would not being publicised.

Gaining trust was essential both, during the interviews and after, as the teachers would have to trust that I would indeed protect them after the interview. I found that teachers were willing to give me information and trusted me, as can be proven by 'titbits' of information that were told to me in secret. In some cases it was requested that I not reveal confidences, which led me to ask myself where my responsibilities lay, i.e. with the research endeavour and the public's right to know, or with the respondents? Clandinin & Connelly (in Denzin & Lincoln, 1998) agree with LeCompte & Preissle (1993:109) that our first responsibility as researchers is towards participants.

> Responsibility and loyalty are issues made especially crucial by the personal, face-to-face nature of much qualitative research. The ethical and moral question is to whom a researcher owes primary loyalty. Whose interests predominate in any conflict? Those of the researcher? The scientific community? The public? In the code of conduct adopted in 1971, the American Anthropological Association specified the principle that an ethnographer's first loyalty should be to those studied.

Maintaining respondent anonymity was crucial, whilst simultaneously revealing vital information that they discussed. Striking the balance between these two was not an easy task, especially as I feared reprisals if teachers were identified as having stated a contrary opinion. Indeed, Denzin & Lincoln, (1998:60) call trust a "fragile" thing, which can be broken during and after the interviews. Part of the ethical obligation of the qualitative researcher, according to Denzin & Lincoln, (1998) is to protect the respondents from harm. It is my sincere hope that I have this - (Carter & Delamont, 1996) that I have indeed protected teachers from being identified and treated their revelations in a manner that they would approve of.

Anyone who agrees to be interviewed takes a risk. For example, they may expose their ignorance, prejudice or intolerance" (Powney & Watts, 1987:9). Besides rapport and trust Schatzman and Strauss (1973, in LeCompte and Preissle, 1993:177) identified five other conditions, which influenced the outcome of Interviews. They were:

> (1) Duration, or how long a session lasts; (2) number, or how many separate sessions are required to complete the interview process; (3) setting, or location for the interview; (4) identity of how many are present at a session; and (5) respondent styles, or ways of communicating characteristics of the groups to be interviewed.

Teachers were only interviewed once. These interviews varied from 10 minutes to approximately 2 hours. The venues chosen depended on the resources of the school and time of the interview. For most part interviews occurred within classrooms. Some occurred in staffrooms with staff present, others in either empty classrooms or classes full of learners, computer rooms, a photocopy room (where part of an interview was performed), and in one school in a conference room. Some of the interviews took place in more than one setting. All of the interviews occurred at the schools; however, the teachers were offered the choice of another venue if they so chose Interviews at Hamilton High, Mohammed High and Thandeka occurred during school time, whilst the interviews at Saint Cyprian's took place after school hours.

The interviews were recorded either on a standard large sized tape-recorder or using hand-written notes, depending on whether or not participants permitted auditory recording. After the first 2 interviews at Hamilton High, I was horrified to discover that the first interview was barely audible as the background noise overshadowed the interviewee's voice. (I was able to decipher what was said after countless playbacks. I found that due to poor sound, transcribing became a time consuming process.) This was due to the hollowness of the classroom the interview occurred in. After this debacle, I invested in a recording device which muted

background noise and though expensive; it proved invaluable to the study because in later interviews noise in the form of interruptions - learners walking in, phones ringing, voices of staff members, sirens blasting, classes needing to use the venues occurred.

For interviews where I was required to take notes because respondents objected to and were not comfortable being taped, I regretted not having taken a short hand course prior to beginning this study, as the respondents spoke at their normal conversational pace. The written form does not convey the emotions, or in some cases even full sentences, but merely the overall thought, as I was unable to write as quickly as the respondents spoke. Due to this lacuna in my repertoire of skills, I feel that some of the nuances of what was said may have been lost. Wilson (in Sapsford & Jupp, 1996) says that note taking can be more obtrusive than the tape-recording, though for the teachers who requested it, my hasty scrawls seemed unproblematic.

In my attempt to form a modicum of standardisation, I initially attempted to ask questions in a serial fashion. This resulted in interviews sounding stilted because I had to keep constant check on questions asked, and those still to come. After learning from this fiasco, I attempted to make the interviews appear "less artificial, more natural and more resemble a conversation between equal participants", (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:95-96), by changing the order of questions as well as the phrasing thereof. I found this both advantageous and disadvantageous, as it allowed for ease of conversation resulting in better rapport (as I did not refer to questions), whilst at the same time preventing total comfort on my part as I had to remember constantly what I had asked and what I still had to ask. I feel that altering the form and order of the questions, which is permissible in qualitative research, did not negatively affect the results of this study. Rather it enhanced the results, as it created the flow engaged in during normal conversation, thus setting teachers at ease and also created more trust, which resulted in more teachers confiding in me.

Clarification was sought, when necessary. In some cases playing the naivete, or what Denzin & Lincoln call "feigning ignorance" (1998:67), resulted in creating clearer insight into what specific terminology (such as 'OBE' and 'redeployment') meant to different respondents.

Kvale, (1996) stated that the interview can be a positive experience for respondents. I found that the teachers were able to express themselves on issues that they felt strongly about. It

appeared that in some cases that they had not voiced these opinions before. According to Owens (in Carter & Delamont, 1996:60) the result of this catharsis is that it "leads to insight, thus changing the respondent's perceptions, attitudes and eventually outcomes". Owens (*ibid.*) continues:

> To be sure, the interviews were not client centered therapy proper ... However, some of the earlier stages of this type of encounter were similar to counselling: namely the delineation of issues that the respondent found salient but threatening, and the naming of fears. And along with the counselling encounter sometimes deep emotions were tapped.

Although providing an opportunity for respondents to cathart through having the researcher display " encouragement, and understanding" (Lofland, 1971 in LeCompte & Preissle, 1993: 79), and being what Owens (in Carter & Delamont, 1996) calls the "empathic stranger", the danger for the researcher in adopting this empathic ear, was that respondents went off at a tangent on occasion.

Perceptions of what my role was may also have contributed negatively to my research endeavours. I found that I was the only one who knew why I was there, besides the principals in most cases. One member of the staff, at Hamilton High, directly questioned my role and confused me with a visitor who was still to visit the school, who was meant to have an administrative function in the library. At Mohammed and Hamilton High I felt that lack of information may have led to unequal relations. It was possible that respondents may have felt that there was a hierarchy in our relations, with myself as the professional and themselves as inferior. I attempted to have teachers realise that it was their experiences that were invaluable and that they knew more than I did, i.e. that they were experts in their own rights (Walker 1985 in Chundra, 1997:64).

Interviewer effects may also have affected this study. Research has shown that aspects such as my age, gender, colour, and social class may negatively influence research in interview situations (Cohen & Manion, 1989). Research has shown that female respondents tend to develop a more bond quicker with female interviewers (Powney & Watts, 1987; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). This unchangeable nature of my physiological makeup fact may have resulted in some of the males being at a disadvantage in terms of developing closer rapport with the interviewer. Fontant and Frey (in Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 64) say that the sex of the interviewer and respondent does make a difference "as the interview takes place within the cultural boundaries of a paternalistic social system in which masculine identities are differentiated from feminine ones". Other factors that may have impacted upon the respondents

were my language and race - the fact that my mother tongue is English and all the interviews were conducted in this language may have put some respondents at a disadvantage. My being Coloured, may have resulted in some interviewees feeling that they could identify with me, hence opening up more during interviewing; however, this could also have resulted in other interviewees not only feeling uncomfortable in my presence, preventing complete disclosure because of the differences in race and the legacy of the psychological perceptions of ingrained differences of the apartheid era.

3.3. DATA ANALYSIS

3.3.1. Field Notes

Clifford (1990, in LeCompte & Preissle, 1993:224) described three types of field notes, all of which were used.

> Inscription is the notation made in the midst of interaction and participation. These may be quick jottings of key words and symbols or just a momentary self-prompt to remember something. The record resulting from inscription may be written fragments, the researcher's memory, or another reminder of what occurred. The second kind of fieldnotes, transcription, is very different. Transcription is writing something down as it occurs, recording as much as possible exactly as possible. To accomplish this, the researcher is fully observing and recording; participation is minimal, limited to occasional questions or non-verbal acknowledgements. Transcription is creating a text from what the observer is perceiving, from responses to questions, or from dictated narratives. Description, the third kind of field note, occurs out of the flow of activity, sometimes even out of the field. Description is forming a comprehensible account of whatever has been observed. Descriptions are built on inscriptions and transcriptions, but all three constitute field notes.

During interviewing, I found that I made very few inscriptions, as I was very involved in maintaining the feel of normal conversation. In cases where notes were taken, I was too engrossed in depicting as much of what was said as possible to make inscriptions. Inscriptions did occur though, as observations that were made during, prior and after the interview were noted on paper I had at hand. These proved useful in adding to the richness of descriptives.

Miles & Huberman, (1994) state that storage and retrieval is important. One method that I used was 'pagination' i.e. the use of numbers of material in field notes e.g. bj 1 22. One disadvantage of this though was that the papers piled up and compiling complete reports from them became haphazard and cumbersome. My data took on various forms e.g. copies of literature notations, reference citations, field notes, copies of data on hard copy as well as on disc, cuttings in

envelopes and folders. Chundra (1997:75) perfectly describes this clutter as a "messy business". I felt as if I was up to my "eyeballs in data" (Feldman, 1995:1).

My supervisor wisely advised me to obtain a diary for my thesis - a not uncommon object when undertaking research (Powney & Watts, 1987; Flick, 1998). I sorely regret that I did not take this advice sooner, as I discovered the usefulness of having all one's ideas in one place invaluable.

Another recommendation made to researchers is that they get right to the task of including inscriptions into research data and not procrastinate. Powney & Watts (1987:185) state that "novice writers are big procrastinators". I procrastinated hence the paper work mounted.

3.3.2. Transcribing

Boulton and Hammersley (in Sapsford & Jupp, 1996) state that data analysis begins with a close listening to tapes and reading of the data. I read the interviews at least six times after having transcribed them myself. I found that transcribing the data took longer than expected even though I had been warned by my supervisor that for a 45 minute interview one could take as long as 8 hours for a complete transcription. In fact a ratio of 6: 1 to 10:1 is not uncommon (Powney & Watts, 1987). I had decided to transcribe all the data myself, in an attempt to be familiar with the data. (See sample of an interview - Appendix 3).

Once the transcriptions of the interviews were complete, the actual work began. I began analysis by examining teacher responses to one question at a time, making annotations of themes (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994) in the margins of transcripts. This linear treatment of information resulted in no linkages created with themes and categories. To assist with the creation of links and patterns, my supervisor encouraged me to use cards (See Appendix 5) to collate similar and different responses. Segments of data were then placed together to form a category.

This process of categorisation is called 'coding' (Sapsford & Jupp, 1996; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Coding, is a form of data analysis, which undertakes three kinds of operations according to Seidel and Kelle (1995, in Coffey & Atkinson, 1996:29) "(a) noticing relevant phenomena, (b) collecting examples of those phenomena and (c), analysing those phenomena in order to

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find commonalties, differences, patterns, and structures". See sample of an interview which has undergone the process of coding in Appendix 3. I also drew themes onto large charts (Appendix 7), in which similar themes were colour-coded (Chundra, 1997).

Flick (1998:180 -186) mentions that there are various types of coding. First I began with "open coding" where concepts were taken out of each line that was analysed. Text was coded line by line then broadened to paragraph and then to bigger chunks of text. Contrasting the categories, noting surprising patterns and developing subcategories, was the next step (Sapsford & Jupp, 1996: 292). The entire process began to get quite intricate (with scraps of paper, use of different colours, paper cuttings, and notes). The information as Chundra (1995:75) would phrase it looked "used".

The next form of coding, which I did employ, was *axial coding*. Axial coding is when the researcher moves between the developed categories in the text (inductive thinking) to deductive thinking (when one compares, categories against the text, especially cases that differ from the developed categories, as the next level of coding is to take the coding to a higher level of abstraction (Miles & Huberman, 1994). One difficulty I had with coding was the notion of when to stop. Flick (1998) says that there exists only fuzzy criteria as indicators of when to stop coding. I began to consider computer programmes to assist me with this endeavour. The process though seemed almost as lengthy as compiling the data manually, so this option was not explored further.

I counted themes (Sapsford & Jupp, 1996, Miles & Huberman, 1994) to find their significance - which is where quantitative data is included. I had even considered including graphical presentation, though settled for the tables and figures evident in this study, as I did not want to make a half-hearted attempt at partial quantitative analysis.

Sapsford & Jupp, (1996:291) add that it is good practice to examine the terminology used distinctively by your informants. This is named "semiotics" according to Feldman (1995:39). She advises that one looks at the underlying meaning of words compared to their surface manifestation. I found that my initial analysis was quite descriptive, as I merely labelled phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). I needed to look beyond the obvious for instance, examine dichotomies between 'us' and 'them'; 'men' vs. 'women', 'teacher' vs. 'learner', 'teacher' versus department'.

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To verify the interpretations using the above methods, I have included many quotes from the respondents, which creates a "textured portrait" (Fuller & Heynerman 1990:18 in Chundra, 1995: 77). This was the only way I could ensure that some of the true essence of what the interviewees shared could be transferred to paper. What I realised though, was that talk is dynamic and loses something when written. This is evident in Millet's research on prostitutes in Reissman, (1993:12):

> What I have tried to capture here is the character of the English spoken by four women and then recorded on tape, I was struck by the eloquence of what they said, and yet when I transcribed the words onto paper, the result was at first disappointing. Some of the wit of M's Black and southern delivery had disappeared, gone with the twang of her voice.

One difficulty I experienced was in the successful use of 'decontextualisation' (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996:30), which refers to the act of separating data extracts from their original context while retaining meaning. The danger of this was that the local colour (Hammersley & Atkinson, in Sapsford & Jupp, 1996) could be lost with the compression. Summarisation of data was extremely difficult for me, as the dialogue once analysed appeared to be very disorganised. Talk was discontinuous, occurred in rapid bursts, distinguishing some words was made difficult by intrusive background noises, speakers sometimes did not express their ideas succinctly, instead using gestures, pauses, voice quality, and facial expressions to express meaning. All of this gives an additional layer of meaning to words, which I sometimes found difficult to transcribe and place on paper and worried whether or not my interpretations would be an accurate picture of the teachers' revelations. (Powney & Watts, 1987).

Another of my concerns were whether or not descriptions were vague enough to ensure anonymity, yet accurate enough not to cause affront. Powney & Watts, (1987) call the role that I played a 'schizophrenic task'.

A further concern was deciding what to include and what to exclude (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:69). The omission of data is called "frictional loss", and in qualitative research is justifiable and acceptable. Data was selected to remain depending on the level of agreement amongst respondents and intensity of feelings (LeCompte and Preissle 1993, Miles & Huberman, 1984, Flick 1998). Selection depends on of the subjects, the completeness of facts, as well as biases and manipulative maneuvers. The type of analysis I used is what Flick (1998:196) terms "global analysis". In this form of analysis, themes from the transcribed lines are noted, which are then summarised and then the decision is made as to whether or not to include it in the interpretation.

Another concern was the fact that I was the only one interpreting the data and so whether conscious or otherwise, all of my own values, cultural background, etc. has coloured the words of the teachers. This is epitomised in the words of LeCompte and Preissle (1993:86):

> Those who study humans are themselves human and bring to their investigation all the complexity of meaning and symbolism that complicates too precise an application of natural science procedures to examining human life. This difficulty has been recognised for millennia...

This is especially so, as I did not return to respondents to verify their meanings (Reissman, 1993:56). The fact that only my "filter" (Powney & Watts, 1987:11) was used to construct the story of what happened has been an issue that has long been debated in qualitative research. In fact the process whereby only the interviewer's interpretations of what occurred are recorded for posterity has been termed the Black market (*ibid*: 152) as no members of the public e.g. the respondents are there to verify the actual events or my selection of the data. The relation of text and reality is termed the "crisis of representation" by Flick, 1998:31).

> Ethnographers and other qualitative researchers are, first of all, individuals with human personalities and preference, family histories, varying states of physical and mental health and a myriad of personal experiences, talents and skills and Strength and weaknesses. These individual characteristics affect research activities in ways immediately recognisable, ways that become apparent over time and ways that may never be known. (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993:90)

3.3.3. Data Presentation

> The most frequent form of display for qualitative data in the past has been narrative text. As we shall note later, text is terribly cumbersome. It is dispersed, sequential rather than simultaneous, poorly structured and extremely bulky. Under these circumstances, it is easy for a qualitative researcher to jump to hasty, partial unfounded conclusions. Humans are not very powerful as processors of large amounts of information; the cognitive tendency is to reduce complex information into selective and simplified Gestalts or easily understood configurations. (Miles & Huberman, 1984:21)

Data is presented in the form of narrative text, i.e. quotes, as well as in the form of tables. Miles & Huberman, (*ibid.*) argue that data display is a key element of the analytical process so that the reader can 'see what is happening'. Miles & Huberman, (1994) say that humans are not good processes of large amounts of information, hence data display otherwise with dispersed data the result can be poorly ordered and bulky, when not reduced.

I wondered about the form the information would take. I took this advice, hence the tables and figures evident in the course of this study.

3.4. CONCLUSION

My only hope is that I have represented what teachers intended to say and that as a result of this research endeavour other projects will emerge, which will have greater, and more positive impact than mine on education.

The next chapter, Chapter Four, discusses the findings of this research study.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS & ANALYSIS OF DATA

This study attempted to examine the plight of high school teachers who find themselves facing a torrent of changes within education. This chapter will address teacher perceptions of these changes in schools. Their views on learners, parents, school management and the education department are examined. This chapter aims to analyse the results obtained in this study, in order to answer the questions, which I had regarding change and teacher coping strategies. Positive aspects of teaching will also be explored.

The various themes, which will be discussed below, were selected on the basis of the frequency of their emergence in the data. Contradictory data was however also included. Data that was confidential and which teachers requested not to see in print was not included, as was data, which did not relate to this project.

Please note that in quotes where the letter T: is written, it represents the teacher, whilst the letter "R", represents the researcher", i.e. myself, in conversation. Italics will be used for verbatim quotations from the transcripts.

4.1.   TEACHER PERCEPTION OF ROLE PLAYERS

One of the most evident themes to emerge from the data was that of teachers' perceptions of and attitudes to the people within the education system. This chapter will address these perceptions and attitudes by dealing first with learners, parents, the school management and then the education department.

4.1.1. Teachers and Learners

Although this section of the school population was largely complained about, a third of the sample of teachers felt that they maintained positive relations with their learners. Behaviour that epitomised good relations with learners were described as being able to share jokes with them, empathising with the situations learners found themselves in, whether it be in their difficulty understanding academia or in their personal lives, and just simply having fun in class

when deemed appropriate. The reports of positive relations with learners correlated with one of the reasons more than half of the teachers entered the teaching field, i.e. the love of children.

Although initial entry into teaching for some teachers was because of love for children and current positive relations existed between some learners and teachers, this did not negate the fact that many learner-related problems were reported.

4.1.1.1. Language

One of the most common complaints was the language issue. The challenge seemed to be the teaching of learners in English, when these learners' mother tongue was Zulu. The language problem was reported across subject fields. Phrases such as: *poor English ability,* having a *problem comprehending,* not having *a clue what you're talking about* were used to describe the problem. One teacher gave an example of how the language difficulty expressed itself in her class:

> *Listen the language thing is a problem....We have one std. 6 I'm thinking of specifically, who does not understand what you're saying. I tell all of them 'Open your files. Look at the first page'. He does what I'm telling him by looking at what the others does. When he came to ask me for a piece of paper, he asked me in Zulu. Now that totally floored me - that he couldn't even ask me for something as elementary as that in English..*

One teacher felt that high school Black learners were disadvantaged if they were taught for the first time in English at a stage when so much was at stake. She was of the opinion that Black learners would more appropriately be catered for, if they were to remain in Black schools, where they could be taught in their mother tongue. This statement may have been grounded in her belief (which was supported by another teacher) that learners who attended traditionally Black schools were still taught in Zulu at high school level, even though longstanding policy prohibited this. The result of this was that learners were at a great disadvantage when placed in English medium schools, as they had little or no previous experience with the English language in an academic setting, as is evident in the following quote:

> *So often you find that they arrive here with glowing reports from their previous schools but in many cases they were actually taught in Zulu. ... even though it shouldn't have been. For the first time, now, they are actually hearing these things in English and because you are sitting with such a variation of different qualities in the classroom as well, you tend to teach your normal way and ... maybe after the test you realise this child actually has severe communication problems. You're either speaking too fast or your normal terminology and vocab. is way above.*

Rather than maintaining the status quo in racial division of schools, along with maintaining the accompanying lingua franca, two teachers felt that Black learners should learn English early in childhood to facilitate their academic progress within the current South African education system.

Another solution to the language issue was mentioned by one school, namely providing extra English classes, or classes in specific subjects. This venture proved unsuccessful, however, because of the huge travel distances most affected learners had to contend with. One other solution, which was mentioned by two teachers was training to empower teachers to cope strategically with the language issue.

4.1.1.2. A different type of learner

Teachers at three of the four schools mentioned that there had been a change in the type of learner that their schools historically catered for. The population was now heterogeneous, as there was a diverse cultural group within any one class. In addition, language, prior education and socio-economic status differed (Gordon, 1983). Discussed below are the ways in which these learners differed:

4.1.1.2.1. Background

Nine teachers mentioned that they have to contend with learners they have never before had to deal with, as a result of desegregation. Here is what one teacher had to say from her experiences in class:

> *One child, the whole lesson, they typed. [At the] end of the lesson when I say: "Hand your papers in, that I can look at it". He handed me a clean sheet. I said, but - but his typewriter didn't work. But he doesn't put up his hand and tell me the typewriter doesn't work. Now, a white child would have long ago told me my typewriter is not working. But you see, in their culture you don't question an older person or a person in authority.*

This teacher was of the opinion that some of the Black learners came from an upbringing vastly different from her former learners. There was the perception that Black learners were not confident to seek clarification and to make queries and this was attributed to differences in culture, where in the Zulu culture cross-questioning one's elders or people in authority was frowned upon.

Besides the learners' upbringing, their current social circumstances also appeared to have a major impact, especially at one school. An example of the impact that responsibilities in the community had on learners can be seen in the following example, where both sexes shared responsibility for caring for the aged on pensioners' pay-day, ensuring that no physical harm came to them or their money. The result of this responsibility was a high absentee rate from school on these days. Large travel distances (which in the majority of cases were spent walking as the area possessed limited public transport and the area services was socio-economically deprived) also resulted in learners being tired in the mornings at this school. Travel distances were also an issue when children moved from areas such as the one that this school was located in, to multi-racial and desegregated schools. One result of transferring to previously segregated schools is that the travelling distances are further increased. Two teachers noted that some learners have to travel between 60 - 80 kilometres daily.

Other social circumstances which do not contribute positively to learners' academic development were the issues associated with divided households (e.g. separated parents, living with grandparents who would generally not able to assist them scholastically, illegitimacy, frequent changes in surnames) and were mentioned by one school only.

Teenage pregnancy was another factor which teachers say differs from their prior experience. In contrast to fomer learners, current learners were deemed more sexually experienced. Teachers saw the results of this in the *'booming'* pregnancy rates seen at two schools and termed teenage pregnancies to be another *disrupting factor*. At one school, a teacher described the escapades that were engaged in during school hours: *The things that are happening at school! Guys pick up girls - they come back at 2, then parents do not know any better.* Resultant pregnancy under such circumstances were seen by two teachers as a result of curiosity, experimentation and ignorance. In one other setting though, pregnancies occurred due to the need for learners to prove their fertility, before long-term commitment could be entered into, according to Zulu custom: *[Girls are] forced to have a child. [They] get proposed to somebody [and have to] prove [their] fertility.* Pregnancy contributed to high absentee rates, according to one teacher, as learners take a leave of absence for many months in some cases. Pregnancy was also seen, by one teacher, as a failed attempt to escape one's socioeconomic restraints, in that sexual relations were used as a business venture with disastrous consequences.

As the above examples demonstrates, some learners were eager to leave what one teacher called their *disadvantaged backgrounds*. In an attempt to achieve this goal, some learners apply for admission into previously segregated schools. Some of these learners, according to two teachers, need to endure an adjustment phase, with which teachers had to assist, before they could be comfortable with the environment of their new schools. In some instances it was reported that learners needed to acquaint themselves with equipment such as microscopes and typewriters. One teacher at Saint Cyprian's mentioned this example:

> *Some of them don't have electricity at home and I put them before electric typewriters. Do you know that they shake like this* (demonstrates by moving her hands) *when they sit in front of the typewriters?*

There were also difficulties for both teachers and learners who remain in their disadvantaged community and schools. One teacher at Thandeka, mentioned that it was her impression that the socio-economic background had a negative effect on a large number of children in her class. In her class there were learners who were unable to afford the cost of textbooks, with understandable disastrous consequences to their scholastic progress. Their academic performance also tended to suffer due to their limited social exposure, as is demonstrated in the following quote:

> *Accounting needs time - a pupil has to understand something that he hasn't seen before. You must tell them the correct name. ...For example, the cash-register machine, they used to say it's a safe...It's very difficult, new terms, new subject, new concepts... So you have to go deep... The words that they are using in the books are so difficult for std. 6. level...because here the environment makes it difficult to teach the subject. .... It is unlike in urban areas, where if you are taking a slip - their parents are having a slip... they have seen the invoices.... So you simply say to them "that slip"...Here, you have to bring that particular thing that you need and you have to explain each and every thing in that particular document.*

4.1.1.2.2. Race

I found that the schools were still racially divided, especially in the rural area. This is probably due to the racial and socio-economic and geographical segregation of the past, which had polarised education.

The racial composition of the learner population composition in schools located in more urban areas had changed significantly. At one school, a teacher stated that the change in racial representation in her classes was quite staggering: *almost 50% in every class is Black* when compared with the previous situation. Three teachers reported that the change in the race of learners was disconcerting to them and impacted on class management. An example of what teachers found disturbing was the racial tension that was evident in and out of class rooms.

One teacher expressed concern about the violence that she saw raising its head amongst learners of different races at Mohammed High:

> *You read in newspapers about violence in schools. There's going to be total chaos. Certain schools have closed. It's going to filter through to Mohammed High Secondary. By next year it should be here. You see it in kids, how violent, how (sic) react to each other.*

The teachers thus expressed anxieties about managing such incidents and indicated their concerns about not being able to cope with it.

4.1.1.2.3. Learners' Attitudes and Behaviour

Difficulties in school were to some extent attributed to learner attitudes and behaviour. Teachers identified the following factors as significant: learner apathy, arrogance and disruptive behaviour.

Eight teachers described a pervasive attitude of apathy amongst learners. This apathy was demonstrated in a lack of interest in subjects:

> *They don't give of their best. They don't show an interest... You have to first get them to settle, Take out the books and you know you have to get them interested in learning.... Although they chose the subject they are still (interviewee emphasised this word) not interested..*

Teachers report that apathy is demonstrated by learners not completing homework assignments: *In a class of 70 you may find that only 3 has (sic) written the homework.* Learners are reported to take tests lightly, abscond on test days, or do not return answer sheets at all. A high absentee rate was also reported as a sign of apathy. The words *dodging* and *bunks* were used to describe this phenomenon. One teacher mentioned that large classes possibly gave learners the impression that their absence would go unnoticed. Reasons given for being absent were varied [e.g. at one of the schools, female learners were absent for extended periods due to pregnancy].

Academic results and absenteeism were directly related according to one teacher. Teachers at Hamilton High were apparently concerned about the matric results and did a survey of their own, according to one teacher. The results of this research endeavour reportedly indicated that learners were not performing well academically because *learners don't spend enough time at school.* Learner apathy was linked to the loss of the culture of learning by two teachers.

Three teachers felt that learner apathy could be also be attributed to poor teaching techniques. Adequate preparation, knowledge of the subject and changes in the mode of teaching were listed as requirements for good quality teaching by four teachers, who felt that these activities would limit learner apathy. One teacher felt that the possibility of learners being demotivated as a result of teacher demotivation filtering down to them, could not be excluded. Learner apathy was also thought to be contagious, as the attitude of no-work was thought to rub off onto other learners, irrespective of the race they belonged to, according to one teacher.

Another teacher described learners as arrogant. This arrogance was displayed in their lack of fear, guilt, or regret for failing to complete an academic activity. Learners of either gender were also reported to engage in practices on the school premises that were considered taboo without having any *qualms* about it, e.g. selling cigarettes, imbibing alcohol and drugs on school premises.

Inherent respect for authority is reported to have dwindled, according to a third of the teachers, as one teacher states: *I expected learners to respect us, don't get that these days*. Two teachers further described how learners were more violent and one teacher thought learners capable of doing physical harm to her person, if the violence portrayed in her class and on the playgrounds was anything to judge from.

Learners were described as having the potential to be disruptive and were described as rowdy and chaotic. In situations where this arose some teachers felt that they no recourse, as previous disciplinary measures were scrapped with no new and acceptable ones suggested to replace them. Learners were apparently aware of the limited extent teachers were able to exercise discipline over them and took advantage of this. Learners were aware not only of their rights with regard to disciplinary measures, but also about other school policies. For instance, another reason given for pupil apathy, was learner familiarity with the failing and passing policies. The passing policy was something ¼ of the teachers did not agree with, as they felt that certain Black learners actually benefited from repeating. Four teachers held the opinion that learners exploited their knowledge of the passing-policy and did the minimum amount of work in some cases, taking for granted that they would pass.

4.1.1.2.4.   The successful learner

Teachers at two schools complained about the difficulties Black learners were having adjusting to an integrated school setting; however, in another school it was mentioned that there were learners who came from the ex-DET schools who successfully integrated into the ex-DEC background. These learners were described as intelligent, eager, enthusiastic, hard-working, learners whose work was punctual and who were well disciplined.

These examples highlight the challenge to teachers who now have to deal with not only learners of different race groups, educational, cultural, socio-economic background, but also language. The calibre of learners was of concern to teachers, as they no longer appear to respect authority, each other or their academic future. In addition, learners engaged in activities which challenged the teacher's views of age-appropriate behaviour - wherein lies the juxtaposition of two very different worldviews in terms of what behaviours are seen as socially acceptable.

4.1.2. Teachers and Parents

Four teachers spoke about parents and the various levels of their involvement with school-related issues. Two of these teachers felt that there was a high degree of parental non-involvement. One mentioned that although there were 1500 learners at her school, the school would be fortunate if more than 100 parents attended the PTA meetings, when these were held. One teacher expressed the opinion that parents should be more involved in curriculum selection. Another teacher felt that parents were allowing conditions within the schooling environment to deteriorate by their non-involvement. She felt that if parents were truly unhappy with conditions within the school and were brave enough to *make a fuss*, changes would be made. She added that only the parents of learners who were in the final schooling year were truly concerned because people considered the final year of schooling to be the most significant year in the entire schooling career, forgetting that the other grades form the *foundation* for Grade 12.

Not all parents were disinterested in school venture, though, as is demonstrated in another interview where the teacher reported that parents were actively involved and supportive of school activities such as fund-raising, sports endeavours and being actively involved in the governing body.

Some parents were not only absent from schooling ventures that required their presence and participation, but were also absent from their childrens' lives after school hours, according to three teachers. (One teacher related that parents sometimes lived and worked apart from their children. Two teachers from two different schools, reported that learners who live far from schools barely see their parents as they leave home in the early hours of the morning and return in the late evening hours). One of the these teachers added that the difficulties reported in disciplining learners could be linked to absent parents, as limited contact with them resulted in a breakdown in normal disciplinary measures engaged in at home, with the result that learners are not pre-conditioned to avoid problem behaviour or activities.

It appeared that teachers were aware that they were unsuccessful in obtaining the much-needed support of parents. One obstacle to achieving this aim was mentioned by a teacher as being the fact that teachers have to acquaint themselves with a broader spectrum of parents' backgrounds than was previously the case. Two teachers appeared to have found one solution to this problem by making contact with parents in a non-traditional manner (i.e. through sport), rather than through formalised traditional activities. One of these teachers revealed how he would take the initiative to acquaint himself with learners and parents by escorting learners home after sports events. The other reported that he would use his positive relations with the parents, fostered through sporting events, to induce increased scholastic effort on the part of learners.

Interestingly, there are contrasting opinions as to the level of involvement of parents within and across schools, i.e. some teachers felt that they were adequately involved, whilst others disagreed. The differences between teachers possibly contributed to the differences in quality of relationships with parents. For instance, it was an extroverted, confident, male teacher, actively involved in school sports who found successfully engaged with parents, whereas, a relatively quiet, respectful, female teachers did not report similar success. Both male teachers who reported success in engendering involvement of parents were longstanding teachers who were relative experts in areas outside of the classroom - in this case sports (an activity that they could engage parents in). Both were aware of the difficulties parents may encounter in their personal lives, yet also aware that parental involvement was vital for successful academic involvement of learners. Other teachers tended to focus on the learners individual endeavours, primarily with little understanding of difficulties parents encountered. Interestingly, also was the fact that these teachers did not report or appear to share their secrets of success with other teachers within the same schools as themselves.

4.1.3. Teachers and School Management

Amongst the complaints teachers made, some were directed towards the structure and management of their schools. Many policies have been introduced into the education system recently. The impression teachers gave was that they had merely to accept these changes, with the accompanying changes in their classrooms. A few teachers mentioned that new policies were not always explained well to them, so that there was a gap in their knowledge resulting in anxiety. Policies that appeared to affect the quality of teacher's lives related to the following areas: class size, disciplinary actions, workload, redeployment and curriculum development. The last two areas will be discussed in more detail under the next heading: teachers and the education department (See Section 4.1.4.).

4.1.3.1. Class Size

Large class size or *overcrowding*, as it was described by one teacher was an issue that was mentioned by all teachers, as an area that has definitely changed in teaching and which they felt negative about. One teacher, at Thandeka mentioned that reasonably sized classes were a prerequisite for successful teaching. At her school, classes were no smaller than 65, with the largest containing 95 learners. She continued to add that, on occasion, she felt as if she might as well be a public speaker addressing an audience at the FNB Stadium.

Four teachers were particularly concerned that large numbers in class meant that they would not be able to give learners sufficient individual attention and monitor their understanding and progress. Half of the teachers were concerned about the effects current class sizes had on understanding the language of instruction. These teachers realised that the progress of learners whose mother tongue was Zulu was impeded where the medium of instruction was English. The concerns concentrated on limited time spent on each learner, resulting in teachers not able to check that subject material had been understood by each learner. In one school a teacher mentioned that this was a vital component in her teaching, as the learners at her school, due to their rural environment, did not understand the basic concepts underpinning the subject she taught.

Large classes, which comprised learners from the various ex-departments, were even more complicated, according to a few teachers, as the standards in .these education departments

differed. This meant that some teachers were dealing with different levels in their classes in some schools.

Large classes also implied that limited resources, (see section 4.1.4.1.) needed to be stretched even further to accommodate the needs of more learners, according to two teachers. Large classes were also reported to contribute to discipline problems.

4.1.3.2. Discipline

A few teachers raised classroom and playground management, general conduct on school premises, and learner behaviour towards the actual physical person of teachers as areas where disciplinary issues came into effect. Three teachers commented on the frustration caused at their inability to implement disciplinary action against learners. In fact, the teacher at Hamilton described the frustration teachers are having at not being able to implement their traditional methods of discipline as follows: *teachers' hands are tied.* Two teachers elaborated on which traditional methods were considered unacceptable, i.e. one was not allowed to keep children in class during break times, learners could not be expelled or suspended. The teacher at Thandeka said that the government had taken away existing measures of discipline at the school, without informing staff of the sort of actions that *are* acceptable.

4.1.3..3. Workload

Workload was a problematic issue mentioned by seven teachers. The average workload of teachers was seen to be weighty. New policies, such as redeployment and the omission of extracurricular subjects tended to contribute to teacher workload, according to the majority of teachers. For instance, two teachers stated that the result of downsizing and redeployment in some schools was an increased burden on remaining teachers as class sizes become larger. The sentiment expressed by one teacher was that remaining teachers had to *carry their load.* For instance, a third of the teachers complained that larger class sizes meant more work for them, such as marking.

In some schools the result of redeployment was that teachers were required to teach subjects that they are unfamiliar with, and had not formal training in, as a result of the vacuum created by redeployed teachers. This phenomenon was mentioned at both ex- HOD schools and the change in job description appeared to be a cause of tension for the teachers directly affected. The term used by one teacher to describe this phenomenon was *forced* teaching. This teacher

stated that teaching subjects one had not specialised in had changed his perception of his chores as a teacher, making his work less of a joy and more of a job: *Now you know, you must really 'graft' your way through because you're just forced to teach a new subject.* His words imply that it required more effort, through using 'graft', a word usually associated with manual labour and difficult tasks.

Another teacher, at a different school, felt that having to teach a new and different subject could be exciting but problematic when everything was completely new to one. In one school, due to an ever-decreasing staff contingency (due to discrepancies in staff-student ratio calculations on the part of the education department), once staff members were redeployed they were not replaced, and learners studying the affected subject remained untaught indefinitely.

At one of the schools continuous assessment was also seen as contributing to the workload, as one teacher stated that there was more marking and thus increase paper work. One teacher reflected that teachers in the past were privy to more free periods than was the current state of affairs. It was related that out of 45 teaching scheduled periods, 42 were taken up by teaching. At two schools teachers complained that even during their free periods, work was expected. For instance, they may be required to look after an absent teacher's class (I was informed that meetings were held during school hours, with the result that teachers who did not have to attend these meetings were required to look after the affected classes), mark assignments or tests, or prepare worksheets etc. On occasion it was required that they do more than two of these activities within a free period. This was the case with one teacher who was allocated to me by her principal. She had had to look after a class, photocopy worksheets for learners that were required for that day, as well as partake in this research, due to being volunteered by her principal.

One teacher also complained about the excessive and what she termed unnecessary administration that teachers had to contend with. It was related and observed that on occasion at one school, school responsibilities do not occur during school hours only, but pervade into what teachers may consider their private time. One teacher related that not only are hours after school booked with school-related activities but weekends as well could be spent being involved on behalf of the school in extracurricular activities.

We seem to be doing so much, apart from extramurals (sic) and working on Saturdays and sport and standing up in the heat the entire day - all day matches, you know you get nothing for that sometimes you just think now this is the best I can do all year. There must be some other way! There must be something else you can do to let life sort of pass you by.

This resulted in decreased time for teachers, on a personal level, as well as for those who desired to make personal advancement through studying. Two teachers said a heavy workload impacted negatively on family life. One described how her work from school spilled over into her domestic routine and stated that this was a condition that has prevailed for the duration of her teaching career. She named this working *'double-shift'*. She found that she had to take work home and described a night where she had to mark two piles of test answer sheets into the early hours of the morning, after having had to first take care of the domestic situation: *my eyes were closing, the words were floating, but I just carried on.* Another educator revealed how his family life was affected: *I'll see my family after five and they mustn't expect to see me before five. ... – which is a bit sad sometimes. You'd like to spend a bit more time with them, but then that's life.*

Interviewed teachers who held management roles reported heavier work loads, as they had to contend with a normal teaching schedule, as well as additional administrative and managerial duties. This is an example:

All our governing body meetings are in the evenings and it just so happens that sometimes you have 3 or 4 meetings in a week till 12. Basically you're at school till half past 4. You go home for about half and hour, then it's time to come back and if it's a finance meeting you know you're gonna be at school from 7 o' clock till about 11 o' clock.

The inability to take leave for more experienced teachers may also have resulted in an increased workload for them. According one teacher:

... until 3yrs, 4 years. ago could still qualify for long leave. That has all been shelved... there are staff members who've been teaching for the past 15 years without ever having taken. additional [leave] – so they've lost it all and there's also no remuneration for it. So they can't be paid out for it either...

For teachers who wanted to take long leave for other reasons, such as maternity leave, their workload was also increased, as they had to attempt to cram as much work as possible into the remaining time. Learners were also affected in such cases, at one school, as no replacement or substitute staff would be employed.

When the pregnant teacher is on the maternity leave, the government doesn't employ a teacher who is going to replace that teacher...The kids has (sic) to stay for the whole 3 months not being taught.... They don't employ another teacher...What are these kids doing for this period of 3 months? Remember we are not teaching for the whole 12 months. The number (sic)

teaching time, I think it's only 6 months - the actual teaching time - because we are having holidays; we are having the exam. So it means that kid is going to learn for only 3 months. Is that teacher going to cover the syllabus? No - in 3 months.

Although the above quotes indicate that these teachers are experiencing difficulty with the quantity of work at their schools, this is by no means a blanket condition. At two different schools, two teachers revealed that though their workload was heavy in the past, and things were *rough*, changed circumstances allowed them more time. In one instance, the involvement of the governing body had resulted in decreased class sizes, hiring of more staff, decreasing workload and disciplinary problems.

Besides the above problems, the relationships with principals and how they managed their schools and teachers contributed to teacher positivity or stress. Few teachers actually discussed their relationships with their principals at all. One teacher mentioned that, in her opinion, it was the responsibility of the principal to motivate staff. Another stated that it contributed positively to a relationship, if one's principal was: *sharp, democratic, and fair.* In another instance principals were described as being hierarchically above teachers, with the principals placed in a position of power; they are the ones *sitting in the chair.* The power invested in the principal was evident in gaining access for this research endeavour (as explained in Chapter 3: Methodology) as was epitomised by one teachers who felt intimidated by her principal, and was afraid that her revelations during the interview would need to be viewed and approved of by the principal and his consent given by signing.

In this section, three major contributors to teachers' dissatisfaction, viz. class size, discipline and workload have been described. It seems that the teachers experience these factors as contributing to their increased stress, demotivation and frustration. Whilst this section has been categorised as pertaining to school management, it would seem that the school administrators have had little influence on mediating the impact of broader staff resourcing and management issues for teachers. Teachers seem to imply some sense of resignation to the greater levels of difficulty associated with their jobs than they experienced previously, and except for two examples (cited above), where a governing body had made changes which were seen as of assistance, teachers seemed to have limited access to influencing change in their situations. In fact they appeared to view their situation as helpless and prone to the directives of individuals and groups in superior positions.

4.1.4. Teachers, Government and the Education department

Teachers used the term 'government' to refer to the education department, national policies that were implemented, as well as provincial organisation. All teachers interviewed levelled complaints against the department. Teachers saw problems stemming from the implementation of policies, which had an impact on the organisation and running of school, (as discussed above).

The desire to have an education department that was run more efficiently was expressed by all teachers, although one teacher thought it was understandable that there would be difficulties experienced at this level, especially as the various departments had amalgamated. He added that it was possible that the department was doing quite well under the circumstances and that teachers were merely concentrating on weak points, as he had done in relation to the previous education department: *the ex-HOD was managed better, but at that time we were very critical of them.*

For teachers who viewed the education department in a negative light, it was seen as unsuccessful in competently dealing with crisis areas in education. It was viewed as ineffective and was described as disorganised; *no one knows what's potting* and *unreliable*. Here are some of the reasons given for their beliefs.

- Some teachers had the perception that the government was unable to solve the problems experienced within the field of education. The government itself has claimed that it also did not *know* what to do with problems in education, according to one teacher: *The government is also confused about what to do about this education.*

- Another teacher expounded the proverb that too many cooks spoil the broth when he stated that *there's a huge bureaucracy, there are... field workers and inspectors, directors. They're too many of them and they are doing too less (sic) work.*

- The lack of skills was mentioned as another downfall of the people who were involved in the education department.

- Two teachers stated lack of consultation as another reason. They stated that the education department specifically should consult teachers at grass-roots level: *I think if they are trying to ... devise a new strategy of doing things, of redeploying teachers or of ... employing more teachers, ...that they must consult the people who are in the situation..* One teacher at Mohammed High summarised this succinctly as *give them ears*, implying that people in positions of power who have a say over retrenchments should allow the opinions of affected teachers to be heard.

- The lack of control government had over its own affairs was worrisome to some teachers. Lack of control took two forms. Firstly it was seen as an inability to monitor its staff and ensure that they were not acting fraudulently or what was termed *mass corruption*. The second was lack of follow-up, as evident in the example given by one teacher, who stated that the government had not made any follow-up on certain recipients of state-aided bursaries. Follow-up, in the form of service evaluations, was mentioned by three teachers as something that the government should employ. It was felt that the government should follow-up teacher competency because there were cases where teachers do not do what they were hired for and were reportedly absent repeatedly from class.

- The education department was seen by one teacher as comprising members who had forgotten their roots and who, although they possessed the power to improve the condition of their former community members, chose not to do so, as they appeared to have forgotten their obligations to learners: *we are here because of the kids* implying that irrespective of the level of promotions, educators should remember their obligation to learners and realise that what they choose to do or omit doing has direct impact on learners.

- The government was viewed as making empty promises to teachers, learners and parents, e.g. free education: *President said education is for free. What's for free? Paying high school fees, have no textbooks, some have to buy their own stationery. It's not free.*

4.1.4.1. Teacher-learner ratio

The teacher - learner ration was first mentioned in 4.1.3.1. but also features here since the source of the problem is located in government's policy. One teacher mentioned that the department was inconsistent in its attempt to spread the teacher population according to learner need:

> *The government ... is contradicting itself? When we came here at the beginning of the year, our enrolment was one thousand two hundred and something, and we were told that that ... number needs 38 teachers. After 2 weeks we have been told that .... the enrolment of this number needs 35 teachers. Then last week we have been told that the enrolment of this numbers needs only 33 teachers.*

Not only was the formula for establishing which teachers and the quantity of teachers to be redeployed variable, but also the implementation dates were constantly extended, according to a teacher in management.

> *That was supposed to be finalised by the end of the year. Then it was shifted forward to the end of February, then it's the end of March... In the meantime a new document came through saying that the whole formula was wrong.*

The above quotations highlight the conflicting messages from the department and difficulties in schools at the 'receiving end' of such directives.

4.1.4.2. Pass-Fail Policy

Passing of learners was another contentious issue mentioned by three teachers. Two teachers felt that the government's policy of non-failure was detrimental to learners. One teacher commented:

> *There is a strategy that has been devised where learners can get the conditional transfer if he is in a certain class and his age is so much ...and another condition is if the person has failed more than twice that person can be transferred to the next class. What is he going to do in the next class if he failed to master the work, which is small? So the thing that is done by the government is not good.*

Passing was a problem for this teacher, because learners passed on the grounds of age or the condition that they are not to repeat in one phase more than twice, not on the grounds of merit. It was one teacher's strong opinion that learners, who would benefit from it, should be allowed to repeat. By virtue of repeating, they were given the opportunity to improve their vocabulary if language was a barrier and come to understand work that was once difficult for them.

Some teachers raised their concerns about the internal matric examinations. The government has proposed that individual schools be responsible for drawing up the final examinations, at matric level, according to some teachers. This entailed a combination of results achieved through continuous assessment, and the final matric paper. The concern for uniform standards were expressed, as was a fear that corruption could creep in: ...*I don't like it because there will be... corruption.... All people will have std. 10 [certificates]*. One teacher also alluded to a new consideration on the part of the government, which was not to allow the matric to write supplementary examination: *For example he doesn't want the standard 10's to come back and repeat std. 10.... Where does he want those kids to go to after they failed?*

4.1.4.3. Redeployment and its Consequences

Although only two of the interviewed teachers were directly affected by the redeployment policy, it was mentioned by almost half of the interviewees as a policy, which they did not approve of. It was viewed as a policy that was unfairly instigated to affect only the young and recently employed, and as a venture that increased the workload of teachers who were not directly affected by it (see section 4.1.3.1.5).

Teachers who were directly affected by redeployment feared it, as it changed their known worlds for territories that were foreign and as yet unknown. Another teacher described this as *bewildering* for the affected teachers. For the teachers affected by it, the greatest irritant was the government's inability to stick to one formula to regulate the teacher-pupil ratio. The suspense and tension was made unbearable even further by the department's indecision with regard to implementation dates.

The fact that no teachers were contacted directly to inform them that they qualified to be redeployed was another contentious issue for the affected teachers. They felt that they were treated as mere statistics and not individuals. The feeling surrounding this policy was that it was unfair, as is evident from the consequences for affected teachers.

One of the affected teachers explained how redeployment was implemented. Teachers on the excess list were given three schools to choose from. If they did not find any of these choices acceptable, resignation was the only next option, - this, without a severance package. For one of the female teachers interviewed being considered an excess staff member brought changes

to her present status at her school. She felt discriminated against by learners: *Learners are aware of which teachers are being redeployed. They then take you for granted because you are leaving and don't give of their best because they know that the teacher will be leaving.* She added that being placed on the excess list affected the classes she was allowed to teach, as well as her colleagues' perceptions of herself:

> *We were asked to teach lower classes so that if we go, the learners in the higher levels are not affected. Why last year we were capable of doing the job? This year not.. Being on excess - extra has made you feel incapable of doing your job and staff feels you're excess. I'm different as a person. They talk about being sensitive, being compassionate to excess teachers... I'm a liability now.*

The result of redeployment is that teachers who remain on the staff have to fill the lacuna created by the loss of excess teachers. The result is an increased workload for the remaining teachers, further creating a downward spiral of negativity, frustration and demotivation.

In the above examples, teachers appear to have identified the difficulties of pragmatic application of broader education policies by the provincial education department. Such difficulties appear to relate to departmental personnel who seem to lack the ability to implement policy, to consult with teachers, to consider the learners' needs as primary, to manage recalcitrant teachers or who succumb to the temptations of corruption. Certain key areas of difficulty, expressed by teachers, are explored in more detail below.

4.1.4.4. Curriculum

I was surprised to discover that at one of the school where teachers were interviewed, the curriculum had been scaled down to include purely academic subjects. At another school which offered a wider range of subjects, two other teachers were of the opinion that learners had to deal with a very academic ethos in government schools in general, and that the more technically oriented learner was neglected. One teacher felt quite strongly that there needed to be shift away from the notion that the crème de la crème of society study only academic subjects, which allow them to attend university, and that all learners should aspire to this as a goal. He felt that educators and the education department should contribute to the idea that *varsity isn't the Eiffel Tower*. He added that children whose strengths are in the practical sphere should be encouraged to see these as positive qualities.

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Three teachers felt that there was a need for more technical, vocational or commercial schools and that these should be located in *strategic places* so that children in all regions would be able to attend. Two teachers mentioned that one aspect that contributed to the creation of a purely academic curriculum was the absence of subjects such as guidance, physical education and religious education. It was the feeling of half the teachers that guidance should be re-introduced into the curriculum.

One teacher felt that the curriculum had been changed too often. He revealed that the curriculum for his subject changed approximately five times in one decade. This teacher and two of his colleagues thought teacher preparation vital, and frequent curriculum change did not facilitate this preparation process, which was considered vital a core component for successful teaching.

Three teachers felt that the curriculum should be made more applicable to learners' lives. One of these teachers mentioned that the current compulsory syllabus had a major oversight in that it failed to take into cognisance the fact that learners came from disadvantaged backgrounds. Two teachers added that as the syllabus stood, it lent itself to limited practical application. Judging from these comments, it sounded as if there was some support from teachers for OBE. One teacher for instance stated quite emphatically that he has been following OBE principals for years in his subject: *You learn to use your hands and you learn to find solutions to your problems. It relates to all different spheres in life: fixing up appliances at home and machinery, and maintenance repairs.*

Whilst one teacher strongly supported OBE principles, almost half of the teachers thought it was a system that was taken wholesale from another country and applied to our unique system in South Africa. It was described by one teacher as *a little bit of hot air.* The schools were seen as wholly unprepared for the implementation thereof, as many schools did not even have basic facilities. Other teachers stated that they had not had formal exposure to OBE, its principles and goals, and were unsure of how to implement it in their classrooms.

4.1.4.5.   Funding

The management of funding at governmental level was viewed as skewed by a few teachers or as one teacher phrased it, teachers felt that *discrimination* was practiced. One felt that the

government's priorities were misplaced if one was to examine budgetary allocations e.g. it valued defence above education:

> *If you look at like South Africa there is no threat ... in terms of our neighbors and such... In fact, we've got such a huge arsenal we can provide the whole of Africa with arms ... but they are prepared now to go and buy sophisticated airplanes that cost in the region of 10 billion or so, ... and they can't solve the problem of education.*

Possible uneven distribution of money was also mentioned:

> *I would like to see greater honesty in the education department - in fact in the government - as far as money is concerned and more even distribution of money. If I compare Kwazulu-Natal - the budget and the funds available per pupil in Kwazulu Natal, in comparison with some of the other provinces... there's a vast discrimination.*

One teacher explained that certain favoured provinces saw greater financial benefits than others and that this was dependent on their political affiliations: *Kwazulu-Natal is run by the IFP. I suppose that they're not getting support from the central government at the moment.*

The teachers saw the above factors as influencing the varying levels of the availability of resources in schools. Apart from these above factors, legacies from the apartheid era also resulted in a disparity in the resources of schools. All schools, except one, which was described as *a well to do school,* mentioned that they were under-resourced. At one school this included lack of facilities such as a laboratory, lack of technical equipment such as photocopiers, typing equipment and a telephone.

At three schools lack of texts were mentioned. The comments of one teacher summed up the complaints made by these teachers:

> *We don't have textbooks. How can a learner now go to school without a textbook? ...That's a basic aid, you know. Like my std. 8 class at the moment. That entire class – about 35. I have about 11 textbooks each and 3 learners are sharing one textbook. Now that's ... unacceptable.*

One teacher explained that the department was more willing to provide exercise books, which though appreciated was insufficient on their own, when the provision of textbooks was seen as a priority. Stationery and writing materials were other necessities which government should provide, according to another teacher.

At three schools lack of furniture was an important issue, especially with the increase in class sizes as chairs and desks had to be sought depending on the class being taught. This search for furniture also proved to be a considerable waste as actual teaching time was reduced, in one teacher's opinion.

One teacher complained about the fact that teachers have unwillingly been made responsible for aspects of school maintenance that were previously left to the government, namely paying for water and electricity.

On a more personal note, for teachers, salaries also came under condemnation. Whilst two teachers felt that the salary could sustain a single person and salary issues were not at all a concern for another teacher, three teachers mentioned that salary was a paltry sum for the effort invested, especially in the cases of primary breadwinners, as the following quotes indicated:

- *I think it's a cliché – financial rewards are nothing! Barely make it to the end of the month;*
- *There's no way a man who is teaching can support a wife and two children on his salary.*

Two teachers were willing to consider another career for the greater financial gain and mentioned that remuneration in the private sector was a definite enticement to some teachers, as well as themselves:

- *I mean your good teachers you lose them to the private sector, especially in the skill things like mine, if you go to the typing, computer side, you there's all those people because they earn, two, three times as much as soon as they go into the private sector.*

- *but there are also certain times when you ask yourself what am I doing in education. Had I been in the private sector maybe I could have been wealthy by now, earn bigger salaries.*

Not only the amount was complained about, but also one teacher revealed that the government was occasionally remiss in its responsibility to pay teachers:

> *Let's just say you are employed in January, you won't get paid at the end of January. You won't get paid at the end of February, March; maybe you'll be paid after 6 months. What is the government thinking about you, going to work, waking up every day without getting paid. ... Sometimes you are not paid for maybe a year, but you are expected to be in the classroom. You are expected to teach. How can you produce good results without being paid?*

A teacher from another school was of the opinion that most teacher strikes have been initiatives to force the government's hand to increase teacher salaries.

Teachers tended to view the government and its role in education in a negative light. The people involved were seen as not accountable to principals, teachers or learners, nor did it appear that they consulted any of these parties in their decision-making processes. The result, in the case of teachers, was that they felt undervalued as their opinions were not taken into

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consideration. In addition their negative feelings were directly attributable to the fact that their practice was affected by any government decisions. Feelings of despondency, frustration and abject misery were directed by most teachers towards the government.

4.1.5. Teacher - teacher relationships

My expectation was that teachers would band together in unity against what they considered to the injustices of the education system, but I found that in some cases teachers felt that they were not supported by their colleagues. For instance, one teacher felt that colleagues were in fact insensitive and non-compassionate to teachers who were more directly negatively affected by government changes (e.g. redeployment). Another mentioned that political ideologies tended to divide staff at her school.

Another teacher expressed her desire to cater for the emotional needs of learners incorporating moral lectures into lessons. This concern for learners was not appreciated or understood by other teachers, as it called for her to veer away from the prescribed curriculum when she thought it appropriate. Only two teachers mentioned that they were able to discuss emotional and practical problems with peers and were provided with support by other teachers in academically related arenas.

On a more expected note, two teachers expressed solidarity with their peers. These teachers found reports that other teachers were not giving of their best inconceivable; where the teaching profession and responsibility to learners were concerned. They felt that if teachers were assigned to a teaching post that they were would do the work assigned to them.

Two other teachers were not as trusting and felt that some members of the teaching field did not possess a *work ethic*. One teacher had heard, from a reliable source, of teachers who *sit in the staffroom when they have a scheduled lesson*. They felt there was a need to check up on teachers, to gauge not only the quality of the actual teaching, but also whether or not they were actually teaching and were present in classes.

These varied attitudes to other teachers and collegial relationships highlight the complexities of working with teachers who have varying attitudes to teaching as a profession and the requirements of teachers in their work. The teachers interviewed were from a wide range of

groupings, and the issues identified above will need to be addressed if more co-operative work between teachers is to be encouraged.

4.1.6. Teachers' perception of their own roles

I was interested to see what role teachers saw themselves as playing. One teacher described teaching as a *noble* profession, encapsulating the view expressed by one third of the teachers who thought that they had the opportunity to have a profound effect on learners' lives. This could be achieved through advising them on personal matters, helping them to achieve goals, and influencing their choice of careers. One teacher was concerned that teachers were not showing enough commitment and were demotivated and that this would create a downward ripple effect, negatively affecting learners. Whilst this teacher and four others felt that it was the teacher's duty to motivate learners, another two disagreed, stating that learners were responsible for their own actions, their own learning and their own motivation.

Teachers who felt demotivated varied in their responses. One stated that she felt she merely had to accept her position, whatever it was, and whether she agreed with it or not. Others appeared to hate the position that they were in and although they would have liked to have implemented change, were unsure of how to initiate this: *I still like teaching, but I don't know how I can make the situation better.* Another teacher on the other hand felt challenged by the changes in her classroom and used the opportunity to hone her skills gained with experience over the years.

So whilst some teachers felt hopeless and helpless, others felt that it was their duty to assist the people most affected by changes. For instance, two teachers realised that they could contribute positively towards alleviating the language crisis in their schools, by starting from where the learner was at; by speaking slowly, repeating and simplifying instructions and providing extra classes. Some teachers who were unable to cope with current difficulties showed an interest in developing skills in the future, by admitting that they required further training.

Teachers who were able to creatively deal with problems in the classroom sometimes felt isolated. One teacher stated that teachers have to do everything themselves and that they have to perpetually take the initiative. The impression given was that the some members in the community did not support teachers. There was also varying degrees of support or lack of

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support from their colleagues, learners or management. Two teachers discussed the role of the unions in supporting teachers. One teacher felt sorely disappointed by their union representatives, whilst another felt that they would be protected by them.

Some teachers also presented themselves as victims in an uncaring system. They felt unappreciated, even though they were personally sacrificing their time (e.g. doing school-related activities outside of school hours) and money. One teacher felt that she was in fact doing learners and the department a favour by attending school daily as she lived in another region and woke in the early hours of the morning to get to school.

Learners were difficult to control, due to large class sizes, limited disciplinary actions which can be enforced. One teacher described the role of teachers as being that of policeman, who have to guard more than teach.

One way in which teachers appeared to differentiate/ isolate themselves was by dividing people into categories, i.e. the us - them phenomenon (Feldman, 1995) with regard to other teachers, learners, and parents. I found that teachers viewed learners as an entity separate from themselves. The building configuration in most of the schools indicated that there was a differentiation between teachers and learners, from the separation of administrative building, teachers' staff rooms, the fact that learners and teachers ate separately. Learners were different in that they were viewed as being younger and inexperienced, and were seen as individuals who could put great stock in the experience and wisdom of teachers from whom they could learn much. One teacher stated: *It is rewarding to teach children about life. That is incidental to teaching....When you give them advice and they turn around, it's wonderful.* The reverse of this situation was not described by any of the teacher, i.e. that teachers could possibly learn from learners.

Teachers were viewed as ones who were hard working whilst learners were described as lazy and apathetic. (See the apathy described in section 4.1.2.1.3. above). Five teachers were of the opinion that the onus was on learners to facilitate their own studying/ learning. Says one teacher: *[one cannot] say teachers aren't dedicated, not motivated enough. [It] comes from pupils. If they show they are willing to learn we'll be willing to teach.* Another teacher, from a different school stated that it was highly unlikely that teachers were not giving of their best, and that the blame for poor results and learner apathy rested squarely on the shoulders of the

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learners, supported this opinion. In one of the schools, poor results were investigated with possible causes being the high absentee rate of learners or that teachers were *not doing their best*. This latter option was quickly sidelined as not a serious cause to consider by the interviewee who revealed that this investigation occurred in her school. She believed that teachers were not to blame for lack of motivation amongst learners.

Learners were often referred to as *they* and were seldom personalised. They were instead referred to as: *my class; the 9's and 10's; You get your 'A's*. Learners were viewed as having limited social exposure and knowledge of certain subjects: *They know nothing in fact*.

Though this was not always the case as a two teachers acknowledged that learners could be quite intelligent, possess insight into psychological problems and could be witty. They were also said to be more sexually experienced and less disciplined than teachers were themselves at the same age. Subtle ostracism was the price to be paid by teachers who were deemed to have broken the boundary between learner and a teacher, according to one teacher, i.e. if attempts were made to break the social divide between 'learner' and 'teacher'. This act was described as: *cheap popularity with kids*.

Race was seen as either a dividing or unifying factor. In one case a teacher identified with learners, using their race as a common factor. A distinction was drawn between Black learners and learners that the school traditionally catered for. In one instance Black children were accused of influencing other learners to unruly acts. When discussing apathy it was an attitude blamed on the Black learners who influenced other learners negatively and with whom this negative attitude did not originate.

Some teachers also appeared to differentiate amongst each other on the basis of age. Young teachers felt that they were disadvantaged because of their youth e.g. redeployment. Another young teacher felt that teachers who were in the teaching field longer had been *favored* in the past, though she was unable to substantiate this claim: *I felt that in the past there were distinct advantages that older teacher benefited from, which were no longer open to newer teachers because of the changes in the system.*

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Political affiliations also tended to divide teachers. One teacher described the tense atmosphere that this division exerted on staff relations when she stated that one had to *walk on eggs* around one another at one school.

I found that teachers at schools also tended to separate themselves according to whether their schools were located in rural or urban areas. Urban areas tended to be associated with schools that contained better resources and facilities, compared with rural schools. Urban schools were also thought to possess higher standards of education. A more primitive belief system, and limited social exposure were other features linked to rural schools.

There was a differentiation between principals and teachers. The principals were seen as the ones who had the power, whilst teachers did not - judging from teacher acceptance of his authority. The government too was seen as a body that lauded its power over teachers. The words *they* were used when discussing people in education department or government. The government was seen as spoken of as an institution or body and seldom personalised. Teachers complained that the government was responsible for a large amount of difficulties that they had to contend with. In fact all teachers interviewed levelled negative comments against government.

Added to this multiple personality role teachers must play, is the question of whether or not they would receive support from their colleagues. Teachers generally felt neglected by government/ education department and three teachers felt pressure from both the department and their communities to perform. One teacher related that the government would use teachers as scapegoats and would *blame* them for difficulties experienced at school. Teachers felt that this was unfair and were happy to reciprocate and blame the government in return. One teacher pleaded with government authorities to sympathise with their positions and that they not be dehumanised: *At the moment we feel like we're just a figure, a number on a register. We don't matter. How you do it [teach] is irrelevant as long as you do it.*

Although certain factors tended to unify groups, it appeared that they were not absolute as these same groups could be divided bases on another criterion. The distinction between groups was thus unclear as various factors could either serve as unifying or dividing factors based on the speaker's perceptions.

The role of the teacher appears to have diversified, as they play the role of mentor, mother entertainer, jailer, police, as well as victims. Some of these roles teachers have not had to play in the past. They have also had no training to adapt to these newly acquired roles. These roles not only add to the workload of teachers, but also appear impossible for one human to display so many sometimes contradictory roles, without adding to teacher frustration and stress.

4.2.   FACTORS AFFECTING THE PERCEPTION OF PROBLEMS

I wanted an account of teacher experience, as well as an exploration of factors, which may have influenced these viewpoints.

4.2.1. Reasons teachers selected to enter the field of education

One of the issues I was interested in exploring was the possible link between the reasons teachers went into teaching and the current perceptions of the problems that they would be experiencing. The primary reasons teachers gave for choosing the teaching field were varied. Three stated that finances dictated the choice of career and the fact that teaching offered a bursary was a definite draw-card: *I teach, but it isn't something I would have done, would have chosen. It was just because of financial assistance.*

Job security was another reason for three teachers. Job security included the societal perception that it was relatively easy to obtain employment within the education field, as well as the long-term security of staying employed.

Societal gender bias and apartheid legislation of job protection prevented another teacher from fulfilling her goal of choosing another career and so settled with teaching, which was her third option. Three stated that family members influenced them, whilst an equal number were influenced by their own teachers. Some interviewees revealed that they were identified as having the potential to teach by their own teachers who recommended it as a career for them. Others saw their teachers as good role models, whom they chose to emulate.

The love of children influenced six teachers in their career selection. Two teachers thought that they possessed natural talent to teach and hence made their choice of career accordingly. One

stated: *I just always was a teacher... We were always just playing school-school. Maybe it was wrong, but I just never had another thought.*

The teachers who were limited by financial constraints were in general unhappy with teaching, especially since for three of the participants teaching was not their first preference. One stated that: *It was my third best choice,* whilst another stated that *teaching was never my first love.* These teachers were willing to leave teaching if other financially viable prospects presented themselves. One teacher was willing to leave teaching to study a career that had been his first option, whilst another regretted that he was unable to leave the profession as he was limited by his age.

All the teachers who went into the field for the job security reported being desperately unhappy. The one teacher who was limited by legislation had come to terms with her current career, and was in fact finding the changes in teaching challenging.

Those who were influenced by teachers and family members varied in their attitude towards their current job. One of those influenced by family was unhappy whilst two were satisfied with their roles in teaching. Two who were influenced by teachers were unhappy, whilst one reported being satisfied with the current situation. The level of unhappiness may have been affected by the changes in education since the days of these influential parents and teachers.

I thought that teachers who went into the field for the love of humanity would have been more positive about teaching. This was however not necessarily true. I found that teachers were ambivalent about their relationships with learners. They found the policies affecting the type and number of learners distressing, yet were able to joke with them and advise them. Of the six teachers who went into the field because of their love for children, four expressed mostly negative sentiments about children. This may be due to the changed nature of learners compares to those they taught in the past, as well as the type of child the modern age has produced.

Although there may appear to be a simple correlation between reasons teachers entered the teaching field and whether or not they were enjoying their positions as teachers today, this simple link is fallacious. For instance, one teachers who was influenced by her parent to enter teaching, and who is currently happy in her job, is fortunate enough to have an active

governing body, who deals constructively and with immediacy any problems encountered by the school. So, situations within schools may contribute to teacher happiness. Admittedly there are other factors which have already been mentioned, which will also influence teacher job satisfaction. A further exploration of these factors follows below.

4.2.2. Teacher expectations

I wondered if there was a link between teacher perception of their problems and their expectations of what teaching would entail. I found that many of the teachers had held what I would regard as unrealistic expectations prior to entering practice of teaching. Some of these were: that teachers were automatically to be respected by learners; when teachers were in training, they felt naively that classes would be easier to handle than reality proved them to be; they also were unprepared for a class with diversified learners.

In fact only one had realistic expectations and was not surprised by what the reality in the classroom was: *I didn't think it* (referring to teaching) *was this wonderful thing where there was never going to be anything wrong and where all the children were going to be little angels. I knew.. what I was letting myself in for.*

It appeared then that teacher expectations had a major role to play in the current perceptions and state of happiness teachers experienced.

4.2.3. Perception of Problems, teacher age and experience

I also wondered if there would be a link between teacher insight and perception of problems and both the age or years of experience within the teaching field. I thought that teachers who had been teaching for a number of years would have the benefit of first hand experience in seeing how things have changed over the years.

One of these long-serving teachers described herself as *hardened* by her experiences in teaching. Two other teachers who had been in teaching service for a long period mentioned that there appeared to be more changes, which are being implemented with greater speed than in the past.

Teachers with long term service in teaching appeared to have the wisdom to see how change would affect their practice, as well as the flexibility to adapt and not to be personally affected by the changes. The older teachers, who in most cases were the ones with the longest service history in the field thus did appear to have more insight, as a result of their past experiences.

Teachers with less experience, I thought would be more able to comment on their recent training and its applicability. One of these teachers had insight into OBE, whilst another two who were affected by redeployment shared their views on this policy.

Additional factors such as learners, parents, the community, other teachers, principals and the education department and government may also be contributing factors. I may not have been aware of all the factors, which could have influenced teachers and their states of happiness or unhappiness with their employment conditions, or thought of all of these. For instance, I had only retrospectively considered the role of the domestic situation on teachers state of happiness and satisfaction at work.

4.3. TEACHER RESPONSES TO PROBLEMS *challenges in schools*

The above factors seemed to affect teachers in both a positive and negative manner. When weighing up teacher perception of the current state of education, their feelings surrounding changes introduced, the negative outweighed the positive, though there were still positive sentiments expressed.

One of the teachers interviewed who had been in teaching for a relatively short time stated that she saw a shift in the attitude of teachers with whom she was acquainted with and who had been teaching for a number of years. She was in a unique position as she knew the teachers when she was a learner at the same school she later became a teacher at. *I know that teachers used to enjoy teaching... but the same teachers.... You'll find that their attitudes have changed. From that you can get that there has been a drastic change.* It was this teacher's impression that older teachers who had been teaching for a relatively long period were no longer as happy. It was however not only these teachers who complained. Whether 'old' or 'new' every teacher interviewed had complaints.

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Some teachers stated that most teachers were demotivated. One said: *I would say 100% or at least 99,9% are at their lowest* because of the difficulties that they are experiencing, or as another teacher phrased it, they have no *drive*. Most teachers felt that in general their colleagues *aren't coping and they are leaving*. As one teacher phrased it: I can't take it anymore. Two teachers felt that there was *nothing rewarding now* in teaching. It seemed that some teachers may have thought about leaving teaching to work in the private sector or leaving the teaching field altogether, primarily because of financial rewards in other career possibilities.

One of the less drastic measures teachers are taking is to be absent from school. Two teachers at two different schools described teacher absenteeism as high. One mentioned that due to not being able to take leave teachers have begun to be absent from school with more frequency than in the past.

> *I find what's been happening now is the absentee rate of staff is definitely increased. Many of them are getting tired and many of them also have that sort of attitude of: "Oh well since we're not allowed to have leave, we'll simply just take it". Yah sick leave, or urgent private matters or whatever the case may be.*

Teachers also tended to be absent in the form of strikes, which were mentioned by one teacher as an occurrence, which happened at some schools.

The changes in the education system also affects future teachers, according to two teachers, who felt that future and current tertiary students would not view teaching as a possible career as they see the challenges current teachers are faced with. One teacher pointed out that he would attempt to dissuade anyone who wanted to pursue teaching as a career. He however admitted that since there *will always be kids to be educated*, teaching should not be viewed as an obsolete career choice, especially as current teachers were *knocking at death's door*. It was merely his opinion that teaching was not a wise career move at present.

My experience of the teachers' feelings, as expressed in their responses was that they varied from neutral to resigned or helpless to passionate responses. Only one teacher was relatively neutral about the difficulties she found in the schooling environment and the changes implemented by the government. This teacher was relatively new in the teaching field and felt that there were few changes introduced since her inception as a teacher. Otherwise negative sentiments seemed to be pervasive and dominated in the responses. Phrases used by teachers to

express their dissatisfaction and difficulty with certain aspects of teaching are highlighted below:

- One teacher commented: *We are worked up, agitated, worried, scared.* Other terms used to describe their feelings were: *on edge, sad, demotivated, insecure.* Fear, humiliation, and frustration were also expressed.

- Disappointment was revealed, when teachers discussed their perceptions of education at present. These are some comments: [Education] *is going down the drain; It's worse than it was before; Education is at a low point, Education is not the same.*

- Anger and antagonism was expressed towards the education department and the government. For instance, a few teachers felt as if they had been lied to. There also appeared to be a lack of trust, faith: *I think the department is destroying education. They said would take a while before we see light at the end of the tunnel. I don't think there's any light there.*

- Complaints about learners indicated that teachers were stressed and were feeling frustrated: *It's frustrating; it's difficult.*

- Problems experienced with management and administration such as late salary payment and teaching non-specialised subjects demotivated teachers. One noted about others: *They're struggling to keep their heads above water.*

In general, teachers appeared to be positive about some aspects of teaching (e.g. influencing learners' lives, seeing change within education as a opportunity for self-development rather than a problem). However the presiding feeling was that teachers were negative about changes within education, as teachers were described as fewer coping mechanism, with ever increasing levels of frustration and stress.

Teachers who were of great concern was one who reported not coping at all, and two others who were willing to escape education as soon as other opportunities presented themselves. These teachers present cause for concern, as it indicates that not only do teachers need training, they may also need counselling if under too much stress. Teachers willing to leave education,

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may begin continue to set the trend that leaving teaching is one successful roi changes within education, i.e. escape not confrontation. This may result in being willing to engage with changes, to the betterment of their skills, and learners.

4.4. COPING STRATEGIES ~~Used by teachers~~

In the light of the above difficulties teachers are experiencing, their coping methods were of interest. Questions such as: Were these coping strategies effective? What form did they take? were raised. The coping strategies revealed by teachers has been divided into three forms, i.e. using relationships as supporting structures, using cognitive strategies, and finally strategies related to outlook / philosophy and finally. These strategies may not be the only ones that teachers use.

Developing positive relationships was a coping strategy that was successfully used. For instance, one teacher reported having a good relationship with his principal. Another teacher on the other hand found support in the staff and described them as a family. Three teachers found satisfaction when learners finally understand something that they did not comprehend before: *a child who battles and then suddenly sees the light. There just isn't another feeling like that.* Another rewarding aspect for teaching was teaching *bright, sharp,* learners. Another said that she played a part in some learners' lives where she *help[ed] motivate and set goals,* whilst another found it rewarding when she was able to *not only impart academic knowledge ... but [help learners in] coping with what life has in store for them.* One teacher perceived teacher unions as supportive structures.

Benefits within the system also served to strengthen teachers resolve to remain in the field. Some teachers noted that there were some compensating factors, which helped them cope. For instance, the relatively freer time available in teaching, i.e. the working hours, and holidays were appreciated by two teachers. Free periods also served as a saving grace for one teacher. Two teachers found sport to be a saving grace. As one teacher phrased it, *at least it's not all school-school.*

Financial rewards were noted by some. A teacher stated: *My bread is buttered at this school,* indicating that pay helped teachers to cope. Two teachers mentioned that they found

motivation to remain in teaching because of the remuneration. Two others stated that as a single female the salary could be considered a perk of the job. The idea of financial reward for services rendered is summarised as follows: *teachers are teaching for cheque collection, dedication is out the window.*

Teacher perception of the difficulty they experienced also depended on their outlook or philosophy in life. Two teachers found strength in a higher power - i.e. they prayed, thus relying on their faith; whilst another teacher found that if he reminded himself of the fact that there were people who were less fortunate than himself, then he was more able to stand his lot in life. He coped by remembering that all careers have their *ups and downs.* Another teacher stated that she dealt with the circumstances each day brought by dealing with each day, one at a time, whilst another stated that there were stresses to all jobs and that one should accept the difficulties accompanying teaching.

One teacher used her enthusiasm for the subject she taught to sustain her. She stated that being a teacher permitted her to gain knowledge about a subject that she was interested in. She added that one could by doing one's own research, make the work applicable to one's learners, thereby enriching one's own knowledge.

One teacher saw the difficulties in education as a challenge. Another teacher stated that it was merely a matter of time - that in about five years or so vast improvements could become evident and this future prospect gave her hope. One teacher also stated that in his experience over the years the *good memories tend to outlive the bad.* So looking for positive experiences to enjoy was one coping strategy used by some teachers.

For teachers who were not coping, escapism appeared to be an alternative option to the supportive and positive coping strategies mentioned above and that teachers used this benefit, sometimes exploitatively. One teacher mentioned that it was extremely easy to obtain leave at one school. It was reported that leave for up to three weeks was not uncommon. The absentee rate was described as frightening at two schools.

Coping strategies differed for each individual, ranging from fight to flight, i.e. teachers constructively and creatively dealing with change, versus those who have accepted defeat, or who have chosen a literal escape route. It appears that there were teachers who have chosen to

examine their positions positively, whilst others have chosen to see external sources as s~~⌐~~ of hope, e.g. salaries. The success coping strategy selected depended on individual facto: as choice of strategy, personality, perceptions, attitudes and approach to life.

4.5. THE FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR TEACHING

Comments passed when asked Question 9, on the state of education, indicated that teachers were not hopeful that the conditions that they taught under would change e.g. *chaos; education has gone to the skunks; things* [in education] *are going from bad to worse.* One teacher was not hopeful that conditions would change in his lifetime and tenure as a teacher. Two teachers stated that their preference was in fact not to continue to teach. One of them mentioned that if he had an option to venture into another career avenue he would gladly grasp the opportunity with both hands. One teacher stated that the consequence of teacher difficulties is that well qualified teachers are being lost to the teaching field, and replaced by younger teachers who were not as experienced. Three teachers stated that they were not optimistic about the current and short-term future for education and were not hopeful for teaching as a career for future generations. Teachers made suggestions that they thought would improve the current state of education.

4.5.1. Suggestions relating to Schools

Teachers felt that the fact that certain schools were lacking in facilities and that this situation needed to be rectified. Some also felt that there was a need for more schools, such as vocational and special institutions for non-academic learners.

4.5.2. Suggestions relating to school subjects

There was a demand that the government increase the number of subjects available. One suggestion was to include a local language and make this part of the curriculum. There was also a call for the return of Guidance, or what is known as Life Orientation in Curriculum 2005 and Religious Instruction, as teachers felt that learners needed to be informed about aspects of life that went beyond academia, though there was a need in this arena as well. Being taught how to handle a multi-racial schooling environment, as is indicated by this comment: *Bring*

back guidance. You can educate learners to accept each other, as well as having easy access to career guidance is necessary, as elucidated upon by this quote:

> *Even if I'm not a guidance teacher, I do give them those lessons so that when I'm teaching they must know why are they learning this thing [A commerce subject]..., how is it going to help them... Every teacher gets involved in career guidance.*

Teachers mentioned that learners needed guidance with subject choice, and that teachers needed assistance with assessing learners so that appropriate placements could be made.

Teachers also felt that there was a need to have sexuality education at schools, as the effects of not providing learners with information were is disastrous, as indicated by this teacher's comment:

> *It is rewarding to teach children about life and the value of life. That is incidental to teaching. You know the pregnancy rate is booming* [said as a statement]. *When you bump into a kid in the corridor and you give them advice and they turn around – it's wonderful. Teaching is not only about imparting academic knowledge.*

In addition, some teachers felt that it was necessary that parents be included in curriculum selection, to ensure that there is a balance, as their children's futures would be affected.

4.5.3. Suggestions related to teachers

Teachers not only had opinions to share about aspects of teaching that would influence the lives of learners more positively, but had strong suggestions to make that could affect the lives of themselves and other teachers as well.

4.5.3.1. Teacher Training

Training should be re-examined and made less idealistic and theoretical and more practical and applicable to the current educational issues. An veteran teacher recalled his experience:

> *Once you start teaching and suddenly you've got a class in front of you ... it becomes a very real situation... I often have the feeling that I wasted 4 years studying to become a teacher. With this - your first year of teaching - you've gotta start right from scratch and you actually develop your own methods and.. things that are going to work for you.*

A quarter of the teachers suggested that teacher training be re-examined as the training teachers (both new and old) received was as idealistic and vastly different from the reality in the classroom. Suggestions included methods on how to deal with a multi-racial learner population, disciplinary issues and second language teaching.

4.5.3.2. Monitoring of teaching practice

Two teachers felt that teacher service should be inspected. One argument was that supervision and assessment of performance occurred in businesses and during teacher training, but stopped abruptly thereafter. One teacher mentioned that it occurred in his school in the pas, and was conducted by internal management staff. These teachers felt that there was a definite need to reinstate this practice.

4.5.3.3.1. Networking

There needs to be greater communication amongst role-players. Teachers mentioned that the relations between teachers and parents, teachers and teachers, teachers and principals, and teachers and the education department need to be improved. This implies that parents need to be more involved with schools, that teachers need to learn how to support each other, principals may need to learn how to better engage with teachers, and the education department needed to alter its decision-making process, including teachers, via consultation, and so forth. This includes introduction of new policies, as well as the number of changes and speed with which these are implemented. Areas that can come under investigation are: teacher salaries, teacher-learner ratio, redeployment e.g. allow all races should be posted to all schools

4.5.4. Suggestions with regard to Learners

- Teachers felt that there was a need for smaller classes
- One teacher felt that black learners should begin in Grade 1 in non-Black schools. To assist all learners to adjust in a multi-racial setup, integration programmes, is a must.
- The education system needs to be one that is adapted to the unique situation in South Africa and not implemented wholesale from foreign countries.
- Assessment practices need to be re-examined.
- One teacher felt that the future could be bleak if learners are not appropriately cared for as there was the potential that they could become an *illiterate mass*, turn into *militant youth* and could contribute to the already high unemployment rate which would be averted if the education, social and economic sector liased more, in his estimation.

4.6.   OTHER NOTEWORTHY FINDINGS

Other findings that did not fall into the above categories, but which were too si[
omit follow:

4.6.1.   Differences between schools

The ex-DET school was unique in a number of different ways. For instance, it was the only school, which did not have a principal. According to one teacher, the absence of a principal had continued for three years in a row. The current acting principal was not often in school as was evident when I attempted to make contact with him. A staff member at this school explained that he was involved in personal matters which took him away from school for long periods of time.

One teacher also represented this school as unstable: *The situation is volatile. Nothing is smooth sailing. You never know when things will erupt and what causes it.*. Although other schools complained about the fact that they had limited resources, the ex-DET school was the only one where this was physically evident (e.g. with literally empty classes, i.e. classes without furniture, no photocopier, typewriter, phone or lights). At this school, distance was a problem for learners. They had to walk long distances to school. The socio-economic status of the population group is also represented by this transport problem, i.e. the financial status of parents (i.e. many did not own vehicles), where public transport existed in the form of taxis (in the form of combis) only. Few buses and other forms of public transport were available to these learners, as well as the condition of the environment.

It also appeared that this school was multi-racial for longer than the other schools as it had always had learners of mixed origins attending it, according to one teacher about ¾ of the learners were from mixed origins. The teachers interviewed at this school did not complain about any issues pertaining to race. Interestingly teachers at this school, even teachers of different racial origins did not raise the language issue. This may have been due to the fact that all learners even though 'mixed' spoke Zulu in this school.

Only at this school were reports made about irregular and delayed salaries. It was also the only school to complain about very huge numbers. Whilst a class of 40 was the norm in the other

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schools, 65 with the smallest in the Black school, with a class number just short of 100 being largest. One teacher stated an interesting phenomenon which is that at Black schools learners begin at a very early age, with most beginning at the age of five years.

The ex-NED school was described by one of the teachers, at this institution, as a *so-called well-to-do school,* as it was better resourced than any of the other schools. One teacher added that in his opinion, this school was very sheltered and was not aware of the difficulties facing other schools. This school was unique in that it was the only one which appeared to have a functional governing body, with sufficient funds. This was visible in that it contributed positively to problems that the school encountered. For instance, it was the only one which mentioned that it had managed to reduce class sizes, by building classes, lightening teacher workload. Management at this school stated that parental support actually went from strength to strength. Generally teachers at this school purported to have a raceless ethic. Only one acknowledged that there was a difference in the race groups. One teacher stated that when he first arrived there, he had to adapt and adopt the ways of the school. Language was a concern at this school, hence attempts were made to introduce after school classes; however, due to travel issues this was not successful:

> *I find quite often you try to introduce extra lessons, as well in your free afternoon, but it doesn't suit them. Many of them have transport problems again. They're train learners and have to rush down and get a train by 3o' clock to get to Umgababa. If they don't they've gotta sit down here, let's say for arguments sake till 6o' clock, and then they get home midnight.*

It was also the only school where one teacher complained that the school was too involved in sport.

The two ex -HOD schools were both located within urban areas. Both had learners belonging to various socio-economic backgrounds, and had resources such as electricity, phone services, computers, photocopy machines, yet one mentioned that due to increased class size furniture provisions were a problem. Whilst one school still engaged in sporting activities, the other reported that they had recently adopted a very academic curriculum, with little extracurricular activities. This was a definite change from their past.

The most important common factor between these two schools was the introduction of mostly Black learners, whose mother tongue was most commonly Zulu. Even though intake of learners was similar each school had very different complaints. Staff at Mahommed High School mentioned racial conflict as a concern, whilst Hamilton High did not. Hamilton High

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had been the first of the two schools to open to Whites. This may explain why it did not report this as an issue, as it had been completely multi-racial for longer.

The pass rate was a concern at the ex-DET and ex-HOD schools, whilst the ex-NED school was proud of its achievements in this field.

The above examples highlight the discrepancies, which still exist between schools as a result of the influence of the previous policies of the apartheid government. It would appear that management structures and the ethos amongst staff of the previously better resources schools are still influential, whereas previous disadvantages schools have not been empowered to shift from their previous status or to overcome the backlog which disabled their functioning in the past. Even though ex- HOD schools are fortunate in some regards, e.g. the provision of some resources, they also have their own problems to contend with. This highlights the challenge to transformation the education in this country and shows that provisions are still grossly unequal, and that changes within some schools need to be urgently addressed.

Below is a table indicating the difficulties complained about across schools:

Problem		Hamilton	Mohammed High	Thandeka	Saint Cyprian's
Difficulties With Learners	Language	√	√	X	√
	Race of learners	√	√	X	X
	Background			√	√
	Discipline	√	√	√	√
	Teenage Pregnancy	√	√		
	Racial Tension		√		
	Apathy	√	√	√	X
	Absenteeism	√	√	√	X
	Travel Distances	√		√	√
	Teenage Pregnancies		√	√	
	Drugs	√			
	Pass rates	√	√	√	X
	Standards	√	√		
With Parents	Non-involvement	X	√	√	X
Difficulties with School Management	Workload:	√	√	√	√
	• Redeployment	√	√	√	√
	• Teaching non-specialisation	√	√		
	• Extramural activities	X	X		√
	Resources	√	√	√	X
	Class Size	√	√	√	X
	Curriculum		√	√	√
	Passing Policy	√		√	√
Education Department	Funding:				
	• Resources	√	√	√	√
	• Salaries	√	√	√	√
	Speed of changes			√	√
	Meetings				√
	Leave			√	√
	Consultation			√	√
	Training			√	√
	Negative feelings	√	√	√	√
	Ratio Formula			√	√
Other :	Unqualified teachers	√			
	Strikes				√
	Relationships: Peers		√	√	X

Table 4.1.   Problems across schools

Key:

√ = Teacher at this school mentioned this issue as a concern

X = Teachers ate this school were not concerned about this issue.

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The above table is a representation of all the teachers who were interviewed and gives a break down of the various problems each of the schools experienced. The difficulties reported by all the participants are grouped and presented in the outermost left-hand column. The next column gives a breakdown of each of the difficulties in the previous column. The ticks (✓) indicate that the problem was reported at the school quoted above that row, whilst the crosses (X) indicate that an area was mentioned as non-problematic by that school. Blank spaces indicate that the topic was not mentioned at all.

As can be seen from the above table, all schools had trouble with discipline of learners, whilst overt problems with race was reported at only one school, though three teachers at tree different schools commented on it. Three schools experienced problems when it came to the medium of instruction and difficulty with language. Only two schools complained about parental non-involvement, whilst the other two had achieved some measure of success in this department by using non-traditional methods of making contact. Teachers at all of the schools mentioned that the workload could be a definite drawback to teaching, as was class size which was mentioned by all schools, - except that the situation had been rectified at one of these schools. Teachers at all of the schools commented on the negative role that the lack of resources could play.

In essence then there were many factors which were commonly viewed as problematic, irrespective of the demographic area the school was located in. Depending on the resources available to the school, problems could be solved within the school setting to the advantage of the teachers.

The issue of how each school dealt with its multi-cultural, multi-racial, multi-lingual difficulties is discussed below.

4.6.2. Multi-racism and assimilation

As mentioned previously, when discussing learners, dealing with an integrated population was described as a new experience for most teachers, what with dealing with learners whose mother tongue, traditions and socio-economic background were different from their own.

Teachers in most of the schools seemed to be experiencing problems adjusting to the new learner population.

In the face of the change in the learner population, how have schools managed to deal with arising issues? Two of the schools indicated that there were issues that both teachers and learners had to deal with relating to accepting each other on the basis of race. Racial disharmony was an issue at one of these schools. For instance, tension was released in the form of violence on the playground and this violence seeped into the classrooms as well. This lack of respect for each other was described as follows:

> *I would blame it on integration. There seems to be racial tension – on playgrounds. What happens on the outside comes inside. Although I don't want to be racist, it does affect the classroom badly.*

Another issue raised by one teacher was that Black learners felt that teachers were discriminating against them. For example in cases where they were reprimanded, they considered this occurrence as a direct result of their colour.

Another teacher appeared to correlate race and culture with a lack of interest in academic activities: *Now the way things are going on here, you know the Blacks that umh, thirst for knowledge is not there. It's not there.* In one case, it appeared that the situation in a school had changed as a result of admission being granted to learners not previously catered for, where the black learners were now in the majority, teachers felt that the culture of working hard and studying hard had died.

At the ex-NED school, the teachers reported that they did not experience this racial disharmony. It was reported that approximately 30 % learners were integrated from other previously racially divided schools. It appeared that learners and teachers of colour were expected to adapt and adopt: *They [Black learners] do as we do,* the male, science teacher felt that he was the one who needed to adapt to the multi-racial aspect of the school:

> *When I came here, it was already; I mean desegregated as such…. I was the one who had to adapt in fact, [coming from a] predominantly Indian school and coming to a so-called Model C, semi- majority white school…. Let's just say I adapted for the better.*

At the ex-DET school it appeared that the mixed learners, who may have been classified as Coloured under apartheid laws, had long ago learned to adapt in their community, so that a similar situation occurred at this school. According to one teacher, there were no racial issues amongst learners towards each other or towards teachers of different racial group than their

own. Admittedly there were no White or Indian learners at this school, thus the issue of language did not come into play.

It appears then that assimilation is the modus operandi at most schools. With regard to the relationships between learners this school was described by one teacher as a supportive, accepting environment: *of its teachers as you see the kids also, when other kids come they fit in very easily. It's a very happy school. You know what I mean, it really is.* These referrals were made about Black learners who were counted as the successful ones, i.e. they were those who were young, had repeat standards, and who had integrated well. Teachers prided themselves as having successfully integrated Black learners, and facilitating the acceptance of Black learners. Comments such as teachers have become *colour-blind* saying that they *don't even realise there is a difference between them [Black learners* were pronounced.

For Black learners who did not integrate well, one teacher felt that due to the limited experience in teaching these children, their placement in an English environment where they were going to suffer was *unfair*. Her feeling was that it would be better for these children if they were in a school that catered for them, namely a Black school.

In schools where there were problems experienced with the integration of Black learners, teachers were afraid of appearing to be racist when they discussed issues such as academic standards and racial tension amongst learners. Black learners were associated with many of the negative aspects complained about at two schools. Teachers in some schools were happy to present a picture that they were a happy, successfully integrated school, whilst other teachers, even within one school, honestly admitted to experiencing difficulties with integrated learners which left them feeling frustrated and defeated. In some schools where this mask of successful integration was presented, teachers and learners may not be given room to air their concerns, especially if they are not coping with particular aspects of integrated schooling.

For instance, teachers were concerned about the standard of education, as learners who were slower needed to be accommodated. This may have impeded the development and progress of more advanced learners. Another teacher felt that Black learners had no *thirst for knowledge* and were apathetic, infecting other learners as well.

4.6.3. Concerns about standards

As mentioned in the above paragraph, phrases such as *the calibre of pupils has diminished, they have lost the culture of learning* were made. Four teachers feared that because of the increase in the intake of Black learners, standards would be dropped, because the curriculum would have to be taught in a manner that would accommodate them. Another felt that standards were being lowered, much in the same way that economic redistribution is desired to create equality. *I feel the level of education should not be dropped to educate pupils who are straggling behind... Why disadvantage other pupils. Get the needy to progress to keep up with the others.* Dropped standards to accommodate slower learners was said to impede progress of more advanced learners. Teachers at two schools felt that since Black children entered their schools, the failure rate was higher. Two teachers felt that this was due to the existence of different standards across schools, as well as the impression that the standards at Black schools were even lower, due to the apartheid discriminatory practices in the past. Not only was there a variance in the standards across schools, but even within one class said three teachers. The large pupil number and vast differences in levels aggravated teaching difficulties.

Some teachers felt that non-failure was a means contributing to this dropping in standards. Another teacher stated that it was possible that standards were being lowered, as learners themselves are willing to do only the bare minimum because they know that they are going to pass.

Two teachers were concerned about the implication internal examinations would have on standards of schools, as they felt that there was no way to compare standards, and maintain them if schools were setting their own examinations.

The paranoia on the part of teachers surrounding standards, is as a result of them sitting with learners who are at different levels in one class, without knowing how to cope. It is thus understandable why the easiest solution teachers can think of is to wish that learners could disappear i.e. return to their former schools.

4.6.4. Laughter and Language

Various forms of laughter from nervous giggling to bursts of sarcastic laughter were experienced during the interviews. One teacher used nervous laughter to overcome the uncomfortable position of being recorded. Interestingly few teachers laughed with mirth. Sarcastic laughter was common. One did though, to indicate her relief at the change in her workload and that her problems had been solved. Another laughed when discussing fond memories of his childhood and in response to compliment/ praise. In one instance, bitter, mocking, sarcastic laughter was used by one teacher when discussing what she saw as the limited rewards teaching had to offer. Sad laughter was used to express the unfairness in a situation e.g. when a teacher was affected by redeployment.

The language used by teachers was interesting. I found that there was one figure of speech in particular, i.e. metaphors, which were in fact used by all teachers. Metaphors were used to describe self, e.g. in one case a teacher with years of experience in the teaching field described himself as being part of the *old furniture* to show preference: *not my cup of tea* to describe situations, e.g. as being *eye-opening* or *cutthroat*, even when discussing places or institutions metaphors were used: university was described as an *academic Eiffel tower*.

The fate of education was described by these phrases: i.e. *doom and gloom*; on *a collision course*. The future of education was described as: *we're spiraling downwards*. The attitude that the government displayed towards teachers was described as quite a callous one: *the government will be quite happy to give you a kick in the butt*. Another teacher said: *the government must pull up it's socks*. Other proverbs, clichés and metaphors such as the following were used: *grass roots level, all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, the light at the end of the tunnel, budding teachers*.

Praise and pride received as a result of learner achievement was described as being a *feather in a cap*. Even principals tended to employ figures of speech when discussing access with them, for instance one principal said that he would give me the *green light* to go ahead with interviews. Other aspects of language were also were evident.

Tone for instance was used both involuntarily and voluntarily. Teachers would emphasise a phrase by heaving heavy sighs, by accentuating a word, by increasing volume. Sarcasm and

irony was used by a significant number, e.g. one teacher who was referring to policy the education department is still to adopt for high schools said, sarcastical *they will say there is no need for tests... there is no need for exams, just teach a following year you take them up,* (i.e. promote them) *that is all.* Teachers not only that their feelings were about particular changes and the consequences thereof, th ....e, gestures, body language clarified feelings even when they were unable to verbalise them. When unable to express themselves or find the words some teacher used other non-verbal methods, e.g. gesticulations, whilst other simply gave up. I found that the use of gestures occurred predominantly in one case where the interview was not held in the person's mother tongue. Pauses were also used for effect, to emphasis a point, and to transmit that the data to be revealed was of some import.

The fact that teachers appeared desired being seen in a positive light and did not want to be associated with negative stereotypical behaviour was evident in the language used. In one case the use of the word 'Black' was associated with displaying a racist attitudes. Three teachers stated that they did not want their opinions to be seen as derogatory racial remarks, and would make statements such as: *although I don't want to be racist,* before the statement.

The interviews presented teachers with the opportunity to exercise power through use of language. They could present themselves in a positive light, present others in a negative light (e.g. teachers, principals and the education department). They had the opportunity to use language to sway the researcher into seeing things from their perspective, to represent situations truthfully through language, to be heard, and to just have fun through the expression of words.

4.7. CONCLUSION

The above data represents as accurate a reflection as any single researcher working on a project can guarantee. Data was selected based on the common occurrence of themes or patterns. Unique and unexpected information was also included. Omissions were made, but this tended to be data I felt was excessive in that it did not relate to any of the research questions, or to education in general e.g. personal revelation in the form of narrative. An aspect which proved quite important for me was that the identity of individual teachers and school remain anonymous. With this in mind, if information proved too identifying, it was omitted, especially

if the essence of a point was not lost by the omission. I must however admit that at the end of the day I was the one who did the selection of material to be included therefore this data will be influenced by my interpretations.

Chapter Five which follows, discusses the findings mentioned in this chapter in the light of literature discussed in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

This chapter aims to examine the findings of this research endeavour in the light of both South African and international literature.

The findings at the schools included in this research tended in general to correlate both across schools as well as within the literature. A few contradictory findings did however exist amongst schools as well as within the literature. I will discuss both collaborating and contradictory evidence as I discuss the findings from Chapter Four.

The form that this discussion will take is as follows: i.e. relationship between teacher and learners. Aspects included under this heading aspects related to culture, race and integration of learners will be discussed. The role of parents, the government and management (e.g. class size, discipline, workload) and other issues (i.e. contradictory findings, OBE and power) will then be examined.

The concept of change appeared to be the primary factor in all of the findings below. Chundra (1997) termed the concept of change the "change-nexus". When Chundra (*ibid.*) refers to the change nexus, she is in fact referring to the period between the old order of a system and the introduction of the new system of being. The 'old' system which was abolished was that of the apartheid-based education system, whilst an integrated school context has been introduced and the advantages and disadvantages of this newly introduced system are being dealt with by schools.

5.1. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS IN THE LIGHT OF THE LITERATURE

5.1.1. Teacher and Learner Relationships

As discussed in Section 4.1.1. more than half the teachers interviewed went into teaching for the love of children. However the type of children teachers had become familiar with had changed. Teachers reported that the 'character' of learners had changed as the current collection of learners came from social and cultural backgrounds different to that of the past. The race of learners had changed, as had the dominant language spoken by learners in school. The quality

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of education the learners had been exposed to in the past, as well as socio-economic status was also different. Even in cases where all of these previously mentioned factors had remained the same, learners appeared to be ill-disciplined, apathetic, and suffering from a lack of the culture of learning, displaying a negative attitude to work. This correlates with Chetty's research carried out in 1995 when he also found teachers complaining about the change in learners and their attitudes towards schoolwork.

An important aspect that came to the fore from teacher responses was that of the culture of learners. The concept of culture indeed did appear to have a diverse number of meanings to the teachers involved. Some teachers were in fact referring to race, others social backgrounds when they used the term. In fact, it appeared that incidents in the classroom which teachers may have misinterpreted could have had their roots in the differences in culture. For instance, a black learner who was reportedly having difficulty with an aspect in a science lesson could be viewed as 'slow', or the incident could be seen from a socio-economic perspective (i.e. that the learner is not familiar with technological equipment). The same incident could be seen as a personality issue (shyness resulting in fear to answer or ask questions), or as a cultural norm (that juniors do not question elders as this could be construed as a sign of disrespect). In fact, with regard to this last cultural norm, Wallace and Adams (1987) say that many teachers in ex-DEC schools use corporal punishment when learners ask questions, as enquiries made by learners could be viewed as a display of "cheekiness".

The importance of culture can be seen in Vygotsky's (1962) view that learning activities are not isolated events, but rather that the whole person (e.g. their identity formation) is involved. The implications of this are quite profound when these children transfer to an English classroom with more westernised patterns of behaviour than their own. For instance, teachers in this sample reported that learners from a non-western cultural background had a tendency to avoid eye-contact out of respect, they were also averse to questioning the teacher in class about aspects of work that they did not understand. Both of these practices could meet with quite unexpected results from western teachers. They may for instance, insist that eye contact is made and maintained. Teachers may also be confounded when learners do not ask questions if they have not fully grasped the complexity of a concept, and may to the disadvantage of the learner, only discover that there is a problem with comprehension under test or examination settings. Cultural differences are generally significant (Matsumoto, 1994), but within a

schooling context are even more so, as there is scope for the consequences to have particularly devastating effects not only on the social lives of learners, but on their academic lives as well.

As yet there are no structured, well co-ordinated programmes to help teachers cope with multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-ability classrooms, whether on a national or provincial level (Vally & Dalamba, 1999). This lack of supportive programmes for teachers was still evident at the time of this research and no doubt contributed to the result that teachers felt confused and unable to cope.

The same applies to learners. No official programmes have been developed to assist with their integration at schools, although the education department has attempted to include multi-cultural education into the syllabus. Vally and Dalamba (1999) add that the development of anti-racist, anti-discrimination awareness or consciousness in schools is expected to happen on its own.

Teacher perspectives of how their relationships are affected by the multi-racial and multi-cultural setting are analysed below.

5.1.1. From the teachers' perspective.

A teacher's prior experience with learners, their preconceived ideas, attitudes to and understanding of various cultural differences within their classroom will impact on their practice (St. John, 1975; Moonsamy, 1995). In fact, some researchers have found that the ability of teachers to give assistance to underprivileged or disadvantaged learners may be affected by their expectations. In this study teacher expectations definitely influenced the handling of learners, as well as their general state of happiness within teaching.

In this study, the attitude of most of the teachers towards integrated learners (the majority of whom were Black) was made evident through the language used, the tone of voice when speaking about these learners, gestures made, and facial expressions. These teachers generally viewed Black learners as being disadvantaged, slow, a negative influence on learners of a different racial orientation and even not worthy of being in their schools in some instances. According to Chundra (1997), this attitude of blaming does not permit one to see Black integrated learners as a victim of the system, e.g. having been exposed to an inferior level of

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education in an ex-DET school, due to the inequalities perpetrated by the apartheid government, but rather as individuals with problems. Chundra (*ibid*) continues to say that teachers who take the viewpoint of seeing problems located within the child are proponents of the 'deficit' model. i.e. the problem is almost inherent.

Generally teachers in this sample appeared to believe that their culture / tradition was in some way better than that of the learner who was being integrated. Learners have to accept their way of living and doing things if they wanted to make improvements in their lives, whether social or academic, i.e. assimilate. This model of integration as discussed in Chapter Two is common in western schools (Coutts, 1992; Cross, in Freer 1992).

In cases where teachers attempt to avoid viewing some learners as inferior, and where they appear willing to accept change in the type of learner now attending their schools, they risk not seeing the child at all. For instance, in my research, a couple of teachers claimed that children within desegregated settings were accepted by themselves, and colour was no longer an issue. Research (Berens, Potenza, & Versfeld, 1992) indicates that this is one approach schools may choose to adopt, and that though this approach may sound like the appropriate moral high ground, it has negative implications for the children who are being desegregated. Learners may start to feel 'invisible' or unworthy of notice (Delpit, 1995:178).

Vally & Dalamba, (1999) state that principals and teachers who adopt this colour-blind approach to racial integration purport ignorance of racial difference and may even be in denial (Parks, 1999). They also state that it may be an attempt on the part of management to maintain the dominant status quo of the school. Vally & Dalamba (*ibid.*) warn that by denying learners their identity, there may be a suggestion of racism on the part of the person denying the evident difference.

Some of the teachers in this sample claimed to have accepted the reality that there were cultural differences between themselves and some of their learners, yet did not indicate that they may have in some way pre-empted difficulties arising out of these differences. In some instances only when problems were obviously manifested, did teachers take action, e.g. after learners had failed tests. In this example Tharp & Gallimore's (1988) means of assistance are being ignored, otherwise teachers should have been aware of the learner's level, giving them feedback throughout the learning process.

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Practical problems, such as the transport difficulty experienced by learners at two schools, did not appear to have significant impact on teachers. There appeared to be little understanding of the implications, i.e. that learners would be tired on arrival at school (and the implications of this during school hours), and that they may reach home late (and the implications of this for homework).

An aspect not much researched in literature is the position of teachers of a racial orientation different from that of the dominant or majority learner population. This occurred at two schools investigated. Staff members St. Cyprians and Thandeka may have had to prove their worth, not only to learners, parents, but to other staff as well. In addition these teachers may need to adapt to the prevailing culture of the school, as was the case of one of the teachers in my sample. Unfortunately this aspect of integration went beyond the scope of this study and was not investigated further.

Two other concerns teachers had about the change in the culture of the learners they taught, were the issue of discipline and the question of standards. Many of the teachers in my sample felt that discipline problems accompanied a multi-racial, multi-cultural setting, especially in instances where class sizes had grown as well. The correlation between class size and discipline will be discussed below in Section 5.1.3.1.3. Suffice it to say at this point that the teachers in this sample viewed large classes similarly to other teachers in previous research findings, namely that it was disadvantageous to learners. This correlated with findings by Goettler-Sopko (1990) which indicated that teachers felt that larger class size negatively affected their morale and increased their stress levels.

Teachers who raised the issue of standards felt that racial integration automatically led to a lowering of standards in multi-racial and multi-cultural settings (Penny et al, 1992; Vally & Dalambe, 1999). St. John (1975) indicated as early as the 1970's that research performed at that stage had not found a causal relationship between racial composition of a school and academic achievement. Findings in this research is supported by Bot's (1990) research, which indicated that teachers in newly constituted multi-racial and multi-cultural settings felt that standards would drop. Kamwangamalu & Virasamy (1999) point out one reason that may explain the perception teachers have that standards are being lowered when they explain that some ESL learners tend to be passive and feel left out of classroom activities, whilst attempts to help them result in more proficient learners feeling slowed down. Although some teachers feared that

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standards within their schools would be lowered, this was not a concern for all teachers, as others were of the opinion that integrated learners were doing very well academically, even surpassing learners traditionally catered for.

Although there were teachers in this sample who felt that they had a positive bond with learners and in some worked hard to ensure this, there were also teachers who felt negative towards learners. On occasion teachers were ambivalent, liking certain aspects of a child only, or in some cases liking only certain groups of learners.

Teachers in general appeared to spoke out of fear, confusion, frustration and ignorance, when it came to dealing with the challenges learners of cultures different to their own presented. Racial, cultural and socio-economic differences between teachers and learners complicated their relationship making it difficult to clarify. This love-hate relationship has not been helped by the lack of understanding, which appears to be present between the two parties. It also appears as if the complicated relationship will continue until constructive programmes directed at teacher-learner differences and learner-learner differences are developed and implemented.

Hawley (1981) says that teachers need to undergo staff development to better cater for all their learners' needs. In service programmes, workshops, informal meetings and networking amongst schools are options that will improve teachers' skills, when teaching integrated classes. Some of the teachers in this sample wanted to re-introduce a system, which would measure teacher performance in class. This has a dual purpose in that it can assess whether or not teachers were preparing adequately for lessons, as well as act as a supportive structure. Other options are managerial involvement and appropriate changes in teacher training, to ensure that teachers are better able to handle issues arising out of a multi-cultural, multi-racial setting.

5.1.1.2.   From the learners' perspective

Although this research did not interview learners, there are possible links between teacher perceptions of learners and findings in the literature.

Most research on integration has tended to explore the opinions of the integrated learners. Learners who have remained in their originally provided for schools appear to fear that

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involvement with integrated learners on an academic level would negatively affect their scholastic achievement (Leibowitz, 1990). In some schools where integration has occurred and where this was a fear initially, this fear was proved unfounded. Literature (Vygotsky, 1962; Kamwangamalu & Virasamy, 1999) indicates that in interactions where one learner may be weaker than another, although they may be of different racial orientation, both benefit from the interaction.

Teachers mentioned discipline of learners as a concern, as mentioned above and further discussed in Section 5.1.3.1.3, but so do some integrated learners. Vally & Dalamba (1999) mention that black learners report punitive actions for minor misdemeanours whilst learners of other races are not even reprimanded or receive lighter sentences. One teacher in the sample stated that Black learners at her school complained about similar unfair treatment and attributed it to their differences in skin colour. The teacher who mentioned this complaint appeared to treat this accusation from learners lightly, seeing in it the possibility that learners were using their colour as an excuse not to receive any punishment at all.

Integrated learners have also mentioned the occurrence of negative sentiments directed at them by teachers. Some learners reported that teachers and peers would use racial slurs and swear words (Expressions, 2001). None of the teachers in this sample revealed whether or not they or their counterparts exhibited such behaviour; however they did label learners. Berens *et al.* (1992) say that labelling is common practice in schools. The phenomenon of labelling occurred in this research as well, although not in the form of expletives or racially biased phrases. Words used were for example, 'they', and 'them', creating a divide between teachers and learners.

Complaints of the above teacher-learner relationships made by teachers in this sample made me wonder about teacher-learner relationship, especially when teachers feel that the black learners are better off elsewhere, implying that they should not be in the school, as was the feelings of some of the teachers in this sample. If learners were as intelligent as some of the teachers in this sample thought them to be, chances were that they would be able to detect this rejection from teachers.

I wondered if there was any racism from the learners towards teachers. This was another unanswered question, as I did not interview learners, although one teacher in an ex-DEC

school who was of a different racial orientation, said that she had not experienced any overt racial overtures towards herself.

Integrated learners apparently do not only have to contend with the attitude of teachers, but with that of other learners as well, and this may explain why in some instances learners of colour socialise only with each other during school lunch breaks (Chetty, 1995). The situation within some schools appears to be changing though, as no difficulties with socialising were reported in two schools. One of these was integrated recently, the other had integrated learners who were classified as 'Coloured' under the apartheid regime, yet who could speak Zulu, for many years. Unfortunately this research endeavour did not make an intensive study of the differences between schools. There is thus no clear indication as to why these two schools appear to be more successful at integrating their learners, when compared to the other two. Educated guesses would point to the fact that one school had the advantage of time, and likely had the opportunity to solve difficulties that arose years ago. They also have the unique situation where all learners irrespective of colour, or race spoke the dominant language at the school. The other school tended to focus on the fact that they did have learners who differed from each other, as well as from the traditional type of learner they catered for. They thus attempted to introduce programmes, to facilitate the integration of learners.

A factor which will benefit previously segregated learners is earlier desegregation says Hawley (1981), as there has been some indication in research that younger children (especially pre-school age) tended to benefit more from desegregation both socially and academically than older learners (St John, 1975; Expressions, 2001). One teacher in this research indicated that young, earlier integrated learners, did indeed tend to fair better than other learners of similar circumstance who were older and who were introduced into integrated schools later. It also appeared in some schools, that learners, who had had prior experiences with integration, also socialised better than those who did not. Quiroz, Greenfield, & Altchech, (1999) concur with this finding.

Integrated learners thus have to deal with the effects of integration from not only their peers but from authority figures within the school setup as well, as discussed in Chapter Two. Problems with integration could result in negative cognitive consequences for learners (Macdonald, 1990; Moonsamy, 1995). These could be a lack of concentration, an inability to think, retarded language development (Coutts, in Chetty, 1995) developing a sense of

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helplessness (Malefo, 1991) and not having the will to initiate their own. Feelings of inferiority (Murphy, 1998) and a low self-esteem (Lemmer & Squelch, 1998) can also occur.

To assist in creating a successfully integrated school, teachers need to learn to view learner behaviour from a different perspective, e.g. Wood (in Chundra, 1997) says that learners can rebel in multi-cultural settings. This may explain why learners teachers in this study complained about learners who were disrespectful towards authority figures, were engaging in taboo behaviour, and did not display a good work ethic. Craig (1998) says that teachers should also learn to see learners as being victims of their situation. They should also try understanding the consequences of integration for all learners in the school. For instance, they could learn the significance of praising learners (Gordon & Barkhuizen, 1994), and facilitating learner-learner relationships.

5.1.2. Teachers and Parents

Research, both local and international, has found parents to be uninvolved. An aspect which has been particularly bothersome to South African educators has been the lack of involvement of black parents in the multi-racial school setting (Expressions, 2001). In this research parents of all races were described as not sufficiently involved in the academic progress of their children, as well as in the general running of the school their children attended. Although this non-involvement was a problem in some schools, it did not pervade all schools. In some schools though teachers found methods that worked, this information though tended not to be shared across classes within one school, nor across schools.

It appears that previously segregated schools have continued to invite parental involvement using methods, which have proved effective in the past, for their earlier parent population. If the two teachers who proved to have successful contact with parents in this research have proved something, it is that the old, standard methods of enticing parents to be involved in schools are ineffective and may need to be changed.

New strategies have to be implemented, taking into consideration the current dynamics of parents. For instance Jantjies (1995) says that teachers' notions of what entails parental involvement need to undergo a shift. She says that the term 'parents' needs to be broadened to include caregivers by any definition, e.g. neighbours and siblings, whilst Heystek & Louw

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(1999) say that there needs to be a shift away from viewing parents as clients and seeing them rather as partners.

In addition, Jantjies (*ibid.*) feels that 'parents' have historically only been invited to be involved when the school needed their assistance, for instance, as "possible solvers of children's disruptive classroom behaviour, or at parent-teacher meetings with fund-raising projects." The benefit of encouraging 'parental' involvement is that they can discover their own strengths, and talents to the betterment of their children, families, schools, and communities. A deeper understanding of who constitutes "parents" could contribute to alleviating the discipline problems teachers experience. See Section 5.1.3.1.4. Teachers in this sample recognised the link between parental involvement and alleviation of disciplinary problems at school yet did not make the link Jantjies (*ibid.*) mentions wherein the definition of 'parents' is extended.

If one sees parents as important stakeholders in schools, as teachers in this sample did, then their partnerships with educators needs to be developed, especially in desegregated settings (St. John, 1975; the NCSNET & NCESS, 1997). The involvement of parents of colour in integrated schools is particularly important as for them the situation is new as well. The importance of the involvement of parents of children of colour is demonstrated by Delpit's, (1995: 45) quote:

> I am also suggesting that appropriate education for poor children and children of color (sic) can only be devised in consultation with adults who share their culture. Black parents, teachers of color, and members of the communities must be allowed to participate fully in the discussion of what kind of instruction is in their children's best interest.

Teachers can also learn from parents and vice versa. Parents should however be trained (Hawley, 1981) e.g. have language classes to ensure that their potential contributions are maximised. Parents can also be trained by schools how to become involved in monitoring education, planning and implementation.

Although it may be expected of parents that they become involved in school activities and mediate appropriately for their learners, this may not always be done correctly, if at all. To help parents, Dave (in Jantjies, 1995) measured six aspects in the home which contribute to learner success: i.e. parents press for achievement (i.e. what they want for their kids, how they reward); language models (the quality of language used by parents and taught to their children); academic guidance (quality of help parents provide); intellectuality (interest and activities, e.g. type of reading, nature of conversations); activity in the home (children encouraged to explore environment) and work habits (i.e. routine). Teachers need to be aware

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of these aspects of learners' lives in order to contribute towards successful teacher-learner-parent interaction. In addition, Zhu (1999) feels that even if parents are doing all that is expected from them, they still need reassurance. An aspect of parent training should be praise according to Gordon and Barkhuizen (1994). This may require a change in attitude on the part of teachers, as it is evident that they are already blaming parents in their absence, if the stance of teachers in this stance is representative of teachers' attitudes towards parents. Teachers need to make a shift away from the blaming mentality towards ventures that will improve the ZPD of parents.

Teachers can also inform parents that their own culture is important to ensure that they do not stop mediating to their children, as this basic foundation is necessary for the adoption of any other culture (Moonsamy, 1995), otherwise more cognitive problems. (See section 5.1.3. and chapter 2) could occur.

Networking between teachers is vital (Coutts, 1992), as teachers who are successful at involving parents in school endeavours should distribute this information, across classes, within the same schools, as well as on a national (e.g. through television programmes such as Education Express, on SABC 3) and international level (e.g. Internet) thus increasing the ZPD of other teachers.

Teachers could also broaden their scope to attract the involvement of other members in the community who are not necessarily teachers or parents directly involved with their school. The NCSNET & NCESS (1997) recommend that the private sector, higher education institutions, and NGO'S should assist schools, and that schools should be the institutions to initiate contact with these bodies.

5.1.3. From the perspective of school structures

Teachers just thought that learners would automatically interact without difficulty, and have not implemented any measures which are necessary for successful interaction within an integrated environment (Hawley, 1984). In this study teachers reported that race relations have always been good as racial mixing had occurred for decades at one school, and that a multi-racial set-up was working well in a recently integrated one. Another school, on the other hand, complained about the racial conflict amongst the different groups of learners, in and out of the

classroom. The tendency exists in some of the schools to socialise in cliques, as was the case in Chetty's (1995) research. Clearly there needs to be a realisation of the change integration has brought to schools.

Pillay (1995) spells out some ways this may be achieved:

> at the local level, significant improvement in educational outcomes for minority group students depends on school reform, which include changes in teacher attitudes towards minority students, adaptations in curriculum and instruction; use of culturally unbiased testing procedures and the adaptation by language minority students and groups to the institution of the larger society".

At the time of this research all of the schools appeared to have adopted the attitude that learners who were integrated into their schools should accept the dominant patterns of behaviour. In the future there needs to be serious consideration given to this stance, as teachers and management need to examine how this stance affects learners. This may mean a change in teacher attitude to learners, feeling that they may be able to benefit from different learners. The biggest change that I would agree with would be change of the negative attitude of teachers towards integrated learners, judging from the stance of some teachers that the old separation of the schooling system should be reintroduced for black learners.

Teaching methodology within classes may also need to come under scrutiny. Within the classroom, teachers have to mediate to different learners and in a different manner. One aspect in which teachers have had to play a critical role is in the education of learners from different backgrounds (See section 5.1.1. on multi-cultural education). This requires real change on their parts. De Guerrero and Villamil, (2000) say that a learner can learn by himself or have learning mediated. Mercer (1994, in Akhurst 2000) says that learning with assistance or instruction is a normal, common and important feature of human mental development. Mediation within the classroom is the role of the teacher. Even for teachers who may have been mediating adequately to their 'old' learner population, there may be difficulties with 'new' learners.

This new notion of teaching for instance by discovering where the learner is at falls in line with OBE objectives. Although teachers have resisted the introduction of OBE, they appear not to have resisted in what I would term an active manner, e.g. strikes against OBE implementation, or written complaints to authority figures. Instead they have responded in what Croll (1996) terms retreating, by becoming demotivated and alienated, from each other. Although

resentment towards OBE and new learners was evident, some teachers have responded creatively to change in education, thought they appeared to be in the minority in this sample. Boyle-Baise and Washburn in McCarty, (1998) say that real change on the teachers part requires that they: a) acknowledge their experiences in contexts of trust and cooperation, b) reflect within their socio-historical perspective, c) take control over person transformation and larger institutional change and e) work with social justice in mind. Teachers thus need to take control of their own transformation before they can assist learners with theirs.

Affective involvement from teachers is important (Vygotsky, 1962; Moonsamy, 1995; Odendaal, 1991) as this creates enjoyment of task and caring and warmth. Teachers need to be aware of the emotive levels in their class, but also other factors that influence how language is learned, as discussed in Chapter Two and in Section 5.14.

The testing procedures mentioned by Pillay (1995), are being addressed by the introduction of OBE. There is still a need for change on the part of teachers, where assessment is concerned, if the teachers in this sample were in any way representative, as they used traditional assessment with the result that some learners failed, purely due to linguistic difficulty. One solution to the language difficulty experienced by learners would be for teachers to go for language lessons (Tikunoff and Vasquez-Faria, 1982; Walker de Felix, 1990). Teachers could then use their newly acquired knowledge when assessing and in daily classroom discussion. Teachers who become bilingual or trilingual will improve the process of collaboration recommended by Vygotsky (1962).

Another manner in which schools are assisting newly integrated learners is by bridging programmes. These programmes traditionally called for collaboration between teacher, remedial, language teacher and guidance teacher (St. John, 1975, Coutts, 1992, Tomaselli, 1993). Some schools endeavoured to provide support programmes after school hours NEPI, 1993), one school in this sample attempted, but failed due to logistical reasons. These types of programmes have been given different labels in different schools, but generally include language skills, extra lessons and individualised attention (Carrim, 1992). Bot (1990) says that some schools in Johannesburg had adaptation classes for a year for non-English learners and continues to say that individual instruction as well as remedial assistance may need to be provided within the desegregated setting. Although remedial education was mentioned in one school in my study, this was in connection with rectifying language deficit. Some researchers

(e.g. Cohen and Swain in (Leibowitz, 1990) have problems with this stance, as separation comes with its own problems, e.g. it may stigmatise learners thus increasing the problems in socialising and the academic results may not improve the learner's academic performance drastically (De Villar in Jacobson, 1990; Rubin, in *ibid.*).

Besides difficulty with language teachers in this study revealed that learners expressed practical needs. For instance learners who had not previously engaged with technical equipment such as microscopes and typewriters should have these uses demonstrated prior to any academic activity involving these tools.

Peterson & Deal, (1998 in Delpit, 1995) state that schools should also employ inter-racial staff as this assists with curriculum recognition and learner adaptation. Two schools involved in this study had multi-racial staff, however the relationships with learners had only been examined from their perspective, not from that of the learners.

Management appeared to be aware of the changes occurring within schools as a result of them opening up, as well as being aware of the need to introduce supporting structures for integrated learners. Awareness though did not necessarily convert into active changes introduced by the school. For instance policy changes may be required, yet not all the schools involved in this study had introduced new policies. In one school where practical adjustments were made in recognition of the new learner population, these were not always successful, indicating that more there may a need for even more creative, well thought out measures. Again where policy introduction and implementation that works is concerned networking would be more effective, (Coutts, 1992; Tomaselli, 1993) as other schools would not need to experience the trial and tribulations of creating policies that are effective. This type of networking was not evident in the schools engaged in this research.

Below follows a discussion of some aspects of the changed system of education that management is responsible for and which teachers complained about.

5.1.3.1. Teachers and Management

From this study it was evident that management both from within and outside of schools plays a significant role in controlling the day to day lives of teachers and learners. Where

management is concerned, it is possible that teachers may have felt that managerial structures should carry partial blame for the added burdens they have to bear as a result of educational change. Teachers indicated that they relied on their principal for support, perceived them as wielding power and feared them. It was through management's manouevres that for instance the workload of teachers was increased. Below are some instances wherein management has contributed to the change in functions of teachers at school.

5.1.3.1.1. Teacher Role

One of the complaints when listening to the 'voice' of teachers (Ball & Goodson, 1992) is that their roles have changed. The roles of teachers appear to be very contradictory, judging from the perceptions of teachers in this research. Their roles vary from that of playing the mother, to being a policeman, playing victim, whilst at the same time being able to introduce change that the government introduces. For instance, in this research, teachers mentioned that there was an unnecessary amount of administration or paper work required from teachers, which contributed to their stress. Another of the reasons for their stress was that teachers were required to play roles that they were unfamiliar with and which they had no training for. Yet another was that their basic role was compromised as teacher-learner interaction time was scaled down to a minimum.

Delpit (1995) highlights a complaint she encountered from teachers, which correlates with teachers in this sample, namely that of increased workload due to insufficient staff. Meetings according to one teacher who was in management was a significant time reducer, eating into teaching time, and adding to the workload of other teachers who would have to take over the duties of that teacher within school hours. Meetings after office hours for principals were also reported to diminish time spent between teachers and management. In this research one teacher reported that management felt that their relationship was damaged by regular changes introduced by the education department. It appeared that their authority was undermined in that they appeared not to be knowledgeable about changes introduced. In addition they may implement a new policy which the government will then change in some cases after sending a missive to that effect mere days later. This does not foster teachers trust.

Teachers do not only have to act as mediators for children, but can also act as mediators for each other. Cross, (in Freer, 1992:172) quotes, "In all things that are purely social, we can be

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as separate as fingers, yet as one hand in the things essential to mutual progress". From the findings it appears that teachers tend not to consult with each other about their problems, but instead of following the traditional pattern which Delpit (1995:191) describes:

> In the typical school, there are insufficient opportunities, personnel, time and commitment for principals to interact with teachers, for superintendents to interact with principals, for district-level experts to interact with grade levels, for program designers to interact with program operators, or for any level of personnel to interact with peers. That is to say, in schools there is too seldom joint productive activity.

None of the schools reported that they supported other schools or received support from other schools. This may stem from our historical roots, according to Maged, (1997), as educators within the apartheid era may have been suspicious of each other, especially people who wanted to visit their classrooms.

Teachers' roles have not only changed in relation to learners, but with regard to each other as well. In only one school did a teacher mention that there was a supportive network with teachers in her school. In other schools teacher felt that they had to choose sides, and that they were criticised by some of their peers. Cliques thus do not only form amongst learners. According to Bot (1990) and some of the teachers in this research, only their pay cheque unites teachers.

A new role for teachers then may be to learn to support each other. Tharp and Gallimore (1988) recommend an activity designed to assist teacher performance. This is where a teacher is assessed by a superior on a particular skill. This provides for a consultant-teacher type interaction, where feedback can be immediate and where the service can be requested. The two people involved meet to discuss the performance in detail and together work out the detail for further improvement and goals, thus the teachers are experiencing their own ZPD. Video tapes and sample lesson plans can be used. This is only one way to foster closer ties amongst teachers. Other forms are workshops, which address specific teacher complaints, informal gatherings where the aim is to socialise, and other such gatherings.

Added to their new role, is the fact that teachers usually have little involvement in the process of change (Jessop, 1996; Ball & Goodson, 1992. They have merely to accept change. Teaching, Jackson (1992) says, has been proven to be a highly stressful profession. In Jackson's (*ibid.*) address to the 76th annual conference of the Natal Teachers' Society, stated that stress is subjective and can have both positive and negative results

Lack of control over their futures and shape of their work environment e.g. class size, discipline, curriculum development and redeployment, may add to teacher stress. In this study all of these factors added to teacher stress and in the case of one teacher in this study, being at the root cause of a possible depression. These changes appeared in eleven of the twelve cases to have a negative effect on the psyche of teachers. Only one teacher appeared to see change as an opportunity for her to be challenged and to improve her performance as a teacher. A study in the USA found teaching to be the second most stressful career (Jackson, 1992). The majority of teachers in this sample found the stress incurred by changes in education to have more negative effects on them. A French study supports this finding when it showed that teachers had a higher incidence of depression than any other profession (*ibid.*).

Even though what I say next may sound like a cliché, I feel that there is scope for changes to happen from grassroots level up (McCarty, 1998), i.e. for teachers to at least attempt to become involved in what their roles are. They can do this through official channels by complaining though management, although other recourses, such as strikes were also mentioned by one teacher. Atkinson, (1999) says that Foucault thought of power as being a subjective concept, which does not necessarily act from the top down, agreeing with my idea that change is possible from the bottom up. Christie (1991) however reminded me though that even were teachers willing to implement change, there is the danger that they may be viewed as insubordinate and may be relieved of their positions. McCarty, (1998) however says that teachers can be used as agents of change and that they can play the role of critical researchers. This ability to act as an agent of change appeared to be sorely lacking amongst teachers in this sample. Only teachers involved in management appeared to take some reflective action. This may be due to their abilities to think reflectively hence their managerial position. It may be due to the fact that they are more knowledgeable as they are informed before teachers about change, or it may be that they can have more leeway than teachers to interpret change through their filter of relative power.

5.1.3.1.2. Salaries

In a recent broadcast on the SABC News at 8 o'clock (08.01.2000) an announcement was made that teachers at a school called the Education College Programme, had not been paid for four months by the government Christie (1991:150) notes that this is not a new phenomenon:

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"Teachers also face hardships with administration. There are problems like wrong classification, wrong salaries or no salaries paid at all, and so on". Teachers in this study related that there were still schools where teachers did not receive a pay cheque at the end of every month. This proved not only to be expensive to teachers, but was also demotivating.

5.1.3.1.3. Class Size

One of the main changes in teaching which teachers complained about was the increase in class size. Maged (1997) goes on to say that there is a definite lacuna in terms of South African research in the area of large classes. There is no standard definition of a large class say Chimbganda, & Kasule (1999), and much debate surrounds the actual implications of size on the quality of learning, and learner achievement (See Section 2.2.2). Folger (1989), Johnstone (1989) and Johnstone, (1989 in Maged, 1997). found that large classes resulted in negative consequences for both learners and teachers. The teachers in this study would concur with these findings as they have found large classes more difficult to discipline and providing individual attention to each learner almost impossible. This is in opposition to research such as that of Bain's in Maged, 1997) who felt that other factors such as methodology impacted on classroom interactions, whilst class size did not.

According to teachers in this sample, there is an increased workload for teachers with larger classes, as well as a decline in the teacher-learner relationship, with the resulting decline in the academic achievement of learners. This correlates with the findings in the literature (Clark, 1993).

Issues of space and the need for furniture were also present with large classes in this study. This correlates with Flemmer, Hulley, Osner, Paton, Schroeder, Stokes, Williams & Wong's, (1992) research findings that provision is a problem. Learners had to share books in this study, just as was reported in these authors study (*ibid.*). These authors (*ibid.*) continue to say that due to not having textbooks, learners have to become acquainted with how to use textbooks.

In addition, there is supporting evidence (Chimbganda & Kasule, 1999) outside South African borders that teachers who experience work related stress do become less effective in class, disengage professionally, and can potentially become apathetic and experience low morale (Goettler- Sopko, 1990) in large class settings. This proved true in this study.

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Maged (1997) feels that particular strategies need to be employed if quality teaching is to take place with larger groups. For instance Kamwangamalu & Virasamy (1999:61) recommend the 'buddy system' or what has also become known as the 'surrogate teachers' whereby more capable peers teach less proficient learners. This system has been found to improve the social behaviour, attitudes, self-esteem and confidence of both the tutor and the tutee. Research endeavours indicate that learners of all the races involved approved of this peer tutoring system. This was not mentioned by teachers in this sample as a technique they used, though it is a likely possibility that informal groupings no doubt occurred as a result of a lack of furniture.

Although strategies for coping with large classes are mentioned in the literature, there are some who feel that the best policy would be to reduce the number of learners within a class (Folger, 1989 in Maged, 1997). Folger & Breda, (1989 in Maged, 1997) say that learners performed better in smaller classes, irrespective of type of school. In addition, Johnstone's study in 1989 (in Maged, 1997). and Goettler-Sopko, (1990) found that teachers believed themselves to be more effective in smaller classes as they were then able to provide individual attention, which supports what teachers in my sample felt, especially in the light of the language difficulty some learners experience. Teachers in this study indicated that with larger classes came disciplinary problems, though St. John's (1975) findings disagree.

5.1.3.1.4. Discipline

An issue that I had not thought to incorporate in my initial literature review was the issue of discipline, but as it was quite a significant concern - raised by all respondents, it is now discussed. Discipline or lack thereof was another issue teachers raised. Local research indicates that discipline was also a concern for other secondary school teachers as well. For instance Chetty (1995) found that the teachers he interviewed were faced with disciplinary problems. Teachers in this research were of the impression that discipline had become a problem with larger classes, and contributed to negative learner attitude. A lament heard from some of the teachers in this research project was that corporal punishment, along with other traditional forms of punishment had been removed, thus contributing negatively to disciplinary problems, as no new forms of discipline had been approved according to teachers.

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Gnagey (1975:23) reveals that the use of corporal punishment had its roots in the widely based belief that misbehaviour was caused by demon possession, as is evident from the phrase; 'I don't know what's gotten into you' and 'I'll beat the devil out of you'. These phrases represent the belief that the evil spirit would be driven out of the body by inflicting bodily pain. Jackson, (1990) says that corporal punishment has been banned by many countries or at least has strict regulations against it. Supporters of corporal correction feel that its ban has contributed to a high crime rate; whilst the opponents feel that corporal punishment, even a slight smacking of a young child, is a monstrous act of child abuse. Their fear is that sadists, within the teaching profession, could possibly take advantage of lenient punishment policies. Corporal punishment is no longer allowed within the educational setting in South Africa.

Although schools are prohibited from meting our corporal punishment, there are still educators who feel that it needs to be reinstated, as in this research. Jackson (1991:1) describes the dilemma teachers find themselves in, as they have been given no other acceptable recourse:

> The dictum spare the rod and spoil the child, is unacceptable to our liberal society, yet this same society expects its teachers to maintain the high academic standards of the past. If teachers insist on discipline in the classroom, they are accused of child abuse, if they do not, they are accused of neglect...Teachers have become hesitant and nervous about discipline; guilty and paranoid about punishment.

The teachers in my sample felt that they were left with few means to discipline learners - (see section 4.1.1), yet part of their role was to 'police' learners. In addition to feeling that their hands were tied, as one teacher phrased not being able to discipline learners using old forms of punishment, teachers were afraid to discipline learners as they may face disciplinary action themselves as a result, e.g. in the form of reprimand.

Vally (1999), the MEC for education in Gauteng, says that his research campaign, which involved consultation with other organisations found corporal punishment to increase aggression, hostility (e.g. studies link it to child and wife abuse) and vandalism. It contributed to truancy and dropout rates. It provided the model that violence was acceptable and fear and pain were acceptable ways to gain power. It discouraged other forms of discipline, could act as a crutch for poor teaching, and tarnished the image of teaching. Interestingly some teachers in this study called for a reinstating corporal punishment. Vally (*ibid.*) would see this as a way to use fear to maintain discipline. They would see it as a non-creative option, and one which is an easy route to follow instead of finding more constructive techniques.

Interestingly Vally (1999) says that research shows corporal punishment ineffective as a deterrent to those who are accustomed to it. In addition, it serves to restrict emotional development, self-esteem and self-confidence. He suggests alternatives such as rewarding positive behaviour, use of modification techniques and contracts, neutralising tense situations by using jokes, exclusion from the rest of the class - under adult supervision - which should be lengthened if the offense is repeated.

Interestingly teachers did not mention that there may be a need to discipline colleagues. They agreed that teachers should be monitored and be given feedback with regard to their performances, yet some felt that teachers were beyond reproach and would not willingly commit any wrongs. One teacher contradicted herself when she admitted that teachers do bunk lessons, yet with the next breath stated that teachers would not renege on their duties. This is however not the case, as Macfarlane & Deane (2001) prove when they wrote of the misdemeanours committed by teachers and members of the education department ranging from minor to major offences.

Guidance classes were recommended as one solution to disciplinary problems, yet mentioned in relation to learners only. This concept of guidance could no doubt be extended to include teachers as well. The basic concept of guidance lessons could be extended beyond the schooling context to more formal avenues of psychological assistance, such as psychologists. This type of help both within school and outside of it could lead to teachers better understanding the make-up of their current learners, and how these learners differ from previous ones, as well as from the teachers themselves. They may thus gain insight into why their learners are apathetic, bunking school, and have lost the 'culture of learning'.

Teachers in this study all complained about the increasing size of classes. Others felt that the lack of discipline contributed large scale to the difficulties within an integrated scholastic setting. Teachers felt lost in the face of these very practical changes that the education department was implementing. The government was reported by teachers in this sample as not being considerate of their positions. It did not consult or communicate adequately with teachers. This teachers claim is evident from difficulties arising from changes such as teacher-learner ratios, redeployment, change in curriculum, and so forth.

5.1.4. Teachers and the issue of language

Another concern teachers had with big classes was the issue of language.

Hartshorne, (1966) and Vygotsky stressed the importance of language as a medium of instruction in the teaching or mediating process, since the explanation and teaching of concepts relies extensively on the use of language (Maged, 1997). Many writers (e.g. Swain, 1985; Dela, 1994, Delpit, 1995) warn of the dangers of neglecting or limiting the mother tongue of a child. Swain (*ibid.*) says that the mother tongue is important on educational, sociological and psychological grounds. For instance, Giroux and McLaren (in Liebowitz, 1990) mention that it is through language that we come to consciousness and develop a sense of our own identities. Vygotsky (1962) also stressed that language is a tool, which enables teachers to transfer culture.

It is interesting to note that it is compulsory for Black children to learn through the medium of English, but not compulsory for white children to learn through the medium of an African or more specifically a local African language. Admittedly, schools have begun to introduce courses enabling learners to study an African language, such as Zulu and Xhosa within school hours as a school subject. In addition, I think that it is a problem when learners are unable to speak a language, especially in SA where all languages are given recognition and respect and people have the right to continue to use the language that they are most comfortable speaking. In fact Vally & Dalamba, (1999) remind us that according to the constitution all learners have a right to receive education in the official language of their choice. Indeed teachers need to validate the learner's home language (Delpit, 1995). One way of doing this is by learning the language of the learner.

In recent news casts the issue of learning a local language has come to the fore, though the focus has predominantly been on learners. Walker de Felix (1990) supports the need for teachers to be multi-lingual because teachers who had developed their own performance in the native tongue were more successful at teaching LEP learners. These teachers tended to focus on learner participation and group work. Bilingual teachers also tended to use the language and culture of the learners (Tikunoff and Vasquez-Faria, 1982).

None of the teachers in this sample said if they were in fact capable of communicating with learners in a language other than their own mother tongue, nor did they appear to use other languages in classes with language-based problems. The general tendency seemed to be that teachers in this research and in the literature not to share the native language of their ESL learners (Khamwangamalu & Virasamy, 1999). In fact, in this research, the teachers felt that the onus was on L2 learners to learn the L2 earlier. They further extended the responsibility to parents in making this happen. This demonstrated unwillingness on the part of some teachers to adapt to the multi-lingual nature of their classrooms. Teachers in this sample saw language as a problem and not a resource as was the case with some of the teachers in Chundra's (1997) study.

The problems teachers experienced in this research is summarised succinctly by Groenewald (1976:55) who says:

> Deficient language control, whether on the part of the pupil or teacher, may also hamper the teacher-pupil relationship. If the pupil because of defective language comprehension cannot understand the teacher, or if the teacher because of inadequate control, cannot make himself understood, the chances of successful instruction are extremely small.

In this research endeavour language definitely impacted on teacher-learner relationships. It affected learner understanding and learner performance.

Pillay (1995) says that teachers do not know how to teach ESL and this also appeared to be the case in my research. This research did not observe teachers in the classroom, nor did it question teachers on their methods used when teaching L2 learners. It is therefore unclear which models teachers used, e.g. whether they used the communicative approach or not. Generally it appeared as if teachers used their previous teaching styles, even though the situation within their classrooms had changed, i.e. they taught normally and expected learners to make it their responsibility to catch up.

Learners sometimes have varying degrees of competence in English, there are those who are mother tongue speakers, those who are L2 speakers with prior exposure to English and then those with limited previous experience of the English language (Carrim & Soudien, 1999). Being African, middle class and proficient in English is very different from being African working class from a rural are and not having any English at all they continue to say. Factors mentioned in Chapter Two such as exposure to English prior to integration, whether or not English is spoken at home, whether or not the learner is an extrovert, are all aspects teachers

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should be aware of. For L2 learners who appear to be more fluent in the English language, there seems to be negative labelling, from L2 speakers less propitious with the language (Chetty, 1995; Chundra, 1997). Teachers need to be aware of these factors and need to educate themselves as to how to teach ESL learners if they are experiencing difficulty in this regard.

Solutions which were mentioned in the literature, such as giving extra lessons and explaining lessons slowly, (Chetty, 1995) were mentioned by some of the interviewed teachers as methods which they not only recommended to other educators, but were also employed by themselves, as the aim was to teach a L2 learner another language. Using group work is also important, as this is supportive and allows individuals to ask questions. It provides more learning practice as well as the ability to hear the first language spoken. None of the teachers mentioned this as a strategy, which they employ, although it would make sense to use this method with the larger numbers of learners in classes. In addition teachers should try not to dominate talk (Appleton, in Laurence, 1998).

For instance, they may need to know that technical language should be actively taught in each subject (Vygotsky, 1962; Cummins in Chetty, 1995; Akhurst, 2000). Techniques such as seating weaker learners in front, simplifying the language used when giving instructions, repeating explanations, and using additional supportive material, e.g. visual, as well as practical supplementation could be used. Other strategies are: checking learner understanding, giving them shorter oral times, and limiting the tendency to over-correct.

Teachers need to realise that factors such as gender, personality (Cann, 1992; Dela, 1994), fear (Odendaal, 1991), if learners speak English at home (Dela, 1994), when the learner first learned to speak English (Fromkin & Rodman, 1988), their attitude towards the language, realising that learners may be speaking an nth language (Padilla, 1990 & Chetty, 1995), that inner speech differs from normal conversation (Vygotsky, 1962; Akhurst, 2000; Cummins in Lemmer, 1993) influence language acquisition. Dela (1994) adds that forcing learners to monitor their language will typically produce silence (Dela, 1994). Tharp and Gallimore's (1988) six means of assisting learner performance should also be engaged in. These are all factors not taken into account by teachers in this sample, hence leading to greater misunderstanding of who learners are, how their language development occurs, and what their difficulties within an integrated setting will be.

Peires, (1994:14) says that the use of code-switching ("the alternate use of two or more languages in a single piece of discourse") should be seen as an aid in multi-lingual classrooms. One suggestion he gives is that two 'teachers' be responsible for teaching in one class, with each consistently communicating in English and the other in the child's vernacular, with the result that the child learns who to address in which language. Alternately he suggests 'code-switching', which refers to the teacher alternating between languages either in the same sentence ('flip-flopping') or repeating everything twice (concurrent translation). English proficiency may not result, but no research has been done on this.

Vally & Dalamba, (1999) state that language is used for divisive and segregationist purposes. Alexander, (1989:74), "If we want to fight against racial prejudiced and racism, then we have amongst other things to break down the language barrier". He continues to say that we must realise that national unity is not a question of speaking the same language, it's a question about being able to communicate with one another.

5.1.5. OTHER ISSUES

This section will discuss issues related to OBE, power, and contradictory findings whilst interviewing.

- **OBE**

High school teachers may also soon have to adapt to a new style of teaching, namely OBE. At the time of this research Curriculum 2005 had then not been introduced at high school level. The overriding feeling of teachers, though was that they did not approve of OBE, and saw it as an endeavour, which had failed everywhere else. Croll (1996) mentions one coping strategy teacher adopt in the face of curriculum change, which is that they retreat, i.e. they submit to change, but feel deep-seated resentment, alienation and demotivation. This seemed to be the case in this study. Resist according to Croll (1996)

One OBE strategy teachers in this sample did however approve of was group work (NCSNET & NCESS, 1997), where "everybody gains" (Bot, 1990:46). In this setting each learner is catered for, thus creating a more learner centred classroom approach. This can be done by catering for each learner, according to their abilities (Christie, 1985).

A few teachers felt that there can also be a change in focus regarding tests and exams, which is another aspect of OBE. South Africa is based on high-stake, sit down exams, consisting of paper and pencil tests, where assessment is final rather than formative (Jansen 1995). Continuous assessment is to be implemented (Gultig, 1997), with the aim of development critical thinking skills in learners ((Alexander, 1990; Gultig, 1997; Reeves, 1999).

Jessop (1996) comments on how teachers feel that amassing knowledge leads to greater personal benefits. Teachers wanted more education themselves She comments on how this may lead to salary increases. It is also possible that this perception of knowledge attainment explains why some teachers still see learners as sponges, who are there simply to absorb knowledge. forces, change in methodology see OBE elsewhere. See Chapter One Section?

- **Power**

Interesting dynamics were at play with regard to the manner in which change occurred within the school settings. As mentioned in Chapter 4, it appeared that there was a hierarchy in place at schools. Within schools there are learners, with teachers positioned above them, followed by principals. In the past there were inspectors with the education department above them where there is a further established hierarchy above inspectors were with the minister of Education above them, with the president at the top.

The various structures appeared to take for granted the powers vested in their status and exercised these accordingly. In fact Delpit (1995) mentions, that those with power are frequently less aware of the existence of the power structure, whilst those with less power are often most aware of its existence. This practice of power could be both overt or covert (Christie, 1991).

People who were not directly involved with the teaching profession introduced many of the changes in schools that were discussed in this chapter. These people primarily still have power over teachers. For instance, the department has power over teachers when redeploying them. In the case of redeployment, it appeared that it was a top down process, with the department making decisions and teachers having to show obedience. Teachers seemed powerless influence their own future. Vally (2000) says that approximately 50 000 teachers ha

retrenched. With such a large number affected, one would have expected that teachers have some say over where they would teach. This however, did not appear to be the case. In some instance they also had little control over the school that they would finally be redeployed to, especially if their choice was no longer available. In addition, they could be forced to retire from teaching, if no school was found for them, or at least this was the perception in the case of at least one teacher. These issues impacted strongly on the teachers in my study.

In fact, all teachers interviewed perceived themselves as powerless, voiceless, and unable to bring about change in relation to the department. Even with people in positions of management at the school, the education department appeared to have power over them (e.g. in cases of scheduling of meetings, changes to curriculum, course attendance).

Where teachers are concerned, immediate managerial staff also exercised power over them. Two teachers in the sample stated that teachers appeared to look to management for guidance. One claimed to believe in the positive benefits of hierarchies, seeing them as being more effective. Whether this was due to an innate sense of respect and duty or a belief that has been inculcated as a result of the practice and tradition allowing principal to have powers is unknown.

My observations though, also included seeing teachers as they saw themselves, i.e. as powerless and voiceless, in relation to management. From the very beginning, in my dealings with schools, power was operational and palpable. One example is the manner in which teachers were selected, with principals volunteering the services of teachers without first consulting with the affected teacher.

Interestingly practices related to power appeared to be an accepted norm within schools, as depicted by the teacher who expressly voiced his support of the existing hierarchical structure in schools. Teachers who complained about the power that management and the department held over them did not mention any solutions to their problems. Even with teachers who were 'volunteered' by their principals, silent acceptance was visible, as they made no objections, even when they did not want to be interviewed. These teachers seemed to defer authority to the principal and to obey him. Even when one principal was reminded of the criterion that teachers be willing participants he nonchalantly waved aside my concerns, by literally raising his hand in a sweeping motion (as if swatting a fly), indicating the casual exercise of his power. The

principal's power appeared to be far reaching, as a few teachers were afraid of honestly expressing their opinions for fear that their principal may censor their comments. There appeared to be an attitude of acceptance of things as they were. In fact, a negative opinion was expressed of those teachers who were willing to go on strike to change conditions which management and the department lauded over them, by one teacher.

In only one setting did there appear to be a reversal of the power play found at the other schools. At Sihle the power principle came into play by deferment to a 'lesser' staff member. In this case, the acting principal had to ask his deputy for permission before allowing me access to conduct research at the school. Teachers at this school also appeared to have more power in determining whether or not they wanted to be interviewed. I wondered if what I had seen at this school, in terms of deferment of power, was a reflection of a shift in the traditional power dynamic, where teachers were given more say as a result of the fact that the person in the principal's seat was an acting-principal. In fact, the school had seen constant change in their management and had not had a head for three years.

Even within the classroom arrangement, power is exercised. Delpit (1995) feels that there is power practiced by the teacher over the learners, by the publisher and textbooks over the learner, in that they have the power to prescribe what is to be learned. The government even has an unseen hand exercising power over learners in that it lays down compulsory education.

With regard to the perception of power from the learners' perspective, this thesis will not be able to expand as no learners were interviewed. However a simple statement on the matter I think will suffice, in that teachers have to learn to enjoy their new role as mediators and facilitators, where they alone do not have power. Delpit (1995) says that the teacher must not be the only expert in class as to do so would disempower learners.

Overall then, I saw the position teachers found themselves in as one, which was difficult to change, yet not insurmountable. Initially I thought that this view I held was optimistic, perhaps, as I may not have been aware of how power could be used against teachers, especially as Christie (1991) reminded me that even when teachers were willing to implement change, the danger that they may be viewed as insubordinate and may be relieved of their positions was very real. The same no doubt applies with people in positions of management within the school settings.

This fear remained until reading Jessop (1996) who strengthened my view that teachers could take responsibility for their own liberation in the broader educational context. Jessop (*ibid.*) reminded me that I might have been exerting my power over teachers by reinforcing their feelings of helplessness. For instance, in my forays between schools, I was in a unique position to observe differences, i.e. from white urban, middle class schools to rural and poor schools. She (*ibid.*:99) says it is easy to see the latter as a victim of the "machinations of the state and the system". In doing so, patterns of oppression and victimisation are rewritten in that power is constructed as 'outside'. She added that "power constructed only as domination over other hides the complex reality of resistance" (*ibid.*: 99). I was perhaps too willing to see teachers as "silent, compliant victims and constructed a discourse of defeatism wherein the powerlessness of teachers was perpetuated" (*ibid.*:99).

I had felt positive about this bottom up approach and was encouraged when reading that Jessop (1996) agreed and saw teachers as capable of being agents of change and individuals able to choose their own destiny. I had almost fallen into the trap that the teachers who were interviewed appear to have fallen into, i.e. seeing them as helpless individuals, resigned to 'fate'. Jessop (1996:10) makes a profound statement when she says, "paradoxically *powerlessness* as the dominant motif represented a *powerful* constraining force". The failure to acknowledge agency serves to buttress the view that people are victims of forces beyond their control and understanding. Interestingly the victim is in effect exercising a form of resistance when depicting themselves in this role.

Another manner in which power is exerted is by learners themselves. Jessop (1996) says that learners are able to exhibit resistant power, even though they occupy the lowest rung in the educational hierarchy, as she says that they have a sophisticated repertoire of skills that they can put to use to subvert pedagogic practices, which they find irrelevant or threatening. This correlates Wood's view (in Chundra, 1997) that learners can act as rebels. This may be one explanation for the apathetic nature of learners teachers complained about. She even says that we should not see children as powerless victims of economic necessity, as some teachers have.

The fatalism teachers portray can be read in different ways. My initial reading suggested that teachers were indeed powerless and deigned to fate. However I later realised that teachers were very powerful in their resistance to change, and powerful enough to portray themselves as

victims. According to Dovey, (1999) victims send out dialogue such as: I can't fix things and I need someone to help me. She (1999:insert) adds that victims portray the following behaviour: "they behave as if helpless, say and act as if everyone else is against them, claim inadequacy, unable to do anything, i.e. they are hopeless, give up defeated." She adds that the payoff for victims is that they don't have to deal with aspects in life that seem difficult, as someone else will come to save them, by changing what they cannot.

- **Contradictory Findings**

As the discussion in this chapter indicates some of the findings in this research contradict findings in the literature, for instance with regard to large classes and the impact its should have on teaches and learners. This section however is intended to deal with contradictions found in interviews with teachers.

One teacher for instance, contradicted herself when saying that teachers in general are capable of not carrying out their duties as educators. She had been discussing reports she had heard of teachers who do not teach during class time, instead sitting in the staff room or going on personal errands instead. Whilst willing to acknowledge these acts, she could not accept that teachers would knowingly renege on their duties, implying that teachers were of such moral fibre and were true to their profession that this blatant act of not fulfilling their duties was inconceivable. This outright contradiction may be due to perceived differences between 'us' and 'them'. This teacher was of a racial constitution different to the teachers she had discussed who flagrantly negated their teaching duties. It may also have been a form of denial, as she may have wanted to present the teaching profession in good light. Unfortunately due to not returning after the initial interview with teachers, this contradiction was not questions and the root cause is unknown.

The possibility exists that other teachers did the same thing, namely what Kiyosaki (2000) refers to when he says that people have not lied, but have not told the whole truth is possible in this research. For instance, I was rather surprised when a young teacher whom I had expected to have greater insight into the changes within the education system did not. She had been involved with teachers at the school she taught at whilst still a pupil there. The possibility for greater understanding of the changes within education existed as she was in a unique position to compare the changes, to when she was a learner at the school. In addition, I had anticipated

that she would have had a more intimate relationship with teachers who were there whilst she was a learner. In this way obtaining insight into their reasons for being dissatisfied with the changes. Her response when asking for this insight was that she was new to the teaching field and as such had not been present to witness any significant changes and was thus unable to comment on its impact on her. Could she have been afraid of the opinion of other teachers, the influence of her principal? Was she attempting to keep secret information entrusted to her in good faith? She appeared to be an intelligent individual. Had she really not considered the difficulties facing herself and her colleagues, or had she merely been caught off-guard, feeling pressurised to answer on the spur of the moment, thus hitting a mental blank? Could her resistance to answering be that, a resistance, or was it fear, or some form of denial? Was there another factor that I was not aware of? These were questions that are still unanswered.

It is possible that there may even have been more contradictions within this research that I remained oblivious to. This is both likely and unfortunate. Likely, as I was the sole interpreter of information gathered, and it would be unfortunate as an opportunity for deeper insight into the experiences of teachers during this time of change has escaped me.

- **Factors affecting the perception of problems**

Both male and female teachers in this sample complained about the status of education. Both genders complained about redeployment, role conflict, role uncertainty, work overload, an unsatisfactory classroom climate (e.g. increased class size and discipline), low decision-making powers, little support from colleagues, problems with pupils and a lack of management sensitivity in schools.

These factors have tended to add to teacher stress, as already discussed, however the level of stress, its management and consequences appear to be determined by factors such as gender, age, experience, expectations (Osborne in Croll, 1996; Van der Linde & Van der Westhuizen & Vissing, (1999).

Unfortunately accurate estimates of teacher staff makeup are not available, and I would have to make an informal guess - judging from the teachers present at the time of the interview, I would have to say that staffrooms in general, although still largely racially divided did have a mixture in schools thus resulting in a mixture if race, languages and cultural backgrounds.

Differences in culture would be another difference, and would no doubt impac
style of teachers (Van der Linde & Van der Westhuizen, & Vissing, 1999). U
study did not perform an in depth investigation into the differences in cultura
teachers and how this could possibly affect their teaching.

Teachers with extracurricular activities also have added stress, as they are nuι ᴀᴄ..
things in this time, whether it be home or school related. The type of principal also added to
teachers' stress, especially if the principal was autocratic. Both these factors came into play in
this research.

Van der Linde & Van der Westhuizen, & Vissing, (1999) state that younger teachers appeared
to have less stress, probably because their home environments differed, e.g. no children,
unmarried status, enthusiasm for new job. This also appeared to be the case in this study. For
instance one young teacher in this study stated that she had been able to adapt to the changes
within the education system with ease, as she had not known anything else.

Factors such as career choice, motivation and job satisfaction are also important contributing
factors. Teachers, for instance, who did not have teaching as their first choice, appeared to
have little job satisfaction, as they may view themselves, according to Becker (1995, in Jessop,
1996:103) as "failing in a try for bigger prizes". Though it is important to note that it is not
necessarily for a correlation to exist between whether or not teachers were disgruntled and their
worth as a good quality teacher, as epitomised by the two teachers who did not have their fist
choice, but who appear to be good teachers, going beyond the call of duty.

The fact that teachers are at what Jessop (1996) calls 'at the margins' can further serve to
demotivate teachers. For instance, generally they are not consulted about changes that are
made within education. Jessop (*ibid.*) states that the teacher as a professional inhabits an
ambivalent role, as Lortie (1975 in Jessop, 1996:102) points out, they are honoured for the fact
that they educate learners who will be important to a country's makeup in the future, yet their
work is undervalued and underpaid.

One teacher mentioned that she faced this dichotomy daily whereby she was expected to be a
professional, whilst at the same time, her community could not understand her financial

constraints - constraints that were complained about by a majority of the teachers in this sample. In fact it was mentioned that some teachers felt the need to engage in more trade-like activities such as going on strike to increase their income. Government as already mentioned in Section 5.1.3.1. was remiss in making payments too, thus adding to extrinsic demotivation factors for teachers.

Various factors impacted on teacher stress levels and how they perceived educational change. This may explain why there was such a disparity in teacher responses to change varying from potential depression to an almost euphoric state.

- **Remaining desegregated**

Although integration is fairly common within schools, there are still schools today that define the type of learner they are willing to serve, and hence discriminate in this way on the basis of language or religion (Vally & Dalamba, 1999). Vally & Dalamba, (1999) say that apartheid ideology continues to cast its Stygian gloom not any longer through racially explicit policies, but by proxy. For instance schools with high fees might use this as an exclusionary measure. The government Gazette (1996) Chapter 2, Point 5 (3) states that no learner may be refused admission to a public school on the grounds that his or her parent is unable to pay or has not paid the school fees determined by the governing body under Section 39, yet expensive school fees may serve to exclude some learners. Sports is another, as parents may incur extra costs in the buying of sports wear, equipment and transport to events or games. At one school in this study learners had to foot the bill for their own textbooks - an expense which should have been covered by the state. This school, Thandeka, has remained segregated for two reasons, one being the distance from other schools, as it was situated in a rural area, the other being that the language of the teachers and learners in that school was predominantly Zulu.

The debate surrounding exclusionary practices exercised by some schools will not be engaged in here, as this research did not thoroughly investigate this issue. A point to consider is the following: Is it illegal to exclude learners in the manner described above, as it is an infringement on the right of the excluded learners? Is it an effect of the fact that they are exercising their constitutional rights? May they be resuming aspects of the apartheid education system that is being abolished?

5.2. CONCLUSION

It appears clear that it is necessary for teachers to undergo training to better understand the integration process. Knowledge regarding the process of integration, the effects of integration on learners involved is necessary. That training to ensure that teachers understand their own role within the integration context, e.g. their attitudes, reflection on their methodology, their coping mechanism is necessary is obvious. The role management and higher education authorities can play also needs to be re-examined.

The next chapter briefly summarises the findings of this research. It examines some of these suggestions and offers a critical analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of this research. The implications of this research and possible research topics are offered as well.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This chapter will discuss the insights I came to in the course of this write-up, as well as the implications and hopes I have for this study. Topics are suggested as possible areas to be examined in future research. The strengths and weaknesses of this study will be discussed, and finally a brief summary of the findings will be given.

6.1. REFLECTIONS

Bogdan and Biklen (1992) state that novice learners are big procrastinators. I found this to be a truth in my case. The result of my procrastination was that there were significant time lapses between the write up of chapters. The result of this was that I had to refresh my memory with regard to the content of this thesis from scratch frequently. One definite benefit was that I was able to gain refreshing insight into some of the findings - as this study will hopefully have reflected.

For instance, my initial opinion that teachers were victims was altered once I realised that they may be more than happy to see themselves in the role of victims, to justify their inertia. I realised that I had fallen victim to one of my personality flaws and had attempted to play the rescuer in this research endeavour. Dovey (1999) explained that the rescuer, feels that other people require assistance, and will attempt to act as a buffer between those people playing victim and those perceived as the persecutors (in this case management and the education department).

Whilst thinking about the process engaged in whilst conducting this research the flaws appeared obvious with hindsight, as the section 6.1.1 below will demonstrate.

6.1.1. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

- The issue of access and the powers granted to control access (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993) was discussed in detail in Chapter Three. What concerned me was the manner in which the teachers in my sample were selected, making future studies difficult to compare

with the findings in this study, and the data offered up by teachers suspect in some instances as their services were offered under duress.

- Taking into account the fact that some of these teachers were 'forced' to offer their services, a more in depth investigation may have been more effective, with triangulation e.g. in the form of class observation and / or use of a questionnaire. According to Lather (in Leibowitz, 1990:30) the inclusion of multiple data sources, methods and theoretical schemes allow research to contest or validate findings. Time constraints however prevented me from engaging in triangulation for this research. For instance principals may have been even more reticent to offer up their teachers' time if I had required them to fill in a form and observe them during working hours.

- In the light of this sampling technique the fact that only once-off interviewing occurred, may have been problematic, especially since no correspondence occurred after the initial interviews to verify meaning.

- A significant flaw in this research was that on the job training (Powney & Watts, 1987) occurred. I realised after the carrying out of the interviews and during the data analysis that there were gaps in the areas dealt with in the interview schedule. This oversight occurred, as I was happy to have received a completed series of questions. Although the original questions were changed and additional questions added, I felt that more research could have gone into the make-up of the questions.

- Another challenge in carrying out this research was that I was the only researcher. This opens this entire study to being analysed in the light of my interests and can only deliver insights that I alone was capable of conceiving. This study may have been richer had there been more input from another researcher.

- As this study was not long term and no observation and prior contact occurred with teachers, it is unknown whether or not they did what Miles and Huberman (1994:265) warn of: "informants typically will switch into an on-stage-role or special persona". If this happened with any of the interviewees, the data gathered from them may be in question if they were putting on can act and said what they think that the researcher wanted to hear. I largely took respondents comments at face value and based my research results on this. Silverman (1993) warns against the danger of doing this. The result may be that I have a distorted picture of reality.

- Having had teaching experience in the primary school has made me realise that there are different issues at this level and studying only high schools may have brought out issues unique to this setting.

- Another limit is that this research did not include any private, technical or special schools.
- This study excluded one race group, i.e. Coloured schools, which may have had different experiences than the schools included in this research.
- Having studied schools only in the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal, may also have elicited information unique to this province. For instance, not many areas still have schools which are still divided along racial lines, as Thandeka was and still is, as a result of its location and predominant language spoken by learners and teachers.
- There is the distinct possibility that the research findings may be biased in the favour of language teachers as they predominate in the sample chosen.
- and that fact that females predominated in the study may have presented skewed findings, as there are differences in the manner in which the different genders experience and display their stress (Van der Linde & Van der Westhuizen & Vissing, 1999).
- Some teachers requested that certain information remain confidential, and so data was omitted. This may have resulted in a thinner description of some aspects.
- This study also did not examine many aspects of integration from the perspective of learners. Inclusion of learners would have resulted in a more complete picture of the integrated set up in high schools.
- Certain logistical information pertaining to schools was not known e.g. admission policy of Black learners, the ratio of the learners of a different racial orientation.

It is likely that expert researchers will no doubt see flaws in this study that I had not mentioned above, and which I may not even have been aware of.

6.1.2. STRENGTHS IN THE RESEARCH

It is obvious that the there appeared to be a greater number of flaws than strengths in this research. Once again there may be additional aspects of this study that were well researched which I may not have mentioned, may not have seen as strengths in this study, or simply may not have been aware of. The strengths are:

- The fact that it was a qualitative study, I think, is one of this study's biggest strong points, as it permitted teachers to speak and be heard - which was what I had wanted.
- My interviewing technique was open, honest and non-judgmental when I was successful in carrying this off, which facilitated rapport with teachers, allowing for more revelations on their part.

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- The protracted writing up period produced greater insight, as it allowed more time to reflect on my interviewing technique, as well as on the content in the write-up.

6.2.   IMPLICATIONS OF CURRENT STUDY

The hopes that I had for this research may appear unrealistic, yet I remain optimistic that if the findings in this study do not accomplish change for the improvement of the current integration system, that future research will accomplish what I could not. My aim is not to have this research remain in "ivory tower" institutions (Jessop, 1996:95) merely for the purpose of a degree, but I hope that positive change will occur as a result of this thesis.

- It is my sincere wish that complaints raised by teachers will hopefully be heard by people who have the power to affect change within the education system. Issues teachers raised such as OBE, the passing system, the internal exam will hopefully be re-examined as a result. One way I will attempt to achieve this is by sending copies of this thesis to each of the schools involved in this study.

- Chetty (1995: abstract) announced that "most present day teachers were trained for mono-cultural schools and have little or no experience of multi-cultural education". There is scope in providing teachers with training. This can occur, at government level, but I am aware of schools who have taken it upon themselves to fill whatever lacuna is present in their schools. Schools can thus become resourceful and creative as individual entities. At a governmental level, this can take the form of language instruction for teachers. Chetty (*ibid.*) continues to say that 69% Black teachers are not proficient in English, according to studies (Nel, 1986) conducted in Kwazulu-Natal - portraying a definite need in this area. English and content subject teachers could be taught how to teach second language speakers. For instance, speaking slower, (Chetty, 1995; Vally and Dalamba, 1999) giving shorter instructions, repeating work often (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Lemmer, 1993), seating weaker learners near the front of the class for ease of access, are methods that should assist L2 learners. Teachers who read this thesis, for instance those in the schools who were interviewed, may utilise some of the techniques mentioned in Chapter Two (Section 2.3.2) and Five (Section 5.1.4) to the benefit of the practice and their learners' academic performance.

- A suggestion to create a more supportive network is to explore the possibility to network across classrooms within the same school as well across schools. Cross, (in Freer 1992:172

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quotes Booker, T. Washington, who stated: "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as fingers, yet as one hand in the things essential to mutual progress". Judging from the work of Penny *et al.* (1991-2:15) no cross-pollination was reported across subjects within the same school, never mind across schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal where teachers were experiencing problems. Hopefully teachers will realise the need to network on their own even if no official ventures are engaged in to force its happening.

- Self and peer assessment within schools has been found to be effective (Lubisi *et. al.* 1997; Gultig, 1997), and as suggested by teachers in the sample, should be reintroduced,, and should take the form of constructive criticism.

Below follow some suggestions to assist teachers in their integrated schooling environments.

6.2.1 Suggestions

There are various things that can be done to assist teachers to cope better with stress as well as the changes within education :

- Stress management workshops at schools or outside venues could be organised by teachers themselves, e.g. the guidance teacher.

- In recent newscasts it has become evident that there are many proponents for the learning of a local language. The learning of an African language (Heugh, 1990; Vally & Dalamba, 1999) will greatly improve teacher effectiveness in an multi-linguistic setting (Tikunoff and Vasquez-Faria, 1982).

- English proficiency should be improved if teachers need this (Southey, 1990). Attendance of language courses, speaking more English with learners, networking with English teachers, and perhaps working in schools where the medium of instruction is English should vastly improve any teacher's vocabulary.

- Schools should network to learn from each other's handling of difficulties, as well as sharing of resources, e.g. team teaching (Flemmer, Hulley, Osner, Paton, Schroeder, Stokes, Williams & Wong, 1992).

- Community involvement may also be able to assist with resource provision, e.g. parent volunteer to act as teacher assistants and technological contributions such as donating computers could be made.

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- In service training programmes could be run for staff to assist them in dealing with for instance, race and disciplinary issues.
- Schools need to spell out their policies in clear terms, e.g. language policy, creating new ones if the previous policies are no longer appropriate.
- Greater staff involvement in the making of policy, as well as involvement in the drawing up of their job descriptions and work details could be attempted.
- The class needs to be seen as a collaborative community, capable of assisting one another, whether the transfer of knowledge is from learner to learner or from learner to teacher.
- Future provisions for black and other underprivileged schools, should be made, as Wedekind & Harley, (1997) suggest. This can be carried out by the government or by the school itself, as one school in this sample attempted.
- The education department could attempt to slow down change, and to consult with provincial government, management, teachers and parents.
- Integration programmes should also be implemented for both teachers and learners.

6.3. POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Hammersley in Silverman (1993) states that qualitative research assists in policy making as it is flexible, occurs with people in their natural context, and causes, as well as outcomes of a phenomenon can be studied. This study provides the basis for numerous other qualitative research ventures.

Just the fact that South Africa now has a new education system is fodder enough for future research. One of the teachers at Mohammed High said: *Elections coming up, new government* at the time of interviewing, implying that with the new government's policies, and the new education minister new changes were no doubt still going to occur. Already as I write this thesis the face of education is changing even more.

There is potential to examine the situation from that of government employees. Discovering their attitudes towards teachers, management staff and learners. The difficulties that they experienced in terms of thinking up appropriate policy and implementing these can be explored. One new aspect that the government is trying to implement within schools is the new curriculum, Curriculum 21. In the United Kingdom when a new curriculum was introduced, the entire process, and teachers' reactions to this change was examined (Croll, 1996). Feelings

towards the origins and consequences of implementing a new curriculum into a South African context can be examined. The effects of the new curriculum and how it affects high schools, once it is implemented, can also be researched, from positions of management, teaching staff as well as learners.

Studying multi-cultural schooling from the learners' perspective, as far as I know, has been done locally, but predominantly in ex-HOD schools (Chetty, 1995; Dela 1994; Moonsamy, 1995; Pillay, 1995). There is however scope for finding out how the various race groups feel about being integrated in previously divided schools e.g. how the obvious cultural and language aspects impact on them.

Within the classroom itself there is potential to speak to Black learners about their suggestions for improved English language usage. English mother tongue speakers can share their frustrations with the system e.g. do they feel that the work pace is being slowed down.

It would also be interesting to see how teachers may have to adapt to the culture of a school, if they were in a previous school that differed from their current one, or if they belong to a racial orientation different to that of the majority of learners.

Investigating the techniques teachers use in their classes to teach ESL may also prove useful to understanding the types of difficulties both teachers and integrated learners face.

This research was only conducted in government schools. It would be interesting to see what issues private schools would conjure up, from the perspective of teachers, principals and learners.

Studies, which choose to replicate mine, may wish to have a bigger sample of schools
They may also choose to conduct the interviews in the mother tongue of the interviewee.

These suggestions are merely that and are in no way intended to be prescriptive for any future researcher. The list is not all inclusive as can be noted from the fact that suggestions for future studies are scattered in Chapter Five.

6.4. SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

The face of education within South Africa is changing. It has been so since the 1970's, and is still in the process of change - a makeover that may continue for many years to come.

The desire to have an education system no longer divided along racial lines has resulted in the integration occurring in schools today. South Africa still needs to learn what other countries that have attempted integration have already experienced. For instance, researchers in the Unites States found that when the process of desegregation was introduced, the preconceived idea that race relations would improve over time on their own (Slavin in Hawley, 1980) did not prove true, i.e. Allport's contact theory worked in laboratories, but appeared to need special intervention within classrooms. This not only appears to be the case for learners, but applies to teachers as well - mere contact with learners does not improve the quality of interactions over time.

Creating the 'rainbow nation', a term used in South Africa to explain the uniting of its people of different colour, creed and background, is proving to be a complicated task, judging from this research. It would no doubt be easier to take the stance one of the teachers adopted in this research, i.e. that it would be easier for Black children to return to 'their' schools. The fact of the matter is that children are sitting in the teachers' classes and they have to develop programmes to deal with them (Penny et al. 1991).

Feldman (1995) says that education, by its very nature concerns three groupings, learners, parents and teachers. I add a fourth, namely the education department, a phrase that in this research has been used interchangeably with 'government' by teachers in this research.

Problems teachers reported experiencing with learners are predominantly cultural and linguistic. Learners with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds have presented difficulties teachers are having to deal with for the fist time and largely on their own and in an inventive manner. Chundra (1997) states that language can be viewed in a number of different ways, i.e. it can be viewed as a problem, a right and a resource. The importance of language was already expounded upon in Chapter Two.

Teachers though, need to be aware of the importance of language to their learners, within a mixed school setting. They need to acquaint themselves with how language is learned, the consequences of acquiring language in a mixed setting and can perhaps adopt the additive approach themselves by learning languages used by integrated learners.

Alexander (1989) adds, "If we want to fight against racial prejudiced and racism, then we have amongst other things to break down the language barrier". The concept of race has come to be an umbrella term. It has come to incorporate the concept of culture in South Africa, due to our past.

A more sophisticated understanding of the consequences of integration on their learners is proving necessary, to ensure that teachers can act prophylactically in the future. They need to be aware of cognitive, social and academic consequences. For instance, Vygotsky (1962) says that teachers are transferring their culture and should become aware of the implications of this. As already mentioned above, formation of cliques, lowering of self-esteem and alienation of own culture are possibilities for assimilated learners. Teachers need to take into account that learners may experience culture shock, and or alienation (Lemmer and Squelch, 1993; Gordon & Barkhuizen, 1994; Marcuse in Murphy, 1998). Mkwanazi (1992) states that if Black learners are subjected to White, Coloured or Indian teachers who hold deep-rooted anti-Black sentiment, it may have the effect of producing disillusionment and trauma among black learners, resulting in failure or dropout. (Chapter Two elaborated on other consequences for integrated learners).

Where culture is concerned Berens et al. (1992:10) say:

> ... a school's culture reflects a blend of that school's past and present. It is defined by its values, its traditions, its staff and parent body and its current practices (both formal and hidden). A school's culture should not be viewed as something, which stays the same. It changes constantly as its community changes and as the world within which it exists changes

This indicates to teachers that they cannot hold onto their static views of which culture should preside in their schools. Instead we need to adopt Cross' (in Freer 1992:186) view that difference should be viewed as an "asset rather than a handicap". This is the challenge for South African schools. Teachers need to make a paradigm shift away from seeing learners as problems only, as deficient beings, to individuals who offer cultural and ethnic enrichment as a result of their diversity.

Similar language and cultural issues come into play with regard to the parents of integrated learners. Teachers also need to adopt innovative methods to ensure greater parental involvement and enhanced levels of understanding between themselves and parents.

Where managerial structures at schools, the education department and the government are concerned, teachers tended to group these together, in all likelihood as a result of the fact that these structures have power over teachers, as well as the realistic perceptions that they initiated and implemented change.

Broadfoot *et al.* (in Chundra, 1997) say that for successful change to occur the following problems need to be addressed. Necessary resources need to be provided, the role demands of teachers should be clear and not excessive, and teachers should not be isolated, as appears to have occurred in this research. Teacher should also have some indication of their measure of success. Perhaps the regular assessment teachers in this sample called for, can contribute towards this requirement. These authors (*ibid.*) continue to say that teachers require control over their environment, and should not be faced with a pervasive low morale from other teachers nor that of their own. All the issues these authors mentioned are problematic in all of the schools interviewed, although the extent of the problem may vary. Van der Linde, Van der Westhuizen & Vissing, (1999) added other difficulties that the teachers in this sample experienced when they mention that work overload (e.g. additional administrative tasks due to the introduction of OBE, teaching subjects one had not received training for), low decision-making powers, little support from colleagues, problems with pupils and a lack of management sensitivity in schools further adds to teacher stress.

As in Chundra's (1997) study the focus of this project was on change within education and the reactions of the major role players to this change, whether it be positive or negative. These were all issues complained about by teachers in this study, that had originated as a result of changes introduced for the sake of facilitating integration, as well as what was deemed as making improvements to education.

Unlike Chundra's (*ibid.*) findings where the teachers she interviewed admitted that the changes they were experiencing were stressful, but were able to feel committed and optimistic, the interviewees in this study appeared to be more demotivated and less optimistic.

Swartz (pers. comm. 02-02-2001) says that the "greatest source of negativity is ignorance", when referring to teachers and their reaction to change. In the light of the literature and the findings in this study it appeared that teachers were in need of education to ensure greater understanding of the situation they found themselves in. For instance, schools may think that they are allowing multiculturalism, when in effect they are assimilating, attempting to impose one source of cultural identity (Potenza & Versfeld, 1992).

As in Chundra's (1997) study, teachers, learners and principals appeared to have reacted to change in a reactionary rather than a pro-active or prophylactic manner. In this study it appeared as if some schools were attempting to alter official policy to incorporate the 'new' type of learners they admitted. However, not all schools created policies with regard to their multi-racial, multi-lingual situations (Chundra, 1997).

Teachers play an important role in the transformation process due to their opportunity for sustained and reflective classroom inquiry. I feel that this experience and expertise should be used, and that even though what I may say next may sound like a cliché, I feel that there is scope for changes to happen from grassroots level up. Carlson (1988, in Leibowitz 1990) states that we need an understanding of schooling that is more empowering than disempowering and that includes teachers as part of the solution. Macdonald (1990) says that teachers have the ability to facilitate their own liberation which happens to be part of the process of change. Teacher training for instance can be initiated by schools themselves (Chetty, 1995) e.g. language instruction for teachers. According to Macy (in Steyn, 1998), John Dewey had called for more empowerment of teachers and more participation in school decision-making. Shared decision-making is a new concept and will require a different role from both teachers and principals.

The one-directional flow of information to teachers can also change. Authority figures within education may find that a change is easier to implement if consultation occurs prior to its inception, as teachers desire. This may assist teachers to cope better. The form of consultation can be extended to either formal or informal contact between teachers (Coetzee (1992).

It seems more likely that teachers, learners, parent and management will be satisfied with changes implemented if they have been consulted and perhaps have contributed to a particular change.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

P.O. Box 100273
Scottsville
3209
Pietermaritzburg

23 April 1997

The Superintendent General
Kwazulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture
Ex House of Representatives Component
Room 138
1st Floor
Truro House
17 Victoria Embankment
Esplanade
Durban
4001

I hereby would like to inform you that I have successfully been accepted to do my Masters in Educational Psychology at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. This is a 2 year course which implies that I will not be able to repay my loan in service for the duration of these 2 years.

Please note that I have completed one year of teaching at Mkuze Primary School, where I taught std 2. (a note of which should be in my files).

Part of the course this year requires that I do a thesis. The topic that I have decided on ie. examining teacher strategies in teaching second language speakers ie. mother tongues Zulu speakers in English medium schools, requires that I obtain permission from the Head of the Education Department for access into the school I plan to do my research in. I intend to investigate the above phenomenon in Eastwood Secondary School and have already spoken to the current Principal, Mr Arendse, who has given me provisional access dependant upon your reply as well as taking into consideration the fact that he will be leaving the school at the end of April.

Please could you assist me with reagard to addressing this concern to the correct channels.

Hope that our correspondence continues favourably.

Yours truly

C.Thomas (Miss)
Ref No: **NAT - T88**

Summary of responses to research questions:

1. Factors influencing choice of teaching as a career:
a) Former high school teachers, particularly good ones were influential in 38% of responses.
b) 63% expressed concerns about the state of Black education and wanted to contribute, put something back into the community.
c) 38% took up teaching as a compromise - there were financial constraints and teacher training was funded. Also, there were limited career opportunities and this was the only profession open to them, or they were not accepted for other tertiary training.

2. Experience of teaching as different from initial expectations:
a) 50% reported difficulties with discipline: learners are unco-operative, and their behaviour is challenging.
b) 50% reflected on the way in which teaching made emotional demands: teaching required commitment (giving of oneself); the teacher needs to 'prove' him- or herself; teaching requires flexibility and adaptability - 'you don't know what's going to come next'.
c) 25% reported difficulties with self-confidence.

3. (& 7 & 8) Qualities which make for a successful teacher/ factors which contribute to successful relating:
a) 'People related' factors: A number reflected on the need to be able to provide emotional support (two women spoke of themselves as 'mother figures' and another reflected that one needed to be 'a friend, a teacher, everything - educator, advisor ... think with them'). Successful teachers show concern and are not easily discouraged - the teacher 'must not just look at the learning side, he must also be helpful to the learner'. Openness yet firmness were mentioned by 38% of respondents. 25% reflected on the way they were motivated by thinking about the learners' futures. 38% remarked that the teacher needs to be a model to the learners, particularly with regard to a work ethic - 'they watch us' & 'children are very good at judging'. Another spoke of the need for two-way communication, that learners have a need for extra guidance, and that it is more than just around schoolwork. Aspects which would traditionally be regarded as 'guidance' were mentioned by 75% of respondents.
b) 'Job related' factors: Respondents reported on the need for creativity, organisation, knowledge of subject matter and ability to be well-prepared. 38% spoke of challenging the learners' mental capacities.

4. Aspects of teaching which are experienced as rewarding:
a) Evaluation of efforts through learners results / achievements (38%): 25% spoke of those who have gone on to tertiary institutions, and one reflected on seeing learners 'become responsible adults at the end of the day'.
b) 25% spoke of day by day rewards (of being realistic about what can be achieved)
c) 63% were motivated by being with adolescents, particularly those who were willing to work/learn.
d) 25% mentioned certain working conditions eg. weekend and holiday times.
e) One spoke of autonomy and a certain level of freedom which

XVI

teaching provides.

5&6. Aspects of teaching experienced as most difficult:
a) Learner - related (75%): learner passivity, negativity and lack of application to a task, lack of communication with teachers, unco-operative/unruly behaviour ('it's hard to rehabilitate at high school'), absenteeism, substance abuse.
b) Lack of resources and facilities (25%): eg. textbooks, limited access to other facilities.
c) Teachers targeted (38%): get blamed for lack of resources, threats if try to discipline a learner, no status, 'too much attention is paid to pupil needs and not enough to teachers'.
d) School management (25%): disruptions to the school day, no self-discipline (no HOD's or principal at the school that day).
e) Lack of community support (100%): 'difficulties at home and lack of encouragement', 'the moment they get out of the gate they've got nobody to support them', 'they need parental figures', 'the environment doesn't support schooling as an activity which must be first and foremost', violent peer influences and intimidation, 'community neglects school - few adults/parents involved' 'gangsterism is the remains of the conflict'.
f) Unprofessionalism of other teachers (63%): eg. sit in the sun, don't do what they're meant to, shouldn't 'do their own things at the expense of the kids', approach teaching 'as socialising', don't enforce limits, go on strike, forge reports.

9. Change desired to make teaching more rewarding:
a) 'working together, having no hidden agendas'
b) need for teacher preparation, unfairness of some teachers using the stick
c) help with discipline
d) more technical and remedial education
e) bring back the culture of learning and educate the community that schooling is important
f) extensive re-training as well as learning from each other.
g) re-structuring of the department

9. What do you see education
what are your predictions
of ed. future.

+ what do to
(10) How do prevent

10. Final comments re change/ the time ahead:
(1)"...it will take a lot of time, a lot of courage, a lot of work, a lot of commitment to correct this thing ..."
(2) "there has to be support outside the school"
(3) (in teacher training)"teach about the type of pupil I am going to come across in my career ... other problems I can come across in class"
(4)"when the government does not deliver, our courage is getting destroyed"
(5)"the spark has not yet been ignited (regarding OBE) ... our pupils are not eager ... we need teachers to be experts in their skills/areas"
(6)"teachers need to be continually informed ... get people to visit schools ... schools tend to be neglected"
(7)"teachers in the classrooms are not informed ... the first priority must be equal education... we are not equally supported or equally resourced"
(8) when there is drug abuse, loitering, misbehaviour "as a teacher you lose motivation ... we need to involve the community, the parents"

APPENDIX 3

Interview Schedule

1. What made you become a teacher?

2. How did teaching differ from your expectations?

3. What qualities do you think make for a successful teacher?

4. What do you find rewarding about teaching?

5a. What aspects of teaching do you find difficult? /

5b. What are your views about OBE and Desegregation?

6 What coping strategies do you use?

7 How do all the difficulties you experience with teaching affect your interactions with the learners?

8 What changes do you think would make teaching more rewarding?

9 What are your predictions for the future of education?

10 And what strategies would you implement to prevent education from deteriorating (if you had say in government policy making)/ if you could speak to Minister Bengu?

APPENDIX 4

Transcription conventions

[	=	overlapping speech
awww:::	=	extended sounds
underlined words	=	shows stress or emphasis
CAPITAL LETTERS	=	increase in amplitude
-	=	word broken off
()	=	words in parenthesis = transcriber's best guess.
(0.5 sec)	=	pauses

APPENDIX 5

<u>Copy of transcript with codes (colour coding, textual coding), categorisation,</u>

Question 1:	*Interview with Afrikaans Head:*
	It was my third best choice
	R: What were the first 2?
	T: Agriculture, Law then teaching. Not go into agriculture because no female farmers,
	apartheid desegregated according to sex, race. Teaching because I wanted to help, teaching is the most noble profession
Question 2:	
	T: Ya when you study all theory, not practical, in practice you sit and apply the theory. Schools differ- tone of school and relationship with colleagues is not the same from one school to another – depends on admin.
Question 3:	
	Dedication, the good old one – classic – dedication
Question 4:	
	T: Just to make a difference in a child's life – to know just a stepping stone to the truth
	R: anything else
	T: also to be a person who helps motivate and help set goals – work towards and then managed to succeed – remember when come back say thanks – last week [relates story of pupil she taught whom she met again and who insisted on buying her a cold drink please]
Question 5:	
	T: In this day and age education is not the same in this country. Change is rapid in this country – not ready for change implement. Teachers are not self-motivated . Teaching for cheque, collection, dedication out of the window- also feel we barely have just typewriter, no rolling machine[for photocopier], makes difference, write common paper. – schools better equipped, strain on children's pockets – teachers photocopy –money from the kids [implying kids pay teachers for the work]. Classes overcrowded not less 65, biggest 95, our kids backgrounds play an important role, majority from disadvantaged backgrounds, are parents affects their school days – absent, take leave – teenage pregnancy = major problem = disrupting factor Rate of pregnancy high – get pregnant come back. Tell tall story, that sick, just to have the baby – Department regulation say can't turn any child away from school –keep

Margin notes (handwritten):
Sex laws
T att link
Resources
Class not absent
culture

	R:	compared to the past
	T:	in black schools hidden, now open
	R:	[Question children's attitude to learning Afrikaans language]
	T:	Negative attitude of pupils – stigma attached to it in South African context. Negative because not see need for it .-not understand why study it. –first English - second hardly spoken in Natal. Not come across people speak here. Do useful subject work. Workload compared to what it used to be its alright – 7 years – one or two periods – 24 periods a week-4 periods a day adequate to mark
Question 5:	R:	OBE affected
	T:	No, speak in terms of continuous assessments OBE, no not affected in any way
	R:	Population – other races
	T:	No, have more kids who are Coloured, brought up in the Zulu way - see of mixed parentage –three quarters of those,
	R:	[Asked about number of pupils in school .Teacher asks other teacher, informed about 1200, staff of 20 or 30 (unsure)
	T:	Culture of learning seems to be something that is long forgotten. Corporal punishment no more done- contributed to lack of discipline – stick to be policed, now culture of learning lost. Self-discipline is lacking except in a few kids self-motivated majority don't do work feel right to choose to do or not to do – tests taken lightly. Majority work just to pass, not aim high for 80's, 90's. Just get senior certificate and just get name in paper and pity because goes for majority.
Question 8:	T:	uh, in terms of that go for smaller classes because kids come from disadvantaged backgrounds- need individual attention –go for more classes – 75 pupils per help great deal –help in dodging -many bunk
		give priority to facilities that are lacking at school. I'd do everything for teaching to make them happy and not to lack in class. Got to do everything yourself you got to take the initiative – std 10 exam papers – how get, std 10 papers for the first time
Quest'n 6	R:	[Asks about response to tests]
	T:	Do have transition, there kids not return tests if give to them, not do anything or don't come at all, government ….then its ours like apartheid era admin must pull up their socks because suggested importance of effect – indemnity for tests could help
	R:	coping?
	T:	teaching for 14 years, 5th black school – at Lebowa for 2 years then Umtata 2 schools, Salaam private school then up here, what was the question again
	R:	Repeat
	T:	I say to myself my bread is buttered at this school. One school's conditions were worse than this. I'm hardened by these experiences. I don't give up easily, can be frustrating – can't allow it all time sometime do it individual situation as group of people, sometimes as group if people believe what you say change to implement. People with different political ideologies impacts on interpersonal relationships can lead o dividing staff morale of staff is important. If staff is umh got schools not fully form…happy environment at this school failed to unite teachers as one last year worse year divided …tension high because if you're got adverse .. units is in of helping factors if division not can't-political ideologies are there are realities have right to believe what you want to but if can't forget you to address issue = problem, not succeeded in …
	R:	Relationship with ?
	T:	It has affected some teachers more than others , you find there …..you've got to be careful what say , words you use, could

Handwritten margin notes:
- workload
- racial mix – X tension
- cult. of L'g.
- Disc ↓ – corp. pnshm.
- Indiv att'n
- pupil absent'm
- even for tests
- Staff- politics
- Tr pop'y c kids
- Chn. ½ capid.

		influence,	
	R:	Tramp on eggs	attlud
	T:	There are those who go for cheap popularity with kids	
Question 9:			
	T:	don'k know, I honestly don't know just feel certain things in good old traditional system that should remain changes too rapid as res. Teachers have become group grumbling all the time, more satisfied ..think every teacher in country not see teaching lost., that see noble	Tr
Question 10:			OBE
	T:	ask him to act, to develop a System of education suitable for SA not send people into overseas countries and put in SA not have infrastructure SA process lack of consultation with teachers. Teacher consultation what about grass root level , give them ears How would you feel if this implemented before implement. Traditional SA system suitable for our condition, taking into account our historical education background. SA needs to prepare a child vocationally, academically,. Facilities for children. Have at strategic places [interruption –pupil with book wanting to know which section of work had to be done]. Most primary schools its all academic then branch into vocation , go that way/ 3 concurrently. Because better you know, finish longer school then go tech. Skills lack in mass of schools not look at intelligence, do 4 years. Johannesburg, Durban has nearest technical school in Cato Manor, around here , e.g. we don't have domestic school do agriculture, do theory, not facilities, land. No electricity.	vocation schl techn. facilities
	R:	Kids	
	T:	live with grandparents who are pensioners. Parents in cities in rural areas. They've got so accompany them – [keep grannies safe] pensioners day – large number absent.	absentee – pension
		Pregnancy issue – that can be attributed to poverty to a large extent overpopulation, do have a link – forces to have a child – proposed to somebody – prove fertility -contraception is freely available – recklessnees on their part- doing it on impulse attracted to money who buy gifts face [sad all years important, teaching must not neglect 7, 8, 9]	
		Lack of stability in their lives this year have their next year –their socio-economic background bad. Lack of stability affects them. Father Johannesburg, mother Easter Cape, Bizane, grandparents brought up. Rate at which change surnames are illegitimate kids, first as time go by legal, change to father's surname and also distances walk to school come to school exhausted chores at home then go back, see them gathering around water tanks before whole school, not easy to motivate them. Management have acting principal	environment
	R:	is principal not around at moment	BL schl.
	T:	can't say anything because not have proper - .past 3 years not have proper management	X principal (mngem)
	R:	strikes	
	T:	we've had more fair share over the years, lots of internal politics, some solved others not just carried forward we've come to a realistic conclusion, just pushed under the carpet. Academic excellence is the motto this year. Last year we had 163 pupils. 10 passed – 2 exemptions and 8 senior certificate. Situation is volatile, nothing is smooth sailing, never know when erupt what causes it .time , optimum time, because cannot complete syllabus. Absentee rate frightening, [discussed leave for funerals, said can take leave for 2-3 weeks for grandfather and have large families so leave long and more frequent compared to leave allowed in Indian school where one day allowed only	staff statistics Tr absentee

APPENDIX 6

<u>Copy of Cards where categorisation was used</u>

APPENDIX 6

Salary

problems teachers experienced with education department/ government

Teach subject not trained for

problems teachers experienced with management

.c

Non-atten.dur.u

problems teachers experienced with learners

APPENDIX 7
Copy of rough work demonstrating further coding and categorisation

Children

Teachers lives

Absentee Rate

(AJr) - "take care of kids x job taught"
(AJr) - absentee rate ~ death leave
" p ___ (BEL. LEAVE)

Ethical Ideology
SAJr - "staff morale" Q
watch your words.
39.11 "lots of internal politics"

family affected
U(AJr) - Quote "baby, 3rd prayer - eyes flow"
" more from SA - 4 kids sake -ed -safely
" Wk - PS8 SP - mid
Dep 70 ___ P46(S.T)
+ P.47 "
(good)

Tr work ethic:
P47(ST) strikes
" - get rid of bp x working (eg)
P48 - good/bad Tes

feelings Redeploym.

Preparation of work
P53 S.H

Discipline
"If they are reprimanded consider it bec of col"
P58 SP - ___

Race Trs
59 SP - adapted 4 the better

Monitoring
P60 SP - T' slacks → kids often.

Job Insecurity
Dep 68 Q
Redeploym.

Children's Environment
P6. R(M) - leave in darkness
P27 SA - Acc emid __ Q
P37/45A - ___ at school
Behaviour __ offset schooling - parent away

P6 R(M) - drinking
- females selling smokes
P20 U(AJr) "pregnancy rate booming"
P21 - No culture of Lg
P8 R(M) Q thirst 4(R) x

Lack of respect +
P10 R(f) - "expected it"
P23 U(E2) - don't appreciate us"
cult Lg lost P37

Pupil Apathy
P8 R(f) - Not give bec - tho' chose subj
- have a motivate them - P29SA

P11 R(f)
P17 U(E1) - Q pupils know which
P18 U(E1) - WM not done + arrogant negligent
P21 U(AJr) "
P44 S.T - Zulu - paper.

P8 not spend enough time at school
P37 SA - large nos help stdge

Pupil Absentee Rate
P20 U(AJr) - "certain no of childn obsent"
(eg - get photocopy implied money)
P21 U(AJr) [REP] Girls picked up
P39 S(AJr) - Pension day

Racial Tension
P22 U.CE2 - R.T on playgrounds.

Relate, Apathy

Race of Child
P8 Black - no thirst 4(R)
P17 - Indian pupils influenced
Culture
P45 (S.T) eg. no typing

Guidance - find (See)
P76. Career guidance

S.

Government
(Chn. P75)
Disorganised "get act tog"
bureaucracy - corrupt
non - functional
- finance

Prioritise education vs defence
P74 (→ distribution
Redeploy increase)

Large Nos - overcrowded
- no indiv att __ classes
P30 SA - 70 - 100 pupils
- 48 stadium
- the contexts - delays
P37 S(AJr)

P4 U(E1) - (Q) - being on excess
- shove + Redeployment issue
- feelings - P18 U(E1)
P24 U(E2) - 3 choices - fired.
P68 - P80. org
Insensitive 2 T' needs

P8 U(E1) - also effect on
23 U(E2) Just a no.

Failure
P6 (R.m) - cannot fail
P72/3 - need 2/
- doing + bare min. bec going 2 pass"
P23 U.E2 (U is purely ac.")

EXAM - ORIENTED SCHOOL
P21 U(AJr) - kids have energy
" Language in © - do away - Afr
learn Zulu

Internal Matric + Cont Assess
P23 U(E2) - find nos
___

Conditional Transfer
Bec - age - P34 SA

Failed matrics
P39 SA - not return

X Free Ed
P23 UE2
→ P28 SA - not buying acc bks
(personally feel expensive
- observed clothing @ Sihle)
" They are lazy - no cult of L9 "
- Buy texts P32 - SA.
→ failure rate

Salary
P29 SA - stories - nos cont
P47 S.T
P66 Dep find scm.
P58 SP fin resv arr __
- ded" out III

Environment
P23 U(E2) Qs: "work under trying conditns"
P6 R(M) + lack of Resources
P23 U(E2) Textbooks (Q)
- computer studies - x texts
P11 R(f)
P13 R(f) Furniture

WORKLOAD - Paperwork
- 42 /45 periods (Q) (REP)
- no teaching - free - invigilate
- Photocopy during double shift " family
- "We're doing double shift"

Teach. lower standard
P18 U(E1) - Q all
P24 U(E2) x grad
subject specialisation
P22 U(E2) - New at subject

PARENTS
P21 U(AJr)(Q) "apathy from parents
- PTA meetings.

management + Workload
Dep 69 - free lesson class.
→ Resp 4 admin.

management
P36 S(AJr)
Tone of schl - dep on admin.
P39 S(AJr) - "not have proper management past 3 year

P28 SA

Umzinto
- large classes - no furniture
- "exam - oriented school" system
No. of periods teach.
→ (?) Check.
- Redeployment
- Resources - stationery, chalk... → Texts
farm..
- Racial Tension - UE2 AJr
- Problematic → Continuous Assess.
- Language " "
- 10 school

Roseville
- large classes.
Typewriter; no photocopier
no electricity, no phone

Bihle
- large classes.

Scottburgh
but sorted out - P74 S.T
P43 (Scott. Typ) - building __
- added T.
P39
P44 "not happened here"
P46 - fortunately
Res - do as like __
Culture P48 (S.T)

Environment
Failure rate

Language P44 S.T
Ch. 2 form (3)
Dep 57 + S(AJr) 37.

LOST LEAVE

+ ex oriented
Dep 74 (3) subject in
+ U(AJr) - P21. 2"

Poor gov. org.
needed
cont to them eg.