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PUPILS FROM INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN INDIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS: GUIDELINES FOR THE EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGIST.

by

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ABSTRACT

Since 1989 most of the schools in Lenasia which were under the auspices of the now dissolved House of Delegates, began to admit black children. Most of these children live at the informal settlements in Lenasia. Soon after the admission of these children many Indian teachers expressed their difficulties with them, especially with regard to language, teaching and learning. Teachers also complained that children from the informal settlement lacked discipline, they often came to school late and they had difficulty in completing their homework. As a result of the several complaints from teachers the researcher decided to conduct a study on the experiences of children from the informal settlements at predominantly Indian schools in Lenasia. A pilot study revealed that the experiences of the children at the informal settlements also needed to be taken into consideration.

Standard six children from the informal settlements, parents from the settlements and members of the camp education committee were identified as the target populations in the study. A qualitative research design that is explorative, descriptive and contextual, specifically to the experiences of standard six children from the informal settlements was used for the study. The study was conducted in two distinct phases.

Phase one of the study involved the collection of data on the experiences of standard six children from the informal settlements both at their schools as well as their place of residence. Data was collected through the use of phenomenological interviews, focus group discussions, life studies and a projective test.

Phase one of the study also focused on the analysis of the data that were obtained. The analysis of the data showed that children from the informal settlements had several negative experiences both at their schools as well as at the informal settlements which caused them to feel disempowered.
The final objective of phase one of the study involved the contextualisation of the findings of this study with other studies conducted both nationally and internationally. Findings similar, different and unique to this study were identified and discussed.

In the second phase of the study guidelines for an intervention approach for children from the informal settlements - by educational psychologists - were described. Empowerment of children from the informal settlements was identified as the main aspect of the approach which would be used as a means of intervention to help the children involved in the study to cope with their experiences at their schools as well as at the informal settlements. As such, an approach using parents (P), adults (A) and children (C) from the informal settlements in the training (T) of skills (S) was designed. Subsequently, the approach was called the PACTS Approach of Empowerment. This approach is composed of six different stages which consists of specific forms of empowerment occurring at each stage.

The PACTS Approach of Empowerment was evaluated by four different educational psychologists and their feedback was incorporated into the Approach. Recommendations were made for implementing the PACTS Approach of Empowerment in practice, research and education.
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The creation of a new democratic government in South Africa will undoubtedly result in tremendous political, economic and social changes in all spheres of life. This new government would have to address issues such as housing, unemployment and education which are vital to the black majority group in the country who had previously been disadvantaged by discriminatory laws (Hayes, 1990; Deacon, 1991). Such laws resulted in the lack of adequate provision of housing and educational facilities for most black people in South Africa (Hartshorne, 1992; Van Zyl, 1991). As a result millions of homeless people have occupied land scattered all over the country and have set up informal settlements in most urban areas (Smith, 1992; De Beer, 1989; Minnaar, 1994). Such settlements have been, and still are, plagued with immense difficulties brought about by the lack of water, electricity, health and educational facilities. To expect the needs of the people in the informal settlements to be settled within the short term is both unrealistic and not practical. Therefore, one could expect the life span of these settlements to be longer than one would wish (Poggenpoel, Nolte, Dorfling, Greeff, Gross, Muller, Nel & Roos, 1994).

However, this does not necessarily mean that some of the basic needs of informal settlers cannot be addressed immediately in some way. This arises out of necessity rather than choice. Therefore, the present government has to find ways of making the current resources in established communities available to the inhabitants of informal settlements. This can only be achieved through changes within the social structures of society as a whole. Changes in society inevitably affect education and those
who provide it. Donovan, Fordham and Hancock (1986:5) aptly state that "social structure changes in response to political and economic forces that mould the pattern of national life." In their analysis these changes set the pattern for change in education.

With the transformation of South Africa to a democratic country one would expect major changes in education, amongst other changes. The government is already in the process of dismantling the different education departments that were created under apartheid into a single education system. This means that children from informal settlements could now attend schools which were previously exclusive for whites, Coloureds or Indians. Initially, this may result in black children forming a minority group in schools from which they were previously excluded even though they belong to the majority group in this country. Presently, this situation prevails in most Indian schools in South Africa.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

Since 1989 the schools in Lenasia, which were then under the administration of the now defunct House of Delegates, began admitting black pupils. Most of these pupils lived at the informal settlements in Lenasia. Not long after the admission of these pupils at the schools in Lenasia many Indian teachers began to express their difficulties with black children, especially, with regard to language, teaching and learning. In addition to this there were several complaints about the behaviour of these children and their inability to complete their schoolwork. Teachers also complained about black children regularly coming late to school as well as their inability to socialise with Indian children.

In 1994 the researcher, who was then employed as a school psychologist, was called to a secondary school in Lenasia because teachers could not cope with a group of children from the
informal settlement. The teachers were frustrated with the pupils and were insisting that these pupils be taken out of the school. When the researcher visited the school and spoke to the children he was greatly troubled by what the pupils said. They complained about the teachers and Indian pupils being racist and unkind. Some of these children broke down in tears as they began to relate some of the things which were happening to them at the school. The researcher immediately realised that the "problems" which were expressed by the teachers were actually symptomatic of the difficulties which the children from the informal settlements were experiencing. This motivated the researcher to conduct a study on the experiences of children from the informal settlements at the schools in Lenasia.

1.3 THE RATIONALE OF THE RESEARCH

In 1991 the Greater Lenasia Admission Committee was formed to control the placement of black children at Indian schools in Lenasia. The committee gave priority to the placement of pupils living in the informal settlements in the area. This resulted in the placement of black pupils in almost every school in Lenasia.

The admission of children from the informal settlements at the schools in Lenasia has resulted in several problems mostly because of the language and cultural differences between pupils. Currently, several research projects are being conducted to address these academic difficulties. However, there is a serious lack of studies focusing on the experiences of these children at such schools.

Research has indicated that children from disadvantaged backgrounds probably have poor self-esteem and negative self-concepts (Atherley, 1990; Whistler, 1991). Similar findings have been noted with children belonging to minority groups in the United States of America (Donovan, et al., 1986). Children from informal settlements are in a peculiar situation in South Africa
since they have experiences of being disadvantaged and within the school context they may also have experiences of being a minority group even though they belong to the majority group. Hence, one may postulate that these children may be negatively affected in some way because of their experiences. This speculation is somewhat confirmed by the findings of Lamprecht (1993) in the assignments he gave a group of teachers studying at the Rand Afrikaans University. More than 90% of the teachers indicated that in their opinion black children have poor self concepts.

In any event one is aware that the experiences of children from informal settlements may be both positive and negative, for example, the opportunity to be exposed to different cultures may be a positive experience whilst racial conflict may be a negative experience. Educational psychologists need to be aware of the experiences of children from the informal settlements - as a minority group as well as a disadvantaged group - at predominantly Indian schools.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

As pupils from informal settlements become integrated in Indian secondary schools one would expect them to have educational and psychological experiences which are different from Indian children already in these schools. Their experiences may be influenced by their minority group status within the school as well as being inhabitants of informal settlements. The experiences of these children must be fully identified, examined and understood if effective guidelines for their optimal functioning are to be presented. Both black and Indian children are likely to have a variety of different needs and the process of desegregation should cater for their diverse needs. This point is aptly stated by Hawley (1981:85): "Peaceful desegregation must consider the diverse needs and responses of participants. New insights are needed into the complexities of the desegregation process."
Hence, the problems of this study, phrased in the form of questions, are:

* What experiences do black standard six children living in the informal settlement have in Indian secondary schools?
* What experiences do black standard six children have at the informal settlement (including the perceptions of parents)?
* How can an understanding of the above experiences be utilised in formulating an approach for the educational psychologist in handling the problems which may exist amongst such pupils?

In researching the above problems the following sub-problems would be examined:

- What school experiences do standard six pupils from the informal settlements have in Indian secondary schools which are different from their experiences in schools previously controlled by the Department of Education and Training (DET)?
- What difficulties do they experience as a minority group in Indian secondary schools?
- What perceptions do parents of the above children have about the experiences of their children attending Indian secondary schools?
- How does the experience of living at the informal settlement contribute to the children's school experience?

1.5 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The main aim of the study is to describe an intervention approach to help black standard six pupils from the informal settlements at Indian secondary schools to cope with their experiences at their schools as well as at the informal settlements.
In order to achieve the above, the study includes the following sub-aims:

- To provide a thorough description of the experiences of the pupils from the informal settlements at the informal settlement as well as their present schools which are predominantly Indian.

- To analyse the experiences of these pupils at their schools as well as at the informal settlements.

- To describe guidelines (if needed), on the basis of the analysis as well as the literature study, for the implementation of an approach for intervention with children from the informal settlements in Lenasia.

1.6 **EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH**

The study will be viewed and conducted from an educational psychological perspective. The word "perspective" is appropriate to the researcher since it indicates that educational psychology can be regarded as a particular viewpoint but by implication there are other viewpoints on the same matter. The following discussion would attempt to provide a definition of educational psychology and would also examine its relevance to the present study in terms of the role of the educational psychologist.

Unlike the psychology of education (Grinder, 1981; Bierly, 1981; Woolfolk & McCune-Nicolich, 1984) the educational psychological perspective focuses on the needs of learners and explores strategies for providing support (for learners) for these educational needs. Educational psychology comprises a broad framework which encompasses several other disciplines in psychology such as cognitive, counselling, behavioural, social and community psychology. As such, the educational psychologist should have a variety of knowledge and should work with an
integrative and interdisciplinary approach. Traditionally, the role of the educational psychologist was to look for problems within the child which contributed to his difficulties at school. This means that the child was seen as the architect of his own difficulties (Hyman & Schreeber, 1977; Sutton, 1981a; Trachtman, 1974; Donald, 1984 & 1989; Hershel, 1984). Nevertheless, some alternative models contrary to the traditional view on the role of the educational psychologist have been presented and are discussed below.

a) The Interaction Model

This model views the psychologist as a participant interpreter of events who engages closely and critically with schools which are social and interactive institutions. The educational psychologist focuses more on prevention rather than cure (Hargreaves, 1978). This model gives support for qualitative research which is the research design used in the present study. Qualitative research enables a researcher to explore the real life experiences of subjects through close interaction with them and this is what the interaction model postulates.

b) The Behaviour Model

This model rejects the medical model of abnormality. The role of the educational psychologist is to train others to intervene effectively whenever intervention is needed. The psychologist has concrete approaches such as behaviour modification and direct instruction technology at his/her disposal (Tombari & Davis, 1979).

c) The Systems Model

This model uses systems theory as its base and sees the school as a dynamic system requiring understanding in terms of its structure and interpersonal forces for homeostasis, feedback and change (Bardon, 1980). In this context, the role of the
The educational psychologist is to analyse the system input through consultation or direct action in the system and evaluation of outcomes (Burdon, 1980). The researcher believes that the children involved in the study should be viewed within a systemic framework, firstly within the school as a system and secondly within the broader society which should also be seen as a system. This would enable the researcher to have a holistic understanding of the experiences of the children being studied.

d) The Cognitive-Functional Model

This model places emphasis on the cognitive domain. The role of the educational psychologist in this approach is to analyse tasks, the cognitive requirements and the processing strategies of individuals. More specifically this role is moved from assessment and placement purposes towards functional analysis for defining optimal learning conditions which demands follow-up and consultative action (Meichenbaum, 1976; Phye, 1979).

From the preceding discussion one may note that the researcher views educational psychology from a broad framework which encompasses all of the models mentioned above. In addition to this he views the educational psychologist as playing an active role in community psychology (Lazarus, 1986; Kriegler, 1988). The researcher believes that the educational psychological perspective discussed, demands a dramatic shift of focus from curing the individual to a socially oriented empowerment model. The educational psychological model is concerned with teaching skills, understandings and competencies to an individual or groups so that they can deal with their lives in a more intentional manner, that is they would take deliberate steps in improving their lifestyle. The individual or the group is encouraged to set goals and learn skills which could lead to satisfaction (Authier, 1977: 15). On the basis of his findings, the researcher would use this educational psychological perspective in planning an approach which may be needed for intervention with children involved in the study.
1.7 THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

A brief description of the research design and methods used in this study will be presented below. More in-depth information is presented in Chapter 2.

1.7.1 INTRODUCTION

The research will be qualitative, contextual, explorative and descriptive in nature. The experiences of standard six children from the informal settlements in Lenasia will be explored phenomenologically and a detailed description of such experiences will be presented.

1.7.2 PHASES OF THE STUDY

The study will comprise two distinct phases. Phase one will be data collection and analysis with a literature control while phase two will be the description of an approach for intervention with children from the informal settlements.

1.7.2.1 Phase One of the Study: Data Collection, Data Analysis and Literature Review

The initial part of this phase will be the gathering of data on the experiences of the children concerned. First a pilot investigation will be conducted through the use of phenomenological interviews with two standard six children from the informal settlements in Lenasia. Phenomenological interviews will also be conducted with a parent of such children. The aim of such interviews will be to gather information on the experiences of the children as viewed by themselves as well as their parents. The pilot study is necessary to determine whether there is a need for such research and also to assist the researcher in planning intelligible questions for the focus interviews to produce interpretable results (Oppenheim, 1992).
The phenomenological interview is chosen as a method of data collection because it will present an unbiased view of the experiences of the subjects themselves. It will also help in the structuring of questions for the next method of data collection which is the conducting of two separate focus group interviews (Folch-Lyon & Trost, 1981) with a group of pupils and parents. If possible, a focus group session will also be held with the education committee which has been established at one of the informal settlements. This committee will be a useful source of information because it administers the educational affairs of the informal settlements and attempts to resolve educational difficulties experienced by children and their parents living in these settlements. Focus group interviews as a technique will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

In addition to the above methods data will also be collected through the use of life studies of two children. They will be requested to write an essay about their school experiences during the last five years of their schooling life. A projective test will also be administered where subjects will be asked to complete sentences relating to their experiences at their present schools as well as their experiences at the informal settlement.

In the second part of this phase the data collected will be analysed in a qualitative manner. In establishing validity and reliability of the study, Guba's (1981) model of trustworthiness will be used. He identifies four strategies with which to establish trustworthiness relevant to qualitative studies, namely credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. These strategies, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 2, will be used throughout the analysis of data.

In the final part of this phase the researcher will conduct a review of literature to contextualise the results of the study. Both national and international literature will be reviewed to make comparisons with the present study so that similarities, differences and uniqueness of the studies can be identified and
discussed.

1.7.2.2 Phase Two of the Study: Guidelines for Designing an Approach

The final phase of the study will comprise the researcher's own guidelines for describing an approach of intervention to help standard six pupils living in the informal settlements in Lenasia who attend Indian secondary schools, to cope with their experiences at their schools as well as their place of residence. The researcher’s guidelines will be based on the results of the field work as well as the educational psychological perspective discussed in chapter one.

The guidelines for the approach designed by the researcher will be presented to peers, that is, a group of educational psychologists for evaluation and feedback.

1.8 ARRANGEMENT OF CHAPTERS

The rest of the thesis will be divided into the following chapters:

Chapter Two – Research Design and Research Methods
Chapter Three – Discussion of Results: Experiences of Pupils
Chapter Four – Discussion of Results: Parents and Camp Education Committee
Chapter Five – Literature Review and Contextualisation of Results
Chapter Six – An Approach for Dealing with the experiences of children from the informal settlements in Lenasia
Chapter Seven – Evaluation, Limitations and Recommendations of the study
Chapter 1 provides an overview of the research study. A background to the study as well as its aims are discussed. In addition, the course of the study is also discussed. It is also noted that the research will be conducted from an educational psychological perspective and a description and explanation of this perspective is also given.

In the next chapter the research design and research methods used in this study will be described and explained in greater detail by the researcher. The sampling procedure used in the study as well as the process in which the data will be collected and analysed will also be discussed.
In this chapter the researcher will describe the research design and the research methods that will be used in this study. The description of the research methods will include the collection of data, the analysis of data and the trustworthiness of the study.

2. 2. RESEARCH DESIGN

A qualitative research design will be used that is contextual, explorative and descriptive in nature.

2.2.1 Qualitative

According to Patton (1982) qualitative research depends on the kind of data or information that is collected. Such data consists of detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions and observed behaviours. The qualitative researcher seeks to capture what people have to say in their own words and describes the experiences of people in depth. Depth and detail is obtained through direct quotation and careful description. The essential point of qualitative research is that the investigator attempts to learn about the experiences of subjects and tries to describe such experiences as they are lived by the participants rather than working with pre-conceived ideas about such experiences (Guba, 1981, Denzin, 1978; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Coe, 1991; Zaharlick, 1992; Marshall & Rossman, 1989).
In light of the above the present study is qualitative in that it seeks to obtain insight into the experiences of standard six children living in the informal settlement in Lenasia who attend Indian schools in the area. It is concerned with the unique experiences of such children and it is qualitative in that it is a systematic approach used to describe the school experiences of the children in question giving meaning to such experiences (Burns & Grove, 1987). The study is an in-depth analysis of the experiences of the children concerned in an attempt to understand the what and why of their behaviours (Smith, 1981).

2.2.2 Contextual

Contextual research focuses on subjects within a specific context in order to gain an understanding of the subjects within that context. The present study is contextual in nature because it deals with the standard six children living in informal settlements and their specific experiences at Indian secondary schools. The focus then is on a specific social and educational context (Mouton & Marais, 1991).

2.2.3 Explorative

The purpose of exploration is to find out more details about a relatively unknown area (Sliep, 1994). Exploration is used in this study to gain insight into the experiences of standard six children from the informal settlement attending Indian schools in Lenasia. As such, the researcher will show willingness to examine new ideas and suggestions and not allow pre-conceived ideas and hypotheses to influence the research (Mouton & Marais, 1991; Burns & Grove, 1987).

2.2.4 Descriptive

In descriptive research a thorough description of the phenomenon being studied is given. The researcher will take all possible precautions to provide an accurate description of what is being
studied. Data will be condensed and ordered through the selection and interpretation of verbatim transcribed interviews, focus group discussions and the information obtained from the essays and sentence completion exercises (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). A detailed description of the experiences of the standard six children from the informal settlements attending Indian high schools will be presented.

2.2.5 Research Objectives

The study is divided into two distinct phases. Each phase has its own specific objective/s.

2.2.5.1 Phase 1: Data Gathering and Analysis and Literature Review

One of the objectives of this phase is to gather data on the experiences of the children concerned through the use of phenomenological interviews, focus group discussions, essay writings and a projective test.

The second objective in this phase is to analyse the data collected from the previous phase so that major themes and categories could be identified and described. The final objective of this phase is to contextualise the findings by conducting a literature review so that similarities, differences and the uniqueness of the results could be identified.

2.2.5.2 Phase 2: Intervention Approach and Guidelines

The research objective of this phase is the description of an intervention approach with regard to children from the informal settlements who are at predominantly Indian schools and the description of guidelines for the implementation of this approach. The description of the approach and the guidelines for its implementation will be presented in an integrated format. The approach will be directed at addressing the experiences of the
children which will be identified through the analysis of themes in conjunction with a literature review. The researcher will present the approach as well as the guidelines for its implementation to peers, that is other educational psychologists, for evaluation and feedback. The contributions of the evaluators will be considered and refined guidelines for an overall approach for intervention with children from the informal settlement will be described.

2.3 RESEARCH METHOD

The research methods used to collect data and the process of analysing the data obtained will now be described in greater detail.

2.3.1 Methods of data collection

According to Lofland (1971) the following four elements are imperative in collecting qualitative data:

a) the researcher must get close enough to the people and situation being studied to understand what goes on;
b) the qualitative data must capture what actually takes place and what people actually say;
c) the data must give a pure description of people, activities and interactions;
d) the data must consist of direct quotations from people, both what they say and what they write down.

Taking the above into consideration data will be collected through the use of four methods, namely phenomenological interviews, focus group interviews, life studies (essays) and a projective test. The use of more than one method of data collection allows for triangulation which contribute to the trustworthiness of the study (Krefting, 1990). It also allows for a dense description of the experiences of the subjects concerned. The methods mentioned are discussed below in greater detail.
2.3.1.1 Data Collection: Phenomenological Interviews

The researcher will make use of in-depth phenomenological interviews (Kvale, 1983) as one of the methods of data collection. The purpose of the in-depth phenomenological interview is to describe the life-world of the interviewee in such a way that the meaning of the described phenomenon can be interpreted. It is concerned with trying to understand how ordinary people think and feel about the topics of concern to the research (Oppenheim, 1992; Banaka, 1971). The interview is semi-structured, that is, it is neither a free conversation nor a highly structured questionnaire. The focus is on themes rather than on exact questions.

It is essential for the in-depth phenomenological interview to be recorded on tape. This allows for the interview to be analysed in detail afterwards. It also enables the researcher to capture data which he may have overlooked during the interview (Oppenheim, 1992). The interview is transcribed word for word and given to independent coders to analyse. The interview "helps in the formulation of the research problem, the articulation of dimensions and hypotheses" (Oppenheim, 1992: 68).

Phenomenological interviews (Kvale, 1983; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983) will be conducted with two standard six pupils from the informal settlement attending an Indian secondary school in Lenasia. Another interview will be held with a parent of such a child. The main questions set for the pupils during the phenomenological interview will be:

"What are your experiences in your present school as a pupil from the informal settlement?"

"What are your experiences as a resident of the informal settlement?"

The main questions set for the parent during the interview will be:
be:

"What experiences do you think your child has at his or her present school?"

"What experiences do you think your child has at the informal settlement?"

The interviews will be conducted in a private and comfortable setting (Morgan & Spanish, 1989). The participants' consent will be obtained for the audio-taping of the interview and the date, time and place for the interview will be negotiated and confirmed. Although the interview will be non-directive the participants will be encouraged to share their experiences in the greatest detail possible. The length of the interview will be determined by the amount of information. When no new topics are mentioned by the participants, the information will be considered to be saturated (Wilson, 1989) and the interview will be terminated. The researcher will also be sensitive to signs which may indicate that the participants are tired, such as yawning, restlessness and the repetition of points.

2.3.1.2 Data Collection: Focus Group Interviews

A focus group session can be defined as a discussion in which a small number, usually six to twelve respondents, under the guidance of a moderator, talk about topics that are viewed to be of special relevance to the study (Folch-Lyon & Trost, 1981; Basch, 1987; Krueger, 1988; Kingry, Tiedjie & Friedman, 1990). The data collected in focus group sessions usually consist of tape-recorded group discussions amongst participants who share their thoughts and experiences on specific matters chosen by the researcher (Morgan & Spanish, 1989).

The focus group session is conducted as an open conversation in which each member may comment, question other members, or respond to comments by others, including the moderator. The moderator
encourages interaction among the group members to promote in-depth discussion of the relevant topic (Folch-Lyon & Trost, 1981). However, the moderator is aware that he should not ask leading questions which may influence participants to respond in the way he may want them to respond (Wilson, 1989).

In the present study a focus group session will be conducted with a group of standard six pupils from the informal settlement in Lenasia attending Indian secondary schools. During the session the moderator will focus on the experiences of these children at their present schools as well as their experiences at the informal settlement. A focus group session will be conducted with a group of parents of such children as well as with the education committee at the settlement. During the sessions the researcher will probe into the experiences of the children concerned both at the informal settlement as well as their present schools.

The researcher will attempt to limit the size of the group to five to eight members to encourage active participation from all members present. This will also help in the facilitation of the group. The researcher, who is also the group facilitator, will open the sessions with introductions and a general indication of the nature of the research. The participants will be informed about the need to tape record the session and the researcher will assure them of confidentiality and the value of their contributions.

During the discussions the researcher will make use of a variety of interpersonal and communication skills to facilitate the process of interaction (Beck, Rawlins & Williams, 1988; Perko & Kreigh, 1988). Some of the techniques to be used are:

a) **Probing**: It is an open ended means of acquiring more data about something. Examples of probing are: "Tell me more", "I am wondering about..." (Egan, 1990: 141)

b) **Paraphrasing**: It is used to indicate to the participant
that the facilitator has understood the content of his or her communication. The facilitator repeats the essence of the participant’s message in his (facilitator’s) own words. This response helps the facilitator and the participants to focus on the key issues under discussion and keeps the conversation on track (Ivey 1983; Ivey & Gluckstern, 1974, Okun, 1976; Egan, 1975).

c) Reflection: This refers to a rephrasing of the affective part of the participant’s message. Its purpose is to encourage the participant to express more of his or her feelings intensively (Rogers, 1986; Hill, 1978).

d) Summarisation: It ties two or more paraphrases or reflections that condense the participant’s messages or the session. Its purpose is to tie together multiple elements of the participant’s messages and to identify a common theme or pattern. It is also used to interrupt excessive rambling (Boy & Pine, 1982).

e) Minimal verbal response: These are indicators that the participant is being listened to, for example, head nodding, saying "mm-mm", "yes", "Uh - huh" (Ivey, 1971, 1983).

f) Clarifying: It mirrors what the participant has said but translates it into a more familiar language checking out the accuracy of what was heard. It involves helping the individual to restructure his or her perceptual field. Examples of clarification are: "Do you mean that...?", "Are you saying that...?" (Egan, 1990: 144).

g) Questioning: It is used to extend the range and depth of the session as well as to encourage the individual to talk for clarification and explanation. Use is made of the words what, how, who, when, rather than why. It is essential that the researcher is careful not to ask leading questions
which may influence the participants to give him answers that he is looking for. This point is emphasized by Patton (1990: 318): "leading questions are the exact opposite of neutral questions; they give the interviewee hints about what would be a desirable or appropriate kind of answer."

2.3.1.3 Data Collection: Life Studies

When the researcher uses life studies as a method of data collection he requests the participants to give a description of a specific period of their lives. This helps to convey how the social context gets played out in the lives of specific individuals (Wolcott, 1988). It also helps the researcher to get a sense of how things were before he started with his study and it enables him to see how people choose to describe their own lives (Wolcott, 1988).

In the present study two standard six pupils from the informal settlement will be asked to write an essay on their school experiences in the last five years of their life. This will reflect their experiences in both black and Indian schools.

2.3.1.4 Data Collection: Projective Test

The sentence completion technique will be used as a projective test. This device consists of a number of incomplete sentences (See Appendix E) which the subjects are asked to complete, usually in writing, with the first thing that comes to mind. This technique looks particularly for spontaneity (Oppenheim, 1992).

The researcher will select ten standard six pupils living in the informal settlement from each of the five secondary schools in Lenasia. These pupils will be requested to write responses to incomplete sentences related to their present experiences at both their school and at the informal settlement itself.
2.3.2 SAMPLING

The essential point to note in qualitative research with regard to sampling is that the sample is taken from a population in which the phenomenon is explored and use is made of purposive sampling (Sliep, 1994). Appropriate participants are selected because they happen to be available for participation in the study at the time at which it is conducted (Abdellah & Levine, 1979; Henning, 1992).

The sampling population in this study will consist of individuals living in a specific informal housing community in Lenasia. The sample will be purposively selected from the target population with subjects chosen according to the stated criteria (see Tables 2.1 - 2.4). Phenomenological interviews will be conducted with two pupils and a parent from each target group until the data has been saturated (Parse, Coyne & Smith, 1985, Kvale, 1983). The meaning of "saturated" has been explained in 2.3.1.1.

Focus group sessions will be conducted with purposively selected groups of parents, pupils and members of the camp education committee. Two pupils will be selected for the essay writing and ten pupils will be purposively selected from each of the five high schools in Lenasia for completion of the projective test.

To increase representativeness and decrease systematic bias and sampling error it is imperative for the study to have a sampling plan (Burns & Grove, 1987; Rossi, Wright & Anderson, 1983; Henry, 1990; Moser & Kalton, 1972). For the purpose of clarification the sampling in the study will be noted in the form of tables. Tables 2.1 to 2.4 will consist of the following:

i) a definition of the sampling population including all the subjects as defined by the stated sampling criteria;
ii) criteria for inclusion in the study, and
iii) the actual method of sampling.
Table 2.1 – Sampling Population for Phenomenological Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sampling Population</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Sampling Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pupils from the informal settlement in Lenasia</td>
<td>- A Standard 6 pupil&lt;br&gt;- Male or female&lt;br&gt;- Attends an Indian high school in Lenasia&lt;br&gt;- Able to converse in English&lt;br&gt;- Voluntary participation&lt;br&gt;- Informed consent to audio-tape interviews</td>
<td>- Purposive sampling.&lt;br&gt;- Two pupils who meet the stated criteria will be interviewed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents from the informal settlement in Lenasia</td>
<td>- Has a child in standard 6 who attends an Indian school in Lenasia&lt;br&gt;- Able to converse in English&lt;br&gt;- Voluntary participation&lt;br&gt;- Male or female&lt;br&gt;- Informed consent to audio-tape interviews</td>
<td>- Purposive sampling.&lt;br&gt;- A parent who meets the stated criteria will be interviewed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.2 - Sampling Population for Focus Group Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sampling Population</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Sampling Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>- Same as the sampling criteria in table 2.1.</td>
<td>Purposive sampling. 5 to 8 pupils who meet the stated criteria will be included in the study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>- same as the sampling criteria in table 2.1.</td>
<td>Purposive sampling. About 5 to 8 parents who meet the stated criteria will be included in the study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp Education Committee</td>
<td>- Living in the informal settlement in Lenasia</td>
<td>Purposive sampling. All camp committee members available will be included in the study because they are in touch with the educational issues at the informal settlement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Belonging to the education camp committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Has experience dealing with problems experienced by camp children at schools in Lenasia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Male or female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Voluntary participation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Informed consent to audio-tape the interview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2.3 - Sampling Population for Life Studies (Essays)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sampling Population</th>
<th>Criteria for Sampling</th>
<th>Sampling Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>- same as the sampling criteria in table 2.1</td>
<td>Purposive sampling. Two pupils, one male and one female will be included in the study</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2.4 - Sampling Population for Projective Test (Sentence Completion)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sampling Population</th>
<th>Criteria for Sampling</th>
<th>Sampling Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>- Same sampling criteria used in table 2.1</td>
<td>Purposive sampling. Ten pupils who meet the stated criteria will be selected from each of the five high schools (N=50)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2.3.3 PILOT STUDY

A pilot study will be done with a pupil and a parent through the use of phenomenological interviews. The purpose of the pilot study is to determine whether the chosen methods of data collection are appropriate, and to identify any problems that may be encountered in the implementation of these methods, in order to eliminate difficulties before the actual field work is done. The essence of the pilot study has already been pointed out in chapter one.
2.3.4 DATA GATHERING

For effective data collection it is essential for the researcher to establish rapport with the principals of the schools and the pupils involved in the study (Wilson, 1989). The researcher recognises the valuable role of the education committee in the informal settlements and will attempt to work with such established structures. Working with educators in the informal settlements has been emphasised by Colyn (1992). This committee addresses the educational needs of children from the informal settlement and as such they are knowledgeable about the educational issues relevant to children from the informal settlement. Cognisance will be taken of protocol and prominent individuals in the community of the informal settlements will be contacted to establish a working relationship.

2.3.5 PREPARATION OF THE FIELD

Several informal meetings will be held with the high school principals in Lenasia to inform them about the study. Informal meetings will also be held with the leaders of the informal settlements and the education committee informing them of the study and enlisting their support in encouraging parent participation in the study. The researcher will spend a considerable amount of time, approximately eight months, in the field in preparation for the study which, according to Wolcott (1988: 199), is essential.

2.3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher will ensure that the consent of the participants in the study is first obtained. They will be assured of their anonymity since no biographical and personal details will be requested of them with the exception of the stated criteria (see Tables 2.1 - 2.4). Furthermore, all audio taped interviews,
transcripts, essays and responses to the incomplete sentences will be kept confidential.

From the inception of the research, established community structures, leadership at the informal settlement and school principals will be consulted for their approval of the study. The findings of the study will be made available to all the participants involved.

2.3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Wilson (1989: 457-461) summarizes the purposes of qualitative research as:

i) exploration and description;
ii) accounting for and illustrating qualitative findings;
iii) discovery and explanation;
iv) extension of theory.

Bearing the above in mind the analysis of data collected through each of the different research methods used will be examined in greater detail.

2.3.7.1 Data Analysis: Phenomenological Interviews

The researcher will transcribe each interview word for word and then proceed with an analysis of the transcripts. The complete transcription of the interview will be read so that a holistic picture of the experiences of the participants will be obtained. Transcripts will also be given to a panel of experts for independent analysis. The panel of experts will comprise four people experienced in qualitative research. Giorgi's (1985: 10-19) method of phenomenological analysis and Kerlinger's (1986: 477) methods of content analysis will be combined as the basis for analysis in the present study.

The following steps will be adhered to in the condensing of data
Definition and categorization of the universum. The universum will consist of all the transcriptions and field notes. Thoughts, words, phrases and actual quotes reflecting themes will be highlighted.

The major categories represented in the universum will be identified.

Units of meaning related to the identified major categories will be underlined.

The units of meaning will be put into the major categories.

Sub-categories within the major categories will then be identified.

Relationships among major and sub-categories will be identified and reflected as themes.

The final results will be refined and quantified by counting the categories and themes.

The results will be prioritised according to the number of participants that have experienced the same aspect.

In addition to the above the researcher will make use of bracketing, that is, he will bracket or put aside what he already knows about the experience being studied. "This procedure gets rid of sedimented views and deconstructs and also facilitates 'seeing' all the facets of the phenomenon" (Burns & Grove, 1987: 8). The researcher will also make use of intuiting. This is the process of actually looking at the phenomenon by placing all awareness and energy on the subject of interest. "This procedure requires absolute concentration and complete absorption with the experience being studied" (Burns & Grove, 1987: 8). Intuiting is likely to increase insight on the experience being studied.

The researcher will design a protocol that can be given to independent experts for their own analysis of the transcribed data (See Appendix A). The protocol will have a list of instructions or guidelines on how the data should be analysed. The researcher will meet with each of the experts to compare
their analysis and reach consensus on the themes identified. This will allow for reliability and validity of the study, which will be discussed in more detail in 2.3.10.

2.3.7.2 Data Analysis: Focus Group Discussions

The methods for data analysis of the phenomenological interviews (see 2.3.7.1.) will be repeated in the analysis of the transcripts from the focus group interviews.

2.3.7.3 Data Analysis: Life Studies (Essays)

The actual essays of the participants in the study will be analysed through the use of qualitative methods mentioned in 2.3.7.1.

2.3.7.4 Data Analysis: Projective Test (Sentence Completion)

The sentences completed by the respondents will be quantified and analysed by the use of the methods outlined in 2.3.7.1. Quantification refers to the process of counting every response made by each participant and then ranking each response in terms of the highest to the lowest number.

When the data obtained from the different research methods used have been analysed the results will be contextualised with a literature review.

2.3.8 LITERATURE REVIEW

According to LeCompte and Preissle (1993) a researcher normally uses the literature review to find studies which confirm the legitimacy of his study and provide support for the research questions and design he uses. The researcher also tries to find support for the validity of his conclusions. LeCompte and Preissle (1993: 151) argue that "this approach is inadequate because it does not permit researchers to do justice to work
which has preceded their own, show how the new study integrates with old ones, or indicate directions to which their work might point." They also argue that the literature review is critical to a study because it allows researchers to explain to the reader the theoretical basis of the study. The researcher's biases are revealed right from the way he formulates the initial problem, to the manner in which he selects his population and through the way he collects data, analyses it and eventually interprets it. During the course of the study the literature review becomes the reference point for retaining or changing the focus of the research (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

The decision on where to place the literature review in a study is not always easily arrived at (LeCompte, Preissle & Millroy, 1992). Some researchers place it at the beginning of a study whilst others prefer it in the middle or at the end of the study. In the present study the literature review will be conducted in the first phase of the study immediately after the data analysis. The researcher believes that the placing of the literature review after the data analysis will be relevant to the development of the study since this will provide an opportunity for the researcher to recognise what material will be relevant to his study. In this way the researcher will also be able to contextualise the results so that similarities, differences and the unique findings of this study can be identified. The results of this study may be used to confirm or disconfirm the findings of other studies.

2.3.9 GUIDELINES FOR AN INTERVENTION APPROACH

The researcher will describe guidelines for designing an intervention approach to handle the experiences of standard six pupils living in informal settlements in Lenasia who attend Indian high schools. This approach will be based on the findings of the study in conjunction with relevant literature. The approach will be evaluated by peers, that is a group of educational psychologists and thereafter guidelines for the
implementation of the approach will be described.

2.3.10 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE STUDY

In establishing validity and reliability of the study, Guba’s (1981) model of trustworthiness will be used. He identifies four strategies with which to establish trustworthiness relevant to qualitative studies, namely, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

2.3.10.1 Credibility

Credibility establishes how confident the researcher is with the truth of the findings based on the research design, informants and context in which the study was conducted (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Sandelowski (1986) a qualitative study is credible when it presents such accurate descriptions or interpretation of human experience that people who share that experience would immediately recognise the descriptions.

In establishing credibility the researcher will attempt to describe the experiences of the subjects as they are lived and perceived by the informants themselves (Krefting, 1990). A field journal will be kept by the researcher to ensure reflexivity. The journal will record the logistics of the study, decisions about the methods used and the researcher’s own feelings, thoughts and ideas arising from his contact with the informants. It will also contain questions, problems and frustrations regarding the whole research process. In this way the researcher will become aware of his own biases and preconceived assumptions (Krefting, 1990).

Another technique of establishing credibility will be the use of triangulation (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Smith, 1987; Sherman & Webb, 1988). Different methods will be used to collect data which will be compared to cross-check data and interpretation. Information will also be collected from different sources, that is, different subjects from the same population will be used for
the different methods of data collection. In addition, there will be a panel of experts to code and evaluate the data collected (Denzin, 1978).

Participants from the informal settlement will also be requested to check a draft copy of the researcher's analyses of their experiences to verify its accuracy (member check). In addition to the above techniques the researcher will discuss the research process and findings with impartial colleagues (peer examination). The colleagues will also be requested to check categories determined from the data and search for disconfirming or negative cases (Krefting, 1990).

2.3.10.2 Transferability

The researcher will present sufficient descriptive data to allow for comparison by other researchers (Krefting, 1990; Rossi, Wright & Anderson, 1983). To ensure transferability a nominated sample, that is a sample deliberately chosen from the informal settlement, will be used in the study. A detailed description of the methods used in the collection and analysis of data will be given so that similar studies could be conducted for comparison.

2.3.10.3 Dependability

In qualitative research, like all other research, the consistency of the data needs to be considered, that is, whether the findings will be consistent if the study was replicated with the same subjects or in a similar context (Krefting, 1990). However, the key to qualitative studies is to learn from the informants rather than control for them. Thus the emphasis is on the uniqueness of the human situation so that variation in experience rather than identical repetition is looked for (Field & Morse, 1985). As such variability is expected in qualitative research and consistency is defined in terms of dependability (Krefting, 1990). According to Guba (1981) dependability will be established if the sources of variability can be identified. Possible sources of variability
may include increasing insight on the part of the researcher, informant fatigue or changes in the informant's life circumstances (Krefting, 1990).

To establish dependability a dense description of the research methods used in the study will be presented so that there could be a stepwise replication of the study (Henning, 1993; Hornberger, 1991; Heaton, 1991; Watson-Gegeo, 1991; Erickson, 1991). To ensure dependability, the researcher will also conduct an audit trail. This is a technique that permits research validation by allowing another investigator to follow the cognitive development of a project as it developed (Morse, 1994). Triangulation and peer examination will also cater for dependability.

2.3.10.4 Confirmability

In quantitative research the investigator attempts to be neutral by distancing himself or herself from the informants. However, in qualitative research the researcher tries to increase the contact between himself and the informants. For this reason Lincoln and Guba (1985) indicated that the emphasis of neutrality should be shifted from the investigator to the data. This means that the neutrality of the data should be considered rather than the neutrality of the investigator. Furthermore, they suggest that confirmability be the criterion of neutrality. In this study triangulation and reflexivity will be the strategies used to establish confirmability.

For the purpose of clarity and greater detail the strategies used to ensure trustworthiness are summarised in Table 2.5.
### Table 2.5 Strategies to ensure trustworthiness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Application</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Credibility</strong></td>
<td>Prolonged and varied field experience</td>
<td>eight months preparatory work, three focus group discussions, field notes, phenomenological interviews, essays, projective test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reflexivity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>field notes taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Triangulation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Phenomenological interviews, three focus group discussions, essays, projective test, field notes, Giorgi’s (1985) and Kerlinger’s (1986) methods combined for data analysis, literature control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Member checking</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>The researcher will go back to the participants to verify data, after the analysis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peer evaluation</strong></td>
<td>evaluation of approach</td>
<td>Preparatory work Researcher is a qualified educational psychologist and has extensive experience in group work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Authority of researcher</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Preparatory work Researcher is a qualified educational psychologist and has extensive experience in group work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structural coherence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Work in field of educational psychology; &quot;intuiting&quot; (Burns &amp; Grove, 1978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transferability</strong></td>
<td>Nominated sample</td>
<td>Purposive non-selective sampling of participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comparison of sample</td>
<td>Sample reflective of informal settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dense description</td>
<td>Complete description of methodology, literature control and verbatim quotes from data collected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.5 - continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Application</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependability</td>
<td>Dependability audit</td>
<td>Checking with literature, camp leaders and camp education committee, data-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>analysis protocol, panel of independent experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dense description of research</td>
<td>Research methodology fully described</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>method</td>
<td>Audit trail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Triangulation</td>
<td>The same as for credibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peer analysis of data</td>
<td>Research protocol discussed with independent coders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Code- recode procedure</td>
<td>Consensus discussion between researcher and panel of independent coders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmability</td>
<td>Confirmability audit</td>
<td>Independent panel of experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Triangulation</td>
<td>As discussed for credibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reflexibility</td>
<td>As discussed for credibility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4 CONCLUSION

A qualitative research design that is contextual, explorative and descriptive in nature will be used in the study. Data will be collected through the use of phenomenological interviews, focus group discussions, life studies and a projective test. Giorgi’s (1985) method of phenomenological analysis and Kerlinger’s (1986) method of content analysis will be
combined as the basis for the analysis of data in the study.

Finally, Guba's (1981) model of trustworthiness will be used in establishing reliability and validity of the study. In the next chapter the researcher will discuss the results obtained from the analysis of data collected from pupils. Major themes and categories will be identified and substantiated by reference to actual quotes made by the pupils who participated in the study.
CHAPTER 3

3. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS: EXPERIENCES OF PUPILS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the results obtained from the analysis of transcriptions pertaining to the experiences of pupils will be discussed. Initially, the data collected from the different research methods employed, namely, the phenomenological interview, focus group discussion, life study and projective test will be analysed separately. Then the relationships and links with common themes will be identified and discussed in greater detail. The discussion will consider the phenomena encountered whilst in the process of data collection, the results themselves and a discussion of field notes made during the course of the interviews. Examples of interviews conducted with the pupils can be found in Appendices B to E.

3.2 PREPARATION FOR FIELD RESEARCH

The researcher did not experience any difficulty in obtaining permission for the field research from the Department of Education and Culture Services, Administration: Ex. House of Delegates. Since the researcher is a school psychologist and conducts ongoing research at the Educational Services Centre at which he is employed, accessibility to schools and pupils was easily available. The present study was discussed with the senior school psychologist who is the head of the centre. He willingly granted permission for the study on account of the fact that it would be highly relevant within the South African context.

Two separate phenomenological interviews were conducted, one with a male and the other with a female standard 6 pupil from the informal settlement in Lenasia. The researcher selected two
pupils belonging to different sexes to cater for two different perspectives if they existed. The phenomenological interviews were conducted as a pilot investigation to confirm the need for the study.

During the course of the phenomenological interviews and the focus group discussions the researcher observed initial reluctance from the participants in sharing information. This may be attributed to the fact that the investigator is an Indian and participants may feel that sharing information about their own experiences as well as their perceptions on the experiences of other children from the informal settlement may not be in their best interest. In other words, they may have been intimidated by the race of the researcher and this could contaminate the results of the study. This issue was discussed with the panel of independent experts and consensus was reached that this obstacle had been successfully dealt with since the participants expressed themselves more freely during the latter part of the interviews, when they accepted the assurance of the researcher that the study was conducted in order to be able to help them.

It is also essential to note that the researcher had no prior contact with the pupils involved in the study. As such, there was no contamination of the results due to familiarity or prior personal contact with the participants. The first personal contact with them was at the interview. Pupils for the focus group discussion were selected from a different high school in the area. Here again, the researcher met these pupils for the first time. The fact that the researcher did not know the participants prior to the study and the added factor that different subjects were selected from different schools in each of the research methods used further prevents the contamination of results and allows for greater reliability and validity of the study.

3.3 PROCESS OF ANALYSIS

The researcher commenced with an analysis of the transcripts independent of the expert panel which consisted of four people who had a background in qualitative research, by underlining
words and phrases representative of the experiences of pupils as perceived by themselves. Major themes were identified on the basis of the responses made by both pupils on their individual experiences. Further categories were developed as the analysis proceeded. The newly developed categories were then refined in order to meet the criteria of homogeneity, inclusiveness, usefulness, mutual exclusiveness and clarity and specificity (Giorgi, 1985; Kerlinger, 1986).

The panel of independent experts were given unmarked copies of the transcripts together with a protocol (see Appendix A) for their own analysis. When their analysis was completed a meeting was held with the independent experts to discuss the findings and determine the degree of consensus on the analysed transcriptions and field notes.

3.3.1 FINDINGS OF ANALYSIS OF PHENOMENOLOGICAL INTERVIEWS: PUPILS

Major themes were identified on the basis of both pupils having responded with the same perception of experience. The researcher will give quotes to substantiate the themes and categories identified. The quotations will be given without any corrections in grammar and spelling so that the danger of misquoting the respondents may be omitted. The following major themes, perceived by the participants, emerged from the analysis:

3.3.1.1 THEME: FEELINGS EXPERIENCED BY PUPILS

Both pupils indicated that they experienced fear (anxiety), anger, loneliness, and shame. They also felt misunderstood. One positive feeling was also expressed, namely that of being privileged to have an opportunity to become educated. Similar feelings expressed by both pupils in separate phenomenological interviews are mentioned below.
A. Fear/ Anxiety

The perception of fear/anxiety emerged as a theme when both pupils made the following statements:

"The first time I went to Indian school I was scared because the school did not belong to the blacks. I did not talk to the children because I was frightened to say the wrong thing."

"I get scared the teacher would scold me. I fright when I spell or read."

"I don't answer questions because I am afraid that I would get the answer wrong."

"The children tell I did not do my work... I get afraid."

B. Anger

The feeling of anger was experienced when the pupils were mocked by Indian children. This is evident through the following statements:

"I ask the teacher... the Indian children start laughing... I get cross."

"Some Indian children worry me ... so one day I get cross."

C. Loneliness

The feeling of loneliness was evident in the following statements:

"I did not have a friend ... I was lonely."

"The first time I just sit quietly the whole day."
D. Shame

The feeling of shame was expressed when both pupils experienced difficulty completing their homework. This is substantiated by the following statements:

"I feel bad but I know that I am not lazy. They think I am stupid and lazy but I am not."

"This makes me feel bad because it is not that I don’t want to work."

E. Misunderstood

Both pupils felt that they were misunderstood by teachers and other pupils in their class who think that they don’t want to learn. These people do not understand the situation at the informal settlement. This theme is illustrated by the following statements:

"I told the teacher that I didn’t do my homework because it was late but the teachers don’t understand, they say I am lazy."

"Everyone in the class think that I don’t want to do my work. They need to understand what I do at the camp."

F. Privileged

The feeling of being privileged emerged as a theme when both pupils perceived themselves as having the opportunity to be educated. This is evident in the following quotations:

"I am here to get education."

"I get education then I get good job."

41
3.3.1.2 THEME: BEHAVIOIRS

All the behaviours discussed below emerged as themes in the analysis of transcripts of both pupils involved in the phenomenological interviews. Fighting, mockery, avoidance, and name calling were common behaviours which were referred to in the phenomenological interviews.

A. Fighting

Both pupils indicated that fighting occurred in their relationships with Indian children. This is evident by the following statements:

"The Indian children fight with me and push me."

"Some Indian children worry me... one day I get cross and I give one Indian child a smack because they fight me."

B. Mockery

Both pupils perceived that they were mocked by Indian children when they did not understand something. This is characterised by the following statements:

"They laugh and tease me."

"Everyone will laugh and think I 'm lazy."

"I ask the teacher and some children to please explain to me. They ask me if I am deaf. I say no, but I don't understand. They say I am stupid."

C. Avoidance

This emerged as a theme when the pupils had difficulties with Indian children and did not want to get into trouble at school. This is characterised by a diversity of statements:
"I must not fight ... because they may send me back to the black school."

"I feel bad but I tell myself don't do anything or say anything."

"First I kept to myself."

"I just keep quiet."

"I didn't go to school for some days."

"I don't want trouble."

"I don't fight back because I would have to stay absent."

D. Name Calling

Both respondents experienced discomfort when they were called names:

"...they call me Kaffir."

"...and call me names."

3.3.1.3 THEME : RACIAL DIFFERENCES

This theme emerged when both pupils perceived themselves to be different in racial terms. This became apparent when they referred to themselves as blacks as quoted in the following statements:

"They would not play with me because I am black."

"...because I am black I told myself don't talk, just close your mouth and do your work."
3.3.1.4 THEME: HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES/CHORES

Both pupils perceived that living in an informal settlement, where the lack of facilities necessitates a variety of chores, causes extra work. In addition to this they indicated that the responsibilities that they had at home did not give them enough time to complete their school work and this sometimes made them late for school. This is evident in the following statements:

"It's not easy. I have to work. I get up early. I get up 4:30 in the morning because I must get water to wash myself."

"I must get wood in the morning to light a fire."

"I must first go clean up."

"I try to do my homework first ... my mother want me to clean the house."

"In the morning I have to get firewood and fetch water ... I must boil water to bath. This takes time so I get late and sometimes I come late to school."

3.3.1.5 THEME: PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

The practical problems encountered by pupils are a result of them travelling long distances to schools which are far from the informal settlement and this often makes them late for school. The lack of money also causes practical difficulties for these children.

Both pupils perceived the following practical problems as adding to their difficulty at school:

A. school is far

Pupils from the settlement attend schools which are far from
where they live. This is illustrated in the following quotations:

"I walk to school ... it is far."

"... is (sic) a long walk to school."

B. latecoming

Walking long distances to schools often resulted in pupils attending school late:

"I must leave early so I would not be late for school."
"Sometimes I come to school late."

C. lack of money

The parents of the respondents not having money often presented practical difficulties, especially when it was needed to buy candles for them to study. This is apparent in the following quotations:

"my parents say don't waste the candle we don't have money."

"We don't have money to buy candles."

D. cold

The children also indicated that walking long distances to schools became more difficult during winter when it was cold:

"In winter it is very cold."

"I have to walk in the cold."

3.3.1.6 THEME: UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND WHAT HAS BEEN TAUGHT/LANGUAGE DIFFICULTIES

The respondents indicated that they experienced difficulty in
understanding what has been taught due to English being their second language. This is evident in the following statements:

"Sometimes I don’t understand."

"Another thing is the language ... sometimes I don’t understand."

"I write English and I talk English but it is difficult."

3.3.1.7 THEME: HOMEWORK

This theme emerged when both pupils perceived that they were given too much homework, especially when they had difficulty completing the homework due to living conditions at the informal settlement such as too many chores, candles not being available and a lack of money. This is clearly illustrated in the statements below:

"I must first go clean up, I can only do my homework at night ... it get dark and I must light a candle."

"... it’s difficult to learn ... sometimes the candle get finish ... I can’t learn like this."

"... my parents say don’t waste the candle we don’t have money."

"The teachers give me lot of homework."

From the second last statement it is clear that parents are not supportive of their children’s school work. The last quotation also indicates that teachers are insensitive or may not even be aware of the experiences of children from the informal settlement, especially when they give these children excessive homework.
3.3.1.8 THEME: VALUE OF EDUCATION

Both pupils perceived education to be valuable and this is characterised by the following statements:

"I must get education."

"I must go to school, education is important."

"I want education, I try hard, I just want to learn."

"I get education then I get good job."

The above quotations indicate that the respondents are not really supportive of the education offered at schools which were previously controlled by the Department of Education and Training. They believe that the education at predominantly Indian schools are of a higher standard and this would give them a better future.

3.3.1.9 THEME: TEACHERS ARE KIND

The kindness of some teachers is substantiated in the following statements:

"The teachers are nice ... they teach us nice."

"They don’t say you not Indian, they still teach us nice."

Refer to Figure 3.1 for a summary of the findings of the phenomenological interviews with pupils.
3.3.2. FINDINGS OF ANALYSIS OF FOCUS GROUP

INTERVIEW: PUPILS

The researcher identified the following major themes on the basis of the verbalisations made by the different members in the focus group.

3.3.2.1 THEME: FEELINGS ASSOCIATED WITH THE EXPERIENCES OF PUPILS

Feelings of sadness, anger, envy and inferiority were identified in the focus group interview with pupils. Pupils also indicated that they felt misunderstood at times. The feeling of entitlement - with regard to better living conditions - also emerged, especially as a result of a new democratic government. Feelings of frustration and shame were also experienced by the respondents.

The following feelings were expressed by pupils in the focus group:

A. Ease

Pupils expressed ease in relation to their school work as indicated below:

"I find things easy."

"The subjects are easy"

Pupils may have indicated that they found their school work easy so that they could give pleasing responses to the researcher thinking that this may satisfy him. Their written essays (see Appendix D) indicate that they are experiencing difficulties with English which is their second language.

B. Sadness

The participants did not directly describe sadness as a feeling
but expressed it indirectly by crying as is evident in the following context:

P: Yes, I think the other children in my class from the camp feel like me. (Breaks down in tears).

 Interruption -- pupil cries.

R: I see that you are very upset ... (pause). This is very upsetting for you. You do not like to be treated differently (Researcher uses the words of pupils).

P: Yes (still crying).

R: It's very hurting ... makes you cry. This is a very sensitive thing for you (pause). (Researcher takes the attention away from respondent to make her more relaxed). I am wondering if all of you feel the same way as X (name of pupil is not mentioned to ensure confidentiality).

P: Yes (another pupil begins to cry).

R: Y, you also feel upset.

P: Yes (sobs).

In this extract pupils were describing their experiences at predominantly Indian schools. Although they did not explicitly state that they were sad, this feeling was implicit in their words and nonverbal behaviour.

C. Anger

The respondents indicated that they felt angry when teachers and Indian children practised racism. They also felt angry when they were physically assaulted. Another source of anger was the inadequate living situation at the informal settlement.
Feelings of anger emerged as a theme in the following situations:

i. when the teachers and Indian children were racist

"We get angry because both the teachers and the Indian children do this to us."

ii. when the participants were physically assaulted by other pupils:

"The children hit us at school and this make us more angry."

iii. because of the living circumstances at the informal settlement:

"... we get angry because sometimes there is no water and no food."

D. Envy

Feelings of envy emerged as a theme when pupils perceived themselves as wanting to belong to a higher socio-economic class so that they could have money and big houses. This is characterised by the following statement:

"The black children (referring to the children from the townships) come from the rich houses and they want to be like the Indian. We also want to be like the Indian but we not rich."

E. Inferiority

Participants did not clearly state that they felt inferior but this feeling was implicit in the following statement:

"They (children from the township) are rich and they can talk the English good."
F. Being Misunderstood

The perception of being misunderstood emerged as a feeling when pupils described their difficulty studying at the informal settlement. They felt that others perceived them as being lazy and stupid when they did not do well at school without any understanding of the difficulties children experienced when they had to study at the informal settlement. This is substantiated by the following statements:

"In the weekend we can't study for tests. We do badly in the tests. We fail and the people think we are stupid."

"The teachers and the Indian children they don't understand our problems."

In the first quote the pupils indicated that studying at the informal settlement is more difficult during the weekend because people often abuse alcohol and drugs and become disruptive.

G. Entitlement

This feeling emerged as a theme when the following statement was made:

"They should build houses for us."

Although this quotation may sound more like an expectation, the manner in which it was said indicated strong feelings which make the word "entitlement" more appropriate.

H. Frustration

Participants clearly expressed frustration at living in the informal settlement:

"It's frustrating to live in the squatter camp."
I. Shame

Participants did not clearly state that they experienced shame as a feeling. However, this feeling is implicit in the following statement:

"The teachers say we must bath with soap and all the other children laugh. It makes us feel so bad."

3.3.2.2 THEME: PERCEPTIONS OF BEHAVIOURS IN RELATIONSHIPS

Pupils stated that the Indian children were unkind to them and together with some of the teachers they practised racial discrimination. Indian pupils also called children from the informal settlement names which they disliked. However, children from the camp were also teased by other black children who did not live at the informal settlement. Bullying and fighting were also common behaviours experienced by pupils from the informal settlement. There was also a tendency for Indian pupils and black children from the townships to join forces in ganging up on children from the camp. The practice of segregation and the unkind behaviours of teachers were also noted by pupils. However, the kindness of some teachers was construed as a positive behaviour displayed by these teachers.

The following behaviours in relationships were identified as categories from the verbalisations of pupils in the focus group:

A. Unkind Pupils

Some pupils in the focus group felt that some children at their school were unkind, as is evident below:

"They are not so kind in this school."
"They treat us badly."
B. Racial Discrimination

Pupils made clear statements reflecting the theme of racial discrimination in their relationships with teachers and Indian pupils:

"She (referring to the teacher) separates us from the Indian children."

"She doesn't teach us properly because we are black."

"We have problems with the Indian children because we are black."

C. Name Calling

Name calling emerged as a behaviour displayed by Indian children when they addressed the participants, as is indicated by the statements below:

"They call us names."

"They say kaffir."

Respondents in the phenomenological interview also indicated that they were called names and referred to as "Kaffir".

D. Teasing

Participants indicated that they were teased by other black children who did not live in the camp. This is evident by the following statement:

"Some of the other black children (referring to children from the townships) also tease us."

E. Bullying and Fighting

The participants did not directly state that they experienced bullying as a behaviour. However, it emerged as a theme when
children from the camp indicated that they were treated badly and picked on:

"They (referring to Indian children) treat us badly."

Fighting was evident as behaviour in the following context:

"The children (referring to Indian children) hit us at school."

F. Ganging-up

This was not explicitly stated as a behaviour, but it emerged as a theme in two instances:

i. when black children not living in the informal settlement got together with Indian children to interfere with children from the informal settlement as evident below:

"They fight with us and want to be friends with them Indian children."

"Some Indian children do play with the black children, but the black children they not from the camps."

ii. when they perceived teachers (through their negative attitudes) and pupils picking on them as indicated below:

"The teachers and some of the Indian children do this to us."

G. Unkind Teachers

Pupils indicated that some teachers were unkind to them. Unkindness from teachers were evident in behaviours, such as shouting, neglecting and not helping the children from the camp when they had difficulties in understanding what they had to do. This is illustrated in the following quotations:
"She gives us work (sic) but shouts us and not tell us how to do it."
"She doesn't teach us properly."
"She tells us to go sleep"

H. Kind Teachers

Respondents did note that not all teachers were unkind to them. This was characterised by the following statement:

"Not all teachers are like this" (referring to unkindness).

I. Segregation

Segregation was practised by teachers as well as Indian pupils. This is substantiated by the following statements:

"She (referring to the teacher) puts us one side in the classroom."

"During the school breaks we black children play together. The Indian children don't want to be with us."

3.3.2.3 THEME: PERCEPTIONS ON THE VALUE OF EDUCATION AND FUTURE-DIRECTEDNESS

Children in the focus group interview expressed the desire to acquire a good education so that they could prepare for their future. This is clearly evident in the following statements:

"I want to prepare for the future."

"I watch the other children who go to college and university. I need to and want to be like them."

"I want to learn."
3.3.2.4 THEME: ESCAPE FANTASIES/ AVOIDANCE IN INDIVIDUAL

Some pupils expressed escape fantasies and avoidance behaviours when they experienced difficulties with Indian children, as is evident in the following quote:

"Sometimes I wish I can go back to the school in Soweto."

3.3.2.5 THEME: PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

Participants perceived the lack of water and electricity, the distance from shops, the lack of money and the unemployment of people at the camp as practical difficulties experienced at the informal settlement:

A. No water and lights

The lack of water and lights made life at the camp difficult and this is reflected in the following quotations:

"We don't have water and lights."

"Sometimes we don't have water to wash our school clothes."

"We come with dirty clothes to school."

Children from the informal settlement indicated that Indian children often say that they smell. This may be a result of the difficulty children from the camp have in getting water to wash themselves as well as their clothes. Indian teachers and pupils need to understand this difficulty.

B. Distance

Walking to shops to purchase goods is not always an easy task for children from the informal settlement and this is indicated
Parents send children to the shop which is far from where they live. Walking to the shop takes time and this often leaves the children with less time to do their homework.

C. Lack of money

Parents from the informal settlement did not have money to pay for their children's transport to school. Often there was no money to pay school funds or buy things which the children needed for school. This is reflected in the following quotations:

"There's no money for transport."

"We don't have money for school funds."

"We have to buy things for school and we don't have the money."

D. Unemployment

Unemployment of parents from the informal settlement was a common feature and this is illustrated by the following statement:

"My parents don't have work."

3.3.2.6 THEME: STUDY DIFFICULTIES

Participants perceived overcrowding, the lack of sleep, noise at the camp, substance abuse, household duties and the lack of punctuality as factors, which made studying at the informal settlement difficult. This became apparent in the analysis:

A. Overcrowding

Overcrowding at home made studying a difficult task for children from the informal settlement. This is substantiated by the
following quotation:

"The houses are close to each other, this makes it difficult for us to study."

B. Lack of sleep

Respondents in the focus group interview indicated that they sometimes experienced difficulty in obtaining adequate sleep and this resulted in them feeling sleepy at school. This is reflected in the following statements:

"Sometimes we can't sleep well at night."

"We feel sleepy at school."

C. Noise

Studying at the informal settlement was sometimes a difficult task because of the noise as is indicated below:

"The people drink and make a lot of noise in the camp."

D. Substance abuse

The abuse of alcohol at the camp largely contributed to the noise and disturbance at the informal settlement which made studying a tedious effort. This is reflected in the following statement:

"... the people drink."

E. Household duties/chores

The respondents indicated that they have several household duties which consume their time and this makes studying at the camp difficult. This is illustrated in the quotation below:

"In the mornings we have to take paraffin to light fires to make water hot."
F. Lateness

Household duties often cause children from the camp to go to school late and this results in them experiencing difficulties with their teachers:

"We get late for school and the teachers shout us."

Figure 3.2 gives a summary of the findings obtained through the analysis of the data from the focus group interview with pupils.
FIGURE 3.2: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS:

INTERVIEW PUPILS

FEELINGS

ENVY
ANGER
SADNESS
EASE
INFERIORITY
MISUNDERSTOOD
ENTITLEMENT
FRUSTRATION
SHAME

BEHAVIOUR IN RELATIONSHIPS

BULLYING
GANGING UP
UNKIND TEACHERS
SEGREGATION
FIGHTING
KIND TEACHERS
UNKIND PUPILS
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
NAME CALLING

PERCEPTIONS

FUTURE DIRECTEDNESS
ESCAPE FANTASIES
VALUES EDUCATION

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

WATER LIGHTS DISTANCE LACK OF MONEY UNEMPLOYMENT

STUDY DIFFICULTIES

OVERCROWDING LACK OF SLEEP NOISE SUBSTANCE ABUSE HOUSEHOLD DUTIES LATENESS
The following major themes were identified on the basis of both pupils expressing the same idea in their written essays; the actual words used by the respondents are quoted:

3.3.3.1 THEME: PERCEPTION OF LANGUAGE DIFFICULTIES

Both pupils expressed their difficulty with English which is a second language to them. This is indicated in the following quotations:

"I had no problem (English was not the medium of instruction) because it was DET school and we did our languages as first subject then English was coming after our vernacular."

"I don't understand the English."

3.3.3.2 THEME: PERCEPTION OF FEMALE TEACHERS BEING BETTER THAN MALE TEACHERS

Some pupils stated that female teachers were better than male teachers as depicted below:

"The teachers of woman he was teach good."

"The teachers of man is not a good is very badly."

The problems with the language of instruction are evident in the quotes given above.

3.3.3.3 THEME: PERCEPTIONS OF CHILDREN AT DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING (DET) SCHOOLS

Some pupils believed that pupils at their past schools were better than pupils at their present schools. This is
characterised by the following quotation:

"... boys and girls were very happy, friendly, kindly and helpful to each other."

3.3.3.4 THEME: LOWERING OF STANDARDS OF BLACK PUPILS

Some pupils indicated that they had to repeat a standard at the Indian schools. This is evident in the following quotations:

"... they took me back to standard 3."

"Then I've repeated standard 3 for the second time."

Making black pupils repeat a standard appears to be a strategy used by some principals at Indian high schools. These principals believe that black children can only be on the same educational level of Indian pupils if they repeat a standard.

3.3.3.5 THEME: PERCEPTION OF RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIAN PUPILS

Some pupils stated that they had difficulty relating to Indian children as indicated in the statements:

"The children of Indians (sic) don't want to play the others children."

"The boys of Indians is very play badly (sic) is not a good pupils and the girls he was play good."

3.3.3.6 THEME: SUFFERING AT THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

Most pupils expressed their difficulties living at the informal settlement as is evident in the following quotations:

"In squatter camp we are suffering "

"We started living without an electric, water
and many thing."
"We use one tap to fetch water"
"We living in zinc houses, when its hot the zinc are hot, when its cold the zinc are cold."

3.3.3.7 THEME: THREATS OF PUNISHMENT

Some teachers threatened to hit pupils when they had difficulty understanding what was taught. This is evident in the following quote:

"I will hit you."

Threats of punishment by teachers can also be linked to the unkind behaviour of some teachers.

Figure 3.3 provides a summary on the findings of the life studies.
FIGURE 3.3: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: LIFE STUDIES (ESSAYS)

- Perception of female teachers being better than male teachers
- Perception of children at DET school
- Perception of language difficulties
- Perception of suffering at the informal settlement
- Lowering of standard of black pupils
- Perception of relationship with Indian pupils
- Threats of punishment

LIFE STUDIES (ESSAYS)
The responses of the fifty pupils to each of the incomplete sentences are listed below in ranked order, that is, ranging from the most common response to the least common one.

### TABLE 3.1: Pupils' responses to incomplete sentences about their school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incomplete Sentences</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>No of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 The things I like about my school are...</td>
<td>a) Good education</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) sports</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) teachers</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) facilities</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e) meeting different people</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f) friends</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g) cleanliness</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h) subjects</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) lessons</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j) free books</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 The things I dislike about my school are...</td>
<td>a) Racism</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Too much homework</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Language difficulty</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Unkind teachers</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e) Fighting and swearing</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f) Punishment for late coming</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g) Courting of pupils</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h) It is far</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) Interference by other children</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j) Boring</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k) Afrikaans</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 The teachers are...</td>
<td>a) Racist</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Demand school uniform</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Hit and shout</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Not understanding</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e) Swear</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f) Good</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g) Use difficult words</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h) Unhelpful</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) Say we are stupid</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j) Make us feel unwanted</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k) Understanding</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l) Responsible for me failing</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1.4 The children are... | a) Racist | 45 |
| | b) Name calling | 28 |
| | c) Fighting | 21 |
| | d) Different from Soweto | 17 |
| | e) Say we smell/dirty | 15 |
| | f) Good / friendly | 14 |
| | g) Smoking | 5 |
| | h) Not racist | 4 |
| | i) Stealing | 3 |
| | j) Naughty | 2 |
| | k) Want me to smoke | 2 |

| 1.5 At school I feel... | a) Bad | 43 |
| | b) Unhappy | 37 |
| | c) Embarrassed about living at the camp | 28 |
| | d) I want to imitate Indian children | 18 |
| | e) Stupid | 15 |
| | f) I want to go back to Soweto | 11 |
| | g) Angry | 8 |
| | h) I want to drop out | 7 |
| | i) Lost | 5 |
| | j) Happy | 3 |
| | k) Afraid | 2 |
| | l) Proud | 1 |
### Table 3.2: Pupils' responses to incomplete sentences about the informal settlement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incomplete Sentence</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.6 I would like to change...</td>
<td>a) Racial attitudes</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Attitudes of children from Soweto who think they are better</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Unkind teachers</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Behaviour of some children</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e) School performance</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f) My school</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g) My class</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h) My anger</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) Stop the smoking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incomplete Sentences</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1 The things I like about the squatter camp are...</td>
<td>a) Nothing</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Friends</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Don't pay rent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 The things I dislike about the camp are ...</td>
<td>a) No water and lights</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) No toilets</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) No proper houses</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Shops are far</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e) Dirt and dust</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f) Overcrowding</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g) Sangoma and witches</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h) No proper streets</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) No phones</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j) Muddy when it rains</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 The people at the camp are...</td>
<td>a) Poor</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Drinking</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Unemployed</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Noisy</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e) Suffering</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f) Fighting</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g) Bad, cruel, inquisitive</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h) Good</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) Dirty</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k) Stealing</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4 My difficulties at the camp are...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difficulty</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) No water and lights</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Poverty/lack of basic necessities</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) No time to study because of chores</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) No toilets</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Cannot do school work when it is dark</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Too much noise</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Shops are far</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Have to work during the weekends</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5 My feelings about living at the camp are...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feeling</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Don't want to live there</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Bad</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Unhappy</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Uncomfortable</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Insecure</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Angry</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Embarrassed</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Unsafe</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) No freedom</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6 I would like to change...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Facilities (water and lights)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Move from the camp</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Get proper houses</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Go back to where I came from</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Cleanliness</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the purpose of clarity the first five responses of pupils will be graphically illustrated (See Graphs 3.1 to 3.9). On the basis of the figures, common relationships and interlinks between themes emerging from the different research methods used will be identified and discussed.
A. PUPILS' RESPONSES TO INCOMPLETE SENTENCES ABOUT THEIR SCHOOLS.

GRAPH 3.1: "The things I like about my school"

A large number of pupils (See Graph 3.1) indicated that they received good education at their new schools (80%). It is obvious that they are making comparisons with previous black schools in which they were. The idea of receiving good education has been a consistent theme in all the research methods used.

Although pupils indicated that they liked sports (60%), teachers (42%), the facilities (36%) and meeting different people at their new schools (16%), these items did not emerge consistently throughout the study. The good sporting facilities and qualified teachers at the Indian schools could also be related to what the children from the camp — in their opinion — regarded as good education.
An overwhelming majority of pupils (85%) (See Graph 3.2) reflected racism to be a major theme. This has been a recurrent theme amongst all pupils in all of the different data collection methods used. Racism can be interlinked with racial discrimination, segregation and racial differences which emerged as significant themes throughout the study.

Homework emerged as a theme in the projective test (60%) and the phenomenological interviews. Pupils complained about too much homework. However, the main issue seems to relate to the difficulty in doing homework. This can be linked with the theme of study difficulties. Pupils find it difficult to do homework because of the practical difficulties they have at the informal settlement.

Language difficulties (56%), unkind teachers (42%), fighting and swearing (34%) emerged as common themes in all of the other research methods used in the study. The latter two (unkind teachers and fighting and swearing) can be linked to the racist behaviour of Indian teachers and pupils. The unkind behaviour of Indian teachers may also be due to communication problems brought by the language difficulties (with English) which children from the camp experience.
The racist attitudes of Indian teachers indicated in Graph 3.3 clearly emerged as a major theme (82%). Teachers' insistence on school uniforms (54%) and their behaviours, such as hitting and shouting (50%), swearing (34%) and not understanding pupils from the camp (48%) were issues that more seriously affected such pupils.

Graph 3.4 reflects the racist attitudes of Indian children (90%)
as perceived by pupils from the camp. Racist behaviours are linked with name calling/ teasing (56%), fighting (44%) and accusing children from the camp of having a bad body odour (30%). Another issue which concerned children from the camp was the difference between them and the black children from the townships (34%). The children from the townships did not want to play with them and made them feel inferior.

GRAPH 3.5: "At school I feel..."

Graph 3.5 reflects the extremely high bad (86%) and unhappy (74%) feelings experienced by camp children at their present schools. These feelings appear to be consistent throughout the different data collection methods employed. Pupils also felt embarrassed (56%), especially about living in the informal settlement. They felt stupid (30%) at times and also wanted to imitate the Indian children (36%).
Graph 3.6 reveals that the majority of pupils (84%) who completed the projective test would like the racial attitudes of Indian pupils at their school to change. It seems as if the attitudes of black children from the townships is also a contentious issue for children from the informal settlements (54%). Pupils are concerned about the unkind teachers (44%) they have as well as their own academic performance (28%). Some pupils (30%) also indicated that they would like the behaviours of other children at their school towards them to change.

There may be some probability of a correlation between the high racism experienced by pupils and their low academic performance - pupils may be emotionally affected by the racist attitude of Indian teachers and pupils and this may be affecting their school performance. The negative feelings experienced by black pupils in Graph 3.5 indicate that they are experiencing emotional difficulties. Poor academic performance could also be a result of the language difficulties experienced by the pupils (see Graph 3.2).
B. PUPILS' RESPONSES TO INCOMPLETE SENTENCES ABOUT THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT.

GRAPH 3.7: "Things I dislike and find difficult at the camp"

From the results reflected in Graph 3.7 it is clearly evident that the majority of pupils from the camp do not like to live in the camp (84%). Their major dislikes about the camp are the lack of water and lights (100%), no proper toilets (82%), no proper houses (78%) and no time to study because of household chores (66%). These dislikes and difficulties were commonly found amongst pupils in all of the research methods used. Graph 3.7 also indicates that poverty is a serious problem experienced by pupils from the informal settlements – the theme of poverty is further noted in Graph 3.8 and emerged consistently in the study.
Graph 3.8 indicates that poverty experienced at the camp is an important theme expressed by most pupils (76%). This finding is consistent throughout the study. Drinking (64%), unemployment (58%), the noise (54%) and the suffering (52%) of people at the camp also emerged as common themes in the study.

Graph 3.9 indicates that:

- My feelings about living at the camp.
Graph 3.9 reveals that a large percentage of pupils (96%) would like to move from the camp if they had a choice. Most pupils indicated that they felt bad (92%), unhappy (82%) and uncomfortable (54%) living at the camp. Some pupils also felt insecure (38%). These feelings were consistently found in the study.

Figure 3.4 provides a summary on the results of the projective test conducted with pupils.
FIGURE 3.4: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: PROJECTIVE TEST

**LIKES**
- Teachers
- Facilities
- Good education
- Sports
- Meeting different people

**DISLIKES**
- Homework
- Racism
- Unkind teachers
- Fighting and swearing
- Language difficulty

**TEACHERS**
- Racist
- Demand school uniforms
- Swear
- Not understanding
- Hit and shout

**FEELINGS**
- Bad
- Unhappy
- Embarrassed
- Imitate Indians
- Stupid

**CHANGE**
- Racial attitudes
- Attitudes of children
- Unkind teachers
- Behaviour of children
- School performance

**DIFFICULTIES**
- Cannot do schoolwork when it is dark
- No toilets
- No time to study
- Poverty
- No water and lights

**FEELINGS**
- Insecure
- Unhappy
- Uncomfortable
- Bad
The major themes which emerged in the analysis of the data obtained from pupils are categorised below:

3.3.5.1 RACISM

From the description of feelings and behaviours expressed by pupils throughout the study racism emerged as a major theme.

A. Feelings

The common feelings expressed by pupils were fear, anxiety, loneliness/isolation, anger, inferiority, being misunderstood, shame/embarrassment and frustration. Extremely bad and unhappy feelings characterised life at the camp for these children.

B. Behaviours

Pupils from the informal settlement indicated that other children, mainly Indians, fight, mock, tease and bully them. Some pupils and teachers displayed unkind behaviours. Pupils from the camp had a tendency to display avoidance behaviours, especially in conflict situations with Indian children at the school.

3.3.5.2 VALUE OF EDUCATION/FUTURE DIRECTEDNESS

The value that pupils placed on education appeared consistently high throughout the study.

3.3.5.3 PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

Pupils in the study indicated that they had some serious practical problems at the camp such as household responsibilities, the absence of electricity, distance to water and shops, lack of facilities like basic provisions and sanitation, no proper houses, poverty and unemployment.
3.3.5.4 STUDY DIFFICULTIES

Pupils found it difficult to study at the informal settlement because of overcrowding, lack of electricity, noise, sleep deficiency caused through disturbance, substance abuse and the chores they had to carry out at home.

3.3.6 DISCUSSION OF FIELD NOTES

During the course of the study the researcher kept field notes. Field notes is a way of reporting observations, reflections and reactions to problems (Hopkins, 1992). The field notes kept by the researcher are discussed under the following headings: observational notes, methodological notes and personal notes.

3.3.6.1 Observational Notes

The researcher observed initial discomfort amongst some of the pupils in the focus group discussion. This can be attributed to the fact that the researcher is an Indian. However, it became apparent during the session that the fear of being overheard was actually the main reason why pupils were reluctant to share information about their experiences at their school. The session had to be conducted in the school library because of the shortage of classrooms. The researcher noticed that the pupils in the group looked around before they said anything. This was due to the fact that the library was open to teachers who continuously walked in and this made the pupils anxious and fearful of making comments since they may be overheard. The researcher then spoke to the librarian requesting him to keep the door locked. When this was done the pupils began to feel more at ease and began to share information about their experiences more openly.

3.3.6.2 Methodological Notes

The researcher has had extensive experience in conducting group sessions in therapeutic and workshop situations. As such, there was no need to focus on specific methods to help elicit information from pupils. However, the researcher is well aware of the fact that his experience may be somewhat different from
what is expected in a research context. In a research context one is expected to identify the experiences of the subjects without contaminating the results and later design possible interventions. However, in a therapeutic context the focus is on the immediate experience of the subject. Nevertheless, one would expect a difference in the content whilst the process remains the same. The researcher recorded his initial difficulty with pupils in trying to elicit data and focused more on the use of probing and questioning. Minimal use should have been made of these methods.

3.3.6.3 Personal Notes

The researcher was extremely pleased with the support given by the principals during the phenomenological interviews and focus group discussions. However, difficulties were experienced during the administration of the projective test. The researcher was disappointed when certain principals did not make arrangements for the administration of the projective test despite the fact that they were consulted about two months prior to the testing and were reminded a day before the testing. The researcher was annoyed that arrangements were only being made on his arrival at the school. This resulted in lots of confusion and the loss of time. The researcher was more annoyed when all black pupils in the school were called to the assembly area and not just the standard six pupils living at the informal settlement. Nevertheless, when the confusion was sorted out the administration of the incomplete questionnaire went smoothly.

The researcher was placed in a moral and ethical dilemma during the focus group session with pupils. During the course of the session two pupils began to cry when they talked about their experiences at their school. Other pupils in the group were also on the verge of breaking down. The researcher was uncertain as to whether he should make a therapeutic intervention or carry on with the objectives of the session. However, his psychological training encouraged him to deal with the immediate feelings of the pupils concerned rather than stick rigidly to the goals of the session.
It is significant to note that the researcher was upset by the information he had obtained from the pupils and he had no prior realisation of the intensity of the difficulties experienced by pupils from the informal settlement. This finding was extremely distressing for the researcher.

3.4 CONCLUSION

In-depth phenomenological interviews were conducted with two pupils (male and female), a focus group discussion was held with a group of standard six pupils and fifty (50) pupils were requested to fill in an incomplete questionnaire as part of the research methods used to obtain data on the experiences of children living at the informal settlement in Lenasia who attend schools which were previously exclusive to Indians. The data was analysed and categorised and themes most recurrent were described with quotations under each theme as examples.

In the chapter which follows the results obtained from the analysis of the data collected from parents from the informal settlement as well as the camp education committee will be discussed by the researcher. Major themes will be identified and substantiated by reference to actual quotes made by the participants.
CHAPTER 4

4. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS: PARENTS AND CAMP EDUCATION COMMITTEE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The results obtained from the analysis of the in-depth phenomenological interview with a parent, the focus group interview with parents as well as the focus group interview held with the members of the camp education committee will be discussed in this chapter. Transcripts of each interview can be found in Appendices F to H.

4.2 PREPARATION FOR FIELD RESEARCH

The process of preparing the field study and the analysis of transcripts have already been discussed in Chapter 3. However, it is worth noting some of the experiences of the researcher. Initially, it was planned that the parents participating in the study should be able to converse in English (see established criteria in chapter 3). However, when the researcher met with the parent group, it was found that some of them could not speak English and needed to converse through a translator. At first this was difficult for the investigator because he had to listen to all the talk in vernacular and then wait for a person to translate what had been said. The researcher was not sure whether accurate messages were being conveyed and was also anxious about the fact that he may lose ideal opportunities to probe further whenever the need arose.

However, during the course of the interview the researcher became more relaxed and comfortable with the use of an interpreter. When the interpreter conveyed messages incorrectly the other two members in the group who were able to converse in English corrected him and in this way a check was kept on what had been translated. The researcher discussed this obstacle with the
independent experts and consensus was reached that the interview was handled well despite the language difficulty.

4.3 Findings of Analysis of In-Depth Phenomenological Interview with a Parent

The following themes emerged from the in-depth phenomenological interview with a parent of a standard 6 child living in the informal settlement:

4.3.1 THEME: PERCEPTION OF POSITIVE EXPERIENCES OF PUPILS AT INDIAN SCHOOLS

The parent perceived children from the informal settlement as having positive experiences at Indian schools because of the high standard of education and the non-violent atmosphere at these schools. This theme is characterised in the following statements:

"I would say that the standard of education is good."

"There's not so much violence in these schools like the townships."

"Schools go smoothly here."

4.3.2 THEME: PERCEPTION OF NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES OF PUPILS AT INDIAN SCHOOLS

The parent identified racial discrimination and the unfair treatment of children from the informal settlement as being negative experiences for these children. The children also experienced difficulty with English as a medium of instruction. The poor relationships between Indian and black children, the schools' insistence on school uniforms and the lack of documentation (due to loss, fire and violence) further contributed to the negative experiences of the children. The high absenteeism of pupils from the informal settlement at their schools may be reflective of their negative experiences. Parental
issues - such as irresponsibility, ignorance, unemployment, the lack of money, inadequate basic provisioning, earning money, substance abuse and family disorganisation - also appear to have a negative effect on pupils from the camp.

The parent identified the following negative experiences of children from the informal settlement attending Indian schools in Lenasia:

A. Racial Discrimination

Racial discrimination clearly emerged as a major theme in the following quotations:

"It's only that he is black that he's being discriminated at."

"One of the Indian child who did also fail and his parents went to the school and they complained about it and the child was passed to another standard."

B. Unfair Treatment

The respondent indicated that children from the informal settlement were treated unfairly at their schools when they were failed, shamed, treated differently because they are blacks and when they were expelled because they did not have the school uniform.

Children from the informal settlement were perceived to be treated unfairly within the following contexts:

i. Failed at school

The respondent stated that children from the camp were treated unfairly when their teachers failed them. This is substantiated in the following quotes:

"I would say that is not fair." (Parent's comment referring to failing of his child).
"The question I asked myself is how can the principal or even the teacher do this (referring to failing the child)?"

ii. Shamed

Children were treated unfairly when the teacher embarrassed them as indicated below:

"The child does not want to go to school because the teacher embarrasses him."

iii. Treated differently

The parent stated that teachers treated children from the informal settlement differently from the Indian children at the school and this was unfair. This is illustrated in the following quote:

"They (referring to teachers) are in fact different with the Indian children."

iv. Expelled

The respondent indicated that it was unfair for his child to be expelled from the school because he did not wear the correct colour shoes. This is evident in the following quote:

"My child was expelled from school because he did not have black shoes."

C. Perception of Language Difficulty

The parent stated that children from the informal settlement experienced difficulty with English as a medium of instruction.

Language difficulty clearly emerged in the following statements:

"Of course I would say that there is a language problem."
D. Relationship between children

The relationship between black and Indian children is depicted in the following quotation:

"The relationship between the children .... the Indians mixing with the black children, sometimes I got complains."

E. School uniforms

The parent perceived school uniforms to be an issue at the school. The teachers were demanding uniforms when the parents did not have enough money to buy them. This theme is evident in the following statements:

"Some of the children don’t have uniform."

"The teachers want uniform and there’s no money for it."

F. Lack of Documentation

Acceptance at Indian schools was a problem for black children who did not have any documentation. This is evident in the following statement:

"There is also the problem of no birth certificates. The school wants the papers when there is no papers."

This theme was viewed as a national phenomenon as a result of displacement and political violence. This is evident in the following quotations:

"Some of us don’t have identity documents."

"Some of us have been displaced from the place we stayed because of the political violence that was
G. Absenteeism

Absenteeism of pupils from the informal settlement emerged as an issue, as is evident in the following quotation:

"Some of the teachers say that the children absent themselves from schools so often."

H. Parental Issues

The respondent viewed some parents from the informal settlement to be irresponsible with regard to their children's education. In some instances parents are ignorant about educational matters and this inhibits them from playing a meaningful role in their children's education. Unemployment, the lack of money, substance abuse and family disorganisation were also issues which concerned parents. In some instances children had to leave school to support themselves and their families and as such earning money became a priority. These parental issues are stated below:

i. Irresponsibility

The respondent noted that parents should be responsible in ensuring that their children are at school and that parents at the informal settlement lacked this responsibility. This point confirms the observation which was made in the previous chapter that parents are not supportive of their children's education when they refuse to let them use candles to study. The respondents point of view is illustrated in the following quote:

"I should put the blame on the parents. It is their responsibility to see that the child is in school."

ii. Ignorance

The respondent also noted that some parents from the informal
settlement were ignorant about educational matters and this prevented them from taking a serious interest in their children's education. This is implied in the following quote:

"Parents are ignorant about the education for their children."

iii. Unemployment

The parent indicated that the unemployment of some parents at the informal settlement affected their children since they were unable to provide them with their basic needs. This is evident in the following quotes:

"Some of us parents are not working."

"There's unemployment ... which affects the children (unable to meet their needs)."

iv. Lack of money

In the data obtained from pupils the lack of money clearly emerged as an issue. It also emerged as a parental issue since this prevented them from buying school uniform for their children and this is indicated below:

"The teachers want uniform and there's no money for it."

v. Inadequate basic provision

The respondent stated that because parents were unemployed they were unable to provide adequate food for their children. This is noted in the following quote:

"Because of unemployment the child gets no food."

vi. Earning money a priority

This was not clearly evident as a parental issue, however, it is
implied in the quotation below since the pupil wanted to leave school because the parent was unable to provide for the pupils' material needs:

"He does not go to school and looks for a job."

vii. Substance abuse

Substance abuse emerged as a parental issue because some parents consumed alcohol and drugs and caused problems at the camp when they were intoxicated. This is illustrated in the following quotations:

"Some of the parents are drinking the whole week at the camp."

"... drinking, drugs that causing problems."

viii. Family disorganisation

The parent stated that many families at the informal settlement were disorganised because children usually lived with their uncles and aunts and not their biological families. This is implied in the following quote:

"You find the child staying with his aunt."

4.3.3 THEME: PERCEPTION OF LIFE IN THE SQUATTER CAMP

Children at the informal settlement experienced difficulty studying. The low socio-economic situation at the camp, the violence and the lack of facilities at the informal settlement added to the difficulties of children.

4.3.3.1 Category: Studying difficulties

The following factors were perceived as contributing to children experiencing difficulty in studying at the camp:
A. Noise

The noise at the camp often made it difficult for children to study. This is substantiated below:

" There is noises and the child is not able to study properly."

" ... noise which affect the children at the camp."

B. Idleness

The parent did not directly state that children at the camp were idle. However, this emerged as a theme when he spoke about the lack of facilities at the camp and stated:

" ... so they get up to mischief."

4.3.3.2 Category: Perception of socio-economic context at the camp as being different

The low socio-economic status of pupils at the informal settlement also emerged as a serious issue. This is characterised by the following quotation:

" Also looking at the socio-economic of the people staying at the camp, I think it is quite different from the formal sector and this affects the children."

4.3.3.3 Category: Perception of violence within families

The prevalence of family violence at the informal settlement often made life difficult for the children. Violence in the camp is evident by the following statement:

" There's domestic (referring to family) violence in the camp."
4.3.3.4 Category: Perception of the lack of facilities

The lack of facilities at the camp is a serious problem as indicated by the following quotation:

"There's a lack of facilities and the children end up doing wrong things."

Figure 4.1 provides a summary of the results of the phenomenological interview with a parent.
FIGURE 4.1: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: PHENOMENOLOGICAL INTERVIEW: PARENTS

LANGUAGE DIFFICULTY
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILDREN
SCHOOL UNIFORMS
LACK OF DOCUMENTATION

PERCEPTION OF POSITIVE EXPERIENCES OF PUPILS AT INDIAN SCHOOLS

PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE WITHIN FAMILIES

PERCEPTION OF LIFE IN THE SQUATTER CAMP

NOISE IDLENESS

STUDY DIFFICULTIES

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

PERCEPTION OF THE LACK OF FACILITIES

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
ABSENTEEISM

PERCEPTION OF NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES OF PUPILS AT INDIAN SCHOOLS

UNFAIR TREATMENT

FAILED SHAMED
EXPelled
TREATED DIFFERENTLY

PARENTAL ISSUES

IRRESPONSIBILITY
LACK OF MONEY
UNEMPLOYMENT

PERCEPTION OF PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

IGNORANCE
INADEQUATE BASIC PROVISIONS
EARNING MONEY AS A PRIORITY
UNEMPLOYMENT
SUBSTANCE ABUSE
FAMILY DISORGANISATION
Most of the themes and categories which were found in the analysis of the phenomenological interviews with the parent were also found in the focus group interview with parents. The researcher did not integrate the discussion on the results of the phenomenological interview with the focus group interview - even though it may be monotonous at times - because it reveals triangulation between the research methods used.

The following major themes were identified on the basis of two or more parents expressing a common idea:

4.4.1 THEME: PERCEPTION OF BEHAVIOURS IN RELATIONSHIPS

Parents in the focus group interview stated that their children had to cope with unkind teachers, mockery and name calling at their schools. They were also victims of racial discrimination and experienced poor relationships with Indian children. As a result of these difficulties some children displayed avoidance behaviours such as not wanting to go to school.

The following categories emerged as perceptions of behaviours in relationships:

A. Unkind teachers

Some teachers appeared to be unkind to pupils from the informal settlement, especially when they offended them and picked on them. This is substantiated in the following quotes:

"Her child complained that the teacher slaps her."

"Teachers pick on the child."

B. Mockery

Children from the informal settlement were often mocked by Indian pupils. This is illustrated below:
C. Name calling

Indian children had a tendency to call black pupils names as indicated below:

"The Indian children in the class were mocking her and calling her names."

"... call him kaffir and other names."

D. Racial discrimination

Parents indicated that racial discrimination was evident, especially when only black children were made to repeat a standard and when they were viewed as being stupid because they are black. This theme was implied by the parents through the following statements:

"The problem is that my child is in standard 7, but the school put him in standard 6 (referring to Indian schools forcing black children to repeat a year)."

"They call her kaffir and said she is stupid."

E. Poor relationships

Some parents indicated that their children had poor relationships with some Indian children and some teachers. This is explicitly stated in the following quotations:

"My child had problems with other children, especially the Indians."

"For some children it does not get better. They always having problems with the teachers and other children."
F. Avoidance

Children from the informal settlement had a tendency to avoid school when teachers shouted at them. This is substantiated in the following quote:

"Teachers shout and the child gets upset and feels bad and does not want to go to school."

4.4.2 THEME : FEELINGS

For the first time during the session a parent directly stated his anger and frustration at living in the squatter camp. This is evident by the words:

"I feel angry and frustrated (referring to life at the camp)."

4.4.3 THEME : PERCEPTIONS OF CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCES AT SCHOOL

Parents in the focus group interview indicated that children from the camp experienced difficulty at school, especially because of their age. Many children were overage and experienced difficulty in getting into schools and when they were asked to repeat a standard this made the problem more serious. Children also experienced difficulty with English as the medium of instruction. These experiences are substantiated below:

A. Overage

The age of the child became a problem when children were asked to repeat a standard to be on par with the educational level of the Indian children. This is characterised by the statements:

"Now he must repeat standard 6 in the Indian school."

"He is now too old for standard 6."
B. Unable to understand / Language difficulties

Children from the informal settlement were accustomed to being taught in their vernacular, however, at their present schools English was the medium of instruction and this created problems for them. This is evident in the following quotes:

"There seems to be the language problem."

"They cannot understand the teacher and sometimes experience difficulty in understanding the work because it is in English."

4.4.4 THEME: PERCEPTION OF PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

It is significant to note that some of the parental issues mentioned in 4.3.2. emerged in the focus group interview as some of the practical problems experienced by children and their parents at the informal settlement. Some of these problems were the lack of money, unemployment, the lack of facilities and idleness. The long distances which pupils had to walk to visit the library or fetch water also created problems for them. Sometimes children had no time to bath before going to school because there was not enough time to fetch the water and make a fire for it to boil. The lack of basic provisions, inadequate sanitation and the disorder at the camp often created practical difficulties at the camp. The lack of documentation and the inability to purchase school uniforms due to the lack of money also created practical difficulties for children at their schools. These practical difficulties are discussed below:

A. Lack of money

Parents indicated that they often did not have money to pay school funds or arrange transport for their children to schools as is evident in the following quotes:

"I can't pay the money."

"I don't have enough for the school fund."
"There's no money for transport."

B. Unemployment

Unemployment of parents contributed to the practical difficulties at the camp and school since parents could not provide for their children. Unemployment is evident by the words:

"We have no jobs."

C. Lack of facilities

The lack of facilities at the informal settlement made it difficult for children to engage in constructive activities. This is illustrated in the following quote:

"There are no facilities and playground for the children to play."

D. Idleness leading to naughtiness

The lack of facilities often results in children from the camp being idle and this contributes to them being naughty. This is indicated in the statement below:

"There are no facilities... for the children to play and get busy. This is why they get naughty."

E. Distance

Children from the informal settlement have to walk long distances to visit the library:

"The library is so far."

F. Water

Children from the informal settlement do not have water in their houses and they have to walk long distances to fetch water:
"The water is far."

G. Time

Parents indicated that their children have many chores such as collecting wood and water and making a fire and this often left them with little time to bath before they left for school. This is implied in the following quote:

"Sometimes the child has no time to bath and go to school."

H. Lack of basic provisions

Parents stated that they did not have money to provide for their children’s basic needs. This is suggested in the quote below:

"The child does not eat for a couple days."

I. Sanitation

The lack of sanitation at the informal settlement made life difficult at the camp. The lack of sanitation is evident in the following quotes:

"There’s no toilets."
"There’s no sanitation."

J. Disorder

There is disorder at the camp due to the untidiness which is prevalent as is indicated below:

"The place is untidy."

K. Documentation

Sometimes parents experienced difficulty finding places at the schools’ for their children due to the lack of proper documentation such as birth certificates and reports. The lack
of documentation is evident in the following quotes:

"There's problems if no birth certificates."
"Even we parents do not have documents."

I. School uniform

Parents indicated that they did not have money to buy school uniforms and this resulted in children being expelled from school. This is substantiated in the following quotes:

"Another problem is no school uniform."
"The teachers expel the children. There's no money to buy uniform."

4.4.5 THEME : STUDY DIFFICULTIES

Parents in the focus group interview indicated that their children experienced difficulty studying and that this was largely due to overcrowding, noise, studying by candle-light and using books which were messed and burnt. The study difficulties are substantiated below:

A. Overcrowding

Children at the informal settlement live in small houses which are often overcrowded and this makes studying a difficult task. This is evident in the following quotation:

"... child cannot work at home, the house is small and there's so much children in the house."

B. Noise

Parents indicated that the noise at the informal settlement made it difficult for children to study. This is apparent in the following quote:

"The children cannot study with the noise."
"Children can’t study, especially in the weekends when the noise is bigger."

C. Candles resulting in difficulties with eyesight

Children at the camp study by candle-light at night due to the lack of electricity. This results in them experiencing difficulty with their eyesight and this is evident in the following quotes:

"Her child has eyes problems because of the candle."

"The eyes pain."

D. Messed up and burnt books

Parents also noted that sometimes their children experienced difficulty studying because their books are messed up or burnt. This is indicated in the quotes below:

"Sometimes the books get messed up."

"The wind blows through the shacks and drop the candle. Books get burnt."

Figure 4.2 provides a summary of the results on the focus group interview with parents.
**PERCEPTION OF CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCE AT SCHOOL**

- Anger
- Frustration

**PERCEPTIONS ON FEELINGS**

**PERCEPTION OF BEHAVIOUR IN RELATIONSHIPS**
- Unkind teachers
- Mockery
- Name calling
- Racial discrimination
- Poor relationships
- Avoidance

**PERCEPTION OF PRACTICAL PROBLEMS**
- Unemployment
- Lack of facilities
- Idleness
- Disturbance
- Water
- Time
- Lack of provisions
- Disorder
- Documentation
- School uniforms
- Lack of money
- Sanitation

**OVERCROWDING**
- Noise
- Damaged books
- Candles

**OVERAGE LANGUAGE DIFFICULTIES**

**STUDY DIFFICULTIES**

**OVERCROWDING**
- Noise
- Damaged books
- Candles

**FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW: PARENTS**
The main themes which were identified in the analysis of data obtained from the focus group interview are areas of difficulty experienced by parents and pupils, feelings of parents and pupils and practical problems experienced at the camp. Members on the camp education committee also emphasised the importance of education and they went a step further than parents in the focus group interview by proposing possible solutions to the problems experienced by pupils and parents at the informal settlement. The themes identified are discussed below.

4.5.1 THEME: PERCEPTION OF AREAS OF DIFFICULTY

The camp education committee members indicated that the inadequate preschool education facilities, overage children, apartheid legacy, language difficulties, cross-cultural communication, the lack of documentation, racial discrimination, segregation, fighting, unkind teachers, lack of trust at the camp, political rivalry and unmotivated children were the main areas of difficulty experienced by people from the camp. These areas of difficulty are discussed below:

A. Preschool education

There are inadequate preschool educational facilities at the informal settlement and this is noted below:

"We have a problem with the shortage of preschools."

"Children in sub A don't go to preschool."

The lack of preschool facilities may explain why children from the camp experience difficulties in grade one. They are usually compared to Indian children who have been to preschool and as such the black children are seen as incompetent.
B. Overage children

Some of the camp education committee members indicated that some children from the camp were not accepted at schools because they were considered to be too old for a specific grade. Many of these children are now too old to attend schools and have been denied an education. This is illustrated in the following quotes:

"Point two is the problem with children who are overage as such."

"Now when there are schools they are overage for the schools."

C. Apartheid legacy

Some members on the camp education committee stated that apartheid had disadvantaged them, especially with regard to education. This is evident in the following quotes:

"The children from standard 6 are suffering because of the past education."

"The children were not allowed in the schools here till now."

"We have been disadvantaged in the past."

D. Language Difficulties

The camp education committee, like the pupils and parents, also identified language difficulties to be a serious problem. This is illustrated below:

"In the first place they are not used to talking the language."
E. Cross-Cultural Communication

Some of the members in the camp education committee noted cross-cultural communication to be an area of difficulty with children. This is suggested in the following quote:

"The main problem is the communication with the other children ... communication between cultures."

F. Documentation

The lack of documentation such as birth certificates and school reports often resulted in children from the camp not being admitted at predominantly Indian schools. Documents were mostly lost, burnt or left behind when families had to flee from violence. This is evident in the following quotes:

"Some come from the fighting areas, they run away, their houses burnt down, their documents, birth papers get burnt."

"The schools don't want the children because they have no papers."

G. Racial Discrimination

Some members from the camp education committee indicated that Indian children and teachers were racist and this is evident in the following quotes:

"The new swimming pool was filled with Indian children, but when the racial laws were abolished the children stop coming to the pool. They feel that the camp children are dirty."

"Last week four children complained about a teacher who was racist."

"In one school the Indian teachers did not want
H. Segregation

The segregation between the geographical location of the informal settlement and the Indian residential areas was noted. The segregation between black and Indian children were also noted in the quotes below:

"I think if you look at the geographical location of the camp you will see it is away from the Indians."

"There seems to be a isolation between the Indian and black."

"There are separate Indian and black teams."

I. Fighting

Incidents of fighting between Indian and black children from the informal settlement as well as amongst the people of the camp themselves were also noted in the following quotes:

"Last year there were incidents of fighting by the Indians and black children at the schools."

"The racial problems cause the fightings."

"People belong to different political parties and they fight a lot."

J. Unkind Teachers

The committee members also indicated that teachers were unkind to the children from the informal settlement as is indicated below:

"Our children have a problem with teachers who criticise them and not show them how to do the
things right."

K. Lack of trust at the camp and from Indians

The lack of trust amongst people at the camp also appears to be an issue. There is also a lack of trust between Indians and blacks. This is substantiated in the following quotes:

"There is also no trust by the people in the camp."

"They (Indians) see camp people as thieves and murderers."

"The Indian children at the schools learn from their parents that camp people are dangerous. You must keep away from them."

L. Political Rivalry

Political rivalry at the informal settlement is another area of difficulty as is indicated below:

"People belong to different political parties and they fight a lot."

M. Unmotivated Children

Unlike the pupils or the parents from the informal settlement, members on the camp education committee stated that children from the camp lacked motivation and are lazy to study. This is substantiated in the following quote:

"They are not motivated. They are lazy, they don't want to study."

4.5.2 THEME: PERCEPTIONS OF FEELINGS (PARENTS AND CHILDREN)

The camp education committee identified feelings of shyness, fear
and inferiority as being prevalent amongst children from the camp. Some members also indicated that children from the camp felt uncomfortable amongst Indian children. Feelings of anger and frustration were commonly experienced by pupils as well as some members on the education committee. The feelings which were identified by the committee members are discussed below:

A. Shyness

Some committee members indicated that children from the informal settlement were shy as is indicated below:

"I would say that our children are shy."

B. Fear

Some of the people on the committee stated that children from the camp experienced fear in the classroom. There was also fear at the camp which made people worry about their safety. These fears are illustrated in the following quotes;

"They wouldn't say something... they afraid that they may be wrong."

"Misunderstandings caused make you scared, afraid of your life and safety."

C. Inferiority

Some of the committee members indicated that children from the camp experienced feelings of inferiority and this is suggested below:

"Our children have an inferiority complex."

"They feel inferior."
D. Uncomfortableness

Feeling uncomfortable was not directly stated as a feeling, but it emerged as a theme in the following statement:

"The children don't feel free with the Indian children."

E. Anger and Frustration

Some of the committee members stated that they felt angry and frustrated about the situation at the camp and they also noted that some of the children also experienced these feelings. This is noted in the following quotes:

"I feel frustrated, angry (referring to the situation at the camp)."

"The children are also angry and frustrated."

4.5.3 THEME: PERCEPTION OF PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

The camp education committee stated that there were several practical problems which existed at the camp such as the distance from schools, the lack of money and the lack of facilities. Unemployment, the lack of water and lights, transport difficulties and the lack of basic provisions also added to the practical problems at the camp. Other problems at the camp are substance abuse, study difficulties, dust and idleness amongst children. These practical problems are discussed below:

A. Distance

Some of the committee members indicated that children were placed at schools which were far from the camp and they expressed the desire to have these children placed at schools which are nearer to the camp. This is illustrated in the following quotes:

"They got the schools very far from the camp."
"Please let the children get close to the schools."

B. Lack of Money

Like the pupils and parents, members from the education committee stated that parents did not have money:

"The parents have not got money."

C. Lack of Facilities

Some of the committee members also noted that there was a lack of facilities at the camp, as is indicated below:

"Lack of facilities ... made me to stay at the camp"

"There should be accessibility of facilities for our children as well."

D. Unemployment

Unemployment of parents at the camp was also seen as a serious problem by some members on the camp education committee and this is implied in the following quote:

"Unemployment ... has made me to stay at the camp."

The quote implies that some people moved to the camp because they were unable to survive elsewhere since they did not have jobs. At the camp they were relieved from the burden of paying for water, lights and rent which they could not afford when they were unemployed.
E. Water and Lights

The lack of water and lights made life difficult for people from the informal settlement. This is evident in the following quotes:

"... angry because of no water."

"... angry because of no lights."

F. Transport

Some of the committee members indicated that parents at the camp had no money to pay for their children's transport to school. This is quoted below:

"The parents have not got money and transport for the children to go to school."

"... angry because of no transport."

G. Lack of basic provisions

The lack of jobs often resulted in starvation at the camp and this is noted in the following quote:

"They (referring to people at the camp) have no jobs and food."

H. Substance abuse

Some of the committee members also mentioned, like the pupils and parents who were interviewed, that substance abuse was prevalent at the camp:

"There are also problems in the camp, for example drugs."
I. Studying

Studying during the weekends was a difficult task for children because the noise and substance abuse were more intense. The inaccessibility of schools for studying during the weekend was also noted as a problem as is evident in the following quotes:

"We cannot use school facilities during the weekend."

"Schools are not open for them to study if they want to."

J. Dust

The dust at the camp makes reading at the camp difficult for children:

"Our children cannot read at the camp because of the dust."

Some of the parents stated that the dust at the informal settlement went into the children's eyes and that this made reading difficult for them.

K. Idleness

Some of the education committee members suggested that the establishment of a library at the informal settlement would be a useful way of dealing with idleness:

"... open the library at the camp. Children won't be idle."

4.5.4. THEME: PERCEPTION ON THE VALUE OF EDUCATION

The camp education committee members did not explicitly state the value of education, but this emerged as a theme in the statements made:
"I want the children to be in the schools."

"No matter what difficulties they have they must go schools."

4.5.5. THEME: PERCEPTIONS ON SOLUTIONS PROPOSED

Unlike the pupils and parents interviewed, the members on the camp education committee proposed solutions which could be used to improve the situation at the schools as well as at the camp. Some of their proposals were joint activities of children, integration, cultural understanding and sharing, building trust and improving communication. They also indicated that efforts should be made to promote understanding between Indian and black children. Parents should also get involved in parent-teacher associations and begin to take on their responsibility in educating their children. It was also proposed that prominent people such as the Minister of Education should visit the informal settlement to give the people support and encouragement to improve their situation at the camp. The proposals made by the committee members are discussed below:

A. Joint Activities

Children should be encouraged to engage in joint activities such as sports:

"Sports officials in Lenasia should meet to open and plan joint activities for our children."

B. Integration

Sports could be used as a means of integrating children, that is it should help to bring children together by allowing them to cooperate with each other in teams which are racially mixed. This is indicated in the following statement:

"Sports should become the order of the day for integration."
C. Cultural Understanding and Sharing

Schools should encourage children to make attempts at understanding and sharing different aspects of the different cultures. This is illustrated by the following quotes:

"Principals should have cultural days for the children."

"Black and Indian children can... make a film on the common aspects of the cultures."

"Black and Indian children can share culture."

D. Building Trust

Participants did not explicitly state that building trust should be one of the solutions to the problems experienced. However, this was implicitly stated in the following statement:

"For a day an Indian student can stay at the camp and a black child can stay with a Indian family. There shouldn't be fears of safety."

E. Communication

Communication between Indian and black children could improve if they participated in conferences together:

"There should be a conference where Indian and black people can get together."

F. Promote Understanding

Some members on the camp education committee indicated that efforts should be made by Indian and black children to try to understand each other. They believed that if Indian children visited the camp then they would have a better understanding of the conditions at the camp:
"... and also for the rich Indian people to see the conditions at the camp."

G. Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) Involvement

The camp education committee stated that parents from the informal settlement should join parent-teacher associations so that they could raise some of the difficulties their children experienced at the school. This is clearly stated in the quotation below:

"Parents should get involved in the parent teacher associations of the schools to raise the problems of their children at the schools."

H. Parental Responsibility

Some of the committee members noted that parents should become more responsible for the education of their children and that they must not expect the committee to take the responsibility of parents:

"Parents must be responsible for their children and not the education committee."

I. Input From Very Important People (V.I.P.)

The committee indicated that the visibility of prominent people at the informal settlement would place emphasis on the value of education and would also motivate children from the camp to go to school. This is clearly evident in the following quotations:

"We need VIP’s to visit the camp, for example, the Minister of Education. This will motivate children and parents will know how important it is for children to go to school."

Figure 4.3 provides a summary of the results of the focus group interview with the camp education committee.
FIGURE 4.3: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW: CAMP EDUCATION COMMITTEE

AREAS OF DIFFICULTY

FEELINGS
- ENVY
- FRUSTRATION
- ANGER
- SHY
- FEAR
- INFERIORITY
- STRANGE

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS
- DISTANCE
- LACK OF MONEY
- DUST
- LACK OF FACILITIES
- TRANSPORT
- IDLENESS
- UNEMPLOYMENT
- LIGHTS
- WATER
- WEEKEND STUDYING
- SUBSTANCE ABUSE

SOLUTIONS
- JOINT ACTIVITIES
- INTEGRATION
- SHARING
- CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING
- BUILDING TRUST
- COMMUNICATION
- PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING
- PTA INVOLVEMENT

FEAR OF UNEXPECTED EVENTS
- FIGHTING
- UNKIND TEACHERS
- LACK OF TRUST
- CROSS CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

DOCUMENTATION
- PRESCHOOL OVERAGE
- EDUCATION CHILDREN

APARTHEID
- LEGACY
- LANGUAGE DIFFICULTIES

POLITICAL RIVALRY
- UNMOTIVATED CHILDREN
- CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION
- RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
- SEGREGATION
- FIGHTING
- UNKIND TEACHERS
- LACK OF TRUST
- CROSS CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

LACK OF TRUST
- CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING
- BUILDING TRUST
- COMMUNICATION
- PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING
- PTA INVOLVEMENT
4.6 SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The major themes which emerged in the analysis of the data obtained from parents and the camp education committee are categorised below:

4.6.1 Racism

Parents and members of the camp education committee expressed racism as a major theme when they described the feelings and behaviours of their children. They also described the behaviours of Indian children and teachers towards children from the informal settlement.

4.6.1.1 Feelings

The common feelings expressed by parents were anger, fear and frustration about living at the camp. Parents also indicated that their children felt inferior in comparison to Indian children.

4.6.1.2 Behaviours

Parents indicated that their children had to put up with unkind teachers and pupils, name-calling and segregation. Many of their children tried to avoid conflict situations with other children, especially Indian children.

4.6.2 Areas of Difficulty

Parents and camp education committee members perceived children from the camp as experiencing the following major difficulties: overage children, language difficulties, cross-cultural communication, lack of documentation and unmotivated children.

4.6.3 Practical Problems

The following emerged as major themes within this category: lack of money, lack of facilities, unemployment, distance to water and shops, no electricity, lack of sanitation, transport difficulties, lack of basic provisions and school uniforms.
4.6.4 Study Difficulties
Parents indicated that the following contributed to the difficulties pupils from the camp experienced when they tried to study: overcrowding, noise, use of candlelight, substance abuse, and idleness.

4.7 DISCUSSION OF FIELD NOTES

4.7.1 Observational Notes
During the focus group discussion with parents the writer observed that all the parents present at the session were mothers, with the exception of the camp leader, who assisted in bringing the group together. This may indicate that mothers appear to take on the responsibility of attending to the education of their children (See Chapter 5 for more discussion).

4.7.2 Methodological Notes
Similar to the focus group discussion with pupils the researcher made excessive use of probing and questioning. The researcher experienced difficulty in effectively using his skills because of the language problems.

4.7.3 Personal Notes
Initially, the researcher was upset that most of the parents in the focus group discussion could not converse in English despite the fact that when the camp leader was consulted the researcher clearly stated that the group should consist of parents who could converse in English. The researcher was also disappointed that parents had not attended two previous sessions which had been planned due to the fact that the camp leader was not able to contact the parents concerned. The camp leader had not informed the researcher that the sessions were not going to take place. As a result the researcher waited for almost an hour on each occasion.

The researcher also had difficulty in maintaining contact with the camp leaders who had a tendency to disappear when work was
to be done. This was very frustrating for the researcher who eventually decided to make frequent trips into the camp to locate the leaders. These trips into the camp were a learning experience for the researcher. He had an eye-witness view of the conditions within the camp and many of his fears about people from the informal settlement, that they were dangerous and would attack Indians who went to the camp, were put to rest. The visits into the camp had a positive impact on the researcher who is now actively involved in community work at the camp.

4.8 CONCLUSION

A phenomenological interview was held with a parent and a focus group discussion was held with parents as well as members of the camp education committee to obtain their perceptions of the experiences of children from the camp both at their schools as well as the camp itself. Similar to the procedure followed with the data obtained from pupils, the data which emerged from the parents and camp education committee were analysed and categorised and themes most often expressed were described with quotations under each theme as examples.

In the next chapter the researcher will conduct a literature review in order to contextualise the results obtained from the analysis of data collected from pupils, parents and the camp education committee. The results were discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.
5. LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONTEXTUALISATION OF RESULTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 5 the results obtained from the phenomenological interviews, focus group sessions, life studies and projective tests will be presented, combined with a literature control. Both international and South African literature relevant to the present study will be reviewed in order to contextualise the findings of this study. This will be achieved by comparing the results of the literature reviews with those obtained in the previous two chapters to ascertain what similarities, differences and unique contributions there are.

5.2 SIMILARITIES BETWEEN PRESENT STUDY AND LITERATURE REVIEWED

Currently, there is very little, if any, research data on the effects of the admission of black pupils at schools which were previously exclusive for Indian children. Much of the research done seems to have centered around the experiences of black children at desegregated white private schools (Christie, 1989; Sasinsky, 1993; Harmer, 1993; Fabian, 1987)

However, black children at predominantly Indian schools seem to have some similar experiences to black children at white schools. These experiences will be compared with the experiences of black children from the informal settlements at predominantly Indian schools. The major themes identified in chapters three and four which are similar to the themes in the literature reviewed, will now be discussed.
5.2.1 THEME: FEELINGS EXPERIENCED BY PUPILS

The following feelings were prevalent in the present study as well as the literature reviewed:

A. Fear/Anxiety

Christie (1990a) found that white children expressed fear of black children and some of these children attributed their fears to their upbringing. Penny, Appel, Gultig, Harley & Muir (1993) also observed fear and anxiety amongst the students in their study on the admission of black children at white, Indian and coloured schools. The fears and anxieties expressed by pupils in this study confirmed the findings of studies (such as St John, 1975; Hamilton, 1972; Bhatnagar, 1981; Goldenberg, 1987; Ward & Braun, 1972; Bagley, 1979 & Sanders, 1987).

St John (1973, 1975) indicates that the black child in a new and unfamiliar setting may experience social threat and anxiety which may inhibit his progress. There is also a fear of excelling in order to avoid resentment. Some black children may be afraid to achieve higher marks at school because the children from other racial groups may become antagonistic towards them. The black child may be constantly reminded of his race and rather than simply being a pupil, he must play the role of representing his race, its strengths and its agenda. This further increases the fears and anxieties of the child.

In this study black children were afraid of being thrown out of the Indian school. They also experienced anxiety about their academic ability as well as their relationships with Indian pupils and teachers. Some of the parents in this study indicated that their children were afraid of Indian children. They also noted that some Indian children were afraid of black people and stated that this fear is probably a result of the attitudes and behaviours of Indian parents towards black people. This point confirms the findings of Christie (1990a) that the fears of white children in relation to blacks may be attributed to child rearing practices - and this may be the same for Indian children - as is indicated in this study.
Furthermore, children from the informal settlement form a minority group at their schools. Their anxiety and inhibited academic progress at their schools clearly emerged in the study and this confirms the findings of the above studies. However, one is aware that the situation is likely to be reversed as more black children are admitted to the schools in Lenasia, that is, the anxieties and fears of black children may decrease whilst Indian children may become fearful and anxious as they become a minority group.

B. Loneliness/Isolation

Isolation or loneliness was a feeling commonly expressed by pupils in this study, for example, "I was lonely." Black pupils indicated that Indian children had a tendency to stick together and this made them feel isolated. Black children in turn remained in their own groups. Similar results were observed in other studies (Christie, 1990a; Sasinsky, 1993). For example, Christie (1990: 58) documented the following words of a pupil:

"They (white children) ignore you at break and out of school."

Case studies documented by Frederikse (1992) about the experiences of black pupils at Zimbabwe's open schools seem to indicate that black children from the low socio-economic areas in the townships appear to be isolated from black children who come from more affluent homes. The affluent children seem to get along more easily with white children. Similar results were observed in the present study. Children from the informal settlements indicated that black children from the townships did not want to associate with them:

"Some Indian children do play with the black children, but the black children they not from the camps. They from Soweto and other areas."

The researcher feels that children from the townships don't want to associate with children from the settlements because they have
their own houses and material things, such as televisions and radios. As a result they feel superior to children from the informal settlements who lack such luxuries. Children from the townships choose to come to Indian schools, whereas children from the informal settlements do not have a choice. They have to attend the school nearest to where they live. Many of the township children come from affluent homes and are able to speak English well. Children from the camps are directly opposite, that is they do not speak English well and have difficulty in communicating. They come from poor homes and as such they are an embarrassment to children from the townships, especially when they are dirty, untidy and lack basic essentials.

C. Shame/Embarrassment

Children from the informal settlement feel shamed and embarrassed, especially when they are unable to do their homework and the teachers and Indian pupils think that they are lazy and stupid. They feel embarrassed when teachers pick on them when their work is not done. In this study children also felt shameful when they were picked on because of their bad odour. These findings corroborate the findings of other studies (Sanders, 1987; Ward & Braun, 1972) which have found black children to be immobilised by embarrassment and this contributes to alienation, poor self image and withdrawal.

D. Being Misunderstood

Christie (1990a) found that many white children were certain that they knew the home circumstances of their black classmates. Black pupils, however, disagreed stating that white children at their school didn’t really know what was going on in the black townships. However, according to Christie (1990: 68) some white pupils were more circumspect:

"Although we may go to school with them, and spend most of the day with them, we don’t know the hardships they have when they go home. You know a lot of people say that they understood them but they don’t actually."
The above findings were also noted in the present study when pupils from the informal settlement stated that the Indian teachers and pupils did not know how difficult it was for them to study at the informal settlement. Children from the informal settlements were seen as being lazy when they did not complete their homework. In reality they did not complete their work because of the many difficulties they had at the informal settlements, such as no candles to study at night, inadequate facilities to do their school work as a result of overcrowding and the many household chores they had which reduced their study time.

Sasinsky (1993) found that a major issue in the schools she studied was a misunderstanding of different cultural backgrounds. Pupils in her study indicated that there was a need for students to learn about the different cultures if they were to live in harmony. Some students also stated that teachers in their school did not know much about black pupils and black cultures.

Similar results have emerged from this study. Some members of the camp education committee stated that misunderstanding and ignorance of different cultural groups created problems between the Indian and black children. Pupils and parents involved in this study also indicated that Indian teachers and pupils did not have an understanding of the situation at the informal settlement and that they had no knowledge of the experiences of children from the camp.

E. Being Privileged

Christie (1990a) found that black children in her study felt privileged that they were given an opportunity to study at a school which had been previously exclusive for white children. Similar results were obtained in this study when black children felt privileged to be admitted at predominantly Indian schools.

F. Inferiority

In this study pupils expressed their feelings of inferiority in comparison to Indian children. Some parents also felt that black
children felt inferior amongst Indian children. It is also significant to note that children from the informal settlement felt inferior not only to Indian children but also to other black children who came from the townships. They felt that these black children came from upper and middle class family backgrounds and were exposed to a lifestyle that children from the camp could only dream about. This made them feel less worthy than their fellow blacks. This finding supports similar results documented by Frederikse (1992) in which she expresses the differences between black children from the high and low density areas. Children from the high density areas were from the lower working classes whilst the children from the low density areas belonged to the upper and middle classes.

Frederikse (1992) has documented case studies in which black children had indicated that they felt inferior at white schools. This is evident in the following quotations:

"But I still had that inferior feeling that you are white and I am black." (Frederikse, 1992: 12)

"You actually started believing that you were inferior, that you were worth less than others." (Frederikse, 1992: 8).

Christie (1990a: 67) also noted that the school could not overcome a general sense of inferiority which blacks experienced. In another study Du Preez (1983) examined 53 secondary texts written by both black and white pupils and found that the inferiority of blacks and the superiority of whites was a consistent theme. The inferior feelings of black children to white children has been stated in the above studies and the results of the present study confirm that black children from the informal settlement also feel inferior to Indian children as well.

One may argue that if black children who attended private schools felt inferior to white children, how much more intense would the feelings of inferiority of children from the informal settlements be considering that they belong to low socio-economic backgrounds
and that they lack basic essentials like, electricity and sanitation.

5.2.2 THEME: BEHAVIOURS IN RELATIONSHIPS

The following behaviours in relationships emerged in the present study which confirms the findings of other studies:

A. Racial Discrimination

Research (Hickson & Kriegler, 1991; Dawes & Donald, 1994; Vogelman, 1990) has indicated that racism has negatively affected the lives of black children more than it has affected the lives of other children in South Africa, even though all children have been affected by it. Jablensky (1977) noted that racism has negatively affected the mental health of black children by denying them essential experiences such as a sense of security and warmth, freedom for personal growth and the identification with a community of equals.

In the light of the above research findings one may argue that racism at predominantly Indian schools is likely to have a negative effect on the experiences as well as the mental health of black children at these schools. In this study both parents and pupils indicated that racism was clearly evident in the Indian schools.

Parents stressed the racism of teachers and quoted incidents in which Indian children were given preferential treatment over black children. An example of this was when a black child was failed and an Indian child who deserved to fail was actually passed by a teacher. Some parents also indicated that racial problems often resulted in black and Indian children fighting.

Pupils generally complained that Indian pupils were racist, especially when they called them names, such as "kaffir" and refused to play with them. Some pupils felt that teachers were racist when they treated Indian and black pupils differently. An example of this was when a teacher separated black and Indian children in the classroom.

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A large percentage of black pupils (76%) who participated in the projective test indicated that they experienced racism at their schools. This was evident in the fighting, bullying and teasing of black pupils by Indian pupils.

The above findings lend support for the case studies documented by Frederikse (1992) in which she notes that white children practised racial discrimination and did not want to associate with black children.

Similar findings were noted by Christie (1990: 76) for example:

"They (whites) might be anti-black or whatever, but there's no need to be like that. They can talk among themselves, but there's no need to say it out loud.'"

Cassim (1992: 21) also noted the racism and prejudices of Indian teachers and pupils which are confirmed by the present study:

"Although our school is open now, our teachers are still prejudiced. At times they also verbally abuse the black children in the class, but it is mainly the racist comments they make in the staffroom that show their racism."

Indian students appear to be equally racist as cited in the following quotation taken from the present study:

"We do not play with the Indian pupils. They do their thing and we do our thing."

It is significant to note that some studies (Sasinsky, 1993; Harmer, 1993) have noted little racial tension amongst pupils in desegregated white schools. However, one needs to take cognisance of the fact that these schools are private white schools which were open at the stage of the studies to exclusive groups of pupils. This meant that only the so-called elite or upper class groups of black children would have been successful in entering these schools. One may argue that these children were confident
about themselves and realised that the only difference between them and their white peers was in the colour of their skin. The situation with the children from the informal settlement is very much different since they are in a more vulnerable position of being discriminated against.

B. Name Calling

Many pupils in this study indicated that they did not feel good about Indian children calling them names, such as "kaffir" and "stupid". Parents in the study also confirmed that their children were called names and teased by Indian children.

The above findings confirm the findings in other studies (Christie, 1990; Frederikse, 1992) in which it was observed that black children felt hurt when they were called names by white children:

"Sometimes white kids call Africans names. They feel hurt - you can see it."

Troyka and Hatcher (1992) indicate that children call each other names for different reasons. Sometimes this is a result of racist attitudes and at other times it may be a result of social dominance where they use names to control other children. They argue that name calling has an instrumental as well as an expressive function. An instrumental function is when children call each other names out of anger or when they want to get back at other children and this may explain why children from the townships also call children from the camp names. An expressive function is when children call each other names because of the beliefs they have about a racial group. The researcher concurs with the above writers that name calling may not always be due to racist attitudes even though it may be interpreted by some children as being so.

C. Ganging-up

Sasinsky (1993) found that one of the ways pupils approached conflict was by "ganging-up". She does not explore this theme
further. However one would assume that she means pupils of similar groups getting together to defend themselves against other race groups. In the present study ganging up was not only evident when Indian children got together against black pupils, but also when black pupils from higher socio-economic classes joined forces against black pupils from the informal settlements. This may indicate that classism may be a stronger issue than racism. In this context classism refers to people who are financially and materially well off targeting people who are poor as being "less than". This means that Indian and black children who are well off do not see children from the informal settlement as their equals.

D. Segregation

Studies conducted by Christie (1989, 1990) and Penny, et al. (1993) have both found that black and white children seem to stay in separate race groups at school during break time. Penny, et al. (1993) observed similar patterns of interaction in predominantly Indian or coloured schools which admitted black pupils.

The above findings have also been noted in the present study, for example black children from the informal settlement stated that Indian children did not want to play with them during breaks and that black children had to stick together. In this study it was also found that some Indian teachers practised segregation when they separated pupils in the classroom on the basis of their race.

The researcher is of the opinion that apartheid and probably culture as well had created this separatism and now this has developed into a habit which is difficult to break. Also, there are fears and anxieties by both blacks and other racial groups which obstruct the facilitation of desegregation. There are also misconceptions about each other which present barriers in communication and interaction of different racial groups. The writer further believes that segregation is a response to social learning and in a similar way individuals and groups can unlearn and systematically re-learn new social patterns of interaction.
This means that individuals of different racial orientations may now learn to live in a desegregated manner.

Segregation in this study is not only viewed amongst pupils and teachers in the schools but also in the physical location of the informal settlement. Members of the camp education committee indicated that the camp was situated away from the Indian community and this encouraged and reinforced a physical separation of both communities. Whilst this is a significant observation one needs to consider the fact that the informal settlement emerged on the basis of the availability of land and accessibility to work situations. As such, one would not have expected the present dwellers of the settlement to have considered whether there was a physical separation between the Indian and black communities. In fact, at the time of entry into the vacant land it would have been strategic to have physical distance between the settlement dwellers and the Indians so as to prevent a strong protest at their (dwellers) occupation of the land. One is aware of, and firmly supports the view, that the Indians and blacks do not see themselves as separate communities. Instead, they should become one community and the informal settlement should be included in everything that happens in the community of Lenasia.

5.2.3 THEME: THE VALUE OF EDUCATION AND FUTURE DIRECTEDNESS

The writer is of the opinion that both pupils' and parents' support for racial mixing is undoubted. However, the issue is not whether they support racial mixing but rather the necessity of having black children at schools. This is evident in the value they place on education as is indicated in the present study where parents stated that their children must go to school despite the difficulties they may experience. Pupils also stated that they must be at school because education is important.

The above finding in this study that black children and their parents value education confirms similar findings in other studies (Frederikse, 1992; Penny, et al., 1993).
5.2.4 THEME: PERCEPTION ON LANGUAGE DIFFICULTIES

Penny, et al. (1993) found consensus amongst the different white, Indian and coloured schools on the issue of language. All of these schools maintained that the standard of English amongst African pupils is low. Similar findings were noted by Frederikse (1992) in Zimbabwe’s open schools. Sasinsky (1993) also found that white pupils were concerned about the language barriers between them and their black fellow students.

Studies conducted with the Native American (Wax, 1971; Dorris, 1981; Richardson, 1981), the African American (Havighurst, 1976; Hale-Benson, 1986; Gollnick & Chinn, 1990; Edelman, 1989), the Asian American children (Divoky, 1988; Sue, 1981; Ishii, 1973; Bond & Shiraishi, 1974) and the Hispanics (Hall & Reck, 1987; Valero-Figuera, 1988) have all found that language is a serious issue for them in schools in which they form a minority group.

In the present study the issue of language emerged as a major theme since it had been stressed by both pupils and parents:

"Our children ... they know nothing about English. One talks Tswana, the other Shona, the next Zulu and so on."

"There is a difference in languages with the different races."

From the researcher’s own interaction with teachers teaching black pupils through the medium of English, this appears to be an area of great difficulty. One may indicate that the differences lie in the dialect pupils speak.

In the researcher’s discussion with teachers, many indicated the concern that they spent a lot of their time and energy teaching black pupils English, however when they returned to their homes, they were not encouraged to speak English, but their mother-tongue language. The writer believes that language is not only a means of communication, it also has symbolic and cultural significance. Many of the parents from the informal settlements cannot speak English themselves, therefore conversing with their
children in English is not possible. Language is also a means of cultural expression (Bowman, 1989), and by denying pupils the opportunity of speaking their mother-tongue one could be implying that the black culture is not significant, that is, one could be asking black pupils to deny their culture.

5.2.5 THEME: LOWERING STANDARDS OF EDUCATION

Although black pupils and their parents in the study did not explicitly indicate that the admission of black pupils at Indian schools meant the lowering of educational standards at such schools, this is implicit in the actions of principals and teachers who insist on black children repeating a standard. One needs to take cognisance of the fact that parents of black children initially sought admission for their children at private schools. This was largely due to the belief that the standard of education at other schools was better than the standard of education at black schools. If this is the case, then conversely one may argue that the parents believed that the educational standards at black schools were generally lower.

In the present study both pupils and parents stressed the importance of education and this implied that they find the standards of education at Indian schools to be better than their previous schools. Whilst black pupils sought admission in schools previously belonging to other racial groups to increase their educational standards, the school staff, parents and pupils of these schools felt that the educational standard at their schools would be lowered if they had to accommodate black pupils. This issue of lowering standards is contentious and gives rise to questions about whose standards and what standards the school staff, parents and pupils may be referring to. Penny, et al. (1993) found widespread concern was expressed over whether standards would be maintained and the extent to which the ethos of the school would be changed.

Penny, et al. (1993) and Cassim (1992) found that a good strategy was to require children not coping with the academic demands of the school to repeat an academic year or standard. The frustrations of parents towards this strategy of many black
pupils repeating a standard or a year was clearly evident in this study and this is illustrated in the following quotation:

"My child is in standard 7 but the school put him back in standard 6. He did standard 6 in the Soweto school, now he must repeat standard 6 in the Indian school."

The writer is of the opinion that making black pupils repeat a year or standard does not help much if no remediation is provided by the school. He believes that it is presumptuous to expect black pupils to be on an educational par with Indian pupils by merely repeating a standard if no support structure is set up at the school to help these children.

5.2.6 THEME: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS/ CONTEXT

It is evident from the studies (Christie, 1990b; Harmer, 1993; Sasinsky, 1993; Fábian, 1987) conducted at predominantly white private schools that most, if not all, of the black pupils who were admitted at these schools belonged to the upper or middle classes. However, Indian schools took in middle to upper class black pupils from the townships as well as pupils from the sub-economic informal settlements. This mixture of black pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds created more problems amongst such pupils. The pupils from the townships were reluctant to be friends with pupils from the informal settlements because they viewed them as a source of embarrassment. Pupils from the informal settlement found it difficult to deal with the alienation from Indians as well as black children from the townships. As a result the isolation or alienation (discussed in 5.2.1) felt by children from the informal settlement is experienced quite intensely. This finding is supported by the findings of documented case studies from Zimbabwe's open schools (Frederikse: 1992).

5.2.7 THEME: LACK OF FACILITIES

In the present study pupils and parents as well as the camp education committee indicated that the lack of facilities at the camp was a serious problem. This finding is supported
by the results of other studies conducted in the black townships (Christie, 1990). Several documented case studies seem to reveal the fact that the lack of facilities in the townships is a serious concern, for example:

"In the townships our social lives are not the same as whites. We don't have the facilities for a social life." (Christie, 1990: 54)

The writer is of the opinion that the lack of facilities in the informal settlements would be more serious since the camps are a result of poor socio-economic circumstances. The comments made by pupils and parents in the study provide support for the writer's opinion.

5.2.8 THEME: CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Members of the Camp Education Committee felt that the lack of cross-cultural communication was the main reason for the problems between black and Indian children. The lack of understanding of cultural values and norms of each racial group results in tension and conflict between black and Indian children. Members from the Camp Education Committee also felt strongly about children from the informal settlements discarding their cultural identity in favour of the values and norms of the dominant Indian group at their schools.

In order for one to understand cross-cultural communication it is essential to first understand what is meant by the term "culture". Hence the term "culture" will now be defined and critically analysed.

Several writers have provided different definitions of culture (Van Rensburg, Kilian & Landman, 1981; Goodey, 1989; Coombs, 1985). Goodey (1989: 15) categorises the different definitions of culture as follows:

a. those definitions which stress that which is ideal or exemplary;
b. those definitions which concentrate on actual physical
manifestations of culture such as documents and buildings;
c. those definitions which deal with man's cultural activities - sometimes referred to as people's culture; and
d. those definitions which focus on the dynamic nature of culture, in other words, where culture is regarded as a means of adaptation to the environment.

Gollnick and Chinn (1986: 29) define culture in a dynamic way: "Culture provides the blueprint that determines the way an individual thinks, feels and behaves in society."

Bennet (1986: 9) defines culture as "a cluster of factors, social institutions and aspects changing over time that influence socialization, or the process by which members of a society learn to conform to standards for perceiving, evaluating, behaving and doing."

Ngugi (1986) views culture as a product of a peoples' history which reflects that history and embodies a whole set of values by which a people see themselves and their place in time and space.

Bearing the above definitions in mind one needs to note that South Africa is characterised by cultural, ethnic, linguistic, religious and economic diversity. This has influenced several writers to propose the concept of multicultural education in this country (Grove, 1992; Harmer, 1993). The researcher believes that for cross-cultural communication to be improved it is essential for children in the study to have an understanding of different cultures. Therefore, it is imperative for multicultural education to be defined. Several definitions have been presented for multicultural education (Liebenberg, 1988; Van Schalkwyk, 1988; Claassen, 1989; Gass, 1989; Arora & Duncan, 1986; Hernandez, 1989; Leicester, 1989; Lynch, 1989; Pusch, 1981). However, for the purpose of this study multicultural education will be regarded in the general sense as the education of pupils with different cultural backgrounds, but within the same school or classroom with a view to preparing those pupils for life in a multicultural society (Grove, 1992: 30).
Penny, et al. (1993) found that some principals in their study supported the ideology of racelessness. They indicated that the principals did not recognize pupils by their races but treated them as human beings. Whilst the writer recognises the good intentions of these principals he is not in support of their viewpoint. The writer feels that not recognizing pupils’ races is also a denial of their cultural values and heritage. Thus the writer lends support to the argument presented by Penny, et al. (1993) that racelessness is a euphemism for the cultural attributes of the dominant middle class. The writer’s viewpoint is that each race should acknowledge its cultural values and norms with a sense of pride and strong identity. Whilst respecting their differences each group should recognise the common values they share with other groups and these areas of commonality should form the basis for a new South African school culture. If this could be achieved then there may be a strong possibility that cross-cultural communication would improve.

The issue of culture as been discussed as a theme in this study because members from the camp education committee felt strongly about children from the camp discarding their cultural identity in favour of the values and norms of the dominant Indian group at their schools.

5.2.9 THEME: PHYSICAL SAFETY

Both pupils and parents in this study indicated that sometimes it was unsafe at the informal settlement. Their physical safety was in jeopardy when friction arose between the different political groups at the informal settlement.

Other research conducted in the townships have also indicated physical safety as a concern (Christie, 1990; Frederikse, 1992). Some of these studies have expressed the fears of safety of white children going to black townships. In this study black pupils and parents indicated that Indian children feel unsafe near the informal settlement. This is implied in the following quotation:

"The Indian children at the schools learn from their parents that camp people are dangerous. You must keep
This perception that children from the informal settlement are dangerous may also be one of the reasons why Indian children keep away from these black children. As such, racism cannot be seen as the only reason for black and Indian children not mixing at school during breaks.

5.2.10 THEME: APARTHEID LEGACY

Sasinsky (1993) found that a third of the pupils and a third of the teachers in her study referred to the theme of "legacy of apartheid" in conceptualising conflict at nonracial schools. The present research also found the legacy of apartheid to be a theme related to the behaviour of black children as well as their present circumstances. This became evident when parents indicated that they were disadvantaged in the past and that their children were suffering because of the past education system.

5.2.11 THEME: HOMEWORK

Homework will now be discussed as a theme and then an application to the context of the present study will follow.

Homework allows pupils to be independent in education (Miller, Kohn & Schooler, 1986). According to Moller (1994:1) it "provides the space for pupils to free themselves from the immediate direction of their mentors and define their personal culture of learning" (Everatt & Sisulu, 1992; Nxumalo, 1993).

Homework sets the scene for the parental and teacher concerns about education to meet. They can collaborate or struggle between school and home influences depending on their relationship. Moller (1994) argues that a poor school environment may demotivate and create a negative influence on homework performance. The opposite reaction might also be expected. Children might try to compensate for the poor school environment as well as their poor circumstances by investing more time and effort in homework. Moller (1994) further argues that if school children experience school life as exciting rather than
frustrating, children might be enthusiastic about homework.

From the arguments presented by Moller (1994) the writer would like to state that from his own experience, there is minimal parent-teacher contact with parents of children from the camps. The negative feelings of these pupils at their present schools as found in the study, may lend support to Moller’s argument that the children may be demotivated to do homework as a result of their negative school experiences.

Moller (1994) found that approximately a quarter of the pupils in her study preferred to do their homework in a quiet place without disturbance. If this is true for children at the informal settlements then one would expect them to have difficulties doing homework and studying, especially with the noise and disturbances they experience as indicated in the study. Moller (1994) also found that most pupils in the townships usually did their homework after dinner. One may argue that if this is true for children from the informal settlements as well, then homework would be a difficult process. This is largely due to the fact that there is no electricity at the informal settlements and pupils would have to work by candle-light. Often, this is not possible due to the lack of money to buy candles. Moller (1994) also found that some pupils did not do their homework or study because they were overtired as a result of their domestic workload. This finding also emerged in the present study. Beside being tired, pupils at the camp did not find enough time to do homework after they completed their household chores.

Moller (1994) also found that mothers appeared to be more concerned with their children’s homework and schooling than their fathers. The writer found support for this viewpoint by the mere fact that the focus group interview with parents consisted only of mothers with the exception of the camp leader.

5.2.12 THEME: NEGATIVE SELF-ESTEEM

It has frequently been assumed by psychologists of both races that self-esteem of black children tends to be low (Atherley,
1990; Whistler, 1991). By internalizing white racist attitudes the children supposedly develop individual and group self-hatred, a sense of inadequacy, and low self-esteem. They also have a negative attitude to school and feel alienated and disenchanted with school and school personnel (Goldenberg, 1987). Research has also indicated that black children are wary, lack self confidence, are uncommunicative or embarrassed (Ward & Braun, 1972; Bagley, 1979; Sanders, 1987; Perry & James, 1993; Rosenberg & Simmonds, 1991).

In the context of this study the researcher argues that one would probably expect children from the informal settlement to have negative self-esteem and negative self-concepts largely as a result of their experiences. Their self-esteem suffers because they consistently receive an unpleasant image of themselves from the behaviour of others. This argument has been supported by the findings of the present study where pupils from the informal settlement evaluated themselves in comparison to Indian pupils as well as pupils from the townships. They felt strongly isolated, embarrassed and inferior. These feelings are consistent with the feelings of black children identified in the studies mentioned above.

It is significant to note that research on self-esteem has produced contradictory results. Some studies have found no significant difference between the self-esteem of black and white children at desegregated schools (Simmonds, 1978; Spencer, 1984; Yancey, Rigsby & McCarthy, 1973). Other studies have found negative self-concepts and reduced self-esteem amongst black and minority group children (St. John, 1975; Colburn & Melillo, 1987; Cole, 1989; Edelman, 1989). Still other studies have found blacks to have higher self-esteem than whites (Rosenberg & Simmonds, 1971). However, despite the contradictory findings one needs to note that most writers (Clark-Johnson, 1988, Hall, 1981b; Smith, 1981; Lee & Lindsey, 1985; Youngman & Sandongei, 1983; Sanders, 1987; Axelson, 1985) seem to indicate a negative tendency in the self-esteem and self-concept of black children.

Although the present study did not explicitly identify negative self-esteem as a major theme, it was clearly implicit in the
themes related to feelings and behaviours which emerged in the study. Feelings such as fear, anxiety, loneliness and inferiority experienced by children from the informal settlement are likely to give them a negative self-image. Similarly, behaviours such as racial discrimination, name calling and segregation would probably lower their self-esteem.

5.2.13 THEME: EXPECTATIONS OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

St John (1975) indicated that the expectations of principals, teachers, community residents and especially parents appear to be low for black children in ghetto schools. In a desegregated school the expectations of the staff and pupils may be low for the culturally deprived or black pupil (David & Martin, 1984). If his parents have high expectations of him this may be dysfunctional for the child and raise his anxiety level. Raising the expectations of the school staff may increase motivation.

Although the present study did not fully explore the expectations of significant others, the findings noted above are relevant to the situation of children from the informal settlement. This study has found increased anxiety and a lack of motivation amongst pupils living at the camp. Many pupils in the study indicated that some teachers were prejudiced and racist towards them. These teachers did not have an understanding of the circumstances of these children and regarded them as being stupid and lazy. In addition to this many parents felt that their children were lazy and lacked motivation.

5.2.14 THEME: LACK OF EXPOSURE TO CLASSMATES

Research (St John, 1975) has indicated that the lack of exposure of black children to the lifestyle of the white classmates presented a stumbling block to desegregation. The classmates' thinking and acting may be different from those of the black child's family or neighbourhood friends.

Although the lack of exposure to classmates did not emerge as a major theme in this study, it is implicit in the discontentment expressed by pupils from the informal settlement about being
treated badly and being isolated from Indian pupils. Parents also expressed concern about the lack of adequate contact between their children from the informal settlements and Indian children living near the schools. Children from the informal settlements also lacked contact with other black children living in the townships. Thus, it appears that children from the informal settlements are isolated from other pupils both in and out of school.

5.2.15 THEME: CULTURAL MARGINALITY AND GROUP IDENTITY

Frederikse (1992) has indicated that black children in white schools appear to be bridging two social worlds and their loyalty to and identity with their own racial group may be weakened. They risk estrangement from their own racial group and rejection by the other group. This results in identity confusion (Burman & Reynolds, 1986).

The researcher would like to state that the above findings may be transferred to the experiences of children from the camp and their relationship with Indian pupils. In this study members of the camp education committee indicated that children from the camp were moving away from their cultural identity and were imitating Indian children. This finding lends support for the results mentioned above.

5.2.16 THEME: RACIAL DIFFERENCES

Research (De Groot, 1978, Siraj-Blatchford, 1994; Maxime, 1991; Foster, 1986; Milner, 1983 & 1984) has indicated that black children become aware of racial differences at an early age and that they become more aware of these differences as they grow older. White children become aware of their privilege, power and wealth as they get older (Foster, 1986).

Black children in the study explicitly stated that they were constantly made aware of their racial differences by Indian teachers and Indian pupils. The writer feels that making pupils aware of their racial differences in a negative sense may be detrimental in facilitating good relationships amongst them.
However, he does concur with writers (Banks, 1993; Carter & Goodwin, 1994; Cross, 1991; Nieto, 1994; Washington, 1981 and Zeichner, 1993) that promoting racial differences in a multicultural and multi-ethnic environment is acceptable. This means that cultural and ethnic differences — stressing the strengths of each cultural group — should be recognised, accepted and appreciated by all pupils.

5.3 **DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THIS STUDY AND THE LITERATURE REVIEWED**

Themes found in the literature review but not in the present study are discussed below:

5.3.1 **THEME: SUPPORT FOR RACIAL DESEGREGATION**

Christie (1990: 46) found support for racial mixing in Catholic schools. This was evident in the following: communication with other races at school and friendship with other races; support for social change in South Africa and support for having black teachers and learning an African language at school.

The above findings are supported by the research results of other writers (Harmer, 1993; Sasinsky, 1993). Penny, et al. (1993) found that there was a general belief that to open schools to children of other races is a 'good thing' and that it is both morally right and economically expedient to do so.

In the present study the researcher did not explicitly hear pupils or parents supporting or rejecting racial mixing at schools. The reasons for this could be attributed to the following: the writer was not intending to find out whether parents and pupils supported racial mixing and the contexts of the previous studies are different from that of the present study. In the previous studies black children were allowed at private schools for the first time under an apartheid government, whilst in the present study there is a democratic government and both parents and pupils may feel that black children have a right to be in a school of their choice. Therefore, racial mixing is inevitable and there should be no question of whether it is
supported or not.

5.3.2 THEME: SENSE OF CONTROL OVER ENVIRONMENT

Research studies (St John, 1975; Hamilton 1972; Gerard & Miller, 1975) have indicated that the desegregation of schools enabled black children to have a better sense of control over the environment in which they lived. The most important aspect of school desegregation is the symbolic message it conveys. The desegregated school symbolized the victory of the black community in winning equal protection of the law. The black child in this school should therefore develop a stronger belief in his ability to control his environment.

Desegregation made the black community feel that its voice would be heard. Hamilton (1972), however, argues that the symbolic meaning of desegregation may have changed. Many militants now argue that black parents who allow their children to be bussed to majority white schools are thereby supporting black powerlessness and are acting on the assumption that there is nothing of value in the black community.

The writer believes that whilst the above argument may have been true in the earlier admissions of black pupils at Indian schools it may not be applicable within the context of the subjects of the present study. When black pupils were first admitted at Indian schools, most of them came from the townships. However, within the present context children from the informal settlement are in their schools not out of choice but of necessity because they are part of the community. With the election of a democratic government parents of children living at the informal settlement believe that their children are now entitled to the acquisition of good education. Hence, there is a move away from antagonism to being in favour of proclaiming one's rights. This theme of entitlement clearly emerged in the present study rather than an increased sense of control over one's environment.

5.3.3 THEME: HAPPINESS

Christie (1990) found that both black and white pupils were happy
with their schools. In the present study few pupils indicated that they were happy at their present schools. In fact, most pupils indicated that they were unhappy. The discrepancy between the findings of the two different studies can be attributed to the fact that the black pupils in Christie's study were in the white private schools by choice and this could have contributed to their happiness. However, the children from the informal settlements were not in their present schools by choice. They had to attend the schools in which they were placed by the Central Admissions Committee. This committee attempted to place pupils in the schools in Lenasia, however, this was not always possible because of the large number of pupils from the informal settlements and the limited spaces that were available at the schools.

When the pupils in Christie's (1990a) study were asked what they would change about their school if they could, most of them referred to the school's authority structures, more dress freedom and a changed uniform, co-education and wider subject choices. Pupils in the present study responded to the same question by stating that they would like to change the racism at the schools, the attitudes of both black and Indian children, the teachers shouting and hitting, the behaviour of some Indian children and their own school performance. The responses of children from the informal settlements clearly reveal their unhappiness at their present schools. This is further compounded by the fact that the situation at the informal settlement also creates much unhappiness for them. The time factor may also have contributed to the unhappiness of the children in the present study since they may not have been long enough at the school to be accepted by the Indian children.

5.3.4 THEME: COMPARISON OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT WITH CLASSMATES

Peers serve as comparative as well as normative reference groups, that is, individuals not only adopt the norms of peers, but also take the achievement of peers as a standard against which to measure their own success (St.John, 1975). When the child goes to a desegregated school he may face the opportunity for cross-
racial evaluation or the burden of proving himself to the satisfaction of the white majority (Pettigrew, 1971, 1973). The child may learn from this that not all whites are better students than he. Also, the level and pace of instruction may be more stimulating than that in his previous school. The advantage of realistic competition can be offset by fear of failure. Rosenberg and Simmonds (1971) found that black children in the white schools compare themselves unfavourably to white children (interaction group) rather than with black children (membership group).

In this study the researcher did not find black children from the informal settlement explicitly comparing their academic performance with that of the Indian children in their class.

5.4 FINDINGS UNIQUE TO THIS STUDY

The many themes which emerged in this study but not in the literature reviewed will now be discussed. First the major themes unique to the analysis of the pupils' data will be discussed, then a discussion on the themes unique to the analysis of the parents and the camp education committee will follow and finally the themes common to all the data obtained from the different subjects will be presented.

5.4.1 THEMES COMMON IN THE ANALYSIS OF PUPILS' DATA

The following themes, unique to this study, emerged from the analysis of the data obtained from pupils:

5.4.1.1 THEME: FEELINGS EXPERIENCED BY PUPILS

The following feelings were expressed by pupils in this study which were not found in the literature reviewed:

A. Anger

Children from the informal settlement became angry when Indian children mocked and teased them. They also became angry when the
teachers and Indian children were racist towards them as well as when Indian children fought with them. Another strong source of anger emerged from their inadequate living circumstances.

B. Sadness

Sadness emerged as an implicit feeling when pupils from the informal settlement related their experiences at school. Pupils felt sad when teachers insulted them and treated them differently from the Indian children at their school. Some pupils were so sad that they wanted to go back to their previous schools even if the education they received there was not as good as their present schools.

C. Envy

Children from the informal settlement were envious of the Indian children as well as other black children from the townships because they did not have the luxuries these other children possessed. This feeling probably did not emerge in the studies reviewed because the black children involved in these studies were mainly from middle class families and as such were able to attend private schools in which most of these studies were conducted.

D. Entitlement

This feeling emerged as a result of the new democratic government. Many black people now feel that they should get privileges which they were denied in the past because of an apartheid government. In addressing the inequities of the past they feel that it is essential for the new government to provide them with houses, water and electricity.

E. Frustration

Children from the informal settlement expressed strong frustration at living at the settlement. This feeling of frustration was not observed in other studies probably because the children in these studies did not come from inadequate
surroundings such as children from the informal settlements.

F. Embarrassment

Although this feeling did emerge in other studies, it is imperative to note that the cause of embarrassment in this study emanates from a different source. Like children in the other studies black children in this study were embarrassed at being black, however, most of their embarrassment was a result of them living at the informal settlement. Since they did not have easy access to water they often went to school without bathing and this resulted in them being picked on because of their odour. As a result of the lack of electricity they are unable to do homework at night and often went to school with their work not completed. They felt embarrassed when their teachers picked on them for not completing their work.

5.4.1.2 THEME: BEHAVIOURS

The following behaviours emerged in this study and were not found in the other studies reviewed:

A. Fighting

Fighting did not emerge in the studies reviewed in the literature probably because the private schools had a more effective system which allowed for or encouraged integration. Most of the children at these schools were from middle class homes and paid the same amount of school fees, therefore they may have felt that they had an equal right to be at the school as their white peers.

The situation of children from the informal settlement are different in that they are in their present schools out of necessity rather than choice. Many Indian pupils and teachers are overwhelmed by the number of pupils from the informal settlement entering schools which were previously exclusive to them and this causes tension which may result in fighting between black and Indian children.
B. Avoidance

Children in this study had a tendency to avoid situations which created conflict between them and Indian children. This behaviour was not evident in other studies probably because children in this study were grateful that they were accepted at Indian schools and were afraid that if they experienced conflict with Indian children then they would be sent back to the schools in Soweto. The negative experiences of the children from the informal settlements at their present school probably placed them in an ambivalent situation. On one hand they were happy to be at the predominantly Indian schools, while on the other they sometimes wanted to go back to the black schools they had come from because of their negative experiences at their present schools. Children in the other studies were at private schools out of choice and if they experienced conflict with other racial or ethnic groups there was no fear of them being victimised.

Several writers (Helms, 1990; Lawrence, 1995; Tatum, 1995; Grant & Sleeter, 1986) have noted that black avoidance of contact with whites could be a sign of internalised oppression. The researcher did not include avoidance as a theme which occurred in both the literature and the present research because the above mentioned writers preferred to discuss avoidance as a behaviour which occurs specifically when black adults are in contact with whites. However, the researcher notes that the children in this study may be avoiding contact with Indian children because of internalised oppression, that is they may feel inferior to Indian children and avoid them as a result of this feeling.

C. Unkind Pupils

Pupils in the study stated that Indian children were unkind to them. The researcher notes from other writers (Helms, 1990 and Tatum, 1995) that the unkind behaviour of Indian children may actually be a result of internalised white racism. This means that Indian children believe that blacks are inferior to them because they have internalised the message given to them by whites. However, there are other explanations for the unkind behaviour of Indian children towards black children. An example
of this would be that Indian pupils are unkind because the black children are experienced as dirty, smelling and of a lower socio-economic status.

D. Kind/Unkind Teachers

Pupils in the other studies reviewed did not mention that their teachers were kind or unkind whilst children in this study explicitly stated this. However, children in this study noted that Indian teachers were more unkind than kind. The unkind behaviour of teachers can also be interpreted as behaviour resulting from internalised white racism. This cannot be accepted as the only interpretation since all race groups are quite capable of practising racism if they have the means and the power to do so. Some writers (Tatum, 1995; Batts, 1983) have identified some kind behaviour of whites towards blacks as dysfunctional rescuing. This means that some whites feel upset about the way blacks are treated and in trying to be helpful they actually reinforce the internalised oppression of blacks. The writer feels that some of the kind behaviour displayed by Indian teachers could also be a form of dysfunctional rescuing. This means that the teachers may feel sympathetic to the children and may try to help them, for example passing them when they deserve to fail.

5.4.1.3 THEME: HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES

Pupils from the informal settlement indicated that the numerous household responsibilities or chores they had made it difficult for them to find enough time to complete their homework. They had to collect firewood, clean the house and fetch water from a distance.

5.4.1.4 THEME: PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES

Pupils identified the following practical difficulties which they experienced: they had to walk long distances to school and this often resulted in them going to school late, there was a lack of money at home, sometimes it was cold, they had no water and electricity at their homes and many of their parents were unemployed.
5.4.1.5 THEME: STUDY DIFFICULTIES

Many children in the study mentioned that they experienced difficulty studying as a result of the following: overcrowding, lack of sleep because of noise and disturbances, substance abuse and the many household duties they had.

5.4.1.6 THEME: RELATIONSHIPS WITH INDIAN PUPILS

Pupils in the study clearly stated that they had difficulty in their relationships with Indian children. This is characterised by Indian children refusing to play with the black children during school breaks. The literature reviewed did not record this finding since no studies were conducted on the relationships between Indian and black children. However, studies (Christie, 1990; Fredrikse, 1992) on the relationships between white and black children have revealed that they do not mix easily on the playground.

5.4.1.7 THEME: PERCEPTION OF SUFFERING AT THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

Children in the study stated that they experience suffering at the informal settlement. Most of their suffering are related to the lack of electricity, the long distances they have to walk to fetch water, inadequate sanitation, the lack of proper housing facilities and poverty. This finding is unique to this study since the researcher is not aware of any other study which has taken the experiences of children from the informal settlements into consideration.

Figure 5.1 provides a summary of the themes common in the data obtained from pupils.
FIGURE 5.1: THEMES COMMON TO PUPILS' DATA

- Perception of Behaviour
  - Fighting
  - Avoidance
  - Unkindness (pupils)
  - Unkindness/kindness (teachers)

- Household Responsibilities

- Sufferings at Informal Settlement

- Relationships with Indian Children
  - Anger
  - Sadness
  - Envy
  - Embarrassment
  - Entitlement
  - Frustration

- Racial Differences

- Practical Difficulties
  - Distance to school
  - Late to school
  - Poverty
  - No water and lights
  - Unemployment

- Study Difficulties
  - Overcrowding
  - Lack of sleep
  - Noise
  - Substance abuse
  - Household chores
5.4.2 THEMES COMMON IN THE ANALYSIS OF PARENTS' DATA

The following themes, unique to this study, emerged in the analysis of the data obtained from parents and the camp education committee:

5.4.2.1 THEME: PERCEPTION OF NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES OF PUPILS AT PREDOMINANTLY INDIAN SCHOOLS

Parents of children from the informal settlement believed that their children were treated unfairly when they were failed at their school. Some parents attributed the failure of their children to Indian teachers being racist. Whilst there may be some truth in this attribution one needs to note that parents should not overlook the fact that their children may be experiencing difficulties — especially with English — and this is evident in the essays written by pupils in this study (See Appendix D). By locating the problem only within the teacher there may be a danger of not providing the support children may need.

Some parents also indicated that their children were treated differently from Indian children and sometimes they were treated unfairly when they were expelled from school because of their behaviour or not having school uniforms. The researcher believes that some of the parents may have projected their own feelings when they shared information relating to their children being treated unfairly. The parents themselves may have felt that they were treated unfairly by the teachers who demanded that children should wear school uniforms, especially when the parents had no jobs and no money.

5.4.2.2 THEME: PERCEPTION OF BEHAVIOUR IN RELATIONSHIPS

Many parents of children from the informal settlement perceived some teachers to be unkind to their children. Unkindness was viewed in behaviours, such as hitting, shouting and calling pupils names which made them to feel bad about themselves. Some parents also perceived their children as having poor relationships with Indian children and they attributed this to
the behaviour of Indian children, such as fighting, bullying, name-calling and segregating. The parents noted that when Indian children displayed these behaviours, their children had a tendency to avoid conflict between themselves and Indian children. The avoidance of black children could be seen as an example of internalised oppression (see chapter 6, 6.6.3.4 for details) or it may have been one of the ways in which black children could prevent themselves from jeopardising their position at the predominantly Indian school.

5.4.2.3 THEME: PARENTAL ISSUES

Many of the issues raised by parents can clearly be linked to some of the practical difficulties outlined by pupils. The issues raised by parents were irresponsibility, unemployment, lack of money, ignorance, inadequate basic provisions, earning money a priority, substance abuse and family disorganisation.

Parents were seen as being irresponsible when they did not take an interest in their children's school work. However, some parents were illiterate and this prevented them from taking an interest in their children's school work. Unemployment often resulted in a lack of money and this made it difficult for parents to meet the basic needs of their children. As a result some children wanted to work so that they could take care of themselves. Some parents abused alcohol and drugs and added to the problems of the children, especially when they became noisy, disruptive and abusive.

5.4.2.4 THEME: PERCEPTION OF LIFE IN THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

Parents and members of the camp education committee indicated that life in the informal settlement was difficult for children, especially when they had to study. The noise at the informal settlement and the overcrowding was not conducive for studying. Studying by candle-light often contributed to pupils from the camp having poor vision. To further complicate attempts at studying, children often had to learn from damaged books. Some parents also believed that children from the informal settlement were idle, especially during the weekends, due to the lack of
facilities. They felt that idleness was the main reason for children from the informal settlement becoming mischievous.

5.4.2.5 THEME: PERCEPTION OF PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES

Parents and members from the camp education committee identified the following practical difficulties: unemployment, idleness, distance of schools, no water, lack of basic provisions, lack of sanitation, disorder in families, school uniform, dust, weekend studying and transport. Unemployment made it difficult for parents to buy school uniforms for their children or to provide for their basic needs. Children had to walk long distances to school and the taps were also far from their homes. The lack of facilities added to the difficulties of the people from the informal settlement.

5.4.2.6 THEME: PERCEPTION OF AREAS OF DIFFICULTY

Members of the camp education committee identified the following as areas of difficulty: the lack of preschool facilities at the camp, overage children from the camp are not accepted at schools in Lenasia, the lack of documentation, such as birth certificates and reports result in children not being accepted at schools; lack of trust in the camp, political rivalry and unmotivated children. It is interesting to note that members from the camp education committee view children from the informal settlement as being unmotivated whilst children from the settlement did not mention this. What they did in fact mention was the practical difficulties they had in studying.

4.5.2.7 THEME: PERCEPTION OF FEELINGS

Parents of children from the informal settlement perceived their children as feeling shy in the presence of Indian children. Some parents also indicated that their children felt strange being at predominantly Indian schools. Children from the camp did not identify shyness and strangeness as feelings which they experienced. However, they did express the anger and frustration they felt at their schools and more especially at the informal settlement.

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The difference between the parents and the camp education committee is clearly distinct in the manner in which they spoke about the experiences of children from the informal settlement. Parents made more complaints about their children, the school and the informal settlements whereas members of the camp education committee were more directed in finding solutions to the problems encountered by pupils from the camp. This is explicit in the following solutions they proposed: joint activities of children from the camp and Indian children encouraging integration, cultural understanding, sharing, building trust and communication and promoting understanding. They also indicated that parents from the camp should get involved in the Parent-Teacher Associations of schools and that parents should become more responsible for their children's schooling. Finally, they indicated that it was necessary for prominent people, such as the provincial Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for Education and other dignitaries to regularly visit the informal settlement and the schools in Lenasia.

Figure 5.2 provides a summary of the themes common to the data obtained from parents.
FIGURE 5.2: THEMES COMMON TO PARENTS' DATA

Negative Experiences Of Pupils
- failure
- treated differently
- expelled

Areas Of Difficulty
- lack of preschool facilities
- overage
- documentation
- political rivalry
- unmotivated children

Behaviour in Relationships
- unkind
- avoidance

Perception of Feelings
- anger
- frustration

Practical Issues
- irresponsible
- unemployment
- lack of money
- ignorance
- inadequate basic
distance
- idleness
- provision
- substance abuse
- family disorganisation

Life in the Informal Settlement
- study difficulties
- lack of facilities
- idleness
- mischief

Solutions Proposed
- joint activities
- integration
- cultural
- understanding
- sharing
- building trust
- communication
- V.I.P input
5.4.3 THEMES COMMON IN THE ANALYSIS OF DATA OBTAINED FROM PUPILS, PARENTS AND THE CAMP EDUCATION COMMITTEE

During the analysis of the data obtained from the different subjects, certain themes consistently emerged. These themes are mentioned below.

5.4.3.1 THEME: FEELINGS EXPERIENCED BY PUPILS

The common feelings that were expressed by subjects from the different groups involved in the study were anger, frustration and shame. Pupils indicated that they became angry when Indian teachers and children mocked them. They also indicated that they were angry and frustrated at living in the informal settlement. Parents and members from the camp education committee concurred with pupils in stating that they and the children from the camp were angry and frustrated at the living conditions at the camp.

Pupils indicated that they felt embarrassed when they did not do their school work and were picked on by teachers. Parents also noted the embarrassment of their children. However, they did not view their children as having a strong sense of embarrassment as a result of living at the informal settlement.

5.4.3.2 THEME: PERCEPTION OF BEHAVIOURS IN RELATIONSHIPS

Pupils, parents and camp education members indicated that children from the informal settlements had a tendency to avoid conflict with Indian pupils. This could be due to the fact that they were afraid of being expelled from the predominantly Indian school or that they believed that they were fortunate to be accepted at the school in the first place, therefore they should not get into trouble. The writer also notes that internalised white racism may make black children feel "less than", that is, inferior to the Indian pupils at their school and avoidance is a symptom of this behaviour.

Parents, pupils and camp education members also mentioned that
some of the teachers at the schools were kind whilst some were unkind. Teachers were unkind when they picked on pupils and treated them differently from the Indian pupils. In addition parents felt that teachers were unkind when they failed their children or expelled them from school.

5.4.3.3 THEME: PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES

Subjects from the different groups involved in the study were consistent in stating that schools were far for pupils from the informal settlements. The lack of water and electricity created inconveniences at the informal settlements and unemployment, the lack of money and substance abuse were serious issues at the camp.

5.4.3.4 THEME: STUDY DIFFICULTIES

Study difficulties consistently emerged as a major theme across subjects. Overcrowding, noise and the lack of electricity made studying at the informal settlements extremely difficult. It is significant to note that pupils viewed substance abuse as a major source of difficulty when studying whilst parents viewed this as a parental issue. As this is a parental issue it is essential for parents from the informal settlements to take cognisance of how their abuse of alcohol and drugs impact on their children's ability to study. Children in the study indicated that it was difficult to study when parents and other adults in the informal settlements are intoxicated and abusive.

Figure 5.3 provides a summary of the themes common in the data obtained from both parents and pupils.
FIGURE 5.3: THEMES COMMON TO PUPILS' AND PARENTS' DATA

Perception of Feelings
- anger
- frustration
- shame/embarrassment

Perception of Behaviour in Relationships
- avoidance
- kindness
- unkindness

Themes Common to Pupils and Parents' Data
- overcrowding
- noise
- lack of electricity
- substance abuse

Practical Difficulties
- distance
- water & electricity
- unemployment
- substance abuse
5.5 SUMMARY

From the preceding discussion it is evident that the feelings of anger, frustration and embarrassment are unique to this study. Behaviours relating to the avoidance of conflict and the kindness and unkindness of teachers are also unique to this study. The relationships between Indian and black children from the informal settlement and the household responsibilities of the children from the informal settlements have not been discussed in other studies. The practical difficulties of children from the camp as well as their problems in studying are also unique to this study. Their practical difficulties related to the lack of water and lights, the lack of money and unemployment. Their study difficulties are a result of overcrowding, noise and the lack of electricity. The solutions proposed by the camp education committee are also unique to this study. Some of these solutions are joint activities, cultural understanding and sharing, improved communications and visits to the camp by prominent people.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided a review of literature relevant to the findings of the study. International as well as South African literature relative to the present study were examined and analysed to contextualise the study in terms of similarities and differences between the present study and the ones reviewed. Unique findings in this study were then identified and discussed. The strong feelings of anger, frustration, isolation and embarrassment expressed by pupils in the study significantly reflect their helplessness, hopelessness and powerlessness. These feelings often made them feel disempowered. Their disempowerment needs to be addressed in any programme of intervention directed at improving the situation of children from the informal settlement.

In Chapter six the researcher will consider the disempowerment of children from the informal settlement. An approach to empower these children will be developed and guidelines for implementing the approach will be described.
CHAPTER 6

6. AN APPROACH FOR DEALING WITH THE EXPERIENCES OF CHILDREN FROM THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN LENASIA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

On the basis of the analysis of data the researcher found that the experiences of children from the informal settlement often caused them to be disempowered. Therefore, in Chapter 6 the term "empowerment" will be defined and utilised in conceptualising an approach to help the children living at the informal settlements in Lenasia to cope with their experiences at the camp as well as the predominantly Indian schools they attend. The researcher is not attempting to rectify the primary educational situation at the home of the pupils but intends to describe guidelines to empower these children. The approach will be structurally and visually presented and operational guidelines for it to be put into practice will be discussed. The approach will then be evaluated by experts, that is, a group of educational psychologists.

6.2 IDENTIFICATION, EXPLANATION AND DEFINITION OF EMPOWERMENT

The identification of the term "empowerment" as a major concept will be discussed. "Empowerment" will then be explained, defined and analysed from different perspectives.

6.2.1 Identification of Empowerment as a Major Concept

Analysis of the data has revealed that pupils from the informal settlements experience difficulty in behavioural relationships, especially with Indian pupils and teachers. This theme was
evident in behaviours, such as racial discrimination, mockery, name-calling, fighting, unkindness from teachers, avoidance and segregation which pupils from the settlement indicated as common behaviours displayed by Indian pupils and teachers. Experiencing a variety of negative feelings also emerged as a major theme in the study. Pupils from the informal settlements identified a wide range of feelings which they experience, such as anger, fear, inferiority, envy, anxiety, misunderstanding, unhappiness, and embarrassment.

The behaviours in relationships and feelings experienced by children from the informal settlements clearly makes them disempowered. Furthermore their practical difficulties such as walking long distances to schools, the lack of electricity, water and other facilities at the informal settlement increases their disempowered feelings. They also experience difficulties when they study and this has also emerged as a major theme. Some of these difficulties are related to overcrowding, noise and the inability to study as a result of the many household chores which they have. On the basis of the above themes it is imperative that an intervention approach should make empowerment its main objective. This is visually illustrated in Figure 6.1.
FIGURE 6.1:
VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF EMPOWERMENT.
The diagram reflects experiences and feelings which disempower children from the informal settlement. An approach for intervention is needed to empower these children. Empowerment will therefore become the main concept of the model.

6.2.2 Explanation of Empowerment as a Main Concept

A common goal of most counselling interventions is to empower clients by assisting them in making changes that will lead to greater life satisfaction and adjustment and to establish an increased sense of control over their lives (McWhirter, 1991: 222). McWhirter (1991) argues that the term "empowerment" has not been clearly defined within the context of most research work conducted by numerous researchers (for example, Cheitman, 1981; Hall, Kassees & Hoffman, 1986; Hartman, 1983; Hunter & Kelso, 1985; Ricci, 1985; Youssef & Hollnsteiner, 1983; Koenig, 1986; Minkler, 1986; Monk & Kaye, 1982). She notes that empowerment has been referred to as a theory, a framework, a plan of action, a goal, an ideology and a process.

The writer supports McWhirter's view of empowerment and would like to add that empowerment also needs to be explained within the context it is used. It will be viewed differently in different contexts by different people, organisations and settings. Within the context of this research empowerment needs to be viewed as a process which encompasses an approach which helps children from the informal settlements to cope with their negative experiences both at the camp as well as their schools.

According to Rappaport (1981: 121) empowerment "suggests both individual determination over one's own life and democratic participation in the life of one's community, often through mediating structures such as schools, neighbourhoods, churches and other voluntary organisations. Empowerment conveys both a psychological sense of personal control or influence and a concern with actual social influence, political power and legal rights." Rappaport (1981, 1987) suggests that empowerment is a process by which individuals, organisations and communities achieve control over their affairs.
The writer supports Rappaport's notion of community involvement in the process of empowerment and would like to combine the viewpoint of McWhirter with that of Rappaport. This means that the writer would like any explanation of the term "empowerment" to consider the context in which it is used and the people who use it, that is the involvement of the community.

6.2.3 Definition and Perspectives of Empowerment

The term "empowerment" would now be defined and discussed from different perspectives.

6.2.3.1 Dictionary Definition

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (Fowler, 1984: 339) defines empower as "authorize, license, (person to do); give power to, make able." The word "empower" means to give power or authority to and to enable or permit.

6.2.3.2 Interpersonal and Community Perspectives

Pinderhughes (1983: 334) described empowerment as the development of "the ability and capacity to cope constructively with the forces that undermine and hinder coping, the achievement of some reasonable control over one's destiny." This means that the dynamics of power at the societal, cultural, familial and individual levels need to be understood. For marginalised people to be empowered there has to be a change in the balance of power at interpersonal, community and societal levels. Solomon (1976: 6) also supports this view by defining empowerment as "the process whereby persons who belong to a stigmatized social category throughout their lives can be assisted to develop and increase skills in the exercise of interpersonal influence and the performance of valued social roles." This definition of "empowerment" is the focal point in this study. Valued social roles include those of parent, spouse, employee and community leader. The writer would also like to include the social role of children which is so often neglected. Within the context of the present study the role of the children from the informal settlement is crucial if they are to be empowered in any way.
This means that they must be actively involved in any approach which is designed to help them cope with their negative experiences at the settlement as well as their schools.

Empowerment consists of both cognitive and behavioural components. It is not a uni-level phenomenon, but is actually multi-layered comprising the psychological, organisational, political, sociological, economical and spiritual levels. According to Gutierrez (1988: 2) empowerment is "a means for addressing the problem of powerless populations and for mediating the role powerlessness plays in creating and perpetuating social problems." He suggests that for empowerment to occur a psychological transformation, which requires the development of a positive self-concept, is needed. When a group of people share common feelings and a similar identity they become more aware of the power of other groups in society. Empowerment occurs when they begin to believe that one is capable - as a person or member of a group - of making changes in life.

The researcher supports the view of empowerment being a multi-level phenomenon and believes that any approach designed to help children from the informal settlements to cope with their experiences should take this view into consideration. The researcher believes that Gutierrez's (1988: 2) suggestions on psychological and cognitive empowerment should be extended to include behavioural empowerment as well. In the context of this study children from the informal settlements should not only be encouraged to feel better about themselves and believe that they can change their life experiences but they should also be encouraged to take action in bringing about this change.

6.2.3.3 Educational Perspective

Empowerment occurs at schools when students, parents, teachers and the school system share responsibility for problems. In the context of this study children from the informal settlements need to be encouraged to take on the responsibility of changing their experiences at the settlement as well as their schools.
Empowerment is a comprehensive process which impacts not just on
the individual, but the individual in relation to others, to the
community and to society. McWhirter (1991:224) views empowerment
as a process which is necessary for people, organisations or
groups who are powerless. This process consists of four phases
starting with them becoming aware of the power dynamics at work
in their life context and then developing the skills for gaining
some control over their lives. The next phase is to use this
control without infringing upon the rights of others and the last
phase is to support the empowerment of others in their community.

The term "powerless" refers to conditions in society (and the
family), power dynamics and the lack of skills to change one's
life. "Power dynamics" may include phenomena such as prejudice,
discrimination and socialization. The emphasis on power dynamics
suggests that problems lie in the system rather than its victims
(the powerless), while solutions to problems may be presented by
victims and/or through changes in the system (McWhirter, 1991).

In summarising the above discussion the researcher defines
"empowerment" in the context of this study as enabling children
from the informal settlement to cope with their negative
experiences at the camp as well as their schools. It involves a
process of changing feelings of powerlessness into powerfulness,
thereby encouraging children from the camp as well as their
parents to make constructive changes in their lives by improving
their living conditions. Empowerment in this study is viewed as
a process in which children from the informal settlement begin
to think and feel better about themselves - and it enables them
to develop as individuals so that they could take initiatives to
improve their circumstances. It also affirms their identity,
their cultural roots and their place of residence.

The researcher also believes that there are different forms of
empowerment and considers personal, group, psychological,
cognitive, behavioural, social, legal and political empowerment
to be crucial in developing an approach to help children from the
informal settlement cope with their experiences at their schools.
as well as at the informal settlement. He strongly believes that for empowerment to be successful individual as well as community involvement and commitment is essential.

6.3 EMPOWERMENT IN THE COUNSELLING PROCESS

Before the researcher proceeds with a discussion on empowerment in the counselling process he would like to emphasise that he views counselling as crucial as far as empowerment is concerned. Counselling is the process in which the client begins to take responsibility for changing situations which make him dissatisfied and unhappy.

Several writers (Cummins, 1986; Gutierrez, 1988; Horton & Zacharakis-Jutz, 1987; Pinderhughes, 1983; Solomon, 1987; Sue, 1981; Thomas, 1985; Wartenberg, 1988; White & Sedlacek, 1987; Katz, 1984; Kieffer, 1984; Padilla, 1981) implicitly state that the term "empowerment" in the counselling process identifies the client as belonging to a specific powerless group and counselling is directed at the client gaining control in the personal, interpersonal and societal aspects of his life. McWhirter (1991) includes community and counsellor involvement as crucial elements of empowerment in the counselling process.

Within the context of the present study the researcher identifies children and their parents from the informal settlement as the powerless groups. He believes that an approach which gives these groups control over their extra-personal, interpersonal and intra-personal lives is needed. As such, he supports the views of the writers just mentioned. Despite the fact that he views community involvement as being significant in empowerment (Swanepoel, 1992), he perceives the individual's or group's involvement in the community as being the crucial factor. This means that individuals should not depend on the community to bring constructive changes for them; instead they should be instrumental in making constructive changes in their community, for example, the inhabitants of the informal settlement should not wait for the community of Lenasia to improve their living conditions but they should get together as a community of the informal settlement to improve their living circumstances.
The researcher supports the view of some writers (Dunst & Trivette, 1987; Sue, 1981) that empowerment in the counselling process is mainly dependent on the counsellor's role. He agrees with writers (Howard, 1985; Lichtenberg, 1985) who indicate that counsellors need to believe that clients have the potential to control and make constructive changes in their lives if they really want to. Furthermore, he believes that the counsellor must explore the political, social and economic context within which the client lives, especially when working with children and parents from the informal settlement. The empowering counsellor should help clients realistically appraise the impact of relevant influences in their lives, such as socialization, discrimination and economic stratification (McWhirter, 1991; Gutierrez, 1988).

The counsellor should distinguish between responsibility for problems and responsibility for taking action to solve problems. To let the client believe that what the system "did" only the system can or should "undo" would be very disempowering. Clients should be viewed not as "sick" people in the system but as people attempting to cope as best they can within a "sick" system (McWhirter, 1991; Rappaport, 1981).

Counselling is most empowering when client and counsellor work together in the process of defining the problem and setting therapeutic goals. This is essential when working with minority or disadvantaged groups. Counsellors need to be seen as fallible human beings with specialised expertise and they should recognise clients as experts on themselves and their environment. According to Thomas (1985) counselling means that the client should be educated in dealing with future problems and should gain some critical awareness of systemic power dynamics. The client should also be trained in skills, such as decision-making, assertiveness and socialising. Clients should be able to make realistic self-appraisals, to network within the community, to brainstorm for alternatives and to reframe problems. The counsellor should not take on the responsibility of doing what the client is capable of doing since this disempowers clients (Hawxhurst & Morrow, 1984).

The researcher agrees with the above authors that the role of the...
The counsellor is crucial in the empowerment of the client. As such the counsellor's role will be taken into consideration when an approach for the empowerment of children and parents from the informal settlement is developed. However, unlike the writers mentioned, the researcher believes that the role of the counsellor should become less prominent in the different stages of an approach which aims to empower clients, especially within the context of this study. This means that children and parents should play a more prominent role in the approach as they go through the different stages, whilst the counsellor should play a less prominent role so that the children and parents could become more empowered as they go through the process.

6.4 DEFINITION OF RELATED CONCEPTS

Concepts related to the study are defined below. The definitions given are explicitly for the present study.

6.4.1 Counsellor

The "counsellor" in the context of this study is an educational psychologist who has received training in counselling and facilitation skills. S/he is able to facilitate workshops and has an understanding of the experiences of marginalised groups, especially groups from the informal settlements. The counsellor is also flexible in taking on several roles, such as organiser, helper, facilitator, trainer, therapist, negotiator, social advocate and consultant.

6.4.2 Parent

The "parent" is a person who lives in the informal settlement in Lenasia and who has children who attend predominantly Indian schools. The parent also includes parents of Indian children living in Lenasia.

6.4.3 Adult

An "adult" refers to any grown-up who lives in the informal
settlement in Lenasia who is not necessarily a parent. This person is interested in improving the living circumstances of inhabitants at the informal settlement. Indian adults living in Lenasia are also included.

6.4.4 Child

In the context of this research a "child" is a person who is in standard 6, lives in the informal settlement in Lenasia and attends a predominantly Indian school in Lenasia. Indian children attending schools in Lenasia are also included.

6.4.5 Training Skills

"Training skills" refers to the process of teaching strategies to children and parents from the informal settlements in Lenasia so that they could improve or change their living circumstances at the informal settlements. The need for improvement and change was consistently noted by both children and parents from the informal settlements in Chapters 3 and 4.

6.4.6 Process

"Process" refers to a progressive course of action which empowers individuals to rise above their present life situation (Solomon, 1976; McWhirter, 1991). Most of the process which is presented in detail in each stage of the approach, is covered by the role of the counsellor.

6.4.7 Environment

In the context of the research "environment" refers specifically to the living circumstances at the informal settlement and the situation of children from the informal settlement at their schools. The environment also includes the Indian community of Lenasia.

6.5 DESCRIPTION OF THE APPROACH

An approach for children from the informal settlements to cope
with their difficulties both at the settlement as well as their schools is now presented. The approach will be described and then its assumptions will be discussed.

6.5.1 Parent, Adult and Child Training Skills (PACTS) Approach of Empowerment

In contemplating an approach of intervention for dealing with the experiences of standard 6 children from the informal settlement in Lenasia who attend predominantly Indian schools, the researcher realised that for the approach to be effective it had to be inclusive of parents from these settlements. It also became apparent that there were many adults in the camp education committee who were not parents but could make a valuable contribution to the approach which is to be presented. As such, it was decided that the approach should be inclusive of parents (P), adults (A) and children (C). The main aim of the approach would be the empowerment of all participants to cope with their difficulties through the training (T) of skills (S). Hence, the approach will be called the Parent, Adult and Child Training Skills (PACTS) Approach of Empowerment.

The acronym PACTS is useful in describing the strong pacts which need to be formed between the counsellor and each group of participants (that is parents, adults and children) as well as amongst the participants themselves. The role of the counsellor is crucial in training each group of participants in the skills necessary for empowering them to change factors in their environment which disempower them and at the same time to help them rise above their living circumstances. This enables participants to make constructive changes in their environment and at the same time to come to terms with things they cannot change. The approach impacts on the participants and they in turn have an impact on their environment. This is illustrated visually in Figure 6.2.
FIGURE 6.2: VISUAL CONCEPT OF PACTS APPROACH OF EMPOWERMENT 

ENVIRONMENT

EMPOWERMENT

ADULT

PARENT

CHILD

COUNSELLOR

TRAINING SKILLS

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A structural representation of the PACTS approach of empowerment given in Figure 6.3 reflects the empowerment of children from the informal settlement (environment) through the training of skills by the counsellor. The counsellor plays different roles throughout the approach.
FIGURE 6.3: STRUCTURAL REPRESENTATION OF PACTS APPROACH OF EMPOWERMENT
6.5.2 Goal of the Approach

The main goal of the approach is to empower parents, adults and children living at the informal settlements in Lenasia for the ultimate benefit of all, but especially the children. The results of the study, discussed in chapters three and four, showed that most of the subjects involved in the study experienced great difficulties at the informal settlement.

6.5.3 ASSUMPTIONS ON WHICH THE APPROACH IS BASED

The approach is based on assumptions of human nature, assumptions on the utility of the approach, assumptions on empowerment and assumptions of an educational psychological perspective, which are discussed below.

6.5.3.1 Assumptions of human nature

The researcher examined some of the basic assumptions about human nature described by Hjelle and Ziegler (1981:13) which he believed to be relevant for the application of the PACTS Approach of Empowerment. These assumptions are discussed below.

a) Freedom-Determinism

Although their experiences at the informal settlement and at schools are likely to affect their behaviour, the writer believes that these children still have the freedom of choice to improve their situation. Parents and other adults from the informal settlements also have the choice to improve their living circumstances. The PACTS approach plans to give participants the opportunity to become empowered to cope with their difficulties and probably overcome them if they chose to.

b) Rationality-Irrationality

The PACTS approach is based on the assumption that humans are rational beings. As such, cognitive empowerment is possible, whereby the negative cognitions of participants from the informal settlement can probably be changed to more positive ones. They
may begin to think of themselves as being significant individuals who can improve their situation. They are irrational if they believe that they are unable to do anything about their negative experiences.

c) Constitutionalism-Environmentalism

The approach is based on the assumption that the environment plays a significant role in the experiences of people. The deprived environment in which people from the informal settlement live contributes significantly to their feelings of powerlessness. Empowerment is aimed at participants taking on the responsibility of changing the environmental conditions at the informal settlement. This again emphasises community involvement.

d) Changeability-Unchangeability

The approach assumes that participants have the potential to change. As such, it assumes that participants from the informal settlements would most likely want to change their living situation as well as their thoughts and feelings about themselves. However, each individual or group needs to take on the responsibility to change and also have a commitment to change.

e) Proactivity-Reactivity

The approach views individuals as being more proactive than reactive. When participants from the informal settlement blame everyone else for their negative experiences and their living circumstances without doing anything themselves to improve or change their lives, then they are reactive. The approach is aimed at encouraging participants to be proactive in changing their life experiences.

6.5.3.2 Assumptions on the utility of the approach

The approach can be used specifically for empowering parents, adults and children living in the informal settlements in Lenasia. It can also be used in contexts similar to that of
children from informal settlements attending predominantly Indian schools for example, Indian children attending predominantly white schools or vice versa, or any context which involves a minority and majority group interchange. Basically the approach can be used in any context in which some form of empowerment is needed.

The writer believes that the approach may vary in the different contexts in which it may be used but the process should remain the same for example, the empowerment of women or the aged in society. He also believes that the approach would be more valuable if it is used in a broader sense even though in this study it is contextualised to the experiences of participants from the informal settlements.

6.5.3.3 Assumptions on Empowerment

Empowerment is assumed to be enabling. It gives power to individuals, groups, organisations and communities to change their life situations. It is the development of skills to increase one's control at the interpersonal and community level.

Empowerment is a means for addressing the problems of the marginalised, disadvantaged and powerless populations giving them mastery over their affairs. It is a multilevel construct (individual, organisational, political, sociological, economical and spiritual) with each level having an impact on the other levels for example, when the past government was in power people from the informal settlements did not have political power to influence the regime to improve their social conditions.

Empowerment needs to be viewed in its historical context that is, what the situation was before empowerment enabling one to determine whether empowerment did in fact take place after a programme had been implemented. To participants from the informal settlements institutional, cultural, personal and interpersonal contexts are important because they probably contributed to internalised white racism and internalised oppression (see Stage 2 for more detailed discussion).
Another assumption of empowerment is that the people of concern are to be treated as collaborators and equals to the counsellor and others. The approach is based on the assumption that if more opportunities are given to members for active participation in the group, then the approach is likely to be more empowering. The size of the group is also essential since small groups allow members to play more meaningful roles.

6.5.3.4 Assumptions of educational psychological perspective

In an educational psychological perspective the focus is on the teaching of interpersonal attitudes and skills to individuals or groups who need help for improving themselves by a professional who has the ability to help (Authier, 1977) for example, residents from the informal settlements who need a counsellor to help them with the pain of deprivation and suffering they experience at the settlement through the use of therapeutic skills. The individual or group applies these skills to solve present and future problems and this contributes to the enhancement in the quality of life.

6.6 STAGES OF THE PACTS APPROACH OF EMPOWERMENT

The PACTS approach of empowerment is introduced and a thorough description of the six different stages of the approach is given.

6.6.1 Introduction

The approach is based on the experiences of children from the informal settlements who attend predominantly Indian schools in Lenasia. As such the primary focus of the approach is to address the experiences of these children within the context of the study. The PACTS approach of empowerment is also based on an interdisciplinary view of psychology. As such cognitive, behavioural, counselling, social, educational and community psychology are some of the different disciplines in psychology which are integrated in the development of the PACTS approach.
Whilst the present study focuses on the relationships and experiences between black and Indian children many similarities can be observed in the situation between black and white children as was corroborated in other studies (see Chapter 5). This has led the researcher to believe that racism is strongly prevalent in the Indian community as well, that is many Indians treat blacks as not being their equals (as being "less than"). In a society where white racism is pervasive, the researcher suspects some internalised white racism on the part of Indian teachers, parents and pupils and feels that this needs to be addressed by any approach which is presented.

In order for the PACTS approach to be relevant the researcher believes that children, parents and adults from the informal settlements and the Indian community of Lenasia should be actively involved in the first three stages of the approach. This should enable participants from the informal settlements to see how Indian participants have internalised white racism or how they display their prejudices against blacks. This is evident in the behaviour of Indian children and teachers in their relationships with children from the informal settlements. At the same time the black and Indian participants would be able to identify with the experiences of each other which should be similar in some ways.

Black participants from the informal settlements should be more actively involved in the remaining three stages since their empowerment is the focus of the study. Although the Indian participants would still be involved in the remaining three stages of the approach, their role would be more to provide support for the black participants who would take the initiative to lead. To increase further the effectiveness of the PACTS approach, the size of the group should comprise fifteen to twenty participants. This number should allow for more active participation of members and it should also enable each member to be less anxious and more comfortable in sharing whatever they wish to share. The group should be small to encourage interaction amongst participants but it should also be large enough to reach out to a number of people. From the initial stage of the approach each group member should be encouraged not to blame others and
accept full responsibility for his/her own behaviour and feelings. It is also suggested that there should be two co-facilitators, ideally taking into consideration gender and race. This should encourage the participants to refute racism and sexism and the co-facilitators should serve as models for this refutation.

The operational guidelines for implementing the PACTS approach are presented in different stages to provide clarity and efficiency in using the approach. Even though each stage has specific goals, rationale and methods, there is some overlap and definite continuity between the stages. The role of the counsellor is clearly outlined and the specific forms of empowerment occurring at each stage are emphasised. Each stage is generally outlined and then specific application to the context of the present study is made. Table 6.1 provides a summary of each stage and the approach as a whole and should be read in conjunction with the description of each stage below.

6.6.2 STAGE 1 - PERSONAL AND GROUP EMPOWERMENT

6.6.2.1 Introduction

Stage 1 (see Table 6.1) lays the foundation for exploring and understanding the assumptions, beliefs, values and idiosyncrasies of self and others in society. It is essential for us to explore and understand ourselves first if we intend to be empowered in any way. To achieve this the following goals are necessary:

(i) to know yourself - your strengths and weaknesses and your emotional reactions, as well as those of others;
(ii) to accept that the negative image you have is not permanent, it can be changed;
(iii) to feel worthy and encouraged to grow as a person;
(iv) to help people to feel comfortable with themselves as well as with each other and to develop trust and confidence in themselves as well as in others.

The exercises (See Appendix I) suggested for this stage have been intended to meet the above goals.
6.6.2.2 Rationale

Although the approach is focused on dealing with the experiences of inhabitants from the informal settlements it acknowledges that participants will enter the programme from a variety of backgrounds and will have different experiences and assumptions. Within the black and Indian communities there are different cultural groups and this needs to be taken into consideration. Therefore, it is imperative for the approach to begin where the participants are and proceed from there. In this way the participants will feel that the approach has some relevance for them and that their thoughts, feelings and previous experiences are important. Two full day workshops may be appropriate for this stage.

6.6.2.3 Method

The facilitator uses several exercises, buzz group sessions and group discussions (see Appendix I) to encourage all participants to work with their self-concept and to begin working as members of a group. An example of an exercise in the first stage is the use of concentric circles. Here the facilitator gets participants to get into two circles facing each other (inner and outer circle) and participants start by sharing simple things like their favourite food or clothing. The inner circle moves one person to the left so that each person in the group has a chance to share with everyone else. As the group members become more familiar with each other they can begin to share more intense material, such as their first thoughts about prejudice or racism. The facilitator should also set up a safe, warm and accepting environment.

Exercises will be directed at establishing goals and objectives for the training programme, setting group rules and creating self awareness (see Appendix I for examples).

6.6.2.4 Role of the counsellor

The counsellor is a facilitator who helps individuals to explore and understand themselves and others. S/he takes the diverse
range of people in the group and builds them into a group based on trust and mutual acceptance. The counsellor should model openness, honesty, acceptance, respect, genuineness and warmth. In stage one the counsellor plays an active leadership role and models attending skills, active listening and empathy.

6.6.2.5 Empowerment

In stage one participants should be personally empowered. They would be able to understand themselves and accept who they are and work towards changing the things about themselves that they would like to change. They would also achieve some form of group empowerment that is, learn to work in a group and become accepted as part of a group, irrespective of their racial and cultural differences. Group empowerment is also beneficial to the participants since it allows for immediate peer involvement.

6.6.2.6 Application of the approach

In stage one children from the informal settlement will be exposed to Indian children from different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. They should come to have a better understanding of themselves as individuals and should also begin to understand the background of Indian children. Most importantly, children from the informal settlement should begin to see themselves as equals to Indian children and other children in general.

In stage one parents and other adults from the informal settlements should also be exposed to parents and other adults from Indian cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Parents and other adults from the informal settlements should also have similar experiences as the children in parent or adult groups.

6.6.3 STAGE 2 - EXPERIENTIAL ENCOUNTERS

Stage 2 allows participants to share their experiences at the institutional, cultural, personal and interpersonal levels. They are encouraged by the counsellor to come to terms with their feelings at the different levels so that they could move on with
their lives.

6.6.3.1 Introduction

This stage should build on the trust and openness of preceding work and an initial awareness of the experiences of participants. The goals in this stage are to help individuals realise the impact of:

(i) institutions (such as education, economics, health services and politics) on their past and present experiences;
(ii) their cultural values and beliefs on their past and present experiences;
(iii) their individual values, beliefs, feelings and behaviours on their past and present experiences;
(iv) the influence of their past and present experiences on their interpersonal relationships.

6.6.3.2 Rationale

Stage two should enable participants to explore and understand their past and present experiences first at an institutional level, then a cultural, personal and finally at an interpersonal level. This allows participants to determine what possible part the system played in contributing to their experiences. This enables the participants to feel safe and willing to share their own experiences. This in itself empowers them to observe how institutions and cultural influences have impacted on their personal and interpersonal experiences. Three full day workshops may be appropriate for stage two.

6.6.3.3 Method

Exercises (see Appendix J) are designed to empower participants in an experiential way. The main exercise in stage two is the earliest encounters. Here the facilitator relaxes participants and then asks them to share their first negative experiences with Indian or black participants.
Although most sessions in the PACTS approach of empowerment are of a therapeutic nature, the main focus in stage two will be psychotherapeutic since participants would be encouraged to share their pain and suffering as a result of racism.

6.6.3.4 Role of counsellor

The counsellor should be a facilitator of the sessions. S/he should be non-judgmental and should try to create a safe and non-threatening environment for the participants. The counsellor also provides support for the participants, and contains and reflects their feelings which are related to their painful experiences. The counsellor's major role in this stage is that of a psychotherapist.

The counsellor must pay special emphasis to the following during encounter sessions:

(i) Affirmation

The counsellor should continuously affirm all participants as significant individuals and should also affirm the environment they come from, and if people are talking about homes, the participants from the informal settlement need to be affirmed that the shacks in which they live are their homes. Others in the group also need to see a shack as a home. Participants need to realise that their diverse backgrounds enable them to share different perspectives in the group (Nieto, 1994; Banks, 1993; Greeley & Mizell, 1993; McGurk, 1990). Therefore, they should be proud of their roots since each of them has something to offer to the group.

The primary aim of using affirmation is to help participants — especially those from the informal settlements — resume dignity, personal responsibility and integrity (Rios & Ofman, 1972; Ramsey, Vold & Williams, 1989; Ofman, 1976). The purpose of affirmation counselling is to help participants to face the reality of the nature of their lives and to affirm and embrace their own nature (Grant & Sleeter, 1989; Mwamwenda, 1989). The
basis for the therapeutic relationship in an affirmation approach is equality. The counsellor helps the participants to face and affirm their realities by seeing that each position one takes has both positive and negative aspects. According to Larrabee (1982) paraphrasing, reflection of feelings and the use of open-ended questions are useful counselling techniques for affirmation. As such, the researcher feels that the counsellor should be trained in using these techniques during the sessions.

(ii) Feelings of worth

The counsellor should be aware of the sense of worth which participants possess or lack thereof. Participants should be encouraged to feel that they are worthy to themselves as well as to others. If participants have a strong sense of self-worth they would probably be more confident in sharing their experiences, and have a better prognosis with regard to empowerment (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Cross, Parham & Helms, 1991).

(iii) Self-Negation

Counsellors should be aware of participants negating themselves. This would reinforce their disempowerment. Deliberate attempts to make participants view themselves more positively increases their ability to be empowered (Cummins, 1986; Ryan, 1976). The counsellor should be aware of participants denying where they come from, their cultural heritage and their values. Participants should be encouraged to have pride in their roots. This means that they should be proud of their origins and their identities (Powell, 1983a/b).

(iv) Internalised oppression

The counsellor should be aware of internalised oppression and should make all participants aware of this. Internalised oppression is defined as the results of unhealed mistreatment and negative messages about a group over time (Batts, 1983:64). Several writers (Batts, 1983; Capitman, 1980; Jackson, 1987; Jones, 1987; Lipsky, 1987; Ryan, 1981; Sonn & Batts, 1985; Ayvazian, 1995; Tatum, 1992, 1994 & 1995) have indicated that
"less than" messages become internalised and believed. An example of internalised oppression is when individuals blame the system or someone else for their present circumstances and this prevents them from doing something on their own to improve their situation. They believe that the system or someone else needs to change for their circumstances to improve. This immobilises and further disempowers them from doing things on their own to improve their circumstances.

Most forms of internalised oppression occur in situations when their manifestation are necessary, for physical or psychological survival (Akbar, 1984; Lipsky, 1987). Brown and Batts (1985:64-65) described the following five expressions of internalized oppression which is essential for the counsellor to observe and make known to the participants in this stage of the approach:

a) System beating

This expression of internalised oppression involves getting over, on or around the system: manipulating others or the system through guilt, games, or illicit activities; acting out anger; playing dumb, clowning or being invisible (Gillborn, 1995). An example is where a black child from the informal settlement continuously goes to school late or does not do his homework, and accuses the Indian teacher of being racist when the teacher confronts him about his latecoming or incomplete homework.

b) Blaming the system

This is characterised by not taking responsibility for one's action: putting all the blame on the other or the system for one's own problems; refusing to learn about and acknowledge mental, emotional and stress related issues as real. An example of this is when a black student who does not study blames his teacher and the system for his poor grades. The student is unwilling to accept what role his lack of preparation may have in his failure to succeed.
c) Anti-white/Indian avoidance of contact

This includes avoiding contact with, or distrusting, all whites by being overly sensitive to rejection; by rejecting blacks who are perceived as not being black enough or escaping (through fantasy, dreams, drugs, alcohol, sex, food or withdrawal). Both black and Indian participants could share examples of how they tended to avoid contact with whites in the past and this is likely to bring them closer when they realise that they can identify with the experiences of each other.

The description of anti-white avoidance of contact given by Brown and Batts (1985) can be used in the analysis of the relationships of black pupils from the informal settlement with Indian pupils at their schools. Viewed from a perspective of anti-Indian contact one can understand why pupils from the informal settlement were withdrawn from Indian children during breaktime in the present study. As a result of internalising white racism Indian participants also treated blacks as inferior. However, internalising white racism is only one way of explaining why Indian and black children avoid each other. There are other explanations such as Indian children may perceive black children to be dangerous as a result of the messages they get from their parents or they may just consider black children to be dirty. The socio-economic issue - which brings about classism - may also contribute to Indian children not wanting to have contact with black children from the camp. This issue is evident amongst blacks themselves when black children from the townships did not want to join children from the informal settlement. They may have felt superior to children from the camp because they have luxuries, such as televisions, radios and other material things. Indian participants need to understand why they behave towards blacks in the way they do and black participants also need to have an understanding of this.

d) Denial of blackness

In this expression, internalised oppression means distrusting blacks, accepting that blacks are inferior, giving deference to
other races, rejecting or devaluing African heritage, valuing and overemphasising western standards of beauty, valuing and accepting whites as the highest authority and white standards as superior. Both black and Indian participants need to understand that in many ways their experiences are similar for example, black children straightening their hair so that they can be like whites or Indian children discarding their eastern values in favour of western ones. An example common to both Indians and blacks is discarding the names given to them at birth in favour of European christian names. In this way they are discarding their identity and cultural roots. Within the context of the present study a good example of denial of blackness is black children trying to imitate Indians and being uncomfortable with their African heritage.

e) Lack of understanding or minimization of the political significance of racial oppression

This is expressed by being passive and unassertive, feeling powerless, misdirecting anger to persons with power, having difficulty expressing anger, avoiding conflicts at all costs, turning anger inwards, in-group fighting, being sexist, or taking advantage of the lack of information or feelings of powerlessness of other blacks (Brown & Batts, 1985:66). An example of this would be when a child from the informal settlement is unwilling to stand for election to the student representative council because s/he does not think that s/he would be elected.

(v) Internalised inferiority.

When black children continuously receive messages which indicate that they are inferior, they internalise these messages and eventually begin to feel inferior (Cross, 1991; Derman-Sparks, Higa & Sparks, 1980). Internalised inferiority immobilises participants and reinforces their inferior feelings for example, the past system and cultural deprivation most probably made many blacks feel inferior. If they continue to feel this way they may not be able to move forward into accepting that they are equal to others in their society (Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1989 &1990; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987; Sherover-Marcuse, 1981).
Indian participants also need to share feelings of inferiority. They probably feel inferior to whites but the past system made them feel that they were still better than blacks. The counsellor should encourage participants to share these feelings openly without blaming each other and accepting responsibility for their own feelings.

(vi) Grief and healing

The counsellor should be able to provide a supportive and containing environment for participants to share their grief and pain when they relate their experiences. Participants need to ventilate their pain and suffering and other cultural groups need to hear and understand this. This in itself will give birth to a process of healing. Indian participants need to hear and feel the pain which apartheid had caused for blacks as in the break-up of homes, the death of loved ones through torture, police brutality and their many other experiences. Black participants also need to hear and feel the pain which Indian people experienced so that they would realise that they were not alone in the struggle for freedom. Participants need to support each other through this painful process. They need to experience the pain so that they could gain an understanding of the experiences of each other.

6.6.3.5 Empowerment

This stage sets the basis for further psychological empowerment which began in stage 1. Black and Indian participants are able to go through their pain and suffering and undergo a process of therapeutic healing. They should not be fixated on blaming others for their pain and suffering but should find ways of dealing with them in a way which empowers them to rise above their experiences. Indian participants in the group should become conscious of how they have contributed to the pain and suffering of others as well as their own pain and this in itself should be empowering for them.
6.6.3.6 Application of approach

Stage 2 allows for participants to share their experiences at the institutional, cultural, individual and interpersonal levels. These levels range from the least threatening to the most threatening that is, participants are encouraged to share encounters from the institutional level down to the interpersonal level. By the time they reach the interpersonal level of experience they should feel safe and be more willing to share.

6.6.3.7 Levels of experience

The experiences of participants at the institutional, cultural, personal and interpersonal level will be discussed within the context of the present study. The first three levels were adapted from Chambers & Pettman (1986) and Katz (1989) for the context of this study. The interpersonal level was adapted from the work of Brown & Batts (1985).

a) INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL

This refers to the inequalities of the past apartheid system which excluded the majority of the people in the country (blacks) from being significantly involved in the country's major social institutions - education, economics, health services, public services and politics (Hewitt, 1986; Mboya, 1993). The past government had the power and influence to enforce discrimination and treat blacks as "less than", that is, inferior and unequal to whites. It is essential for the new democratic government to change the past system in order to address the inequalities of the past. At the same time it is essential to note that a black government in South Africa can practice racism in reverse if Africanism is strongly promoted because the government will have the means and power of implementing racism.

Participants can share how the past system has contributed to their present circumstances. In the process of sharing experiences black participants may indicate how the lack of political, social and economic opportunities have contributed to
their difficulties at the informal settlements. Indian participants should be able to see how racial laws have contributed to unemployment, poverty and violence which is largely instrumental in the establishment of informal settlements. Black participants should share experiences on how the past system had disempowered them. The past system has been disempowering for Indian people as well. They need to share this with the black participants in the group so that they would be able to identify with each other's experience.

In the process of sharing experiences, black and Indian participants should become aware of the unwarranted privileges whites possessed in the past which often was at the expense of black people. They should also become aware that when they share this information with whites whom they come into contact with feelings of guilt, shame and anger could arise since in some cases whites were lied to by the past government and this has resulted in their humanity being compromised. In other words, some white participants may be angry with the past government for oppressing blacks and they may even be angry with themselves for not being able to see the pain and suffering experienced by blacks as a result of racism. While some blaming of the system might be acceptable, white people need to own responsibility for past oppression and for helping with redress (on all levels). Their disempowerment is a shedding of false and unearned power rather than being really disempowered. In fact shedding racism may be liberating for white as well as black people. As long as a safe and non-judgmental environment is created black participants need not be anxious or apologetic for upsetting white equilibrium. The experience is painful but necessary and white participants need to be supported through it.

The writer has discussed the process which white people need to go through because he feels that it is important for black and Indian participants in the group to have an understanding of this process. Such an understanding is likely to make black and Indian participants more accepting of white people despite the anger they may possess. The counsellor constantly needs to engage black and Indian participants in constructive discussions relating to the experiences of whites so that black and Indian participants
do not unite in their anger towards whites. It would be useful to have whites in the group despite the fact that the approach is developed for black children from the informal settlement and Indian children from schools in Lenasia. This recommendation is made towards the end of this chapter and needs to be considered when the approach is implemented. White children would be able to share their experiences directly and the entire group would have the opportunity to deal with the feelings which may arise in the group.

It is significant to note that Indians did have political representation in the tricameral system and as such did have some benefits which African people did not have. Indian participants need to share experiences in relation to the benefits they possessed. They also need to be aware that they may have internalised white racism. However, they should not find excuses for their prejudiced behaviour by blaming it entirely on apartheid because all race groups have their own prejudices about other groups. Each race also has the potential to be racist if it has the means and power to implement racism (Vilakazi, 1987). A good example of this view is the vivid description of racism by Head (1971) within the Masarwa (Bushmen) in Botswana. This is an example of blacks (Africans) practising racism against other blacks (Bushmen) because they had the power and the means to do so.

Within the South African context institutionalised racism may be seen as a white responsibility because they had the power and the means to enforce racism. However, Indian participants also need to know that racism also exists at other levels, such as cultural, personal and interpersonal and at these levels they should take responsibility for racism which may exist.

b) CULTURAL LEVEL

If participants in the PACTS training approach are to understand their own behaviours and feelings, they must first understand the roots of these behaviours and feelings in the major socialising influences that they have been exposed to since birth: the family, the school, the media and their peers (Chambers &
Pettman, 1986; Davey, 1983; Goldberg, 1993; Sleeter, 1994). They need to note how cultural influences have impacted on their past and present experiences. When the past government was in power there was a vivid practice of cultural racism which probably still exists. Jones (1988) defines cultural racism as the individual and institutional expression of the superiority of one race's cultural heritage and values over that of another. It also speaks of what is regarded as proper and beautiful, for example "white is right" and "West is best".

Ngugi (1986: 128) argues that ideology - which is a whole system of symbols, images, beliefs, feelings, thoughts and attitudes by which we explain the world and our place in it - often becomes cultural practice. Ideology has a material base and it is usually reflective of the controlling class or nation. This ideology is first imprinted in the consciousness of individuals through the use of literature and mass media (Ngugi, 1993).

Within the South African context, white people were able to enforce their ideology - they controlled the economic and political power of society - and were able to maintain cultural racism. Their culture and values were given prominence over the culture and values of other groups, so it was good to be white. In addition to this, western values are sometimes given more prominence than traditional values.

A characteristic of racism is that it also exists in other countries like the United States of America, Europe and the United Kingdom where racism was not institutionalised. This may indicate that cultural differences may contribute to racism and that sometimes cultural racism may be equally damaging as institutionalised racism if the results of racism in other countries are taken into consideration.

Participants should share their experiences of being dominated by a group in terms of language, norms, values and standards. There are cultural differences of dress, music, dance, language, values, religion or so-called customs and social behaviour (Baruth & Manning, 1992; Bennet, 1986). Group members will come to realise that each of them have a cultural heritage which is
equally significant and valuable to other members of the group. This should prevent participants from denying their cultural heritage and may empower them to reclaim their cultural roots. This would encourage children from the informal settlements to maintain their cultural values and not make drastic attempts at adopting the cultural values of Indian children.

c) PERSONAL LEVEL

According to Brown and Batts (1985: 57) this level refers to the beliefs, thoughts and feelings that some groups are "less than", that is, inferior and less significant in comparison to other groups. These values, beliefs, thoughts and feelings have been learned or internalised either directly (through negative experiences), or indirectly (through imitation and modelling of significant others).

At this level individual participants should realise that their own values, beliefs and assumptions impact on their relationships with others and as such on their own experiences as well as the experiences of others, for example an individual may have erroneous beliefs and negative feelings about members of a particular group and may behave in discriminatory ways to those members. At this level, participants should share their thoughts and feelings in an open manner in a non-blaming, non-judgmental and non-threatening way.

At this level, participants should be encouraged to share their own thoughts, feelings and actions with regard to their experiences, that is children from the informal settlement could share their anxieties, fears, anger and embarrassment which they experience at predominantly Indian schools. Members in the parent and adult groups could share their frustrations about their practical difficulties and the living conditions at the informal settlements.

d) INTERPERSONAL LEVEL

This level refers to the ways we behave towards the other groups given our personal attitudes, values and beliefs (Brown &
Batts, 1985). At this level participants should become aware of how their own personal experiences described in the previous level have influenced their interactive relationships with other people in the group, where a child from the informal settlement is embarrassed about his body odour due to the lack of adequate bathing facilities and this prevents him from having close physical contact with Indian children. Another example is a child from the informal settlement being embarrassed about living in a shack (which is not seen as a home) and this prevents her from inviting friends to her home. This level encourages participants to improve their interaction with others in the group.

Stage 2 should provide all members in the group with the opportunity to share their experiences. The personal experiences of every participant is valuable and should be welcomed and listened to. This stage is cathartic and should enable participants to share their pain and suffering, thereby giving them a sense of psychological empowerment.

6.6.4. STAGE 3 - IDENTIFYING STRATEGIES TO DEAL WITH EXPERIENCES

Stages 3 to 6 are shorter than the first two stages. In the first two stages the counsellor actively works with the participants who give vent to a wide range of feelings which may have inhibited them to function as individuals — or even as a group — in the past. Dealing with feelings and experiences is a long process, and the exercises used are intended to facilitate this process. In stages 3 to 6 the counsellor begins to play a lesser role, thus encouraging participants to become proactive. In these stages the exercises are limited so that participants could act on their own — free from any prescriptions. Hence, the last four stages are shorter because the participants need to do most of the tasks on their own within a time frame.

6.6.4.1 Introduction

Stage 3 should follow only when the preceding stage is fully completed, that is when the experiences of all participants have been shared and their feelings have been ventilated and contained.
in a supportive environment. The purpose of this stage is to empower participants to think and plan strategies to deal with their experiences. To achieve this the goals of this stage will be to:

(i) assist participants to brainstorm possible action strategies to deal with their experiences;
(ii) enable participants to develop a course of action to deal with experiences;
(iii) enable participants to choose possible action strategies.

6.6.4.2 Rationale

Participants have shared their experiences in the previous stage; now they need to find ways of dealing with their experiences which should be prioritised. This means that they should start with the experiences which affect them the most and then move to the ones which affect them the least. This should be a group effort so that participants could be further empowered as a group. If they do not plan and choose ways of dealing with the experiences which impact on them the most, they are not adequately empowered. Two full day workshops may be appropriate in stage 3.

6.6.4.3 Method

Exercises (see Appendix K) are directed at encouraging participants to think about strategies to deal with their experiences. This could be achieved by brainstorming and small group sessions. One of the exercises (adapted from a workshop attended by the researcher) used in stage three is called "Buses". Here the facilitator asks participants to board bus 1 if they have something specific like if they speak more than one language. Participants who speak more than three languages should board bus 2 and so on. In this way participants begin to see the value they have to themselves as well as the group. This makes them think more positively about themselves and helps them to identify strategies to deal with their experiences.
6.6.4.4 Role of counsellor

The counsellor begins to play a less active role in the sessions and becomes an equal participant in the group. This means that s/he encourages other participants in the group to facilitate the session/s whilst s/he provides support for the facilitators.

6.6.4.5 Empowerment

Stage 3 allows participants to experience cognitive empowerment. They begin to think more positively about themselves and they begin to realise that they can think of ways to improve their situation. They are able to develop their own strategies and plans of action by sharing ideas with each other. This in turn increases their self-confidence and their beliefs in themselves as well as others. They begin to have a sense of ownership over the strategies because the strategies are formulated by them. Black and Indian participants may have different priorities in terms of their experiences but they should still work as a group in assisting each other with their difficulties.

6.6.4.6 Application of approach

Participants in the PACTS training approach can brainstorm ideas for dealing with their experiences, for example children in the study indicated that they have serious difficulty doing their homework because of the lack of electricity, noise and overcrowding. One of the plans that they could think of is to ask principals of schools nearest to the informal settlements to make these schools available to children after school hours and during weekends or schools could be opened on a rotational basis. Indian children could also encourage children from the informal settlement to come to their homes so that they could work together without disturbance. The possibility of establishing a library at the informal settlement could also be examined. In a similar way strategies for the wide range of negative experiences (see major themes in Chapters 3 and 4) expressed by children, parents and other adults from the informal settlement could be proposed and explored.
6.6.5 STAGE 4 - IMPLEMENTING STRATEGIES

6.6.5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this stage is to empower participants to carry out the strategies they have developed in the preceding stage. To achieve this the goals in this stage are meant to:

(i) motivate participants to carry out the strategies developed in the previous stage;
(ii) empower participants to take responsibility and accountability for their actions;
(iii) enable participants to take on different roles, such as negotiator, social advocate, community worker and community leader.

6.6.5.2 Rationale

For the PACTS approach to be successful, participants must be willing to carry out actions to improve their living circumstances and deal with their negative experiences. Thinking about strategies without follow-up action means that participants are not adequately empowered. Participants should be given approximately four weeks to implement some of the strategies they identified in stage 3. The time frame should be negotiated by the participants but it is essential that a date should be decided on for completion.

6.6.5.3 Method

Exercises designed by the researcher (see Appendix L) are aimed at making participants pro-active. They should carry out the strategies developed in the previous stage, such as establishing a library at the informal settlement or forming delegations to negotiate for better facilities at the camp. Videos of proactive people and community projects can be used to stimulate participants.
6.6.5.4 Role of counsellor

Although the counsellor plays a low profile in this stage, s/he models different role-players, such as negotiator, social advocate and community leader. The counsellor is available as a consultant and provides support to participants when they are in need.

6.6.5.5 Empowerment

In stage 4 participants should achieve behavioural and social empowerment. Behavioural empowerment occurs when they take action to improve their lives. They do not wait for others to change their situation, but they actively work towards constructive change. They become social advocates (social empowerment) in uplifting their social lives. They find strategies to improve their economic circumstances and they use their legal and political powers to get the government to improve their living conditions. Indian participants could become part of the delegation seeking to improve the situation at the informal settlements. However, it is imperative that black people from the informal settlements lead the initiatives while the Indian participants in the group provide them with the support they need. This would prevent the black participants from depending on the Indian participants to get things done. Instead they would become proactively independent and this would reinforce their empowerment.

6.6.5.6 Application of approach

Participants in the FACTS approach can implement strategies to improve their social, educational and economic circumstances. They can for example, open a library at the informal settlement and make representations to the government to provide water, electricity and sanitation to the informal settlements. Parents can also join parent - teacher associations to improve the situation of their children at their schools. Active community involvement is needed in stage 4.
6.6.6 STAGE 3 : EMPOWERING OTHERS FROM THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

This stage focuses on the empowerment of other people from the informal settlement. Participants who have been through the approach may now have an immediate "status" in their community as leaders. They are seen as the people who can assist other people from the camp.

6.6.6.1 Introduction

Stage 5 sets the basis for broadening the number of participants from the informal settlements as well as the Indian community of Lenasia. It also encourages more people to become part of the PACTS approach. To achieve this, goals are designed to:

(i) encourage participants who have undergone training to expose others in the community to the PACTS approach;
(ii) encourage participants to empower others from the informal settlement as well as the Indian community of Lenasia;
(iii) assist participants to develop an on-going support group at the informal settlement or at schools;
(iv) assist participants to network with others who work at the informal settlements and schools, such as social workers, local councillors, health care officials and local community organisations.

6.6.6.2 Rationale

If the approach is to be judged successful, participants must be willing to empower others from the informal settlement and Lenasia to take the responsibility of improving their lives. This means that the empowered participants must conduct similar training programmes with other parents, adults and children in the community. Participants should conduct workshops with others in their own time. A time frame should be negotiated by the participants for completion of the training programme. The counsellor should supervise the time frame of the programme so that he could monitor the progress of the participants. He should
not be rigid with the time frame, but should encourage participants to support each other by working together to complete the programme in time.

6.6.6.3 Method

On completion of the training programme participants will have to get together as small groups and provide similar training for other people in the community. They should function as small groups so that more people could be reached and trained. If they operate as one large group then they will only be able to train a limited number of people. When participants in these new groups complete their training they will get together as small groups and conduct similar training programmes and so the cycle continues. Eventually the empowered participants - under the guidance of the educational psychologist - should become "consultants" and assist in further training (see Appendix M). This means that they are not directly involved in the training of people, but are available to assist people who have been through the approach and are now responsible for the training of others.

6.6.6.4 Role of the counsellor

Although the counsellor plays a low profile in this stage, s/he act as a skills trainer and as a consultant. The counsellor is available to assist and provides resources for the participants, such as books, policy documents and contact numbers of community organisations.

6.6.6.5 Empowerment

Participants would be empowered as skills trainers in the programme. They should acquire skills in organising groups and helping individuals to learn more about themselves as well as more about the group. They should also be able to help others to deal with their negative experiences and become proactive in improving their lives. Participants who have gone through the approach should further their training in counselling and communication skills, conflict resolution and negotiation skills.
The educational psychologist who initially started the training programme may be able to take on the responsibility of further training for participants who have completed the first part of their training. These participants should also be empowered to set up networks with other community organisations and structures and set up continuous support groups. Participants who have been through the approach need to support each other so that they could continue with the process of training others. If they are not part of a support group, they may function as individuals and there may be a tendency for their enthusiasm to gradually disappear.

6.6.6.6 Application of the approach

Participants in the PACTS approach should encourage more people from the informal settlement and Lenasia to receive similar training. As consultants they should try to empower more people so that the entire informal community would eventually be able to improve their social, educational, economic and political lives.

6.6.7 STAGE 6: EVALUATION OF THE APPROACH

The final stage of the PACTS approach allows the participants to evaluate the approach. The counsellor conducts the evaluation and is still available after completion of the approach.

6.6.7.1 Introduction

This stage allows the counsellor as well as the participants to determine how successful the approach is in empowering others. It also allows for critical evaluation of the different components of the approach. The goals are meant to:

(i) assist participants in evaluating how empowered they are;
(ii) encourage participants to critically evaluate each of the components of the approach;
(iii) enable participants to make additions, omissions and suggestions to the approach.
6.6.7.2 Rationale

Participants are empowered to evaluate the approach and make suggestions and modifications. In this way the approach can be more participant-orientated and this will give members a sense of ownership of the approach. Evaluation is essential to modify the approach, if necessary, to suit the needs of all participants.

6.6.7.3 Method

Participants are given an evaluation form to assess the overall utility of the approach as well as specific components of the approach itself (see Appendix N). Evaluation is done whenever the approach is used.

6.6.7.4 Role of the counsellor

The counsellor prepares the group for termination. From the initial stage of the approach the counsellor makes it known to the participants that at some time the training programme will come to an end. From Stage 4 the counsellor briefs participants on what is expected of them and how they should take the training further. The counsellor helps the participants to reflect on the entire approach by giving them an evaluation form to complete. S/he collects the evaluation forms and uses suggestions to modify the approach if it is needed.

6.6.7.5 Empowerment

By Stage 6 participants should have achieved overall empowerment as indicated in each preceding stage. Their evaluation of the PACTS approach further empowers them since it enables them to acknowledge that they have power over the approach and they can make constructive input in making the approach more effective.

The different forms of empowerment occurring in each stage of the approach is visually reflected in Figure 6.4. The PACTS approach of empowerment can be used with an integrated group of parents, adults and children from the initial stage. However, for it to
be used effectively, it should first be used with parents, adults and children separately. When each of the different groups have acquired the training skills and achieved overall empowerment, integration of the groups should enhance the effectiveness of the approach, that is, parents, adults and children can work together as a single group in facilitating the improvement of others. This is structurally represented in Figure 6.5.
FIGURE 6.4: VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF EMPOWERMENT

STAGE 1
PERSONAL/GROUP EMPOWERMENT

STAGE 2
PSYCHOLOGICAL EMPOWERMENT

STAGE 3
COGNITIVE EMPOWERMENT

STAGE 4
BEHAVIOURAL EMPOWERMENT
SOCIAL
LEGAL
ECONOMIC
POLITICAL

STAGE 5
EMPOWERMENT OF OTHERS

STAGE 6
EMPOWERMENT OVER APPROACH
FIGURE 6.5: EMPOWERED GROUPS EMPOWERING OTHERS

EMPOWERED

PARENTS  ADULTS  CHILDREN

EMPOWERED GROUPS

PARENTS  ADULTS  CHILDREN

EMPOWERED GROUPS JOIN

PARENTS  ADULTS  CHILDREN

REACH OUT TO EMPOWER OTHERS

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The PACTS Approach of Empowerment was individually evaluated by four different educational psychologists. In the choice of evaluators the researcher took into consideration representativity in terms of race and gender. There were two male and two female evaluators from the four main racial groups in South Africa, that is black, white, Indian and coloured. Feedback given to the researcher will now be discussed.

All the evaluators indicated that the approach is strongly relevant to the present South African context and commended the researcher on tackling the issue in a direct way. Most of them felt that the approach is presented in a concrete way which is replicable and modifiable. The evaluators also stated that the PACTS approach is well thought out, thorough and carefully constructed so that a potentially useful intervention with positive outcomes could be ensured. Some of them indicated that it has a strong caring component which is complemented with wide ranging growth areas and this is likely to make the approach more effective.

The questions raised by the psychologists are mentioned and discussed below:

i) Why are teachers not involved in the PACTS Approach?

Most of the psychologists who evaluated the approach strongly felt that teachers should have been included in the PACTS approach. They indicated that the researcher should find some way of including teachers so that they could fully become part of the process. If this is not possible teachers should at least be kept aware of the process and the implications for them. The main concern raised was that if teachers were not involved in the process they may undermine the progress the researcher is likely to make when the approach is used.

The researcher agrees with the evaluators that teachers should have been included in the PACTS approach. Initially, he had included teachers as part of the study but was requested not to
since another study (Manga, 1996) was currently focusing on the teachers. Pupils in the present study specifically related difficulties with Indian teachers, such as teachers being racist or practising segregation by separating Indian and black pupils and teachers demanding that children from the informal settlement complete their homework without taking into consideration the difficulties these children experience at the informal settlement. Therefore, the inclusion of Indian teachers from schools in Lenasia would have been useful in enabling them to understand the situation of children from the informal settlements and this would have probably encouraged them to find ways of being supportive to these children.

The researcher believes that teachers could still be included in the PACTS approach with little modification. This could be achieved by including teachers in the adult component of the approach. In this way teachers would be able to see how they contribute to the difficulties of children from the informal settlements and together with these children and their parents they can find strategies to empower the children and in the process empower themselves.

ii) Is internalised white racism the only explanation for the racist behaviours of Indian children toward children from the informal settlement?

The researcher notes that internalised white racism is only one explanation for Indian children behaving in racist ways towards black children from the informal settlement. As such the researcher concurs with the view of some writers (such as Brown & Batts, 1985; Jones, 1987; Katz, 1989; McIntosh, 1989 and Wellman, 1977) that blaming whites for racism is just one point of view. The past government institutionalised the practice of racism so that whites could be given unearned privileges such as job reservation and good education. Past racial laws were exclusively for the benefit of whites. This encouraged most whites to see themselves as superior to blacks (including Indians and Coloureds) and this resulted in them treating blacks as their subordinates.
Indian teachers and pupils may have internalised white racism which black pupils from the informal settlement experience and interpret as racism. Indian pupils tease, fight and avoid contact with pupils from the informal settlement largely as a result of internalised white racism. In order to understand the attitudes and behavioural reactions of Indian pupils and teachers to children from the informal settlement, the researcher believes that it is necessary for blacks and Indians to have an understanding of white racism and its current impact on their lives, not forgetting that there are other explanations for such attitudes and behaviours.

The researcher also believes that it is equally necessary for black and Indian participants to understand that racism is a universal problem and is not only a black-white issue. Racist behaviours are acquired through imitation of parents (Troya & Hatcher, 1992), exposure to television (Gunter & McAleer, 1990; Husband, 1975), the school and the community (Ekblom, Simon & Birdi, 1988; Hartman & Husband, 1974), and through one's culture (Jones, 1988; Hewitt, 1989). Therefore, whites should not be the only ones held responsible for racism since it also appears to be a socially learned phenomenon.

iii) Who should facilitate the PACTS approach?

Two of the evaluators suggested that the PACTS approach should be facilitated by a male and a female co-facilitator and both of them should be from different racial or cultural backgrounds. The evaluators felt that gender and racial balance would serve as a model for the participants to refute sexism and racism. The writer supports the suggestion made by the two evaluators and has subsequently included this suggestion into the PACTS approach.

iv) Why has the issue of language not been dealt with in the approach?

The researcher acknowledges that English is a serious problem experienced by the pupils from the informal settlements and this issue should have been dealt with in the PACTS approach. However, the approach is flexible and allows for difficulties which may
have been overlooked to slot in one or more of the different stages, for example the problem with English as a second language could be identified as one of the main difficulties experienced by pupils from the informal settlements and ways of dealing with this problem could be discussed in stage 3 of the approach and the ideas generated could be implemented in stage 4.

The researcher was pleased with the feedback which was given by the evaluators and used it constructively in modifying the PACTS approach wherever it was necessary. The evaluators were satisfied with the researcher's responses to their questions and expressed their support for the approach to be implemented.

6.6.9 Recommendations

Recommendations are made below for putting the PACTS approach of empowerment into practice.

Although, within the context of the present study, the PACTS approach of empowerment may be used primarily with the black and Indian communities in Lenasia, the researcher believes that the approach will probably be more effective—with little modification—if it is used with a balanced group of previously disadvantaged and advantaged members, that is, there should be a mixed group of members which is racially, culturally, socio-economically and gender balanced. This may prevent the notion of locating the problem within a specific group of people. For the approach to be put into practice it is essential that participants do not blame each other but accept full responsibility for their own feelings and behaviour.

As an outcome of this study the PACTS approach of empowerment would be initially implemented with people from the informal settlements in Lenasia together with the Indian community of Lenasia. However, the researcher recommends that white and coloured people should also be included in the approach when it is implemented in Lenasia so that the intervention could be more effective. The inclusion of different racial and ethnic groups in the approach is likely to encourage the sharing of a variety
of experiences which will probably be more enlightening for all participants in the group.

The researcher also believes that the flexibility of the PACTS approach enables it to be implemented throughout Gauteng. The Gauteng Education Department is divided into eighteen districts and each district has been demarcated in such a way that it comprises schools which reflect the different racial and ethnic groups in South Africa. This provides an ideal opportunity for the PACTS approach to be implemented in the different districts since children from different racial and ethnic groups could easily be brought together with little practical arrangements.

As a result of the major transformations in education and the country as a whole, schools are likely to become more reflective of the different racial and ethnic groupings in South Africa. As such, the PACTS approach could be implemented in all schools with relevant modifications to the approach wherever it is required. In this way the approach could be put into practice on a national level.

The PACTS approach is directed at the self development and proactivity of children from the informal settlements. However, making children feel good about themselves is not enough if they are to cope at their schools. Concrete steps should be taken to help them, such as the creation of bridging modules and the retraining of teachers so that they would be able to teach in a multicultural context. As such the PACTS approach should be modified to include teachers as part of the training programme. Part of their training should focus on attitudinal change, especially in the areas of racism and sexism. In this way teachers are likely to become more conscious of the values and messages they convey to pupils which are then internalised and unconsciously practised by pupils. The teaching staff of each school should also be reflective of the school population so that the diversity of each group could be taken into consideration. Indian teachers should also consider the possibility of learning black languages and participate in programmes directed at teaching English as a second language. This may help them in understanding the language difficulties children from the
informal settlement experience and encourage them to design lessons and programmes for the benefit of these children.

Furthermore, if children from the informal settlement are to succeed in their schools it is imperative that the schools should make changes to accommodate the needs of these pupils rather than expecting them to adjust to the needs of the school. Schools should not expect black pupils to become integrated within the school system so that the ethos of the majority — who are Indians — could be maintained. The differences between pupils should be respected and appreciated and tangible efforts should be made at the school to support pupils through the process of transition.

Finally, the PACTS approach should encourage parent and community involvement. Parents should be encouraged to take the responsibility of ensuring that their children receive a good education and at the same time they can become aware of the difficulties their children experience at school. If they are aware of their children’s difficulties they may be able to provide support for them. An example of this would be parents of children from the informal settlements joining school governing structures to express the difficulties their children have with Indian teachers and pupils. Community involvement should be visible. An example of this would be community organisations negotiating for better facilities at the informal settlement.

6.6.10 SUMMARY

For the purpose of clarity and efficiency a summary of the PACTS Approach of Empowerment is presented in Table 6.1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE</th>
<th>GOALS</th>
<th>RATIONALE</th>
<th>METHOD</th>
<th>ROLE OF COUNSELLOR</th>
<th>EMPOWERMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1 PERSONAL AND GROUP EXPERIENCE | i Self Awareness
Acceptance of image of self and others
ii Self Growth
iii Group Cohesion | i Participants have different backgrounds, experiences and assumptions
ii Their thoughts, feelings and experiences are important | i Buzz groups
ii Exercises promoting self awareness, self growth and group cohesion | - facilitator
- encourages individual and group exploration
- models openness, honesty, acceptance, respect, genuineness, worthiness and concreteness
- active leadership role
- empathic
- uses attending and listening skills | Personal and Group |
| 2 EXPERIENTIAL ENCOUNTERS | i Help individuals realise the impact of institutions, cultural values, individual values and interpersonal relationships on their past and present experiences
ii Deal with affirmation, worth, self negation, internalised oppression, inferiority and grief and healing | i Participants' experiences at an institutional, cultural, personal and interpersonal level impact on their present lives
ii Therapeutic | i Experiential
ii Therapeutic | - facilitator
- psychological teacher
- non-judgmental
- provides support
- contains feelings
- psychotherapist | Overlap from stage 1
Psychological empowerment |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE</th>
<th>GOALS</th>
<th>RATIONALE</th>
<th>METHOD</th>
<th>ROLE OF COUNSELLOR</th>
<th>EMPOWERMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 3     | IDENTIFYING STRATEGIES TO DEAL WITH EXPERIENCES | i Brainstorm action strategies  
ii Develop a course of action to deal with experiences  
iii Choose action strategies | i Need to find ways to deal with experiences shared  
ii Not empowered if they don’t plan and choose ways of dealing with experiences | i Brainstorming  
ii Small group sessions | - facilitator  
- plays less active role  
- equal group member  
- supportive | Cognitive/Intellectual |

| 4     | IMPLEMENTING STRATEGIES | i Motivate participants to carry out strategies developed  
ii Participants become responsible and accountable for actions  
iii Enable participants to take on different roles | i For the approach to be effective participants must be willing to carry out actions  
ii Lack of follow up action means lack of empowerment | i Buzz group  
ii Videos | - plays low profile  
- models different role players  
- supportive  
- acts as consultant | Behavioural Social |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE</th>
<th>GOALS</th>
<th>RATIONALE</th>
<th>METHOD</th>
<th>ROLE OF COUNSELLOR</th>
<th>EMPOWERMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 EMPOWERING OTHERS</td>
<td>i Expose others to approach</td>
<td>Participants must be willing to empower others if approach is to be successful</td>
<td>i Participants join to provide training for others</td>
<td>- skills trainer&lt;br&gt;- consultant&lt;br&gt;- available&lt;br&gt;- resource provider&lt;br&gt;- plays low profile</td>
<td>Others empowered in skills training, counselling, negotiation skills and communication skills/social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii Empower others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii Develop support groups</td>
<td>ii Training should be on-going</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv Network with others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 EVALUATION OF APPROACH</td>
<td>i Evaluate individual empowerment</td>
<td>Participants evaluate the approach and make modifications and suggestions</td>
<td>i Participants complete evaluation form</td>
<td>- prepares group for termination&lt;br&gt;- collects evaluation forms&lt;br&gt;- examines evaluation forms and makes modifications if needed</td>
<td>Empowerment over the approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii Evaluate approach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii Make additions, omissions and suggestions</td>
<td>ii Approach is more participant orientated and gives sense of ownership</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In Chapter 6 it was noted that the experiences of children from the informal settlements both at their schools as well as at their place of residence cause them to feel disempowered. As such, the empowerment of children from the informal settlements was identified as the main focus for an intervention with these children. Subsequently the researcher developed the PACTS approach of empowerment which is aimed at empowering children from the informal settlements. This approach includes the involvement of parents and other adults from the informal settlements as well as pupils, parents and adults from the Indian community in Lenasia. The approach consists of six different stages with different forms of empowerment taking place in each of the stages. The PACTS approach was given to a group of educational psychologists for individual evaluation and their feedback was incorporated into the approach if the researcher found it to be relevant.

In the final chapter the researcher will evaluate the research, state its limitations and make further recommendations for research and education.
Chapter 7 will conclude the study by reviewing the problem and aims of the research in order to evaluate whether the objectives of the research have been met. The limitations of the study will be discussed and then general recommendations for further research and education will be made.

7.2 EVALUATION

The purpose of the study was to identify and analyse the experiences of black children from the informal settlement in Lenasia at predominantly Indian schools. The study also took into consideration the experiences of these children at the informal settlement and how such experiences contributed to their school experiences. On the basis of the findings, a literature review was conducted to contextualise the results. Then an approach for intervention was described to help these children to cope with their difficult experiences. The study was conducted in two distinct phases and the objectives in each of these phases are discussed below.

7.2.1 Phase One

The main objective in this phase was to collect data on the experiences of black standard six pupils, both at their schools and at the informal settlement in which they live. First a pilot study was conducted in the form of separate phenomenological interviews with two pupils and a parent from the informal settlement in Lenasia to determine whether the methods chosen for
data collection were appropriate, and to identify any problems that may arise in the implementation of those methods. Such identification would have enabled the researcher to eliminate difficulties before the actual field work was done. The findings of the phenomenological interviews indicated a definite need for the study.

A qualitative research design which was purely contextual, exploratory and descriptive in nature was used to collect data through the use of phenomenological interviews, focus group discussions, life studies and a sentence completion test. The researcher deliberately chose these four different methods of collecting data to ensure trustworthiness through triangulation in the study. The methods used were highly successful in collecting a variety of relevant information. The research design and research methodology used in the study are described in detail in Chapter 2.

The objectives of this phase were to obtain, analyse and categorise the data in conjunction with a review of the relevant literature.

The results indicated that children from the informal settlements experienced a variety of feelings. They often felt angry and frustrated with their negative experiences at their present schools as well as with their negative experiences at the informal settlement. They felt shy, fearful and inferior when they were in contact with Indian children. Quite often they felt stupid and embarrassed when they were unable to do their schoolwork due to practical difficulties at the informal settlement. They were also embarrassed and unhappy about their living conditions and were envious of Indian children who have better living conditions than they.

Furthermore, they experienced fear and anxiety at their schools, especially when teachers picked on them because they had not done their homework. They felt that the Indian teachers and children had no understanding of the difficulties children from the informal settlement experienced. Despite their many negative feelings, some children in the study felt that they were entitled
to have a good education whilst others felt privileged to be at a predominantly Indian school.

The results also indicated that the children involved in the study experienced difficulty with behaviour in relationships, especially with Indian teachers and pupils. Most of the children from the informal settlement found it difficult to tolerate Indian teachers and pupils who were unkind to them. Unkindness to black children was evident when they were teased and mocked by Indian teachers and pupils. Discrimination and segregation were also strongly prevalent in the schools involved in the study. When Indian children fought with them and ganged-up on them, some of the black children had the tendency to avoid conflict and attempted to distance themselves from the Indian children.

Practical difficulties at the informal settlement also contributed to the negative feelings and experiences of the children involved in the study. Some of the practical difficulties which emerged consistently in the study were the lack of money, unemployment, the lack of facilities which resulted in children being idle, long distances to schools, shops and water, the lack of basic provisions, such as electricity, sanitation and houses, transport difficulties and poverty.

A very important finding in the study revolves around the difficulties children from the informal settlement experience when they have to study. Overcrowding, noise, the lack of electricity, damaged books, too many household chores, the lack of adequate sleep, substance abuse and too much homework, all contribute to their study difficulties.

The results also reveal some parents from the informal settlements as being irresponsible and neglectful in monitoring their children's attendance at school. Some of them engage in substance abuse and become noisy and disruptive and this often results in family violence and family disintegration.

The findings also show that most black children in the study have more negative experiences at predominantly Indian schools. Some
of these negative experiences relate to language difficulties, racial discrimination, poor relationships between black and Indian children, overage, school uniforms and the lack of documentation. Some of the children from the informal settlement also felt that they were treated unfairly, especially when they were expelled from school because they did not have a school uniform or when teachers failed them, embarrassed them and generally treated them differently because they were black. Despite the mainly negative experiences at their schools, some children from the informal settlement were glad that they were receiving a good standard of education so that they could make career plans for the future.

Some members of the camp education committee identified certain areas of difficulty which were not expressed by children or parents involved in the study. These areas relate to cross-cultural communication, unmotivated children, political rivalry, lack of trust, inadequate preschool education and apartheid legacy. Some members of the camp education committee proposed possible solutions to the problems experienced by children from the informal settlement. Some of these solutions are the encouragement of joint activities by Indian and black children, integration, sharing, cultural understanding, building trust, improving communication and promoting understanding between Indians and blacks. Parent involvement in school governing bodies and the visibility of prominent people - such as the Minister of Education - at the informal settlements were also proposed.

After analysis of the data a literature review was conducted to contextualise and substantiate the results. This was achieved by comparing the findings in this study to the results of other studies to note similarities, differences and uniqueness.

Similarities were noted in the major themes relating to feelings and behaviour. The feelings of black children which were identified as consistent between this study and other studies were fear, anxiety, loneliness, embarrassment, misunderstanding, inferiority and being privileged. The black children in this study indicated that Indian children called them names and ganged up on them. In addition, both Indian teachers and pupils
practised racial discrimination and segregation in their relationships with black children. Name calling, racial discrimination and segregation were also identified as consistent themes between this study and other studies.

Other findings which were similar to the ones in this study relate to black children’s perceptions on the value of education and language difficulties. Most of the studies noted that there is a perception amongst some black children that education is important and that they must go to school if they wanted to plan for their future. Language became an issue when English was used as a medium of instruction, because the children in the study were used to being taught in their vernacular at the black schools from which they had come.

Other studies have also identified the socio-economic context of black children as well as the lack of facilities in black communities as serious issues which contribute to the difficulties of black children. These are even worse for children from the informal settlements. The lack of cross-cultural communication and the difficulty black children experience with homework also emerged as themes in other studies.

Findings noted in other studies but not in this study were support for racial desegregation, a sense of control over one’s environment, and the comparison of academic achievement with classmates (see Chapter 5 for more discussion on each of these themes).

The findings unique to this study were the feelings of anger, frustration, sadness, envy, embarrassment and entitlement which black children in this study experienced. The unique behaviour which black children in this study experienced relates to Indian children fighting with them and being unkind towards them. Black children in this study also had a tendency to avoid conflicting situations with Indian children. Other themes which were unique to this study reflected the practical hardships and study difficulties which children from the informal settlement experienced.
7.2.2 Phase two

The main objective of the final phase of the study was for the researcher to describe an approach, on the basis of the findings, which could be used as an intervention to help children from the informal settlements in Lenasia cope with their negative experiences at their schools as well as at the informal settlements.

A major observation which emerged in the analysis of data was the disempowerment of the black children involved in the study. As such, empowerment was identified as the main focus of the intervention. The term "empowerment" was then explained, defined and analysed within a counselling perspective.

Parents (P), adults (A) and children (C) were identified as the main participants in the approach which was aimed at empowering them through the training (T) of skills (S). As such, the approach was named the PACTS Approach of Empowerment. A visual concept of the approach was developed and the structure and process of the approach were described in six different stages. Stage 1 focuses on individual and group empowerment while stage 2 encourages participants to share their experiences at four different levels, that is institutional, cultural, personal and interpersonal levels. This enables participants to become psychologically empowered.

Stage 3 enables participants to experience cognitive empowerment while stage 4 allows for behavioural and social empowerment. Stage 5 enables participants to empower others whilst the final stage gives participants empowerment over the approach. Throughout the different stages of the approach the counsellor plays different roles, such as facilitator, helper, organiser, trainer, negotiator, social-advocate, therapist and consultant. The role of the counsellor changes from an active one to a less active one as participants proceed through the different stages, thereby encouraging participants to become empowered.

Another method of this phase was to have the approach evaluated by peers who are educational psychologists. Two male and two
female psychologists representing the four main racial groups in the country, namely black, white, Indian and Coloured were chosen as evaluators. Feedback given by the psychologists was used to refine the PACTS approach and guidelines for the implementation of the approach were described.

7.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study focused on the experiences of standard six children from the informal settlements in Lenasia, both at the schools they attend and their place of residence. The experiences of Indian children have not been considered in this study and their experiences are likely to have an impact on any approach which is designed to make an intervention. However, the PACTS approach does provide Indian children with the opportunity to share their experiences with black children at their schools.

Another limitation of the study is that it only takes into consideration the experiences of black children from the informal settlements in Lenasia. There are many other black children at the schools in Lenasia who either live in Lenasia or travel from Soweto and the surrounding areas. Although the experiences of these children are likely to be similar to those of the children from the informal settlements in many ways, some of their experiences will probably be qualitatively different since they do not live in poor socio-economic conditions as do children from the informal settlements.

A further limitation of the study is the omission of the experiences of teachers at the schools in which the research was conducted. Many difficulties which children in the study expressed related to the relationships they have with their teachers where teachers were perceived as being racist and unkind. An analysis of the data obtained from teachers would probably give another perspective of the difficulties children from the informal settlements experience at their schools. The PACTS approach of empowerment does not specifically include teachers and this may be essential for intervention to be successful.
The mere fact that the researcher is an Indian may have inhibited the black pupils in the study from being totally honest about their experiences, especially those experiences which shed a negative light on Indian teachers and pupils. The black pupils may have been intimidated into thinking that they would be victimised if they shared negative information about the Indian pupils and Indian teachers. Also, it may have been uncomfortable for them to share such information with an Indian person. The researcher tried to make the pupils as comfortable as possible and this became evident when they began to share sensitive information more freely. The positive side of having an Indian researcher was that other Indian people would become more aware of the experiences of children from the informal settlements and they would be more open to the findings. If the results were presented by a black researcher Indian people would probably have felt that the results were biased in favouring black children.

Another limitation of the study was the use of interpreters in the focus group discussion with parents and the camp education committee. Most parents in the focus group discussion spoke in their vernacular which was translated by someone else in the group to the researcher. The researcher was unable to determine whether information was accurately and fully translated. However, the researcher is fully aware that this was his problem because he did not know the language. Language was a further shortcoming in this study in the research methods used to collect data. Pupils had to respond in English and their difficulty with this language may have resulted in inaccurate interpretation of their responses by the researcher. The use of the incomplete sentence as a projective test may have an impact on the findings since pupils may have given responses which they believed would please the researcher and there is always the possibility that pupils may have manipulated their responses. Furthermore, expression problems experienced in the interview (because of the language problems) may have limited or attenuated the responses of the pupils. The poor quality of the children's language could have had a detrimental influence on the reliability of their responses. The study did not adequately take into account the levels of language skills and literacy of the respondents.
Finally, the researcher was unable to implement the PACTS approach because of the comprehensiveness of the thesis.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The researcher acknowledges that the PACTS approach only partially addresses the experiences of black children from the informal settlements at schools in Lenasia. As such there is a definite need for further research to address the experiences of these children. In the present study the need for research in teaching English as a second language or research in multilingual teaching is apparent. The possibility of setting up bridging modules for children from the informal settlements and researching programmes which could be used in these modules is another area for further research.

For black children to have more positive experiences at schools in which they form a minority and for children of other racial or ethnic groups to be more accepting of black children a total restructuring of education at a national level is needed. Restructuring of education needs to begin with racial and gender representativity in the appointment of senior officials in the Department of Education so that they could strive towards change.

There needs to be a major restructuring in the school curriculum. In the past the curriculum was used by the government to reinforce race, class, gender and ethnic divisions (African National Congress, 1995). The curriculum should be changed to reflect the diversity of our society as well as the values of the new South Africa. It should affirm the cultural identities of learners and encourage them to recognise, understand and appreciate differences and similarities. The curriculum should also enable learners to unlearn prejudices and develop an awareness of human rights. There is a definite need for research in the area of multicultural education within the South African context.

Changes in the curriculum should be practically carried out at schools, for example exploring the history of all racial, cultural and ethnic groups; having cultural awareness days for
the different cultural and religious values to be shared; studying African poetry and literature; recognising black languages as part of the school curriculum and using books which reflect diversity. Such changes in the curriculum are likely to empower all learners, especially blacks who have been disempowered in the past. These changes are likely to encourage teachers, pupils and parents to see the richness that black children bring to schools rather than focus on the "problems" which they bring. The focus on the positive aspects of black children at desegregated Indian schools is another area for further research.

Since the study only focused on the experiences of black children from the informal settlements in Lenasia at their schools, it is recommended that the experiences of Indian children with black children at the schools in Lenasia should also be researched. This may present a better understanding of the difficulties between black and Indian children which was noted in this study.

Studies on the experiences of black children who come from Soweto and the surrounding areas to schools in Lenasia should also be conducted. Similarities, differences and the uniqueness between this study and other studies could be made. The data obtained could be integrated to design an approach which could generally address the experiences of black children at schools in which they form a minority group.

The experiences of teachers need to be researched, especially, at the schools which were involved in this study. The findings of the research should be compared with the findings of the present study and the data should be integrated to make modifications to the PACTS approach, wherever it is necessary. The researcher was informed by the Education Department of the University that a study with teachers in Lenasia was already in progress. The results of this study should also be used to make comparisons to the present study. More importantly, the results of the study with teachers (Manga, 1996) should be combined with the present study to develop an overall approach to help children from the informal settlements.
Similar studies which reflect the experiences of black, Indian, Coloured or white children at schools in which they form part of the minority group should be conducted so that comparisons could be made with the present study. Now that a democratic government has been elected in South Africa one would expect the present study to be of great relevance within the contexts of education and social change. Since black pupils will now be accepted at schools which were predominantly white, Coloured or Indian the findings and guidelines described in this study could be transferred to the experiences of black children in desegregated schools.

Finally, the researcher recommends that the implementation of the PACTS approach of empowerment should be researched by another researcher. An evaluation should be conducted during and after its implementation. The findings should be used to make modifications, additions or omissions to the approach if they are needed to make the approach more effective.

7.5 CONCLUSION

The study has been a very valuable experience for the researcher. It has given him a greater understanding of the experiences of children from the informal settlement which may have been overlooked if the study was not conducted. It has created a personal bonding between the researcher and children from the informal settlement. It has also instilled in him a deep desire to strive for changes which would improve the situation of these children so that they may have more positive experiences at their schools.

The research has also contributed to the personal development of the researcher. During the initial stages of the study he was overwhelmed with sadness and frustration when the experiences of the children became known to him. However, as he progressed with the study he began to experience increasing satisfaction because he was venturing into addressing some of the negative experiences of the children from the informal settlement. This made him to feel good about himself and more positive about what could be done to help these children. The development of the PACTS
approach of empowerment gave him a sense of fulfilment and achievement.

During the course of the study the researcher established contact with parents and leaders from the informal settlement and this has led to the development of strong friendships with these people. He has now become an accepted figure in the camp and is able to enter or leave the camp without suspicion or fear of its inhabitants. The researcher has also gained in negotiation and consultation skills as a result of his contact with people from the informal settlement as well as his contact with principals and parents in Lenasia. This has given him the opportunity to negotiate for the implementation of the PACTS approach which is already in progress. As a culmination of the study the researcher would like to see the people of the informal settlement and the Indian people of Lenasia integrate into a single community and not function as separate entities. It is hoped that the PACTS approach would be instrumental in facilitating this process of integration.
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APPENDIX A

PROTOCOL FOR ANALYSIS OF DATA

1. Introduction

The researcher has provided a word for word transcript of each interview held with the different subjects involved in the study. Each transcript was read so that a holistic view of the experiences of the children from the informal settlements could be obtained, then the steps described below were followed in the condensing of data.

2. STEPS FOLLOWED IN CONDENSING DATA

2.1. Definition and categorization of the universum. The universum will consist of all the transcriptions and field notes. Thoughts, words, phrases and actual quotes reflecting themes will be highlighted.

2.2. The major categories represented in the universum will be identified.

2.3. Units of meaning related to the identified major categories will be underlined.

2.4. The units of meaning will be put into the major categories.

2.5. Sub-categories within the major categories will then be identified.

2.6. Relationships among major and sub-categories will be identified and reflected as themes.
2.7. The final results will be refined and quantified by counting the categories and themes.

2.8. The results will be prioritised according to the number of participants that have experienced the same aspect.

3. INSTRUCTIONS FOR CODERS

The analysis of the data will consist of the following two distinct phases:

3.1. PHASE 1:

3.1.1. Every transcript of every interview should be analysed separately.

3.1.2. First read the transcript in its totality to get a general understanding of the transcript.

3.1.3. Follow all the steps mentioned in 2 above.

3.2. PHASE 2

When the coders have completed their analysis of the data, they will meet with the researcher to discuss the results and reach consensus on the findings. Together they will refine categories and sub-categories. Items on which consensus cannot be reached will be excluded from the discussions on the findings.
APPENDIX B

PHENOMENOLOGICAL INTERVIEW: PUPIL

R denotes Researcher  
P denotes Pupil

R: Hello, my name is Jace, and you are ...

P: X ... my name is X

R: X

P: Yes

R: X, you are in standard ...

P: Standard 6

R: Standard 6 ... and where do you live?

P: In the squatter camp

R: The squatter camp in extension 9

P: Yes

R: X, I am doing some research on the experiences of children living in the squatter camp coming to Indian schools. I would like you to tell me about some of your experiences at this school.

P: Yes

R: What are some of your experiences at this school?

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P: My experiences ... My first impression was very bad. I did not have a friend ... I was lonely. About two weeks later one Indian child came to me. I was shy to play with Indian children.

R: I am wondering how come you were shy to play with Indian children

P: Because I am ... (hesitates) ... black. They would not want to play with me because I am black. This was the first time I come to Indian children school.

R: (nods) Mmmh

P: If the one Indian child did not come to me I would be very lonely. The first time I just sit quietly the whole day.

R: Maybe you could tell me how you felt about this, X?

P: I feel bad ... I just tried to do my work. Sometimes I don’t understand. I ask the teacher ... the Indian children start laughing ... I get cross ... so cross.

R: So what you are saying is that when you do not understand something you ask the teacher to repeat it ...

P: Yes

R: and the Indian children laugh at you
P: Yes, I feel bad ... I ask the teacher and some children to please explain to me ... They ask me if I am deaf. I say no, but I don't understand. They say I am stupid.

R: You hear what the teacher says but you don't understand.

P: Yes

R: and when you ask for help they laugh at you.

P: Yes ... (pause)

R: Can you tell me about the other experiences you have

P: Some Indian children worry me ... So one day I get cross and I give one Indian child a smack ... because they fight me ... The Indian's boys brother caught me after school and gave me a hiding ... so I was frighten to go to school ... I didn't go to school for some days.

R: So what you are saying is that when these children pick on you it sometimes ends up in fights.

P: Yes, I did not come to school for two weeks.

R: Mmmh

P: Now I don't fight back because I would have to stay absent ... and I won't get the education. So I just keep quiet ... (pause)

R: So you are saying that it is better for you to keep quiet so that you would not get into trouble.
P: Yes. I don't want trouble.

(pause - silence)

R: X, could you tell me about some of your experiences at this school...

P: Oh yes, the camp is far, I have to walk in the cold. Sometimes I come to school late. The teachers shout us and make us stay in during the break time... (pause)...
It is not right what they do. I don't have money to take a taxi so I just walk.

R: So are saying it is difficult to walk to school... It is a long walk.

P: Yes, a long walk

R: What experiences do you have at the squatter camp?

P: The other experience is in the morning I have to get firewood and fetch water... it is far... there is no water in the house, I must boil water to bath. This takes time, so I get late and sometimes I come late to school.

R: You are saying that there is so much of things to do in the morning before you leave for school.

P: Yes, this right

R: and the teachers and principal don't understand why you come late.

P: Yes... (pause)...
R: Is there any other experience that you would like to share?

P: Yes, the teachers give me lot of homework. Sometimes I don’t do my work because we don’t have candles. We don’t have money to buy candles. In the morning the maths teacher checks our work ... (pause) ... the children tell I did not do my work ... I get afraid.

R: So you are saying that sometimes it is difficult for you to get your work done because there is no lights and the teacher does not understand this.

P: This makes me feel bad because it is not that I don’t want to work. I want to do my work. How can I do my school work when I have to fetch water and wood after school. There’s so much work to do before I do my school work ... then it is dark.

R: So are saying that it is not that you don’t do your school work, it is that you don’t get the time to get your work done.

P: Yes, and everyone in the class think that I don’t want to do my work. They need to understand what I do at the camp

R: They must understand your situation ...

P: Yes, they must understand. If the teacher understand then he won’t think I am lazy and don’t want to do my work.

(Silence)

R: Is there anything else that you would like to share?
P: No ... I don't think so.

(Silence)

R: Thanks X for giving me your time and sharing your experiences.
APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPT OF PHENOMENOLOGICAL INTERVIEW: PUPIL

R: My name is Jace and you are ...

S: My name is Y

R: Y

S: Yes

R: You are in standard ...

S: I am in standard 6

R: Y, I am working on some research on the experiences of black children in Indian schools and I am hoping that you will tell me about your experiences as a black pupil in an Indian school.

S: The first time I went to the Indian school I was scared because the school did not belong to the blacks ... I did not talk to the children because I was frighten to say the wrong thing ... (pause) ... because I am black I told myself don't talk, just close your mouth and do your work ... (pause) ... I must get education ... I must not fight and don't may send me back to the black school.

R: Y, you are talking about bad things ...

S: The Indian children fight with me and push me ... I must just tell the teacher. They laugh and tease me ... and call me names. I tell the children I came
here to get education and not to fight ... (pause)

R: How does it feel to come from the squatter camp to this school?

S: It's not easy. I have to work. I get up early. I get up 4:30 in the morning because I must get water to wash myself. I must get wood in the morning to light a fire. I walk to school ... it is far. I must leave early so I would not be late for school. In winter it is very cold and still very dark ... I must go to school ... education is important ... (pause) ... I must do this. I want education.

R: What are your experiences at M H Joosub School as a child coming from the squatter camp? ... (pause) Tell me about your experiences during the past 6 months that you are here ...

They don't say you not Indian, they still teach us nice. (pause) ... Another thing is the language ... sometimes I don't understand ... I keep quiet ... I want education ... I try hard ... I just want to learn.

R: Mmm ... so what you are saying is that you have education on the top of your mind and that's what is most important ...

S: I want to learn ... I get education then I get good job ... I can buy house for my mother ... we don't have to live in squatter camp ... I like to live nice. I like to say to the teachers teach us ... so we get education.

R: Y, do you experience any difficulties?
S: Yes sir ... I write English and I talk English but it is difficult ... I try ... my parents ask why I learn English ... I say it is important for education ... I get spelling wrong ... I get scared ...

R: Mmm ... you are scared ...

S: Yes, I get scared the teacher would scold me ... I fright when I spell or read.

R: So you get scared when you read or say something wrong because you are not sure how the teacher will respond ...

S: Yes ... (pause) ...

R: Can you tell me about your experiences as a black child amongst Indian children at this school.

S: I feel bad ... but I tell myself don’t do anything or say anything ... I am here to get education. The school is Indians not blacks ... I am lucky to be here ... I get education because in Soweto the teachers strike and chalkdown ... they don’t teach us.

R: So you feel that at this school you are at least learning something ...

S: Yes ... (pause)

R: Do have any difficulty relating to Indian children in this school ?

S: It was difficult when I came the first week but now it is not so difficult. First I kept to myself and they don’t talk to me but now I talk ... if they
don't talk I don't care ... I just go on with my education ... (pause)

R: Y, can you tell me more about your experiences coming from the squatter camp?

S: Oh ... this squatter camp is not nice. I don't like to live in the squatter camp ... I don't like to live in the squatter camp because the teacher gives us homework. I must first go and clean up ... I can only do my homework at night ... it get dark and I must light a candle ... (pause) ... it's difficult to learn ... sometimes the candle get finished ... (pause) ... I can't learn like this.

R: So what you are saying it that it is difficult to do your homework at night because you don't have lights.

S: Yes, I like to do school work ... I told the teacher that I didn't do my homework because it was late but the teachers don't understand ... they say I am lazy.

R: So you are saying that the teachers think that you are lazy.

S: Yes

R: When your work is not done ... 

S: Yes, but I am not ... I try to do my work.

R: So what you are saying is that because off your living conditions it is difficult to get your work done.
S: Yes ... but not every time ... only sometimes. 
I try to do my homework first ... my mother want me to clean the house ... I want to study while it is daylight.

R: How do feel about these difficulties you have ... living in the squatter camp ... ((pause)) ... having difficulty in doing your schoolwork ... how do feel about this ...

S: I feel bad ... the teacher asks question in the class, I keep quiet because I couldn’t do my work ... (pause). They don’t know how difficult it is to study in the squatter camp ... I study ...

I try my best to study but my parents say don’t waste the candle we don’t have money.

R: So what you are saying Y, is that when the teacher asks questions you don’t put up your hand to answer questions ...

S: Yes

R: They think that you are lazy ...

S: Yes but I am not lazy the teacher and other children think I am lazy.

R: Mmm

S: I feel bad but I know I am not lazy. They think I am stupid and lazy but I know I am not. If I live like the Indian children I’ll do well in school.

R: Do you lack self-confidence because of your experiences?
S: Yes ... I don't answer questions because I am afraid that I get the answer wrong. Everyone will laugh and think I'm lazy. They don't know it's difficult for me to learn in the squatter camp. So I just keep quiet ... (pause) ...

R: Y, is there any other experiences that you would like to share with me?

S: (pause) ... No ...

R: Thank you, Y, for sharing your experiences with me.
APPENDIX C

FOCUS GROUP SESSION : PUPILS

R denotes Researcher

P denotes Pupil

The names of pupils have been omitted to ensure confidentiality.

R : Good morning and welcome. Thanks for being part of this group.
My name is Jace and I am conducting some research on the experiences of children at the squatter camp as well as their experiences at their present schools. At the end of the study we hope to present guidelines for drawing up a programme to help the children from the camp to cope in their schools.

Can we start off by introducing yourself?

P : My name is A

P : My name is B

R : B

P : I am C

R : C

P : My name is D

P : I am E

P : My name is F
R: To start off we are going to look at the experiences of camp children at this school. What do you think are the experiences of camp children at this school?

(Silence- pupils talk amongst themselves)

Caroline would you like to tell us about your experiences.

P: I come to school. I want to prepare for the future. I watch the other children who go to college and university. I need to and want to be like them.

R: You are saying that you come to school because you want to learn and want to study further, for example go to university.

P: Yes, that's right.

R: (to the group) Can you tell me about your experiences at this school from the time you have come here.

P: I want to learn ...

R: When I say experiences do all of you understand what experiences mean?

P: No ...

P: I am not sure.

P: I don't understand.

R: In other words we want to know how you find things in this school. You are now in this school in standard six. This is the first time you have come to this school ... am I right?
P: Yes

R: How do you find things to be in this school? How do you think other camp children find things in this school?

P: How do we find things at this school?

R: Mmh (nods)

P: I find things easy.

R: Easy

P: Yes, the subjects are easy

R: You don't have a problem with the subjects.

P: Yes

R: And the rest of you

P: (Nod in agreement)

P: They are not so kind in this school.

R: When you say they who are you referring to?

P: The children

R: The children

P: Yes ... (pause) ... (hesitating) ... the big children

P: The Indian children.
R: Can you give me examples of them not being kind?

(Silence)

R: Would the others in the group like to comment on what she has said?

P: They treat us badly.

R: How do they treat you badly?

P: They call us names

P: They say kaffir

P: Just some of the Indian children do this

R: So you don't like them calling you names, teasing you or picking on you.

P: Yes sir

P: Some of the other black children also tease us.

R: Other black children

P: Yes, they don't live in the squatter camp.

P: Ja, they have big houses in Soweto and Sebokeng.

P: They fight with us and want to be friends with them Indian children.

R: So you are saying that it is not only the Indian children who tease you and fight with you. Some of the black children, especially those who do not live in the camp also do these things to you.
I am wondering if all of you experience this.

P: (nod in agreement, look around to see if anyone else is in the room)

R: You don't have to be afraid ... no one is going to know what you tell me. All that you tell me is kept highly confidential.

P: (Hesitates) Some of the teachers treat us badly. My madam treats us differently from the other children.

P: Yes, she treats us not the same as the Indian children.

P: She separates us from the Indian children because we are black

R: So the teacher treats you differently because you are black

P: (Loud) Yes sir.

R: So you are saying that if you were Indian children you would be treated differently

P: Yes

P: She puts us one side in the classroom

R: She puts you on one side

P: She tells us to go sleep

R: She puts you on one side in the classroom and tells you to sleep.
P: She gives us work but shouts us and tell us how to do it.

R: She shouts and doesn't teach you.

P: Yes, she doesn't teach us properly

P: This makes us to feel bad

R: Mmh (nods)

P: Sometimes I wish I can go back to the school in Soweto.

R: You feel that you want to go back to the school in Soweto because you feel bad here. In Soweto you did not experience this.

P: Yes, I think the other children in my class from the camp feel like me.

(Breaks down in tears)

Interruption -- pupil cries

R: X, I see that you are very upset....(pause)
This is very upsetting for you. You do not like to be treated differently.

P: Yes (still crying)

R: It's very hurting ... makes you cry. This is a very sensitive thing for you. (pause)
(Researcher takes the attention away from X to make her more relaxed). I am wondering if all of you feel the same way as X.

P: Yes (another pupil begins to cry)
R : Y, you also feel upset

P : Yes (sobs)

R : Do you think the other children from the camp have similar experiences like you?

P : Yes this happens everyday.

R : You go through this experience everyday and it is very upsetting for you.

P : Not all the teachers are like this

R : Some teachers try to be understanding

P : We get angry because both the teachers and the Indian children do this to us.

R : So you are saying that some of the teachers and some of the Indian children are racist.

P : Yes, during the school breaks we black children play together. The Indian children don't want to be with us.

P : It's better if we stay alone for our own good

P : Some Indian children do play with the black children, but the black children they not from the camps. They from Soweto and other areas.

R : I am wondering how come some of the black children from other areas get along with Indian children.

P : The black children come from the rich houses and they want to be like the Indian. We also want to be like the Indian but we not rich.
R: So you are saying that the other black children get along with the Indian children because they come from higher socio-economic classes.

P: They are rich and they can talk the English good.

P: We stay alone. We cannot communicate with the Indian children.

R: So there is a communication problem with you and the other children.

P: Yes

P: We have problems with the Indian children because we are black.

R: There is racism.

P: Yes

(pause)

R: Is there any other experiences that you think children from the camp experience at this school?

P: (Silence)

R: The main problems I am picking up from you are racism, discrimination, language, communication and socio-economic differences. Am I right?

P: That's correct.

R: Is there anything else that you would like to share about school experiences?

P: No.
R: Now let us talk about the experiences living at the squatter camp. What do you think are the experiences of other children as well as yourself at the camp?

P: We don't have water and lights

P: The shops are far to walk

P: The schools are also far to walk

R: You have to walk long distances for water, shops and schools.

P: There's no money for transport

R: Mmmh

P: The houses are close to each other ... this makes it difficult for us to study.

R: You are disturbed when you study.

P: Yes, this causes problems at school.

R: It causes problems at school ...

P: Yes. In the weekend we can't study for tests. We do badly in the tests. We fail and the people think we are stupid.

P: Sometimes we can't sleep well at night

P: And we feel sleepy at school

R: You are disturbed at night as well
P: Yes, the people drink and make a lot of noise in the camp.

R: Living at the squatter camp makes the children ...

P: It feels ...

P: It feels uncomfortable.

P: They should build houses for us.

R: If you have your own house maybe you will have privacy and no disturbance.

P: I think the children feel bad about themselves and we get angry because sometimes there is no water and no food.

P: It's frustrating to live in the squatter camp.

(inaudible comments)

R: Let's summarise the important points thus far. At the school there are problems with racism, discrimination, language, communication.

At the camp children experience physical difficulties such as walking long distances to schools and shops, there is no water and electricity at the camp. There's noise and disturbances at the camp. This results in you performing poorly at school.

You also talked about feelings of anger, frustration and being uncomfortable at the camp.

P: Yes

R: Is there anything else that you would like to add?
P: Yes, we don't have money for school funds. We have to buy things for school and we don't have the money.

R: You buy things like ... 

P: We buy instruments 

R: Instruments  

P: Like maths sets ... The teachers demand this. There's no money. Sometimes we get money at the end of the month.

P: My parents don't have work  

P: Sometimes we don't have water to wash our school clothes. We come with dirty clothes to school. The people say we dirty and smell.

The teachers say we must bath with soap and all the other children laugh. It makes us feel so bad. The teachers and the Indian children they don't understand our problems.

R: Maybe if they understand your experiences at the camp things would be better.

P: Yes, but they don't want to understand

P: In the mornings we have to take paraffin to light fires to make water hot. We must wash. We get late for school and the teachers shout us. There's no transport and this makes the children more late.

P: The children hit us at school and this makes us more angry.
R : (silence) ... Is there any other experiences that you think that you should have mentioned?

P : No

P : I think we mentioned all.

(Silence)

R : Thank you for coming and thank you for participating in this study. Please be free to help yourself with the refreshments provided.
APPENDIX D - LIFE STUDIES (ESSAYS)

The actual words of pupils are used without any changes in spelling or grammar.

CASE 1

THE LAST FIVE YEARS OF MY SCHOOL LIFE FROM (FROM 1990 TO 1995)

1. INDIANS SCHOOL

The school of Indians he was very good, but the children of Indians I don't want to play the others children. The pupils of schools the many we come from Lenasia. I am very unhappy for attend school, for Indians. Me I am four years for attend school in Indians. The pupils he was play nicely and good. The boys of Indians is very, very play badly is not a good pupils and the girls he was play good he was very good pupils. I don't believe or he was a changes the school for Indians. The teachers he was teach good. The teachers of woman he was teach good. The teachers of man is not a good is very badly. The others pupils if you don't write a Homework is not come to school I do NO why. The teachers of man We don't understand what going do? I gave Homework if you don't write why? You I say I forget it. The teacher I say we forget a LUNCH I say no why we forget you write my Homework. The teachers of woman I have got no problem we teach pupils very good and other others teacher of man I don't teach pupils good, you teach badly, I say I will hit you.
THE LAST FIVE YEARS OF MY SCHOOL LIFE (FROM 1990 TO 1995)

1. D.E.T. SCHOOL

In 1990 I was attending school at Soweto and the name of the school I was attending in was Mmila H.P. School.

1.1. There I had no problem because it was D.E.T School and we did our languages as first subject the English was coming after our venecular. I was enjoying myself very much because had no problem with the teachers and student everything was okay for me and they were also clear is the way I was seeing things because boys and girls were very happy, friendly, kindly and helpful to each other. The teachers were using thick sticks or canes to hit Kids even pipes or a clap of a hand they were using them and they were hitting very hard so that you won't be able to hold a pen or just some thing else.

Indians schools are hitting hard but if you were attending in D.E.T. School before you won't feel even a pain when the Indian teacher is hitting. It will be just like they waisting their time by hitting you with these canes, pipes or sticks.

2. INDIAN SCHOOLS

In 1991 I was doing standard 5 so at school they gave me standard 4 test just because of a littlebit problem of English I had faile the test then they took me back to standard 3. Then I've repeited standard 3 for the second time I tride to talk a littlebit of English and it was improving the teachers there were very kind to
us and they liked being friendly and helpful to us too. When we had a problem you were welcome to discuss it with your teacher so that she or he can help you. 1991, 1992, and 1993. I was in the Indians school attending there until I have went to Soweto School to attend there again. The school I was in a new school named by a boy who have longed died. In 1994 I was in Hector Perterson Primary School last year and I was doing very well too is the blacks school but we were doing only English.

3. SQUATTER CAMP

We came to squatter camp in 1990 we started living with out an electric, water and may thing. We were using one tap to fetch water and we were supposed to form a line and it was a very long line pushing each other. Life was very difficult those days but now they have gave us more tap with our money that we use to pay a rent. We still not happy about that because we living in the zinc houses when its hot the zinc’s are hot, when its cold the zinc are cold, and when its raining it rains inside the zinc’s houses so we want houses because here in squatter camp we are suffering its just like we are sitting out of the houses because the zinc’s are useless.
APPENDIX E

PROJECTIVE TEST

SCHOOL: ___________________ STD: ______

INSTRUCTIONS:
Below is a list of incomplete sentences about your school and the squatter camp in which you live. Please complete these sentences by writing down any responses which come to mind. There are no right or wrong answers, all you need to do is be honest in your responses. Your responses will be kept CONFIDENTIAL, that is why you are not requested to write your name.

1. MY SCHOOL

1.1. The things I like about my school are

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

1.2. The things I dislike about my school are

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

1.3. The teachers are

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
1.4. The children are _____________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

1.5. At school I feel _____________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

1.6. I would like to change _______________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

2. THE SQUATTER CAMP

2.1. The things I like about the squatter camp are ____________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

2.2. The things I dislike about the squatter camp are _________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

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2.3. The people at the camp are


2.4. My difficulties at the camp are


2.5. My feelings about living at the squatter camp are


2.6. I would like to change


Thank you for participating in this study.
R: Hello

J: Hello

R: I am glad that you took this time off to come and spend with me in this interview.

J: It's fine.

R: I'm working with the experiences of children living at the squatter camp.

J: Yes

R: We want to look at what these experiences are and also the experiences of these children attending so called Indian Schools.

J: Yes

R: ... and at the end of the research we are hoping to come up with guidelines for a programme to address some of the problems that might occur ... and we are hoping that these guidelines would address the needs of these children.

J: Okay

R: I'm audio-recording this session to help me remember what we discuss here. (pause) I am wondering if it is all right with you.
J: Yes ... it's no problem.

R: J I want to start off by asking you this question, What are the experiences of your children at their present school?

J: I can say that there are lot of the experiences. Maybe by starting at the school ... lot of the children, eh ... my child ... as a parent I have the perception that at the school some things are not right.

R: Mmh (nods)

J: They are in fact different with the Indian children. My child came to me and he told me that he is not so happy because he failed three times. When you actually look at the thing, I mean, it was unfair to him that now he fail. How can he fail so many times? In fact the question I asked myself is how can the principal or even the teacher do this? What did they actually do to solve the problem. This not happen to only my child. The are many others. They parents are also complaining about the same thing.

R: So what you are saying is that these children failed because of something that happened at the school.

J: You see ... Yes of course ... My child failed three times and he complained. According to him he did not think that he failed. It's only that is black that he's being discriminated at.

R: So you feel that because the child is black the teachers or the school as failed him.

J: Yes ... that's right.

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You see also, I mean, one of the Indian child who did also fail and his parents went to the school and they complained about it and the child was passed to another standard.

R: So you are saying that it's not fair.

J: Well, I would say that it is not fair.

R: Just to summarise what you have said thus far ... there is discrimination, the school favours Indian children and Black children seem to fail more easily ...

J: Yes

R: Because they are black

J: Yes ... that's right

R: (pause) ... Is there and other experiences your child has told you about.

J: Yes, the relationship between the children ... the Indians mixing with the black children ... sometimes I got complains ... (pause) ...

R: Is there anything else that you like to talk about in terms of the school experiences of your child?

J: Yes, well ... of course I would say that there is a language problem. The standard of the DET and the Indian school is different because of the education system. Well now we know that's going to change ... (pause) There is a problem of course ... some of the children don't understand English, more especially, those in the higher primary, like standard four. There is some problem there.
R: There’s some problem with language ...

J: Yes ... there’s a problem with language but in standard 8 and 9 there seems if there’s no problem.

R: (PAUSE) ... Is there anything else that you would like to mention about your child’s experience at his present school?

J: Ja ... some of the children don’t have uniform. The teachers want uniform and there’s no money for it.

R: Mmmh (nods)

J: Oh yes ... there is also the problem of no birth certificates. The school wants the papers when there is no papers.

R: Some of the children don’t have documents like birth certificates.

J: Yes, the child has no documents. The principal and teachers complain about it.

R: How come they don’t have documents?

J: Well, that’s a problem because you find that some of us don’t have identity documents. Some of us have been displaced from the place we stayed because of the political violence that was actually happening in 1992 and 1993. Some of the parents, I would say are coming from black independent states like Lesotho, Swaziland and Transkei. So it’s difficult for the child to get documents when the parents don’t have things like ID’s themself.

R: Mmmh ... Is there anything else that you would like to mention?

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J: Well. I would say that the standard of education is good. We appreciate it that our children are at Indian schools even though it is quite difficult for some of the children.

J: There's not so much violence in these school like the townships. Schools go smoothly here ... no problems.

R: Mmh

J: Let me mention another problem. Some of the teachers say that the children absent themselves from schools so often.

R: So absenteeism seems to be a problem, especially with children from the camp.

J: Yes

R: I am wondering how come these children stay away so often from school.

J: Ja ... maybe I should there put the blame on the parents. It is their responsibility to see that the child is in school. Also, the teacher want uniform. My child was expelled from school because he did not have black shoes.

R: So you are saying that sometimes the child will not go to school because he does not have the proper uniform.

J: Yes, some of us parents are not working.

R: There's no money to buy uniform.

J: The child does not want to go to school because the teacher embarrasses him.
R: You are saying that poverty is also a problem at the camp. (pause) ... Is there anything else you would like to say about your child's experiences at school?

J: No ...

R: What are your child's experiences living at the squatter camp?

J: With regard to education I would say there are some difficulties. More especially, when the child is actually studying you know. They live in shacks. There is noises and the child is not able to study properly.

R: Noises.

J: Yes, that's one thing. Secondly, because of unemployment the child gets no food. He does not go to school and looks for a job. Also, because of unemployment and lack of skills some parents are ignorant about the education for the children. So they let the children do whatever they like.

R: Mmh

J: They don't go to school.

R: You are saying that there is a lack of supervision from the parents.

J: That's right, there's a lack of supervision from the parents. Also looking at the socio-economic of the people staying at the camp, I think it is quite different from the formal sector and this affects the children.
R: Different.

J: There's unemployment and noise which affect the children in the camp. Thirdly, some of the parents are drinking the whole week at the camp.

R: So you are saying that there are lots of social problems as well.

J: Yes drinking, drugs that causing problems. You find the child staying with aunt who is not respect to the person she's living with. The child has no respect and there are domestic problems which affect the child.

R: There are domestic problems as well.

J: Yes.

There's domestic violence in the camp. (pause) ...

R: Is there anything else you would like to share?

J: Yes, there's a lack of facilities and the children end up doing wrong things.

R: So what you are saying is that there is a lack of facilities which make the children idle.

J: That's right so they get up to mischief.

R: I there anything else you would like to say ... (pause) ...

J: No

R: Thank you for time. The information you have given is very valuable.
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION: PARENTS

There were six (6) members in the group. There were four females and two males.

Although the one of the criteria for selection was that the members should be able to converse in English, it was very difficult to get such members in the parent group. Prior to the session the researcher had explained the purpose of the study to a community leader thereby hoping to obtain the support of the parents.

R denotes Researcher

P denotes Parent

R : Welcome to each of you and thanks for coming. Joseph has already explained to you the reason for being here today.

P : Yes

R : Is there anything that you want me to explain before we proceed with the discussion?

P : No

R : To start off I would like to ask you the first question in your card. What perceptions do you have of your child's experience at his or her present school?

(A member translates the message to some of the parents who did not clearly understand what the researcher had said)
P: (A parent responds in the vernacular)

P: What she is saying is that her child complained that the teacher slaps her child.

R: So you are saying that it was upsetting for you that your child was slapped. The teacher could have used some other means of disciplinings your child or maybe the teacher should talk to your child.

P: (Translates to parent)

P: Yes, of course. Why slap my child.

R: So you are saying that one of the problems is the teachers hitting your children.

P: Yes

R: What other experiences do you think your child has at his or her present school? (translates to other parents)

P: Okay ... the other problem is that my child is in standard but the school put him back in standard 6. He did standard 6 in the Soweto school, now he must repeat standard 6 in the Indian school.

R: (nods) Mmh

P: He is now old for standard 6. The Indian children mock him and call him kaffir and other names.

R: So you are saying that the first problem is that the school put your child a standard lower.

P: Yes, that's right
R: And the second problem is that the Indian children in the class were mocking her and calling her names.

P: Yes they call her kaffir and said she is stupid.

R: Stupid ...

P: And the problem is about the school fund. I not got the money. I must pay R100 for one school and R50 for the other one.

R: You are saying that you have children in different schools and you have to pay school fund which you cannot afford.

P: The school want the money in end of February

R: So they are not giving you sufficient time to get the money.

P: We have no jobs. I can't pay the money. I get piece job. I get R20. I have to buy food with the money. So I don't have enough for the school fund.

P: I got lot of children and no money.

R: What about the others in the group.

P: (translates)

P: (Complains about the school fees in the vernacular) Why is it so much money?

R: Can we talk about the experiences you think your children have at the school.

P: (Translates)
P: Yes, there seems to be the language problem.

R: Language is a problem...

P: Yes ... our children come from the DET schools.

R: In the DET schools they spoke in the mother tongue and now they have to speak in English and that is a problem.

P: Yes, they cannot understand the teacher and sometimes experience difficulty in understanding the work because it is in English.

R: So you think that language is a problem for your children.

P: Yes

P: (parent requests translation)

P: My child had problems with other children, especially the Indians but now things are not so bad.

R: So when your child first came to the school in standard 6 that's were the problems were. The problems of name calling and language. When the number of years at the school increase things do get better.

P: Yes, but for some children it does not get better. They always having problems with the teachers and other children.

P: (Speaks in the vernacular)

P: (Translates) She says that her child cannot work at home, the house is small and there's so much children
in the house.

R: Mmh ... you are moving onto the next question. Before we move on let me summarise what has been said thus far.

P: Yes

R: There's problems with teachers hitting your children, there's problems with Indian children calling your children names, there's problems with the school funds and there's problems with language. On the positive side some of your children seem to adjust as they spend more time at the school.

P: (Translates to other parents)

P: Yes

(Pause)

R: Let's move on to the next question. What opinions do you have about your children's experiences living at the camp?

P: (Translates)

R: Can we start off with the point that you mentioned about overcrowding.

P: Yes, the children cannot study with the noise and crowd in the house.

R: Your children find it difficult to study because of the noise and crowding.

P: Yes
P: (translates)

P: The child cannot study for exams. She use candles which sometimes falls on the books and mess the books. The teachers shout them.

R: You are saying that it is difficult to study by candle light. Sometimes the books get messed up and the teachers at the school don't understand. They shout at the children.

P: Yes

R: (Nods) Mmh

P: (Translates)

P: The wind blows through the shacks and drops the candle. Books get burnt. Teachers shout and the child gets upset and feels bad and does not want to go to school.

(Pause)

R: What experiences do you think your child has at the camp?

P: (Translates)

Parents engage in a discussion amongst themselves.

P: (Translates) Her child has eyes problems because of the candle. The eyes pain

R: You are saying that it is difficult for your child to study by candle light. His or her eyes start to pain.

P: Yes and there's no money for glasses.
P: Another problem is that there are no facilities and playground for the children to play and get busy. This is why they get naughty.

R: So you are saying that there are no facilities for the children in the camp and this gets them into mischief.

P: (Translates)

P: The library is so far. Children cannot walk to the library and there is no money for transport.

R: It is difficult for your children to go to the library.

P: Yes

R: If it was near maybe in the weekends they could spend their time studying there.

P: Yes

P: (speaks in vernacular)

P: (Translates)

P: The library is far, our girls cannot go so far. They would get in problems with boys.

P: Even the water

R: There's no water

P: Yes, the water is far. Sometimes the child has no time to bath and go to school. The Indian children and the teachers say they smell.

R: You are saying that the Indian children and the teachers don't understand the difficulties at the camp.
P: Yes

P: (Translates)

P: Because of unemployment the child does not eat for a couple days.

R: So your child comes to school hungry and this creates problems at school as well.

P: (Translates)
Children can't study especially in the weekends when the noise is bigger.

R: It's difficult for the children to study at the camp because of the lack of facilities and the disturbance.

P: (Translates)

P: We don't like to stay at the camp.

P: We have no choice

P: There's no toilets nothing

P: I feel angry and frustrated at times and I am sure my children feel the same.

P: Life is difficult at the camp.

P: My children don't like the camp.

P: The place is untidy. There's no sanitation

R: So it is upsetting to be at the camp, but you have no choice.
R: Is there anything else that you would like to share?

P: Yes, there's problems if no birth certificates.

P: Our children were born at the camp. Even we parents do not have documents.

P: (Translates) Another problem is no school uniform. There is no money to buy.

P: Teachers pick on the child.
He gets upset and don't want to go to school.

R: The child gets emotionally upset when the teacher picks on him or her.

P: (Translates) The teachers expel the children. There's no money to buy uniform.

R: You are saying that the school staff does not understand the problems of the children at the camp. If they did understand they will have more compassion.

P: Yes

R: Is there anything else you would like to say? (pause)
Thanks for your time and participation in this study. Please help yourself to the refreshments provided.
APPENDIX H

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW : CAMP EDUCATION COMMITTEE

(The researcher explained the reasons for the session and the research. Participants were informed about the audio and video taping of the session and their consent was obtained)

R denotes researcher

P denotes participants (There were 10 members in the group)

R : Your time and your presence here is well appreciated. The mere fact that you are here indicates that you have the interests of the children at the camp at heart.

P : Yes we are glad to be here.

R : I have already explained the reasons for being here, so maybe we should start with the session... (pause) ... Let's be informal, so please feel free to say what you would like and let's feel free to exchange ideas, agree and disagree or add to, modify, etc. with other participants.

P : That's fine.

R : I know that there are two different camp committees here but I suppose the educational problems you deal with are similar.

P : Yes
    That's correct

R : Let's start off by discussing the experiences of the children at the camp in their present schools. What
perceptions do you have about the experiences of children from the camp at Indian high schools?

P : Firstly, we have a problem with the shortage of pre-schools. Children in sub A don’t go to pre-school. Point two is the problem with children who are overage as such.

P : In the past our children had no schools, now when there are schools they are overage for the schools. Please I must raise this question. If they cannot go to the school the child will be in the streets.

(Interruptions caused by the entry of more camp members)

P : (Continues) The children go and pinch everywhere. The past government is responsible for this.

R : You are saying that because of the past government ...

(Interrupted by participant)

P : Yes ... I want the children to be in the schools. We have been disadvantaged in the past ... (pause)

R : Children have been disadvantaged. Now that schools are available they cannot get into them because of their age.

P : Yes

P : The children from standard six are suffering because of the past education. Please give them some schools. No matter what difficulties they have they must go schools.

R : You mentioned difficulties ...

P : Yes
R: What are these difficulties?

P: The problem ... they got the schools very far from the camp. They parents have not got money and transport for the children to go to school. Now ... please let the children get close to them schools.

R: So what you are saying is that the children should get schools closer to the camp.

P: Yes

P: I came to the camp in 1986. The children were not allowed in the schools here till now.

P: (inaudible) ... our manifesto is non-racial education. so the school should be filled from standard six.

R: What are the problems that children from the camps experience at the Indian schools? What problems have they brought to you as a committee?

P: The problem ... our children are not the children's that know ... they know nothing about English. One talks Tswana the other Shona, the next one Zulu and so on. There is a difference in languages with the different races.

R: So what you are saying is that language is a serious problem?

P: The main problem is not the English (pause) ... the main problem is the communication with the other children ... communication between the cultures.

R: Communication between different cultures
P : Yes

R : Let's talk about this a little more. What seems to be the problem?

P : I would say that our children are shy. They wouldn't say something ... afraid that they may be wrong. The Indian children will just say it.

P : Our children have an inferiority complex.

R : You are saying that children from the camp seem to have an inferiority complex.

P : That's right.

R : I am wondering how these children have come to have such a complex? This inferior complex that you have mentioned.

P : In the first place they are not used to talking the language.

R : So the language problem makes them to feel inferior?

P : Yes.

R : You said inferior complex ...

P : Yes, the children don't feel free with the Indian children.

R : They are not free with the Indian children.

P : Yes. They feel inferior. They feel inferior because of the language problem ... (pause)
R: Are there any other reasons for this?

P: Yes, the age is a problem

R: Mmh (nods)

P: When they say they open the schools the age is a problem. The Indian children are in the same age... the camp children are taller and bigger. They feel bad

R: So what you are saying is that because of the age problem some of the children from the camp look bigger.

P: Yes

R: Because they look bigger they feel bad about themselves. (pause) What else makes them to have an inferiority complex?

P: You know most of the peoples at the squatter camp come from everywhere. Some come from the fighting areas, they run away, their houses burnt down, their documents, birth papers get burnt. The schools don't want these children because they have no papers.

R: Can we come back to this point. We are still discussing the point about inferiority complex.

P: Yes, talking about inferiority complex. I think if you look at the geographical location of the camp you will see it is away from the Indians. It does not give the camp children exposure to the Indian children. We need to have upgraded facilities to encourage integration of the children. The Indians must not judge us because of our colour or because of the place we stay in, for example, the new swimming pool was filled with Indian children but when the racial laws
were abolished the children stop coming to the pool. They feel that the camp children are dirty.

P: What he is saying is the Indians think the camp children have no cleanliness.

(pause - inaudible)

R: (Referring to the second last speaker) Just to summarise what you have said ... One, the problem is with the communication between Indians and camp children which leads to misunderstandings. Two, the location of the camp does not allow the children of the different cultures to mix. (pause)

As a camp committee did parents or children come to you about specific problems?

P: Yes, last week four children complained about a teacher who was racist. In one school the Indian teachers did not want to teach with a black teacher from Venda. They don't want our black teachers there.

P: (interruptions) ... isolation of teachers

R: I am not to clear about the point on isolation ... is it possible for you to elaborate a little more.

P: Yes, there seems to a isolation between the Indian and black, but this is a national problem where everyone need to learn to live together.

R: So you are saying that everyone should accept each other as human beings.

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P: Yes. In the past black people have been viewed lowly and this needs to change.

P: I am involved in sports. There is a complete split in the teams. There are separate Indian and black teams. The Indians don't want to play with the blacks because they are dirty and the blacks don't want to be with the Indians because they don't have the skills to play. In the schools at break time you don't find the children mixing in the fields. There is no activities for mixing.

P: Last year there were incidents of fighting by the Indian and black children at the schools.

P: The foreigners are the ones who fight. The indigenous people of the country don't have fights with Indians.

(Members interact in a discussion in their mother tongue language)

R: Would someone like to share what you have discussed ...

P: We are talking about the fighting. Moses thinks that the foreigners are causing the fights but all of us think the racial problems cause the fighting, especially between the Indian and black children.

(pause)

R: In summary we talked about the problems of the children at the schools, language difficulties, the distance children have to travel to schools, transport, problems with finance. We talked about the geographical position of the camp and how it has created barriers. We talked about the resources in the community and the school for integrating children, for example, on the sports field. We talked about the relationships and cultural barriers
which exist ... (pause)

P: Our children have a problem with teachers who criticise them and not show them how to do the things right.

R: You are saying that teachers should not criticise but teach.

P: Yes

R: Is there anything else you would like to share? (pause) Can we now talk about the experiences at the camp? What perceptions do you have about the experiences of the children living at the squatter camp.

P: In fact, myself, I did not want to be a member of the camp but because of certain circumstances I had to be. Unemployment, lack of facilities and also hoping that things will change has made me to stay at the camp. I find people make false allegations against yourself. Some say you are bad.

R: So you are saying that your circumstances had been responsible for you coming to live in the camp. (pause)

P: Yes, there is also no trust by the people in the camp.

R: How do you think children feel about living at the camp?

P: I think they feel bad. If I feel so bad then I think the same for them. Misunderstandings caused make you scared, afraid of your life and safety. People belong to different political parties and they fight a lot. This is costing our children.
R: Just to clarify what you are saying is that there are lots of friction in the camps because of the different political parties there.

P: Yes

R: You have mentioned the fear of your life, distrust and lack of facilities ...

P: I feel frustrated, angry because of no water, lights and transport. I am believing that the children are also angry and frustrated. Sometimes they angry with they. parents because they have no jobs and food.

P: (speaks in mother tongue - a member translates)
Apartheid still exists within the Indians. They don't give jobs to people from camps. They see camp people as thieves and murderers. Most people are from outside, for example, Soweto. They steal and run to the camp. The community blame the camp people.

R: You are saying that Indian people have a wrong idea about the camp people. The outsiders are responsible for stealing.

P: The Indian children at the schools learn from their parents that camp people are dangerous. You must keep away from them. This separates the children.

P: There are also socio-economic problems in the camp, for example, drugs.

R: You are saying that this also gives the camp a bad name.

P: Yes
R: Children from the camp have indicated that the chores at the camp take a lot of their time. I am wondering if you would be able to discuss this.

P: I feel that the children are lazy

P: Yes, they are not motivated. They are lazy, they don't want to study.

P: I beg to differ. The reason for this is that our children want to forget our culture and want the Indians culture. They want to look like the Indians. You must see the amount of time they spend to look beautiful.

P: The other problem is we cannot use school facilities during the weekend. Our children cannot read at the camp because of the dust ... schools are not open for them to study if they want to.

R: You are moving onto the solutions, so maybe we should discuss this now.

P: We should get books to open the library at the camp. Children won't be idle.

P: Open schools near the camp in the weekends.

P: There should be accessibility of facilities for our children as well.

P: Sports officials in Lenasia should meet to open and plan joint activities for our children. Camp people should travel in the area to see what facility is available.

R: What can be done to address the problems at school?
P: The principals should have cultural days for the children. Black and Indian children can share culture ... maybe make a film on the common aspects of the cultures. Sports should become the order of the day for integration.

R: (pause) Any more ideas?

P: We should have exchange of students. For a day a Indian student can stay at the camp and a black child can stay with a Indian family. There shouldn't be fears of safety, rape, etc.

R: Are there any other ideas?

P: There should be a conference where Indian and black people can get together.

P: Yes and the conference should be held at the camp to clear misconceptions about the camp.

P: And also for the rich Indian people to see the conditions at the camp.

P: Parents should get involved in the parent teacher associations of the schools to raise the problems of their children at the schools.

P: Yes and parents must be responsible for their children and not the education committee.

R: Is there any other thing that you would like to mention?

P: Yes, we need VIPS to visit the camp, for example, the Minister of education. This will motivate children and parents will know how important it is children to go to
school.

R: Is there anything else you would like to add?
(pause) Once again I thank you for participating in the study. I think the information I have obtained here is absolutely valid and I hope that it would assist us in this study.

END OF SESSION
APPENDIX I: PACTS APPROACH
STAGE 1: PERSONAL AND GROUP EMPOWERMENT

Some of the exercises suggested in each of the stages have been adapted from other sources (Katz, 1982; Chambers & Pettman, 1986; Derman-Sparks and the Human Awareness Programme). The other exercises have been developed by the researcher specifically for this study.

Several exercises are presented, the facilitators should choose the ones they are most comfortable with.

Exercise 1: Introductions (designed by researcher)

Each participant should introduce himself or herself by giving the group information about:

i) who they are
ii) where they come from
iii) something about themselves they would like the group to know.

EXERCISE 2: ESTABLISHING GOALS AND OBJECTIVES
(Designed by researcher)

1. GOALS:

1.1. To help participants feel comfortable in the group
1.2. To understand some of the participants' differing expectations.

2. Instructions:

2.1. Have the group sit in a circle.
2.2. Ask each participant to share their reasons for participating in the workshop and their expectations for the workshop.
2.3. Facilitators should share their own expectations for the workshop.

3. Notes:

The expectations of each participant should be noted next to his name on a chart and at the end of the session this chart should be placed on the wall and left for display throughout the workshop.

**Exercise 3: Inner and Outer Circles - Icebreaker**
*(Adapted from Chamber & Pettman, 1986)*

There are a variety of questions which the facilitators could ask the participants to ask each other. It is important that the facilitators choose questions which are relevant to the group. Some examples of the questions which could be asked are:

1. **ECONOMIC**

1.1. Do you think that blacks and Indians should always get equal pay for equal work? Why?

1.2. Should blacks be allowed in jobs in which they are in charge of Indians?

1.3. Do you think that a black who is well trained can do any job as well as an Indian with the same training? Why?

1.4. Should children from the informal settlements be forced to pay school funds? Why?

1.5. Should children from the informal settlements be given textbooks and stationery at school? Why?

1.6. Should parents of children from the informal settlements pay for school uniforms?

2. **POLITICAL**

2.1. Do you think that all blacks from the informal settlements and all Indians from Lenasia should have an
equal vote in this country? Why?

2.2. Do you think that black people from the informal settlements are satisfied with what they have?

2.3. Do you think that blacks from the informal settlements do not want political rights, they just want better wages and living conditions?

2.4. Do you think it would be better for everyone if a black majority government should be in power for the next 5 years? Why?

2.5. Has political changes in the country thus far improved the situation of people at the informal settlements? How?

3. PERSONAL IDENTITY

3.1. How important is it for you to be allowed to speak your language at your school or work place?

3.2. Should black children from the informal settlements have Indian children from Lenasia as friends?

3.3. Do you think it is important to protect group cultures? How would you go about it?

3.4. Would you be happy with a black or Indian neighbour? Why?

3.5. Do you think that all schools in Lenasia should be integrated immediately? Why?

4. DISCUSSION:

a) Ask participants which questions they found the most difficult to answer and which the easiest.

b) On the basis of their answers, categorise into Economic, Political and Personal Identity.

c) Discuss why some categories should be more threatening than others.
EXERCISE 4: COATS OF ARMS - ICEBREAKER (adapted from Katz, 1989)

OBJECTIVE.

To enable participants to get to know something about each other and their attitudes towards the issue of discrimination and prejudice in South Africa.

TIME
30 minutes

MATERIALS NEEDED

1. Blank paper
2. Pins
3. Questions prepared on flipchart
4. Space for participants to circulate and/or discuss in small groups.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Give each participant a blank paper.
2. Ask them to represent symbolically (either through words or simple drawings) the following which should be written on a flipchart.

a. The aspect of race discrimination you hate most.
b. The aspect of sex discrimination you hate most.
c. The aspect of class discrimination you hate most.
d. One way in which you conform to society.
e. Write three words that best describe you.

Let participants circulate their responses comparing and explaining their representations.
EXERCISE 5: CONCENTRIC CIRCLES: GETTING TO KNOW ONE ANOTHER  
(adapted from Katz, 1989)  

1. GOALS:  

1.1. To help participants begin to raise the issue of racism.  
1.2. To begin developing a climate of trust and support.  

2. INSTRUCTIONS:  

2.1. Have the group count off by twos (1-2-1-2).  
2.2. Ask all the ones to sit in a circle with their backs to the centre of the circle. Ask all the twos to sit in an outside circle, facing the ones so that each person has a partner facing her.  
2.3. Ask all the ones to share with the person opposite them "something special that happened to me this week." (2 minutes)  
2.4. The twos should repeat the process.  
2.5. Ask all the twos to move one person to the right.  
2.6. Have them repeat the process sharing "one feeling I have being here."  
2.7. Following the same process they can share the first word which comes to mind about racism: "Share one experience of racism and how you dealt with it" or "Share one feeling you have about dealing with racism."  

EXERCISE 6: DEFINITION OF PREJUDICE (adapted from Katz, 1989)  

1. GOALS:  

1.1. To help participants begin to understand prejudice.  
1.2. To develop a functional definition of prejudice.  

2. MATERIALS NEEDED  

- Newsprint  

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3. INSTRUCTIONS

3.1. Begin the exercise by stating that it is essential to understand the differences between racism and prejudice before exploring how they operate in our society. Then begin to explore the definition of prejudice.

3.2. Pass out copies of the Prejudice Definition Sheet.

3.3. Ask the participants to look at the four definitions presented on the sheet and use these as a starting point to develop a definition of prejudice with which they each feel comfortable.

3.4. Divide the group into small groups of four.

3.5. Ask the participants to share their individual definitions in the small groups and develop a group definition of prejudice.

3.6. After 15 minutes ask each group to share its definition with the large group.

3.7. Reactions, discussion. Points raised should include the following:

a) Prejudice is based on assumptions that have not been checked out.

b) Prejudice is composed of pre and judge. This is a key concept in understanding prejudice.

c) It is important to understand the difference between prejudice and bias.

4. NOTE TO FACILITATOR

This exercise begins to highlight the key dynamics of prejudice and begins distinguishing prejudice from racism.
PREJUDICE DEFINITION SHEET

According to the Random House Dictionary of the English Language (1967):

Prejudice is:

1. An unfavourable opinion or feeling formed beforehand or without knowledge, thought, or reason.
2. Any preconceived opinion or feeling, either favourable or unfavourable.
3. Unreasonable feelings, opinions, or attitudes, especially of a hostile nature, directed against a racial, or national group.
4. Negative personal behaviour that discriminates against individuals of such a group.
EXERCISE 7: EXPLORING PREJUDICE (designed by researcher)

1. GOAL

To further define prejudice and how it functions

2. METHOD

Facilitators encourage black participants to share examples of prejudices towards Indians.

Indian participants are encouraged to share prejudices towards blacks as well as prejudices towards people from the informal settlements.

Facilitators should record these examples of prejudice on chart paper.

3. DISCUSSION

Should note how prejudices are formed.

How do our assumptions and preconceived ideas about one another foster prejudice?

EXERCISE 8: DEFINITIONS OF RACISM: RACISM (adapted from Katz, 1989)

GOALS:

1. To develop a functional definition of racism.
2. To clarify the differences between racism and prejudice.

MATERIALS NEEDED
- newsprint
- felt markers
- masking tape
INSTRUCTIONS

1. Hand out copies of the Racism Definition Sheet (see next page).

2. Ask the participants to look at the five definitions presented on the sheet. Using them as a starting point, ask the participants to develop their own definitions of racism.

3. Divide the group into small groups of four.

4. Ask the participants to share their individual definitions in the small groups and then develop a group definition of racism. Ask someone in the group to write the definition on newsprint.

5. After 15 minutes ask each group to display its definition and share it with the large group.

6. Reactions, discussion. Points raised should include the following:
   a. What seems to be common to all the definitions?
   b. Is power part of your group's definition? If not, how does your definition differ from prejudice?
   c. What is power, and how do you define it (in institutional, political, or economic terms)?
   d. Who has the power in our society?
   e. By definition of racism, are Third World people racist in Africa today against Whites?
   f. Do Third World people presently have the power to oppress Whites?

NOTE TO FACILITATOR

1. Refer to the definition of prejudice. Participants should know the distinct difference between prejudice and racism.

2. They need to know that Third World people cannot be racist because they do not have the power to enforce the prejudices they may have.
According to the Random House Dictionary of the English Language racism is:

1. A belief that human races have distinctive characteristics that determine their respective cultures, usually involving the idea that one's race is superior and has the right to rule others.

2. A policy of enforcing such asserted right.

3. A system of government and society based upon it.

To these definitions may be added:

4. Perpetuation of belief in the superiority of the White race.

5. Prejudice plus power.
APPENDIX J: FACTS APPROACH

STAGE 2: PSYCHOLOGICAL EMPOWERMENT

Check in feelings which may have risen from the last session.

EXERCISE 1: MINI-LECTURE- KINDS AND LEVELS OF RACISM
(adapted from Chambers & Pettman, 1986 and Katz, 1989)
Facilitators should constantly use examples relating to black and Indian participants

1. GOALS

- to deepen participants' understanding of the concept of racism by identifying the different kinds and levels of racism;
- to move participants from Stage 1 to Stage 2, which is concerned with exploring racism.

2. INSTRUCTIONS

Facilitator will give an outline of the different kinds and levels of racism.

LEVELS OF RACISM

A. CONSCIOUS LEVEL:

i. Institutional racist attitudes may show up in policy statements reflecting that black children have lower IQ scores than white children, or people from the informal settlement have low intelligence or skills.

ii. Institutional racist behaviours may show up by schools automatically assigning children from the informal settlement to low-level classes.
iii. Individual racist attitudes may show up in beliefs that Indians are superior or black children from the camp are inferior.

iv. Individual racist behaviours may show up by racist name-calling ("kaffirs"); by Indian parents refusing to hire black people from the informal settlement to do menial jobs because they think that they are rogues. Indian children do not play with children from the camp because they smell and they are blacks.

B. UNCONSCIOUS LEVEL

i. Institutional racist attitudes include schools not taking cultural dressing of black children into consideration. Educational and psychological tests are not standardised for blacks.

ii. Institutional racist behaviours include the teaching of white or Indian history and neglecting to teach black history.

iii. Individual racist attitudes include beliefs that there are inferior differences between children from the informal settlement and Indian children; that all people from the camp have equal access to the law, to education, jobs and housing.

iv. Individual racist behaviours include use of anti-black language; laughter at racist jokes.

KINDS OF RACISM

A. Institutional racism

Refers to the system of a society which benefits specific groups of people in terms of education, economics, politics, public
service, and health services.

B. Cultural racism

Refers to the domination of one group over another in terms of language, norms, values and standards. It refers to prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour against members of minority groups on the basis of their cultural differences, whether these be in dress, music, dance, language and values.

C. Individual racism

Refers to individual prejudiced attitudes and behaviour towards members of a minority group or groups (children from the camp at predominantly Indian schools). The individual may hold erroneous beliefs and have negative feelings about members of a particular group and may take action to discriminate against these members.

D. Interpersonal racism

Refers to individual racism being manifested in interpersonal relationships. Indian children do not play with children from the camp because they believe that these children are inferior to them.

NOTE TO FACILITATOR

1. Throughout the lecture participants should be asked to contribute illustrations for each category.

2. Until now the exploration of racism has been kept safely outside of self. Participants are not asked to explore their own behaviour.
EXERCISE 2: LEVELS OF RACISM (designed by researcher)

Participants should get together in small groups and share examples of racism at different levels, that is, institutional, cultural, personal and interpersonal levels. It may be useful if participants could share experiences which relate more specifically to the racial or ethnic groups present.

Some of these experiences could be shared in the large group. The exercise is aimed at giving participants the opportunity to share in smaller groups. In the large group they could share what they liked or disliked about the exercise and what was difficult and what was easy and why?

EXERCISE 3: EARLIEST ENCOUNTERS (adapted from a workshop)

This exercise should start off with a relaxation exercise. An example is given below but facilitators should be encouraged to use an exercise they are comfortable with.

RELAXATION EXERCISE (designed by researcher)

Get into a position in which you feel comfortable. I want you to be really relaxed. Become conscious about your breathing. Breathe in and breathe out. Breathe in and breathe out. You can feel the air gently being released through your nostrils. You are feeling relaxed.
(pause)

Now I want you to go back to the very first time you met a black or Indian person (this can be changed to another racial group if the group is mixed). Can you picture the person. What is the person saying? What is the person doing? What is your response? Try to remember what you are thinking about. Try to remember what you are feeling (pause).
Now I want you to come back to this room. When you are ready I want you to open your eyes.

INSTRUCTIONS

The facilitators should encourage participants to share their experiences as soon as they feel ready to do so.

The facilitators will have to play a very significant role during this exercise. They should probe into the feelings of each participant as they begin to share their encounters. The facilitators should be conscious of the role of Transactional Analysis during the sharing of encounters. Participants should be encouraged to share experiences at the parent, adult and child levels. The facilitator should be conscious of changes in the participants level of experience, for example, if the participant is crying (child level) the facilitator should bring the participant to the parent level by saying "I see you are very upset by this experience" or the adult level "it is only natural that you feel the way you do because you have been hurt".

As participants begin to share experiences some people in the group may begin to experience different feelings, such as guilt, fear, anxiety, anger, and sadness. All these feelings should be dealt with. The role of the facilitators is to probe into feelings, reflect feelings and contain feelings in a therapeutic way. Participants should be encouraged to share their pain and grief.

This session may take about 3 hours. It should not be rushed. Each person should be given the opportunity to fully share his/her experiences. In this way others in the group will begin to get a sense of the experiences of each other.

EXERCISE 4: JACK SPRAT - ICEBREAKER (adapted from a workshop)

It may be useful to have an icebreaker after the encounter
session if there was not enough breaktime.

Each person should get a partner and the odd person out will give instructions such as "hands to hands", "feet to feet" and when the person says "Jack sprat" each person should look for another partner. They are not allowed to have the same partner twice. This exercise gives participants the opportunity to make physical contact with each other and may be good for Indian and black participants to feel good about touching each other in a positive way.

EXERCISE 5: BUILDING HOMES (designed by researcher)

1. GOALS:

1.1. Participants would be able to share their ideas of a home with each other.
1.2. Participants would be affirmed.

2. MATERIALS

There should be enough materials such as cardboard, pictures of different aspects of a house, for example, a kitchen with built in cupboards, or just a gas stove or primus. Pictures should reflect the houses of the different socio-economic classes in society. There should be houses ranging from mansions to shacks.

3. INSTRUCTIONS

Participants should get together in small groups (of 4) Each person should use the material available to show a picture of the house he/she lives in.

4. NOTES FOR FACILITATOR

This exercise is likely to generate a lot of feelings. Children
from the informal settlements may find it difficult to build pictures reflecting the houses they come from. This exercise should be used to affirm participants. Children from the informal settlements should begin to see a shack as a home and others in the group should also begin to see this. Participants should begin to see that a home is the place where they are fed, loved and have family support.

EXERCISE 6: CULTURAL INTRODUCTIONS (adapted from a workshop)

Participants should get into small groups and discuss the following questions;

1. How do you see yourself with respect to:
   - race
   - class
   - gender
   - ethnicity
   - culture

2. What do you like and dislike about this identification?

INSTRUCTIONS

Participants should share responses to the above questions in their small groups. A summary of the discussions could be given by one of the participants in each of the small groups. A large group discussion on the exercise itself could be facilitated.

EXERCISE 7: CULTURAL DIFFERENCES: BLACK IS..., INDIAN IS...
(designed by researcher)

1. GOALS:

1.1 To help participants become aware of cultural differences between blacks and Indians.
1.2 To help participants see how different the black
experience is from the Indian experience.

1.3. To help participants understand some assumptions about cultural racism.

2. INSTRUCTIONS

Black and Indian participants should get together in their own ethnic or racial groups and attempt to complete, "Black is... and Indian is..."

When each group has discussed the statements they should get together as a large group to share their thoughts. This exercise would encourage cultural respect.

EXERCISE 8: EXPLORING DEFINITIONS (designed by researcher)

Participants should be encouraged to explore the definitions of significant terms, such as internalised oppression, internalised white racism, system beating, dysfunctional rescuing, avoidance of contact. Handouts on these and many other definitions should be given out to participants. Participants should get together in small groups and decide on examples related to each definition and share this to the large group. It is imperative to note that the language difficulties experienced by the black pupils may make the definition exercises a tedious task. To make the task easier it may be necessary for the definitions to be explored in the children's own language or the use of a co-facilitator who speaks the language of the participants need to be considered.

EXERCISE 9: CO-OPERATIVE CONTRACT (adapted from a workshop)

1. GOALS

- This exercise will be useful for participants to co-operate with each other in building group cohesion. By this phase of the second stage they should be more willing to share with each other in a more open manner.
The exercise is aimed at improving communication and reducing competition amongst participants. Participants are encouraged to share resentments, fantasies, strokes and wishes with each other. They can also account for their behaviour - first they will have to check with each other if it is okay to share what they want to.

2. METHOD

Participants are encouraged to share any of the following during the sessions:

A. Sharing Resentments

Ask a participant if he would want to hear a resentment. If the response is "yes", then share it. If the response is "no", then do not. Remember that "no" is not forever. The person will say "yes" when he is ready.

Participants should not be defensive and they do not have to account for their behaviour if a resentment is shared. All they have to do is listen and indicate that they have heard the resentment.

B. Fantasy

Usually there are fantasies associated with resentments. Ask whether you can share a fantasy. If the response is "yes" then share. Check whether the fantasy is half true, has a grain of truth or is the whole truth. An example would be, "X I noticed that you avoid coming near me (resentment), I suspect that you don't want to come near me because I have a bad odour (fantasy)"

C. Strokes

Ask if you could give a stroke. If "yes", share. Strokes can be offered, asked or refused. For example, wanting to tell a
participant that you find her to be very caring and loving.

D. Account

At any point you can account for a thought, feeling or behaviour that might evoke fantasies, or effect relationships and communication with others, for example "I want to account for my absence, lateness". This does not present participants with defenses but enhances relationships and co-operation.

E. Wish

At any point you can express a wish. You cannot change others but you can express a wish, for example "Sometimes I wish X is not so critical of children from the informal settlement"

The co-operative contract can be agreed upon by the group only when they have been through the different exercises which have been suggested.
EXERCISE 1: BUSES (designed by researcher)

1. GOALS
   - To make participants realise that each of them have something valuable.
   - Participants should realise that they are valuable to the group.

2. METHOD

Participants are asked to jump in the bus which suits them. The bus is a line. For example those participants who are between 15 to 20 years should be in bus 1, those 20 to 30 in bus 2. The facilitator should use exercises which would affirm the different participants, for example, those of you who speak one language should be in bus 1, those of you who speak two languages should be in bus 2. Whilst this exercise brings a lot of humour in the group it also enables participants to learn new things about each other. Often it is found that black participants know more than one language and this empowers them because they begin to feel better off in some ways and this eventually makes them to feel as equals in the group. This encourages them to realise that their ideas are also valuable and that they can make a significant contribution to the group.

EXERCISE 2: PARACHUTE EXERCISE (adapted from a workshop)

1. GOALS
   - To make participants aware of their own prejudices.
   - Participants should realise how their prejudices impact on their relationships with others.
2. METHOD

Give participants cards which identify different people, for example, a doctor, a female teacher, a cripple lady, a homosexual, a child from the informal settlement, an Indian businessman, a black priest. Facilitators should identify people who would be relevant to the group. Give each participant a card reflecting one character. Tell the group that all of these people are in an aeroplane which is about to crash and there is a parachute for you and five other people. Motivate who should be the people you would take.

Facilitator should write down the different responses given by the group. Use these responses to show the group what prejudices they have against people, for example, the cripple lady should be left behind because she would be an hindrance. This shows our attitude towards cripple people and also how we treat them as not being our equals.

This exercise should be useful in letting us put our prejudices aside and begin to think rationally about what we can do together as a group to improve our situation.

EXERCISE 3: WORKING ON DIFFICULTIES (designed by researcher)

1. GOALS

- Participants should identify things which upset them at school.
- Participants should be able to prioritise which things upset them the most.

2. METHOD

Participants should be divided into small groups. In each group participants should identify what is upsetting for them at their
schools, places of work or in their local communities, especially in their interaction with other racial or ethnic groups. The small group could brainstorm ideas on how they can deal with each problem. They should come back into the large group and give a summary of their discussions.

This exercise gives participants the opportunity to talk about the racist behaviour of Indian teachers and Indian pupils. It also gives black children from the informal settlements the opportunity to talk about their difficulties at the informal settlement. Together participants can work out how they can make life easier for each other, for example, they can share ideas on how they would make other Indian pupils and teachers aware of the difficulties at the informal settlements. They can think about ideas on improving the situation for people at the informal settlements.
APPENDIX L: PACTS APPROACH

STAGE 4: BEHAVIOURAL EMPOWERMENT

1. GOALS

- To encourage participants to implement strategies they have planned.
- Participants should become proactive in improving their situation.
- The language level of the participants should be taken into consideration throughout the exercises.

2. METHOD

The exercises (designed by the researcher) in this stage are more of a practical nature. Participants are encouraged to carry out the actions they thought about in the previous stage. Action should not be pre-planned by the facilitators. However, some examples would be to establish a library for children at the informal settlements so that they would not be idle during the weekend. Delegations could be formed to approach the local government offices to provide water, electricity and sanitation facilities at the informal settlements. An awareness campaign about the situation of people at the informal settlements could be started. During this stage black participants play an active role whilst Indian participants provide the support.

Role-plays dealing with racism or preparing black participants for active leadership roles should be conducted. For example, participants could role-play a racist situation that they have to deal with. Have them explain on paper each person’s position in the situation. Collect and shuffle papers. Ask for volunteers to role-play the situations. Involve the group in a discussion on the different roles and what they observed.

Participants could role-play situations where they are going to their teachers to talk about their racist behaviours, or to
government officials to request for more facilities at the informal settlements. Several examples of this nature could be generated by the facilitators as well as the group.

A time frame for implementing some of the strategies should be agreed upon by participants.
APPENDIX M: FACTS APPROACH

STAGE 5: EMPOWERMENT OF OTHERS

1. GOAL

- To encourage participants to engage in the empowerment of others.

2. METHOD

In this stage participants should be actively involved in training more participants from the informal settlements and the Indian community. They should be given time to conduct similar training with new participants. However, they should first try out some of the things they have learned during their own training with participants in their own groups. In this way they would become more confident about themselves and they would also have an idea of what may work and what may not work with a group. A time frame for conducting workshops with others should be agreed upon by participants.
1. GOALS

- To encourage participants to evaluate the approach.
- To encourage participants to make suggestions for improving the approach.
- To give participants empowerment over the approach.

2. METHOD

When participants have completed the entire process they should evaluate the approach to see whether it has made a difference in their lives. They should be free to make additions, omissions and suggestions to improve the approach if it is needed. In this stage participants will complete an evaluation form and submit it to the facilitators.

EXERCISE: EVALUATION AND FEEDBACK

GOALS

1. To obtain feedback from participants on the facilitators' effectiveness
2. To obtain feedback and an evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the PACTS approach.

MATERIALS

Copies of Evaluation Sheet
Pencils or pens

INSTRUCTIONS

Hand out copies of the Evaluation sheet
Ask the participants to fill it out as honestly and specifically as possible.
APPENDIX 0

The evaluator must ensure that the participants' level of understanding is taken into consideration when the form is being filled. The use of translators or the use of the participants' vernacular should be considered when the form is designed.

EVALUATION FORM

1. How helpful has this workshop been for you?

2. List the exercises that were the most helpful to you.

3. List the exercises that were the least helpful to you.

4. Have you benefitted from this workshop in any way? Please specify your answer.

5. What changes would you recommend to improve this training programme?

6. How would you rate your facilitator? Give reasons for your answer.

7. Are there any other comments that you would like to make?