EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF DIVERSITY AMONG TEACHERS AND LEARNERS IN RACIALLY-INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis hereby submitted by Claire Louise Slabbert for the degree Magister Artium in Psychology at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another University/Faculty. I furthermore cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to explore the experiences and perceptions of diversity among teachers and learners within a racially-integrated school environment. The political changes which took place in South Africa provided a unique climate of transformation in which the social phenomenon of diversity was explored. The importance of researching diversity has become especially relevant within the school environment as schools are considered to be a microcosm of society at large. The real value of diversity is found in racially-integrated school environments, where experiences and perceptions are considered to be true reflections of a future societal culture.

A social psychological perspective served as the theoretical framework for this qualitative research study. Schools, teachers and learners were purposefully sampled from selected racially-integrated high schools in the Motheo district. A total of seventy-two participants who were selected from four Model-C schools participated in the study. Twelve focus group discussions were conducted, of which, two were teacher groups and ten were learner groups. A total of 12 teachers took part in the two focus group discussions of which all 12 participants were female. A total of 10 learner focus group discussions amounted to a total of 60 learners of which 56 were female and four were male. The transcribed data was analysed, using a hybrid approach of thematic analysis. From the initial analysis of teacher and learner focus group discussions, four main themes were identified, namely: Understanding and perceptions of diversity; Challenging experiences related to diversity; Factors which influence reactions to diversity; and The school environment as platform for integration. The combined findings were then discussed under the following headings: Perceptions and understanding of diversity; The challenges related to managing diversity and integration; Approaches to diversity and integration; and The role of school as microsystem of society.

The results of this study were confirmed in relation to relevant theoretical perspectives and previous research studies and literature in the field.

Keywords: Diversity, racial-integration, segregation, schools, experiences, perceptions

OPSOMMING

Die doel van hierdie studie was om die verkenning na die diverse ervarings en opvattings van opvoeders en leerders in 'n geïntegreerde skoolomgewing te verken. Die politieke veranderinge wat in Suid-Afrika plaasgevind het, het 'n unieke klimaat van transformasie gebied waarbinne die maatskaplike fenomeen van diversiteit verken kon word. Die erns waarmee diversiteit nagevors word, is veral relevant in die skoolomgewing siende dat skole beskou word as 'n mikro-kosmos van die samelewing as 'n geheel. Die egte waarde van diversiteit kan gevind word in ras-geïntegreerde skoolomgewings waar ervarings en opvattings beskou word as 'n ware weerspieëling van 'n toekomstige maatskaplike kultuur.

'n Sosiaal-sielkundige opvatting het gedien as die teoretiese raamwerk vir hierdie kwalitatiewe ondersoek. Skole, opvoeders en leerders van ras-geïntegreerde hoërskole in die Motheo-distrik het gedien as respondente. Twee-en-sewentig kandidate van vier Model C-skole het aan die studie deelgeneem. Twaalf fokusgroepe is onderneem waarvan twee opvoeder- en tien leerdergroepe was. Twaalf onderwysers in totaal het aan die twee fokusgroepbesprekings deelgeneem waarvan al die deelnemers vroulik was. Tien leerderfokusgroepbesprekings van 60 leerders in totaal is onderneem waarvan 56 vroulik en vier manlik was. 'n Hibridiese benadering tot tematiese ontleding is gebruik in die ontleding van die getranskribeerde data. Die aanvanklike ontleding van opvoeder-leerder-groepe het vier hooftemas uitgelig: Begrip van en opvattings oor diversiteit; Uitdagende diversiteitverwante ervarings; Faktore wat reaksies op diversiteit beïnvloed; en Die skoolomgewing as platform vir integrasie. Die gekombineerde bevindinge is gevolglik bespreek onder die volgende opskrifte: Opvattings oor en begrip van diversiteit; Die uitdagings wat die bestuur en hantering van diversiteit betref; Benaderings tot diversiteit en integrasie; en Die rol van die skool as mikro-omgewing van die samelewing.

Die bevindinge van hierdie studie is bevestig in oënskou van relevante teoretiese opvattings en vorige studies en literatuur in hierdie navorsingsveld.

Sleutelwoorde: Diversiteit; rasse-integrasie; segregasie; skole; ervarings; opvattings

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CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

If racial segregation was the defining feature of apartheid then, surely, racial integration has become the defining aspiration of our newly-founded democratic government (Chisholm, McKinney, & Nkomo, 2004). The significance of integration can therefore not be ignored when referring to the abolishment of apartheid and the subsequent transformation currently experienced within the South African school system. In 1996, with the formalisation of the South African Schools Act (No. 84 of 1996), the process of racial integration in South African schools became a reality. Experiences and perceptions of diversity are important elements in improving the understanding of social integration within a racially-integrated school environment, as schools are considered to be a reflection of society.

This chapter will provide a general orientation to the research context of this study. It will also present the rationale and aim thereof which will be followed by an overview of the theoretical framework and research methodology of the study. The chapter will conclude with a brief delineation of the forthcoming chapters which serves to orientate the reader.

1.1 Context of the research study

According to Chisholm et al. (2004), in order to truly appreciate the value relating to issues surrounding integration and diversity within a school system, it is important to understand the historical climate in which it occurred. The historical and political changes that occurred in South Africa are, therefore, considered to be relevant to this research study. Context provides the background necessary to understanding what led to the sudden increase of racial and cultural diversity in classrooms and, in so doing, provides the context of this research study. Due to South Africa's political transformation, the term, diversity, has become synonymous with the political reform taking place within the country. According to Statistics South Africa (2011), South Africa's diverse population consisted of more than 50 million people, all with a variety of different cultures, languages and beliefs (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

Between 1948 and 1994, a system of legal racial segregation, commonly referred to as apartheid, was enforced by the National Party government of South Africa. The primary

function of apartheid was to severely restrict the rights of the majority 'non-White' citizens of South Africa and, in so doing, maintain White minority rule.

In 1953, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd established the Bantu Education Act (Act No. 47 of 1953). Vally and Dalamba (1999) confirmed that this legislation introduced 19 different education departments in which government funding was determined according to race. This racist system, according to Hartshorn (1992), resulted in dilapidated school buildings, overcrowded classrooms, inadequate teaching and teacher training, as well as a lack of teaching materials and equipment for Black learners. African children suffered great injustices due to the lack of basic resources. This, in conjunction with an inferior curriculum, resulted in the inadequate schooling experienced by the majority of South African learners.

The 1970s heralded an unstable and volatile period in South African history, with the advent of youth-based Black resistance (Meier, 2005). Mokwena (1992) stated that township schools became the breeding ground for young political activists. Years of deprivation, segregation and inequality, according to Van Zyl (2002), had effectively resulted in township schools becoming the target of political unrest with the majority of Black youth becoming actively involved in the struggle. A new generation of courageous young South Africans emerged, determined to have their voices heard despite insurmountable odds. June the 16th will forever be remembered as one of the most significant milestones in regard to South Africa's educational reform and the struggle against apartheid. Between 15 and 20 thousand Black learners took to the streets in opposition to Afrikaans becoming a compulsory school subject. Young activists were brutally shot, resulting in the spread of unrest across the entire country.

In 1994, elections in South Africa demarcated the end of the apartheid era (Carignan, Pourdavood, King, & Feza, 2005). The Constitution, as well as related laws and educational policies, specified the right of every child to equal and quality education. The South African Constitution forbade discrimination of any kind and, in so doing, provided a comprehensive framework for the development of an education system free from inequality and racism (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). This, according to Phatlane (2007), resulted in the migration of learners from under-resourced rural schools to well-resourced urban schools. With the implementation of the new South African Schools Act (Act 84 of

1996), learners from all racial and ethnic groups were, for the first time, allowed access to historically White schools.

Chisholm (2005) suggested that, although changes had taken place to address the inequalities and injustices of apartheid, the processes involved in adjusting to those changes remained complex. Various researchers have conducted studies in which complex issues relating to diversity in education were explored (Alexander, 2011; Alexander & Mpisi, 2014; Jansen, 2004; Meier, 2005; Meier & Hartell, 2009; Mpisi, 2010; Nkomo & Vandeyar, 2009; Pillay, 2004; Sayed & Jansen, 2001; Soudien & Sayed, 2004; Vandeyar, 2006). Jansen (2001) argued that, although South Africa's educational policies are adequate on paper, the reality of those educational reforms were not currently experienced in the majority of South African classrooms (Sayed & Jansen, 2001). The sudden integration of learners into a system which was poorly prepared for change resulted in doubt regarding the success of South African schools in providing equitable and quality education (Meier & Hartell, 2009; Pillay, 2004).

1.2 Aim and rationale of this study

Mazur (2010) stated that diversity issues are important and are projected to become even more so due to the increasing heterogeneity of populations across the world. Both experiences and perceptions of diversity have been studied in various countries, populations and institutions across the world (Banks, 2001; Barnett, 2001; Bowman & Denson, 2014; Cross, 2006; Garcia & Van Soest, 2014).

As a country, South Africa has witnessed considerable change during the past seventeen years. Synonymous with this change has been the diverse integration of previously-separated cultural groups. South Africa's population, according to StatsSA (2011), consists of four main racial groups, namely African, Coloured, Indian/Asian and White, of which each broad group consists of a multitude of smaller ethnic groups, making South Africa one of the most culturally-diverse countries in the world.

It is within this unique context and climate of transformation that this study aimed to explore the social phenomenon of diversity as it is experienced and perceived in racially-integrated South African schools (Phatlane, 2007; Vandeyar, 2010).

This aim of this study was investigated by means of the following research questions:

1. How do teachers experience and perceive diversity in racially-integrated schools?
2. How do learners experience and perceive diversity in racially-integrated schools?

1.3 Theoretical grounding of this study

Diversity can be approached from various perspectives. In this study, experiences and perceptions of diversity are explained, using a social psychological perspective. According to Allport (1963), social psychology is a discipline that uses scientific methods to understand and explain how individuals' thoughts, feelings and behaviours are influenced by the real, imagined or implicit presence of others. Social psychological theories, which explain the phenomenon of diversity include: the intergroup theory, the realistic conflict theory, the social learning theory, the equity theory, the relative deprivation theory and the social identity theory.

According to Mor Barak (2011), it is important to understand intergroup relations when exploring the concept of diversity. Intergroup theory highlights the vital role that social structures play in the investigation of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination. Pettigrew (1998) indicated that conditions which promote intergroup contact eventually result in changes in intergroup interaction. Related to this, the realistic conflict theory partly explains the development of prejudice among groups (Sherif, 1966) as it proposes that individuals' behaviour is based on self-interest, resulting in group conflict (Mor Barak, 2011).

Bandura (1986) proposed the social learning theory, to explain that human behaviour is learnt through the observation and modelling of others, such as parents and teachers. In addition to learnt behaviour, beliefs and expectations of others may also result in individuals treating others from certain groups in a way relative to their belief about that group, e.g. with fear and avoidance, or keeping interactions among different groups brief and superficial. In the same sense, the expectation for equity and justice can lead to intergroup interactions aimed at restoring equality, when injustice is experienced (Walster, Walster, & Berscheid, 1979) or feelings of relative deprivation and resentment when unfavourable comparisons of self with others are perceived (Crosby, 1982; Taylor et al. 2006).

Tajfel (1982) proposed the social identity theory to explain how psychological processes interact with social processes. These processes provide a connection, brought about by the meaning individuals attach to groups. Membership of groups which are formed based on constructs, such as race or culture, creates a sense of social identity and belonging within a social environment. Mor Barak (2010) regarded the social identity theory relevant to the study of diversity as it can explain exclusion and discrimination in the context of a diverse society. In addition, Tajfel and Turner (1986) stated that social identity theory explains the effects of group membership and addresses the processes involved when groups function in society.

It is clear from the above overview that social psychological perspectives relating to the intergroup theory, social learning theory and social identity theory provide a comprehensive framework from which to investigate the behaviour of a diverse and racially-integrated society. A social psychological perspective will, therefore, inform this research study as it considers the impact of group interaction and social environments on perceptions and experiences, by placing the focus on situational variables that affect social behaviour. It will therefore provide a theoretical basis for explaining the experiences and perceptions of diversity among teachers and learners in racially-integrated schools.

1.4 Research design

Phenomenology has been identified as the most appropriate means by which to explore the experiences and perceptions of diversity (Patton, 2002). This study adopted a qualitative approach, based on Shultz's theory of social phenomenology. Social phenomenology is considered by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) as being both descriptive, as well as interpretive in design. The primary focus of this framework will be on understanding the inter-subjective experience and perception of diversity, relating to shared meanings resulting from social interactions. According to Kelly (2004), this is achieved by placing emphasis on the descriptions of the unique experiences and perceptions of participants in the hope of understanding the lived experiences of individuals in society. These experiences and perceptions, according to Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), should be considered within the social context in which they occur.

Schools who participated in the study were all purposefully sampled and were all situated within the Motheo district. Purposeful sampling (Vandeyar, 2010) ensured that all the selected schools represented urban, public or model C schools, in which racial integration had taken place. Both the teachers and learners were purposefully sampled from integrated high schools. This ensured that all ethnic groups normally found (Patton, 2002) within a senior phase classroom were represented.

Data was collected by means of focus groups which consisted of six to eight people and in which learners and teachers were encouraged to share their experiences and perceptions relating to diversity within their school environment. Separate teacher and learner groups ensured that learners felt free to express themselves without feeling intimidated by the presence of an authority figure. A semi-structured approach to gaining information was utilised, which allowed for an understanding of how teachers and learners think and feel about diversity (Terre Blanche, Kelly, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). All focus group discussions were recorded, thereby allowing the researcher to focus on the discussion at hand. The number of focus groups was not specified at the outset, which allowed for data to be collected until saturation point (Kelly, 2004) was reached.

The data was analysed, using a hybrid approach of thematic analysis as proposed by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006). This social phenomenological approach permits the process of deductive thematic analysis while allowing for themes to emerge directly from the data, using inductive coding (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Thematic analysis, according to Braun and Clarke (2006), is a widely-used qualitative method used for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data. Patterns can be identified in two ways, using an inductive or deductive process. Patton (2002) stated that an inductive approach ensures that emerging themes are data driven whereas a deductive approach relates to themes which are theoretically driven.

Ethical clearance was granted by the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of the Free State and the Free State Department of Education. The trustworthiness of this study was ensured by implementing certain measures, such as those proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985). The measures employed to ensure trustworthiness include credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

1.5 Outline of chapters

An outline of this research study is provided in the following section.

Chapter 1 provides an introduction and basic outline of the study. It presents the context relating to the culture and climate in South Africa pre- and post-1994. The aim and rationale of this research study are explained, followed by an introduction to the research method utilised in this study.

Chapter 2 will define the term, diversity. It will start with a broad definition and work towards diversity as relevant to this study. Theories relating to diversity will be discussed and conceptualised according to the social psychological perspective.

Chapter 3 will discuss the impact of the changes which occurred in South African politics with reference to education and schools. The roles of the teacher and learner in a diverse school environment will be explored.

Chapter 4 will focus on the methodology used in this research study. This chapter will provide a brief overview of the research rationale, purpose and aim of the study, including the research questions. The qualitative aspects of the study will be discussed, describing the sample, data collection procedures followed and data analysis. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on the ethical considerations and trustworthiness of the study.

Chapter 5 will present and discuss the qualitative results. The main themes, as well as the subthemes which emerged from the data analysis, will be reported. Teachers' and learners' themes will be discussed separately, followed by an integrated discussion.

The study concludes with Chapter 6 by providing a summary of the findings, as well as the conclusions which have been drawn from those findings. The limitations of the study will be disclosed, as well as recommendations for future research.

1.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the positioning of this research study was explicated. The climate and context that resulted in the political reform which took place in South Africa during the 1990s was discussed, providing the background which led to the abolishment of apartheid. The influences of those changes on the education system were recorded with preference given to the changes which took place in the South African school's policy, in particular. The aim and rationale of this research study were stated. The social psychological approach was introduced which provides the framework of this study, followed by an outline of the research design and methodology. This chapter concluded by providing an outline and a short description of the chapters to follow.

CHAPTER 2
DIVERSITY

In recent years, individuals the world over have witnessed the re-emergence of the term, diversity. Rarely are media consulted without reference being made to diversity in one way or another – from everyday news articles to scholarly literature.

In this chapter, the term, diversity, is explored starting with a definition in the broadest sense and then working towards a definition that is relevant to this study. Diversity is discussed as a term, with reference to the South African perspective, due to the fact that South Africa is considered to be one of the most culturally-diverse countries in the world. General social psychological perspectives on diversity will also be explored in this chapter.

2.1 Diversity defined

According to Ertürk, (2001), society, in general, has always considered diversity to be a relevant aspect of civilisation and culture. Before the 1990s, issues relating to diversity in South African society were not seriously considered due to the homogenic society which was dominant at the time (Chrisholm et al., 2004).

Guion and Diehl (2010) suggested that there are possibly more definitions for the term, diversity, than differences in the actual characteristics of the people represented in the description thereof. Despite the revival of the term, diversity, there seems to be little clarity on what the single most agreed upon definition should be. This confusion, according to Harrison and Klein (2007), is due to the variety of theoretical perspectives which have been provided by researchers and role-players over the past years. Hays-Thomas (2004) stated that the issue of whether diversity should be conceptualised as a demographic characteristic or as an abstract idea has resulted in further division among researchers – with little chance of consensus being reached in the near future.

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2001:340) states that the word, diversity, originates from the Latin term, diversus, which means more than one, of a different kind, or variety. In simple terms, the Oxford dictionary defines diversity as "a range of many people

or things that are very different from each other." or "a state of unlikeness" or "the condition of being different". In the broadest possible terms, diversity simply refers to levels of difference, which are used as a measure to separate things, people or groups from one another. Osland, Kolb and Rubin (2001) defined diversity as differences relating to certain dimensions, such as that of ethnicity, race, age, gender, education, personality and way of thinking. The American Psychological Association (2013) includes additional dimensions and defines diversity as individual and role differences, including those based on age, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, ethnicity, race, culture, national origin, religion, disability, language and socio-economic status.

Diversity is, however, not as simple as difference. It means far more than this because individuals bring with them unique life experiences, perceptions and cultures (Cushner et al., 2001; Jordaan, 2002). Thomas (1996) stated that this perspective referred to diversity as a mixture of different items which are characterised by both differences and similarities. Phatlane (2007) agreed with the notion that diversity emphasises the uniqueness of individuals and can, therefore, not only be defined in terms of difference. Diversity, therefore, according to Naidoo (2008), captures both the similarities and differences which are a reflection of its paradoxical nature. This paradox, according to Miller and Katz (2002), refers to needs and wants that all people share, such as love, happiness and safety and even includes elements such as culture and life experiences. Miller and Katz (2002) stated that it is, however, also important to acknowledge that, in some cases, individuals share no common identity with others and are unique unto themselves.

Diversity can be referred to as a relative concept where the emergence of similarities and differences arise when objects are viewed in relation to one another (Weiss, 2002). Roosevelt Thomas (1991), in his book *Beyond Race and Gender,* defined diversity as something which is not determined by race or gender alone, but rather as something that includes all people, as well as different dimensions which ultimately results in their uniqueness.

The concept of diversity encompasses acceptance of and respect for individuals who are different from ourselves (Queensborough Community College, 2013). It involves understanding an individual by progressing beyond tolerance, and by embracing and celebrating the dimensions of diversity which contribute to the uniqueness of each human being.

Diversity is the acknowledgement and recognition of unique differences within certain groups which ultimately form part of society (Wlodkowski, 2007). According to Guion (1999), diversity relates to the mosaic of people, who bring their unique ethnic and cultural backgrounds, styles, perspectives, values, and beliefs to both the environment and the people with whom they interact. The use of the word, mosaic, instead of the more common referral to the word, melting-pot, emphasises the important principle of retaining individual uniqueness, even when forced into living, working and studying in close proximity to others who are different from ourselves (Guion, 1999). Smit, Cronje, Brevis and Vrba (2011) stated that, even though individuals share the essential dimensions of the human species, there are certain biological, as well as social, issues that distinguish individuals' uniqueness. People are a product of unique circumstances and experiences. This uniqueness is something which should be acknowledged and protected, not moulded to fit in with the prescribed norms of society (Visser, 2009).

Diversity is, therefore, considered as a social construct which is dynamic in nature and which is influenced by the context in which it exists. Contextual factors have an influence on the way in which diversity is experienced and perceived (Curry, 2000). This perspective is well supported in studies where a country's political history, together with the experiences of its people during that time, were shown to strongly influence the way in which people related to issues of diversity (Curry, 2000; Handelman, 1999). Zapata (2009) stated that diversity does not have a universal expression, but is defined and visualised differently depending on the context in which it is experienced.

The socio-historical context is an important consideration (Thompson, 2001), especially in a country such as South Africa with its history of apartheid, which promoted discrimination and the segregation of different races. Due to the political reform which occurred in South Africa during the 1990s, the term, diversity, seemed to take on a new meaning with the focus being placed on previously-disadvantaged groups, such as Black people, females and homosexual people (Roosevelt Thomas, 1991).

This change indicates that diversity is not a static construct, but a dynamic phenomenon which constantly evolves with an ever-changing society (De Beer, 1998).

The above refers to the many dimensions of diversity, consisting of both differences and similarities, which constantly interact with and influence one another. These dimensions, according to Mazur (2010), emerge and present differently depending on the context, environment and circumstances, making it a complex phenomenon to define as the position and dominance of the different dimensions differ according to each individual. Thomas (1996) stated that diversity is most often associated with multicultural, multi-ethnic and multiracial aspects. He challenges the inclusion of those aspects and simply defines diversity as a combination of items in which differences and similarities are characterised. Mazur (2010:9) supported Thomas's definition and proposed that diversity be redefined as 'the collective, all-encompassing mix of human differences and similarities along any given dimension'.

Diversity is a concept which recognises and celebrates the many factors that make individuals unique, the factors which define an individual. The researcher acknowledges that separate dimensions of difference and similarities exist in the reality of everyday living and that these categories are fluid and never fixed. Because emphasis has been placed on constructs, such as race and the ways in which different cultural groups interact and function, does not imply that the other forms of diversity are unimportant (Nkomo, Weber, & Amsterdam, 2009). The researcher respects the rights of individuals and supports the notion that no culture or race is in any way superior to another.

In the context of this research study, diversity will be considered as the recognition of differences and similarities in terms of various dimensions, as well as the ways in which individuals think, behave, communicate and organise themselves (Carignan et al., 2005). For the purposes of this study, diversity will include the similarities and differences which make individuals unique, as well as the way in which that uniqueness is interpreted, perceived and experienced. Those similarities and differences will be based on the primary and secondary dimensions of diversity as proposed by Loden and Rosener (1991). According to Plummer (2003), the key to diversity is managing and valuing difference, as proposed by Loden and Rosener (1991). Loden and Rosner's approach was considered, by the researcher, to provide a comprehensive framework to present key issues relating to diversity by viewing diversity as a valuable resource rather than an obstacle (1991). This framework, according to Loden and Rosener (1991) acknowledges that individuals, groups and organisations face systemic issues in response to changing demographics in society. This proposed change is better dealt with if

dimensions of difference are acknowledged, enhanced and respected (Loden & Rosener, 1991).

Thomas (1996:5) defined diversity as 'any mixture of items characterised by differences and similarities'. Mazur (2010:7) supported this view by proposing that diversity be redefined as 'the collective, all-encompassing mix of human differences and similarities along any given dimension'.

2.2 Dimensions of diversity

Blaine (2007) referred to diversity as the presence of difference. According to Wellner (2000), primary and secondary dimensions of diversity exist, some visible, some not – these dimensions form the personal identity of a person. Difference will be discussed, relating to the primary and secondary dimensions of diversity. This section will be concluded with an argument regarding the multiplicity of dimensions of diversity.

2.2.1 Primary dimensions of diversity

Primary dimensions of diversity are described as those factors which exert an influence on our identities and shape our basic self-image and world views, such as gender, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation and age (Loden & Rosner, 1991). Primary dimensions are readily observable and are the dimensions by which most objects or people are identified (Wellner, 2000). Barkman and Speaker (2012) maintained that primary dimensions are basic characteristics that are inborn and, therefore, cannot be changed.

These dimensions are vital in the construction and development of individuals' identity, self-image and values, influencing the way in which individuals are perceived. Primary dimensions are personal aspects and would, therefore, include factors such as gender, age, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and physical abilities (Loden, 1996).

Loden and Rosener (1996) updated their dimensions of diversity model by adding three additional primary dimensions to the original six to include, income, spiritual beliefs and class. It is, however, beyond the scope of this study to include these additional dimensions and they will therefore not be discussed.

a) Gender

Mynhart (2003) refers to gender as the combination of attributes, personality, behaviours and experiences in association with an individual's biological sex, within a certain culture. The division of people into two groups, namely male and female, defines the term, gender (Borgatta & Montgomery, 2000). Hesse-Biber and Carger (2000) stated that gender is socially determined because society emphasises acceptable roles which are based on characteristics attributed to men and women. Social interactions throughout individuals' lives determine their gender identity which, in turn, determines their gender roles (World Health Organisation, 2002). Borgatta and Montgomery (2000) agreed that the roles of men and women are socially constructed to be different in behaviour, attitudes and emotions, and that characteristics based on those roles are maintained by social order. Prescribed roles for men and women have been debated and researched in literature for many years. Roles assigned according to gender, together with societies' attitudes towards those roles, have evolved over time. The importance of acknowledging gender when discussing dimensions of diversity must therefore be considered.

b) Age

Age refers to the different stages in individuals' life cycles. The biological or physiological perspective of age refers to the body's changes which take place over time. Sigelman and Rider (2009) referred to age as the physical change attributed to aging and maturation, which is due to biological changes that occur as a result of genetic predisposition.

Apart from biological factors, sociologists acknowledge that age is also shaped by cultural norms and social factors. These social factors, according to Sigelman and Rider (2009), are referred to as environmental factors and determine what is considered by society to be appropriate or not. These factors are considered to be appropriate, depending on the historical, cultural and subcultural context of individuals at certain times in their life span.

From a social psychological perspective, individuals' chronological ages are affected by the norms that society attaches to age groups, which means that certain age groups are expected to behave in a certain way. Age, therefore, is considered to be an important dimension of diversity as people throughout their life cycle adapt as their capacities and needs change.

c) Race

Race has historically been defined as the biological organisation of individuals into distinctive groups, according to physical, social, and intellectual characteristics (Lehrman, 2003). This perspective has, however, been challenged by historians, researchers and social scientists. Worthington and Spanierman (2001) argued that race is socially constructed and that the focus should, therefore, primarily be placed on the context in which a research study takes place and less on the biological factors of individuals involved therein. Despite the growing consensus among researchers that race should no longer be used as a classification tool, an understanding of human difference and diversity remains an important element in research which makes the exclusion of race unlikely (Pollock, 2006).

Race will continue to have an important place in South Africa due to the legacy of apartheid where people were classified, according to the Population Registration Act, into the main divisions of 'White', 'Black', 'Coloured' and 'Asian' (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Vestergaard, 2001). Plummer (2003) stated that racial classification formed the basis of oppressive policies and separation laws, which were based on difference. Race is, therefore, relevant to many South African research studies, especially those involving issues of diversity. Omi and Winant (1994) stated that race, as a concept, must first be understood before issues involving race can effectively be analysed. Jansen and Amsterdam (2006) referred to race as a social construct, which must be understood as something which is subtly formed, as it continues to be moulded and re-moulded by society and can, therefore, not be considered as a fixed category. The importance of race and its relevance to this research study will therefore relate to its social meaning.

d) Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a term which is often used to describe differences between groups of individuals and has, therefore, endured much heated discussion as to its meaning. Ethnicity, unlike race, does not refer to biological differences but rather to groups which are formed by individuals who share common values and beliefs that are based on the ethnic group in which they function. Keddell (2009) stated that ethnicity is an important element of individuals' identities as it refers to the common characteristics found within a group of people that distinguishes them from other groups, within the same society. Therefore, the consensus

reached seems to acknowledge that ethnicity is a socially-conceived concept and is subject to evolving social, political and economic conditions (Goldberg & Solomos, 2002; Karner, 2006). Ethnicity encompasses multidimensional factors such as racial, cultural, religious and linguistic factors (Plummer, 2003). The recognition of culture, ethnicity and gender in the social sciences has adopted an increasingly multicultural perspective during recent years.

e) Sexual orientation

Sexual orientation is the preferred term used when referring to an individual's romantic, emotional and/or sexual attraction to another individual. According to Bailey (2009), it is an internal mechanism which determines an individual's sexuality in varying degrees towards females, males or both (Bailey, 2009). Sexual orientation is probably best understood as existing along a continuum, although researchers prefer placing individuals in the following discreet categories: heterosexual, bisexual and homosexual. An individual who is attracted to someone of the same sex is said to possess a homosexual orientation and individuals attracted to the opposite sex are referred to as possessing a heterosexual orientation.

Sexual orientation, according to Aspinall and Mitton (2008), is a relatively new concept and refers to more than just sexual behaviour. Individuals may identify themselves as being either bisexual, homosexual or heterosexual, without engaging in any type of sexual activity. Garnets (2000) stated that it is, therefore, not a fixed concept as it can develop or change over the lifespan of an individual. It is a concept which is largely referred to as an invisible status, as individuals are reluctant to disclose their sexual orientation due to the threat of potential discrimination and prejudice (Diamond, 2003).

f) Physical abilities

Physical ability is included by Loden and Rosener (1996) as a primary dimension of diversity, although it is a dimension that can change over time. Change in physical ability depends on the choices that individuals make, such as exercise, healthy eating, getting enough rest and reducing stress. Other factors, such as illness or accidents, are often outside an individual's control and could result in disability. A disability is a physical or mental impairment that restricts individuals' activities in some way.

2.2.2 Secondary dimensions of diversity

Secondary dimensions of diversity are not as readily observable as primary dimensions. Secondary dimensions, according to Loden and Rosner (1991), influence self-esteem and include aspects such as education, geographic location, religion, language, family status and income. These dimensions have a strong influence on an individual's values, needs, priorities, aspirations and perceptions and, therefore, have a profound impact on the life of an individual (Wellner, 2000). Loden and Rosener (1991) believed that these dimensions of diversity influence the way in which a social environment is viewed. Loden (1996) stated that secondary dimensions have a flexible influence on individuals and represent important dimensions of a person's social identity.

Secondary dimensions are more likely to change, when compared to primary dimensions and are, therefore, considered to be less visible to others. Barkman and Speaker (2012) stated that individuals are often less sensitive when reference is made to these dimensions as they can be adapted or changed, which allows the individual some degree of power and control. Secondary dimensions can be acquired, manipulated or ignored and are therefore not constant, as is the case with primary dimensions (Carrel, Elbert, Hatfield, Grobler, Marx, & Van der Schyf, 1998). Secondary dimensions of diversity influence our self-esteem and include dimensions such as geographic location, language, religion, education, income and socio-economic status (Loden & Rosener, 1991; Wellner, 2000).

a) Geographic location

Geographic location is an important element in social science research due to the effect it has on an individual's behaviour and experiences (Galster, 2001). Geographic location refers to a certain position on earth and is defined by two coordinates, namely longitude and latitude, which can be used to give specific locations, independent of an outside reference point (Galster, 2001). Kwan (2012) stated that social science places an important focus on the effects of geographic location on individuals' experiences and behaviours. It is important to note that it is sometimes difficult to determine the exact social and physical effect on the phenomenon under study (Kwan, 2012). This is due to the complex social interaction of diverse individuals, such as friends, family, peers and colleagues, which takes place at different times and geographic locations outside individuals' communities. The social

relationships among individuals forming groups are commonly known as communities (Freeman, 2004).

Individuals primarily identify themselves based on their locality which serves to create a sense of belonging, despite the current global experience of urbanisation. Tajfel and Turner (1979) stated that individuals inherently use demographic information to shape their social identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

According to Ellen and Turner (2003), there are various demographic conditions which appear to affect a range of individual social and economic outcomes. Adolescents' values and behaviour, according to Ellen and Turner (2003), are significantly influenced by geographic location, which becomes less influential as the adolescent becomes older. Conditions such as access to education, services, information, and economic opportunities were found to have a greater impact on adult outcomes than on those of adolescents (Ellen & Turner, 2003).

b) Language

Language is the primary means by which humans communicate with one another and can be defined as a set of symbols, which are combined according to a set of rules (Van der Walt, Evans, & Kilfoil, 2009). The language spoken by a certain group of individuals serves as a strong determiner of its culture (Van der Walt et. al., 2009). The terms most commonly used to determine an individual's preferred use of language or the language an individual feels most comfortable using are 'mother tongue' or 'first language' (Richards, Platt, & Platt, 1992).

In society, individuals not only need to be understood, but they also need to understand what others are communicating and, therefore, language plays a vital role in social interaction and transformation across the world. According to Graddol (2006), English is considered to be the language of global communication which allows individuals access to information from all over the world.

According to Probyn (2009), South Africa is unique when discussing issues relating to language as no other constitution in the world recognises eleven official languages, to which it guarantees equal status.

c) Religion

Most societies have some concept of a god or a divine entity which confirms that religion is based on cultural beliefs (Geertz, 1993). Only about 15 per cent of the earth's population are not religious or are atheists (Barrett, Richert, & Driesenga, 2001). The French sociologist, Durkheim, believed that religion is a product of people's need to belong – people form religions to satisfy their longing. Thus, religion provides individuals with a sense of common emotions, ethics, and purpose, which give rise to group identity and a sense of worth.

Social research assumes that religious associations result primarily from socio-environmental influences (Smith, 2003). There is, however, evidence that biological factors also influence religious affiliation and belief. According to Francis and Kaufer (2011), many social scientists agree that there is a complex interaction between both biological and social influences concerning human behaviour and religious beliefs.

d) Education

Education, as a construct, has constantly evolved over time. The degree of change is, however, dependent on the context in which it occurs. In the broadest sense, education refers to learning which takes place throughout the lifespan of individuals, through experience. The word, education, is also commonly used when referring to formal schooling or to the institutions where children and young adults receive an education or become educated (Walsh, 1993). Nkomo and Vandeyar (2009) stated that education is a common experience, which is available to all individuals living in a modern and democratic society such as South Africa, irrespective of social class, ethnicity, language, religion or gender. Miller (2009) argued that education is a way in which governments exercise their power, by means of manipulating the attitudes and thinking of individuals, with the purpose of providing the human capital required for economic and political purposes.

Barkman and Speaker (2012) considered education to be an essential component when discussing diversity. Education has the capacity to promote the process of shared values and respect for difference and is, therefore, regarded as a powerful force in society (Nkomo & Vandeyar, 2009).

e) Income

Hinks and Gruen (2007) stated that individuals primarily earn an income by supplying labour, knowledge or skills to the market. The greater individuals' capabilities and skills, the higher their income (Sen, 2010). According to Inglehart (2009), individuals who live in an economically- and socially-secure environment, experience well-being.

f) Socio-economic status

Socio-economic status, according to Mynhart (2003), simply refers to the social standing or rank of an individual within a group. Social class or socio-economic status relates to individuals' educational standing in combination with their income (Oakes & Rossi, 2003). An individual's status within a society is measured by real material conditions which create facets of social class ranging from upper to lower class (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000). These facets of social class are a means of social categorisation, which determines social status, resulting in social stigma among lower-class individuals (Kraus & Keltner, 2009). According to Oakes and Rossi (2003), social class is a multifaceted construct which equates material wealth with access to resources, which results in upper-class individuals having more access to economic resources, such as income and education, than lower-class individuals do.

Socio-economic status is closely related to other processes such as historical factors, culture, income and demographics (Snibbe & Markus, 2005).

2.2.3 Multiplicity of dimensions

Dimensions of diversity have the potential to influence individuals' experiences and opportunities and should, therefore, be considered when exploring experiences and perceptions within a social context. Rijamampinina and Carmichael (2005) extended the theory of primary and secondary dimensions to include the following tertiary dimensions: beliefs, assumptions, perceptions, attitudes, feelings, values and group norms. According to Mazur (2010), there is a definite trend in which a multiplicity of dimensions is included in definitions of diversity. Mazur (2010) used the analogy of an iceberg to explain the probability of innumerable dimensions of diversity. Primary dimensions are referred to as the visible portion of the iceberg, which form the basis of anti-discrimination legislation which is currently experienced globally. Secondary dimensions are those which lie just below the

surface, which are less visible and may be revealed over time. Tertiary dimensions are considered by Mazur (2010) to represent the real essence of diversity and should, therefore, be more thoroughly explored. These tertiary dimensions, which have only recently been acknowledged, form the core of individuals' identities, and lie deep below the surface. Diversity, therefore, includes endless dimensions of similarities and differences, which may amalgamate to produce unique combinations of human characteristics (Mazur, 2010). These dimensions continually interact with and influence one another, and display differently depending on the context, environment and circumstances involved. The position and dominance of individual dimensions are dynamic, which results in making the concept of diversity more complex.

2.3 Social psychological perspectives on diversity

Social psychological perspectives can provide insight into the complexity of experiences and perceptions related to diversity. Mor Barak (2005) suggested that intergroup relations and diversity should be explored by examining social psychological theories. Social psychology provides a lens to interpret psychological processes and behaviours, using social interactions and group membership as mechanisms (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Social psychology considers the manner in which individuals' perspectives, attitudes and behaviours influence, and are influenced by, social groups. In the following section, an overview of some of the social psychological theories that can be utilised to explain experiences and perceptions of diversity will be provided. Although social theories can be categorised and grouped in a variety of ways, the theories were grouped into three main categories for the purposes of this study: social learning theories, intergroup theories and social identity theories.

2.3.1 Social learning theory

Social learning theory focuses on learning which occurs within a social environment. Bandura (1986), among others, is considered to be the leading advocator of this theory. He proposed that learning is acquired through concepts such as observational learning, imitation and modelling. Bandura's social learning theory (1986) was based on the notion that observational learning or modelling can explain a variety of different behaviours.

Bandura's social learning theory proposes that learning can occur by observing the behaviour of others, through modelling. Social behaviours are believed to be learnt by children through observing and imitating models, usually parents. Children are believed to imitate a model which they perceive to be similar to themselves. Perceptions are formed, among other things, as a result of personal experience (Meier & Hartell, 2009). According to Evans (2007), perceptions such as beliefs, values, biases and prejudices are a result of personal experiences and are located in the individual's psyche. Behaviour is reinforced or punished depending on the way in which others respond to that behaviour. Reinforcement can be external or internal and can be positive or negative. If external reinforcement does not equal an individual's needs, it will have little impact on behaviour. Bandura (1986) acknowledges that learning does not necessarily result in changed behaviour.

Perceptions are therefore shaped by a complex and extended process known as socialisation, which is relative to the social environment in which experiences take place. Therefore, diversity focuses on the different variables in a given society. Issues, such as tolerance of difference, understanding of diverse cultures, heritage and racism, are addressed. According to Jones (2001), stereotypes are deeply entrenched in society through the observation and modelling of individuals. More importantly, the inexplicable influence of upbringing and values, as well as its contribution to an individual's thinking are considered to be important.

2.3.2 Intergroup theory

The intergroup contact hypothesis, suggested by Allport (1954), proposed that positive effects of intergroup contact occur when contact is characterised by four conditions: equal status, intergroup cooperation, common goals, and social support. He further stated that prejudice against a specific social group can be diminished by the appropriate exposure and contact of individuals to members of that group. Pettigrew (1998) argued that contact between groups, even when conditions are not optimal, as suggested by Allport (1954), resulted in reduced prejudice.

The realistic conflict theory is also regarded as a theory that is focused on the relations between groups (Dixon, 2007). Conflict between groups occurs due to competition for real or perceived limited resources. Sherif (1996) explained that individuals are driven by self- or group interest in an attempt to maximise personal or group rewards, often to the detriment of

others. According to Adams (1965), not possessing something results in feelings of injustice and deprivation, causing personal distress and intergroup conflict. Crosby (1982) considered resentment to be the emotional association of relative deprivation and suggested that resentment is predicted by two variables: wanting and future expectations. The greater the inconsistency between what one wants and what one has, the greater the level of resentment. Reactions resulting from relative deprivation can either be directed inwardly towards the self or externally towards a system, group or community.

The experience of unjust deprivation leads to behaviours which are aimed at restoring the balance (Taylor et al., 2006). The founding principle of intergroup theory is that perceptions and behaviours elevate individuals' own groups above other groups (Naudé, 2012). It is, therefore, an effective framework to explain the important role that social structures have in the investigation of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination. Intergroup theory is a social psychological approach, which is believed to partly explain the development of prejudice among groups and might explain why racial tensions surface in contexts where racial diversity has increased.

2.3.3 Social identity theory

The social identity theory, as proposed by Tajfel (1982), suggested that people are proud of the groups to which they belong as it creates a sense of social identity and belonging within a social environment. Lott (2009) stated that cultures affect the way in which individuals define themselves and that this, in turn, influences the way in which they behave, how they experience things, and how they interact socially with others. Individuals seek to preserve self-esteem, which is influenced by the positive and negative associations and values of the group to which they belong (Brown, 2007). Group values are thought to arise from members drawing a comparison between the in-group and the out-group.

Mor Barak (2005) identified the social identity theory as a meta-theory which explains the universal effects of social categorisation and group membership as being relevant to the study of human diversity in organisations. According to Tajfel (1982), it provides a link between social structures and individual identity by the meaning that people attach to their group membership, such as those formed by race or ethnicity.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, a variety of definitions and perspectives related to the term, diversity, were discussed. It was determined that diversity means more than the simple acknowledgement of differences and was therefore explored in relation to its various primary and secondary dimensions. This chapter concluded with a conceptualisation of diversity, relevant to this study. It is important to note that the dimensions of diversity, as discussed, are not exclusive unto themselves but that those differences and similarities interact with one another and result in the unique synthesis of what makes each person unique. The social psychological approach to diversity was discussed.

CHAPTER 3
RACIALLY-INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

Many countries in the world are described as having a pluralist society of which South Africa is one. This is essentially true considering South Africa's radically heterogeneous population. Smit et al. (2011:269) reiterate this by stating that the best way to describe South African society is as being "radically pluralist". Diversity is considered to be something which needs to be practised, which starts with the simple acknowledgment that all individuals are interdependent of the society in which they exist which is, in turn, determined by contextual factors.

Institutions of education are, according to Vandeyar (2010), the microcosms of society at large and challenges and changes in society are reflected in schools and other institutions of education. The rapid restructuring of the school system in South Africa brought about considerable change, challenges and uncertainty, among both teachers and learners. Meier and Hartell (2009) proposed that there are many variables which influence the way in which schools respond to the challenges associated with the changing demographics. Du Toit (1995) stated that mutual understanding between teachers and learners is not a given and should, therefore, not be assumed to be automatic.

This chapter will provide an overview of the issues and challenges associated with diversity in education with specific emphasis on schools. Various approaches to diversity in schools will be investigated, as well as the role and function that both teachers and learners have in the process.

3.1 Approaches relating to diversity in schools

Due to the socio-economic and political reforms which took place in South Africa, schools were thrust into a sudden heterogeneous existence. The sudden desegregation of schools resulted in the emergence of different approaches to diversity. While some of these approaches were aimed at providing learners with equitable and quality education, the adoption of certain approaches can be regarded as a way of maintaining the status quo

(Jansen, 2004; Soudien, 2004) or to advance racial equality by ignoring the uniqueness of diverse racial groups (Jansen, 2006).

3.1.1 The assimilation approach

According to Banks and McGee Banks (2001), the process of assimilation occurs when a group acquires the values, behaviour, perspectives, characteristics and ethos of an ethnic or cultural group at the expense of its own.

Following an assimilationist approach in schools, all learners, irrespective of their background or experience, are expected to fit in to the existing culture and curriculum of the school which they attend (Chrisholm, 2005; Meier & Hartell, 2009; Vandeyar, 2008). This approach was reported in research conducted by Van Heerden (1998), involving two desegregated South African high schools, in which findings revealed that desegregation in these schools simply referred to the assimilation of learners into the functional and structured culture, tradition and ethos of the existing schools. Findings from a study conducted by Carrim and Soudien (1999) reflected a similar trend in which they confirmed that learners were expected to adapt to the existing ethos of schools. According to Carrim and Soudien (1999), this approach was found to occur in many South African schools. According to Alexander (2011), recent research findings showed that the majority of racially-integrated schools continue to function as mono-cultural schools and that learners with diverse backgrounds are simply expected to fit in to the existing culture of the school.

Soudien (2004) revealed that assimilation is used by governing bodies in schools as an attempt to preserve the power or control of the existing dominant group by ensuring that the status quo is maintained. McKinney (2007) stated that research findings related to school integration often referred to the effects of assimilation in their studies which, in most cases, referred to previously exclusive White, Coloured or Indian schools. According to Soudien (2004), the consequences of assimilation were that learners were expected to give up their cultural identity and acknowledge the superiority of the dominant culture of the school. This approach, therefore, failed to acknowledge the diversity of learners and was found to be inadequate in its attempt to integrate a diverse learner population (Soudien, 2004).

The above-mentioned research studies, therefore, suggested that attempts at equitable, quality education for learners with diverse experiences have not been successful (Pillay, 2004; Vally & Dalamba, 1999) and, according to Meier and Hartell (2009), it is possibly due to schools having adopted an assimilationist approach.

3.1.2 The colour-blind approach

The colour-blind approach has been identified as a strategy which is commonly used in both educational and organisational environments. Colour blindness emerged as a central ideology in education, possibly due to its promotion of tolerance and inclusiveness. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that it is a term which commonly re-occurs in research relating to diversity and racial integration in schools. According to relevant research, the colour-blind approach is aimed at advancing racial equality by devaluing the uniqueness of and potential contributions from different racial groups (Carbado & Harris, 2008; Jansen, 2006; Schofield, 2007).

The intended principles on which this approach is based (to eradicate racial inequity) has promoted the exact opposite outcome. Bonilla-Silva (2003) proposed that colour blindness has the potential to underplay the value of diversity because it is less sensitive to valuable racial differences. Moletsane (1999) stated that this approach is often adopted by teachers as a way of dealing with their own prejudice relating to learners from diverse racial groups, by professing not to see colour. Meier (2005) agreed with these findings by referring to this practice as an attempt by teachers to supress and justify their prejudice against learners who are different from themselves. Vandeyar (2010) simply referred to it as a practice which serves to hide discrimination and racism in schools.

Jansen (2004) suggested that the colour-blind approach is just another way in which schools ensure and maintain segregation bias and, in so doing, maintain the status quo. Jansen (1998) made reference to the colour-blind approach as a practice where learners' race and colour bore no significance to the way in which they are treated. This approach, according to Moletsane (1999), is nothing more than a cover-up, and does little to address the existing social and cultural imbalances in schools as it makes no accommodation in catering for the needs of a diverse population of learners.

Although colour blindness may not be considered to be a successful approach in eliminating inequity, it adjusts the lens through which social inequity is evaluated and perceived (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010).

3.1.3 The contributionist approach

According to Banks (2006), the contributionist approach is commonly and extensively used by institutions in which racial integration had taken place. A variant of the contributionist approach is known as the heroes-and-holidays approach, where ethnic heroes are celebrated for a limited time. This approach can give the impression that diversity is being celebrated, although little attention is focussed on the ethnic group before or after the event (Banks, 2006). The contributionist approach is also known as the celebratory approach in which learners are allowed to celebrate their culture on a specific day (Van Heerden, 1998). Banks (2006) referred to this approach as the process of allowing learners of different cultures, other than those of the formerly-predominant White learners of the past, to feel a sense of belonging in celebrating their culture at school.

The contributionist approach, as described by Banks (2006), is found to be common in many South African schools as it accommodates some aspects of culture which are considered to be different from the norm. According to Vandeyar (2006), this practice was introduced by schools as a way in which to promote and show acceptance of difference by having what is known as a 'cultural day' or an 'inter-cultural evening' where different cultures are acknowledged in different ways. Schools attempt to incorporate certain elements of other cultures by allowing learners to celebrate their cultures through food, dance and song. This practice is superficial and adds little value in its attempt to promote unity (Vandeyar, 2006). According to Van Heerden (1998), the contributionist approach does little to encourage a real sense of belonging and acceptance among learners.

3.1.4 The multicultural approach

Multiculturalism is described as the purposeful introduction of favourable social conditions in which diverse societies or groups exist and are maintained (Hartmann & Gerteis, 2005). The focus of this approach, according to Lentin (2005), falls more on the appreciation of culture and less on the construct of race. Lentin warned, however, that this approach runs the risk of

focusing exclusively on inter-racial communities and, in so doing, neglects to address the broader social challenges associated with diversity such as inclusion, inequality and racism (2005).

The multicultural approach to education stemmed from the need to acknowledge, accept and appreciate learners who represented a multitude of diverse cultures. According to Fante (2000), multiculturalism promotes an approach to teaching and learning in line with the policies and ideals of a multicultural education system, although the effectiveness thereof remains debatable. Squelch (1993) suggested that this was due to the fact that multicultural education failed to bring about structural reform and confront deeply-embedded racism.

3.1.5 The anti-racist approach

This approach, according to Shapiro (2002), acknowledges the effects that racial oppression, privileges and powers have on societies, as well as the influence of historical and systemic factors on cultural identities. Racism is defined as a social system that traditionally categorises individuals into certain groups and, in so doing, creates a hierarchy which is based exclusively on race. It is a system which focuses on devaluing certain groups, thereby justifying inequality (Pettman, 1986).

The anti-racist approach is broadly defined as thoughts and actions which focus on eradicating racism and which focus exclusively on promoting equality, irrespective of race or ethnicity (Bonnett, 2000). Putman (2007) referred to the anti-racist approach as one which predominantly serves to address racial inequality. It acknowledges that there are certain groups who were disadvantaged in some way by the actions of a dominant group and attempts to accommodate these groups by allowing them certain advantages to compensate for past injustices (Putman, 2007). According to Vandeyar (2006), the purpose of this approach is to assist individuals in their dealings with racial and cultural differences relevant to a diverse society.

This approach to education is aimed at acknowledging and making allowance for the true understanding of differences between individuals. Vandeyar (2006) referred to it as a perspective which creates awareness of past injustices, by equipping individuals with ways in which to deal with racial and cultural differences, found among diverse learners in racially-

integrated schools. This approach, according to Meier and Hartell (2009), will ensure that learners, parents and teachers are adequately equipped with the necessary tools to effectively fight racism and discrimination, which will ultimately result in a society in which all people are considered to be equal.

3.1.6 The valuing diversity approach

Diversity is recognised as a phenomenon that affects influences and applies to every individual and should, therefore, be highly valued by all role-players in societies across the world. Although difference is an absolute when discussing diversity, there are always aspects of similarities among individuals and groups. Newell (2002) believed that it is these similarities that allow people to overcome their differences. Naidoo (2008) agreed that similarities which exist between individuals serve the purpose of bringing people together which then makes it possible to bridge the differences. Barkman and Speaker (2012) referred to the approach of valuing diversity as an asset, which recognises, respects and promotes the individuality and uniqueness of diverse individuals.

Smit, Cronje, Brevis and Vrda (2011) stated that, as soon as value is placed on diversity, individuals automatically admit to preconceived ideas relating to stereotyping, prejudice and bias. It is through this acknowledgement that individuals are better able to see the value that others who are different from themselves, have to offer (Smit et al., 2011). Prilleltensky and Nelson (1997) stated that, in order for people to appreciate the value of diversity, they must listen to the voice of the people, especially those who have been forced into silence for so long. Van der Waal (2003) stressed the importance of taking the South African context into account by recognising the enormous inequalities that existed between the different groups. Only then will the value of diversity be evident in its attempt to redress inequality and confront issues relating to access and success (Loden, 1996).

By placing the necessary value on diversity, individuals affirm that individual differences are indeed an asset and not a hindrance (Smit et al., 2011). Guion (1991) defined diversity as "a mosaic of people who bring a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, styles, perspectives, values and beliefs as assets to the groups with which they interact". Smit et al. (2011) agreed with the description of diversity as an asset, something that should be seen as being both desirable and beneficial to society. By thinking of the term, diversity, as something which

applies to all individuals, it becomes something which all people can care about and support (Rasmussen, 1996).

South Africa is often referred to as the rainbow nation – a kaleidoscope of differences in languages, races and cultures. This imagery makes allowance for the social and political preference of all South Africans and regards their diversity as the building block of a new South Africa (Ramsamy, 2007). Blaser (2004) regarded this sense of unity as an essential element in the creation of a united and democratic country. Diversity teaches all individuals to strive towards becoming valuable and active members of a democratic society (Barkman & Speaker, 2012).

Valuing diversity, therefore, includes acceptance of and interaction with those communities which are different from what individuals know or have experienced. Diversity should be valued as a real experience, which is created by individuals, who are perceived as being similar or the same, and yet interpret that same experience differently (Smit et al., 2011).

As South Africa matures into a functional democratic society, it consequently becomes more diverse. Teachers and learners in racially-integrated schools must, therefore, learn to value differences in the classroom by using diversity as a tool to promote racial integration. Valuing diversity in schools simply means the recognition and appreciation that all learners are unique and different. Their differences could consist of their reading level, athletic ability, cultural background, personality, religious beliefs, and language proficiency. Diversity has always existed in the classroom but, in South Africa today, it has become essential to embrace it and make positive use of it when teaching. Valuing diversity in schools means that teachers are able to accurately observe and interpret the culturally-diverse behaviours of learners and create a classroom atmosphere that encourages contact between learners of different races. According to Alexander and Mpisi (2014), teachers in racially-diverse classrooms needed to establish a classroom atmosphere of acceptance, where learners value differences and are expected to achieve success, irrelevant of race. To achieve this, teachers first need to confront and re-evaluate their innate prejudice concerning myths and stereotypes, influenced by race or culture. Acceptance of differences should be modelled by teachers, which requires the development of creative opportunities in which teachers and learners are able to exchange diverse views that challenge their understanding of difference, resulting in change. Barkman and Speaker (2012) confirmed this by stating that the

contribution of diverse experiences by learners helped to achieve positive change. Shared life experiences, which indirectly addressed negative attitudes and perceptions, resulted in unique learning opportunities by considering the diverse experiences and perspectives of others.

3.2 Racial desegregation versus racial integration in South African schools

Meier and Hartell (2009) considered diversity in education to be a complex issue, brought about by the increased heterogeneity of the student population, as well as the changed curricula. Nkomo and Vandeyar (2008) stated that it had become apparent that the dream of successfully integrating children from different racial groups had been met by many unforeseen challenges. The vision of potentially creating an integrated and accepting learning environment has, however, been clouded by doubts regarding the success of diverse integrative initiatives (Chrisholm, 2005; Jansen, 2004; Meier, 2005; Meier & Hartell, 2009; Ndimande, 2009; Vandeyar, 2010).

Jansen (2004) stated that schools might have succeeded at meeting the quota for compulsory racial desegregation among their learners, but that that did not necessarily mean that social integration had taken place. Racial integration in many South African schools had not happened as planned; many reasons for this continued segregation have been cited in the literature relating to racially-diverse environments. Studies relating to racial integration have both recognised and highlighted the fact that legal desegregation rarely brings about true integration among members of a diverse society (Vandeyar, 2007). Nieto (2007) suggested that, in the haste to address diversity in education, the critical issue of inequality which exists in schools was sometimes ignored. He referred to diversity education as a Band-Aid approach to mask serious problems that were in dire need of major surgery. This reality was acknowledged by Naledi Pandor in her capacity as Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces. She stated that the process of integration was an aspect of education which had been ignored and rarely spoken of, although it was one that required urgent attention (Pandor, 2004).

Segregation, instead of integration, appears to have become a stark reality in many schools. Vandeyar (2006) stated that, despite the noble intention behind the decision to racially integrate learners, racial segregation had persisted. The simple act of changed policy and the opening of schools to all racial groups had clearly not resulted in the anticipated success of an

integrated school environment. Nkomo and Vandeyar (2009) revealed that, although integrative policies relating to schools promoted racial integration, the reality is that it is not working as well in practice as was originally planned. Jansen (2004:126) reflected these sentiments by stating that "policy is not practice" and that although all the necessary policies and legislations are in place, South Africa is still failing in the implementation thereof.

According to Meier and Hartell (2009), integration does not always lead to a meaningful change of attitude among role-players but could rather contribute to elevated racial tension and racial prejudice. Research showed a tendency for White learners to leave an integrated school environment as soon as learners of different racial groups entered, an occurrence which has been referred to as 'White flight'. Dixon and Durrheim (2003) described 'White flight' as a notion that implied that, as soon as Black people entered a desegregated environment, White people tend to exit that space. Jansen (2009) stated that this trend has far-reaching consequences as it restricts the prospects of racial integration among children in schools.

Keizan (2009) approached the integration versus segregation debate from another perspective and referred to racial segregation, historically found in schools during the apartheid era, as formal segregation opposed to the informal segregation currently found in schools. Dixon and Durrheim (2003) explained that formal segregation was based on laws which were implemented by the ruling party of the time whereas informal segregation was self-implemented. Informal segregation has been well documented and is reflected in the tendency for learners who attend integrated schools to segregate in the playground, as well as after school. Carrim (1998) blamed this segregation on inconsistencies between learners and existing inflexible school policies and cultural prejudice among teaching staff.

Cultural differences or diversity in schools is often considered as a disadvantage or a problem instead of a valuable resource. Carignan et al. (2005) proposed that individuals should move past the simplicity of merely recognising diversity and cultural differences and begin to place more emphasis on the equitable interaction among role-players. The purpose of schooling, after all, is to successfully promote the activity of learning and teaching, and the success thereof requires that both teachers and learners become active role-players in achieving this goal. Although the majority of research which had been conducted in South African schools presented a negative picture, a considerable body of international research provides valuable

findings suggesting that racially-integrated schools offer great long-term benefits to all, by improving educational and social outcomes (O'Connor, 2007). These benefits include improved critical thinking skills (Chang, Witt, Jones & Hakuta, 2003), social skills and the reduction of racial prejudice (Hawley, 2007). O'Conner (2007) believed that students attending a racially-diverse school will have an extra edge as compared to students attending segregated schools (O'Connor, 2007). Essential skills, such as experience and comfort when working in culturally-diverse groups, will greatly advance the prospect and vision of a socially-integrated South African society.

Social cohesion within a young, contemporary, multicultural and democratic country, such as South Africa, is an important consideration. According to Nkomo and Vandeyar (2008), schools are important institutions that have the vital task of instilling democratic values in teachers and learners, the purpose of which is to encourage building cohesion within a racially-diverse society. This practice will enable learners to gain a quality education that will potentially allow them to successfully contribute to South Africa's economic development. Diversity in schools is therefore something which should be embraced and not feared (O'Connor, 2007).

Mpondomse (2005) referred to integrated education as a dynamic, on-going process with the premise of promoting democratic principles of social justice. Jansen (2009) maintained that racial integration at school is possibly the only way to ensure any hope of social cohesion among future races. If integration does not take place at school level, there remains little opportunity for the younger generation to integrate socially because, despite attempts aimed at social integration, society remains rigidly segregated (Jansen, 2009). Nkomo and Vandeyar (2009) agreed with Jansen and placed the same importance on the valuable contribution that schools can make in promoting social cohesion. According to Nkomo and Vandeyar (2009:9), "Education is arguably the one powerful force that has the capacity to facilitate the achievement of shared values and respect difference".

3.3 Teachers in racially-integrated schools

Nieto (2009) reiterated the important role a teacher plays in the lives of those whom they teach. There are various international studies that relate to diversity in racially-integrated schools (Gay, 2002; Klein & Chen, 2001; Nieto, 2007; Rios, 1996), in which the importance

of teachers' attitudes and perceptions regarding individuals who represent races and cultures different from their own are highlighted. Rios (1996) revealed that teachers differ in their treatment and expectations of learners from different cultural groups, based on preconceived ideas relating to race. More recently, Gay (2002) conducted a study on individuals with experience in working with African-American, Asian, Latino and Native-American learners and found that education had not been conducive to the needs of culturally-diverse learners as they were expected to learn according to European-American cultural norms. This placed learners in cultural conditions which were unfamiliar to them, resulting in academic underachievement. Findings revealed that teachers were inadequately prepared, thereby suggesting that teacher preparation programmes focus on preparing teachers to be culturally responsive to racial diversity in classroom instruction. Many international studies referred to the importance of prior teacher training and adequate preparation of teachers before expecting them to successfully engage in a multicultural classroom (Sleeter, 2001). Gay (2002) proposed that culturally-responsive teacher training, in which teachers are prepared with the knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to teach ethnically-diverse learners, would result in improved academic success.

The importance of including teachers who represent different racial groups was highlighted by Sleeter (2002), who maintained that teachers of colour bring richer experiences and perspectives to multicultural teaching. Teachers who represented different racial groups brought with them a diverse multicultural knowledge base and were found to be more committed to multicultural teaching and social justice.

South African research followed international trends and various studies have been conducted which focus on teachers' experiences (Jansen, 1998; Meier, 2005; Moloi & Henning, 2006; Vandeyar, 2010). The change from schools classified according to race, class and language, which resulted in homogenous groups of teachers and learners within a shared dominant culture (Nkomo & Vandeyar, 2008), to diverse post-1994 classrooms, placed challenging demands on teachers (Vandeyar, 2010).

Teachers should not be considered to be apolitical characters interacting on an unbiased stage. Mor Barak (2005) stated that all individuals have stereotypical views of different groups. Perceptions are located in an individual's psyche and relate to beliefs, values, biases, prejudices and generalisations which were formed due to prior personal experience (Meier,

2005). Prejudice is a standardised and mostly negative schema of evaluating others, especially those who are racially and culturally different (Mor Barak, 2005). Negative stereotypes and prejudices, according to Mor Barak (2005), include perceptions that different cultures are inferior and undeserving of equal treatment. Meier (2005) reported on findings which implied that teachers often regard other racial groups as being incompetent and ignorant. This, according to Fraser (1994), is possibly due to a historically-conditioned tendency related to teachers' perceptions that were formed through the complex and extended process of socialisation. Meier (2005) explained that this socialisation process could be related to the type of training that teachers received, as well as prior experience related to classroom practice. Meier (2005) suggested that this could ultimately result in conflict due to the fact that teachers' perceptions, attitudes and personal experiences often differ from those of the learners they teach.

Research relating to teachers' experiences generally showed that teachers often emphasised the fact that they did not see a learner's colour and believed that all the learners in their class were equal (Jansen, 2004; Meier, 2005; Vandeyar, 2010). As previously mentioned, this colour-blind approach is problematic in the sense that the diversity and individuality of learners is ignored (Jansen, 2004) and prejudice and discriminatory practices are covered up (Meier, 2005).

The majority of South African studies revealed that teachers generally did not represent the diverse racial demographics of the learners they taught. For example, Van Heerden (1998) stated that educators in the majority of formerly White schools are bilingual, mostly proficient in English and Afrikaans. Few are proficient in any African language, which negatively affects the relationship between the teacher and the learner. Jansen (2004) stated that there is a reluctance by schools to employ teachers who represent the diversity of learners who are currently enrolled in South African schools. Soudien and Sayed (2004) argued that schools defend this practice by using the excuse of upholding and preserving the academic standards on which the identity of the school is based.

Mor Barak (2005) referred to the theory of social identity to explain exclusion and discrimination in the workplace. According to the social identity theory, behaviour that is congruent with the group's collective identity is prioritised. Competition, according to Mor Barak (2005), forces people to identify themselves as being part of either the in-group or the

out-group. This is important to self-esteem as it functions as a psychological measure to monitor inclusion or exclusion from a group. Cox (1994) indicated that individuals from diverse groups often experienced discrimination which results in them being excluded from certain groups. An example of this is seen in the research of Moloi and Henning (2006) in which a Black teacher employed in a leadership position in a White school, experienced victimisation from White teachers who felt threatened by Black authority.

Meier (2005) advised that entrenched perceptions, prejudices and stereotypes associated with teacher behaviours should be prioritised by schools. This, according to Meier (2005), could be accomplished by placing teachers in a racially-integrated teaching environment and providing them with comprehensive theoretical support. Teacher education and training, which addresses teachers' experiences of learner diversity, is provided by many facilities throughout South Africa. However, effective education programmes and training aimed at addressing negative perceptions and attitudes towards learners from diverse backgrounds are still found to be lacking (Alexander, 2011). Pohan (1996) suggested that effective training should not only focus on related content and pedagogical knowledge, but attend to teachers' dispositions since multicultural competence appears to be a function of beliefs, knowledge, skills and experience.

Meier and Hartell (2009) considered the management of diversity in education to be a complex matter and proposed that teachers place the necessary importance on valuing the recognition of differences. Teachers need to acknowledge and understand the cultural beliefs and customs of diverse ethnic groups (e.g. initiation, religious festivals, rituals and celebrations) to avoid creating conflict between school expectations and cultural or religious practices. Nieto (2009) stated that it is important for teachers to affirm learners' cultural identities by considering their race, culture, language, social class and other characteristics as resources rather than as something that should be ignored. Vandeyar (2010) suggested that teachers need to respond to the challenge of school integration by viewing the diversity of their learners as an asset. This involves more than simply accommodating different cultures; it involves embracing the uniqueness of different cultures.

3.4 Learners in racially-integrated schools

In South Africa, the term, learner, is preferred above that of pupil or student – the term, learner, explicitly represents what children are expected to achieve in the classroom (Bush, Joubert, Kiggundu, & Van Rooyen, 2009).

In the new dispensation in South Africa, many learners suddenly had to interact with individuals from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds (Hofmeyr, 2000). According to Meier (2005), learners from all races and cultures, found it difficult to adjust to this newly-integrated learning environment. Enoch (2007) proposed that these difficulties should be considered, recognising that many learners had been raised and educated in a homogenous society, with limited contact between racial groups.

Ntuli (1998) stated that Black learners who attended historically White schools experienced difficulty in identifying with the culture of their school because they were faced with an education system, curriculum and culture with which they were not familiar. The curriculum contributed negatively to the experiences of learners because many of them had difficulty relating to the content being taught, as they had no frame of reference on which to base their learning. Nieto (2000) confirmed that the traditional curriculum failed to adequately represent the diverse frame of reference on which all learners base their understanding and believed that a curriculum should represent all racial and cultural groups.

In schools following an assimilationist approach, learners, irrespective of race, take on the existing culture of the school at the expense of their own unique identity (Carrim, 1998; Meier, 2005; Vanderyar; 2010). Carrim (1998) confirmed that the majority of learners in South African schools experience various degrees of assimilation. According to Mor Barak (2005), the concept of inclusion and exclusion is connected to a series of psychological processes, as the desire to be part of a social group is considered to be an important motivator of human behaviour.

There have been various reports (Meier, 2005; Phatlane, 2007; Shibulane & Moila, 2001; Vally & Dalamba, 1999; Vandeyar, 2009) of learners experiencing inter-racial violence and discrimination in schools throughout South Africa, despite a national effort to promote racial integration and social cohesion. Greenwald and Banaji (1995) stated that conflict and group

disparities develop from psychological processes which are often subtle and which result in impressions of bias against others. Prejudicial beliefs about members of different racial and cultural groups often result in affective behaviours which are automatic and difficult to control (Mor Barak, 2005). A recent, well-documented case was investigated by The South African Human Rights Commission relating to the conduct of a primary school teacher, in 2012. It was found that 81% of the children who attended the school reported experiences of bullying, discrimination and racism (Press release: South African Human Rights Commission, 2013).

Language is an aspect that relates closely to learners' experiences in schools. According to Meier (2005), Black South African languages are considered to be unsuitable mediums of instruction as they lack the necessary scientific and technological vocabulary. A study conducted by Du Plooy and Swanepoel (1997) revealed that learners experienced low self-esteem as a result of feeling that their home language is considered by others to be inferior. The majority of South African learners do not speak the language of instruction (English or Afrikaans) beyond the classroom, which results in lower language proficiency. Learners' results are, therefore, not always a true reflection of their ability. This lack of achievement can result in lower self-esteem. Apart from academic and self-esteem implications, language is considered to contribute to experiences of elevated conflict among teachers and learners. Fleisch (2008) stated that English is a foreign language to many learners, which can potentially lead to misunderstandings and conflict between learners and their peers, as well as between learners and teachers.

The difficulty which learners experience can be explained from the social identity perspective. Individuals generally classify themselves according to social categories that have meaning for them. This, according to Tajfel (1982), creates the categories of in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination. Furthermore, Sabry and Bruna (2007) proposed that the difficulty experienced by learners is not the result of cultural inferiority, but rather from incongruent cultures which are experienced at home and at school.

Recent international studies, especially those conducted in the United States of America, revealed more positive findings when compared to those experienced by learners in South African schools. International research was found to focus more on the positive effects of racial integration. Findings revealed that experiences of racial integration among learners

resulted in them experiencing academic, psychological and social attainment, when compared with learners who were exposed to relatively mono-cultural school environments (Carter 2004; Kyong-Dong 2005). According to these studies, learners who are exposed to a multiracial school environment will, potentially, experience improved interaction and participation in socially-diverse environments. An international study by Carter (2010) revealed that learners themselves determined the extent to which they were willing to integrate socially with learners from different racial groups. Carter (2010) stated that learners' perspectives concerning their sense of self and their direct experience among their peers influenced their integration. Acceptance by peers had a positive effect on their self-esteem and the way in which they perceived themselves.

Hershkowitz, Schwarz and Dreyfus (2001) acknowledged the fact that many South African learners continue to face many challenges that cannot be ignored. Schools, however, play an instrumental role in improving the lives and opportunities of these learners. Nkomo, Weber, and Amsterdam (2009) argued that there is a renewed sense of consciousness and behaviour among some learners, in which a greater degree of tolerance relating to difference is reported. Nkomo and Vandeyar (2008) warned against placing too much emphasis on the experience of desegregation at the expense of successful integration of learners of different races. Successful integration has, indeed, taken place as revealed by Phatlane (2007) who reported that learners of different racial groups have experienced positive inter-racial relationships within the school environment. This, however, has not always continued beyond the school environment. Learners bring prior learning, experiences, perceptions and knowledge to the classroom and, through interaction with tasks, teachers and diverse classmates, new concepts and ideas are formed. Hershkowitz, Schwarz and Dreyfus (2001) suggested that this diverse experience encouraged new ways of thinking about concepts, as well as ways in which to interpret these concepts. They stated that such learning is hugely beneficial to the development of valuable learner interaction.

There is a deep symbolic value attached to the coming together of children of different races (Naidoo, 1996), but its success, according to Meier and Hartell (2009), is largely dependent on the dedication and attitude of the teachers and learners involved.

3.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, it has become evident that South Africa still has a long way to go before truly integrated education becomes a reality. The vital roles that teachers and learners play in this process have been highlighted. Teachers need to re-evaluate their own personal ideas and perceptions of diversity before they will be able to effectively facilitate learner diversity. Teachers need to recognise the value of differences before they can successfully utilise them in the classroom. The learner's responsibility and role in implementing successful integration was also discussed, concluding that success is only possible through the commitment of all role-players.

CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

In this chapter, the methodology which was utilised in this study is outlined and discussed. The aim of this research was to investigate the experiences and perceptions of diversity among learners and teachers in racially-integrated schools. This research aim was investigated through the careful selection and implementation of a variety of methods, procedures and strategies, which will be systematically discussed in this chapter.

The current chapter will start by formulating the aim of this research study. The rationale for selecting a descriptive exploratory design to address the study's aim will then be discussed, providing reasons as to why qualitative research (and a phenomenological approach) was employed as the means to explore the phenomenon of diversity. The selection of research participants, as well as the sampling procedures will be discussed, after which the process of data collection will be explained. Participants' rights will be addressed in the section regarding the ethical considerations relevant to this study. Data analysis will then be discussed, followed by the quality assurance criteria which were employed to ensure trustworthiness.

4.1 Research aim

The aim of this research study was to explore the experiences and perceptions of diversity, among learners and teachers, within a racially-integrated school environment. This aim was addressed by formulating the following research questions:

1. How do teachers experience and perceive diversity in racially-integrated schools?
2. How do learners experience and perceive diversity in racially-integrated schools?

The above questions were considered to provide a platform from which the researcher was able to gather the necessary data on which to base the study. Together with the aim of the study on diversity, the above questions formed the focus which, consequently, directed the path of the research process.

The construct, diversity, and the term, racially-integrated schools, were explicated in the previous chapters. The research questions also refer to the participants' experiences and perceptions of diversity. These terms are explained in the following paragraphs to ensure clarity when referring to either one of these concepts.

Experience refers to a sensory process in which a person is consciously involved as it occurs, in other words, a lived occurrence (Diller, Shedroff, & Rhea, 2006). It is considered to be a process in which experiential content is available and present in an individual's consciousness (Jordaan & Jordaan, 2000). This experiential content is experienced individually and differently by people reflecting their unique circumstances and dispositions. In the context of this study, experience refers to the conscious and lived processes and situations which are encountered by teachers and learners in a school environment.

Perception is defined as a process in which individuals translate sensory information into a coherent understanding of the world in which they exist (MacMillan Dictionary, 2012). It therefore follows on experience and refers to the way in which individuals are able to process, interpret and assign meaning to that which they have experienced (Kotler & Keller, 2006). Cozby and Bates (2011) stated that people's attitudes, beliefs and the ways in which they evaluate and think about something influences perception and will therefore vary from person to person. People perceive experiences differently even though they experience the same situation. Therefore individuals assign different meanings to what it is that they perceive (Patton, 2006). This study will refer to perceptions as individuals' evaluations and interpretations of that which they experience.

The term, experience, differs from perception in that it refers to the actual lived process as it occurs. Perception, on the other hand, refers to memories and feelings about an experience once it has been intuitively understood. Experience and perceptions share a similar trait in that both are assigned different meanings by the individual depending on the unique circumstances in which they occur.

4.2 Research design and approach

A research design consists primarily of certain guidelines and instructions which are followed in order to assist researchers in reaching a certain outcome (Mouton, 2001). It serves as a

connecting pathway between the questions being asked and the procedures by which to achieve those desired outcomes. In this study, a qualitative design was utilised, using a phenomenological approach, which emphasised the participants' lived experiences and the collective meanings which they attached to those experiences. The research was also exploratory and descriptive in nature.

4.2.1 Qualitative design

Qualitative research is primarily concerned with the systematic collection, ordering, description and interpretation of data which is generated from direct interaction with participants through the spoken word or direct observation (Burns & Grove, 2005; Patton, 2002). A qualitative study attempts to make sense of and interpret a phenomenon in terms of the subjective meanings and interpretations people attach to this phenomenon in their natural setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Patton, 2002).

This study aimed to explore the experiences and perceptions of diversity of both teachers and learners, as well as the ways in which they attach meaning and interpret that meaning. A qualitative mode of enquiry was employed as a vehicle to explain the phenomenon of diversity, thereby ensuring that greater depth and detail was attained through personal contact with the selected population. Qualitative design recognises the influence that both culture and history have in the subjective construction of experience, knowledge and perception (Davidsen, 2013) which is of great value to this study as it involves racial integration in schools.

4.2.2 Phenomenological approach

Phenomenology focuses on exploring the world of individuals based on their unique experiences and is described as the activity of focusing on exploring how people make sense of their experiences and how those experiences are transformed into consciousness (Patton, 2002). A phenomenological approach focuses on experiences as they are uniquely perceived and described by participants (Davidsen, 2013). It aims to capture the subjective experiences of a phenomenon as experienced by an individual within a certain context (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003). These experiences have both individual, as well as a shared, meaning (Patton, 2002).

Due to the fact that diversity and racial integration is a social phenomenon, Shultz's theory of social phenomenology was adopted in this study. This theory is considered to be both descriptive and interpretive in design (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The primary focus of this study will be on understanding the subjective experience and perception of diversity, relating to shared meanings resulting from social interactions. These experiences and perceptions will be considered within the racially-integrated social context in which they occur.

4.2.3 Exploratory approach

Exploratory investigations are utilised to make a preliminary enquiry into relatively unknown areas (Brown, 2006; Niewenhuis, 2007). This approach attempts to gain new insights in an open, flexible and inductive way, with the emphasis on gathering a wide variety of data, experiences and perspectives (Durrheim & Terre Blanche, 2006; Niewenhuis, 2007). Exploratory research is of such a nature that it rarely provides conclusive answers to questions or issues, but provides valuable guidance on research which will be conducted in the future (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2007).

Exploratory research was therefore used in this study as a valuable tool in the process of formulating rich descriptions and explanations, as well as gaining insights into the subject area of diversity.

4.2.4 Descriptive approach

Burns and Grove (2005) suggested that the purpose of using a descriptive design is to investigate and carefully describe the experiences and perceptions of the participants with regard to the phenomenon which has been studied. Organised data, which is explored and reviewed during the exploratory process, can be described including generated speculative insights and new questions (Durrheim & Terre Blanche 2006). The researcher sought to describe the participants' perspectives as accurately as possible.

From the above discussion it is clear that the qualitative research design, using a basic phenomenological approach, was the most appropriate design to follow in this exploratory and descriptive study, as it allowed the researcher to enter the subjective world of the

individual with the aim of obtaining in-depth data regarding the subjective experiences and perceptions that learners and teachers have relating to diversity within a school environment.

4.3 Participants and sampling procedures

The population of interest to the researcher was that of high school learners and teachers in racially-integrated schools in the Motheo district in central South Africa. The criterion for school participation was that the school represented urban, public or Model C high schools in which desegregation had taken place.

Sampling was done on two levels, namely on school and individual (teacher/learner) level. In both these instances, purposive sampling was used. Purposive sampling involves the selection of groups and participants according to pre-selected criteria which are relevant to the phenomenon under investigation (Patton, 2002). Patton (2002) stated that the power and logic of using purposeful sampling lies in the careful selection of information-rich cases. This refers to cases from which one can learn a great deal about central issues of importance relating to the purpose of the research (Patton, 2002). In this study, it was important that the sample selected was representative of diverse teacher and learner groups from racially-integrated schools.

High schools situated within the greater Motheo district were identified by the researcher. Purposive sampling was used to identify schools who met the required criteria. Eight schools were initially identified by the researcher as potential participating schools. Two of the high schools were unable to facilitate the research process due to time constraints and two schools did not meet the required criteria due to the limited racial integration of the learners. After these exclusions had been applied, the final number of schools who participated in the final research amounted to four. Three of the four schools were co-ed and one was a girl's school. One of the schools was duel-medium (and offered both English and Afrikaans as a language of instruction) and the other three schools offered English as their only language of instruction.

The learners and the teachers who took part in the study were purposefully sampled from the selected racially-integrated high schools and represented all ethnic groups within a senior phase classroom. The purposeful selection of appropriate participants was conducted by the

researcher together with the principals and teachers of each participating school. The selection of teachers, as well as that of learners, was based upon predetermined criteria as decided by the researcher. The criteria specified that participants should represent a diverse sociocultural society, be willing to partake in the study and have the ability to effectively articulate their experiences and perceptions.

The careful composition of homogenous groups is of vital importance as the interaction between the participants is a key feature of focus groups (Bloor, Frankland, Robson, & Thomas, 2001). As suggested by Krueger and Casey (2000), as well as by Silverman (2006), it was decided to compose focus groups that were homogenous in terms of race to allow participants the freedom to discuss their experiences without feeling restricted by the presence of participants from other racial groups. Participants may feel less inhibited and more relaxed in a group in which they share similar characteristics and will therefore be better equipped to contribute to successful interaction and dynamics between the other individuals in the group (Bloor et al., 2001). The final composition of the focus groups is presented in Tables 1 and 2.

The teachers formed two focus groups which consisted of four and eight teachers respectively as presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Composition of teacher focus groups

School	Focus group	Number of participants	Racial distribution				Gender distribution	
			African	Caucasian	Coloured	Asian	Male	Female
A	1	4	2	2				4
D	12	8		8				8
Total	2	12	2	10				12

A total of 12 teachers took part in the two focus group discussions of which all 12 participants were female. Race was represented by 10 Caucasian and two African teachers.

Table 2

Composition of learner focus groups

School	Focus group	Number of participants	Racial distribution				Gender distribution	
			African	Caucasian	Coloured	Asian	Male	Female
A	2	6			6		2	4
	3	6	6					6
B	4	6				6		6
	5	6		6				6
	6	6	6					6
C	7	6		6				6
	8	6	5		1		2	4
D	9	6			6			6
	10	6		6				6
	11	6	6					6
Total		60	23	18	13	6	4	56

The researcher conducted a total of 10 learner focus group discussions from four selected high schools. The groups consisted of four distinct racial groups of which four were African, three were Caucasian, two were Coloured and one was Asian. The focus groups consisted of six participants per group which amounted to a total of 60 learners of which 56 were female and four were male.

4.4 Data collection

The use of focus group discussions as a tool to collect data and inform policy and practice has increased among international health and social science researchers in the last decade (Hennink, 2007). Focus group discussions are a qualitative research method which permits the researcher to pre-select the participants, based on similar experiences or characteristics (Patton, 2002). The participants are encouraged to express their thoughts in a non-threatening and safe environment (Krueger & Casey, 2000; Patton, 2002). The two defining

features of focus group discussions, as suggested by Hennink (2007), relate to the reliance on the researcher's skill to effectively facilitate the process and the group dynamics involved in the participants' interaction with one another.

The aim of focus group discussions is to facilitate a natural interaction between the participants of a group and does not, therefore, rely on group consensus (Hennink, 2007). Focus groups provide the depth and detail required when relating to participants' experiences, which is attained at a personal and intimate level (Patton, 2006). In-depth quality accounts of participants' thinking, experiences and diverse opinions are generated by providing an opportunity for participants to discuss issues within the group as they emerge (Richie & Lewis, 2003). The purpose, therefore, of using focus group discussions is to identify views on a research topic and, in so doing, gain deeper insight into and understanding of the group's perspectives on a defined area of interest (Hennink, 2007; Silverman 2006).

According to Hennink (2007), focus groups offer certain advantages for researchers. These advantages can be divided into three main categories: the social nature of the discussions, the variety of application and the group environment. Focus groups replicate, as closely as possible, the participant's natural ability to interact on a social level (Hennink, 2007). Individuals who cannot read or write are not discriminated against because the spoken word is the tool through which data is acquired (Kritzinger, 1995). This is a reliable, quick and inexpensive way in which to collect data from several participants at the same time, with the added benefit of the explicit use of group interaction (David & Sutton, 2004). Focus groups rely on group interaction as participants direct the discussion (Hollander, 2004; Wilkinson, 2003) by comparing their experiences and opinions. Participants draw from one another's views which serve as a valuable source of insight into complex phenomena when producing data (Maree & Pieterson, 2007; Morgan, 1997). Focus groups offer the researcher flexibility in the structure of the questions posed to groups, which aims to encourage dialogue and interaction between participants (Richie & Lewis, 2003). Patton (2006) maintained that focus group discussions are the best method by which to nurture different perceptions and points of view.

As with most methods, focus groups have certain limitations which need to be considered. Hennink (2007) argued that many of the weaknesses of focus groups are, in fact, the inverse aspects of the advantages which have been discussed above. Disadvantages include the lack

of homogeneity within a group due to poor sampling which results in the formation of hierarchies within the group. The set-up of the group itself may have an influence on the data which is generated (Wilkinson, 2003). Participants will be reluctant to share their views due to feelings of intimidation if there is a dominant group member who does most of the talking. A general concern which is often raised by researchers is the fact that participants might not always be honest in their reflection of their experiences due to social conformity (Frey & Fontana, 1991; Hollander, 2004; Wilkinson, 2003). The interpretation of focus group data is time intensive and tedious and outcomes can, at times, be considered to be overgeneralised (Morgan 1997).

In this study, focus groups were selected as the appropriate means through which to generate data for this study. The participants were requested to fill out a biographical questionnaire which was securely held and then safely stored after the information had been accurately recorded. A semi-structured approach to gaining information was utilised, which allowed the researcher the opportunity to better understand how teachers and learners think and feel about diversity. Silverman (2006) believed that a group discussion is particularly effective if the researcher has prepared a series of open-ended questions in which to encourage the participants to thoroughly explore the issue being discussed. To facilitate the focus group discussions, a predetermined set of open-ended questions was set up prior to the groups and the same five questions were addressed at all the focus group discussions. Teachers and learners were therefore encouraged to discuss their experiences and perceptions relating to diversity within the school system.

The following questions were asked with the aim of facilitating conversation among the group participants:

1. What does the word, diversity, mean to you?
2. What is your perception of diversity, as a teacher or learner, in a racially-integrated classroom?
3. What are your experiences, as a teacher or learner, relating to issues of diversity in a racially-integrated classroom?
4. How do you as teachers/learners respond to these experiences?
5. How have you, as a teacher or a learner, been equipped to deal with the challenges found in racially-diverse classroom situations?

The focus group discussions were held in the libraries of the relevant schools and group discussions continued for anything between 45 to 90 minutes, depending on group interaction. The number of focus group discussions was not specified prior to the research, which allowed for data to be collected until saturation point was reached (Kelly, 2004). The data eventually reached saturation once no new information or themes emerged from the group discussions. All the focus group discussions were recorded (and later transcribed), thereby allowing the researcher to focus completely on the discussions which were taking place. A verbatim record is important as it improves the accuracy of the data collected (Hennink, 2007).

4.5 Ethical considerations

The essential purpose of ethical considerations in research is to protect the rights and welfare of the individuals who are involved in the research (Patton, 2002). Ethical issues need to be continually assessed. This should be done throughout all the stages in the process, from the research design to the collection of data, as well as the analysis and interpretation thereof (Hennink, 2007).

4.5.1 Informed consent

The proposed topic was approved by the research committee of the University of the Free State's Department of Psychology (cf. appendix A). Permission to conduct the proposed study was then obtained from the Free State Department of Education, the details of which can be view as Appendix B. A notification of this research study was issued by the Free State Department of Education (cf. appendix C). Permission to conduct the study at the proposed schools was obtained from the principals of the selected schools (cf. appendix D).

Scheyvens and Storey (2003) stated that consent should be an act performed willingly by the individuals participating in the research and with complete understanding of the aim and processes involved in the study. It is also important that the participants understand the purpose of the study, as well as exactly what the research findings will be used for and who will have access to the data (Hennink, 2007; Scheyvens & Story, 2003). The participants' consent to take part in this study was both voluntary and informed. Written, informed consent was obtained from the teachers and written assent was obtained from the learners,

which involved permission and informed consent from the learners' parents, before the commencement of the focus group discussions. All research participants received a document containing all the necessary information regarding the proposed research study, as well as the nature of their involvement therein (cf. Appendix E), prior to the signing of the consent and assent forms (cf. Appendix F). The researcher was available to answer any questions or concerns the participants might have had.

4.5.2 Confidentiality

The participants were informed of the parameters of confidentiality; any limits to their autonomy were clearly specified before they agreed to participate (Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002). The participants were informed that the focus group discussions would be recorded. The primary aim of using a tape recorder was to ensure that the researcher could remain attentive to what was being discussed (Henning, Van Ransburg, & Smit, 2004). The participants were requested to fill out a biographical questionnaire which was securely held and then safely stored after the information had been accurately recorded (Durrheim & Terre Blanche 2006). The fact that participants discuss their opinions in the presence of other group members is often thought to jeopardise the confidentiality of participants to some extent (Hofmeyer & Scott, 2007). The researcher was mindful of this and informed the groups of the importance of protecting other group members by respecting their views on the issues under discussion and treating the information as confidential.

4.6 Data analysis

Data analysis is, essentially, the process by which sense is made of the collected information and involves the process of organising and explaining the data (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000). Hennink (2007) cautioned that data analysis is not a straightforward linear process but a circular one, which is often unstructured and fragmented. Patton (2002) stated that data analysis requires the careful and thorough capturing of data, as well as the careful description of each experience as it is perceived and described by the individual. It is therefore the process of producing evidence-based information from raw data collected during group discussions which is ultimately used in qualitative research (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). In this study, data was analysed by means of thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis is often the method of choice used by researchers when experiences are explored relating to a particular phenomenon because the process categorises data into distinct themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Identification of themes can be accomplished in this way by using either an inductive or deductive coding method.

Inductive coding refers to the emergence of themes which have been identified by the issues raised by the participants themselves; therefore, they were inductively identified within the group discussion (Glaser & Strauss, 2009; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Hennink (2007) maintained that inductive coding alerts the researcher to issues which had not necessarily been identified as being relevant prior to the discussion and therefore highlights issues that are important to the participants.

Hyde (2000) stated that the deductive coding of data is used in qualitative research to enhance the external validity of the research findings. Themes which emerge during a focus group discussion are deductively coded when they are compared to, and identified as, those already found in previous research studies and literature on the topic (Hyde, 2000).

Shultz (1967) viewed the subjective view of participants as the most important aspect of social phenomenology. He cautioned researchers to guard against replacing the lived, social reality of the participants with that of a self-constructed fictional world. Schultz maintained that the way in which individuals attached meaning to their experiences was relevant to their individual experience of the world, and how that experience is itself socially constructed and organised. Braun and Clarke (2006) stated that thematic analysis can be used within different theoretical frameworks. It is therefore within Schultz's social phenomenology theory, which relates to the inter-subjective nature of human experience, that thematic analysis will be discussed.

Braun and Clarke (2006) referred to thematic analysis as a method used to identify, analyse and report on patterns or themes, which are found within research data. There are various theoretical frameworks and methods in qualitative research that describe patterns across data, such as thematic discourse analysis, thematic decomposition analysis, IPA and grounded theory. Thematic analysis, however, differs from other analytical methods as it does not require the detailed theoretical and technological knowledge relevant to other approaches and

is, therefore, a more accessible form of analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Murray (2003) explained that thematic analysis seeks to identify patterns within a data set rather than seek patterns which occur across a data set.

The hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding, as proposed by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), was adopted as the appropriate means to analyse the data for this research study. This approach will subsequently be discussed as an approach, followed by an explanation of how it was applied to this study.

A hybrid approach to thematic analysis allows the tenets of social phenomenology to be integral to the process of deductive thematic analysis which allows for themes to emerge directly from the data, using inductive coding (Fereday & Muir-Cochane, 2006). The process of coding is described as the careful identification of information which captures the qualitative quality of the relevant phenomenon (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). This required that the researcher set up of codes before the data was analysed, which were based on the research questions, as well as the theoretical concepts found in Schultz's social phenomenology theory. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) stated that the identification of themes involved the reading, listening and summarising of the transcribed raw data obtained from each focus group discussion, and suggested that codes which emerged inductively be assigned new themes. Analysis of the transcribed focus group discussions should continue until theoretical saturation takes place, which is the point at which no new themes emerge from the data. Patterns or themes which emerged during the process of connecting codes are then identified.

The process of analysis began with the reading of the transcribed recordings which allowed the researcher to become familiar with the content of the group discussions. The textual data was read and re-read many times and was, subsequently, separated into smaller segments, which led to coding and the eventual identification of themes. The data was interpreted, using the themes and sub-themes which developed from the analysis and are subsequently discussed in Chapter 5.

4.7 Trustworthiness

When conducting qualitative research, it remains imperative to provide a framework which addresses the issues of trustworthiness. According to Silverman (2009), a qualitative study can be regarded as being trustworthy if it is accepted as being true. The trustworthiness of qualitative research is often questioned, therefore certain measures, such as those proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985), must be considered. The following sections will discuss the measures employed to ensure the trustworthiness of this study, following the guidelines for credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

4.7.1 Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) considered credibility to be one of the most important factors in establishing trustworthiness. Research is deemed credible if it measures what is it is actually supposed to measure (Shenton, 2004). Credibility is the same as internal validity as it determines the accuracy of the research data, as reflected by the participant's experience of the phenomenon being studied. It is therefore the participants who determine the credibility of the research results.

Credibility is established through active engagement with the participants, the environment and the researcher's self-awareness (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 2004). Selecting participants with several experiences relating to the phenomenon under analysis increases the likelihood of gaining information on the research question from a variety of aspects, thereby increasing the credibility of the study (Patton, 2002). It is therefore the researcher's responsibility to implement certain precautions in an attempt to improve the credibility of a study. In this study, the participants were provided with a transcript of the focus group discussion to check the accuracy of the data. Regular debriefing sessions were scheduled to take place between the researcher and her supervisor, thereby ensuring the authenticity of the transcripts, relating to the translation of information, received from participants. As suggested by Shenton (2004), supporting data will be made available on request to verify the accuracy of findings should it be required.

4.7.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the external validity of a study which relates to the degree to which the research results will be relevant to a wider population (Patton, 2002). In qualitative research, transferability cannot be determined by the researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004). This can only be determined by readers of the proposed findings. Transferability can be improved by providing in-depth and rich descriptions of the findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1985).

A detailed presentation of the findings will be presented, which will be supported by verbatim quotations made by participants. This will promote transferability by providing in-depth and rich descriptions of the experiences and perceptions from the participants' points of view.

4.7.3 Dependability

Dependability, according to Lincoln and Guba (1989), must be ensured by keeping records of the research process and the way in which it was implemented, thereby enabling others to repeat a similar study within the same context, using the same methods and, ultimately, produce comparable results (1989). Merriam (2009) referred to the term, dependability, as auditability which is, perhaps, better suited to the constantly-changing context found in qualitative research. Yardley (2008) agreed with Merrian by implying that reliability is not always a suitable measure for qualitative research due to the nature of qualitative designs.

Dependability was ensured in this study by describing the research design in detail, as well as the implementation thereof, providing a thorough description of the methods employed, as well as their effectiveness in determining the required outcomes. The consistency of the study was addressed by making available the collected data, the analysis, and the interpretation thereof.

4.7.4 Confirmability

Confirmability is similar to objectivity, ensuring that the findings are based on the experiences and voices of the participants rather than on those of the researcher (Lincoln &

Guba, 1989). As far as possible, research findings should always reflect the experiences and perceptions of the participants, and not those of the researcher (Patton, 1990). Miles and Huberman (1994) considered confirmability to be the extent to which a researcher admits their own predispositions.

The researcher's personal beliefs and assumptions were documented to determine the effect of investigator bias on the findings. The shortcomings of the research design, as well as its effect on the proposed findings, were addressed to determine their potential effect.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the research methodology used for this exploratory descriptive study. This overview included an aim of the study and the rationale for employing a qualitative approach to achieve this aim. The process for selecting participants from the selected high schools in the area, and the selection criteria used, were explained. The data was collected by means of purposefully selected focus groups. The discussion on focus groups addressed the limitations of focus groups, but also highlighted the strength of this selected method of data collection. This was followed by an overview of the study's ethical requirements and the process used to record and analyse the data. The data gathered during the study is presented and analysed in the following chapter according to the themes which emerged during the analysis.

CHAPTER 5
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the results related to the experiences and perceptions of diversity among teachers and learners in racially-integrated schools will be presented and discussed. In the first section of this chapter, the themes which emerged from the data analysis will be presented. The chapter will commence with a discussion and interpretation of the results, using theoretical frameworks, as well as the existing research findings to corroborate the results.

5.1 Presentation of the results

The themes that emerged from the thematic analysis will be presented in the following section. The experiences and perceptions of teachers and learners with regard to diversity will be discussed separately.

To enrich the discussion, verbatim quotations from participants are included. These quotations contain minor changes to increase the readability thereof. Information which is irrelevant to the discussion was excluded and has been indicated by means of ellipsis (…). Where information was added to clarify what the participants were referring to, square brackets [ ] are used. All information relating to the identity of the participants and schools concerned has been removed.

5.1.1 Teachers' experiences and perceptions of diversity in racially-integrated schools

The main themes that emerged from the thematic analysis of the teachers' contributions included: "Teachers' understanding and perceptions of diversity", "Challenging experiences related to diversity", "Factors which influence reactions to diversity", and "The school environment as platform for integration". A summary of the themes and subthemes relating to teachers is provided in Table 3.

Table 3

Themes and subthemes of teachers' experiences and perceptions of diversity in racially-integrated schools

Main themes	Sub-themes
Teachers' understanding and perceptions of diversity	Seeing difference Seeing 'sameness' Differences coming together
Challenging experiences related to diversity	Managing clashes in the classroom The illusion of integration Stereotypical expectations Change is hard
Factors which influence reactions to diversity	Speaking the same language Parental influence
The school environment as platform for integration	School identity Preparation for the future

a) Understanding diversity

This theme summarises teachers' understanding of the term, diversity. This theme consists of three subthemes, "Seeing difference", "Seeing sameness" and "Differences coming together".

Seeing difference

The word, different, was a term often used throughout the group discussions with teachers. Differences in culture, race, background, experience, perspective and the way in which people do things, were the dimensions most frequently mentioned. One participant stated: *"Many different things, like different people, different food, culture, race, clothes, way of doing things."* (Group 12, female participant, White). Another teacher described the term, difference, in the following way: *"... diversity means people from different cultures from different racial groups ..."* (Group 1, female participant, White).

Seeing sameness

This subtheme refers to teachers' perceptions that all learners are the same, irrespective of race. Teachers emphasised the fact that they did not see colour and therefore felt that the race of the learners in their classrooms was an irrelevant factor. A teacher stated: *"I don't see colour when I walk into my class"* (Focus group 1, female participant, White). A teacher from another group confirmed this way of thinking: *"... I think of them all the same ... they are all the same"* (Focus group 12, female participant, White).

Teachers' perceptions of sameness was justified by their belief that all learners, irrespective of race, should be treated in the same way. One teacher stated: *"... I don't see a difference in them"* (Group 1, female participant, White). Another teacher added to the previous statement: *"If you treat them [the learners] the same, they learn to trust you"* (Group 1, female participant, White).

It was generally accepted by teachers that seeing the learners as being the same ensured that they would feel equally valuable. Teachers believed that they were there for a specific purpose, which was to teach, and that learners were there to learn. The learners are, therefore, considered as being equal. The following statement confirms this way of thinking: *"I see children in front of me that need to learn and that's my passion, to teach"* (Group 1, female participant, White).

Another teacher stated that she did not consider either a learner's race or where they lived (geographic area) to be relevant factors in terms of the way in which she saw them but did, however, consider a learner's circumstances at home to be an important factor. She stated: *"I see a kid that maybe has a bad home situation, that doesn't get enough attention or a kid whose mom has just died. I don't see colour or where they come from; I see the situation"* (Group 1, female participant, White). According to this teacher, this accommodation bore no relevance to race or culture and was purely based on the situations with which learners are confronted.

Teachers seemed to show pride in the fact they viewed all learners as being the same, irrespective of their race or culture.

Coming together

In all the discussions, irrespective of the participant's race, the understanding of differences coming together within the same environment was evident, as revealed in the following quote: *"The different cultural groups working together"* (Focus group 1, female participant, White). Teachers generally understood that diversity did not simply refer to individual difference, such as race, culture and language, but considered the importance of interaction among different groups as being relevant to the context in which it takes place. A teacher stated: *"To me, diversity means people from different cultural groups and different racial groups working together in a certain environment"* (Focus group 1, female participant, White).

b) Challenging experiences related to diversity

The second theme, "Challenging experiences related to diversity", refers to experiences of diversity as lived by teachers in their racially-integrated classrooms. Four subthemes will be discussed. The first subtheme, "Managing clashes in the classroom", refers to confrontations and disagreements as experienced by teachers in a racially-diverse classroom. The second subtheme, "The illusion of integration", reveals the degree of racial integration, according to teachers, among learners and among themselves. The third subtheme, "Stereotypical expectations", refers to the experiences and perceptions of teachers relating to stereotypical behaviour. The last subtheme, "Change is hard", refers to the difficulty of accepting inevitable change.

Clashes in the classroom

All teachers experienced clashes between the learners, especially between those learners of different races. The majority of the disagreements were reported to be in the form of verbal disagreements. Teachers perceived the major cause of disagreements to be based on issues relating to differences associated with culture and race. A teacher stated: *"Every time they fight only to find out it is because of cultural and racial issues"* (Group 1, female participant, White). This was found to be a collective view, with no teacher disagreeing, even when prompted to share their experience or perspective.

Teachers, felt that the learners expected them (the teachers) to resolve the disagreement, as revealed in the following statement: *"In a class of different cultures, you find that there are a lot of clashes between the Whites [and other racial groups] and then we have to solve it"* (Focus group 1, female participant, White). Teachers stated that they were reluctant to become involved in learner disputes because they had learnt from prior experience that it could result in accusations of being either unfair or biased and, in isolated cases, of being racist.

According to the teachers, learners are raised according to the customs and beliefs which are relevant to their culture. Issues arise when those differences come together in a classroom environment and what might seem to be right in one culture is not necessarily true to all cultures. Culture was considered by teachers to be a relevant factor which contributed to misunderstanding between teachers and learners. Cultural differences were found to be one of the reasons teachers sometimes experienced difficulties in their interaction with learners of different cultures. A teacher stated: *"... how they [learners] perceive things to be and how they [learners] like things to be are different to how we [teachers] like to do things"* (Focus group 1, female participant, White).

The illusion of integration

In their discussions related to integration, teachers had various views regarding, firstly, racial integration among learners and, secondly, integration among teachers.

It was clear from the discussion that teachers experienced some form of integration among the learners of different racial groups, although the degree of integration seemed to vary depending on the school. One teacher stated: *"I see them together, like a Chinese boy walking around with some of his black friends"* (Group 1, female participant, White). A teacher from a different school said: *"Children do integrate in the classroom but, at break time, the majority of them seem to stick to their own"* (Group 12, female participant, White). Integration, according to the following teacher, tended to be the exception rather than the rule: *"In my experience, I have seen, although not in the majority…but there are some that integrate ..."* (Group 1, female participant, White).

Integration beyond school seemed to occur in isolated cases, according to a teacher who lives in the school hostel. She stated that: *"I live there [hostel] so I see that they go to gym, movies and everywhere together, the different cultures"* (Group 1, female participant, White). The racial integration of learners as experienced by teachers during school hours was considered to be limited. Teachers claimed that learners were still inclined to group together, predominantly along race lines, both in the classroom and during break times.

Cultural difference was a topic which encouraged much discussion and was generally believed to be significant in its impact on those aspects which have been associated with racial integration. This belief is reflected in the following quote: *"The children experience conflict at times ... because they have preferences according to their cultures, just like adults"* (Group 1, female participant, Black). Another teacher confirmed the relevance of culture in everyday activities in which learners expected things to be done in ways to which they have been accustomed. She stated: *"... different perspectives as related to their different backgrounds. In my class, it differs. Every culture's background differs ... . They want something done in this [specific] way"* (Group 1, female participant, White).

Teachers claimed that integration among colleagues of different races was a reality in their schools and reported that it had generally been a positive experience. Integration, however, seemed to be restricted to the school environment. A Black teacher shared her experience of teaching in a racially-integrated school and working with White teachers for the first time: *"I came from a Black only school; I have learned such a lot since I've come to this school by interacting with my colleagues, my White colleagues"* (Group 1, female participant, Black).

From the above statements made by teachers, it is evident that racial integration is indeed occurring among teachers and learners, although the degree of integration seemed to vary.

Stereotypical expectations

Many of the participants admitted to having preconceived ideas about most aspects of life; such as their expectations of others. One such aspect which emerged during the discussions with teachers was that of race, more commonly referred to as racial stereotyping. A teacher stated: *"It is just the stereotypes that we grew up with; you have to look beyond the colour, look at the person ..."* (Group 1, female participant, Black).

According to another Black teacher, her perceptions of other racial groups only changed after she was confronted with the challenge of working with, and teaching, individuals of different races. She reflects on her experience of being exposed to a racially-integrated environment for the first time:

> *"I was a little bit reserved; I did not know them…having to grow up under that situation where there was this division [apartheid]. We had our own perceptions, stereotypes, that Whites are like this and Blacks are like this; if you don't interact with people, you tend to hold on to those stereotypes because you don't know [any different]"* (Group 1, female participant, Black).

The importance of working with, and teaching, individuals of different races and cultures was highlighted as being an essential aspect of integration because it exposed preconceived ideas and encouraged teachers to challenge their racial stereotyping.

Change is hard

The majority of the teachers admitted to the fact that change is generally hard for most people, irrelevant of the experience or the environment in which it takes place. One teacher remarked: *"It is hard to embrace change, there is some sort of uncertainty about change, [irrelevant of] whether it is positive or not"* (Group 1, female participant, White).

Teachers felt that it was generally the adults who experienced the most difficulty in adapting to the changes which are currently occurring in schools, especially the parents. A teacher shared her perception by stating the following: *"They [parents] are living in fear of the unknown … and don't want to experiment with that change [racial integration in school]"* (Group 1, female participant, White).

Teachers were of the opinion that learners in their schools were not directly affected by the difficulties associated with a changing school environment because, unlike their parents, they had never been exposed to anything different.

c) Factors which influence reactions to diversity

The third theme, "Factors which influence reactions to diversity", refers to elements which are involved in, or influence, experiences of diversity. Two subthemes will be discussed. The first subtheme, "Speaking the same language", refers to the influence of language on racial integration in schools. The second subtheme, "Parental influence", refers to the role that parents and background are perceived to play in the integration of learners.

Speaking the same language

Language was considered by teachers to be one of the main aspects which affected integration among learners. This is reflected in the following teacher's statement: *"I think that language serves as a barrier between learners"* (Group 1, female participant, White). The teacher went on to explain how language hampers classroom integration by presenting a scenario in which learners are required to work in groups: *"I have Chinese learners in my class and they can't understand English very well. Kids don't want to work with them because they don't understand [them]"* (Group 1, female participant, White).

Teachers generally felt that learners should be encouraged to only converse in English during school hours because it was the language of instruction and it would benefit the English proficiency of learners whose home language was not English. A teacher implied, although no explicitly, that when learners did what they were instructed to do (communicate in English), it resulted in the occurrence of fewer issues among them: *"… this is an English school and they must speak English … . When they do as they are instructed … there are no problems with them"* (Group 12, female participant, White).

Parental influence

The teachers were of the opinion that people are products of the environments in which they grow up. An individual's background is dependent on the time in which they grew up, which is further impacted on by the diverse racial and cultural dimensions involved therein. Background, therefore, played an important role in the way in which learners attached meaning to their experiences, as explained by the following teacher: *"We associate what we experience to [/with] what we have grown up believing"* (Group 1, female participant, Black)

Teachers seemed to be sensitive to the fact that parents grew up under different circumstances, which is evident in the following quote: *"Parents come from different dispensations. We can say whatever we want, but it is true that they come from a different dispensation"* (Group 1, female participant, Black).

The experiences of the past, with specific reference being made to the apartheid system, was found by teachers to still have a significant influence on the integration of learners in their respective schools. Teachers generally felt that parents had a significant influence on the way in which learners interact. Parents, they believed, do this by not allowing their children to attend a school where representation of their race is not in the majority. This was confirmed in the following statement made by a teacher who had experienced the reduction of White learners in the school in which she taught: *"They [parents] don't want their children to be in a school of predominantly Black children"* (Group 1, female participant, Black). All teachers revealed that they had experienced a reduction of White learners. A teacher explained her experience by stating: *"When more Blacks come to the school, they [parents] tend to take their kids away because they do not really understand this rainbow nation and everything else"* (Group 1, female participant, Black).

Teachers generally felt that parents had not yet warmed to the idea of a truly democratic and racially-integrated society: *"They are not really free with this rainbow nation; they still have ... some reservations"* (Group 1, female participant, Black).

d) The school environment as platform for integration

This theme, "The school environment as platform for integration", refers to the way in which teachers view diversity and integration in schools, as well as the potential impact on the future of South African society. Two subthemes will be discussed. The first subtheme, "School identity", refers to the relevance of school identity and ethos, and its role in learner integration. Secondly, "Preparation for the future", makes reference to the important role that schools play in exposing learners to the experiences associated with a racially-integrated environment.

School identity

It was evident that each school which took part in this study had developed its own unique identity, which had evolved over several decades. Teachers felt that a school's identity is something which had formed over many years and it contributed to making each school unique. Teachers generally felt that they were all fortunate to be in schools with strong identities, as revealed by the following participant: *"… educators are fortunate if they're in a certain school. It's nice to be in a school like … because the school has an identity"* (Group 1, female participant, White).

Teachers showed a sense of pride relative to their respective school's identity, and felt that it was possibly the reason that many of the learners had chosen to attend that specific school in the first place. Therefore, according to the teachers, a school's identity plays a vital role in racial integration and is therefore considered to be an important aspect in learners' lives. Teachers felt that it allowed learners the chance to experience being part of a community which shares a common identity, despite its differences. A schools' identity, according to teachers, provides learners with the opportunity to develop a united sense of pride and belonging.

One such teacher felt that it was important for teachers to remind learners that they all belonged to the same school and were therefore subject to the same rules and conditions relevant to their respective schools. She stated the following: *"… the first thing I do in my class is remind them that they asked to be in this school and here we are all the same. We are all in … and fall under the … rules and the…identity"* (Group 1, female participant, White).

When asked whether they felt that their school's ethos or identity had changed over the years to accommodate learners of different cultures, various opinions were shared. A few of the younger teachers felt that they were not qualified to answer the question as they had not been part of the school when it was predominantly White and, therefore, could not draw a true comparison. Another teacher, who was a previous learner of the same school where she now taught, felt that the identity had not changed and that she didn't feel that it should change: *"… the school cannot continuously change to accommodate the preferences of each and*

every child; children come here because we have a good reputation" (Group 12, female participant, White).

The general feeling was that the schools in which the teachers currently taught had, through the years, developed a unique identity based on good values which they felt should be maintained.

Preparation for the future

Schools, according to teachers, serve the important purpose of providing learners with the experiences necessary to deal with the potential issues of an integrated society. A teacher expressed her thoughts concerning the benefits of being exposed to different cultures in the following statement: *"I think it's a great benefit to get to know the different cultures, to get to know their traditions"* (Group 1, female participant, White).

Another teacher stated that, in her class, learners enjoyed being exposed to different cultures and religions which, according to her, resulted in a better understanding among both teachers and learners: *"They [the learners] become closer … because they know why you do that, because it is your culture, they don't get angry because now they understand"* (Group 1, female participant, White).

The value of experiencing diverse cultures in an integrated classroom, according to another teacher, assists learners in their self-assessment and development: *"Differences don't have to be a threat. It [the classroom] is, sort of, a good place [in which] to learn that differences can sometimes impact your personal development"* (Group 1, female participant, White).

The majority of teachers agreed that schools served the important purpose of providing learners with a platform on which to practise before they performed on the real "stage" of life. They felt that learners who had been exposed to a racially-integrated school environment would be better prepared to successfully interact and function in a multicultural society.

Teachers also considered schools to play a vital role in shaping learners to become valuable citizens of a diverse global workforce. A teacher sums it up by stating the following: *"There*

is no job situation anywhere in the world in which you are not going to work with different cultures" (Group 1, female participant, White). That, according to teachers, was the reality which learners faced, and the value of their experiences within the confines of a school will serve them well in years to come.

Besides the benefits that it offered learners, teachers generally felt that experiences of cultural diversity had positively impacted on their lives as it had forced them to consider aspects associated with their own prior prejudices. A teacher described what she felt she had learnt by working in a racially-diverse environment: *"... besides all these things, I've come to understand that underneath we are all people, and that the similarities far outweigh the differences between us. That is what I have discovered ... "* (Group 1, female participant, Black).

The teachers who participated in this study projected a positive attitude when asked how they felt about the future of education in South Africa. They revealed that schools, together with other significant role-players, have the important task of adequately preparing learners to become valuable members of a diverse global society.

Key results relating to teachers' experiences and perceptions of diversity in racially-integrated schools

In view of the above discussion, the following key results can be highlighted:

Firstly, teachers could articulate their understanding of diversity by referring to the unique interplay between difference and sameness, and how these terms interact. Most of the teachers were inclined to prioritise sameness and, in an attempt to treat all learners equally, they preferred not to see race as an important factor. Although there was some mention of accommodating learners by considering their personal situations (such as home environment), the dominant view was that race or culture should not play a role in how teachers view and treat learners.

Secondly, teachers perceived different degrees of integration among the learners. While some examples were provided for learners from different cultural groups interacting together (such as in class assignments), teachers noticed that learners were predominantly inclined to

stick to their own racial groups both in the classroom and during break times. All teachers experienced some form of conflict (verbal disagreements) between the learners. The teachers were all in agreement that these clashes were predominantly the result of racial and cultural differences.

Thirdly, teachers acknowledged the general difficulty which is often associated with change. Teachers prioritised the influence that cultural differences had on their negative experiences of racial integration. Cultural differences among learners, as well as between teachers and learners, were viewed by teachers as being the source of the majority of misunderstandings. Teachers identified language differences, the difficulty parents have in adjusting to integrated schools and even teachers' own stereotypical ideas as possible factors influencing experiences related to diversity.

A fourth key result relates to teachers' opinions about the importance of the school environment and the value of a school identity. School identity, according to teachers, provided learners with the opportunity to develop a united sense of pride and belonging. Teachers confirmed that schools had not changed their identity and they were all in agreement that schools shouldn't have to. A schools' reputation, according to them, was based on that identity; that was the reason learners attended that school in the first place.

Lastly, a high priority was placed on the role that integrated schools can play in preparing learners for the future. It was clear that teachers understood the important role that schools play in assisting learners in becoming competent and capable citizens in a racially-integrated society. A multicultural environment, such as a school, was considered to be of great benefit to learners as it provided the opportunity in which teachers and learners were forced to confront and re-evaluate their perceptions concerning racial and cultural stereotypes and prejudices.

Teachers displayed a positive attitude concerning their profession and their experiences involved in a changing school environment. Furthermore, they agreed that learners who were exposed to a multiracial environment would be better prepared to function in a multicultural society.

5.1.2 Learners' experiences and perceptions of diversity in racially-integrated schools

The main themes that emerged from the thematic analysis of the learners' contributions included: "Learners' understanding and perceptions of diversity", "Challenging experiences related to diversity", "Factors which influence reactions to diversity", and "The way forward". A summary of the themes and subthemes relating to learners is provided in Table 4.

Table 4

Themes and subthemes of learners' experiences and perceptions of diversity in racially-integrated schools

Main themes	Subthemes
Learners' understanding and perceptions of diversity	So many differences Differences combined
Challenging experiences related to diversity	Staying true to myself Labelling Being stereotyped Reality of segregation vs. integration Accusations of racism Living in two worlds
Factors which influence reactions to diversity	My school My language My parents My teachers My peers
The school environment as platform for integration	The consequence of change The school environment as preparation for the real world

a) Learners' understanding and perceptions of diversity

The first theme, "Learners' understanding and perceptions of diversity" has two subthemes. The first, "So many differences", refers to the different dimensions that learners' associate

with diversity. The second, "Differences combined", refers to the experience of differences in interaction within a certain environment.

So many differences

According to the learners, diversity referred to differences along a variety of dimensions. The following dimensions of difference were highlighted in the majority of the group discussions: language, culture, background, personality and race. A typical response is illustrated in the following learner's statement: *"Different races, colours and cultures, it's just people of different backgrounds"* (Group 2, female participant, Coloured). Another learner stated: *"... it means different cultures and different races that are in the country"* (Group 9, female participant, Coloured).

The most prominent dimensions that the participants considered, irrespective of their racial group, included the dimensions of race and culture. Interestingly, no reference was made to differences relating to other dimensions of diversity such as socio-economic backgrounds, abilities or gender.

Differences combined

In most cases, the participants went on to explain that diversity was the result of differences coming together: *"We are different people, together, working together as a unit"* (Group 3, female participant, Black). It was clear that all the learners had a good understanding of the term, diversity, as they were easily able to explain what the term meant, as illustrated in the following statement: *"... different people coming together, we are all human, although we all have differences, we manage to live together in some way"* (Group 11, female participant, Black). Learners expressed that they were not trying to be the same and that they understood that they were different and embraced that difference. An Asian participant described her perception of diversity in the following quotation: *"The potjiekos, where everything is just, everyone is together; different races, different cultures, it doesn't matter who you are, you can just be yourself"* (Group 4, female participant, Asian).

b) Challenging experiences related to diversity

The second theme, "Challenging experiences related to diversity", includes the learners' experiences of diversity within and outside the school environment. The following six subthemes were identified: "Staying true to myself" refers to the importance that learners attach to their cultural identity; "Labelling" refers to the practice of labelling individuals whose behaviour deviates from the expected behaviours relating to a specific cultural group, by members of the same group; "Being stereotyped" refers to the practice of stereotyping which relates to preconceived ideas of individuals from different cultural groups and which are based on race; "Reality of segregation vs. integration" refers to the learners' experiences of racial integration among themselves; "Accusations of racism" refers to the questions surrounding the significance of race; and, lastly, "Living in two worlds" refers to the learners' experiences of adapting or adjusting to the Westernised culture of a school environment, versus the traditional culture experienced at home.

Staying true to myself

The importance of retaining the uniqueness which is associated with different cultures in South Africa was found to be important to the majority of learners. They feared that they were losing their cultural identity because they were expected to behave in ways which they considered to be relevant to Western cultures in an attempt to fit in. A learner stated: *"I feel we, the Blacks, are trying to please the White people in a way"* (Group 6, female participant, Black). South Africa, they felt, was at risk of losing the one aspect that made it unique – the diversity of its many cultures.

The fear of losing their African culture was especially evident among the Black participants, notably more so than among the participants from other racial groups. Learners revealed that the pressure of trying to fit in often forced people to behave in ways that were not in keeping with who and what they really are.

> *"You will find a Black person speaking Afrikaans, trying to be Coloured or White, just so they can get a certain classification and to not fit in with their own group or they ignore and forget where they come from and who we are"* (Group 6, female participant, Black).

Another learner agreed by stating that: *"They are trying to be someone they are not, just to fit in"* (Group 6, female participant, Black). Although learners experienced this occurrence among their peers, some of them revealed that they had not disregarded their cultural uniqueness in an attempt to fit in.

The Black learners generally expressed pride in their culture. A learner shared the following: *"I'm very Black, I love to be Black and I do not agree with changing who I am"* (Group 6, female participant, Black). Black participants placed importance on cultural traditions and were generally proud of their cultures, although they felt that they were not always understood. A male learner referred to one such cultural tradition: *"The White culture doesn't do a transition from boyhood to manhood by circumcision"* (Group 8, male participant, Black). Another learner referred to the African tradition of visiting a Sangoma. Black learners felt that many young people in their community were ashamed of their culture and had little knowledge of the history associated with their cultural heritage: *"Black children in South Africa are losing their cultures; they're losing their heritage and they're conforming to Western culture ... they're ashamed"* (Group 6, female participant, Black). They made reference to aspects of culture such as clan names and traditions that are no longer considered to be significant. One learner made reference to an ancient African tradition associated with marriage, when the bride's family is paid labolla: *"... their husbands don't have to pay labolla [anymore] because they feel that they're getting sold, but this is something which has been done for centuries by the Black community"* (Group 6, female participant, Black). It was clear that Black learners felt that they were at risk of losing their cultural identity by conforming to Western standards in an attempt to fit in.

Black learners felt that they had gone out of their way to accommodate learners of different cultures, but didn't necessarily feel that learners of other cultures had done the same: *"We have come to the borderline where we have learned the Western [way of] living; we've done everything but they don't want us; they don't want to reciprocate"* (Group 6, female participant, Black).

In contrast, Coloured learners stated that they did not have a specific culture or unique identity and suggested that it could be a result of much of the confusion often found within the Coloured community. A learner stated:

"… to be blunt, to say it loud, we don't have a sense of identity because we don't have a fixed culture. We aren't … able to say we come from there and … our ancestors did this … . We don't actually know where we come from like, for instance, when it's Heritage Day, it's just another day because we don't know our heritage" (Group 6, female participant, Coloured).

Labelling

Black and Coloured learners experienced labelling as being commonly practised in their respective schools, as well as in their communities. This occurrence was found to be more prevalent among individuals from the same racial group than among those from different racial groups.

One learner shared her experience in the following quote:

"If you act in a certain way or talk in a certain way, you are labelled. I have been called a 'Whitewash'; I have been called a 'Coconut'; I have been called an 'Oreo'; and I have been called everything under the sun because of my accent" (Group 6, female participant, Black).

Some learners felt that they were labelled not only because of the way in which they spoke, but also because of the ways in which they behave: *"Sometimes we're labelled because we act in a certain way…"* (Group 9, female participant, Coloured). This way of speaking and behaving as expressed in the above quotes were thought to be relevant to Western cultures and were therefore not in keeping with their own cultural identity.

Black and Coloured learners revealed that labelling was not only limited to peer groups, but also included individuals from their own communities. Learners stated that they were often referred to as being "White." A Coloured learner confirmed this way of thinking in the following statement: *"They say that we think we are better than other people because we think that we are 'White'"* (Group 9, female participant, Coloured). They stated that this had a negative effect on them and made them feel bad about themselves, especially because it came from people within their own community; people who they felt should understand the challenges with which they are faced.

Being stereotyped

Misconceptions relating to racial groups were found to be prevalent among learners and were considered to play a significant role in their experiences both in and out of school. A learner stated: *"People still have this picture that Black people are this, White people are this, and Coloureds are this. Stereotyping of different racial groups is still there"* (Group 6, female participant, Black).

Learners felt that they were judged according to certain expectations which were predominantly based on race. White learners' achievements were not as highly valued as those of other races because it was expected that they should excel. A participant stated: *"I think it is odd that they make a big deal of it [academic success or becoming a prefect] if you are Black, but if you are White they don't put much value to it"* (Group 6, female participant, Black).

Stereotyping was also found to be particularly relevant to the Coloured community as learners felt that society generally does not expect Coloured people to excel. Coloured learners felt that they were judged by others based on the idea that all Coloured people are prone to acts of aggression. A learner stated: *"This stereotype that's always the same that Coloureds are violent and dangerous ... and people mustn't mess with us"* (Group 9, female participant, Coloured). These learners felt that this stigma restricted their integration with other learners because learners of other races were afraid of Coloured people.

Coloured learners experienced being stereotyped within their own communities and all agreed that their communities generally did not expect them to excel. They felt that, if they achieved success, it was generally frowned upon as it made others who were not successful look bad. This was confirmed in the following statement:

> *"If you are good, in the top ten or a prefect, you experience hatred from your own race because they expect you to conform to the Coloured stereotype of not being successful in your academics"* (Group 6, female participant, Coloured).

One learner stated that the result of these stereotypes is that individuals themselves often place limits on their own capabilities by believing that they could not be successful:

"… I think there's this mentality that Coloureds and Black people have of [believing] we're less, where they [White people] are superior, we are inferior" (Group 9, female participant, Coloured).

Learners felt that stereotyping is the result of ignorance and that it could be addressed by learning more about other cultures and ethnic groups.

Reality of segregation vs. integration

Learners felt that, despite any intervention aimed at integrating learners, there would always be segregation of groups because people generally prefer to be with people who share a common identity, as stated: *"They prefer to be around people of their [own] race and they feel more comfortable with them"* (Group 2, male participant, Coloured).

Grouping of learners into homogeneous racial groups, especially during break times, seemed to occur in most of the schools, although not exclusively. One learner explained it as follows: *"We have grouped in a way, although you do have those groups which are mixed, but most groups are from the same race"* (Group 6, female participant, Black). Another learner offered a similar view: *"One thing I've noticed is that all the racial groups basically stick together, the Asian kids are together at break and the Indians … the Coloureds, and they have their own little clicks"* (Group 2, female participant, Coloured).

One learner agreed with her peers' experience, but argued that the reasons groups were formed were based on common interests. This perspective is clearly stated in the following quote: *"We come together because of the same common interest"* (Group 3, female participant, Black). The other learners in the group agreed with her and added that they shared the same taste in music and clothes, and that they understood one another.

One of the Black participants commented on the fact that many White children left as soon as other racial groups entered their school. She stated: *"In grade six there were a lot of White kids, but they all started to move away"* (Group 10, female participant, White). This trend, according to them, was not only relevant to their particular school, but was a common occurrence in most schools which were previously attended by predominantly White learners:

"At most schools, the moment a lot of Black or Coloured children come to a school, the White people disappear" (Group 6, female participant, Black).

White learners confirmed that the learners left their school to go to other schools which were predominantly White. The reason, according to them, was because their parents felt that the school consisted of predominantly Black learners: "*... parents just say that the school is becoming too Black"* (Group 10, female participant, White). There was the perception that White learners and their parents feared that the school's academic and moral standards would be sacrificed at the expense of racial integration: *"The school is going down because of the way that the kids behave. They have lost their moral sense of being a lady and are acting like children who need to be supervised"* (Group 10, female participant, White).

When asked about how they felt about the fact that so many White children had left since other racial groups were allowed into the school, a White learner commented: *"Well, it's their loss"* (Group 5, female participant, White).

Accusations of racism

Learners who were elected as leaders of their school stated that, in their experience, accusations of racism were often used as an excuse by learners of different racial groups so as not to conform to school rules. A learner stated: *"If you ask someone to put their phone away, you are accused of being racist"* (Group 5, female participant, White). White learners felt that the race card was often used by learners of different racial groups: *"Racism is often used as an excuse to not perform or not do what you are supposed to do. If there is an issue or you don't agree with something, it's race, you're a racist"* (Group 5, female participant, White). Accusations of racism were not exclusively directed at White learners. Claims were made that Black learners were also racist, as revealed in the following quote: *It's not always White people being racist against Black people. I think it goes both ways"* (Group 7, female participant, White).

Living in two worlds

The majority of learners found the reality of living in two worlds challenging. A learner stated: *"Integration becomes difficult because on what level do you meet? What common*

ground is there when it seems like it's two different worlds?" (Group 6, female participant, Black). The two worlds, as stated, refer to the world as experienced at school which is more Westernised versus the more traditional world as experienced at home or within their community.

A learner described her experience as follows:

"I feel like this environment [school] is the ideal world and then, as soon as you walk out [of] the school fences, that's when you start to feel the actual difference ... . We don't have racial problems at school ... but once you step out into the real world, that's where you start to feel it" (Group 11, female participant, Black).

Another learner shared a similar experience:

"You're still divided, you're in-between ... . You would like for everything to be the same way as it is at school, but it's just not and that's reality. You have to divide yourself amongst people; you can't just be yourself ..." (Group 6, female participant, Black).

There seemed to be a general state of confusion among learners who revealed that they felt torn between two different environments. One learner stated that she experienced this state of confusion among some of her peers. She shared the following: *"You get children that are confused; they don't know where they fall, so they're kind of hanging, not standing, not knowing which way to sway"* (Group 6, female participant, Black). Another learner shared the difficulty experienced by one of her community members when she was elected as the first Black head girl of their school: *"I could see that she was always tied between the two, between trying to satisfy the school but also her community, her Black community ..."* (Group 6, female participant, Black).

Learners shared that they often experienced anxiety when they befriended learners of a different race because they felt as though they were expected to choose between their family and their friends. A learner stated: *"… most of us want to change but we also have to respect our elders and our cultures and it becomes very difficult in choosing because you*

can't choose against your family and where you've come from … so then we end up being in this crossroad" (Group 6, female participant, Black).

The majority of the learners who felt torn between the expectations associated with the traditional versus Western demands were Black participants. Asian participants also made reference to the experience of two different worlds and expressed it as being uncomfortable to be around so many different people. *"So when you come here, you kind of feel not really at ease because they're totally different people and you're confronted with so many people that are so different to you and you're exposed to a completely different world. So, when you see these people, you're scared to approach"* (Group 4, female participant, Asian).

From the above statements it is apparent that the majority of Black and Asian learners experience severe stress. The Black learners experience stress as a result of trying to satisfy the expectations of both their school and their community. The experience of trying to do what is right according to different cultural systems was found to be a source of extreme anxiety.

c) Factors which influence reactions to diversity

The third theme refers to the factors which were found to influence the learners' experiences of diversity within and beyond the school environment. The influences or role-players identified as having contributed to these experiences resulted in the emergence of the following five subthemes: "My school" refers to the school environment and the importance of school identity; "My language" refers to the significant influence of language on the racial integration of learners; "My parents" refers to the role that parents play in the learners' experiences of diverse social interaction with other learners; "My teachers" refers to the way in which the learners experience the role and influence of teachers in a racially-integrated school environment; and "My peers" refers to the influence of friends and fellow learners in experiences associated with school.

My school

Learners agreed that each school generally had its own distinct identity which had always been part of the school. Learners revealed that schools had generally made little attempt to

restructure their identity or ethos to better suit the ethnic diversity of their learners: *"They think we have to abide to what they are; they think we have to now evolve and become what White people are and it's not true"* (Group 6, female participant, Black). It was clear that the majority of learners felt that their particular schools were not doing enough to accommodate their diverse cultures and preferences.

The general feeling among the Black and Coloured learners was that their schools did not consider their diverse cultures when school activities were planned. Learners made reference to school dances, which generally took the form of a "sokkie" which resulted in many of the learners not attending: *"… it's always in a 'sokkie' type of thing and Black children are not used to that, even the Coloured children …"* (Group 6, female participant, Black).

Sport was also found to be a general area which created division among the learners. Sport, which had traditionally been played at the school, such as rugby, was still predominantly played by White boys. *"… the school supports rugby and rugby is played by White boys …"* (Group 6, female participant, Black). They felt that rugby was always prioritised and well supported and that other sports, such as soccer and netball, received little support from the school.

Although the majority of learners felt that their cultures were not represented, they concluded that they were accepting of the school's long-standing traditions as it was their choice to attend the school. They believed that, because they chose to be there, it is only fair that they should accept the ways and rules on which their schools had historically based their identities. A learner stated: *"… seeing that we chose to come to this school, we should live up to their expectations …"* (Group 9, female participant, Coloured).

The above-mentioned views were not shared by White learners who felt that their schools' ethos and identity had changed to accommodate the diverse needs of all learners: *"So, it's really kind of, I don't know how to explain, but like it's really kind of sad if you think about it because we don't get to always have our say. Things have changed"* (Group 10, female participant, White).

My language

Language was a theme that re-occurred in all of the focus group discussions. It was predominantly presented as a factor which caused division among learners: *"Their language divides them from us ..."* (Group 10, female participant, White). Language was often seen as the cause of conflict in the classroom, which is reflected in the following statement: *"The only thing I can say that annoys me is we all speak English except they always speak in a different language"* (Group 10, female participant, White). The use of a native language was seen in a negative light. It was perceived as being offensive and threatening to fellow learners and teachers: *"I am obviously going to think you're saying something about me ..."* (Group 10, female participant, White). This resulted in feelings of distrust among learners who stated that they did not always understand what was being said: *"It's harder when you don't understand because they'll be talking and we don't know if they are saying something about us"* (Group 7, female participant, White). This feeling was not only prevalent among the Black and White learners, but Asian learners also felt that language served as a barrier and that it promoted distrust among learners.

An Asian learner stated:

> *"You shouldn't be too close to people you don't know, especially the Black people because you don't understand what they're saying ... . It's better just staying with Asians 'cause you know what they're saying ..."* (Group 4, female participant, Asian).

Black learners reported that they were expected to communicate exclusively in English (or Afrikaans) while at school. There was consensus among the majority of Black learners that they were not allowed to speak their mother tongue during school hours. They felt that they were expected to learn both English and Afrikaans, while learners of other races made no effort to learn theirs: *"You hardly ever find White people that are trying to understand and learn our language. We're always the ones that have to learn theirs so that we can communicate ..."* (Group 6, female participant, Black). Another learner stated: *"I feel as though I am losing my culture because most of the time I can't really speak my own language ... it's like we're almost being forced"* (Group 6, female participant, Coloured).

Participants reinforced this point by sharing experiences of attempts which are made by teachers within their schools to suppress the use of home languages because it was not the medium of instruction within that given school. A White learner confirmed this by stating: *"The teachers say that they [learners] are only allowed to speak English and Afrikaans and then they [learners] speak Sotho, so we don't know what they say in Sotho"* (Group 7, female participant, White). These attempts to suppress home languages resulted in individuals feeling as though they had to alter their identity in some way in order to fit in to the dominant culture at school.

The question often arose about whether or not an African language should be integrated into the school curriculum. Some learners felt that they did not necessarily want their native language incorporated into their school curriculum as a second language, although there were some learners who felt that it could boost their marks because they really battled with Afrikaans: *"... most of the time we struggle with exams because of language"* (Group 3, female participant, Black). The majority of White learners, on the other hand, thought that it had become imperative that White South Africans learn an African language if they wish to function successfully in a diverse country such as South Africa.

Black learners seemed to be divided in their opinion about whether they thought that other racial groups should learn an African language. Some learners expressed their disappointment that other racial groups made no effort to learn another language, yet others felt that they did not want other racial groups to learn their language as it would take away from the uniqueness of their culture. Black learners generally displayed a positive attitude towards preserving their culture by continuing to speak their native languages, despite the dominant status of English in their schools. There were, however, isolated cases of learners who did not see the importance of speaking their native tongue.

Language seemed to be the most prominent reason learners chose to attend their specific schools. They felt that English was the international language of the world and that being educated in English would allow for more opportunities when seeking employment and applying to tertiary institutions for further study.

It is clear from the above discussion that language has a definite influence on integration, particularly since it caused social division among the learners, which seemed to limit the prospect of interaction among racial groups.

My parents

Learners felt that their parents and extended families did not understand or accept the changes in a racially-integrated school environment which resulted in feelings of confusion and anxiety among the learners. Black learners felt that, above all else, they needed to respect the ways which were taught to them by their elders, even if they didn't always agree with them: *"I think it's still based on the people that … have an influence on us because most of us want to change, but we also have to respect our elders and our cultures"* (Group 6, female participant, Black).

It was generally stated by learners that parents experience a certain amount of discomfort around their children's friends of different races. One learner stated: *"I visited a friend … and I could see that their parents were not comfortable with me"* (Group 11, female participant, Black). Another learner expressed the following: *"… it is not racism, but there is a racial thing which comes from my family; my aunties and uncles grew up differently"* (Group 10, female participant, White). White learners generally stated that the majority of resistance came from their fathers. Although they had no issue with them having friends of different races, they would not allow inter-racial romantic relationships. Learners stated that they experienced their parents' apparent discomfort and resistance to different races as stemming from a basic lack of knowledge concerning other racial groups: *"They weren't educated to know other cultures like we do"* (Group 5, female participant, White).

Parents were identified as being a relevant factor in every group discussion, irrespective of race. There was consensus among participants of all races that parents had a tremendous influence on the way in which they integrate with other racial groups.

My teachers

Teacher demographics were found not to represent the diverse cultures and ethnic groups of the learners in the schools. Learners expressed a difference of opinion regarding the representation of race among the teachers.

Some learners felt that there should be teachers who represent their culture as that would promote a better understanding of their behaviour: "*... there are no Coloured teachers who can understand my problem*" (Group 6, female participant, Coloured). They believed that having teachers of different races would ensure a better understanding of different cultures.

Learners felt that their school did not conform to true racial integration as they did not practise what they preach; teachers were still predominantly white: "*... the school is integrated, it's diverse. Yes, among the learners, but not among the staff*" (Group 6, female participant, Black). The school, they felt, expected learners to integrate and proclaims to treat everyone equally. This, according to one learner, was not how they experienced it: "*Why do the Coloured and Black teachers who are qualified have to teach at poor schools when they have the same qualification as some of the head of departments at this school, who are White?*" (Group 6, female participant, Black). One learner stated that they found the poor representation of racial groups among the staff to be unacceptable; the teaching staff was mostly White, while Black staff members were only employed in lesser capacities. This learner stated: "*I think it's offensive to have White teachers ... then you have one secretary that's Black and the cleaners are all Black*" (Group 8, female participant, Black). Black learners also found it offensive to have a White teacher teaching them Sesotho.

However, some learners reported that they were satisfied with the teachers being predominantly White, as long as they could teach: "*If they [the teachers] are good, why not, if you can teach ... it's fine. It's not about your skin colour*" (Group 5, female participant, White). Another learner agreed: "*I feel it doesn't make a difference ... as long as they know how to teach, we are taught in English, so it is not going to make a difference in my opinion*" (Group 11, female participant, Black).

Some learners believed that their teachers don't see colour: "*... our teachers are like us, they don't see colour*" (Group 5, female participant, White). Another learner agreed: "*Most of*

our teachers are previous learners of this school so they are used to everybody and I don't think they see colour" (Group 5, female participant, White). Interestingly, this perspective was generally held by White learners. Learners representing other racial groups did not always share the same view.

My peers

The majority of learners claimed that they did not consider the colour of their peers to be a significant factor. Participants went to great lengths to emphasise the fact that skin colour was of little importance to them: *"We don't see colour"* (Group 5, female participant, White). Another learner stated: *"… we don't look at…skin colour"* (Group 11, female participant, Black).

In the following statement, a participant claimed not to classify her peers according to race, but that, instead, she sees them all as people: *"…there is no White, Black or Coloured; we are just people"* (Group 3, female participant, Black). She went on to explain her statement: *"We are all people; it is just the pigments of our skin that are different. I am Black and she is Black, but she is lighter, so why someone else is called White and she is not?"* (Group 3, female participant, Black).

White learners predominantly spoke of either Black or White when referring to their experiences of different racial groups. The use of 'them' and 'us' was relevant to most group discussions as depicted in the following quote: *"We're the ones that look up to them and have to be like them, but they don't try, they don't meet us half way …"* (Group 6, female participant, Black). The use of the terms "them" and "us" in all of the groups, irrespective of race, highlighted the fact that learners made a clear distinction between themselves and peers of different races.

d) The school environment as platform for integration

The fourth theme, "The school environment as platform for integration", refers to learners' perceptions relating to their future with reference to their current experiences in a racially-integrated school environment. The first subtheme, "The consequence of change", refers to learners' experiences relating to change which has already taken place and the effect of

change on the future. The second subtheme, "The school environment as preparation for the real world", refers to the value learners attach to their experience in a racially-integrated school environment pertaining to the future.

The consequence of change

Learners often made reference to the fact that they had no direct experience of apartheid as stated by the following learner: *"We're the 17 years of democracy; we were born in '94; we're freedom babies"* (Group 3, female participant, Black). Another learner stated: *"Apartheid was before our time; we don't really know what apartheid felt like"* (Group 5, female participant, White).

Although learners had no direct experience of apartheid, they were, however, aware of the impact it continues to have in the lives of many South Africans. They expressed that the effects of the past continued to impact on and influence their current experiences. White learners felt that they still had to be cautious among people of different races because their intentions were often considered to be racially based. A White learner shared the following: *"It is harder on our own culture ... because you don't want to be judged, but because of apartheid ... it always seems bad what you are saying. They always see it as race"* (Group 5, female participant, White).

It was apparent from the group discussions that the effects of apartheid were still considered to be relevant to the learners' present-day experiences, although they had not experienced it directly. The majority of learners were mindful of the role that apartheid played in the lives of older generations, more especially in those of their parents, but were hopeful that time would heal many of the injustices of the past.

The majority of learners felt that they had witnessed the results of change, although it would still take time before all people were able to accept one another. Some learners felt that change would only become a reality for them once they had left their parents' homes and were no longer influenced by their parents' perspectives on racial integration.

A learner revealed that there would only be significant change in the next generation: *"Maybe this coming generation, but I think with us there isn't going to be too much of a change, not that much"* (Group 6, female participant, Black).

Learners' views of the degree of change varied considerably, depending on the racial group involved. Black learners felt that, although they had witnessed some degree of change, it was slow.

A learner stated:

> *"I think we are getting impatient because it has been almost 17 years that people said that change will come. We look and we see history repeat itself over and over again, people still keep saying change is coming ... and you just don't see any evidence of that"* (Group 6, female participant, Black).

This perspective was, however, only raised by the Black learners.

Some learners added that, regardless of how much time had passed or how well different cultures are understood, there would always be segregation because people, irrespective of race and culture, were different. They referred to the differences found within the same cultural and racial groups; differences which made each culture unique. Reference was made to the many different cultures found within the Black community, as well as differences within the White community, most significantly between the Afrikaans- and English-speaking communities. Some learners felt that society should refrain from placing so much emphasis on trying to be the same and, instead, place more emphasis on valuing those differences.

A learner summed it up in the following quotation:

> *"I think people need to be taught that, irrespective of who they are, where they come from, what culture they represent, they should know that they are valuable and they should learn to value others. If we were the same, the world would be a very boring place. Difference is what makes our country beautiful and people*

should be taught the value of loving each other's differences" (Group 6, female participant, Black).

The school environment as preparation for the real world

The majority of learners considered being in a racially-integrated school environment as being an essential experience as it provided them with the valuable skills which they felt were necessary to succeed in a diverse society, such as South Africa: *"I've always had more Black friends than White friends; it's easier for me. I think it gives me a head start in life because I think this is how South Africa is"* (Group 10, female participant, White). They expressed that it would better prepare them for life beyond school as it had taught them to accept and embrace one another's differences: *"We can talk about race and it's not going to be a sensitive or offensive topic"* (Group 3, female participant, Black).

Learners emphasised the fact that once they entered university or a working environment, they would be expected to interact with diverse individuals and felt that having been previously exposed to a racially-integrated environment would give them the edge. A learner stated: *"... I have a head start in life now because I know how to act around Black people; when I go to university it is not going to be a cultural shock ..."* (Group 10, female participant, White).

Language also featured as an important factor which learners identified as being relevant to their future. Learners considered a high level of English proficiency to be a vital aspect of their future success, which their current school environment seemed to provide. They felt that the prospects of being accepted by a tertiary institution and the chance of finding future employment would largely depend on how well they were able to communicate in English.

Learners stated that, although they faced many challenges, which were largely considered to be beyond their control, they still had the power to choose which direction they wanted to take. There was a clear indication that learners realised that they were ultimately in control of their futures based on the important choices they have made and will make in future:

> *"You have to decide for yourself, I'm not going to be like that, I'm going to be*
> *different. I'm going to go and study, I'm going to make something out of nothing,*

I'm going to make the most out of my situation" (Group 9, female participant, Coloured).

Key results relating to learners' experiences and perceptions of diversity in racially-integrated schools

In view of the above discussion, the following key results can be highlighted:

Firstly, the learners were able to articulate their understanding of diversity by referring to a variety of dimensions of difference. The following dimensions of difference were mentioned: language, culture, background, personality and race, with culture and race being the most frequently highlighted. Dimensions of difference, such as socio-economic backgrounds, abilities or gender were not considered by learners. Most of the learners understood that diversity was a result of differences coming together. Learners understood the value of difference and highlighted the uniqueness thereof by embracing their differences and rejecting the notion of sameness.

Secondly, learners' perceptions of racial integration among themselves varied considerably. While they confirmed some degree of interaction, learners were largely inclined to stick together according to race and culture. Various degrees of stereotyping, discrimination and prejudice (labelling, claims of racism) were experienced by the majority of racial groups. Coloured and Black learners experienced labelling (predominantly from within their own communities) and stereotyping as relevant factors whereas White learners identified accusations of racism as a possible factor influencing their integration with diverse learners. Interestingly, the majority of learners claimed not to see colour which implied that race was irrelevant.

Thirdly, the majority of the Black learners expressed pride in their culture and prioritised the importance of maintaining their culture and heritage. They raised a concern that there was a real danger of losing their cultural uniqueness. Black learners felt that they needed to remain true to themselves by resisting pressures to conform to Western standards and place emphasis on retaining their traditional cultural uniqueness. The emphasis placed on trying to fit in to a Western culture versus traditional cultures was highlighted as a major source of confusion. Black learners felt that they were almost being forced to adopt Western ways because they

were not afforded the opportunity to express their cultural identity at school. Assimilating to the ways of Western culture (at school) placed learners at risk of discarding the rich uniqueness of heritage, cultural beliefs and traditions. Although learners' experienced ambivalence due to living and functioning in two contrasting environments, the predominant view was that learners witnessed this occurrence in fellow learners.

Fourthly, learners acknowledged the significance of a variety of factors which were perceived to influence racial integration. The school environment and the continued preservation of school identity was emphasised as a factor which led to segregation. Learners highlighted the effect that language had on negative experiences and viewed language as the source of the majority of misunderstandings and conflict among learners. Most of the learners experienced some form of negative influence from parents and agreed that parents had a huge impact on their integration with learners who represented different racial groups. Learners agreed that the majority of their current teachers, who were predominantly white, did not see colour. However, they stressed the importance of having teachers who represented their diverse cultures, believing that they would better understand learner behaviour. All learners were in agreement that behaviour was based on cultural norms. This behaviour, according to them, was largely misinterpreted and misunderstood by teachers and peers who represented different cultural groups and which resulted in limited integration among learners. Learners predominantly classified their peers into two categories, namely Black or White. The term, Black, seemed to include the Coloured group. Most of the learners were inclined to use the term "them" and "us" when referring to peers of different races and cultures.

The final key result relates to the vital role played by schools in preparing learners for the future. Learners were aware of past change (apartheid), which continued to impact upon their present-day experiences and understood that change was a process which required time. Learners placed a high priority on the role that integrated schools play in preparing them for future success in a growing, global and multicultural society.

5.2 Discussion of teachers' and learners' experiences and perceptions of diversity in racially-integrated schools

The main results of this research study, relating to both teachers and learners, will be discussed and interpreted in the following section. The theoretical frameworks used to inform

this study, as well as the existing research findings in the field, will be used to corroborate results.

5.2.1 Perceptions and understanding of diversity

In discussing their understanding of diversity, all the participants referred to the importance of difference. This concurs with a variety of theorists and researchers (Blaine, 2007; Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Carbado & Harris, 2008; Jansen, 2006; Schofield, 2007; Soudien, 2004) who prioritised the presence of difference when referring to diversity. A variety of differences could easily be articulated by both teachers and learners. Differences in culture, race, background, experience, perspectives and the way in which people do things, were the dimensions most frequently mentioned by teachers, while dimensions of language, culture, background, personality and race were considered by the majority of learners. The most prominent dimensions that teachers and learners prioritised, irrespective of racial group, included the dimensions of race, culture and background.

However, various theorists (Phatlane, 2007; Thomas, 1996; Weiss, 2002) acknowledged that diversity cannot be fully understood by focussing only on difference. The paradoxical nature of diversity can only be captured when referring to both differences and similarities, while considering the unique, relative and contextual nature of the term (Miller & Katz, 2002; Naidoo, 2008). This notion was echoed by the participants in this study who referred to the interactive nature of differences (difference coming together and differences combined). Both teachers and learners mentioned diversity in the context of working together in groups or as a unit. Reacting to this interplay between difference and sameness, teachers placed more emphasis on sameness, whereas learners prioritised the value of difference. Teachers' denial of difference and focus on sameness could relate to sensitivity associated with issues concerning race. Teachers emphasised the fact that they did not see colour and only considered learners' backgrounds as being a relevant factor when considering difference. Learners used words such "potjiekos" to emphasise the importance of uniqueness and that they were not trying to fit into one mould. This result relates to that of Guion (1999) in which diversity is defined as a mosaic of people, who bring their unique ethnic and cultural backgrounds, styles, perspectives, values and beliefs to both the environment and the people with whom they interact. Learners, in contrast to the notion of valuing difference, stated that they did not see colour when referring to learners who represented different racial groups,

which is somewhat contradictory to the emphasis which they placed on the uniqueness and value of diversity.

Acknowledging the complex and contextual nature of diversity, teachers made reference to the importance of environment as a dimension of difference. This was found to reflect Mazur's (2010) definition of diversity which stated that dimensions of difference emerge and present differently depending on the context, environment and circumstances in which it is experienced. This, according to Mazur (2010), makes it a complex phenomenon to define as the position and dominance of the different dimensions differ according to each individual.

When considering the specific dimensions of diversity that were mentioned by participants, primary and secondary dimensions (Loden & Rosner, 1996), as well as the multiplicity of dimensions (Rijamampinina & Carmichael, 2005) were mentioned. The constructs of race and culture, as highlighted by teachers and learners, are primary dimensions of diversity (Loden & Rosner, 1996) which are visible and unchangeable dimensions of human diversity (Barker & Speaker, 2012). Participants in this study also acknowledged various secondary and more changeable dimensions of diversity (Barkman &Speaker, 2012; Loden & Rosner, 1996), namely background and language. Teachers also mentioned the dimension of perception in their understanding of diversity. This dimension of diversity was included in Rijamampinina and Carmichael's (2005) extended theory.

Interestingly, neither teachers nor learners made any reference to certain primary and secondary dimensions of diversity, such as gender, age, sexual orientation, physical abilities, education, geographic location, religion, family status and income. The focus on race and culture could be due to the political transformation which has taken place in South African society, moving from apartheid (segregation based on race), to democracy (focus on racial equality). Rapid, radical transformation was most evident in South African schools and, therefore, provided a unique context relating to political change. Dimensions of diversity, according to Mazur (2010), continually interact with and influence one another, and display differently depending on the context, environment and circumstances involved. Mazur's argument could explain why teachers and learners prioritised dimensions of race and culture, rather than focus on other dimensions such as education, age and gender. The position and dominance of individual dimensions are dynamic, which results in making the concept of diversity more complex (Mazur, 2010).

5.2.2 The challenges related to managing diversity and integration

The majority of participants experienced great challenges in coping with the inevitable realities associated with a changing school environment. Although the challenges were considered to be difficult for both teachers and learners, parents were predominantly identified as experiencing the most difficulty. Teachers believed that parents resisted this change by not allowing their children to attend a school where representation of their race is not in the majority. Participants were mindful of the fact that many White learners had left their particular school because it was perceived by them as being too 'Black', which highlights the difficulty experienced in accepting change.

The social identity theory provides a possible framework for understanding the ways in which individuals respond to change. According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), social identity is that aspect of the self which is derived from belonging to a group and involves the value and significance that individuals attach to that membership. The group to which individuals belong is based on certain boundaries which may provide a possible explanation as to why individuals experience difficulty relating to change. Individuals are categorised according to the group to which they belong (in group) or other groups (out group) and compare those groups based on evaluative criteria (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Evaluative criteria may be based on race, which explains why White learners (in-group) tended to leave the school environment as soon as learners of different races (out-group) enter. Social identity, when based on race, will result in racial comparisons of other racial groups, favouring the in-group to which the individual belongs. This, according to Tajfel and Turner (1986) will result in resistance by the in-group as a way in which to defend their past economic or social privilege. In order to change, individuals must be able to see the benefits of change; change will not take place unless the individual believes that the change is worthwhile. This resistance to change, according to Dixon and Durrheim (2003), restricts the chance of successfully integrating learners from different racial groups, as White individuals tended to leave as soon as Black individuals entered a desegregated environment.

Despite the focus being placed on racial integration, various degrees of segregation continue to be a reality in schools. All the participants expressed similar experiences relating to racial integration at school. Learners acknowledged that racial grouping occurred both during school and at break time. This suggested that racial integration was not taking place as had

previously been planned. Teachers perceived various degrees of segregation among learners and, while they agreed that there were incidence of racial integration, they concurred that learners were predominantly inclined to group together according to race. The fact that racial integration had not been successful could be explained by considering that individuals are more inclined to integrate if they share a common identity. Learners believed that regardless of intervention aimed at integrating learners, there would always be segregation as individuals generally preferred to be with others who shared a common identity. The continued segregation of learners, as confirmed by participants, is referred to as informal segregation as it is based on choices made by learners relating to personal preference, opposed to the formal segregation of the past (apartheid) where no freedom of choice was allowed.

The continued segregation of learners has been confirmed in research (Jansen, 2004; Nkomo & Vandeyar, 2009; Vandeyar, 2008). Jansen (2004) reported that the desegregating of schools did not automatically result in racial integration among learners. Meier and Hartell (2009) argued that racial integration had the potential to lead to higher rates of racial tension and prejudice rather than promote cultural understanding and acceptance. The intergroup theory, according to Pettigrew (1998), is focused on the conditions which promote intergroup contact, ultimately leading to changes in intergroup interaction. The founding principle of the intergroup theory is that perceptions and behaviours elevate individuals' own groups above other groups. This could explain, despite interventions aimed at promoting racial integration, why learners tended to prefer the company of those belonging to their own race. This could also explain why White learners were inclined to leave a school where learners of different races were in the majority.

Various forms of racism, stereotyping and labelling were experienced by learners. Subtle practices of racism were reported, although the majority of participants confirmed that they were not racist and did not consider race to be a significant factor in their school. Accusations of racism were only mentioned by White learners who implied that it was often used as an excuse by Black and Coloured learners not to conform to school rules. Accusations were not exclusively directed at White learners. Claims were made by White learners that Black learners were also racist. Learners experienced stereotyping from individuals belonging to their own, as well as other, racial groups. Stereotyping was particularly prevalent within the Coloured community. Learners revealed that they

experienced criticism from within their own community which seemed to have a profound effect on them – more so than from individuals belonging to other racial groups. Although Black and Coloured learners confirmed that labelling among peers and community members was commonly experienced, this practice was exclusively used by individuals from within learners' own racial groups. Labelling is considered to result from stereotyping, and learners referred to terms such as "White", "Coconut", "Oreo" and "Whitewash". The use of the term, "acting White" was also found to be common among Black and Coloured learners. Labels such as "Oreo" and "coconut" are used to describe Black individuals who "act White". "Acting White", according to learners, presumably meant acting in a certain way and speaking in a certain way. According to Garner (2006), the use of these terms assumes that "acting White" is the correct way in which to behave. "Acting White" meant that individuals' behaviours didn't necessarily represent the stereotypical behaviours which were considered relevant to that race or culture. Learners felt that it was insulting to be accused of acting White, especially by members of their own racial group, because it basically meant that behaviours, such as achieving success at school, and behaving and speaking in a certain way, were only applicable to members of the White culture.

Pettigrew (1998) proposes that the intergroup theory focuses on the conditions in which intergroup contact is promoted. It is, therefore, considered to be an effective framework to explain the important role that social structures play in the investigation of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination (Pettigrew, 1998). Learners from different racial groups tended to positively stereotype their own racial groups, with the exception of the Coloured learners. Naudé (2012) stated that this was relevant to the intergroup theory that considers perceptions and behaviours to elevate individuals' own groups above other groups. According to Meier (2005), perceptions of, and attitudes towards, racially-diverse groups in integrated schools are thought to have a relevant effect on learners as teachers have the tendency to differentiate in their treatment and expectations of learners based on race and cultural background. According to Wellman (1992), attitudes, values and beliefs play an important role in the process of stereotyping.

The social identity theory proposes that, when individuals are confronted with intergroup conflict that threatens their social group identities, they justify behaviours of stereotyping and discrimination against out-groups in order to maintain their positive image. Taylor, Peplau and Sears (2006) reported that racism has been replaced by more implicit forms of prejudice

and stereotyping. Implicit forms of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination were described by Corcoran and Thompson (2004) as aversive racism which, according to them, was a result of the inconsistency experienced between democratic practices and internalised ideologies. According to McConahay (1986), modern racists do not consider themselves to be racist because they believe that their values are not inspired by traditional beliefs, but on empirical facts, resulting in subtle, rational ways of discrimination. This, however, does not explain learners' experiences of stereotyping from members of their own community. Tajfel and Turner (1986) state that social behaviour varies between interpersonal behaviour and intergroup behaviour. Interpersonal behaviour is based on individual and interpersonal characteristics found between two or more members of the same group. The effect of criticism from within a group results in feelings of distress when directed at a member of the same group. Learners of the Coloured community experienced stereotypical behaviour from within their own community. According to Tajfel (1978), individuals are motivated to seek social inclusion and avoid exclusion; belonging to a group can therefore be considered as a vital component which contributes to individuals' identity and self-worth. Reactions by group members, relating to the acceptance of such individuals are considered by Mor Barak (2011) as being pivotal to individuals' well-being. The fact that Coloured learners expressed distress is assumed to be the result of feeling rejected by members of their own community. As determined by Tajfel and Turner (1986), interpersonal or intergroup behaviour is unlikely to occur in isolation as both are found to occur in the reality of social interactions. The realistic conflict theory, according to Sherif (1966), states that individuals are driven by self- or group interest in an attempt to maximise personal or group rewards, often to the detriment of others. According to Adams (1965), not possessing something results in feelings of injustice and deprivation, causing personal distress and intergroup conflict.

Various factors, such as school, language, parents, teachers and peers, were believed to contribute to experiences of limited racial integration among learners. Language was highlighted as being a major challenge by both teachers and learners. Teachers considered language to be one of the main aspects which affected integration among learners. Learners reported that the use of African languages in the classroom resulted in conflict situations caused by feelings of distrust and misunderstanding. Research conducted by Mda (2007) reported that English is in the process of replacing African languages in the lives of Black South Africans. Mda (2007) concluded that some parents no longer saw the value in their children speaking or studying in their own languages. Mpisi (2010) confirmed the trend

relating to non-English-speaking South Africans who considered English as their *lingua franca*. This resulted in learners being faced with the challenge of having to learn subject content in a language which was not their mother tongue. In addition to language, there was a general consensus among participants that parents had an overwhelming influence on racial integration among learners. The school environment was also considered by learners to restrict racial integration as practices relevant to White schools of the past were still experienced. The cultural diversity of the majority of learners was considered to be largely ignored by schools. Teachers were still found to predominantly represent the minority of White learners which raised concerns that teachers who represented different racial groups were still not being considered by schools, possibly due to perceived racial incompetence. Soudien and Sayed (2004) argued that the principal way in which the issues of race, inequality and participation were being negotiated in South African schools is through the upholding of "standards". Schools use standards to provide a way to re-articulate concerns of race and class and displace and defer considerations of racial equity. These standards are non-negotiable and provided a justifiable and acceptable means to exclude Black teachers from staff appointments on the basis that standards need to be upheld.

Bandura's social learning theory (1986) posits that different behaviours can be explained by considering the influence of observational learning and modelling. The difficulty experienced by parents relating to racial integration could possibly be explained from a social learning perspective which maintains that children learn by observing and imitating models, usually parents and community members. The experiences of the past, with specific reference being made to the apartheid system, were found by teachers to still have a significant influence on the integration of learners in their respective schools. The majority of parents grew up during the apartheid years and it can, therefore, be deduced that varying degrees of stereotyping, discrimination and prejudice, enforced by racial segregation, still influence their beliefs and behaviours. Jones (2001) was of the opinion that stereotypes are deeply entrenched in society through the observation and modelling of individuals. As is the case with their parents, current learners experience the same cycle of learning through the observation and modelling of their parents. Contexts such as school, home, community and society, according to Alexander and Mpisi (2014), provide learning environments in which knowledge and skills are transcribed and learnt by the observer (Alexander 2004). Children are exposed to certain values, beliefs and behaviours which relate to their shared cultural identity. When stereotypes and racial prejudice are deeply embedded in society, children

learn them and accept them as a reflection of social norm. Teachers generally felt that parents had not yet warmed to the idea of a truly democratic and racially-integrated society.

The Social learning theory is focused on learning which occurs within a social environment (Bandura, 1986). Bandura's social learning theory proposes that learning occurs by observing the behaviour of others, through modelling. From the results, it can be deduced that the social environment, in which both parents and learners were raised, had a great influence on their way of understanding the world. Learners, for example, could relate to how their parents perceptions, such as their beliefs, values, biases and prejudices resulted from personal past experiences. Those past experiences are particularly relevant in a South African context, due to the political climate in which parents were raised (apartheid). This resistance to change was demonstrated by parents who either removed their children from schools which they perceived as being "too Black" or by their reported discomfort when exposed to learners of other racial groups. Individuals are more likely to attend to and imitate those individuals with whom they can easily identify (Bandura, 1986). In the case of this study, identification occurred when learners adopted the observed behaviours, values, beliefs and attitudes of their parents. The influence of upbringing, relating to the parents as well as the learners and its contribution to their thinking and behaviour, are considered to be a vital component in restricting the racial integration of learners in a school environment.

According to Pettigrew (1998), positive intergroup contact will only occur once the following four conditions are met: equal status, intergroup cooperation, common goals, and social support. In this study, it is implied that the above conditions had not been met as little positive intergroup contact was experienced. Noticeable examples of segregation were evident in learners', and in some cases, teachers' referral to individuals from different racial groups in terms of us-them, which implied that participants considered themselves as being separate from others. Language was also thought to be one of the major factors which restricted racial integration among learners; the use of African languages resulted in arguments among learners and was found to produce feelings of distrust due to a lack of understanding. Pettigrew (1998) stated that prejudice against a specific social group can be diminished by the appropriate exposure and contact of individuals to members of that group. From the results it can de deduced that in the majority of cases, appropriate contact between learners had not yet taken place, although there were encouraging signs and isolated instances of racial integration.

Cultural differences were viewed by participants as being one of the major causes of misunderstandings among learners, as well as among teachers and learners. All learners agreed that behaviour was based on cultural standards which was predominantly misinterpreted and misunderstood by other cultural groups, resulting in conflict. The majority of Black learners were concerned that they were at risk of losing their cultural identity in an attempt to fit in and placed a high premium on maintaining their cultural uniqueness. Prior research findings have highlighted the importance attached to individuals and groups maintaining the uniqueness of their culture in racially-integrated environments, such as the one conducted by Peacock (2008), sampling both South African and American participants. The study revealed that Black adolescents displayed a stronger ethnic identity than that of other ethnic groups. According to Steyn (2001), White South Africans take their culture for granted because their "Whiteness" is invisible to them. Black South African cultural groups, on the other hand, were found to be far more conscious of their cultural uniqueness (Steyn, 2001). Dimensions of diversity such as language, religion, cultural beliefs and traditions are thus considered to be more important to Black South Africans. This study displayed similar results as Black learners, in particular, showed a greater sense of pride relating to their relevant cultural identity, cultural beliefs and cultural traditions compared to learners of other racial groups. From a social identity perspective, individuals identify with a group if they perceive value attached to the membership thereof, together with experiencing a sense of belonging (Tajfel, 1978). This might explain why Black participants showed a greater awareness of, and pride in, their cultural identity because they experienced a positive sense of belonging and stronger group identity.

Learners referred to the feeling of ambivalence caused by the daily experience of belonging to two separate worlds; the two worlds represented the traditional world of home versus the Westernised world of school. Learners reported that the cultural norms experienced in one environment often conflicted with the expected norms of the other, which resulted in feelings of confusion and uncertainty. Parents and communities instil certain values, beliefs and norms relevant to their culture. Schools, on the other hand, expose learners to conflicting norms, values and expected behaviours, which could explain their experienced state of confusion. The dilemma that learners faced of actualising themselves in an environment that spans two divergent social contexts is explained according to the social identity theory. Individuals generally attempt to maintain a positive social identity which serves to preserve a positive self-concept. The only way in which to reduce conflict is by introducing a shared

common identity. If the reduction of conflict is the motivating factor to maintain a positive social identity, then by integrating the in- and out-groups into a combined group will result in a reduction of bias.

5.2.3 Approaches to diversity and integration

Various themes which emerged from the participants' discussions related to the literature regarding the approaches followed to manage the challenges of integration in schools. Much evidence was found with regard to the implementation of the assimilation and colour-blind approach. Although less prominent, evidence of the contributionist, multicultural and anti-racist approaches were also seen. Many participants could articulate their support for, and aspirations toward, the valuing diversity approach.

The assimilationist approach

Learners often referred to the practice of assimilation in which all learners were expected to accept and conform to the historic culture of the school. Black and Coloured learners felt that their respective schools did little to accommodate their diverse cultures. Learners referred to practices, such as the restriction of the use of African languages, social events (dances and celebrations) and sporting codes (prioritising of rugby), which still largely represented the White culture of the past. Teachers felt that learners should only be allowed to speak English during school hours, which was confirmed by Black learners. Banks and McGee Banks (2001) described these experiences as a process of assimilation in which groups acquire the behaviour and characteristics of a dominant racial or cultural group at the expense of ignoring its own. An assimilationist approach in schools requires all learners, irrespective of their background or experience, to fit in to the existing culture, curriculum and activities of the school which they attend.

Black learners viewed the restrictive attempt by schools to eliminate the use of their mother tongue as unfair practice; they were expected to only speak English, even when conversing with learners from their own culture. Teachers felt that school identity should be protected and maintained. This supports findings by Soudien and Sayed (2004) which found that schools resisted change in an effort to protect and preserve the perceived standard of the school. Mpisi (2010) found that the majority of ex-Model C schools still expected learners to

be assimilated instead of integrated. The dominant school culture of historically White schools, according to learners, remained; cultural activities and sporting codes were maintained and remained unchanged. Research conducted by Alexander and Mpisi (2014) revealed that extra-curricular activities did not cater to the diverse needs of culturally-diverse learners. They believed that these activities could serve as a condition in which special bonds between learners were created and positive attitudes relating to cultural differences were achieved. Although learners often felt that they were being forced to conform to expected school standards, they accepted that they had chosen to attend their specific school and therefore felt that they should conform to school standards. Soudien and Sayed (2004) warn of the consequences of assimilation for less dominant groups. They stated that assimilation resulted in individuals having to give up their identities and cultures in order to acknowledge the superiority of the group into whose social context they were expected to fit. This approach, according to Soudien (2004), failed to acknowledge the diversity of learners and was, therefore, found to be inadequate in its attempt to integrate a diverse learner population (Soudien, 2004).

The assimilationist approach could be adopted by schools as a way in which to preserve the high standards set by former White schools. This high standard could possibly only be maintained by preventing practices which represented learners who came from educationally- and culturally-inferior backgrounds.

The colour-blind approach

Teachers and learners claimed not to see colour and, in so doing, disregarded race. Teachers showed pride in the fact that they treated all the learners equally. According to Carbado and Harris (2008), colour blindness is an approach in which racial and cultural differences are de-emphasised. Moletsane (1999) stated that this approach is often adopted by teachers as a way of dealing with their own prejudice relating to learners from diverse racial groups, by professing not to see colour. According to Carbado and Harris (2008), the colour-blind approach is directed at promoting racial equality by devaluing the uniqueness and prospective contributions of diverse cultures.

It was found that the teachers in this study were under the impression that treating all learners equally resulted in positive outcomes. This was evident in the pride they showed when they

revealed this practice. This result mirrors Pollock's (2004) view which proposed that teachers often used this approach to promote equality in the classroom. Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, and Ambady (2010) stated that the appeal of the colour-blind approach was understandable because it is perceived as a way in which to promote racial equality. It was clear that the teachers who took part in this study were unaware of the negative implications associated with the use of this approach. Research findings, however, question the success of this approach as it is found to discount or ignore the potential value and meaning that racial difference brings (Carbado & Harris, 2008; Jansen, 2004; Meier, 2005; Schofield, 2007; Vandeyar, 2010). Banks & McGee Banks (2001) warn against using the colour-blind approach as African learners often perceive this practice as a blatant disregard of their race and culture.

The adoption of the colour-blind approach by teachers could possibly be used in an attempt to reduce stereotyping and discrimination. Banks & McGee Banks (2001) confirmed that teachers adopt this approach in an attempt to restrict the chances of being labelled "racist". Teachers believed that ignoring the race of learners resulted in learners feeling equally valued and, in so doing, promoted racial integration among them.

The contributionist approach

Teachers and White learners were under the impression that schools accommodated the diverse interests and preferences of the learners. White learners acknowledged that they allowed learners of different cultural groups to play their music at school dances. The contributionist approach, according to Van Heerden (1998), does little to promote a real sense of belonging and acceptance among learners. This practice is considered by Vandeyar (2006) to be superficial, adding little value in its attempt to promote unity.

Learners admitted that limited attempts were made by schools to accommodate and celebrate the diversity of culture. These attempts of accommodating the diversity of culture were, according to learners, only acknowledged by schools for a limited time. Findings replicate those of Vandeyar (2006) which stated that different cultures were acknowledged in different ways by having what is known as a "cultural day" or an "inter-cultural evening" where certain elements of other cultures are celebrated through food, dance and song.

It is assumed that this approach is used by schools in an attempt to show its commitment to racial integration by attempting to acknowledge the importance and value of the cultural diversity of its learners.

The multicultural approach

Teachers and learners referred to the importance of understanding individuals of different cultures, and maintained that this could only be done through education. They acknowledged that the curriculum provided an opportunity to discuss different cultures, according to their different beliefs, traditions and religious practices. Multiculturalism is described by Hartmann and Gerteis (2005) as the outline of favourable social conditions which, according to Lentin (2005), is directed more at the appreciation of culture and less at the construct of race.

Lentin (2005) warned that this approach runs the risk of focusing exclusively on inter-racial communities and, in so doing, neglects to address the broader social challenges associated with diversity such as inclusion, inequality and racism. Multiculturalism, according to Fante (2000), promoted an approach to teaching and learning in line with the policies and ideals of a multicultural education system. The multicultural approach to education developed from the need to acknowledge, accept and appreciate learners who represented diverse cultures, the effectiveness of which remains debatable. It was suggested by Squelch (1993) that this ineffectiveness was due to the fact that multicultural education failed to bring about structural reform and confront deeply-embedded racism. Multiculturalism, according to Fante (2003), assumes that cultural understanding will result in tolerance of racial difference.

This approach might have been used by schools and teachers to encourage cultural understanding and, in so doing, promote the tolerance of racial difference.

The anti-racist approach

The influence of the past and effects of apartheid were acknowledged by both teachers and learners. Although learners had no direct experience of apartheid, they expressed an awareness of the impact it continued to have on their lives and the lives of others.

According to Shapiro (2002), the anti-racist approach acknowledges the effects that racial oppression, privileges and powers have on societies, as well as the influence of historical and systemic factors on cultural identities. The purpose of this approach, according to Vandeyar (2006), is to assist individuals in their dealings with racial and cultural differences relevant to a diverse society. This approach in education is directed at the acknowledgement and allowance of difference. Vandeyar (2006) maintained that it equipped individuals with ways in which to deal with racial and cultural differences. This approach, according to Meier and Hartell (2009), will ensure that teachers, learners and parents are provided with the necessary tools to fight racism and discrimination and will ultimately result in a society in which all people are considered to be equal.

The valuing diversity approach

South Africa is known as the "rainbow nation" – a kaleidoscope of different languages, races and cultures, a country in which diversity is appreciated and celebrated. According to Barkman and Speaker (2012), diversity teaches all individuals to strive towards becoming valuable and active members of a united and democratic society. Blaser (2004) regarded this sense of unity as an essential element in the creation of a united and democratic country. Smit, Cronje, Brevis and Vrda (2001) stated that by placing the necessary value on diversity, individuals affirm that differences are an asset that should be celebrated. Participants in this study were found to understand the importance of appreciating difference and aspired to achieve unity by attempting to place the necessary emphasis on diversity. Teachers believed that this was possible through education as learners enjoyed being exposed to information regarding different cultures and religions and acknowledged that the curriculum addressed the important concept of valuing diversity. Smit, et al. (2011) stated that individuals automatically admit to preconceived ideas relating to stereotyping, prejudice and bias, as soon as value is placed on diversity, as they are able to appreciate the value that others who are different from themselves, have to offer (Smit et al., 2011). This was confirmed as teachers acknowledged that teaching in a racially-integrated environment had allowed them to question and confront their prejudices relating to different cultures.

Smit et al. (2011) confirmed that, by placing the necessary value on diversity, individuals affirm that differences are valued and viewed as an asset. It was found that learners generally

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valued difference by acknowledging that they were not trying to be the same. Barkman and Speaker (2012) referred to the approach of valuing diversity as an asset which recognises, respects and promotes the uniqueness of diversity. The majority of Black learners were found to demonstrate this by valuing their differences and placing importance on maintaining their cultural uniqueness. As South Africa matures into a functional democratic society, it becomes more diverse as a consequence. Teachers and learners in racially-integrated schools must, therefore, learn to value differences in the classroom by using diversity as a tool to promote racial integration. Valuing diversity in schools simply means the recognition and appreciation that all learners are unique and different. Their differences could consist of their reading level, athletic ability, cultural background, personality, religious beliefs, and language proficiency. Diversity has always existed in the classroom but, in South Africa today, it has become essential to embrace it and make positive use of it when teaching. Valuing diversity in schools means that teachers are able to accurately observe and interpret the culturally-diverse behaviours of learners and create a classroom atmosphere that encourages contact between learners of different races. According to Alexander And Mpisi (2014), teachers in racially-diverse classrooms needed to establish a classroom atmosphere of acceptance, where learners value difference and are expected to achieve success, irrelevant of race.

Guion (1991) defined diversity as "a mosaic of people who bring a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, styles, perspectives, values and beliefs as assets to the groups with which they interact". Although results revealed that participants were generally aware of the benefits associated with valuing diversity, participants were found to experience difficulty in fully implementing and utilising diversity as an asset. Smit et al. (2011) stated that diversity will be utilised as an asset if it is seen as being both desirable and beneficial to the individual. The practice of valuing diversity, according to Rasmussen (1996), will only be applied by individuals once it becomes something about which all people care and support.

5.2.4 The role of the school as microsystem of society

The ultimate purpose of schools, according to Nkomo and Vandeyar (2009), is to prepare learners to function successfully in the real world. Schools, according to Nkomo and Vandeyar (2009), are presented with the important task of instilling democratic values and potentially preparing learners to become valuable contributors to South Africa's economic

and social development. Results supported this view, as teachers implied that schools served the vital function of shaping learners to potentially become valuable citizens of a diverse global society. According to Vandeyar (2010), schools are "microcosms of society at large" and face the important task of surpassing the challenges which are commonly associated with institutional and educational reform. This was displayed in the participants' acknowledgement of the importance of diversity and in their general belief that a racially-integrated school environment provided them with the necessary skills to become valuable and productive citizens of a changing society. This was found to replicate findings by Barkman and Speaker (2012) who stated that diverse experiences taught individuals to endeavour towards becoming valuable and essential members of a multicultural and democratic society. Ramsamy (2007) further emphasised the value of racial integration by regarding diversity as an essential building block in the development of a new South Africa.

Results suggested that schools were showing promising signs of racial integration among learners, although it remained clear that explicit visible signs of change would take time. Previous findings by Phatlane (2007) confirmed a similar process. According to O'Connor (2007), racial integration among learners was a dynamic, on-going process and was one that should be embraced.

Jansen (2009) raised awareness that schools were possibly the only environment in which racial integration among younger generations was ensured as society, in general, remained rigidly segregated. Nkomo and Vandeyar (2009) agreed with Jansen and placed importance on the valuable opportunities that schools offer in promoting social cohesion. Teachers believed that a common school identity was a vital element in integration as it provided learners with a united sense of identity and pride. However, they felt that the traditional school identity, relevant to White learners of the past, provided a united identity because it was based on important fundamental values by which the school was positively identified. Research conducted by Viljoen and Van der Walt (2003) rejected such a notion and stated that a united school identity will only be upheld if it represented the social, cultural, racial and religious diversity of the learners it represents. A shared school identity is, therefore, considered to be a vital component of racial integration, as it provides a common identity relative to all learners. If schools are to successfully promote racial diversity, implementation of a newly-formed school identity can no longer be ignored.

The participants in this study projected a positive attitude when asked how they felt about the future of education in South Africa, and believed that, in time, the aspirations of democracy, as depicted in the image of a rainbow nation, will become a reality. Schools as microcosms of society need to acknowledge the existence, uniqueness and relevance of the diverse views and experiences of learners if they are to successfully prepare learners for becoming valuable citizens of a changing society.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, the qualitative results were presented and discussed. The teacher and learner results were presented according to four main themes which highlighted the most significant results relating to the experiences and perceptions of diversity among teachers and learners in racially-integrated schools, namely: Understanding and perceptions of diversity; challenging experiences related to diversity; factors which influence reactions to diversity; and the school environment as platform for integration. The combined results relating to teachers and learners were then discussed under the following headings: Perceptions and understanding of diversity; the challenges related to managing diversity and integration; approaches to diversity and integration; and the role of school as microsystem of society. These were presented in relation to relevant theoretical perspectives and previous research studies and literature in the field.

CHAPTER 6

KEY FINDINGS, LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

The current research study will be concluded by providing a summary of the most significant findings which were presented in the previous chapter. The limitations associated with this study will be discussed and recommendations for future research relating to experiences and perceptions of diversity among teachers and learners in racially-integrated schools will be provided.

6.1 Summary of the most significant findings

Although teachers placed more emphasis on "sameness" than the learners did, both teachers and learners claimed not to see colour. The significance thereof lies in the fact that teachers perceived colour blindness as a way in which to promote racial equality. All the teachers were found to be naïve to the consequences of this approach. The effect was reflected by learners who felt that their race and culture were often ignored, which suggested that this could be a direct consequence of this approach. The majority of Black learners felt as though they were losing the uniqueness of their cultural heritage. This could possibly relate to the fact that Black learners, in particular, showed a greater sense of pride relating to cultural identity, beliefs and traditions compared to learners of other racial groups. The majority of Black participants displayed a stronger cultural identity when compared to other racial groups.

It is evident that cultural differences, according to teachers and learners, were considered to be significant factors contributing to the challenges associated with racially-integrated schools. The majority of teachers seemed to have limited knowledge on dealing with issues resulting from racial diversity which created the suspicion that teachers were still teaching as if the learners in the classroom were from the same culture.

Stereotyping experienced by learners was considered to be relevant to the challenges which they experienced as they felt that they were judged according to misconceptions based on race. The majority of learners tended to stereotype their own racial groups more positively,

with the exception of the Coloured learners. Stereotyping was particularly prevalent within the Coloured community. Learners experienced criticism from within their own community, which seemed to have a profound effect on them; more so than from individuals belonging to other racial groups. Labelling was predominantly experienced by Black and Coloured learners from within their own racial groups. Subtle forms of racism were experienced by the learners, although all participants claimed not to be racist. White learner groups reportedly felt that accusations of racism made against them were often used as an excuse by Black and Coloured learners not to conform to school rules.

Teachers and learners expressed similar views relating to racial integration at school. It was clear that learners tended to segregate into their respective racial groups, which suggested that limited amounts of racial integration were taking place. Learners were expected to accept the historic culture of the school; Black and Coloured learners felt that the school had done little to accommodate their cultural diversity. This could explain why integration had not been successful. Teachers, learners and parents experienced great difficulty in coping with the inevitable reality of a changing school environment; parents were identified as experiencing the most difficulty in this regard. Teachers and learners considered the influence of parents to be an important factor which restricted racial integration among learners. Black learners revealed that, although they did not always agree with the views expressed by their elders, they felt obliged to respect the ways which had been taught to them. Although teachers implied that learners were not directly affected by a changing school environment, all learners experienced difficulty in coping with change. Black learners experienced disunity between the culture of the school environment (Western influences) and home (traditional influences). Learners found themselves at a crossroads, which represented two conflicting worlds, resulting in confusion for the majority of learners, excluding the White groups.

Language was presented as a major challenge by both teachers and learners. Teachers considered language to be one of the main aspects which affected integration among learners. Learners reported that the use of African languages in the classroom resulted in conflict situations as it creates feelings of distrust among learners. Despite the challenges experienced by learners pertaining to language, they considered being educated in English as a necessity as it was perceived to be a relevant factor in ensuring future success.

All participants agreed that a racially-integrated school environment provides learners with essential skills which would benefit them in the future. Teachers felt that school integration provides learners with a chance to experience being part of a community which shares a common identity, despite their differences. Learners agreed with teachers concerning the potential benefits of attending a racially-integrated school. Some learners added that there would always be segregation regardless of time, understanding, culture or race because individuals were different. Teachers claimed that it had forced them to confront their own prejudices and beliefs relating to different racial groups.

Despite the challenges presented, progress is being made, but the process of transformation is slow and still has a long way to go. Teachers need to create a climate in the classroom that exceeds racial and cultural boundaries by valuing difference. Schools need to create the foundation for change, by revisiting out-dated policies and practices which continue to impede racial integration among learners. Schools face an enormous challenge in preparing learners for a diverse global economy.

6.2 Limitations of the study

Limitations, according to Patton (2002), are inherent to all research studies and include characteristics of design and methodology that influence the application and interpretation of the findings. Several factors that may have influenced the findings of this study will be acknowledged and discussed in the following section.

Focus group discussions provided a platform by means of which participants were able to share their experiences and perceptions in a group setting. Despite the benefits, the use of focus groups could also be considered as a limitation as participants might have been reluctant to share in-depth personal experiences and perceptions due to the presence of others.

A limitation, concerning the validity of the findings, relates to factors associated with the language proficiency of the participants. All the focus group discussions were conducted in English, which is not the mother tongue of the majority of the participants. It is possible that this could have affected the participants' understanding and interpretation of the questions asked. In addition, the intended meaning of the participants' viewpoints could possibly have

been misinterpreted during analysis due to the difficulty associated with articulating experiences in a second and, in some cases, third language.

The sample size does not allow for the generalisation of the results although data was collected until saturation was reached. The researcher had limited control over the selection of the participants, as well as their prior experiences relevant to the phenomenon of diversity. These research findings can, therefore, not be applied to all teachers and learners in racially-integrated schools but only to the participants involved. A female learner in Focus Group Five (Black) better represented the Coloured community as she had a Black father and a Coloured mother. She elected to be part of the Black group because most of her friends were Black. Her views tended to cause confusion during the analysis of data as her perspectives were found to be representative of the Coloured community in which she lived. The necessary adjustments in interpreting the data were implemented.

It is acknowledged that the researcher's personal beliefs, values and viewpoints could have influenced the response and interpretation of the experiences and perceptions of participants during focus group discussions. Interview bias is considered due to the fact that group discussions were conducted by the researcher who is a White female. The depth of the experiences and perceptions shared could have been influenced due to the sensitive nature of issues involving race and culture. The teachers who represented the schools which took part in the study consisted of predominantly White female teachers. Although the teacher focus groups were representative of the teacher population, no male teachers were represented in the sample. Similarly, only four male learners were represented in the focus group sample. Of the ten learner focus groups, which consisted of six participants per group, only four of the 60 learners were male. It was generally found that the male participants were reluctant to share their views, which could be due to the fact that they were included with female learners or that the researcher was female.

6.3 Recommendations for future research

It is suggested that future studies direct the focus of their research at specific issues relating to the various challenges faced in racially-integrated schools. Culture, race and social class are constructs which, according to Lemmer, Meier and van Wyk (2006), are used to differentiate

between the majority of groups in South African society. Teachers lack a general understanding of the characteristics of culture, race and social class which, according to Alexander (2011), influence their interaction with learners of different racial groups. Further research is necessary to consider these characteristics as teachers and learners represent different groups at the same time.

The role of learner identity is suggested as a focal point for future research studies as limited research studies on this topic were found. Vandeyar (2008) revealed that further research which identified the ways in which learner identities were "framed, challenged, asserted and negotiated within the dominant institutional cultures of former White schools" had been neglected and therefore required further investigation.

It is suggested that further research be directed at exploring the reluctance of schools to employ teachers of colour. This, and other relevant studies (Alexander & Mpisi, 2014; Jansen, 2004; Meier & Hartell, 2009; Soudien & Sayed, 2004), have continued to show that teachers do not represent the diversity of learner populations in schools. Jansen (2004) ascribes this practice to racialised ideas of Black incompetence. Research aimed at the experiences of Black and Coloured teachers, relating to employment opportunities in former White schools, needs urgent investigation.

Although many research studies focus on the experiences of teachers in racially-integrated schools, there seemed to be a lack of research focused exclusively on the experiences of learners. Studies, which investigate the experiences of White learners, especially ascribing to the notion of 'White flight', could expose relevant factors which prevent racial integration in schools from taking place in the future.

It is further suggested that research studies investigate the experience of parents relating to their perceptions of racial and learner integration in schools. Further research could determine the degree of influence that parents have on the racial integration of learners and, in so doing, initiate interventions aimed at parent education relating to perceptions of race and culture.

6.4 Conclusion

Schools are considered to be responsible for adequately preparing learners for the reality of living in a racially-, ethnically-, socially-, and culturally-pluralistic world. Although the value of diversity should be highlighted, it would be naïve to ignore the challenge which accompanies it. Where diversity is present, there will always be the threat of inter-group tension, discrimination and stereotyping. Diversity in schools is a reality which is only going to increase, and learners of different races, ethnic and cultural groups can potentially enrich the future of our country. Schools share the responsibility of finding ways in which to respect the diversity of learners, fostering a culture that appreciates diversity, and forming a unified future society.

The challenges which teachers and learners faced in racially-integrated schools were found to be consistent with previous research findings. The ignorance associated with the negative effects of the colour-blind approach suggested a limited understanding of cultural diversity. The greatest threat to diversity was found to be the potential loss of the uniqueness of African culture as learners conform to the pressures of fitting in to a Western culture. Segregation and racial grouping of learners suggested limited racial integration. The difficulty of adapting to a changing school environment was apparent with language presented as a major challenge which affected integration among learners. Despite the challenges, indications of progress were visible as the potential benefits of attending a racially-integrated school were highlighted. Focus must be placed on equipping learners with the necessary skills to become valuable citizens of a diverse global society. Schools are considered to be a microcosm of society and, therefore, require the updating of dysfunctional policies and practices and, in so doing, discredit and disregard the practice of assimilation.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A
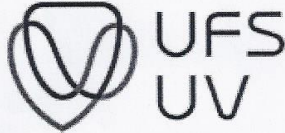
PROOF OF REGISTRATION

CL SLABBERT

2009044393

Module	Class	Term	Description	Campus
1830-Magister Artium: Dissertation				
SIL700	13072	2014 Sem 1	Masters Dissertation	MAIN : BFN

Language of Education: English

It is your responsibility as student to ensure that the information on this document is correct.

Last date for cancellation of modules:
- 15 February 2014: First Semester and Year Modules
- 15 August 2014: Second Semester Modules

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Appendix B

education
Department of
Education
FREE STATE PROVINCE

2011 – 06 – 15

Ms. C.L. SLABBERT
P.O. Box 28218
Danhof
BLOEMFONTEIN
9301

Dear Ms Slabbert

REGISTRATION OF RESEARCH PROJECT

1.   This letter is in reply to your application for the registration of your research project.

2.   Research topic**: Experiences and perceptions of diversity in racially integrated schools.**

3   , Your research project has been registered with the Free State Education Department.

4.   Approval is granted under the following conditions:-

4.1   The learners participate voluntarily in the project.

4.2   The name of the school and participants involved remain confidential.

4.3   The questionnaires are completed and the **interviews are conducted outside normal tuition time**.

4.4   This letter is shown to all participating persons.

4.5   A bound copy of the report and a summary on a computer disc on this study is donated to the Free State Department of Education.

4.6   Findings and recommendations are presented to relevant officials in the Department.

5.   The costs relating to all the conditions mentioned above are your own responsibility.

6.   **You are requested to confirm acceptance of the above conditions in writing to:**

         The Director: STRATEGIC PLANNING, POLICY AND RESEARCH, Old CNA Building, Maitland Street, BLOEMFONTEIN, 9301

We wish you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely

FR SELLO
DIRECTOR: STRATEGIC PLANNING AND POLICY AND RESEARCH

Appendix C

Tel: 051 404 9283
Fax: 051 404 9274
E-mail: research@edu.fs.gov.za

2011-06- 15

Mr M.J. Mothebe
Director: Motheo Education District
Private Bag X20565
BLOEMFONTEIN
9300

Dear Mr Mothebe

NOTIFICATION OF A RESEARCH PROJECT IN YOUR DISTRICT

Please find attached copy of the letter giving **Ms Slabbert** permission to conduct research in sampled schools in the Motheo Education District. Ms Slabbert is unemployed and is studying for Masters in Psychology with the University of Free State.

Yours sincerely

**FR SELLO
DIRECTOR: STRATEGIC PLANNING, POLICY AND RESEARCH**

Directorate: Strategic Planning, Policy & Research; Old CNA Building, Maitland Street, Private Bag X20565, Bloemfontein, 9300 – Tel: 051 404 9283 / 9275; Fax: 051 404 9274 – E-mail: research@edu.fs.gov.za

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Appendix D

The School Principal

BLOEMFONTEIN

Dear

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Title of the study: Experiences and perceptions of diversity amongst teachers and learners in racially-integrated schools

Researcher: Claire Slabbert

Supervisor: Dr Luzelle Naude

I am currently registered at the University of the Free State undertaking my Master's degree in psychology. My research study is entitled *Experiences and perceptions of diversity amongst teachers and learners in racially integrated schools.* The study focuses on exploring experiences and perceptions of diversity, amongst teachers and learners, within racially integrated high schools. English medium, model C schools within the Motheo District are the target schools.

The general purpose of this study is to develop a deeper understanding of the experiences and perceptions of heterogeneous individuals, relating to the prominent phenomenon of diversity. The value of this will be found in the essential recognition of diversity within a unique South African context, as well as its potential impact on teaching and learning. This study will contribute to the development of diversity as an essential resource in a racially integrated school environment, where perceptions and experiences are considered as true reflectors of a future societal culture.

Research procedure: The potential participants will be purposefully selected to ensure a fair representation of all racial groups within the selected population. These participants will then be required to participate in informal discussions, known as focus groups, which will consist of between 6 and 8 individuals. The discussions will take place at a time best suited to the participants, and should take no longer than 40 minutes per group. A semi-structured approach will be utilised within these groups with the focus of the discussion being on

gaining information on the experience and perception of diversity within a racially integrated school. All group discussions will be recorded.

Confidentiality: Participation in this study is confidential; the identity of the participants and the school involved will be protected. All names will be replaced by the use of codes in the transcription as well as the final dissertation. Participation is voluntary and participants reserve the right to withdraw at anytime during the research process. All information gathered will be used solely for the purpose of this research study. All research material will be securely stored under the strict control of the researcher at all times.

Potential risks and benefits: It is unlikely that any participant will experience physical, psychological or social harm by partaking in this study. No individual is expected to benefit directly from participation in the study and no individual feedback will be provided. No remuneration will be offered for participation.

Contact person: Should you have any questions regarding this study you are invited to contact me on my cell phone, 082 5556 426 or to send an e-mail to claireslabbert@yahoo.com.

Attached, please find a copy of my research proposal for your perusal, as well as the necessary consent forms and letters required. I look forward to your prompt and favourable response to this request. Upon receipt of such, I shall schedule an appointment with you to further discuss the practical details, as well as to address any questions which you might have concerning this study.

Yours sincerely

Claire Slabbert

Appendix E

Information letter for teachers, learners and parents

Dear Learner/Parent/Teacher

You are hereby invited to participate in a research study which is to be conducted at your school. I am currently registered at the University of the Free State undertaking my Master's Degree in psychology.

Title of study: Experiences and perceptions of diversity amongst teachers and learners in racially-integrated schools

Purpose: The general purpose of this study is to develop a deeper understanding of the experiences and perceptions of heterogeneous individuals, relating to the prominent phenomenon of diversity. The value will be found in the essential recognition of diversity within a unique South African context, as well as its potential impact on teaching and learning.

Confidentiality: Participation in this study is confidential: the identity of the participants and the school involved will be protected. All names will be replaced by the use of codes in the transcription as well as the final dissertation. Participation is voluntary and participants reserve the right to withdraw at anytime during the research process. All information gathered will be used solely for the purpose of this research study. All research material will be securely stored under the strict control of the researcher at all times.

Potential benefits: No individual is expected to benefit directly from participation in the study and no individual feedback will be provided to them. No remuneration will be offered for participation. Potential benefit will be gained by developing an increased understanding of teachers and learners experiences and perceptions on diversity within racially integrated schools.

Your role in the study: If you agree to take part in the above mentioned study, you will be required to participate in focus groups consisting of 6-8 learners/teachers. These discussions will focus on your experiences and perceptions relating to diversity within your school environment. The discussions will be recorded by audiotape to ensure an accurate transcription of the information.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you will be free to withdraw at any time. Every attempt will be made to keep your participation confidential. You will not incur any additional costs, nor will you receive any reimbursement or remuneration for your participation in the study.

Should you have any questions, I can be contacted on cellular number 082 5556 426 or via e-mail claireslabbert@yahoo.com. I will be happy to provide any additional information which you may require. I look forward to meeting with you.

Yours sincerely

Claire Slabbert

Appendix F

CONSENT FORM FOR LEARNERS/TEACHERS/PARENT

Contact person: Claire Slabbert
Cell number: 082 5556 426
e-mail: claireslabbert@yahoo.com

Title of Research Study: Experiences and Perceptions of Diversity amongst Teachers and Learners in Racially-Integrated Schools

I hereby agree to partake in the above mentioned research study. I have been provided with the necessary information and have had the opportunity to ask any questions which have been answered to my satisfaction.

I am aware of the fact that the group discussions will be recorded and I understand that it is my right to withdraw from this research study at any time.

Name of	Date
learner/teacher..	....
Signature of learner/teacher	Signature of parent (in case of learner)
....	....

I look forward to meeting you. Please feel free to contact me at any stage regarding the above.

With thanks

Claire Slabbert

Appendix G

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Title of research study: Experiences and perceptions of diversity amongst teachers and learners in racially-integrated schools</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">STAFF MEMBER (Teacher)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Position held :</td><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Grades taught :</td><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Subjects taught :</td><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Years teaching experience :</td><td>1-10 years</td><td>11-20 years</td><td>More than 20 years</td></tr>
<tr><td>Years employed at current school :</td><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Home language :</td><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Gender :</td><td colspan="1">Male</td><td colspan="2">Female</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ethnic group :</td><td>African</td><td>White</td><td>Coloured   Indian</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">Other Please specify:</td></tr>
</table>

BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Title of research study: Experiences and perceptions of diversity amongst teachers and learners in racially-integrated schools

LEARNERS			
Age:			
Home language:			
Language of instruction:	English		Afrikaans
Years at current school:			
Gender:	Male	Female	
Current grade:	grade 9	grade 10	grade 11	grade 12
Ethnic group:	African	White	Coloured	Indian
	Other Please specify:		

FOCUS GROUP TRANSCRIPTIONS

Group 1

Researcher:	What is your perception of diversity as a teacher or educator in a racially integrated school? When you hear the word 'diversity', what does it mean to you?
Teacher:	To me diversity means people from different cultures from different racial groups and working together in a certain environment. I understand diversity.
Teacher:	The different culture groups working together, yes.
Researcher:	Do you agree?
Teacher:	Yes, I also agree with that including the different religions and cultures.
Researcher:	Your experiences of integration within a classroom situation, both positive and negative experiences: things that perhaps stand out in your mind, challenges perhaps.
Teacher:	The challenges that I had is that if you have a mix in a class of different cultures, you find that there are a lot of clashes between the Whites and then we have to solve that. Every time they fight, only to find out it is because of the cultures and racial issues.
	Even though we know that we are past the apartheid but there are certain things that we are still experiencing between these learners.
Researcher:	May I ask your perception of what those issues could be?
Teacher:	There is a lot.
Teacher :	Everyday issues really and sometimes more extreme issues in everyday life and how you perceive things to be and how you like things to be are differences in how we like to do things.
	The children sort of, you know, come into conflict at times with that because they have preferences according to our cultures, just like adults.
	And then sometimes different perspectives because of their different backgrounds, in my class. It differs, every culture's background differs and I think that's what clashes with them, they want something done in this way and exactly what she said, ja.

And I think also the language barrier between, so I have Chinese learners in my class and they can't understand English very well. Now I must teach that and they are not on track with that and that's a barrier as well. And the kids don't want to like work with them because they don't understand, they don't want to cook with them, because I do the Consumer studies, they don't want to cook with them maybe because they don't understand. That's also a problem.

Researcher: Ok. You have identified languages and also different cultural groups, their backgrounds as such. As educators, is there any specific positive way you've been able to deal with that kind of conflict or is it something that's difficult to deal with or that you haven't yet found a way of dealing with?

Is there something positive we can learn out of your experience with this conflict within the classroom?

Teacher: For me it's that differences don't have to be a threat. It's sort of a good place to learn that differences can sometimes impart your personal development.

We try to bring that across in the classroom as well but educators are fortunate if they're in a certain school, where I think in our case for me personally, its nice to be in a school like Brebner because the school has an identity and the kids, whether what colour they are and what background they come from, rich, poor, doesn't matter because they're all Brebnarians.

And I think a lot of educators grasp, hold onto that because if a child comes with 'I'm this, I'm coloured and that's why I don't like you', the first thing I do in my class is remind them they asked to be in Brebner and here we are all the same. We all at Brebner and fall into the Brebner rules and the Brebner identity.

So for me that's a source of positivity, is teaching kids that you're aloud to have differences within a school but even though we have differences, we are all still part of the same school, the same identity, the same way of doing things as a Brebner learner.

Researcher: Has the culture ethos of the school adapted to the different cultures that are now within the school or has it remained the same, the way it was when it was probably 90% white?

Teacher: I don't know if maybe anyone of us is qualified to answer that because like myself when I got here, there we really a few whites. Because I remember the only white kids that I talked, was I think 5 years ago and they have only 3 in that particular class. So I haven't had that

experience of like maybe when they are mainly whites. So it has mainly Negros, Chinese and Coloureds.

Researcher: Have you in the last couple of years had that the white children diminished or has it remained a constant?

Teacher: I think theirs diminished.

Teacher: Ja, it went down.

Researcher: Really?

Teacher: A lot, yes.

Teacher: The results are a certain increase there are no white kids.

Researcher: What would your perception of that be? What would your reasoning of that be?

Teacher: It's just my opinion.

Researcher: Yes, that is what we want.

Teacher: I don't know but I think like maybe there are like parents, parents come from a different dispensation, you can say whatever we want but it is true that they come from a different dispensation.

And the fact is that they are not really free with this rainbow nation, they still have like some reservations. Like when more blacks are coming to the school they tend to take their kids away because they do not really understand this new rainbow nation and everything else. So they don't want their children to be in a school that is predominantly black children. That's what I think.

Researcher: In your opinion, what do you think the reasoning would be, that besides the fact that you said because of background but why would their background influence why they wouldn't want their children to integrate?

Teacher: I think sometimes it's just like, it is hard to embrace change or it is hard to embrace change. There is some sort of certain uncertainty about changes or whether it will be positive or what.

So it's still like maybe better off not being able to trust each other, they are living in the fear of the unknown. I think mainly that is the reason that maybe they are taking their children away, you don't to like, let me say, experiment with that change.

Researcher: In your opinions, would they be doing their children justice in doing that? In your opinion, you have touched on that, what are benefits of

integrating our children now on a school level, what would be the benefits of it now? Why should we be so interested in integrating our children?

Teacher: Ja, I think it's a very good thing 'cause I was in a school that was like integrated fully, so I grew up with all the different cultures. I became friends with all the different cultures and I think that is a very good thing 'cause you must go into life knowing everyone, working with every one.

There is no job situation anywhere in the world that you are not going to work with different cultures, so you can't keep it that way. You can't be in that little bubble of 'I don't have to be with anyone else,' you must work with everybody, every different culture. I think it's a great benefit to get to know the different cultures, to get to know their traditions.

We do that in my class as well because we touch on that, on religions and cultures in Consumer studies and then the children stand up, they say 'This is my culture, that's what I believe in' and then the learners they get to know each other. They become closer and closer because they know that's why you do that, because it's your culture and now I understand, I don't get angry, understand.

That's why I do this and that's why I do this, I think it's a very good thing that you get to know everyone else. You get to understand and that takes the conflict out of every working situation. Just understand them.

Teacher: Also to add on to that, I think like they are also depriving their children of finding out that, besides all these things of culture and everything, underneath we are all people and there are more similarities than differences because that is what I have discovered from my colleagues.

Because when I first came here to Brebner, I was coming from a Blacks only school, so I have learned such a lot since I've come to this school by, you know, interacting with my colleagues, my white colleagues and so on.

I've come to understand that underneath everything we are all people, the similarities, you know, they far outweigh the differences between us. So I think that they are, you know, denying their kids the chance to find out that we are all people. So I think that is the benefit that children get from integration that
underneath, besides our all, they are just superficial, the differences but the similarities far outweigh the differences.

Researcher: Can you perhaps expand a little bit of on your experience when you first came or your thoughts then, opposed to now? I mean, how did you

	feel when you first, coming from teaching in an all Black school, to well, having colleagues of different colour.
Teacher:	Initially I was a little bit reserved, it was not easy like, to talk to my colleagues of different colour. Like maybe it would only, I would only talk to them maybe like, work related things but as time went on, I realised that we are the same and now I can talk to them even about personal stuff, my own personal stuff.
	There are some of my white colleagues that I can talk to about such things like maybe my, my home situation, anything. There are some of them that I can really go to and talk to like even, when during the holidays, we even sent each other messages, you know, 'How are you, you are doing whatever…', ja.
	So, I was a little bit reserved, I did not know them and also having to grown up under that situation where there was this division that Whites are Whites and Blacks are Blacks and we had our own perceptions, you know like also, I don't know what to call them, this stereotypes, ja. Like Whites are like this, Blacks are like this and then I saw that no, you know, if you do not interact with people, you tend to hold onto to those stereotypes because you don't know.
	People are individuals and you cannot like, label people under, put them under the same label, they are different. They are the same, like in any culture. They are moody people, whether they are Black or White, they are, they are! There are people that are unfriendly irrespective of their colour.
	There are people that are, they are like, to make an example, there was one teacher, she left the end of last year. I used to love her, she was so loud and friends with everybody and she had this dry sense of humour you know, like in the mornings if you don't know her, you would be offended. Then she'll say, 'Hey Alexia. Have you heard about this Malema, your friend', whatever.
	And I used to love her because I knew that is the way she interacted with everybody but if you did not know her, you would be offended and that say she is a racist, which she was. She was just loud and that was the kind of person that she was, so you had to look behind the colour, look at the person, people are the same. It is just the stereotypes that we grew up with so that is what I have learnt since I have been here.
Researcher:	Wow, that's quite something! Is there anything else you want to add? You haven't even spoken to us! Is there anything else anyone wants to add?
	Perhaps, I'd also like to enquire a little bit about your thoughts about integration after school or in the classroom or on the school premises?

Do you find, you touched on the teachers now, I suppose you talk more from the teachers perspective, is the integration continuing after school time, in any way with the children that you're aware of or do they still tend to stick, predominantly to their own?

Teacher: In my experience, I have seen, although its not the majority of them, but there are some that still integrate like after school hours. Like, I think it was last year there was this Chinese boy, like I could see him walking around with some of his Black friends from the school, they were walking around. Then also Steven. Then after school, you see him walking around with some of his Black friends.

Teacher: They even go to the gym together.

Teacher: Ja, they go to the gym because they live in the hostel together as well and there they integrate I think. I live there so I see that, ja. Ja and go to the gym and movies and where ever together, the different cultures, ja. And maybe they have friends from different schools so I don't know.

Researcher: Do you as educated, how do you see the children? Like you said specifically in your class you have the Chinese group and the Black children and maybe Coloured children and what ever – will you treat them any differently beyond the language barrier thing?

             Would there be, do you still find yourself like you were saying, stereotyping people or have preconceived perception of their abilities, or?

Teacher: You have to treat them equal.

Teacher: Ja, I do, I tell them always. The learners specifically ask me, like when I started teaching here, they asked me why do I teach at a Black school, why don't I go teach, why do I choose this school. Then I said to them listen, I don't see anything, I see children in front of me that, like needs to learn and that's my passion to teach.

             So I see everyone the same way, I don't ja, we must treat them in the same way. Every single child in your class, if they are now poor or rich or clever or what ever the case may be, they are all the same in my eyes and I love each and every one. You come to love them so much 'cause you see them every day and ja, they are so close to me.

             I said to my Matrics just now, they are leaving mos now almost now, its like the last week and I'm so sad for telling them 'Listen, ja, you must go now and this is now our final day' and what and what and what.

	You get to love them and ja, I think I treat them all the same, every single learner that went through me, in this time that I've been here. Ja, I don't see a difference in them.
Researcher:	That's wonderful.
Teacher:	Even if you treat them the same, they learn to trust your situation.
Teacher:	Ja, they trust you yes. And if they get to trust you, they will trust you forever, mmm, ja, that's what I think. And they will do anything for you if they trust you and respect is a big thing also.

From my side, I'm working with little babies of the school, I'm working with the Gr. 8's and when I started, I was with the Gr. 10's and I went to the Gr. 8's and its quite a shift you have to make because they not only want an educator, they still in a little phase, they want a mom as well.

So for me, its like, I think I will be with my own children because every morning I give 10 or 15 little girls a hug and girls come to me with their private things and they come and talk about this boyfriend or that thing that is bothering them and you know, its not and here I am, a White teacher you know, but they feel comfortable enough as though I am their mom and they come and hug me and they come and tell me.

If someone's hungry I give them part of my sandwich. Its not as though, oh, you're Black, I can't share, you know. I don't see colour when I walk into my class. I see a kid that maybe has a bad home situation, that doesn't get enough attention or I see a kid that mom just died, I don't see the colour or where they come from, I see the situation.

Researcher:	Wow. Thank you so much.

Group 2

Researcher:	Okay, so, you are going to talk freely, see.
Learner:	Yes Miss.
Researcher:	Ignore the tape recorder as though its not even there. When someone speaks of the word diversity, what, what thoughts come into your mind, or what do you perceive diversity, the word diversity to be.
Learner:	Different races and colour and cultures, its just people of different backgrounds.
Researcher:	Everyone agree?

Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	And nobody differs?
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	No, okay. What are your experiences as learners been in a racially integrated classrooms, whether it be negative or positive, it doesn't matter. What experiences are sort of stuck in your mind?
Learner:	People think Coloureds are rough, no matter how you look, they always look at you like, mmm, 'So, do you walk around with a knife?', or something like that. So, its like they have this fear, so all the Coloureds basically stick together.
Learner:	So people basically judge you according to your race.
Researcher:	And do you find that amongst the learners or do you find that amongst the, mmm, teachers as well, that you judged?
Learner:	No, mostly among the learners.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Ok. That's interesting. Anybody want to add to that? Do you find any sort of preconceived conception of you?
Learner:	Yes, there is a lot of preconceived concepts about Coloureds out there. Specially, like she just said about the knives and stuff. The reason behind it is because Coloured people are not, they not really violent, it's just that we are a sort of people that when something happens and it doesn't suit us, we won't act violently but most of the time we not like that.
Learner:	We don't want to be ticked off, that's all.
Learner:	That's the whole point. And another experience that I've gone through, is communication problems with Black people to be specific. They also think that because you live in the Free State, Bloemfontein, specially, we all should speak their language. They don't want to accommodate us by speaking English because its too hard for them and that we should speak their language and they never want to accommodate us. So that's one of my experiences.
Researcher:	And in the, in a classroom situation, what language are you instructed in?
Learner:	In English.

Learner:	In English.
Researcher:	Okay. Only English in Brebner?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes, only English.
Researcher:	Okay, so…
Learner:	But among the learner there are always other languages. Like for example in class, there a lots of Sothos and Tswana people, so they speak Sotho and Tswana, when they communicate to each other. So when we speak Afrikaans to communicate with each other, they say 'No, no, no, don't speak Afrikaans, we don't understand the language, speak English, we all want to understand'. But when they speak their language, we don't say anything.
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	Ok, any other issues besides what they perceive you to be as a Coloured person or as a Black person, anything else? Any other issues to do with, with integration within a classroom?
Learner:	Mmm, Miss, I think with like our friends, we have a lot of Black friends, we learn about their backgrounds and what they do in their cultures and stuff like that.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Its quite interesting to them. Its like when you at school you learn to like um, talk to them about like what they do and stuff. So when like outside of school you can actually like associate yourself with different kinds of races.
Learner:	Yes and you can tell people what you learned from your friends at school.
Researcher:	How much are you learning from your friends? How much didn't you know or how much…
Learner:	A lot.
Learner:	A lot actually.
Researcher:	Is it!
Learner:	Ja.

Learner:	But then most of them are like, cause like our friends they aren't, mmm, really like Black-black, as most of them have moved away from traditions but some of the things they still like… ja.
Researcher:	Okay. And has that helped you to accept them by knowing more about them or not necessarily? Or knowing more about their culture and background and way of thinking.
Learner:	Yes, I think it has because umm, not only do we know more about each other, we can accept each other and know that this topic is maybe sensitive and we should just avoid it and you just know that this will offend this person so just stay away from it, side step it and step to other things to talk about.
Researcher:	And, and your experience being Indian?
Learner:	Uh, for me I mainly have English friends so, I'm not like exposed to many cultures or I don't know anything about a lot of cultures. But I do have one or two like Black friends but I, we find it difficult to relate to them because they come from, from uh totally opposite background compared to us. So, uh communication is like, a problem.
Researcher:	So, basically you don't have many friends within the school environment, most of your friends are outside of school?
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Am I right in saying that or not or do you have a lot of friends from school? Are a majority of your friends from school?
Learner:	From school.
Researcher:	Okay, okay.
Learner:	And Miss, one thing I've noticed is that all the racial groups basically stick together like, the Asian kids are together at break and the Indians are together, the Coloureds, they have their own little clicks. Everyone,…
Learner:	We are mixed. We have like, we have Coloureds, Blacks….
Learner:	Zulu, Zulus and but like if its Coloureds, then it will be Coloureds.
Researcher:	Now, now what makes what you saying different to what they're saying? Are you on different campus's?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No. We are on the same campus.

Researcher:	So, so, so why is it so different?
Learner:	I think its self preference. If you feel that you want to be with Black people, you can be with Black people. Because we all know that um, racism in this country is not over, we all know that. And there are a lot of Coloureds in this school, I'm not saying its all of us, but we don't, we all don't want to be with Black people. I don't want be with Black people and this other Coloured says I don't want to be with Asian people, other says they don't want to be with Indians. That, that's what its about. They feel that…
Learner:	So they prefer, to be around people of their race and they feel more comfortable with them.
Researcher:	May I ask why you as a person would not want to integrate with Black people as you state?
Learner:	No, no, no. I myself….
Researcher:	Oh you don't mind?
Learner:	No. No, I don't, I really don't mind.
Researcher:	Oh sorry, I thought you said you.
Learner:	I meant like in general, no.
Researcher:	Okay, okay so, okay let me rephrase that: why do you think there would be an issue with people not wanting to integrate? What, what would the underlying issue be?
Learner:	People don't understand each other, I think that's what it's about. If you speak, like especially with the languages, if you speak Sotho, I speak Tswana, you speak Afrikaans and when they come together as friends and really, we don't know a word of English, its going to be very hard for us to connect with each other. Maybe that's what it's about.
Researcher:	Have you got anything more to add to that?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	But uh, from my point of view what I've seen from Brebner now, as a whole, I think people, we like comfortable with who we are. We don't actually have limits to like, I want to limit myself to the Coloureds, I'm going to limit myself to see Indians. I mean I have friends that like….

Learner:	(Cough – sound interrupted)
Learner:	… and stuff and its like, to me its like I will be all over the place and stuff. From my point of view what I've actually seen in our camps and stuff, its like people actually mind mixing. You get Coloureds and Blacks that are close friends, you get Asians, Asians and some um Indians that are like close friends, think its like…
Researcher:	How much of a role do you think your background plays or, or the way you've been brought up or your parents influence, not on you specifically, on children in general, as to how much they integrate with one another?
Learner:	I think it has a lot, like moral values and stuff because if you gonna come from a background that's like violent or, then you'll most probably want to hang with those type of people. I mean then you wouldn't fit in with like the upper class background and stuff like that, so I think it does play a big role.
Learner:	Yes. I think your upbringing has a lot to do with who you are and what you believe in in the end of the day and also the type of people you associate yourself with.
Researcher:	Okay. Do you feel that your school has um, allows you to um, represent your culture within the school or does it, is it limiting you to, to be accommodated in their existing culture?
Learner:	I think the school really doesn't allow us to promote or represent the Coloured culture at all because like, I remember we had performance by a specific group here at the school and to be honest, most of them are Black on the stage. And not that I have something against all the people that were dancing but I mean, if we as Coloureds want to come up with something and put Coloured people on the stage, I don't think a lot of people is going to find that entertaining.
Learner:	Because basically the majority of the learners in the school are Black, so we are basically overpowered by them.
Learner:	If I want to have a Coloured Mardi Gras or anything like that, its not going to work because the people, most of the people are Black, so, that's what it is.
Researcher:	But, you feel you would want, you want your culture to be represented in whatever the school does, if it, if there is a musical or a play or a, you, you want your culture also to be represented and not just the dominant culture. Am I right, is that what you saying to me?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.

Researcher:	Okay. So you don't want your culture to overwhelm the entire school and you expect everybody to, to go towards your way of thinking – you would just like your place in the sun as well?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	kay. Um, how do you feel the teachers treat the different um, groups? Do you think they have stereotyped you or, or think of you as such before actually getting to….
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No Miss.
Researcher:	Not at all?
Learner:	Not at all.
Learner:	We don't get that, not at all. They, they treat us like normal people.
Learner:	All the same.
Learner:	All the same, doesn't matter what you look like or what, what colour you are.
Learner:	Ja, I would agree with that. The majority of the teachers don't do that but from my experience, specifically Gr. 8 and 9, a specific teacher has stereotyped against me. So I wouldn't mention any names but ja. But, funny Brebner is not like that.
Researcher:	No.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	And, and why do you think that's happened with that specific teacher? What, just your opinion?
Learner:	We didn't agree with each other, we never liked each other.
Researcher:	Do you think that comes from a personal clash or do you think it comes from a racial…?
Learner:	I would think a racial.

Researcher:	Do you feel it's from a racial standpoint?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Okay. Um, what else can we ask! Do you feel or how necessary do you think racial integration on a school level is for children? Do you think its important that we spend time researching and studying diversity and racial integration or do you feel it's a waste of time um, not important? What are your thoughts on that? How important is it to racially integrate?
Learner:	I think its important because I mean, then you like prepare yourself for work the real one day like, cause you know you might like go work overseas and stuff and you have to be with a lot of White people, a lot Black people. So I think its very important for us to like understand each other better that we can like develop a better future for all of us.
Learner:	I agree with what she said.
Researcher:	Do you agree?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes ma'am.
Researcher:	Any more, anything more you want to add, just about diversity or racial integration from any perspective? Nothing?
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	There's nothing more that, that worries you within a school about, or worries you or you think is great within a school perspective? May I ask how many White teachers opposed to teachers of colour there are on this teaching staff?
Learner:	The majority of the teachers are White.
Learner:	Are, are White.
Researcher:	And how do you feel about that? Is it an issue for you?
Learner:	No miss.
Learner:	No, not at all.
Researcher:	Would you prefer more of your own cultural group represented in the…?

Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Why, why?
Learner:	Because I just like them.
Learner:	Well I had like last year, we had a Maths teacher, he was Coloured but for us he didn't like teach like, he didn't give us the right education because he was always absent and stuff. But now we have uh, a White man that's giving us Maths and we doing much better.
Learner:	I, I also agree with that because if you have a Coloured teacher, you get too comfortable.
Learner:	Ja
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes. And a lot of chit chatting between the teacher and the learner because you from the same race. Whereas opposed to a White teacher, its not saying that you not going to talk to them or anything but there's more, there's more than learning process than what there is a joking and laughing and chit chatting to each other.
Researcher:	Do you think it's a, do you think it's a respect thing then or not? Just because you're more comfortable with someone of your own culture….
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	….is that what you're saying to me? So its not a, its not that you respect people from other cultures more than people from your own?
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Not?
Learner:	I wouldn't say so.
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	It's just that you feel more comfortable?
Learner:	Yes, around your own culture, around your race.
Researcher:	But wouldn't, didn't you think that would be beneficial?

Learner:	I feel uncomfortable about certain teachers because some of them come from a different background and then you come from another background. However, you can't understand the way they speak, uh, compared to the other person.
Learner:	Like um, pronounce.
Learner:	So you, ja, pronunciation is a very, is a very…
Researcher:	So once again language becomes a issue?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	Okay. You all finished?
Learner:	One thing I'd like to add more is um, this is an English medium school but we do have Afrikaans classes. And one thing I find amazing is that, when we in the, in Afrikaans class, there has to be English in the class. And that's our time as the Coloureds to speak our language but then the Black people take advantage of the White teachers and they know that okay fine we can't understand, they speak English again.
	But then how will a learner ever learn in that way because its an Afrikaans class, aren't we supposed to speak Afrikaans!
Learner:	Once like for example, you read a novel and basically every paragraph had to be translated into English to say okay, this is happening in the book now, this, this is what's happening, this person is doing this and this and this. Just so that the rest of the class can understand but I feel its unfair because when there's a Sotho class, they only speak Sotho and then when there's an English class they only speak English. So why can't it be the same with the Afrikaans class.
Researcher:	So you're saying that your Afrikaans being your first language is not taken as seriously as their first language?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes Miss.
Learner"	Yes.
Researcher:	Okay, all done?
Learner:	Yes miss.

Researcher:	Thank you so much.

Group 3

Researcher:	Oki doks. When we speak of the word diversity, what do you perceived diversity to be, what is your perception of diversity? What do you think of when you hear the word diversity, what does it mean to you?
Learner:	Well to me it means like there's no, there is no White, Black or Coloured, we just people. You know there's no classification, you Black and we all people, just that the pigments of our skin. Ja like, um I can be Black and she's, she's also Black but she's lighter so why is the other person called White and she's not, so we all just people, no Black, no White, no Coloured, whatever.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Okay for me its like the dictionary first, first the dictionary term comes to mind like, if I think diversity, I think okay, different is changing or if you diversify coming together or something. And then after that, after thinking then I'm like okay, diversity, then I start going okay race, Black, White, Asian, then I start thinking like that.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	Well, for me it's also the same. I think of it, the meaning u know…
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	…it's like the dictionary meaning, diversity. Differences, coming together, our country 'percifies' diversity in a good way 'cause our school first of all, 'cause we are different people, together, working together as a unit. So that's what I think.
Learner:	Ja, I also think so. Uh, its different cultures, different people coming together, doing something in a peaceful manner, you see.
Researcher:	Okay. Now that we've clarified what diversity is, differences amongst people, we, what are your experiences of diversity in a racially integrated classroom? What have your experiences been and when I talk of experiences, I talk of both the positive and the negative, we don't always want to look at what's bad about things. So your experiences of racial integration in a classroom, are there certain issues or certain problems, are there good things?

Learner:	Like, I could say like for example, let's like can I just refer to when I was in Gr. 1?
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	Like when I was in Gr. 1 like, my first friend, I was friends with her in pre-primary and everything, she was white. And then you know like, Black kids will be like, okay, you're dealing with the White chick, what's wrong with you like… the problem is she's my friend. And then like, when you get to, when you change schools, it's still the same thing. Even though you guys are like friends in class, she's different but then people are still going to be on some okay, she's White, whatever, whatever,….so
Learner:	We really don't see the problem there.
Learner:	Ee, exactly. You don't see the problem, they think its something different like….
Learner:	Its usually ignorant people who, who think such things you know, they don't know what's going on. Ja, that's what I think.
Researcher:	When, when you say ignorant people…
Learner:	I mean…
Researcher:	…you think people that, that don't understand…
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	…that haven't allowed….
Learner:	And they don't want to understand.
Learner:	Narrow-minded people.
Learner:	Ja, they narrow-minded.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	Well, I have to say that, in, in the classroom, okay well, being a multi-racial school, especially one like Brebner, has taught us to um, let's say…
Learner:	Accept.
Learner:	Accept.
Learner:	…no, other that accepting, like we embrace one another…

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Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	…differences right. 'Cause you are comfortable around being a Black person, being an Asian person and you guys can talk about race and its not going to be a sensitive topic…
Learner:	And offensive.
Learner:	…at all. Like, I'm Black, yes it's a Black thing: we make jokes about it.
Learner:	Exactly.
Learner:	We exaggerate a lot. Um, we together like that 'cause we just very comfortable around each other. And the one, but then the one thing I've noticed is that, regardless of how much we understand each other and how comfortable we are with each other, its just always going to be, we always going to be segregated in a way, in a classroom. The Chinese people there…
Learner:	The Black people
Learner:	…the Coloured people there.
Learner:	Even at break.
Learner:	At break we go like, there's this wall there…
Learner:	The Chinese.
Learner:	…we call it the great wall of China, that's where all the Chinese people chill, Asian people. And you know what I mean, things like that, its just like how it is and then, ja. But then we understand each other but we obviously we not gonna …
Learner:	We not going to push the subject.
Learner:	…we not pretending to be…
Learner:	Ja…
Learner:	….to be the same. We understand that we different, we embrace it. That's just how it is.
Researcher:	Wonderful.
Learner:	Very, it's not sensitive at all to talk about it.
Researcher:	And why, why do you, your opinion on why people still segregate to their own cultural groups?

Learner:	I think, my teacher once told me, she once told me um, its just natural, you know. Its not something that, you, its not like you, you going there because, its because you are like them. You come, its like having your own group of friends.
Learner:	Ja, a sense of belonging.
Learner:	Yes. Friends come together because of the same common interest.
Learner:	Exactly.
Learner:	They're together because that's their…
Learner:	They live the same.
Learner:	…they live the same, they understand each other on that level.
Learner:	They do the same, they do the same things.
Researcher:	Do you just find its, do you just find it's the Asian people that segregate?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	Everyone.
Researcher:	Everyone?
Learner:	Everybody.
Learner:	Even the Black people.
Learner:	Even the Coloureds…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	…will have their own group.
Learner:	But Indians, their…
Learner:	But sometimes the Coloureds also match up with the Black people.
Learner:	…ja.
Learner:	But we're just saying it's a common thing, that people group themselves according to their race.

Researcher:	And what are your feelings on that? I mean how do you feel about that, is, are you okay with that? Like your teacher says, it's a 'natural thing'…
Learner:	That you gonna work to….
Researcher:	… do you agree, do you believe it to be a natural thing?
Learner:	I don't.
Learner:	Ja, I don't either.
Learner:	I don't. I think its kind a, you know like when, when, when someone is racist, usually they taught to be racist, its like they grew up with it. But then it's the same, like if for example, my parents only chilled with Black people or something and then I chose someone else and they'll be on some, okay, but then your friends are supposed to be, they don't say it but they'll be like, aren't your friends supposed to be Black you know, like.
Learner:	Giving you a look and stuff, ja.
Learner:	Ja, I think its like…
Researcher:	So, so background and parental influence has…
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	… a huge influence on how much a child integrates, is that what you saying to me?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Its sort of being placed in your mind. You, you, you, you, you um, you, you grow up knowing it, like basically. So there are, there's that type of group and whatever. So obviously you um, you, you not, you, you don't, I don't, you, you not born with it for sure. 'Cause if you were born with it and you lived like that all your life, you wouldn't be able to differentiate between a White and Black and Coloured person or whatever.
Researcher:	Can I ask you something like off the record now that's not really relevant to my study but you as parents one day, would you continue with that?
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Or would you change in any way and why?

Learner:	Continue with?
Researcher:	With, with this, with this whole staying, sticking to your own?
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Because you Black you should have black friends, would you also, you can understand your parents' way of thinking.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yeah.
Researcher:	But do you think there's hope for our country going forward that the new generation will start….
Learner:	I think there is.
Learner:	Ja, there is.
Learner:	I think there is. Particularly because in other places like lets say in modernised, we in Free State, we not as modern as lets say Gauteng province. If you go there you can see, like literally people aren't segregated. I have my cousin is dating a White guy and my, you know, things like that. You can see that they're different to what we are 'cause we still have that mind set…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… Even though we, we've come to terms with the fact that we all a unit now but then we just grew up like. But as parent, I think as a parent, I would honestly raise my child the way I was raised 'cause you can even ask them, I'm like the, I don't see race. It's 'cause from a small age I literally, my first career was like an Afrikaner school, you know.
	So I was the only Black girl there ever was there and then I came to a school like Brebner where the majority of everyone else is Black but then you can relate to everyone on, on the same leve. Like, I will have a Chinese friend, I will have a White friend, I will have a Black friend. My Black friends won't chill with my Chinese friends but then I understand them on different levels. Its just…..
Researcher:	Do, do you integrate with those friends outside of school?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja. I do like, a lot.

Researcher:	So it, it, it carries beyond the school gates, your…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja. And its, and I don't think its about parents because my parents…
Learner:	Ja, me too.
Learner:	Exactly.
Learner:	My parents um, my parents grew, like maybe my parents grew up in a rural area right. They don't tell me listen, don't have White friends, don't have…
Learner:	Don't have Coloured friends.
Learner:	…. don't have Coloured friends. So the mere fact that they taking, they, they exposing me to each and every, its shows me that look, people are people and I won't have this stigma against anyone because I'm Black. I won't only want to be with Black people, I would only want to be with White people, you know.
Researcher:	But you, you don't think you're like that because your parents are like that?
Learner:	No, not at all.
Learner:	My parents…
Researcher:	Your parents allow you to integrate, that's why you integrate? If you come from a more conservative upbringing like um, a White Afrikaner upbringing, you're not allowed to associate with people of colour or with whatever or the Indians or the whatever, or you come from a very conservative Black family and what you want to do with that White child, you know what I'm saying to you?
Learner:	I think parents have a huge, play a huge role in that, ja. But when you grow up, you kind a have your own…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	…. views on life and you then you kind a realise that, but what you teaching is wrong.
Learner:	But to an extent, like parents influence you to an extent. Like for example, the parent will be like, don't be friends with this person, don't do that, don't do that but then you're thinking but why!
Learner:	But why!

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Learner:	But why, she's my friend. Because they don't give you that why, they just tell you.
Researcher:	What do you think you're opinion on why a parent would be against integration?
Learner:	Because of experiences.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes because honestly, um, our parents obviously, they're not democratic. We don't know how it feels to be in…
Learner:	We weren't there.
Learner:	… exactly, 'cause we're seventeen, we're the seventeen year of democracy.
Learner:	We were born in '94, so.
Learner:	Exactly.
Learner:	We're freedom babies, so.
Learner:	Exactly, so, our parents, maybe your parent doesn't want you to integrate with White family 'cause they know they've had bad experiences with White people.
Learner:	White people.
Learner:	Things like that.
Learner:	Some will even tell you not to be so close to Black people 'cause they know that Black people have that kind of mind set, they want that.
Learner:	Exactly, that narrow minded mindset.
Learner:	That, that's what I'm always…
Learner:	That's what they want to eliminate.
Learner:	Exactly.
Learner:	… that's what I'm, that's what I'm always asking my brother. He's always on that tip and I'm like, I wasn't there, I don't care, you know.
Learner:	Exactly, move on.

Learner:	A person is person. You, you, it, it, I wasn't there! I wasn't involved in any way, I was just born in the world as so happy you know. So its ja.
Learner:	But then with like my parents right, they were born in like that era and they experienced everything but then they still have White friends, my father speaks like great Afrikaans, like his got a lot of Afrikaans friends. And then, but then they don't, they don't really, they not racist, they not, they just embrace them, its like okay…
Learner:	Embrace change.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… ja. So I didn't stick to that mind set that you know what, okay White people are like this and they're going to treat me like this and you know what, my child has to be this way. She's going live this way, the way I tell her to live it. Its like okay, they went through everything but then they understand that you know, with this day and age, kids to interact, we do have different friends and they don't really have a problem with that.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Its like, they got over it.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	I've noticed too like, even when we were small and I would visit my White friend and they like we from a Boer town, you know those small, everyone is just very conservative. And now here your child is bringing a Black school from home, I mean a Black kid, a Black kid from school, right. And you, and what are you thinking as the conservative Afrikaner mom that just sits at home and bakes cookies you know. Things like that. Um, and then it be like their parents would see it as different obviously and you could like see it in their expression like, they don't treat differently…
Learner:	Differently, no.
Learner:	… its like, what everybody has come to acknowledge.
Learner:	But then even live like there is still hope for the future. Like, I really think there is hope for the future because…
Learner:	There is.
Learner:	… cause like with us we're normal but then like even in Brebner sometimes, you still see some kids who are on some…

Learner:	Exactly.
Learner:	… who they, you could say they're racist like, they could say…
Learner:	Like fairly racist.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	You see it, they, they're Black but then their mindset is so and you think like is it because their parents raised them that way or…
Learner:	Do you want it like that!
Learner:	… you want to believe that or you don't know what it is, you never really understand.
Learner:	Like, like in class, um, I have a Chinese friend um, we always taking pictures and she sometimes brings me food and stuff you know, their, their kind of food. And some girls will be like, why you eating that and stuff and I, I don't understand what's wrong with it, you know, ja. So there are people who are like that. I, I think, ja…
Researcher:	And why, why would you imagine you, you said now you can't understand it. Is there no reasoning…
Learner:	I can't…
Researcher:	… you can put to…
Learner:	I can't because you could say to some extent you can say your parents have an influence in like, they way you think…
Learner:	To a certain extent.
Learner:	… to a certain extent. But then you have your own mindset, your parents don't really brainwash you from the moment you're born. Maybe yes they will kind a, do brainwash you, but then…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… but then like the more you interact like, you're in Brebner for example, you're around all of these people like, surely after two years of being there, you do understand that okay, you understand what kind of people there are, you, you learn to understand that. You know there's different cultures, there's different things, there's you know, like even in Arts & Culture you're taught stuff like…
Learner:	From primary.

Learner:	… ja, you're taught about different cultures and everything. Even if you're taught that, you still stick to that like, it, I really don't understand that.
Learner:	I think I do understand.
Learner:	Its like you personally want to accept it…
Learner:	You don't want to.
Learner:	… its, its like a, a decision you make, like I'm not going to listen to these…
Learner:	I think that I, I honestly think, we know that there're people like that…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… those narrow minded people that just like that, if because of the background that they're from. Like, 'cause I know how, I know like, lets say the Black people like, I have friends like that, like I said I'm a very integratial person. I have friends like that, people like, 'Ah, you going with your White friends again, well you know', like 'Ah, those White people of yours, buh', they like, they on a tip like that. Its 'cause their, like where they're from, it's a Black area, Black people, they hardly integrate with any other races.
	Its not as if they choose no, lets just be against anybody, they just comfortable around themselves, they don't want to see any like, they never um, embrace differences you know what I mean. 'Cause my friends, it's not as if they hate people like…
Learner:	Ja, they don't hate.
Learner:	… they just wouldn't go and sit and like let's have a conversation, they like that. And its not only Black, like people, like those friends of mine, the majority of them lets say are from like township areas and stuff, not only that. I'm from a Boer town, like I said. Those people there, they are also like that, they like White people, like Black is uncomfortable. They just don't want to, they don't want to change.
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	Because, because perhaps, how important is learning about different cultures in changing your perception?
Learner:	Its very important.
Learner:	'Cause you, you sometimes, you have this misconception about something, you know. You think that whatever, okay lets say I have a Muslim friend, I, then something they doing in their culture is, is…

Learner:	They fasting and you don't understand why, it's different.
Learner:	…is, seems wrong to me. If I learn about it then I'll, I'll understand that oh, okay, I was wrong, I'm sorry. Uh, uh, instead of just you know, having that mindset all the time, not changing it, just sticking to that, not knowing whatever is going on in depth, you know. So it's important.
Researcher:	Do you think enough's been done in schools, do you, do you think we, that enough is been taught about different cultures? Are we allowing different cultural groups to express themselves enough in a school environment or are they all assimilated to function as they way the school is and that's just they way it is?
Learner:	I, I think schools allow us as individuals to find our own way of…
Learner:	Ja, exactly.
Learner:	… finding how, like you know, like learning about other cultures and they give us that opportunity to do that.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	They're not forcing us in a way that you going to put all the Coloureds and then put the Black people anywhere with the White people and then just close the door, they don't do that. They give us time and then they allow us…
Learner:	Your choice.
Learner:	… sometimes it's your own choice. In Arts & Culture use to teach us about different cultures, Muslims, Black people, White people, use to teach us. And then sometimes you find that you, you enjoy other peoples' cultures and you, you start going to that direction. You see like I, I enjoy the company of Coloureds…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	… most of my friends are Coloured, I enjoy them. Ja, I, I like how they speak, how they are, how they are proud of themselves, you see. Its not that I don't like Black people now, it;s just that…
Researcher:	No.
Learner:	… you see…
Learner:	Interested.

Learner:	… I'm interested, they are interesting to me, ja.
Learner:	I think the school does like, it does help but then I think they shouldn't stop, you know Arts & Culture, like stuff like Arts & Culture. 'Cause usually they stop teaching about other peoples' cultures in primary and I think like, when they get to high school like, then they should do it 'till like Gr. 12 or something. 'Cause, for example a person was taught that in primary but then its like…
Learner:	You hardly remember.
Learner:	… like, they don't remember, they, they don't care. In Gr. 8 and 9 they taught about it but then they don't go in detail. Its like, you not really forcing someone to know about it but then its like, the more you know, it, it'll be better for you to accept things. You know like because if you know more about stuff like, lets say you travel outside, its going to be easier for you to go, okay its hot here, they usually, they usually put whatever things there and stuff like, its, its easier to accept things.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	'Cause I just think the school does try but then I think there's more that can be done.
Researcher:	And do you say, and do you say with the, with the teachers you, you find them um, 100% committed to change and accepting of different cultures and allowing…
Learner:	I think that well, when, well I, when I came to Brebner, I had this, okay well I didn't have any perception on race, I'm not only you see. And then when I met the teachers, I was like wow, I've never met teachers so comfortable to talk about race, you know.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	'Cause in primary they would be uncomfortable just to talk about history when we get to that apartheid side, they like uncomfortable and shaking and then here its like, yes ooo and we have a teacher that, its like I'm Black you White, we embrace it, we know it.
Learner:	We joke about it.
Learner:	There's nothing, exactly, there's nothing…
Researcher:	Why, why do you think that is, why?

Learner:	I think, I know why – because ------- right, its, it we were the first school to accept Black people in right. Most of those teachers like I say, have been there, have been here since like, forever…
Learner:	Ja, like in the eight years and stuff.
Researcher:	Really?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… and they like, and, when, when Black people came in, a lot of things happened like maybe the school started changing, like it changed a lot. And, um, they like try to figure out things, you know, behaviour and stuff like that.
	I had a teacher that told me that, know like, 'cause I've see when the teachers talk to us, they something like 'No, you think, you think I'm racist, I'm not racist'. But, 'cause, she's encountered people like, lets say back in '96 and then someone says 'No, you're just doing this because I'm racist' and race was very sensitive back then.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	You know and it must have been like a big bomb to the teacher like 'Oh, I'm racist' and this is like…
Learner:	Sorry.
Learner:	… the new South Africa and the new rules…
Learner:	Feeling very guilty.
Learner:	…. the new constitution. A lot of things can be, you know and then they had to work past that…
Learner:	To entrust.
Learner:	… accept that and just try to be, um, on like just try to get along with people in, in the sense that, in the sense that, um, race isn't a matter.
Learner:	Ja. It's not an issue.
Learner:	Like, it isn't an obstacle, it's not an issue at all. 'Cause I've seen our teachers are very different, they, its like…
Learner:	We are all the same.
Learner:	… its like no, we understand, I know I'm White, I know you Black but its not a big deal, its…

Learner:	Its what I think.
Learner:	But I think its still going to take some time like, South Africa in general…
Learner:	In…
Learner:	Ja, its going to take a long time. Like, as much as we are like the born free generation and as much as we embrace culture, we like accept each other and all of that, I still think its going to take some time. Its going to take a very long time for us, for people like in general to accept things, for people to actually change, for people to see things differently, its going to take a long time.
	Its like, we have to work harder on it because for example, my cousin, like my cousin will only be like three years older than me, that's like not that far away from like '94. They do know what happened in the struggle, they do know everything about it but then they still have that mentality and its like you have to teach them like, you have to take your teachings and you have to tell them 'Okay, do you like think for yourself, is it really rational, is it really,' you know…
Learner:	Is it necessary.
Learner:	… ja, like, its going to take some time.
Learner:	I doubt that its going to, I, I doubt that racism will stop being an issue. I think like forever and ever and ever, there will always be…
Learner:	There'll always be a bad apple.
Learner:	There will always be that somebody.
Learner:	… there will always be racism. 'Cause racism doesn't only affect South Africa…
Learner:	Ja, its everywhere.
Learner:	… because of, 'cause of apartheid system, no…
Learner:	Its everywhere.
Learner:	… it's like literally everywhere. I think it was in, even in history racism has differences.
Learner:	Even with the, when Germany it was, it was an issue.
Learner:	Exactly.
Learner:	So…

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Researcher:	But, but, you know with, with globalisation and people now with inter-, interracial marriages and how are we when going to class race, you say race will always be an issue. But what about, how you going to classify race?
Learner:	Miss, like you once said to us that there's no Black, there's no White, we are all coloured because somewhere in your past…
Learner:	Mmm, you not…
Learner:	… there's going to be some, some mixed up…
Learner:	Mixed gene.
Learner:	Mmm, its true.
Learner:	… there's no White, there's no Black, we are all coloured.
Researcher:	How you going to classify a child of a Black man and a Chinese woman? How you going to…
Learner:	We call them 'Blackenese'.
Learner:	'Blackenese'.
Researcher:	Do they?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	But you, you know what I'm saying to you? Is, is, eventually in, in America, has already brought that about that you are classified as multi…
Learner:	Caucasian.
Learner:	Multiracial
Researcher:	… I don't know if it's multiracial or multicultural, I'm not sure, I think it's multiracial. But you not specified as Black…
Learner:	As Black or White.
Researcher:	White, Coloured, Indian.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	And my thinking in is, in, in many years to come obviously…

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Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	The majority of everyone's going to be like that.
Researcher:	Its going to have to. I mean in South Africa as well, its, its happening more and more often.
Learner:	Mmm, starting. In, in South Africa is going to be a really big problem because if a Black person let say, marries a White person, how are they going to speak their indigenous language to a White person? So now they're going to have to change their language to English…
Learner:	English.
Learner:	… so you see now. And then when you go back home with your husband, with your English and then they're going to think 'Oh my gosh'…
Learner:	You think you're better.
Learner:	Better than us.
Learner:	… you're better than us now with your English and you're teaching your children English because it's the, it's common ground in your relationship…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… so it's going to be a big issue
Researcher:	An issue because Africa's going to loose its 'Africa-ness'…
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja that's true.
Researcher:	… what makes it, Africa so unique and wonderful.
Learner:	Exactly.
Researcher:	That's very interesting. We actually going beyond what we need to do. I'm, I'm just asking you from, from a, a, a personal point of view, you know, how they youth of South Africa sees the future, which is fairly interesting I must say.
	I want to ask you one last question: do you feel with the teachers that age um, age is an issue? Do you find the teachers that perhaps were

	trained in the old school, in the apartheid years, opposed to the younger teachers, do you think they have a better understanding of, of racial interaction or like you said, some teachers have been teaching for many years and, and do you find there's a clear distinction or not? Do you think it all just goes about the person and the type of person and their commitment to….
Learner:	I don't see such a distinction 'cause the only difference I see is ok, difference between my Accounting teacher and my English teacher. My English teacher is very young, she's in her twenties and my Accounting teacher has been here for like 20, 28 years. And the only difference I see between them is like okay, we can talk about anything with our English teacher but so we, so can we do with our Accounting teacher. The only difference is I see her as a mother…
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	… ja, then there's no race issue…
Learner:	There's no big issue with race.
Researcher:	So you don't feel your old teachers that were trained in the apartheid years still have those ideologies or, or…
Learner:	Haven't witnessed that.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	'Cause we don't really even have old teachers anymore.
Learner:	Ja they just, there a few.
Learner:	There a few.
Learner:	A few.
Learner:	But I think there isn't a difference when you look at Ms. Lackey and you look at Ms. Martin's. There's not really much of a difference, they're the same it's just that she looks younger and she is older.
Learner:	She's younger and she's old.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	And we like literally satirise race now and…

Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… I sit in class and my teacher, my Life saving's teacher, he's like Afrikaner born and bred and we will laugh at that, at that last tin of viennas and he will take that thing and we like 'Ah, Afrikaner people' and he will laugh with us, its just you know. And then…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Its, its cool.
Learner:	…we talk about things, oh Julius Malema, oh that guy and we laugh, his accent, his, you know, its just, its not sensitive at all 'cause it, you embrace it, I'm Black and there's nothing to be ashamed of.
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	Exactly.
Researcher:	And do you, do you feel, do you feel that, that knowing more and, and integrating with people of different cultures, serve…
Learner:	Has made that…
Researcher:	…ja, is going to serve you well in the future obviously.
Learner:	Yes of course.
Learner:	Ja obviously.
Learner:	Its going to serve us really good.
Learner:	Like you still get people that uh only want to speak the African language and then they don't speak other languages because they don't want to because they might, people might think that they are, flipping over to the other side.
Researcher:	May I ask why you choose to be educated in English and not in your native tongue?
Learner:	'Cause English is a uni-, its, its…
Learner:	Its universal.
Learner:	… ja. You not going, lets say I get a job one day, I'm not going to speak…
Learner:	Speak Zulu now.

Learner:	… ja, speak Sesotho in a or if I travel overseas. Nobody, okay most people in South Africa for example, speak my home language but then what about the people in Europe. They don't even, perhaps some of them don't even know such a language exists, so I think its, its very um, I don't know its, its not, its, its necessary to, to learn in English if you want to broaden your horizon or ja.
Researcher:	You don't feel that perhaps you're forced to a certain degree…
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	… to, to learn in English when it's not your first language?
Learner:	There are schools that you can go to that are their own language so you don't have to come to an English school unless you want to, so its fine.
Learner:	But its logical to learn in English 'cause you going to work one day.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	And its not like we're leaving our…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… African language, we still speak it at home…
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	… with our friends.
Researcher:	But you don't think it would have been easier to learn in your…
Learner:	No.
Learner:	It wouldn't be easier.
Learner:	No way.
Learner:	No, no, no, no, no.
Learner:	Maths and Xhosa.
Learner:	Listen to this guy's um, if you speak Xhosa from day one…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… to day seven right and then you get to school, let say you didn't, okay most of us started other languages like very young. Let's say you

	didn't and then you get to school and then you have to adapt to English and then you have to learn English first before you can learn anything else.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Whereas in your home language you know what this is, you know what that, you don't have to learn the language, you just learn the stuff.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Um, my primary teacher once said that she, she takes her children to Afrikaans schools 'cause then everything else will, is easier for them and then when they get to high school then they change. I mean, when they get to university then they change. She says that um, they will, they, they like, their marks are better 'cause its literally your home language. 'Cause most of the time we struggle with exams 'cause of language.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Because of ja, we can't, the questions, its always things like that.
Learner:	Um…
Learner:	So that is a measure some, that is something that we have to all try and work on.
Learner:	Deal with.
Researcher:	Do, do any of you speak English at home?
Learner:	Ja. My, my parents are always on my case about how I don't know my home language and when my dad just wants to have a good laugh, then he'll just pull out a Sesotho people or whatever and ask me to do it and yo, I cried all the way. Now they, they, they call me a coconut at home but I don't really mind it 'cause its just a big joke.
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	But its quite funny like I'm Zulu, when you go to KZN…
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	… and then they speak this deep Zulu and then now I'm looking…

Learner:	And you don't know it.
Learner:	… confused, what are they saying. 'Cause I know the basics of Zulu you know, I can talk to but when you go to KZN then they talk this deep Zulu and I mean, what are you saying…
Learner:	What are you saying, ja.
Learner:	But its fun, English is fun. You speak English they start 'Oh, wow, you can speak English'.
Learner:	Ja. When I go to Qwa Qwa, like everyone there is, okay, 90% of the people there speak Sesotho and they see me as a snob. So everyone's like, they so, they, they immediately get the idea that I'm rich 'cause I speak English, like what.
Learner:	Exactly.
Learner:	People do it.
Learner:	I, I'm not rich, I'm…
Learner:	Just because you speak English.
Researcher:	And, and where does that perception come from, because?
Learner:	White people…
Researcher:	You can afford to?
Learner:	Oh, ja, to go to an English school.
Learner:	But then my cousin…
Researcher:	Which tells you that you out of the location as such because those schools would be teaching in their, in your…
Learner:	That makes sense.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	But then what's different is my cousin, he grew up in a township, he went to a school like from Gr. 1 till his matric, he went to a, in a township school. Him and his friends, their English is great, you wouldn't say that…
Learner:	Its, ja.
Learner:	… they went to a township school.

Researcher:	And then English would have been their second language, am I right?
Learner:	Ja and its okay, you couldn't really distinguish and say they come from a…
Researcher:	Yes, thank you, we're finished, thanks.
Outsider:	Okay.
Learner:	… but you wouldn't say like you know, okay like that stigma or something, that you know someone was in a township, their English is poor, just, its not right, its just…
Learner:	But sometimes you do get those…
Learner:	Ja, its most of the time.
Learner:	That someone would come out of matric and their English is so bad and your heart like, oh my gosh, I know, I knew this in Gr. 4 and you can't speak English in matric, how are you going to make it in the world.
Researcher:	And then obviously varsity is a huge issue.
Learner:	Exactly.
Learner:	Exactly.
Learner:	Ja, a very huge issue.
Researcher:	That's, that's really quite a tough one, that's something that I struggle with quite a lot because I battle for instance with Afrikaans. So…

Group 4

Researcher:	Okay. If I speak of the term diversity, what does the term diversity mean to you? If you think of the word diversity, what, what does it, what do you think of?
Learner:	When I hear the word diversity, I see a lot of people, a combination of people and then I think of, it's a bit off, but I think of America because when in TV and stuff they show a lot of combination of races and they are talking to each other and its, they, there's no tension between a Black person and a White person. So they're free to express themselves and like voice their opinions without being, without being concerned about what people would think about them.

Learner:	So you can, they can like operate in a free, free environment without being discriminated for what they are and ja.
Learner:	And I guess it also refers to the South African, 'The Potjiekos', where everything is just, everyone is together, different races, different cultures, doesn't matter who you are, you can just be yourself.
Researcher:	Okay, so diversity?
Learner:	Um, for me diversity is like many different types of a certain thing. Like everything, like food or languages and people and everything else.
Researcher:	A whole lot of different things together in a situation or an experience. Do we all agree with…
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	… that definition of diversity, okay. Um, well ever since you've never know anything other than a racially integrated school, am I correct? You've always been at St. Michaels, I don't know where you were?
Learner:	I was in Taiwan for…
Researcher:	Oh my goodness.
Learner:	… ja, I've been for Gr. 7.
Researcher:	Okay, so you're experience will basically be the last two years you…
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	… have been here. For you to, I don't know how long you've been?
Learner:	Since Gr. 00.
Researcher:	Oh is it! Okay so I mean you've never known anything other than a racially integrated school. What is, what is your experiences been of integration and it needn't been your specific experience. Experiences that you've experienced around you, be it other people perhaps having difficulty and it needn't be a negatives, you can also um, state positive things. You're experience of …
Learner:	Being in a mixed racial school.

Researcher:	Yes, being in a racially integrated school, that is, with other racial groups, yes.
Learner:	It's a bit funny for me because when we first got here, I mean, its South Africa, so we, the minute its, like when we go overseas and stuff and you say you're from South Africa, they'll say, they immediately think of Black people.
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	So they always ask us how are the Black people and they get really fascinated like, the hair and the food and culture and everything and then um. So when you come here you kind of feel not really at ease because they're totally different people and you're just six years old and five years old and you confronted with so many people that are so different to you and you're exposed to a completely different world. So, when you see these people, you're scared to approach.

So, when I was in Gr. 1, it was a bit difficult. I mean, my friend was Asian, I, I refused to talk to Black people and White people made me feel uncomfortable as well at times 'cause the way they do things and stuff is different from what I've seen. 'Cause I usually stayed at home and then when I came to school it was different.

So it wasn't a nice experience but I generally became more open and then I realised that Black people and White people are really, they really different from Asians. Like perspectives and the way they behave and the way they talk and the way they see things and stuff is so different from what I seen and then I learned a lot from them. And now, I am so typically South African, now that when I go back to my homeland Taiwan, I feel different like, its just like, I, I get the idea that oh my word, I was like that once upon a time. So it's really, its exciting for me. |
Researcher:	So your experience of different races has been positive in your mind.
Learner:	Its been positive in my mind. It made me think more further of the world and stuff, whereas before its just like, okay its just Asians and Asians. I literally believed that there was only Asians in the world.
Researcher:	Sure.
Learner:	And then there is Black people and stuff, I was a bit, not at ease and then, so ja. I was told to stay away from them.
Researcher:	By?
Learner:	By, by like, Asians when I go back to Taiwan. They're like you shouldn't be too close to people you don't know especially the

	Black people 'cause you don't understand what they're saying and stuff and ja, so they, its like better to just staying with just Asians 'cause you know what they're saying and stuff, so it was, ja.
Researcher:	How much influence of who you mix with comes from your parents, stems from your parents? Because you, you, you, I have found in a lot of my other groups that um, someone would say 'My child, why are you mixing with a White child, can't you find yourself an African friend like us', you know. Like do you have that kind of, of, do you still have those kind of parents?
Learner:	My parents certainly don't mind at all. They don't mind at all, like my friends, I have a whole mixed group of friends. Yeah, I have Black friends, I have Coloured friends, I've Asian friends, I've White friends. Then anyone of them can just come to my house and sleep over and my parents won't say okay no, that one can't come over because she's White or she's Black. They're, anyone can come over and sleep over and they won't mind, they will welcome them with open hearts and they will just treat everyone the same. So my parents generally don't mind.
Learner:	I envy that like since primary, she was able to hang out with White people and Black people so openly and she spoke more fluent English than I did. So and she knew, she, she was more fluent in languages than I was. So there was and I also had problems um, communicating with her because my home language was Taiwanese and hers was Chi-, Mandarin. So its like, its like German and Afrikaans…
Researcher:	Sure.
Learner:	… it's two different things although its from the same. So for me I didn't really have any friends and my English was a bit not that good, so, 'cause at home I didn't have anyone to practice with. So, my parents weren't really that open either because my dad um, works in the industrial area so, the theft and stuff is a lot but I mean Black people are the majority. So my mom automatically has the impression that like don't hang out with Black people as much as, like just try hang out with the White people and stuff, not Black people.
	And my uncles and my aunts they were also like that at first because, I mean you hear so many crimes and stuff and its all these Black people doing it and I mean, I was still young, so I didn't know. So, it was, at first, its like when I saw a Black person, not my, not necessarily my classmate but even a teacher, it was just like, don't talk to them, don't talk to them. And then now its like, it's not that bad anymore. I think I decided I'm going give it a try, I think I was in Gr. 4 and I decided to give it a try and it, it was better but before then I, I was more of an introvert.

Researcher:	Okay, but has, so your perception you saying, your perception of Black people for instance like you mentioned, has changed now…
Learner:	Has changed a lot.
Researcher:	… because of the fact that you with them every single day of you life?
Learner:	Yeah, I just were a bit prejudiced for my families…
Researcher:	Sure.
Learner:	If though there are things that happen that cause us to get angry for example, like both of us…
Learner:	Have been robbed.
Learner:	… um, has been robbed and literally, they came into our house, they tied us up and they held guns towards us.
Learner:	Towards us and stuff.
Learner:	I mean and it's all Black people that did this to us. Even though yes, um things happen like that to us, we get angry and we get upset but we still, we still like at school we, really they like, we like families, its just everyone is sisters.
Researcher:	So that hasn't affected your relationship…
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	… with children in your class?
Learner:	No, not school friends
Learner:	Not my school friends but maybe people that I don't know outside and ja. But that also, its, actually it not applies to all races its just people in general.
Researcher:	But your experience has been as such and that's ja…
Learner:	'Cause I mean maybe it's not necessarily the race…
Researcher:	No.

Learner:	… because I mean if you're, even if you in Taiwan, there is still robberies there and its not necessarily the race maybe its worse in South Africa, the crime rate. But I mean, different races there is that people in there, it's not like oh definitely its Black people…
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	… It's a wide range, I mean there is bad people in, like Asian communities or White communities, so yes.
Researcher:	Sure. Okay. How important do you girls feel that racial integration is for South Africans, you say you class yourself as a South African now. How important is it, do, do you feel its right that, that the schools racially integrate or do you feel that it would be better for, for schools to remain for…
Learner:	Like Apartheid?
Researcher:	… Asians, Whites, Blacks. Do you thinks its, it's an important thing that we focus on integration and racial integration and we do research on it and, and do you, do you feel its an important, does it…
Learner:	Yes, I think so.
Researcher:	… contribute anything to society?
Learner:	Being in a mixed school, I feel that everybody will then, its like more of a psychological thing but then I feel more valued to be in a mixed school than to be in just an Asian school because then, then I feel ja, I'm just one of them and I'm only in this school because I'm Asian. So then it doesn't feel special whereas if I'm in this school its like, um, one of them like, I'm one of everything, so I get a bit of the Blackness in me and the Whiteness in and I can learn more.

But then with Asians its, it limits my knowledge about different cultures and stuff. So, I mean if I were to still be in Taiwan and be in school there where just Asians, my view points about South Africa and America and everything would be so much smaller because I only hang out with Asians, so its not like we're learning anything from each other. We do the same things, we talk about the same stuff, so its not, there's nothing… |
| Researcher: | So, so after school are most of your friends Asian? Do you mostly mix with your own after school or do you still go out to movies and clubs or I don't know what do girls do after hours with friends from school that are of other racial groups? |
| Learner: | Um, I have friends here thats Asian in this school but I don't necessarily chill with them every single day, so I have Asian friends outside school. |

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Learner:	Outside school.
Learner:	So then maybe weekends we'll get together but then during school times I chill with other races and then, but then after school as well I chill with other races as well. But I have more Asian friends outside.
Researcher:	And you?
Learner:	Um well like outside of school I'm actually like stuck at home the whole time so then I don't have other friends except on school and in school I, my friends are like mixed the whole time So then whenever we go out, I just go out with this friends at school. Ja, its just mixed still the whole time.
Learner:	Ja, it's the same here, its just like…
Researcher:	But majority your Asian friend too…
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	… whoever?
Learner:	Mine is more like average, like its medium-medium, like 50/50. Ja 'cause of my sister she also, she, well she doesn't necessarily hang out just with Asians but most, most of the time and then um, so then I have to go with her so then um, I'm also with the Asians but the other times then I just go out with um my other school friends, which is like White, Black or Coloureds, ja.
Researcher:	Okay, um and your parents, are they, do they mix with other…
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	… like on a social basis, not on a work related? Would they invite so-and-so to, to your home for a meal or whatever?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes
Researcher:	Happen often?
Learner:	No, not a lot.
Learner:	Not very often.
Researcher:	We just want to determine is, is there racial integration continuing after you walk out of your school gate? In other words are you still integrating socially after school times, is it following any further path?

Learner:	From my parents generation I don't think so because they, they came here to make money so its only work purposes. So they, I don't think they really have the time to socialise and get to know anybody because they're so focused and trapped in, in a specific area, they don't expose themselves. Whereas we grew up here, so we got to, we had more time to socialise and we're put in a more um favourable place to get to know people whereas they weren't. So I think we've got an advantage to them.
Learner:	Ja, I think the language also one of the problems 'cause…
Learner:	Ja the language also one of the problems for sure.
Learner:	… ja, I would like, I'm sure, well I'm not sure about the other 'cause my dad, he only knows like basic basic, he couldn't make a conversation with…
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	… ja in English.
Researcher:	Sure.
Learner:	So that, I think that's the main problem, ja.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	Well like my parents as well, like they don't have the opportunity to go and actually make friends with different races. If they really do, its maybe our friends, our friends' parents and they know each other or something. But otherwise like my ousi at home, they, she's just like, she's really like part of our family – like all of us just treats her as part of our family, so that's so.
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	Our housekeeper also, she's been with us for almost over 10 years, hers as well. So for us, we really attached with them but social wise not as much, no.
Researcher:	And tell me on a school front do you, do you feel that the school has um, allowed you to express your culture and, and incorporate it, your culture into their ethos or have you followed whatever the school was when you arrived here?

Learner:	I think there's a balance in both. I mean my teachers won't just judge me because I'm Asian, so then its like I do something and its like 'No, its because she's Asian that she's saying that'. But then again I won't, I won't judge the school as a whole because of what they do and stuff because I mean for instance, we don't have 40 days for instance in our country. So if 40 days they say we have to do this and do that and do this and um, if its against my culture or something, I won't say its because I'm, I'm Asian that they're doing this to me 'cause I understand. Its been a, its, its like a cultural thing.
Researcher:	But, but if, if you felt you had a cultural problem with it, you didn't agree with it, do you feel that the school would accept it as such? Respect your culture…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	… if you were at school, has your culture been respected within your school environment?
Learner:	Yes it has.
Learner:	And I think especially St. Michaels. St Michaels really, really cares about your more…
Learner:	They're more sensitive to the race, religion, beliefs and stuff. They really respect it and they try to…
Learner:	Its always been like this because I've heard of others schools where they do judge you saying oh, because you're Asian or if they walk past, they go 'Ching-chong-cha' or something, even at schools. I'm mean if I come to school like that, I'll feel really uncomfortable and I'll really, then I'll come to school with misery every single day.
Researcher:	Sure.
Learner:	But if I, here in SMS or when I come to school, no one judges you by your colour and saying 'Ching-chong-cha' and stuff like that, no.
Researcher:	Do you feel, would you, do you feel that there should be a better representation of, of your culture in the teaching staff? Or do you have a problem with them or being, I think majority you have White teachers?
Learner:	White teachers.
Researcher:	Ja. Do you, do you have a problem with that, do you feel…
Learner:	No.

Learner:	No.
Researcher:	… that, not, okay.
Learner:	A teacher can be any race as long as she or he can teach and really I don't have a problem with the race.
Learner:	As long as they're good teachers, then they're fine.
Learner:	That's more important to us right now.
Researcher:	Great, thank you girls.
Learner:	It's a pleasure
Researcher:	You've been a great help.

Group 5

Researcher:	Okay, so basically my research is titles Experience and Perceptions of Diversity amongst Teachers and Learners in racially integrated schools. Okay, so perceptions and experiences, what you perceive diversity to be and how its, how you perceive it to be happening in your school environment and your experiences of that.
	Okay, to start off with, when I say the word diversity or you hear the word diversity, what does it meant to you, what does the word itself or diversity in your school mean to you?
Learner:	The different…
Learner:	Ja, the different kind of people and cultures, languages, difference between…
Researcher:	Difference?
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	Does everyone agree?
Learner:	Different personalities, yes.
Researcher:	Okay. What have your experiences been of diverse integration of racial integration in your school? And when I said positive and negative, I mean by positive and negative. Um, every person experiences it in different ways. Some people never get to where we should be and others integrate quite easily. What has your personal experience been?

Learner:	Positive.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Very positive.
Learner:	There hasn't been any issues really since I've been at this school.
Researcher:	And, and when, and okay, so even when, were where were you before this school? In a racially integrated school…
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	… or was this your first, oh. And, okay, thinking back to then, not this school itself, what were the initial…
Learner:	It was all fine…
Researcher:	… issues?
Learner:	… because since the first day of school, its been integrated. So, I was…
Learner:	We weren't um, when we came in there wasn't the, the, the different and then you um…
Learner:	And then they weren't there and then they were.
Learner:	… they were there, ja. They were always there.
Learner:	The different cultures were always there.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	It was something you grew up with.
Researcher:	So its something that you've never known to be any different, so?
Learner:	Ja because apartheid was before our time.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	We don't really know what apartheid felt like.
Learner:	Ja-nee.

Researcher:	Okay. Um, are there still, how far, lets put it, let me put it to you this way: when we talk about racial integration, you, you're, you're integrating within this classroom school environment. How many of you have friends of other races beyond the school gates?
Learner:	Yoh!
Learner:	I've quite a few.
Researcher:	So all of you?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	All six of you?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Okay, so its not just something that's happening on the school…
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	… premises, its…
Learner:	And it actually helps you to, when you go out of school, you um, how do you say it…
Learner:	You prepared.
Learner:	… ja and not that but you can talk to other cultures.
Learner:	You can lead social lives.
Learner:	It's easier to socialise with them. You like um, you not scared of talking with them…
Learner:	You more comfortable with them.
Learner:	… another culture or you know they not weired.
Learner:	Ja, presies.
Researcher:	And, and your background and parents' views, do they have issues with…
Learner:	Very much.
Learner:	Yes.

Learner:	Sometimes.
Learner:	Ja, sometimes, not all the weired people.
Learner:	Like its not really my mom but my dad has a specific way. His, his values and his seeing of stuff.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	I think um, interracial relationships will always be frowned upon by certain people.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	What people do you class as certain people? Uh, I don't want to push you in a direction, I just want to know where, are you saying more like older people like…
Learner:	No, I think…
Researcher:	…leans to a certain way or are you saying by a, a certain like say the Afrikaner group or the English group or the Indian group, what, what do you mean by saying…
Learner:	I think um, people that were brought up during the apartheid struggle, they more use to um, sticking with your own racial group…
Learner:	… and it was like very bad for them if there were interracial groups. Like you'll always here stories of um, maybe a White man and a, a Vietnamese woman…
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	… that were like um, expelled from South, South Africa maybe or stuff like that.
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	And I think, on a quick way of changing now…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner: while…	… because me myself, I haven't had a um, racial relationship for a while…
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	… but it was about the same.

Researcher:	And, and your, and obviously your father or your parents were against that because their way of thinking is different to, to, they were never exposed…
Learner:	To this sort of culture.
Researcher:	… to any other culture other than your own, hey?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Tell us?
Learner:	No, its just, no.
Learner:	Our fathers not accepted to racial relations…
Learner:	But, but I think it's the way they grew up.
Researcher:	Okay… not relationships, just friends?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No. If it's just friends, friends are fine.
Learner:	They won't mind friends.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	But relationship?
Learner:	But beyond friends it's harder for them.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	I think it's their age. They weren't raised like that so its not correct or…
Researcher:	Mmm, yes.
Learner:	… how do you say it, not right for us to be that.
Learner:	Their parents taught them no, it does not work like that…
Learner:	And that's they way they teach us as well but we um, from school and outside isn't the way…

Learner:	And the media and everything.
Learner:	… ja, it isn't the way its always inside your homes.
Learner:	It's not that bad.
Researcher:	And, and from your experience being in a, a, a intercultural environment like this, what do you think there fear or, or disapproval stems from? Why do you think they are like that, considering you not now, what makes you so different from them?
Learner:	They way they were raised. It was everywhere, even there parents taught them, media told them no, you do not mix, you do not talk like, you do not do want you want, hang out with who ever you want, everybody is the same.
Researcher:	Okay, so from your experience, what do you, why don't you think they want you to interact or what, where does the problem stem from? What, what makes you different to them?
Learner:	The culture, definitely.
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	So, so, but what about the culture that they don't understand the other cultures or they're afraid of other cultures or what, what do you think your parents reasoning is behind…
Learner:	They weren't really educated to know other cultures like we do.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja because we always had a culture, what do you call it in English…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… kuns en kultuur?
Learner:	Ja, its culture.
Learner:	… kuns en kultuur wat ons um, arts and culture. That's where we really learned about Italians, Blacks, Zulus, every culture and then you slack, okay, well they're not so bad like we thought. So I thinks its our parents, they're not educated in the um, to knowing other cultures, what they do, how they, ja.
Researcher:	In, in some of the schools we've experienced um, that the racial groups still stick very much to their own at break time. You find crowds of White children, a crowd of Black or Asian or Coloured or whatever, is that, does that happen here?

Learner:	Not as much.
Learner:	Most of the time…
Learner:	Ja, most of the time.
Learner:	… there is groups of their own culture.
Learner:	Most of the time but…
Learner:	I don't feel as much as here. Here, here you will find the White guy but like walking with the Black guy. Its not and you won't like aaah, what is he doing, it is, its fine, its like oh, okay.
Learner:	We don't, we don't see colour anymore. It's the own friends. Um, I can take myself as an example: I'm not only at Whites or at Coloureds or at Black children during break, I'm like everywhere.
Learner:	You're headgirl, you're supposed to be everywhere.
Researcher:	And if you go and visit friends of different culture, do you, do you feel comfortable in other culture homes?
Learner:	I haven't had that.
Learner:	Ja, I've never been to one of my other friends, I've never done that.
Researcher:	Why?
Learner:	Uh….
Learner:	I have and it's just the same.
Researcher:	And if there was something different, do you look at it as a learning experience rather then looking at it as…
Learner:	… interesting. When you learn about other cultures and other people, it's quite interesting for me. Its different.
Researcher:	I'm quite surprised that you haven't.
Learner:	One of my friends visited me…
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	… but, ja.
Researcher:	You don't visit out?

Learner:	I would, I would visit but there was never been the chance to go…
Learner:	An opportunity.
Learner:	… ja, to go visit somebody. Its always at my home because my dad is also very strict, so I may not go out…
Researcher:	Oh.
Learner:	To nobody's house.
Learner:	… everybody's always coming to my house. Because the, the girl she was with, was at mine as well, so ja, with me but I'm…
Researcher:	Ok, so yours is more because you're restricted by what your parents, ok, would want you to do, so I mean it's different. But would you be open to…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	… staying with you friends overnight or you feel quite comfortable there, so no issues.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja, like, ja, like our prefect camp, we all slept in the same room…
Learner:	On the same bed.
Learner:	On top of each other and we showered, ok, not together-together. But we showered together and there was no like, ja, I'm Black…
Learner:	Ja, get away.
Learner:	… not even.
Researcher:	Most of your teachers or all of your teachers here are White teachers, am I right?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Its only at the, at the front…
Learner:	It's only the lady at the front.
Researcher:	But there's no, specific…

Learner:	No.
Researcher:	… ja, teacher…
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	… that teaches the children? How do you feel about that, do you feel that because your school represents so many different cultures, how do you feel about having a teacher of a different culture?
Learner:	Well, if they're good, why not. But if, if they good they can come but ja.
Learner:	It's not our decision.
Learner:	Because its, it doesn't matter what your um, skin colour…
Learner:	Looks like.
Learner:	… if you, if you can teach Maths, Biology, if you can do it, then its fine. It's not about your skin colour.
Researcher:	No, no and but how do you feel that because so many cultures are represented in your school, that your, your teaching staff, that your teacher should also be representative of cultures? Do you think for your Black friends for instance that, they feel that they should, that they would prefer perhaps of, of teachers of their own colour and, and not necessarily so, a lot of the Black children I've spoken to have told, said no?
Learner:	I don't think so because our teachers are like us, they don't see colour.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Because most of our teachers are, hoe se ek dit nou: previous learners of this school. So they're used to everybody and I don't think they see colour.
Researcher:	Are they mostly young, your teachers?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	A lot of our teachers. I think there are three old teachers. I think there's four. Jy kan nie Mnr. Wilken tel nie.

Learner:	Nee, nee.
Researcher:	So there more been educated in the new…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	That also makes a huge difference.
Learner:	Ja, because um, out of the one drama class, our drama teacher thought a little, his a coloured.
Learner:	Ja, he thought he was White.
Learner:	Ja, she, she thought he was White. She never, she said well, I've never even looked at you in a way ok, you Coloured, nothing like that. She's just, ok well you Coloured.
Learner:	He's Coloured by the way. No, they don't worry.
Learner:	No they don't see, not even a little.
Researcher:	Do you think that everybody's culture is well represented in this school?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Is it. Are they allowed to express…
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	… their own cultures?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	And how do you find that's…
Learner:	Well…

Learner:	Quite intimidating.
Researcher:	Is it?
Learner:	Yes. I think its um, other races are very, a lot more like um, talkative…
Learner:	Loud.
Learner:	… than White people.
Learner:	Loud.
Learner:	And sometimes it can be, you know, you as a person… [Interrupted by school announcements]
Learner:	But, wat wou ek nou gese het…
Learner:	What was the question?
Learner:	Oh, oh ja, ek wou gese het um, I'm also a loud person but sometimes you can just feel ok, respect one another, this is not how we are, we respect you in your ways. So, sometimes you can get um, agitated.
Learner:	When we were on a tour…
Learner:	Oooh, ja.
Learner:	… we were on a tour and the way some, I don't want to get specific cultures out…
Researcher:	No you don't have to.
Learner:	… but um, the way some girls are in the bathroom…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… and uh.
Learner:	Some of them don't care, they dress in front of…
Learner:	Everybody.
Learner:	… everybody. Nothing, nothing on and no matter how um, hoe kan ek dit se um…
Learner:	No matter who's in the room.
Learner:	They don't respect each other.
Learner:	No.

Learner:	And some of the respect, that's the way they are but we would respect them by not taking off our clothes…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… in front of them – that's just the way we were raised.
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	And that's the way, everybody is different.
Researcher:	And your body is private to you…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	… ja and its not something that you, you share and, and that is the cultural…
Learner:	Exactly.
Researcher:	… difference and that is a cultural difference that, that bugs you.
Learner:	And also the loud factor. Like I know my friends, they tell me like three times a day, don't talk so loud, shoo, not everybody wants to hear you.
Learner:	And I think its because we're at the school as well…
Learner:	Ja, you talk like and when you get to school, some cultures they scream at each other when they sitting next to each other and I'm like, shoo, I'm trying to concentrate, speak a little bit softer. So that's the only…
Learner:	And then, and then when you say that, you um, expect, respect but then they would like, be like, they would um, take it um…
Learner:	Race sense.
Learner:	… wrong, offensive and then you weren't even doing it, you weren't even saying it in a way that…
Learner:	You would tell it to your like, in our case White friend as well, please, shoo, we trying to concentrate.
Learner:	… ja. When you want to concentrate, I would shoos everybody that's making a noise. Not only um, the Black or the Coloured or the White

boy. I would say please just everybody, just shoos. But not everybody takes it up on the right way.

Researcher: Sure.

Learner: And even though you were trying to be nice.

Learner: Ja.

Researcher: No. Ja. Um, and, and anything else on, on a cultural level experiencing – do you, when I say the, does the school allow everybody talking like um, if you have a play or a, or a evening planned or a matric farewell or whatever, do you feel that the school accommodates…

Learner: Yes.

Learner: Mmm.

Learner: Yes.

Researcher: … everybody?

Learner: Yes, definitely.

Learner: Yes.

Researcher: And if, like 40 days say for instance, such and such and, the Muslims, I'm not saying that you have Muslims but if they were to say they don't want to partake because of, does your school allow difference?

Learner: Yes.

Learner: Ja.

Learner: There's children that I know of in the, when its hall meeting and um, at the back of our…

Learner: Christian.

Learner: … ja. At the back of our hall, is like, Jesus is our King and um, they don't partake, they sit outside and nobody discriminates against them.

Researcher: Okay. Um, do you…

Learner: And…

Researcher: Yes.

Learner: When we had a dance Friday…

Learner:	Ja, Friday.
Learner:	… and everybody's music were played.
Learner:	Ja, we had a playlist.
Learner:	From everybody.
Learner:	Ja, the playlist was set so that everybody was um…
Learner:	Accommodated.
Learner:	… thank you.
Researcher:	Oh that's wonderful, ja, that's good to hear.
Learner:	There is…
Researcher:	Do you think all this research and interest in race, race and difference and, is necessary? Do you think it's of value?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Do you think, do you think it's important that teachers understand the sensitivity of, of difference? Do you think difference is something that should be valued, everybody being different or do you think we should all be just pushed…
Learner:	No, that would be boring.
Learner:	No, no, no.
Learner:	It would be boring if we all were the same. There would be nothing you could learn from someone else and even in White cultures, not everybody is the same. Stuff we do at Christmas, he doesn't do. Nobody is the same, so it would be really boring if we all were the same.
Learner:	Even within a race there are differences.
Researcher:	Do you find your old, the old Afrikaans culture um, ethos of the school still remains or do you think its changed completely to accommodate?
Learner:	Its changed completely.
Learner:	Yes, it changed completely.
Learner:	That um, one of our male teacher's is not old but he comes out of that era and he, his not any different towards the other children.

Learner:	Mmm, ja. They, the boys are, they love him. No matter and he loves them back and he is really old, so ja.
Learner:	No matter what race they are.
Learner:	And even one of the old teachers as well…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… she's also, she doesn't worry what race you are. If you don't do your homework, she will snap at you, ja.
Researcher:	How, how do you feel about the fact that since other racial groups have been allowed into this school, that so many White children have left the school to go to…
Learner:	Well it's their loss.
Researcher:	… other schools?
Learner:	Ja because in the wall outside, there isn't only a White or a Coloured or a Black…
Learner:	Jar.
Learner:	Jar.
Learner:	… jar or a, or a social, there's nothing like that. You have, the only like, how can I say…
Learner:	All the cultures are there.
Learner:	… ja. They're going to have to deal with it some or other time.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	So it's their loss.
Learner:	Its just going to be harder when they go out into the workforce because there it's even more…
Learner:	Of races.
Learner:	… ja. It's more integrated than at school.
Researcher:	And they don't know, they haven't integrated with these…

Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Because if you're a boss, you're going to have to work with all your employees or if, if you have a other race or if you are the lower one and…
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	… ja and you have a different race, boss, you are going to have to listen to him, him or her.
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	But ja, the, its only going to be harder if they take too long.
Learner:	And I'm glad I was put in this school…
Learner:	Ja, me too.
Learner:	… because now I know how to handle and there are all of the cultures in our school.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Oh my goodness, from…
Learner:	Ja, you name it, we got it.
Learner:	And now you will know how to, what do you call that, the, the, interact with one another.
Learner:	Because, but because culture you do interact differently to some cultures, you just do.
Learner:	Especially the kids that were older, prefects would know – the way you um, when you walk to a kid and they um, his cellphone may not be out, you will um, on a nice way the culture, with, with the other kid you would say um, put away.
Learner:	And with the other it would be please put away.
Learner:	Please put away because he doesn't like the way you speak to him because also on a, because you White and his Coloured, why do you speak to him like that, we all on the same level.
Learner:	And some of them make a joke first.
Learner:	Ja before taking it seriously.

Researcher:	And, and is that very much, do you make that judgement on their culture…
Learner:	No, you make…
Researcher:	… on their skin colour or on…
Learner:	… on their culture.
Researcher:	… their…
Learner:	Person.
Researcher:	… personality?
Learner:	Personality.
Learner:	Personality.
Learner:	Behaviour.
Learner:	Okay, little bit of both, c'mon.
Learner:	Yes because you need to know the culture.
Researcher:	Because you don't want anyone to turn around and say to you, you spoke to this one or you picked on this one because…
Learner:	Ja, its not just about the culture but it is a little bit about of the culture because…
Learner:	I think it's a lot of culture.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Do you find it perhaps harder on your own…
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	… culture than the others, because you don't want to be judged as…
Learner:	The thing is just um, you, you don't mean it like that…
Researcher:	No.
Learner:	… but because of apartheid and because of everything, it always seems to be bad what you are saying…
Learner:	They always see it as race.

Learner:	… so you know how to speak to…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… yes, that's why, when you speaking to another culture, you would be, you would think well, they wouldn't like, I wouldn't like them to speak like that to me but when I'm talking to her, she's on my level. So I don't know really because I don't want to and the word race is just very commonly used…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… so you don't want to…
Learner:	You just say to someone put away your phone and like, you're racist and you like, I'm not racist.
Learner:	Its difficult because of apartheid.
Learner:	Yeah, apartheid.
Researcher:	Ja well racism if often used as an excuse…
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	… to not performing or, or not doing as you supposed to do. You know as, as soon as there's an issue or you don't agree with something…
Learner:	Its race.
Researcher:	… you're a racist.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Ja. So you're very sensitive to that?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	I don't want to um, in my um…
Learner:	Experience.
Learner:	… ja, in my experience, you don't want your, you want that person, you would, you want to treat him like you would like to be treated. And then you see your different cultures and you know the person as well, so its culture and personality.

Learner:	Ja, because not all of them. If I tell him, put away your phone, it will be like, you're a racist. It's only…
Learner:	You know which…
Learner:	You know which person.
Learner:	… boys and girls are going to say no because I'm this colour or this colour or this colour.
Learner:	Ja because I'm Black.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	We have a joke in the RCL…
Learner:	Is it because I'm White.
Learner:	… is it because I'm White. And that is just the thing, you never say it but in the RCL we, its fun…
Learner:	We don't take it personally.
Learner:	… we love each other so much, ja.
Researcher:	What is the RCL?
Learner:	The prefects.
Learner:	The prefects, yes.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	We, we've a close bond and there you can, you have a lot of cultures. Its…
Learner:	Ja, we're something of everything.
Learner:	Ja, we have…
Learner:	Whites, Coloureds.
Learner:	… White, Coloured, Blacks. We have everything in the RCL and there you have to cope and that's also how you learn how to…
Learner:	Ja, especially at the, at the RCL meetings.
Learner:	Ja.

Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Oh my goodness.
Learner:	A lot of differences.
Learner:	That, that's where, and that's where we learned how to cope with different cultures.
Learner:	And then because me for instance, when I'm talking, a certain culture will be speaking to each other, like they do, they don't always sit and listen, or they speaking to each other about what you are saying and another culture would sit and listen. The other culture wouldn't even listen.
Learner:	Listen, you like hey.
Learner:	So there's, you have to cope with it.
Learner:	You have to learn.
Learner:	It's just the way they are so respect and accept.
Learner:	It's like when you have children one day, you just have to handle them, all of their own way. Different personality, different everything.
Learner:	So that's, but we love them. We wouldn't trade them.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Is there anything else you want to add?
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	So basically you're saying to me that diversity is an essential resource and its something that should be nurtured and should be used as a resource in school because its something you going to need after school?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes, you going to need it.
Researcher:	So we're on the same…
Learner:	Page.

Learner:	Page.
Researcher:	… page?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Good, thank you so much. That was very kind of you.

<u>Group 6</u>

Researcher:	Okay. So basically, if I mention the word diversity or you hear the word diversity or diverse, what, what, what meaning do you attach to that? What are your perceptions of diversity?
Learner:	Differences I'd say.
Learner:	I'd say differences, classifications and just, ja, just that.
Learner:	Ja, everybody is included. There's a whole total spectrum, everything is included.
Researcher:	So when we say experience or perceptions of diversity?
Learner:	People of different cultures or races or languages.
Learner:	Shapes and forms.
Researcher:	Ja and its, it's a lot of, it can mean many different things, not specifically just culture, although we are basing our studies specifically on different cultures and different racial groups. So for us in this discussion, diversity is basically limited to difference as in…
Learner:	Race.
Learner:	Race.
Researcher:	… race, okay. Right, your experiences of racial integration in your school, positive and negative, we not just looking for negative, what have they been? What have, what have been your perceptions or your experiences of racial integration?
Learner:	I'd say it's been, its been positive for some but it hasn't always been positive. You have those that look down on you because of who and what you are and what you look like and some people just classify themselves as something which they're not just to try and fit in to a group.
	Like a Black person you'd find him speaking Afrikaans and trying to be Coloured or White just so that they could get a certain classification

and not fit in with their own group or they, they ignore and forget where they come from and who we are.

And some people just, like some of them are confused, like you get children that are confused like…

Learner:	Very much.
Learner:	… you…
Learner:	You get confused children and they, they kind of don't know where they fall, so they kind of hanging, not standing, not knowing which way they sway to. Ja um, that's what I get in my school.
Researcher:	So am I right in saying that you feel that um, every different cultural group should be appreciated and valued for what they are and you find that some kids from certain cultural groups are losing the value of their own culture.
Learner:	The value of their own, they trying to be someone they're not just to try and fit in.
Learner:	And I think sometimes its where we have, we grouped in a way, though you have those group that are mixed but most groups are kind of from the same race in a way that you have the group, the, you have the ones that are also diverse in a way.
Learner:	I disagree. I think that our school has mostly been positive because in most schools the Black children will be together, the Coloured children will be together and the White children will be together and then the mixed groups will be very few.
	But I think with us, the fact that you get Coloured and Black children speaking Afrikaans or White children like Kobus and them, trying to you know, speak Sotho and things like that. I think it just shows how united we sort of are, I mean nobody's going to say, okay, why are you speaking with a Coloured accent, you are Black or why you hanging out with the Coloured kids, you're White. So for me I think its more a thing of, we've looked beyond how are Black people supposed to behave, how are Coloured people supposed to behave and we just be as teenagers now. We all maybe behave the same or differently.
Learner:	I beg to differ because I think there is still racial stereotyping because especially in this school. I, I'm not saying there is no um, positive aspects but you find that even though there is racial integration, there is, the people do interact with each other, different cultures, whatever.

	But the mere fact is that people still have this picture that Black people are this, White people are this, Coloureds are this. So I think that yes, its true what she says but the stereotyping of different racial groups is still there.
Learner:	I'd just like to add to that. A few years um, okay, we, we have this friend, we like a circle of friends and then there's a lot of different races in there and we see beyond that but then the other, it was two years back I think and we were chilling under the 'afdakkie' and then um, one of our friend's is White and then her brother was still in school. And then he and his friends were playing rugby and then they kicked the ball towards us and then we were like shouting at them because they did it on purpose.
	And then he was like, he said to his sister, ja, you better get one of those girls to come clean mamma's house. So I think that was a bit racist and we didn't like it at all and we were going on about it, so there is still a bit of race, racism in the school.
Researcher:	Does anyone want to add before we carry on?
Learner:	Um, I think we're so majorally on our way there, I don't think we're there yet where we can say that everyone is…
Learner:	Happy, united and see beyond colour because um, I've been fortunate enough to, in like, um, interact with other, with well White in South Africa and White in another place if I can say so. And it's not the same because they don't see you as Black when you're in another place as, whereas in South Africa they actually do.
	And now speaking to um, an Asian friend of mine and I kept referring to my friends as Coloured friend or my Black friend or my White friend and then she asked me why do you refer to them by their colour and I couldn't answer her because I think its just you know, natural…
Learner:	It comes naturally.
Learner:	… Yeah but people just don't want to go beyond the…
Researcher:	Which shows that you, that you still classify…
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Although we love everyone the same, we still classify a bit, I don't know why.

Learner:	And another thing that I've noticed like, for instance, for instance when they choose like for instance, the head girl or the deputy head girl or they choose now the leaders or, they will always first look at the colour. Like last year, when we had for the first time a Black head girl, it was more how can she prove to do good as being…
Learner:	A Black head girl.
Learner:	… a Black person but not being herself and then she would always, I could see she would always be tied between the two, between trying to satisfy the school but also her community, her, her, her Black community and that's bluntly being said.
	Because where, yes we come together and we all as one but for instance in the hall, when a White person walks out the hall, everybody will be like… but let the Black or the Coloured, then they all scream, degrading and that, that plays a very big role in our school.
	Because its so, people are so used to the, the White people um, achieving stuff but when the Coloureds or the Blacks, then its always they look, they centre at the person's race and not actually at who and what they are…
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	… and then its almost like a better achievement when it is a Black or Coloured person in the school.
Researcher:	Okay, so a Black or a Coloured is not expected to achieve…
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	As White people.
Learner:	That what a White person would be expected to achieve
Researcher:	That's an interesting…
Learner:	And I think its odd that they make a big deal of it if you were Black but if you're White they don't take it, they don't put that much value to it.
Learner:	Ja, especially among, sorry Boitumelo. Especially among your own race like Coloureds. Like for instance if you are good, if you're in the

top 10 or you are a prefect that, they like, you, you have, you get hatred from your own race because they expect you, you have to conform to what they see as Coloureds like…

Learner: Ja.

Learner: … the Coloured stereotype is not being successful in your academics um, just going on with boys. That is the stereotype that Coloureds have and when you, when you go outside of that stereotype, you get hated by your own community and that's what I've and I say, I think Vulanti has also experienced…

Researcher: Really?

Learner: Yes.

Learner: Yes.

Learner: I think there's also an element almost of jealousy because if Coloureds in general don't succeed, the one that has, its almost like what makes her so special…

Learner: Special.

Learner: … that she is allowed to say, achieve or whatever. Whereas with White children, if you don't achieve, that's when you get looked down on, that okay you're the outcast or whatever but here they expect…

Researcher: Do you see the, that kind of trend improving or changing or do you still see it as an obstacle and …

Learner: I, this year have seen it improving.

Learner: Improvement.

Learner: Ja.

Researcher: Where do you think this comes from, from, from, this stereotype of thinking? Do you think it stems from the…

Learner: I think its kind mainly instilled by the parents because children look up to the, ja but, if your parents teach you something and the community says something else, you're more likely to believe your parents because the community is just there.

Learner: Mmm.

Learner: I mean they do influence but your parents have to instil it strongly enough and I think that the whole racism thing to an extent comes from parents.

Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	Because um, my grandparents, they were obviously now in the apartheid's years and such and my, my, sorry, my grandfather has a very like strong hatred towards Black people. But because I was staying with my mother in Johannesburg, I was, I was very much in touch with Black people.
	And then when I moved to Bloemfontein, my little cousin grew up with my grandparents and now she's the same way like, she won't speak to Black people and stuff like that. And I mean its not nice and the way my grandfather speaks about Black people, its scary, very scary.
Researcher:	So, so, it is…
Learner:	It is…
Researcher:	… something that gets passed from…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	… but do, do you see a change in, in the children even though, how do your parents for instance feel about your successors being vice head girl?
Learner:	My mother um, its almost as if it was halfly expected of me because all my life I've been achieving stuff and that's how my mother is. She will always, for instance, I, I wasn't, I, I stay in Heidedal and usually when you come to Heidedal well, you go through the norm but you never actually reach a, a high and my mother would always be like, do not mix so much with your peers because they influence you.
	But my brother being a guy, he was very out there and he wasn't, he was, he was very easily influenced and I could see the difference between me and him, our, our way of outlook and that's just how it is. Um, my parent, my mother would always say, do not always conform to the standards so, if, if by me achieving, it wasn't like because of my race but it was more because of who I am and where I come from. That's why, how my mom would always say your peers always influence, always choose correctly who you walk with.

Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	This, this, Coloured thing you talking about, that, is, is that true, honestly what you're saying to me that, that you are expected to not…
Learner:	Achieve.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	… achieve?
Learner:	I thing pretty much.
Learner:	Pretty much. Its finish school, don't do much after school, have babies, find a decent job somewhere.
Researcher:	Where, where does that come from, where, what… I mean you mom's not like that, I don't know how your parents are but where does it, this, that general feeling of apathy come from and, and how, how do you see a way forward for us to change that?
Learner:	Honestly, I don't know.
Learner:	I think it was instilled in apartheid because you have different levels. You have the White people, then you have the Coloured people which are kind of in the middle and then you have the Black people and that's the level of achievements we should reach. Like Black people are not supposed to be able, no, but Black people and Coloured peoples' achievements I guess, are on the same level and then you have the White.
Researcher:	But Black, but Black people generally don't have that same apathy that you talking about amongst your community and then you see…
Learner:	I think Black people had to fight actively for their freedom so, every opportunity they get, their parents tell them like, okay my mom's Black. She tells me that it's a privilege for you to go to school, it's a privilege for you to live where you live and so, we're okay, I was mostly raised Black but then, so we're so forced to…
Learner:	Appreciate.
Learner:	… achieve, achieve and appreciate. Whereas Coloured people, even though there was a bit of a struggle as well, they had kind of a little bit of benefits…
Learner:	They had a balance.

Learner:	… they were a bit balanced so now there wasn't much of a change from…
Learner:	For them.
Learner:	… where they were and White people have always been on tops, where their parents may be telling them they must stay on top. But Coloured people usually, we're not fighting to achieve but we haven't always been achieving so, you kind of I don't know, between no where and no where, I think that's where.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	And also to be blunt, to say it loud, we don't have a sense of identity because we don't have a, a fixed culture. We won't be able to say no, we come from there and there, our, our ancestors did this and this and this. We don't actually know where we come from like for instance when its Heritage Day, its just another day because we don't know our heritage…
Learner:	Stay at home.
Learner:	… because that's why, also why I can say, okay, I know where I'm going to because I'm come out of a very strong Christian background and that's how I moved it in. So yes my cultural, I'm a bit not steady in that but at least I know where I fall back into that sense.
	But for others, they don't have that strong backfall and its so true how that saying is, you can't go forward if you don't know where you come from. That's why we're so in the middle and its so true what Patricia said about the Coloureds: first we were, we weren't White enough, now we aren't Black enough. When we, when we apply now for bursaries and stuff, we, we, we sometimes like see like, shouldn't we like lie and say, we Black or something because we don't feel…
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	… we are going forward anywhere. We feel like, like, my mother's boyfriend told me, you better go and you must step into a job, you mustn't have only a degree…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… you must have your honours or you must have your masters because you are Coloured, you will, you won't be as advantaged but you also won't be as disadvantaged.
Learner:	Coming to what Vulanti says um, I, my mom is Coloured and my father is Tswana and growing up I, growing up I was always raised in a

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Coloured community, so, and I conformed to Coloured cultures and stuff but growing up I, I used to have like, I wouldn't say self hatred but I, I couldn't associate myself as being Black or being Coloured because when I was with, if, the idea that Coloureds have is different to what um, Twanas have.

And you know when, when you date Coloured guys, I've dated Coloured guys before and they would ask me are like, what are you and, and I, and I question myself as to, are you dating me based on my race or based on whom I am and then I started not liking myself. But I came to a point in my life where I decided that you know what, people have to accept me for what I am because I can't change the fact that my father's Tswana Black and my mother's Coloured.

But because of the experiences that I've had with Coloureds, dating like, ethnic Coloured, like Coloured guys, I think that you know, there's a certain, there's a certain way that a Coloured.
People think that a Coloured looks a certain way but I think there's so many different um, identities within the Coloured community and that's what people need to realise, that a Coloured is not a person with light skin, long hair.

You get dark skin Coloureds, you get light skin Coloureds, you get all the looks, all, you get 'kroes hare'. People should realise that a Coloured is not a certain, Coloureds can be anything, Coloureds can be White and Black, Coloureds can be Indian and Coloured but people don't understand that. But I think that you know, I don't know, people, I don't know if people can be changed if, because its, its something that, it, its…

Researcher: But, but what do you think would, with the changing with you being in an integrated school now and obviously developing an understanding for different racial groups, you don't think in, in, in years to come that, that eventually that kind of thing won't be important anymore?

Learner: I mean ma'am, if we have people in government um, being racist, what, what does that say for our country, what does that say for our future. If we have people in government like, I don't want to…

Learner: Julius Malema.

Researcher: Ja and, and he is, he represents the youth so I hear what you saying, you know, so its not even just your older apartheids…

Learner: And I think also, its so, its so, so difficult for us now to change because even though we're in integrated school, it actually makes it worse in a way. Because if, my parents always told me that, okay Black people are like this for example, I kind of get to see it first hand and then I decide once, look no, Black people are bad or Coloured people.

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I, I don't even look at say, successful people, I look at those ones that are going on weekends where ever, then I'm like, yeah, my parents are right, Coloureds are like that. So it almost makes it worse because then I now have a basis to say it is true, all White people are like that or something like that. Maybe this coming generations but I think with us there isn't going to be too much of a change, not that much.

Learner: People won't change unless they want to change, nothings going make anyone change. No, even an apocalypse say, something like that, won't make people change unless they want to change. I mean its very clear like, like Julius Malema is racist but there's nothing we can do about it and they say he represents the youth but who is the youth. I mean, we look at the people who are destroying or vandalising Johannesburg, it's really just a drop of people…

Researcher: No.

Learner: … so he does not represent everyone because that's not how we all feel but that's how it all comes across and like sometimes I get scared because I think um, like I'm scared that apartheid might actually come back because of everything that is going on.

It is very possible, I mean the past has shown that everything can evolutionise to go back to the beginning and then evolutionise to go back to normal, so, I don't think anything will change until people decide within themselves that they want to change.

Researcher: If you, if you think back to apartheid times and you weren't children of a free country now, so you don't understand apartheid times but if you think back and put yourself in those clusters of being Black, Coloured, White, Indian, we were not allowed to integrate with another colour. I mean it was law that you were not allowed to, so you had no understanding and, and what happens in life when you have no understanding of another culture.

And, you fear – you fed all this propaganda from a couple like a Malema, like a Verwoerd and that, you fed all this propaganda by terrorists and you know and you in this little bubble and, and you believe this absolute garbage and so you live your life. And you never ever, I mean, I as a child, had very little contact with um…

Learner: Different cultures.

Researcher: … any other culture. My mom is British, so fortunately when we went overseas we had contact with and, and I was um, aware of the fact that different cultural groups did interact but I mean in your basic Afrikaner family here and, and your Black rural child or, or family, I mean they did not even know about that, that you know, you were able to associate.

So, so the fact that people are together now and, and that can sort of sit around a table or sit in a classroom, for me is quite phenomenal. And if you think like perhaps in your time, the last ten years it might not have, have improved a great deal. If you take it from perhaps where it started, you don't think there's been a huge…

Learner: I think there has been a change but if we can look at the structures and stuff in South Africa, the laws changed but nothing really changed. I mean Black people are still living in the township, White people are still living in the mansions and that's a fact and
even when we are around a table, our situations are not the same. When we are here, fine, we are equal but when one of us has to go get a taxi and the other one is getting picked up, there is still that difference.

And I think there comes more competition because, let us all apply for bursaries and all our marks are the same and stuff and maybe they take the Coloured learners. Even if I think they deserved it, a part of me is going to say, could it be because she's Coloured and not Black or could it be because she's Black and so.

So yes, there has been a phenomenal change but there's also more competition and then when we look for reasons as to why is that one like that, we always go back to race, its because she's Coloured, or is it because she's White or things like that. So there has been a change but…

Learner: I think, I think we kind of getting impatient cause its been almost seventeen years that people said change is come, change is come but we still waiting for it. We look and we see history repeat itself over and over again but then people still keep saying change is come, change is come and you just not seeing any evidence of that. So I think mostly its based on impatience and then impatience leads you to doing and saying things you don't really mean.

Researcher: Well change is come to a few privileged people but I mean the masses are still uneducated and…

Learner: Mmm.

Learner: Yes.

Researcher: … unemployed and, and not integrating.

Learner: Mmm.

Learner: Mmm.

Learner:	And it's difficult because if we look at say people who are poor or like in apartheid times, they're still poor now. So how do they expect them to integrate with people who are rich before and are still rich now. It, its not necessarily a wealth issue but its more a matter of you were White, you were privileged, you are still living off the privileges that you had in apartheid and I'm still living off say, the disadvantages that were there.

So integration becomes difficult because on what level do you meet, um, which common ground is there when it seems like its two different worlds completely. |
Learner:	That, that's so true because even look at Bloemfontein's setup, um, look at the, the Middestad, its now only majority…
Learner:	Black.
Learner:	… there's Black people and the White people are moving outer and outer and then we ask where have these people gone because they were first here and now all you, if you want to go to the good shops, you must always go out…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	… and its just how it is. There's not really that integration, we can come to our schools but when we say where do you buy this, where do you buy, no, I'm going here, I'm going there, we don't have that common ground.
Researcher:	How much integration takes place after school, outside the schools, with different racial groups, ja?
Learner:	I think, the thing is, you're integrated when you're at school but then you still have to go back to where you come from, so that's the difference. Like you have your, you're here with your White and Coloured and Indian friends but once you go back home, you're with you Black friends and they go there and they, some of them are racist and some of them are this way and that way and if you want to go to a Coloured friend, you have to go to Heidedal. If you want to go meet your White friend, you have to go meet her…
Researcher:	Would you go?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	We do.
Learner:	We do but you are still, you're still…
Researcher:	You worried about what other people in your community…

Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Not?
Learner:	I, what I'm saying is that you're still, you're still divided, you in-between, you don't really know cause you'd like for everything to be the same way as it is at school but its just not and that's reality. And you have to divide yourself amongst people, you can't just happen all at once, you just have to divide yourself and that's reality.
Learner:	Sometimes um, I think the problem is not so much okay, it might be like 60 or 70% with us but the problem kind of goes back to our parents because now like, I'm a musician and I'm interacting with all races like all the time so, but then when you go home and now you want to have a sleepover – 'Dumela' of course is welcome, then the White person mmm, where she going to sleep…
Learners:	Where she going to sleep, on what is she going to sleep, yeah.
Learner:	Where does she live, maybe she doesn't eat pap or 'marogo' or something.
Researcher:	Who worries about that, you or your parents?
Learner:	We do.
Researcher:	You?
Learner:	Yeah but we worried for our parents actually not because, because we know our friends will do anything but then I think it goes back to our parents because then they're going to be like, you're bringing a White child to my house or the White parents going, you're bringing a Black child into my house or.

I think its, its still based on the people that still have an influence on us because we want, most of us want to change but we also have to respect our elders and our cultures and it becomes very difficult in choosing because you can't choose against your family and where you've come from. But now, so then we end up being in this crossroad and… |
Researcher:	And where do you live, in…
Learner:	I also live in Heidedal.
Researcher:	I've never really thought of it like that. I mean um, my teenage boys have friends and when they say mom um, kids are coming over to sleep, I mean, we never even ask, I mean for us it's really

not an issue. Who you know, like what! I mean I don't consider there's one boy that's a Muslim child that I have to consider…

Learner: Ja.

Learner: Ja.

Researcher: … but other than that, I never consider that and I've never thought of it in, in the other context that you know, you, it, taking a child that you would feel in any way or your, your parents would, you know. I always think of it now from, from my side and that's a very interesting um…

Learner: Perspective.

Researcher: … yes, ja.

Learner: But ma'am, a couple of years back, so my brother was in Brebner primary and so one of his friends wanted to come sleep over but then we stay in Heidedal and this boy is White. So then his mother is racist, she's very, very racist but the child isn't like that and then he didn't tell his mother that his sleeping over in Heidedal, he just said that mommy, I'm going to Hakim. And then my parents picked them up at school and then when the mother had to pick him up the Sunday afternoon, she got very angry because he was in Heidedal the whole weekend and he was sleeping over at Coloured people's house. She was very angry and she was very upset and then most probably she told him to never um, go sleep there again and then, cause after that he hasn't been friends with my brother anymore.

Learner: I think most of the parents kind of assume, like when I say, mommy, I'm brining a friend, my mom's first thing comes to her mind is a Black girl. That as soon as Patricia comes, she's like, who's this, is she like the gardener or something, she selling something, no. But then she she's the bag and then, she's sorry. She sees the bag and then she should have told me but then mommy didn't ask, you know and you just, you kind of have to say that its an Indian girl, it's a, I don't know, its just like that. They tend to assume that she's Black, she brings Black friends.

Researcher: But, but, but now looking into the future, do you think of yourselves as parents one day opposed to your parents being in an integrated school and being exposed to all these different cultures – you don't think in generations to come, I'm not talking about overnight, these things are going to change because you're going to become where, my boys are going to become parents and they also are not going to have this issue of colour.

Learner: I think its going to change because the same way in which we all our friends now, when you say we move out of our parents' houses and

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stuff, it won't be an issue when Danielle comes to visit me or someone White comes to visit me. So obviously my children will bring Coloured or White or Black friends, it won't actually be as much of an issue as it is for parents.

For parents its also about, I don't know, it's the image you know, you might be okay at your house eating pap everyday but your friends don't know that.

Researcher: Mmm. Tell me, so do you have girls have to go now?

Learner: No.

Learner: No.

Researcher: I just want to ask you, your, your, as students in a multicultural school, would you, do you feel as though you would want your teacher body to be more representative of all the cultures?

Learner: Yes.

Learner: I think so.

Learner: Yes.

Learner: Definitely.

Learner: Because I think it's offensive that you have, I'm sorry but have to be very blutlanty, very blatant about this – you have White teachers, then you have one secretary that's Black and the cleaners are all Black. I think that is not, that is a stereotype and that is not what the school is trying to tell us but they themselves are not following their own example. Like why not have a Black maths teacher, why not have, is it cause of their accent that they think that the message will not be for or given to the children that much…

Learner: Clearly.

Learner: … is it, is it 'cause they're Black that they think that the Black teachers will be absent. Is it cause they Coloured cause they think that, they think that they'll come drunk to school…

Learner: Mmm.

Learner: Black, Afrikaans, Coloured.

Learner: … or White teachers and why do we have to have a White sotho teacher, she's White, she doesn't, she doesn't even know our language and she tries to teach us things she herself doesn't know, she read it from a book. We, we grounded, we have the roots and its offensive that

you have to be taught something that's your own by someone that doesn't even know, that read it from a book. That probably someone of their own race would know about themselves.

Learner: And another thing, another thing is also um, the secretaries, we have the Black secretary but then the White secretaries we have to say, 'Tannie' and then the, then the, then the Black, then the Black…

Learner: Then the Black we call by name.

Learner: … we call her by her name.

Learner: Mmm.

Learner: And that's unfair and then when the teacher sends you there like, take this to 'Tannie' whoever, then it's the White one and then when they want to send you to the Black one, its take this to her.

Learner: And we didn't exactly, we got it from the teachers, they call her 'Tannie', which is what used to be in apartheid, you had the Black Maria and you had the 'Meneer' van der Kok which is still that. Why do the Coloured teacher, good teachers, qualified teachers or the Black teachers have to teach at poor schools and why do the good Coloured teachers have to teach at Petunia, when they have the same qualification as some of the Head of Departments at this school who are White.

Learner: And another thing is ma'am, many years and then the student teachers they come, 'hulle kom proef' and then they come ma'am but they never get appointed at this school…

Learner: They never get appointed.

Learner: … always we see a White teacher and then she's here and then the next thing…

Learner: They get appointed.

Learner: … and then they get appointed.

Researcher: I believe a lot of your teachers now are prior pupils of this school, is this, is that correct?

Learner: No.

Learner: Nee.

Learner: But there are also Coloured pupils from our school…

Researcher:	I'm must be quite honest with you, I did find that rather strange because I mean I need to do a study on, I did a study White group of learners and then of Colour and I need to do the same with the teachers…
Learner:	There's only one.
Learner:	They say that, no the school is integrated, its diverse, yes among the learners but not among themselves. Look at the Head of Department of this school and even though its difficult because we are Black, we are Coloured and we are White as learners but there are no coloured teachers who can understand my problem. I mean we all have problems but some are Coloured problems and some are Black problems and you can't really identify with all the teachers equally. Sometimes you just need somebody who's almost like a mother figure or a father figure…
Researcher:	Sure.
Learner:	… but…
Researcher:	Someone you can identify with, I think you said it perfectly.
Learner:	Like they won't understand for instance if a Muslim, we have a lot of Muslims at school and when they like for instance wear their head wraps, they don't understand that, that's part of their culture. Then they, they tell you no, this is a bilingual school and you knew that, so why don't you go to a school that can cater your culture or needs.
Learner:	That is not fair.
Learner:	And they're also like, no, we didn't really discuss the difference between parenting and stuff but I think White parents are more free with their children and me personally like, as in RCL, we always have things that we must do and socials and things that, that and my mother being Black, she doesn't take that. I mean, if she says you're home after school, you're home after school and its always difficult for me to go to the teachers who I see as my own parents, I love my teachers so much but it becomes very difficult for me to tell them that my mother says I can't come to the ball and then they're like why. Then they, its just the rule.
	They don't get it, White parents just let their kids free and my mother as a Black woman, she knows the dangers that can be there and she doesn't care if it's a school function or what but if she says no, its no. And its difficult for them to understand my situation as, they're White teachers, they are White parents and they don't get the difference between ja.

Researcher:	So, so besides your different cultures not being represented in your, in the teachers um, are your different cultures respected in this school.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	Not at all.
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Are you allowed to freely express your culture?
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	You were talking about a, a Black child or a Coloured child growing up at a stage, its, its, its in the Black and Coloured culture to be jovial and to…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	… express your delight and joy that your child or whatever…
Learner:	Not get reprimanded for.
Researcher:	Absolutely and I mean to, for, the Whites have always been very you know.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	So, so, I mean that's a cultural thing, is, is that kind of thing, is your, is it encouraged?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	I think, I think that's where people think um, equality lies because they think we have to abide to what they are, they think we have to now evolve and become what White people are and its not true.

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Like, I'm very Black and I love to be Black and I do not agree with me changing who I am just so I can. Cause I feel that South Africa has now come to a point where they feel for us to be equal, we all have to try and be White, like don't make a noise, be like the White people. Don't wear your traditional clothes, be like the White people. Don't, its just, I feel like we're now, they're trying to pretend that…

Researcher:	Who they?
Learner:	I think everyone, the Blacks, the Whites…
Researcher:	Is it, okay.
Learner:	… the Coloureds, they're all just trying to be White and they don't realise it. That their idea of change is being something they can't…
Researcher:	Conforming to a White?
Learner:	No, if you act a certain way, if you speak a certain way. I have had that problem because of my accent I've been called a 'Whitewash', I've been called a coconut, I've been called the oreo. I've been called everything…
Researcher:	Oh really?
Learner:	… I've been called everything under the sun because they have this idea that a Coloured speaks like this and a White person speaks like this. So, I think that all cultures, all races like, especially Blacks, Whites, have this thing where they, what like Boitumelo says, you have to like acting a certain way, when you speak a certain way and you act a, as being White but when you're barbaric or callus, then you're being Black.
Learner:	Because I feel I speak English, I don't want to speak Afrikaans, I want to speak English when I want to speak English. I mean I go into a shop, I want to address the salesperson in English and then my follow counterparts are looking at me in a strange way. It infuriates me, its how I feel, that's, isn't that what South Africa is about.
Researcher:	Absolutely.
Learner:	When you address somebody who's worked in a professional company of place, you address them in English and then they speak Sotho to you and I'm like, excuse me, I don't understand what you said.
Learner:	Whooo, then they like no, you what what. I'm like no, I would like to be addressed in English because that's my home language, that's what I was brought up with.
Learner:	But I feel, I feel we the Blacks and Coloureds are trying to please the White people in a way. Like White people you, its, its, you hardly ever find White people that are trying to understand and learn our own languages. We're always the ones that have to learn theirs so that we can, are able to communicate and say what it is that we want to say but you'd never get a White person trying to learn Sotho or Venda.

	Okay, Sotho and Twsana maybe they do try but Venda or Xhosa which makes us loose that sense of belonging and it makes us, we end up not being who we really are cause the White people are just bluntly not interested. They kind of don't care and we're forced to care for them and I think that's not fair and that's what South Africa is becoming and…
Researcher:	So, so you're saying to me you, you're forced to take on a sense of Whiteness as you're talking English and conforming to the White standard to, in order to be seen as successful?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	No, my, what I'm saying is that, I feel they don't meet us half way. Like I don't mind, I love knowing different languages, its, its fun…
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	… but I feel they don't, they don't meet us half way. They kind of don't care, we have to make the effort, we have to do it all cause we're the ones that look up to them and have to be them but they don't try and, they don't meet us half way in any way.
Learner:	I think that's what its come to cause um…
Researcher:	Do you find this amongst your peers or you're talking about…
Learner:	Everyone.
Researcher:	… more adults…
Learner:	In general.
Learner:	In general but they don't make an effort to…
Learner:	We have come to the, to the borderline where we have learned the Western living, we've done everything but they don't want us, they don't want reciprocate.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	So then its like, so, what do you mean by democracy because we have done our best to meet your needs but no ones giving back to us. So then, I think that's where the, the, the fight begins because now after giving everything, we want to become our own but then it's a problem because everyone wants us to stay that way. Stay in the, the White living way and stay in…
Researcher:	Do, do you feel you're losing your culture?

Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	A lot.
Learner:	I also feel that, yes. Cause I'm um, most of the time I can't, I, I, I can't really speak my own language properly but that's okay by me because that's how I was brought up in a Coloured community, its understandable. But, I don't know, its like, we're almost being forced. Like the other day I actually found a programme and it played late in the night and me and my mom watched it. It was fully Tswana and I couldn't understand half of what they were saying, she had to explain every second sentence to me what they were saying. We all, we like, the media is also forcing us to become something else that what we are and now democracy has kind of giving a different…
Researcher:	Do you feel a different language should be brought into the school curriculum, instead of something?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	Honestly, no.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	I think it should just be a social thing, a social thing. Like they should show more interest. Lets say it's a group of Black people speaking Sotho, you'd never find a White person sitting there trying to, asking what, what is she saying, what is she saying, teach me that word. You only find like, find 15% of those and you find 99.9% of other cultures that know English cause they were interested in it and they made enough effort but the White people just don't care.
Researcher:	You know, unfortunately English is the…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	… language of the world. You know, it, it is…
Learner:	But the Afrikaans children, they speak Afrikaans. They're sitting here and 'hulle praat Afrikaans maar as jy hier kom en as jy swart is', they, they kind of don't care. If you don't understand then leave, they won't even change their language, they won't even like try to speak English.

Learner:	My sister had the exact same problem at her workplace just the other day.
Learner:	Just the other day.
Learner:	Her boss spoke to her in Afrikaans and she was like why because I speak in English and the boss says well, you said you can speak Afrikaans in your application and she said well yes but its not my first language, you know. So then they had some conflict there and…
Learner:	Because they just won't make an effort.
Learner:	Cause after school interracial, everything just goes back to being oppressed in a way.
Learner:	Like some of the cultures, I don't know where, like I know the Xhosa cultures have their clan names and then I look at the, the young kids of today, the young, like 13 year olds, 14 year olds, they don't even know their clan names. They don't know I'm this tribe, I am the descendant, my father is this but they and they're ashamed of it.

Like they're ashamed of it because they think that they, usually tribal clan names are associated with barbaric um, wade skins and people I think, children, especially Black children in South Africa are losing their cultures, they're losing their heritage and they're conforming to, to, to, to Western cultures, they're forgetting, they're forget that you know, they don't, they're ashamed of, of um.

Say for instance if they get married, their husbands don't have to pay labolla because they feel that they're getting sold but that is something that has been done for centuries by the Black community, by Xhosas, by Zulus, by Tswanas, by Sothos but because the, because the White, not the White, well not the White, the Western culture says that no, a woman is being sold, they don't want to do that anymore. So people are losing their identities. |
Learner:	Its true.
Researcher:	Wow girls, that was wonderful. Is there anything else that anyone else wants to add?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	Its going to take time to, for change to come.
Researcher:	It's going to, its going to ja. One step at a time.

Learner:	But its, its, there is, there are positives um like, aspects to integration because I, I've learnt so much from different cultures and White people, Coloured people, Indian people and I think that that, there's hope in that.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	What, what advantage do you think you have opposed to a kid that's in a rural Black school and has not been exposed to.
Learner:	I can approach, I can speak to…
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	… anybody, cause I make it a point to like, to learn new languages. I've been trying my best to learn how to speak Tswana because I want to address, I want somebody to when I speak with someone, I want them to feel comfortable in speaking with me. When I speak perfect Afrikaans 'met Danielle praat, sy moet gemaklik voel om Afrikaans met my te praat'. If I speak with, if I, I want people to feel comfortable when they speak to me like I don't want them to feel like they're not acceptable when I speak to them.
Learner:	And I think also, even though like our, I can say, let say when I came here last year, I didn't come from a racially integrated school. So when I came here some things were a bit shocking like, I've never been in a school with this many Coloureds before. So when they do something, I'm like who, okay. But then that is the real world so…
Researcher:	What school were you at?
Learner:	I've been in all Black schools, I was raised Black.
Researcher:	Okay, ja.
Learner:	So um, it is not too much of a shock when you go to the real world and we say this is how people are behaving and also I can learn for example that, if Coloured people behave such a way, its okay for me to not necessarily behave like that because there are people like Vulanti, who are different or people like Tutash, who are different.

So, when I go in the real world, I won't be like okay, what is all of this differences and what is that. I don't know, it kind of prepares us for the real world in a way I think. |
| Learner: | Ja. |

Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	The advantage we have is we're not narrow-minded anymore I think. But I do think that now it is diversity but we are moving to a sort of one idea, to one culture, to one way of living and one where…
Researcher:	Which is also not where you want to be hey?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Because there's value in everybody's difference, I mean how boring would the world be.
Learner:	It is kind of moving towards boring instead of keeping the diversity or I mean, I mean I think change is going to come but in which form is it going to come.
Researcher:	What, what way would you, what would you um, suggest as ways that could help integrate young people your age, sitting like this, talking about it? I mean you do a lot of it in Arts & Culture and LO and that, am I right, that you talk but I mean is that like very superficial?
Learner:	I think people need to be taught that irrespective of who they are, where they come from, what culture they are, they, they should know that they are valuable…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	… and that they should learn to value others as well because if we all were the same, the world would be a very boring place and our differences make up our dynamic. What makes up Africa, the country it is, the differences is what make our country beautiful and that people should be taught the value, loving each others' differences.
Learner:	They should know it's, they should know that it's okay to be Coloured, you know. Its okay to be loud when you're Black, its okay when you go out maybe with your friends and they all comfortable with you. If you're from a Black background, its okay to eat with your hands because that's what you're used to.

I mean if they're going to be all prim and proper and to you, then its okay to do that, I mean its okay to stay within your, I mean comfort zone but its, its also important to know where other people come from so that you know its okay to allow them to be them. |

Learner:	And I think also even in the school situation, we should allow more activities from different cultures. Like always when it's the balls and all that, its always in a 'sokkie' type of thing and us Black children, we're not used to that and even the Coloured children, they'll usually bunk the 'sokkie' to go and have their own…
Learner:	Party.
Learner:	… party. You know, it should be controlled but there should be different types of…
Learner:	Celebrations.
Learner:	Yeah, different types of celebrations.
Learner:	And the way the school like supports the sport, mostly its just the rugby and the rugby is played by White boys, majority.
Learner:	And the soccer is like never supported, the hockey…
Learner:	Never.
Learner:	… the baseball…
Learner:	Never.
Learner:	… netball, never. But its always, everything is like just focused on the…
Researcher:	What, what is the, what is the quota in your school, do you know?
Learner:	No, we don't use quotas at all.
Learner:	No, we don't use quotas.
Researcher:	Um, I don't, its, wrong.
Learner:	The margins…
Researcher:	No, ja, how, how, what is the division between um, White, Black, Coloured, Indian in your school, do you have any idea?
Learner:	Mostly Coloured I think.
Researcher:	Like a 50/50/70?
Learner:	No. I think it's a Coloured and White majority and then a little bit of Blacks.
Learner:	No.

Learner:	I actually think it's 50% White and 50 % Black and Coloured.
Learner:	So it's still dominated by…
Researcher:	Is it still very much…
Learner:	I think so.
Learner:	But at most schools, the moment there comes lot of Black or Coloured children, the White people disappear.
Learner:	I think, I think that's something that's nice about our school. Like they, they're, they learn to accept us in a way and we learn, we learn to like each other and, and they're okay with that. Like they stay although there's a lot of Black people around them and the White people, where they come from, say stay away from Black people. I think its, its nice that you have that certain percentage that is trying and that it okay with that.
Researcher:	You are one of the few schools in Bloemfontein that have succeeded on that level, ja. Not having White flight from but you don't find that much in English schools and, and the reason why I say this school is different because it was an Afrikaans school.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	Yeah.
Researcher:	I mean your English schools have always been more accommodating, your Eunice's and St. Michaels. Although St. Michaels also 75/25 White now, so you've also seen White flight there but I mean this, this school has, has, ja, has really succeeded greatly in that.
Learner:	I think the thing that helped is our school even though we integrated, there's the English side and the Afrikaans side…
Learner:	No.
Learner:	… so, there is a time when the White kids are just together and when the Black kids are just together and when we all mix. Whereas if it was an Afrikaans school, it would be obvious that we would struggle a bit to be free with the um, White kids because we living, we're on your territory and if it was just and English school purely, the Black kids could, the White couldn't be like okay, we're not very comfortable because if we look in the classes and we're an English class and out of the 34 of us, only two White learners.

	So, in the English side there aren't White, a lot of White learners and Afrikaans side, same thing, there aren't that many Black learners but then school wise yes, we are integrated but classroom wise not, not exactly.
Learner:	I think another positive thing is most of the children that are here, choose to be here. So, if you choose to be somewhere and you find something positive about it, you're bound to appreciate it. Whereas if you were forced to be there and you find something positive about it, you're going to keep on thinking that you only find it positive cause you're used to it. So because they chose to stay here and they found out that we're actually okay people and they like us, they actually are rooted in that sense I think.
Researcher:	Ja and that would serve them well in life to come.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	But its still small minority compared to the other schools like Louis Botha. I think Louis Botha was also a White school, wasn't it?
Learner:	It used to be.
Learner:	But now its like 90% Black.
Researcher:	I know, I wanted to do research and there were no Whites.
Learner:	Wow.
Learner:	It's very difficult to…
Learner:	When my dad was at, when my dad was at Louis Botha, it was like a White school, there were no Blacks.
Learner:	Its very difficult to instil change if like, only this school is…
Researcher:	Well you've got your Eunice, you've got, you um, Grey College. I'm still a bit, you've got um, St. Andrews, so. But I mean like you girls say, it is, it is…

(Recording ended)

Group 7

Researcher:	The title of the research, research studies: experiences and perceptions of diversity in racially integrated schools, okay. If I say the term diversity or diverse, what meaning does it have to you, the

	word diversity or diverse? Don't look at the thing, what do you, what is diversity mean to you?
Learner:	Umm…
Researcher:	Diverse, come, I know you know.
Learner:	It's um, different organisms, things, coming together in one environment.
Researcher:	Well done, okay, so its differences. Diversity is different things that are together: you have a diverse population or you have a, it can relate to um, Biology and Science as in organisms, whatever. For our purpose, diversity is going to relate to difference and predominantly racial difference, okay. What have your experiences of um, racial diversity been at school? Um, in both, like I said, both positive and negative experiences.
Learner:	I wouldn't say that, its ja, I wouldn't say that at all. Its not like a big problem or something.
Researcher:	But what, what specific things have been an issue for you? I don't want to lead you by saying specifically this or that.
Learner:	When they do something wrong and you tell them not to do that, then they say we are…
Researcher:	Being racist?
Learner:	Ja, when we, when we, when we get angry and …
Learner:	… racist and stuff. We were just actually trying to say in a nice way, not meaning anything ugly or stuff, then ja, they will get angry a lot. And um, sometimes I think they are also racist against us.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	It's not always the White people being racist against the Black people, I think it…
Learner:	Goes both ways.
Learner:	… ja, goes both ways.
Researcher:	And what, what kind of things will happen that would cause this kind of conflict?

Learner:	Like when we are in class and the teacher gives us work and they speak alone, she tells them um, to keep quiet and then they back-chat her. So, we usually tell them we don't speak to a teacher like that, then they will just turn around and say stuff in other languages or stuff we don't understand or you are being racist and stuff.
Researcher:	Do you think or anyone for that matter, think it's a cultural thing or do you think its just blatant disobedience or naughtiness?
Learner:	I think it's both.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Mmm, ja, it's both.
Researcher:	And you spoke about the talking in different languages, is, is language in any way been a, an issue?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Its, its just, ja, its harder when you don't understand because why, they'll be talking like, because we don't know if they are like saying something that I don't understand.
Learner:	Teacher Erica say they are only aloud to speak English and Afrikaans and then they speak Sotho, so we don't know what they say in Sotho. So ja, they don't really listen to her.
Learner:	Because they can say anything they want to and then she doesn't know what they're saying.
Learner:	Ja and sometimes they say, they say stuff about her also.
Learner:	Ja, you can see they don't show respect, ja.
Learner:	Say stuff about her, so ja.
Researcher:	Okay, you want to talk also.
Learner:	No, they just looking at us in a funny way when they speak if they are speaking about us.
Researcher:	Okay. Um, outside of the classroom, how many of you integrate with different racial groups outside of the school gates? Obviously in a classroom you're forced to integrate but how many of you carry that integration forward, beyond the school gates?
Learner:	Maybe um, like sometimes she'll come home with me and then we do homework together and…

Learner:	Friends.
Learner:	… ja, we're friends.
Learner:	There is also other races, so.
Researcher:	And there you also integrate?
Learner:	Ja but they're not always like that…
Researcher:	Ja. How many of you would like go to movies for instance or go to a club with and not at all, and not feel any sort of strangeness?
Learner:	I would go.
Learner:	Ja, I would go. Its not, its not…
Learner:	If they're nice with us then we'll be nice with them, ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Kayleigh and you?
Learner:	I don't um, I only have a few friends of other races. I don't have a lot and if I go out, I don't mind going out with them. We don't specifically go to like, where Black people, their club wherever, we stay around our area but I don't mind going out with them and if they are out, then I'm not going to say anything to them.
Researcher:	You don't feel uncomfortable in any way?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	Same here.
Learner:	One of my best friends outside of school is Black.
Researcher:	Um, are your backgrounds much the same?
Learner:	Um…
Researcher:	As a matter of, I mean do they also live in, in our areas, in?
Learner:	Yes, it's close to where I live.
Researcher:	Okay, okay. Anyone else want to add anything?
Learner:	No.

Researcher:	Um, what do you feel are the advantages you as students being in an integrated school or disadvantages, what would the advantage or disadvantage be of being in an integrated school opposed to being in an all White school?
Learner:	I don't think there is a difference.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	Okay, I think its nice to know about their background and their culture and the negative is, the language and the racism and…
Researcher:	Okay. Um, if you think past school, what benefits would it have for you past school? Do you think if you were in an all White school, if you were out there, do you think you would remain in an all White environment?
	No, definitely not. So I mean, there must be a huge advantage to being able to learn about other races and, and other cultures. How much have you actually learned about different races and cultures, both in your school curriculum and from being friends with others, have you, have you learned?
Learner:	Ja, we're not actually like different, we all people, we all the same actually, there is no difference.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Do you think your school as such does enough to promote um, racial integration, do you think they spend enough time on, on um, understanding different cultures or helping you to understand different cultures?
Learner:	Um, I wouldn't say really because in high school they like, when we talk to them and stuff, they really, really aggressive and mean to us but ja. So I think that um, it would be nice if we work on that but we, we not even respectful to them but always if they're going to be mean to us and rude to us, then we're going to be like that back to them. So ja, that's…
Researcher:	And is it, is it a, is it a general thing or is it just you talking from your point of view? Is it a general thing with most of the kids in this school?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes, it's a general thing.
Researcher:	Really?
Learner:	Yes, definitely.

Researcher:	Okay, so there, so there is an issue with race?
Learner:	Ja, just for example, we being the new matrics now, you could tell them break is over or you're not allowed to use your phone, then they would tell us but you're not going to tell me what to do or…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… you being disrespectful but I, just, just not telling them like what to do and not to do 'cause its our work, we have to do it.
Learner:	And we ask them nicely.
Learner:	And then when we tell them that, they just think we're being rude and disrespectful and stuff like that.
Learner:	And ja, you are not a teacher and stuff like that and we ask them nicely.
Learner:	And I just said to them, if you're going to respect me, then I'll respect you, so if you're going to be mean to me, then I'm going to be mean to you, so ja. If they're nice to me, I will not be ugly to them or rude to them, I'll be nice to them back but they're not like that.
Learner:	I think its, once again, it cuts both ways. I mean, they think that we think of them as if you know, they're not…
Learner:	Ja, ja, they feel we don't like them and we…
Learner:	That's not all we trying to do, actually, ja.
Researcher:	So do you think maybe its just a huge misunderstanding?
Learner:	Could be.
Researcher:	Do, do you think its something that could be addressed?
Learner:	Ma'am, what I think it is, is like in, I know in the old days, the people did cruel stuff to them and then they're learning this in schools and then they think we're like that and our parents are like that and then that's why they are starting to like dislike us and don't have any respect for us.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	I would, I would react the same um but at a time we must forgive each other and we must go on. We can't like live like this forever.
Researcher:	Would you agree to that statement?

Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Do you think it's a general trend?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Okay. Um, teacher wise, do you think that the teachers need to be better represented, do you think it would benefit the children of different cultural groups if they were better represented in the teaching staff? For instance, we have a certain percentage of Black students, we don't have a teacher, a Black teacher on our staff – do you think that would make a difference, do you think it would be a positive or a negative?
Learner:	I think it would be a positive if um, maybe because sometimes if, like in the beginning of the year, the one teacher um, um, spoke Afrikaans the whole time, so then they got angry and so.
Learner:	And in our, when teacher Donne did stuff about the cultural stuff, they really liked it.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja because some of the cultural stuff was…
Learner:	Ja because some of them had the same culture as what she did, she taught us and they liked that.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Is it?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	And how would you feel about that?
Learner:	Fine. It's interesting to know different cultures and stuff, ja.
Learner:	Ja, to learn more.
Researcher:	So, so basically, the kind of feeling I get and correct me if I'm wrong, you feel that maybe their culture should be better represented in our school and maybe we should, need to understand more about their

	cultures because obviously with understanding comes tolerance and do you think there is still a misunderstanding about…
Learner:	Ma'am I know its difficult somewhere for some of us that don't understand their language but I think it would be nice if we like could learn about their language and like how to speak and understand you know, ja. Talk to each other and communicate and all the languages we understand, in the same country.
Learner:	What's bad for me is like um, all the White people, they just know English and Afrikaans but the Black people knows English, Afrikaans and their own language.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	So we don't know their language and I think its um, bad of us.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	I would like to learn a, their language and speak and understand.
Researcher:	So you would like to perhaps see then that an African language is included in the curriculum?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja, definitely.
Researcher:	I think the kids in the lower grade are going to be really happy with your… because now you're finishing next year, so there will be no chance of that happening.
Learner:	But the one problem I know when I was still at Eunice, we had um, we used to have Sotho classes but then what used to happen is, the teacher would sit with the Black girls on the one side of the classroom and they would just speak and whatever and then we just kind of stayed on the other side and sat there and spoke and didn't learn anything because she was with them and they were talking their language and we couldn't understand what she was saying.

And then also, she didn't speak English very well so when she did try and explain something to us, we didn't understand what she was saying. |
Researcher:	Okay. So language could be a issue if you were looking at. Well, language, perhaps language not as much as pronunciation?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.

Researcher:	If you were looking at a Science or a Maths or a….
Learner:	It depends what teacher you have, what teacher you have.
Researcher:	Is there anything else any of you want to say? Do you, do you think that we have maintained a White culture in our school and we haven't really made allowance for, for other cultural groups? Do you, do you, is or do you think that's a nonsense statement?
Learner:	Look, you do get White people or are a bunch of jerks, you know, who are, who actually racist. But you see, the thing is um, so the other races would see that one specific person and say okay but that guy is racist, so they must all be racist.
Researcher:	So it's a stereotype?
Learner:	Ja, generalisation. But it's from both of the sides that it's the same, they just like us.
Researcher:	How much, how much influence do you think your background or your parents have in and taking it from all sides, not just you as a specific person, how much influence do you think? The way you brought up and your parents view point has?
Learner:	Its has quite a big influence.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja, it does.
Learner:	Because when they don't like for instance the Black people, then you must also not like Black people. I don't know.
Learner:	Its just, 'dis maar net hoe jy groot', its just how you grow, you grow up and you grow up with it and you think that's actually the way.
Learner:	You have to be.
Learner:	Ja, you have to be.
Researcher:	And do you think its just specifically White people and White parents that don't want integration?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No, it's on both sides.
Researcher:	Okay.

Learner: Definitely. Language also 'cause I know White people that is English that doesn't want to mix with the Afrikaans White people.

Learner: Ja, it's the same.

Researcher: So if we're talking basically, it might not even be about skin colour…

Learner: Ja.

Researcher: … its about…

Learner: Language.

Researcher: … difference in culture.

Learner: In this school, in this school, it's the English and Afrikaans um, the English children will say ja, the Afrikaans children does this and that and the Afrikaans children will always have to say something about the English children. So its not like Black and White, its more of a English/Afrikaans.

Researcher: Oh really?

Learner: Ja.

Learner: Mmm.

Researcher: Okay.

Learner: Ja.

Researcher: Interesting and at break time, you see little integration as well, do most people stick to their own?

Learner: Ja.

Learner: Yes.

Learner: Ja.

Researcher: And is that language or colour?

Learner: Like more the, more the colour.

Learner: And language.

Learner: Okay, lets say in break, we will all sit there on top and then all the Black children, except Makhile, he will play soccer with them, but ja, the Black people will be together and the White people. Sometimes I

	go and I go say hi to Grace and then um, just chat with the Black people but the, ja, we break up, its White people.
Researcher:	Do you think its to do with your, just a difficulty in your class or is it a general trend throughout the school? Do you see it with the young, with the younger kids, like the Gr. 8's for instance?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Also?
Learner:	Ja, also.
Learner:	Ja, also.
Researcher:	Also segregated?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Okay. Well thank you so much.
Learner:	Pleasure.
Researcher:	That was very sweet of you all for helping me. Nobody wants to say anything anymore?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	You sure.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Forever hold your peace.

Group 8

Researcher:	If I speak, if I speak of diversity, what, what do you perceive diversity to be? What is the word diverse or diversity mean to you? Like I explained to you, the, the title of this research study, is experience and perceptions of diversity amongst teachers and learners in racially integrated schools.
Learner:	Mmm, I think diversity like, people on the whole, the whole world, everything.

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Researcher:	But what people?
Learner:	Groups, cultures.
Researcher:	Yes, yes, yes, difference and difference, diversity is not related, is not necessarily just race or…
Learner:	Race.
Researcher:	… skin colour or yes. Diversity is a range of, of different things, so basically diversity means difference.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Okay. For the purpose of this specific study, we are um, focusing on difference as in cultural differences, more than, than race as such, okay. Um, so you all understand what we mean by diversity?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Okay. Um, what have your experience been of diversity within school and it can be a positive or a negative experience or just the general feeling?
Learner:	I hear the thinking…
Learner:	I don't know.
Researcher:	If you think, if I say to you, what is your experience of, of racial integration been in a school, I mean, in your school, you, you must have, I know every single one of you have very pertinent views.
Learner:	I don't know if I'm saying it correctly but if what I'm saying is, I don't know the term diversity or anything but I've noticed that like here at school, we have that group so to speak. We do that ourselves and we have that children there in Coloureds or maybe she was, ja, we just separate ourselves.
Researcher:	So beyond a classroom environment in the classroom, very little integration happens, is that what you saying to me?
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	And why, why do you think that is?
Learner:	Maybe because we don't get along or…

Researcher:	So, so it's not necessarily a racial thing, it might just be a personality thing?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Probably because we're different. You know when, we're the loud ones and they the down-to-earth people and then…
Researcher:	So what do you attribute that to when you say you the loud ones and they whatever, what do you attribute that to? Why are you loud?
Learner:	It's within us, its how it is, at home, everywhere. Like normally a Black women is loud, ja.
Researcher:	So do you, would you blame it on a lack of, of knowledge, a lack of knowing another culture?
Learner:	Um…
Researcher:	A lack of understanding different cultures?
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	And it might not necessarily just be related now to, to the, you know the loudness factor to, to, it could relate to many different things.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Would, would you attribute it to perhaps a lack of knowledge or a lack of knowing or a lack of understanding?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	And from your point of view as well as from their point of view, hey?
Learner:	Yes ma'am.
Researcher:	I don't know, I'm asking you.
Learner:	Do you eat tripe?
Researcher:	Sorry?
Learner:	Do you eat tripe?

Researcher:	Do I eat tripe?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	No.
Learner:	Oh, okay. Like in class we'll discuss such things that, like last class we were discussing that Katlogo's mother and the sangoma. So I don't think people will find it, it's not nice.
Researcher:	Why?
Learner:	I don't know.
Learner:	There's a lack of understanding.
Researcher:	Its, do you perceive them to expect it wouldn't be nice or do they actually say that it was, that they don't like it?
Learner:	Their reaction shows that but some will be interested and ask questions and how does… blah, blah, blah.
Researcher:	So once again what, what do you think if they are um, if they don't like it, why do you think they don't like it?
Learner:	Because they're not used to it, it doesn't happen in…. So, we, we will understand that okay fine, they're not used to such things, so let us teach them and something.
Researcher:	Do you think this is something that should be taught at school, do you think its something that schools should spend more time on doing?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	And religion.
Researcher:	On understanding the different cultures?
Learner:	Yes, understanding cultures.
Learner:	Yes, definitely.
Researcher:	So your feeling is basically that, that this mis-, that there's a huge gaping in understanding of…
Learner:	Culture.

Researcher:	… of different cultures.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	How would you like to add from a male's perspective?
Learner:	Like ma'am, from the males perspective, some was, specifically the White boys, they, the Black boys go to the mountains to go circumcise…
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	… and then White are used to going to the hospital…
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	… to go circumcise. So some White boys might not understand why they go there because of their culture.
Learner:	It also depends on you know the…
Learner:	Religion.
Learner:	Religion.
Learner:	Its mostly Xhosas and deep Sothos and Zulus that go there, ja.
Researcher:	Okay but if you explain to them or if they're interested enough to know why, does it change their perspective of it or their view of it? Not?
Learner:	I don't think so 'cause they're used to what they're doing, so some of them might find it wrong to like go into the mountains.
Researcher:	Why would you think they would find it wrong?
Learner:	'Cause they're not used to the, the, the, the process.
Learner:	I would say the process they go through, they wouldn't want to go through that like, the things they used to do, that process. It, it, its not there at the hospitals you know.
Learner:	Yes and I think again as when you're a child, you mom's supposed to tell you that, listen, at a certain age you're going to go the mountains.
Learner:	Whereby maybe the White boys, the parent would maybe go like, in a few months you are going to hospital, so just like okay, hospital.

Learner:	Whereby, ja whereby, you know, our culture you go step by step.
Researcher:	The, the White culture doesn't do a, a transition from, from boyhood to manhood by circumcision. The White culture is mostly um, the young children um, at a certain age, they go, they, if the parents so want for religious or a lot of parents just for, for um, whatever need, want their child circumcised and that is normally done as a, as a baby. So, this is very much a cultural thing that, that occurs and like you say, its, its misunderstood…
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	… by so many people and I mean even by other um cultural groups, be their, they, other um, Black cultural groups. Okay. Um, experiences, perceptions we've talked about.
	What's your feeling on um, how are the staff, in other words, how your teachers are represented? We are a racially integrated school, we have children of all different religions and cultures and everything and yet our staff is predominantly White, what is your feeling on that? Would you, would you want your culture to be represented in a teaching body?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	It would be best if they have a…
Learner:	Um, I think with a child in Gr. 8, its name Michael ma'am. His not White, Muslim.
Researcher:	What's what?
Learner:	The language.
Learner:	Muslim.
Researcher:	Um, he doesn't speak… Oh he does.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	I can't for the life of me think but ja, but anyway?
Learner:	Yes ma'am.
Researcher:	Is it Arabic, no?
Learner:	Arabic.
Learner:	Yeah.

Researcher:	Okay, ja?
Learner:	Maybe from his own point of view, he would like that, he at least would be taught, he will have like a lesson maybe after school have an Arabic lesson or…
Learner:	Or just a period.
Learner:	…or just you know. Same goes to ours, we'd love to have Sotho or Tswana as a subject and ja and that other one…
Learner:	SW.
Learner:	SW, his Indian.
Researcher:	Oh, okay.
Learner:	Yes ma'am.
Researcher:	Okay but now logistically with one child of, from an Indian culture or a Muslim culture, with twenty teachers, its going to be really difficult to represent them. How do you feel as um, in your culture that, I mean, I'm not sure what the exact numbers are but I mean, the Black cultures are reasonably well uh, represented in, throughout say St. Martins. Um, that there is not for instance a Black teacher on our staff, what, what difference would that teacher make to you besides speaking a Black language?
Learner:	Um, when you reach matric um, having Tswana or Sotho as an extra subject, it would boost your marks.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Having an extra subject, it shouldn't boost a mark.
Researcher:	Okay and what else would that teach, would, would it perhaps, could it perhaps do you think, how with a, with a better understanding, what are you sticking in your face?
Learner:	This.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Don't you, don't you feel comfortable discussing?
Learner:	Yes, no ma'am, I'm alright.
Researcher:	Are you sure because you don't have to…

Learner:	I'm alright.
Researcher:	Are you sure? Okay. What else would, what else, what would a, a teacher represent for you here, besides your, besides the language factor?
Learner:	Uh ma'am, I think that understanding caretakers like, when lets say in like any subject, lets choose Business for instance…
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	… when I don't understand the terms in there, maybe she can explain it in my language in order for me to understand it.
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	And understanding from a cultural perspective as well and perhaps having a, a better understanding amongst the teachers…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	… about different issues that even teachers might not understand, you know from children coming from different cultures. What benefit do you think there is for, for children being in an integrated school environment? What do you think the benefits are or do you think it would be better to just stick to your own race and go to your own school…
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	… or your own culture? What, why, why do you think we spend so much time um, on a subject like this and, and why we place so much importance on something like this, racial integration especially amongst our children going forward?
Learner:	Um, I think um, we, we, we don't get Tswana universities, Sotho universities, Xhosa and so on, so we have to like start off at a, getting into modern White schools and Western schools, so that when we get to university, at least we'll understand something.
Researcher:	Would you, would you like there to be like Xhosa or Sotho or Tswana universities?

Learner:	I really don't think it can help much 'cause then, what you need, actually need to be successful right, is like English and now Afrikaans sometimes and Maths. Basically they don't focus on languages that much except for English, so.
Researcher:	And do you think English is because it's a, it's a, the language of the world and not necessarily just the language of…
Learner:	Culture.
Researcher:	… ja or an oppressor as in apartheid era like Afrikaans is, its, you know what I'm saying to you?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	That, that its, a language that you going to use throughout the world and, and not just in a South African context, okay. So you'd like to see your language better represented and your teacher body better represented?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Do you think your school has a specific culture of the, like a White culture because all your teachers and, and do you think there's a lack of understanding and allowance of different culture and, and different religion um as such?
Learner:	The lack of understanding because no um, I cannot, I, I cannot always like speak English 'cause, 'cause its not my language. So I cannot always like speak, stick to English and…
Learner:	And even though you keep on reminding us, speak English, speak English, its not…
Learner:	I can't because English is not my language 'cause then when we get home, we don't speak like English, when we get home, we speak your home language, so.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	When we get out of school we speak your home language.
Researcher:	So you're not able to express yourself in English the way you would be able to in your mother tongue?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja.

Researcher:	Ja, well I mean I feel the same way if I had to speak Afrikaans, I'd b… b… b…., ja, ja.
Learner:	So like we get homework, this is an English and Afrikaans school, so ja.
Researcher:	But you do still speak your own language?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	A lot, we, we'd like not…
Researcher:	In a classroom situation?
Learner:	Classrooms, yeah.
Researcher:	And outside of the classroom, there's no issue?
Learner:	Sometimes at break, some of them do tell us no, its…
Learner:	At break now, we find them. We will not literally find them but they would get in, that White, White countries could go on mother tongue, I mean its break, we're in the classroom now…
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	It's our own…
Researcher:	Sure.
Learner:	… exactly. So, some would actually shout at us but then like I said, would also tell them no, no, no, sorry but then, its, I mean its break man.
Researcher:	Sure.
Learner:	And the thing is ma'am, we will be told like its an English school, the next thing we hear that it's a no, its an English school, the next thing they talk Afrikaans in class. When we, when we strike about Afrikaans, its an English and Afrikaans school now, its always that situation.
Researcher:	So Afrikaans is spoken but your language is frowned upon?
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	Why do you think that is?
Learner:	Because we only have White teachers here, mostly. White learners, students, so it would be mainly taken like as a White school.

Researcher:	I don't think there is a majority. Well maybe majority but very slight, its not uh, I surprised to hear you say that its perceived in a, as a White school because I would want you to feel that it was a, a, it was your school. So you don't feel a part of this school?
Learner:	We do feel a part of this school.
Researcher:	Do you?
Learner:	But then when coming to the language, when they tell us that we do, we shouldn't speak our, our language…
Learner:	And then in certain periods when like for instance tourism…
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	… tourism is a beautiful subject and it's a nice subject but then there is a point where we supposed to speak English because I mean all of us can hear English, all of us.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	But then like, I really struggle in Afrikaans, I can't hear a word that you say, so sometimes maybe the teacher will speak Afrikaans, then we'll ask her please do just translate to English…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	She would get angry and…
Learner:	So obviously just keep quiet, there's nothing else you can do.
Learner:	'Cause if you complain, you get sent downstairs to the principle.
Researcher:	And how is it dealt with there?
Learner:	My mom once came here and like, 'cause I told her about this situation and she came here and then she told um, um Ms. ------- told her that no, its and English school and there's no this English and Afrikaans there, its an English school and then that's it. So surprised like, after that, after my mom just talked to her, they telling us no, its an English and Afrikaans.
Learner:	We don't mind speaking English, we don't mind like discussing things in English but then some of us do struggle with Afrikaans, we do, do struggle with Afrikaans because Afrikaans is not our first language.
Researcher:	No, it will be your third language.

Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Okay. That's very interesting. So basically do you feel, you haven't said a word, hey?
Learner:	At least they are speaking.
Researcher:	At least?
Learner:	I've been speaking a lot of this.
Researcher:	You haven't.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	You said two and a half words but we are glad for that anyway. Um and your views, your perceptions?
Learner:	To me it really doesn't matter.
Researcher:	You, you, you don't have a language issue?
Learner:	No, at home mostly I speak English or Afrikaans. It doesn't really matter what I speak and even if I have to get it, the language wouldn't matter to me.
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	So ja, I just like go with the flow.
Researcher:	Apart from language, what other issues are there? I can see that language is a huge issue.
Learner:	Other issues at school or where?
Researcher:	Ja within the school environment. How many of you integrate with, with people of different cultures beyond school? In the classroom obviously you are, your forced to be together because you come to same, this school and um…
Learner:	Integrate meaning?
Researcher:	How many of you go to movies with people of different cultures or I don't know, go and visit or just interact beyond the school gates?
Learner:	We do.
Learner:	We do.

Researcher:	You do?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	With…
Learner:	All of us.
Researcher:	… not necessarily with people within our school but…
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Out of school yes.
Researcher:	Okay, okay. So you can relate a lot of, you know it, it is difficult in a smaller school environment you know, you don't have much choice of. So it's difficult sometimes to relate it specifically to is it a cultural issue or is it just a personality issue thing, you know what I'm saying to you, but, but the language is a very valid point. How much influence do you think your background or your parental influence is in, for you and for other cultural groups?
Learner:	It's a lot ma'am because um, coming to the language like she said when we get home, we speak this language, when we get to school you have to speak English because its an English school. And so let me say, a White person who is at home, she speaks English or Afrikaans, when she's at school, speaks English, she's used to it, so some of us then, then we speak our language.
Researcher:	How many of your parents are open to you um being friends with people of all different cultures or do your parents still have issues?
Learner:	My parents don't mind.
Learner:	My mother doesn't mind.
Learner:	Do your parents mind?
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Not, no?
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Okay. Um, is there anything else you want to add?

Learner:	No.
Researcher:	No? So, so the teachers are, representation in your teacher body is a thing um, what was the other thing. Language is a huge thing, okay.
Learner:	And the different groups and during breaks.
Learner:	Lack of understanding.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Okay. How do, how do you think a school could approach helping children to better integrate, what kind of things would you suggest as would be useful? Actually taking a specific culture and discussing it, like we are, like in a classroom or somebody of that specific culture talking about their culture to the rest of, what, what would, what would be the uh, interesting, nice way of, of introducing children to different cultures, do you think?
	How would you like to be exposed to different cultures, like to um, I think the other group said that when a teacher came and, and spoke to you about culture, how much you enjoyed it in LO once?
Learner:	Um, we talked about cultures.
Learner:	Our LO teacher, like we were discussing silly things like sangoma, how do you become one etc. So, ja.
Researcher:	But were you, would you feel open to discuss your culture in a classroom?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Very much.
Researcher:	And this is, ja.
Learner:	Its because we're proud.
Learner:	We're proud of our culture.
Researcher:	And, and would you like to learn about the different like the Muslim…
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	I passed my LO test where we discussed about cultures and there wasn't Tswana or anything, there was Muslim, Christian and etc.

Researcher:	Really?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Was that just not religions?
Learner:	Religions, yeah.
Learner:	Yeah.
Researcher:	Was it religions?
Learner:	Yes ma'am.
Learner:	Yes ma'am.
Researcher:	Okay but I mean with, in, in, in the Black cultures there is many different religions although they might all be a Christian. Ja…
Learner:	… to know is to know the White people got…
Learner:	Maybe and Coloureds, you know. I don't know, we, I don't know about…
Learner:	Its just too boring.
Learner:	We want to know about your cultures.
Learner:	Because it, we, like its mainly we, we focus on Xhosa and Tswanas and Muslims but we never like go onto like Whites, Coloureds or, ja.
Learner:	And ma'am, I think learning about the cultures will also help us you know to know that maybe if we say something to a Coloured person, you not supposed to say it because its maybe their culture or something like that. So maybe sometimes you say things and then you only regret it that, only to know that it was part of the culture, you know, you not supposed to say it. So I think we'll actually learn a lot from, yes.
Researcher:	Okay. Anyone want to add anything?
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	No?
Learner:	Ma'am, although I feel about this country because it's a mix of cultures so…
Learner:	To me it doesn't like really matter.

Learner:	When people say go to Whites, you go to them. If you go to a Black school, you go, so…
Researcher:	I was actually asking all of you if you have anything more to add. I wasn't specifically asking… (Recording ended)

Group 9

Researcher:	Okay. So if you can just speak nice and clearly for me, I sort of put it that way, right. Like I said to you, the title of my research is experiences and perceptions of diversity amongst teachers and learners in racially integrated schools.

If you hear the word diversity or diverse, what does it mean to you? Like people say South Africa um, is a diverse society or um, I have um diverse interests, what does the word diversity mean to you? Anyone. |
Learner:	I would say like to me now ma'am, it would mean like different cultures and different races that are in the country basically.
Researcher:	Yes, okay. So we all agree, its differences.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Okay. This specific study, we, we are more interested in um, racial differences okay but I mean diversity is basically difference, okay. Um, most of you girls have only ever known being in a diverse school, am I right?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	In an integrated school. None of you were ever in a school or is there anyone that was in another school? Not, okay. So you've always been um, yes, okay. Um, what are the, your experiences and when I say experiences, I mean both positive and negative um, in a environment like this, where there are different cultural, lets say cultural groups.
Learner:	Um, I think that when we different, we believe different things. So for example, the White people believe you should act a different way to a certain problem, where Black people believe you should act differently. So you get to see and experience sort of different ways of approaching a problem but at the same time, sometimes that makes you clash because you believe this is the way to do it and they believe that's not the way to do it.

Researcher:	And long term, do you feel it's a something positive or something negative, learning from others' experiences?
Learner:	I think its positive because you're not always going to get your way. You should learn at a young age like how at the age we probably are now, that the different people who believe different things but we should learn to tolerate and maybe learn, maybe that we should just have an open mind basically when it comes to other people.
Researcher:	Okay. Anyone else that wants to add to that? What experiences have, have you had as individuals, as scholars? Do you for instance integrate after school with, with um children of other cultures or is, do you mainly stick to your own culture?
Learner:	I would say mostly I'm with other cultures also because my friends mostly come from other cultures except now the culture that I am.
Researcher:	Sure but I mean you are, after school, not just within the school gates, I mean after school, you go out together, you socialise together, you visit each others' homes.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Am I right in saying that?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	And, and does everyone have that, is anyone, does anyone have perhaps parental influence that doesn't agree with your way of thinking?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Researcher:	Goodness, okay. Um, your teachers and you as students, do you feel that your cultures are um, well or, or represented in some way in, in the teaching staff and would you like and if not, would you like to see a change? How do you feel about that kind of thing? I think the majority of your teachers are White.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.

Researcher:	How do you feel about um, your specific culture being represented in the teaching staff? Does it worry you at all, um, do you feel you'd be better understood? Like you said just now, White people have a certain way of dealing with issues and Black people have a certain way and Indian people have or whatever. Do you feel that um, it would be beneficial in any way?
Learner:	I don't think as much, it wouldn't be so beneficial as much of ,ja. It wouldn't be that beneficial to us, it would probably be more beneficial to the teachers because some of the teachers don't understand why we act in a certain way as students and uh, I think if a Coloured teacher for example would be working with Coloured girls, she'd just understand why we're reacting because she can relate to that.
	So the teachers sometimes, they get offended because we act in a certain way but that's how we are, so ja and the same with, with Black teachers or a Coloured teacher. She, she wouldn't expect a certain reaction from like that the White girl for example and I don't want to sound like racial…
Researcher:	Not at all, I mean that's not what its about but I mean what we specifically want to determine is, would you like somebody representing you in staff, you know. I mean most of the schools I've visited, I mean, majority of the um, teachers are White. That, that is a given fact you know.
	Would students, some said no and others definitely, so you know, we need to get a consensus on this. Would you and I mean you might think your teachers are incredible, you know what I'm saying to you. That's not what its about, its about do you feel that you would like someone representing you in the teaching staff of a school?
Learner:	I, I would like it because then I think that there would be more of an understanding 'cause sometimes um, we're labelled because we act in a certain way because we're a certain race. So if there's someone in the staff who understands, then maybe they can say but its not her fault. You understand, she was brought up in that way.
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	So, I think it would be nice.
Learner:	Ja, I don't really think uh, that would really make a difference. Like, I don't really mind like what type of, what race of teacher I have. It just like depends on whether you understand the teacher and whether you as the teacher and the student who work well together, that's the only thing that I think that we come to school for.

But it would be, it will be really nice and different to have a teacher of your own race to teach you because you like, you get used to like have a White teacher all the time. So, if we do have like other types of teachers and stuff like that, I think like maybe the way they teach as well, will be different and that we would like see from their point of view as well. Ja, that's what I think.

Learner: But we do have a Coloured teacher.

Learner: Ja, only one, only one.

Researcher: Okay, that's interesting, ja. How, how many um, members of staff do you have besides White teachers, how many other members of staff, you said one Coloured teacher?

Learner: And one Black.

Learner: One Black.

Researcher: Okay, so its pretty much the same throughout all schools. Do you feel that your school accommodates your culture um, in whatever it does, be it dances, be it…

Learner: No.

Learner: No.

Learner: Not at all.

Learner: Not at all.

Researcher: Okay, so how do, how can that be changed? How should, how should it be in your view?

Learner: But I don't think really we have a say because we knew coming here we're going to be accepted into this type of school. So we knew that it's an English medium school, so we can't really expect them to change that just because I'm Zulu or I'm Xhosa or something, ja, because we knew what we were coming to.

It would be nice if like extra-mural activities, there would maybe be where they just try and bring in different things but we have been doing um, cultural evenings where sometimes we, we hear cultural songs and things like that. But to bring it into school time, I don't think the school would do it because, but it would be nice, but I don't think they would do it because this is what they are, they're English.

Researcher: So am I right in saying there, there's a certain school ethos or…

Learner: Ja.

Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	… culture and, and you as girls need to conform…
Learner:	To that.
Researcher:	… to, there is this thing, way the school's always been.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	And, and, is that a problem, besides now what you said for the rest of you, is, is that a problem for you? Um, for instance um, a dance – is, does the music for instance represent everybody and everybody's taste in music? Are you allowed to um, put forth a, a, a list of songs for instance? It sounds silly but you know that, that will be played on the evening of your dance or, or is it all just the way it used to be and that's the way it will always be?
Learner:	Ja, we basically do things the way they've always been. There's a few changes here and there but I mean we still sing the song, same songs, hymns in chapel. Its not like we're singing other songs in chapel, we're still singing the same songs in chapel.
Learner:	Because it is an Anglican school.
Researcher:	School, sure. Okay, so its, that kind of thing is, ja, being an Anglican school would sit in a whole different light. Do you feel that um, racial integration at school level is necessary?
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	We need to learn from a young age to mix with other races because the world is full of different people and if you're just narrow minded and just want to stay with your people, your race and then you're not going to get far in life. You need to be able to work well with other people and it does start at a young age here at school.
Learner:	Mmm.
Researcher:	So do, do you feel you being exposed to a, a um, intercultural society at school level, would benefit you for the rest of your life as opposed to say someone that grew up in a, rural township and was only ever with people of their own culture?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.

Researcher:	In what way do you think it would benefit you besides what you just mentioned.
Learner:	I think you like, you get to, you get to know how people think and how people react and you like, you adapt to that and you not only used to how your people act and how they think. So I think that would benefit you because you have to work with those people in the future anyway, so to get along you have to like accommodate people as well, like they would accommodate you and that's what I think.
Researcher:	Okay. Does anyone else want to add anything?
Learner:	And um, when you this small, you, you are influenced by your parents. So when you go to school, your parents aren't there, its you experiencing 'cause I mean when you go and work, its not your parents working, it you. So when you in a, in a position of conflict or something, its not your parents that can deal with it, you have to deal with it, you have to experience that and I think school is a appropriate place to experience different cultures because then its not your parents anymore, its you.
Researcher:	Language wise, considering the majority of you girls speak Afrikaans at home, may I ask why you at an English school, what the reasoning would be behind it.
Learner:	I can't read Afrikaans.
Researcher:	But you speak Afrikaans at home?
Learner:	Yes. I speak it but I can't read it 'cause I've been at an English school, so that's why I can read it.
Researcher:	Okay and do, do you know why your parents specifically wanted you to be taught in English?
Learner:	From my point of view I would say like I come from an Afrikaans school when I was little right and then I came to an English school obviously. And then my parents told me the other day, its not like we'd want you to go to Afrikaans school to learn more about Afrikaans and to understand Afrikaans better but like the world has different languages and we want you to because like if you go to varsiy or university or whatever, they, if someone gossips about you, you must be able to understand what the other person is saying or if the other person is talking about you, you must be able to understand what other person is trying to tell you or whatever. So like ja, my parents told me to come and learn different languages so that I can also be able to speak to other people.
Learner:	And the English is world wide used.

Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	International language, yes.
Learner:	Um, well when I was small my parents first sent me to an Afrikaans school and I didn't adapt to it so I always, I never had friends 'cause I only spoke English no matter what. So they sent me to an English school and ever since then I always speak English even at home although they speak Afrikaans, I just speak English 'cause I'm more used to it.
Researcher:	Okay. Nothing else? So there's nothing else that you would like to add to um, if you're voice could be heard without them knowing exactly who you are, what, what is it that you would say, what would you like to see um, changed in your school that would make you happier as learners?
Learner:	Older teachers.
Researcher:	Older?
Learner:	Yes because all the new teachers, young teachers are just coming out of university, they don't really know how to teach. They mean, I mean they're just starting and I understand you have to start somewhere but now we're suffering…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	… because they're still learning and they still make mistakes and I understand they're human but it would just be nice if they had just a little bit more…
Learner:	Experience.
Learner:	… ja and if they have more experience they know how to handle situations better. So if, with the racial what what, integration, they can, they know how to react to different situations, Um, ja, they wiser basically.
Researcher:	Do you have many older teachers here?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No.
Learner:	Nee.
Researcher:	They're too young?

Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	So you, you can't even compare someone that was trained in the old system compared to now.
Learner:	We have a few older teachers and I mean, where we are, I'm sure everyone would agree that they really good teachers…
Researcher:	And they've adapted well to the, to the changes?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Speak your mind.
Learner:	No, it's fine.
Researcher:	No, say what you want to say, you enjoy the younger teachers?
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Is that what you want to say? That, that is a personal preference, absolutely and you fully entitled to…
Learner:	Well the old, old voices make you feel…
Researcher:	Make you scared?
Learner:	Make me sleep.
Researcher:	Oh, make you sleep! Oh my darling.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Okay. So you enjoy the, the vibrancy and the energy of the younger teacher, teachers opposed to the boring, monitor, older teachers?
Learner:	Yes, they're alive even though they know how to teach they are still alive.
Learner:	They're fresh and some children take advantage of the, the younger teachers. Where they know when they get to the older teachers, they can't take advantage and like say they for example, they say they forgot their books at home with the older teacher, the older teacher

won't take that. The younger teacher will say okay, just bring your book tomorrow and I'll sign it for you.

Learner: Not always.

Learner: Not, ja, not always but sometimes.

Learner: Well now they don't do that anymore.

Learner: They used to.

Learner: They're very strict now.

Researcher: Are they.

Learner: Ja.

Researcher: I'm so glad to hear that. How do you feel about discipline at this school?

Learner: As a whole or as in each class with a different teacher?

Researcher: Well as, as a whole, um discipline, do you feel that the school should be stricter, do you feel they too strict, do you think they feel, accommodate?

Learner: I don't think like back then, I think the discipline was much better than what it is now and I think they could make changes to all the rules and stuff like that because we have to live up to our standard, our reputation. So ja, I think we can make a change but we can still like accommodate us as well but I think we should also like, seeing that we chose to come to this school, we should also live up to their expectations and stuff like that, ja.

Learner: But I believe you can't take rules that worked in the past and apply it to the youth of today because we grow up in different circumstances than what they grew up. I mean back then there was um, corporal punishment, there wasn't a, I mean wasn't illegal. So now, I mean half our parents don't even smack us anymore so we don't, I don't think you can use the same, you have to just adjust your rules just a little bit to make them strict enough for this generation in terms of how they grow up, so ja.

Researcher: Okay. Thank you girls.

Learner: Pleasure ma'am.

Learner: It's a pleasure ma'am.

Group 10

Researcher:	How do you feel about doing um, Afrikaans as a second subject as opposed to doing say a, a language of your choice? I mean its difficult now for you because you're second language is Afrikaans but how important do you think it is for us to be able to speak um, African languages? Just as a matter of interest because you, one of you said earlier on um, I think you said about um, being able to speak English, understanding, knowing what other people are saying, how do you feel about the fact that you don't speak um, an African language fluently?
Learner:	I do.
Researcher:	Do you? Okay, that's wonderful, I wish I did.
Learner:	Oh no, not fluently.
Researcher:	But I mean, do you think its important, especially growing up in South Africa and working in South Africa and…
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	My parents are forever grilling me about trying to learn another language because you know like, when you're in the workplace…
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	… that's what people employ you, like that's like what they look for in you CV and stuff like that. Ja, like you get preferred above other people that can only speak two languages for example but if you can speak like three or four, you are, you can get far in life as well. That's what I think most of our parents are trying to, that's why like, most of the Coloured girls here, all of us speak Afrikaans at home…
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	… but our parents prefer to send us to English schools just to have that, you know, to be a step ahead in front of those that can only speak one language, ja.
Researcher:	Another thing I wanted to ask you was um, how much integration happens um, during break time? Do you see specific separate groupings or is that something that just doesn't happen here?
Learner:	In the junior school you'd find that there step to, their race, like the Black girls were playing with the Black girls but the older we get we see that we, we all the same, whatever race we are. So in break we do mix a lot more than what the junior girls would.

Learner:	We only mix with our grade though not, most of us don't mix with other grades but we do mix with other races in our grade.
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	That's interesting because sometimes in the other school we've seen irrespective of grade you know, a real grouping of, so that's good to know. You still want to talk?

Group 11

Researcher:	So we can carry on.
Learner:	Like I said, they don't feel that we get represented in the country so they feel that what does it help going to university because you're going to be nothing, you not going, you not going to reach you know, climb the ladder that far, that's what most of our kind of kids think.
Researcher:	Say again what, just repeat what you were saying about stereotype?
Learner:	Um because we, we've been conditioned to think a certain way, that's how we perform. We um, think because the, lets say there's a cool group in Heidedal and they smoke hubbley and they drink and they, and they Coloureds, we're going to think oh, because we're Coloureds, we also want to be cool, so we also going to do that. So and we think that violence, only Coloureds are violent, so we have to be violent because we're Coloureds.
Learner:	That's just stereotype, that's what… that's always the same, that Coloureds are violent…
Learner:	And dangerous and how we go according to 'we dangerous' and people mustn't mess with us and everything.
Learner:	Stabbing people.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Like, like you were, you were saying earlier about your dad and, and the Coloured children that don't want to work as hard as the Black children in the school um, repeat for me what you said about why?
Learner:	They feel that seeing, they feel that we are not represented as a whole in South Africa and that they don't really see that there's a change in the Coloured community. Like we still the same like we were back then before apart, like before the end of apartheid and stuff like that. So they don't see any point in studying further to

like you know because they, they think that they will never be recognised. They always feel like, seeing that uh, the majority of our government is Black, they feel that they won't get that far in life seeing that they're Coloured.

Researcher: And, and like you said earlier, its almost as though they are expected to behave in a certain way. Do you think that carries any influence?

Learner: Yes.

Learner: Yes.

Learner: I also think it does because how they think okay, maybe we don't have a, we not supposed to be in government so this is our purpose in life, to be violent, to swear, to. I think that they think their purpose is to be lazy almost.

Researcher: What, what makes you different from those children do you think, in your view?

Learner: I just think its 'cause we're exposed to more than what they are 'cause like I hardly go outside but I have friends where we stay in Heidedal and they have the mindset of that we think we're better because…

Learner: Ja.

Learner: … we're in a better school in town and its not. And then like I stay right across from those who I grow up with and I don't attend school, so they ask me, the school's right here, why don't you attend school here as opposing. My parents just want something better for me and there are so many kids in, we live in, it's a long road but the piece that we stay in…

Researcher: Mmm.

Learner: … there's like, its me and my sister, my older sister's at varsity and then there's like three others across the road, I know eight kids in that road that go to school. The house right in front of us, they sell drugs, their kids too. On each corner there's a shabeen.

Researcher: That's the reality.

Learner: Mmm.

Researcher: So the difference for you is being afforded this opportunity to be taken out of that environment even if it is to just come to school.

Learner: But I think if you also decide you don't want that, I mean it doesn't help your parents put you in a school like this and then you in any case decide I'm going to go sell drugs, then its not, you have to decide for

yourself, I'm not going to be like that, I'm going, I'm going to be different. I'm going to go and study, I'm going to make something out of nothing or I'm going to make the most out of my situation.

Learner: Ja, I think its also personal and I think there's this mentality that Coloureds and Black people have of we're less, where they are superior, we are inferior. So must get out of that mindset and tell ourselves that we can also do, we can achieve more and look how many people rose out of apartheid and rose out of those circumstances. They can do it as well but going back to, they just needed someone to say, you know what, you can do that.

Learner: My mom also taught me the other day like also with the Coloured thing ne ma'ma, like the reason why some Coloured children don't want to go study because their parents feel sorry for them and their parents like for example, if they don't have a job, their parents would like okay, I'll give you money for this and that and that. Their parents buy them a house, their parents buy them a car.

Basically their parents are looking after them and my aunty's a nurse at um, at one hospital ne ma'am and she told me that the majority of Coloured people that are, the children aged from 13 to 15 that are pregnant now and getting children, its high ma'am. So like, because if the children gets, if they pregnant ne ma'am, their parents will be like, well I'll look after the child, you can stay here at home and I will support you and everything. They don't like send the children off to school to go finish.

Learner: They lazy.

Learner: Yes.

Learner:	Okay, the reason why I think that most Coloureds like don't really achieve like, they don't achieve a lot and they aren't as successful as other people are. Seeing that she said that most Coloureds are like no, if you're not the way they are, you think that you are better than they are. Like the other day, I was like chatting to some old friends because I wasn't in this school, I was in a other school in primary school and there, there was also mixed races there. So then I was chatting to this old friend of mine and like Lauren, I'm also a person that, I don't, I don't really go out even though I do live in Heidedal as well.
	I'm just, I don't have that personality to go out, have a lot of friends, stuff like that. So then they're like no, just because you're in this school, stuff like that, just because you're what, what, what, you're think you better than other people, you think that you are White. I think that's what most, that's what get most of us down because you like, I don't know, it, it really makes you feel bad if someone of your own race tells you that.
Researcher:	I can, I can see that, I see how it, it affects you. I can see the emotion that comes out with that. So, I mean that is huge but I mean at the end of the day what, what you girls are doing and what you can offer you community is, is, is wonderful and you've got to take that and you've got to do the best you can with it. And I have no doubt that every single one of you can make a huge change in your own communities because I mean that is what they're going to be looking for, is their own role model.
Learner:	And like also the area where I live in ma'am, to say that in my street, we're the only Coloureds in that street ne ma'am and the majority is Black people. And then the, like when I go to the shop and stuff like that, people ask me what am I doing here, this is a Black community, I'm supposed to go to Heidedal where everyone is and stuff like that.
	So like then I also feel like I don't belong here and what am I doing here actually. It affects most of us a lot because like sometimes, I understand like there's also White people living there ne ma'am and then like during the weekend, weekends, they study, they like, their children don't study ne. They party the whole weekend through where we want to play music and stuff like that, they feel offended then they come and shout at us and they tell us look, like we want to party, you guys, your music is too loud put it softer or don't play music at all, yes.
Learner:	Well I know these two people and they dropped out of school when they was 16 and before they got… And now um, she uh, she wasn't married, she got divorced. So now she is living by herself with two kids and her parents have to support her and she doesn't have money or anything and she doesn't have um, the means to qualify for varsity and stuff.

So like, the thing is, your parents need to be there to support you no matter what, even though you think you making the best decision in life, its not because your parents are always looking
after you and they always want to be there for you. So I think that parents shouldn't encourage their children to drop out of school but they shouldn't encourage them to keep on going forward and pursuing their dreams .

Learner: Another experience of babying the children now, like when a baby just cries and its starts at, at a really young age where your child just starts crying and you give them what they want. Sooner or later, if the child says she wants to drop out, she can't do it anymore, you tell her okay fine. That's already telling her that oh, even my mother doesn't believe I can do it, so I'm just going to drop out and do just anything. So I think parents should also, ja, like encourage their children to do more and to do better and I think all our parents do that and that's why I think we've decided we can do it.

Because it doesn't help you tell yourself you can do it, you can do it and then the people around you are being negative, sooner or later they're going to convince you to leave and they're going to, and you're going to start being negative towards all sort of um, things. So if your parents and your brothers and sisters and your friends are pushing you forward, you're going to believe in yourself and I think that's what, a place I can live out my dreams. Its people to really be positive um and you know, that could make a huge difference. Just us, instead of saying ah, I'm so tired, start saying ah, today is a beautiful day, you know, that the little things like that could make a big difference.

Learner: The thing is, the problem that I think that Heidedal has is that there is no discipline and that, like Danel said that the pregnancy rate there is very high and children that have children at such an age, they don't know how to raise their kids properly. That why I don't think that it will ever change.

Researcher: What, what makes you feel so emotional now, is, is it the fact that you rejected by some of you own or what is happening to people around you, what, what makes you so emotional, what has made you so emotional about talking now?

Learner: Um, I just think that uh, ja, being rejected by my own race like, I just think that they are supposed to know that we all one and we, I just think that they are supposed to know what we feel like, seeing that we are one race. And that, if they feel, like I said most of them feel that we aren't represented as a whole in South Africa, I just think we should like stand together and stuff like that. Not against other people but just to be recognised as well, that's what I think.

Researcher:	Well done.
Learner:	Like um, like parents should encourage their children ne ma'am. My cousin is in Gr. 7 ne ma'am and she attends school like Oranje and she also lives in Heidedal ne ma'am and her parents like, I understand the fact that she was adopted when she was a baby and she only found out recently and her parents didn't tell her anything, she found out by herself, by reading the letters and everything. So like, she doesn't like, in the mornings she would tell her mom I'm not going to school and she's only Gr. 7 ma'am and she hangs out with people at the age of 25 and only guys, not girls ma'am and her parents have tried talking to her, even my father tried talking to her, telling her, look, go to school, its your future, make a difference like, be someone because she's the eldest ma'am. Have an example towards your sister and she doesn't want, she comes in the house at 11 o'clock, 12 o'clock and then the next day she just carries on, she drinks, she smokes, everything ma'am. We've tried talking to her, my grandmother, no one, no one can't get like, the sense that she, she must go study everything. Like there's no hope for her anymore.
Researcher:	I know.
Learner:	Ma'am I just want to say… (Recording ended)

Group 12

Researcher:	Try and speak loudly for me please because some of the little voices get lost, okay. Um, basically if you hear the word diversity or diverse, what does it mean to you?
Learner:	Different cultures and things.
Researcher:	Anyone else? So difference, ja, okay. So, when you talk about diversity, we talk about difference, okay. Specifically for this study we focus on racial difference and cultural difference but I mean diversity can mean many different things. I mean you as a person can have diverse interests, okay, so its basically difference. Um, what are you perspectives or, or what are you experiences of integration here at your school? And it can be either positive or negative, it doesn't always have to be negative.
Learner:	(Sound to soft to hear)

Researcher:	That, that's fine, that's fine. What, what are your perceptions or experiences been of…
Learner:	For me it was kind of strange coming to St. Michaels because in Gr. 6 we were like a lot of White kids, then they all started to move aside, that they were going to go to Eunice and like we literally eight or seven White girls in our grade out of 15, six of something and that's really like, it feels like sometimes we don't have an opinion because the White girl, ag the White girls don't really get voted for much. So that like, also like, if you look like over the past two years or three years, our headgirl's been a Black girl. Which I don't mind now because I'm not racist but like, it should be different from all the other schools I've been to where the White kids also had like a 50% say but here we are like literally a 10% say, so.
Researcher:	And how, how many White students are represented overall in the High school here? About a 10% or more?
Learner:	About.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Probably 10%, okay.
Learner:	'Cause um we the biggest grade with like the most White kids, especially now that the matrics are going to leave now and also next year we've got more White kids in our grade than what there is in Gr. 11 this year. So, its really kind of, I don't know how to explain but like its really kind of sad if you think about it because we don't get to always have our say. Like when it comes to school um, activities like for example, this play that we're doing, this singing thing. Like most the people in my house is Black so like when I went there, it was like three of us that were White and like all the Black girls got chosen which was to me like and they want to learn Sotho and do Sotho songs and I can't speak Sotho, so that's even harder for me. So I was just sitting there, I was like…
Researcher:	Tell me something else, you mentioned earlier that a lot of the kids left St. Michaels and went to another school, why?
Learner:	Okay, with my opinion like my friends that left said its because St. Michaels is going down basically because of, in the way that the kids behave. They kind of lost their moral sense of being a lady and acting more like children that need to be supervised and because most parents just say that the school's becoming too Black for them. Like I know

	my one friend got to move because she decided she don't want to be in a school where there was only four White girls in her grade, so then she decided to leave.
Researcher:	Any other experiences?
Learner:	Ma'am for me, I don't know, for me its chill because I've been here since Gr. 00. So like I'm part of the furniture here, so like I've always kind of been in that vibe, I've always had more Black friends than White friends and like with me at choir as well, its easier for me. And I think like it gives me a headstart in life because I think this is how South Africa is.

There is probably only 10% White population or maybe more and the rest is Black and like that's a fact that everyone just has to face and get over with. Because like um, like there is not racism but there is like racial thing coming from my family like uncles and aunties but that's how they grew up. So for me like, it really its, its so chill because I grew, like I grow up Black people, I had a best friend that was Black and I think sometimes we are misrepresented but I think if you really tried, your opinion would be voiced.

So like, I think for me its not a bad thing like, it, its how South Africa is. So like I think for me it's a headstart in life because now I know how to act around Black people, I know when I go to university, its not going to be a culture shock that there are like more, lots of more Black people than there are White people. So like I think it's a good thing for me in life, I think the school accepts the people they think are the best and we should just accept that fact. |
Researcher:	You, you both spoke predominantly about Black and White. Um, the Asian population is well represented in your school, am I right?
Learner:	Yes ma'am.
Researcher:	As well as…
Learner:	Especially in our class.
Researcher:	The Coloured population – why do you specifically talk about Black and White or do you class everyone of colour under Black, just to clarify who we talking about or are you specifically talking about the Black cultural group?
Learner:	Like I think, I think the Coloureds and the Asians often withdraw themselves from…
Learner:	Mmm.

Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… because the Asians are, they very shy and the Coloured people are very outgoing. So I think the Asian people feel they're discriminated against for being shy and sometimes there's also like, I'm smart and sometimes it's a bit of a, like language barrier as well. So I think that and a lot of people make fun of them so I think that's why they withdraw. Not fun but like there's always like snide remarks and stuff, so I think they withdraw and the Coloured people like, a lot of them like our under headgirl is Coloured but I think a lot of them withdraw as well.
	Like when they go off in groupies, its always a Coloured groupie, like they don't, much of them have other coloured friends. Like our group, we're probably equal amounts of Black and White but like and they are friends with the Asians. So I think, I know its like a mean thing but like just as a, they withdraw and like they made like really good friends with them because like the Asians are outcast and really shy. Like I think except for Jeanny, so like I think its just, its just easier for them to like have close friends and just like stick to those friends than to make new friends and to feel they putting themselves out for getting hurt and like that's just my opinion.
Researcher:	And you girls that are specifically integrating with, with Asian friends, do you find any, any difficulties or, or um, what have your experiences been? Positive or negative.
Learner:	The only thing I can say that annoys me is like um, we all speak English except they always speak in a different language. So even though we're friends, they always are there only little thing.
Learner:	They have like a habit of just kind of speaking their language.
Learner:	Ja, like suddenly swapping into their own language and then you're just so lost, you just like sit there on your own.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	So language is a…
Learner:	Sometimes.
Learner:	Its quite annoying…
Learner:	It is, especially in an English school and in general people just speak their, like Coloured people will speak Afrikaans, Asian people will speak Mandarin, Black people will speak whatever Black language they speak. Like, I mean, we don't…

Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	I mean for example in our friends group like she said, there is a pretty much equal amount of White and Black but then there's times when they just go off in their language and we're like, yeah okay, we just kind off got a cut of that conversation. And its not in, they don't mean it in a bad way. Like we're trying to keep things from you but its their natural instinct, to talk to each other in their own language which, where in our minds its we're here, we're an English school, we should speak English to each other. So I think ja, the language thing comes up.
Learner:	It would be quite annoying though because like if you get into a debate or something and then they just switch over to their language and you'll be like, okay so you're being rude about me now, what are you saying, you know. You don't really understand and I think that also causes a lot of problems because we make our own assumptions. Whereas to, if we're in a debate and you switch over to your language, I'm obviously going to think you're saying something about me…
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	… or you don't want me to hear something that you're saying but you say it in front of our face but I can't understand. Yeah, it causes a lot of misunderstandings.
Learner:	The thing is, I think that's what divides us because like I said for example, we had the Maths class last term and then like there was an incident where the Black girls started talking in Sotho and they were making uh, comments about my mine and X… and we're just sitting there and then one of our friends, her name is Charmaine, she is Black, she came up to us and said oh, because we asked her what are they saying and she felt that it would be disrespectful not to tell us. So she told us they were commenting on our weight and they way we, we look and mainly the way we talk because when they talk Sotho, then me and X, we all of a sudden will start talking Afrikaans because why do they get to talk in their own language but we don't get to talk in our home language. So its kind of like, it's a, we kind of hurting them but like unintentionally, we just, we just swap over because that's what divides us. Their language divides them from us and the thing is like we get that they learning Afrikaans in school and that's why up until Gr. 9 we had to learn Sotho in this school, which was nice but I mean, for somebody who came late in the grade…
Learner:	Ja, I came in Gr. 9 and I couldn't learn…
Researcher:	No.
Learner:	… anything at all.

Learner:	And it still doesn't help us. It would have been nice if we get, wouldn't it be nice, it would've been like easier if they forced up until matric where we all got to learn the whole language and then could still understand what they were saying because then maybe like, they way they're, they'd be forced to learn Afrikaans, they're going to understand us but that means we'll never be able to understand what they're saying.
Learner:	I think we should've learned languages like Spanish and French so that no one can say…
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	… because that is what happens. Like they do argue, they say why do we have to do Afrikaans and I mean we had to do Sotho up to Gr. 9 and for me, like it was nice because I still remember a few words, so I can catch on in a conversation but like for me, getting that 20% on my report, it sucked so bad.
Researcher:	When, when do actually start as a matter of interest with Sotho?
Learner:	Gr. 3, 4.
Learner:	4, Gr. 4.
Researcher:	Oh really.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Like with the young.
Learner:	Some of us like only came like when we were about…
Researcher:	Okay.
Learner:	… so okay I came three years before the time and I only learned one sentence and that's how are you in Sotho, that's like the whole three years. So its all I learned, so and it was quite a disadvantage to me because I came halfway through the year. So like while they were doing their orals, I was forced to do it and I was just sitting there and not understanding what to say, when to say something, how to say it and I had to write test on stuff I didn't know.
Researcher:	What would, what's, so what's your basic opinion on being able to speak an African language?
Learner:	For me personally I would love to do it because I mean, its actually kind of exciting to be able to talk in another language and like my

parents kind of wanted me to do it up until matric but my marks aren't good enough so…

Learner: I think the reality is though, this is an English school and technically we are only allowed to speak English here and I think I'm like, yeah they have to learn Afrikaans and stuff but…

Learner: It's not our fault.

Learner: … ja, I think, I just think if we all followed that rule, I mean, let them, its fine, speak Sotho, I mean obviously its your home language and I speak Afrikaans at home but when we come to the school, the rule is that we only allowed to speak English for obvious reasons, so that we can all communicate and there'll be way less misunderstandings and a lot less of this racial thing if we can just set down that rule and say this is the ways its supposed to be and there are reasons for it and we see why it is that way because we're not doing it. So…

Learner: But ma'am, I also think like the teachers like say for example in a class, like the Black girls would start speaking Sotho and then it would be an Afrikaans teacher and then the teacher will say, okay now since you're speaking your language, I'm going to speak mine. I think like if we all have an attitude like that, then…

Learner: No one is South Africa is going to communicate.

Learner: It's an Afrikaans class and I understand that…

Learner: Ja.

Learner: … because when Ms. Mokwena spoke to us in Sotho and we were like, wow.

Learner: No but like for example, it happens in the Maths class and then we waste like 15 minutes arguing with each other about our languages…

Learner: Whereas he should've just said, this against the rules, you're not allowed to the language and go on in English instead of you know, just doing the same thing back…

Learner: No because I don't they…

Learner: … so the teachers aren't really leading us.

Learner: … they didn't insult us or our language, its just like a thing. Like when I want to say something personal, really personal to my friend, like I would mainly sit like two or um, ja, like I wouldn't maybe say it in Afrikaans because that's just like…

Learner: But this is…

Learner:	… like I don't mind because all three of us speak Afrikaans but if we're in a conversation with Black girls, we're not going to speak Afrikaans to each other because obviously they can't understand. So…
Learner:	Like, we all can speak Afrikaans, that's the thing, all three of us can speak Afrikaans and we're in a friend group but like even when we're just alone outside of break…
Learner:	We still speaking English.
Learner:	… we speak English. Like it's just, its in habit…
Learner:	Because it's set in this school.
Learner:	… and I mean if we can, if we can get into that habit then they can also do that and I kind of have this feeling that there's like two groups of each racial group. There's like the White people who have accepted it and like they're fine with it and they don't look for fault and they're, there, they're friends with the Black people.

I must say, the others aren't, they still friends with the Black people but they always have some kind of problem like, I mean if I go see some with a group of Black people I didn't expect to hear Sotho and I can tell them that I don't like that and then they'll like most probably not do it but if I just stand there and I'm like okay and then they're just going to carry on.

So its kind of how you see it, like if you're going to do something about it then fine and then you get people who just complain about it and they don't do anything about it. Whereas the Black people are exactly the same: like they can either just be on their own and leave the White people alone and speak their language or they can come by us and if we're speaking Afrikaans, they'll be like um, uh, you know and then we'll speak English. So its kind of like a whole, you need to put it out there… |
Learner:	We need to communicate to each other.
Learner:	…ja, really speak about it because else we're just going to carry on.
Learner:	Ja and it happens naturally to switch over to your home language and some, like its doesn't have to be an intentional thing about I don't want you to understand. Sometimes you forget and if you're on a basis with that person where I can say hello, I don't understand anymore, they'll be like oh, sorry and switch over. But if you're going to take it too personally and be like oh my gosh and then just go off and speak Afrikaans, then that's going to cause issues, if you're not willing to communicate about this thing.

Learner:	And like ma'am, I don't think its just a cross-colour, like me with my one Coloured friend, she sits next to me so, like she for example starts speaking Afrikaans because its just easier for her. So like I speak with her and my accent would change and I'd sound really dumb but then, but like that's just, its just something we do and like a lot of times, like the Black girls who sits behinds us understands. So she joins in on the conversation, so I think its what everyone makes of it.

Like sometimes when our Black friend start speaking, like a lot of the, like I always ask what is she saying and then I appreciate it and the other person would translate. So now its kind of automatic when someone says something in Sotho, one of our friends would translate. So and like when we say something in Afrikaans, we'd also translate, so. |
| Researcher: | If you see, I just want to ask if, if you see language is such a huge issue or such a major issue for, for that happens integration, what would your suggested solution be? Obviously ruling that only English is spoken in the school environment is not going to help you once you're finished school because I mean you're going to, there, there will be no, no rule dictating to how, how, how can we deal with this? |
| Learner: | I think we need to work on our first, ag our second language education. Like for us speaking, we're in the Sotho class, I, I've had to learn a lot of languages before and I know how hard it is to teach someone a language they don't know. But sitting in that Sotho class, the teacher didn't even try to help you, she literally just gave me a mark or told me to write my oral in English and she translated it for me. How am I supposed to learn a language that way! If it is compulsory, lets do it properly and yes, it will definitely help with this integration thing.

So if, I think if the school pays more attention or figures out a way to make it more possible for us to learn the languages, then I think it will make a huge difference and the same with the Afrikaans. I mean, they need to think about how can we make it more possible for these girls to learn this language since it is compulsory 'cause their grades are low and I'm not saying the teachers are necessarily bad but I think it should be better and that will definitely make a huge difference, if its more possible for us to learn each others' languages. |
Learner:	And ma'am like I think it's a stupid, okay…
Researcher:	No, no, you can say.
Learner:	Its fine, go on.
Learner:	Like I think its, not, like it's a stupid suggestion but maybe home languages shouldn't be made Afrikaans and Sotho. Maybe like as I

said now-now, we should have a compulsory language of say French, something that's completely not related.

Learner: Ja.

Learner: And um, Oranje has German as well. Like that's completely not related…

Learner: Just another common ground.

Learner: … yes and then everyone can communicate if they really want to on that level and then things like Sotho and Afrikaans should be optional 'cause I mean some people like, are really not going to need Afrikaans and some people are really. Say I want to immigrate to Germany one day, I'm really not going to need an African language but its nice for when I come back home to speak it like with friends or…

Learner: And I think just before you talk, she says the other thing is with the marks now: for us, the Afrikaans is so easy, so we're getting in the 90's. How is that fair towards them who are now struggling and getting like really low marks and I know they, like they don't, they know its because we speak it at home but how does that make if fair that we have to take this language that we all have to take but we can get really good mark for it and they can't. Like and I know at some point, they start holding that against us because it pushes up our average which means we get the better marks and it does us better in school. So somewhere that needs to be balanced out as well I think.

Learner: Thing is um, she said like when we're in Afrikaans, ag in Maths and we speak Afrikaans and they speak Sotho, its not as bad for them as it is for us when they speak Sotho because I mean, here we have a subject Afrikaans, so they can, they can understand what we're saying. So it's not like we're going to go um, 'skinner'…

Learner: Gossip.

Learner: … behind their backs and like while they're sitting there like they did with us because they know we can't understand what they're saying but with them, its like they understand what we're saying. So its not like we're doing anything bad towards them.

Learner: And the thing was, it wasn't even sorry, it wasn't even Sotho that they were speaking in Zulu and the, the school language, extra language is Sotho, so it was even harder for us.

Researcher: Okay.

Learner: I don't know if this is true but I heard it on the news that like Afrikaans is the most widest spoken language in South Africa because they speak it anywhere. Whereas with like Sotho um, if I learn Sotho and I go into

Kwa Zulu Natal, they'll just probably beat me or something. They, they won't understand what I'm saying.

Researcher: Sure.

Learner: Mmm.

Learner: So, you know like if the Afrikaans is the most widest spoken language, then I think it should probably be accepted then that we have to learn Afrikaans and I just, seeing as we've been doing it since before we've learning Sotho, I honestly think that the people should just like kind of try. Most of them understand Sotho and stuff but I still like, the few, we have it from Gr. 2 up to matric, you should be able to. Like if I had Sotho from Gr. 2 up to matric as a compulsory, I'm pretty sure you'd do well…

Researcher: Mmm.

Learner: … and you wouldn't have a problem with it. So I don't think that it should be held against us that we spoke Afrikaans from the age of two or whenever we started speaking 'cause that's being held against us right now and like speaking it is also different. I came to ------------- when I was like Gr. 00 or something, so I never actually learned how to write Afrikaans and stuff but only speak it. So it was just as hard for me to learn to spell and like all the, like Afrikaans language things because I only learned how to speak it, I didn't learn how to write it, how to do this, how to do that. Whereas to… (interruption)

Researcher: Thank you. How long do I have with you?

Learner: Only for a period.

Researcher: How long is a period?

Learner: Half an hour.

Researcher: Okay, thank you. We got no further than language.

Learner: … mmm, I forgot what I was going to say.

Learner: I feel like we're, like you said now-now talking a lot about like Sotho and Afrikaans now but like where do we accommodate other races like Asians and…

Learner: Mmm.

Learner: … because I mean now they have to come from China and they have to learn English to fit into this school. They have to learn Afrikaans because it's compulsory and if they come early enough,

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they have to learn Sotho as well. So I think there like it needs to be reconsidered a lot.

Learner: Ja.

Learner: Mmm, well my deal was as well because I know with my mom when she was at school, their Afrikaans levels were different, like depending on your marks. So lets say like the kids that never got to learn Afrikaans from a certain grade, got like the standard Afrikaans as where the kids who have it as a home language, get it as a home language to learn and like that made a big difference with my mom because when she was in school, she had it as her home language and she had a friend who couldn't speak Afrikaans and her Afrikaans friend, ug, her English friend sorry, went to this other class but her marks were just as good as my mom's because she didn't have to learn like. I don't know in the olden days, it was like gx equals another letter and it was like, it was like almost Latin the Afrikaans. Then that's what she said was so, so good about their school was that they could choose which Afrikaans to take so the one that best suits their marks, so they can rather go to a basic Afrikaans class or they can go to the higher grade Afrikaans.

Researcher: That's interesting.

Learner: But I think every school pretty much in South Africa does its part to, I don't know about the rural schools but every like school…

Researcher: I'm sure they d, I'm sure they do.

Learner: … so I don't know what the dilemma is, so.

Researcher: I'm so sorry, we have to…
                    (Recording ended)

Group 13

Researcher: And my name is Claire by the way. If you hear the word diversity or diverse, what does it mean to you?

Learner: Like different people coming together, um like, you, you common as humans so but you still have difference but you manage to live together in some way, ja.

Researcher: All agree?

Learner: Ja.

Learner: Yes.

Researcher:	Okay, so basically when we talk about diversity, we talk about difference and there can be many differences, okay. But we focusing this study on racial and cultural differences, okay. Um, what have your experiences or perceptions been of diversity within your school environment?
Learner:	Well…
Researcher:	And it can be positive as well as negative, it doesn't.
Learner:	I don't think we really have that much because we all just taught the same way and we don't really look at someone's skin colour…
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	… for certain things and whatever but also I've noticed like with socials and stuff, with the music, that would be kind of a problem, especially with us. We'll be like no, we don't want like 'boere' music or the White people will be like no, they don't want Black music and we call it 'zot'.
	So ja, its basically just that and also um, what was I going to say. Oh, sometimes when you, I don't know, I think its just me sometimes but like mostly with the parents, when they greet you, like mostly the White parents and they have this smirk in their faces when you're Black and then you're just, you trying to patronise me, you're like… so ja.
Learner:	I think with all the people with us, I have to say, we don't even see it…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… you only see it when something, when oh, actually this person is like, is she White. I really don't see it and its so bad to the point where other people who you know from other schools…
Researcher:	Mmm.
Learner:	… they see it and then they laugh about it…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… about the fact that you're um going to the mall with the White person or you're standing with an Asian person and then its so weird because then, you're like but it doesn't matter.
Researcher:	Where does that criticism come from, you were saying from peers?

Learner:	Peers.
Learner:	Peers.
Learner:	Definitely.
Researcher:	Your own?
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	But it comes from everyone really. Like if you walk in a mall with a, like a White girl or someone…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	And they stare at you.
Learner:	… and its like everyone stops.
Researcher:	Really?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	I guess its mostly people who aren't used to an environment of White people, Asian, Coloureds. They're the ones actually but the people who are used to it, they won't bother.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Yes.
Learner:	I feel like in this environment, its like everything is like, the ideal world and then as soon as you walk out the school fences, that's when you start to feel the actual difference. You don't feel at school, we don't have racial problems amongst us but once you step out into the real world, that's where you start to feel it.
Learner:	I've also noticed like mostly when I'm with my parents 'cause my dad is very, he like takes these things to heart and whatever, so when I'm with him mostly, then I only see it. Like for instance, if we're standing by a line in like Checkers or something and then a White person pushes in, he gets more angry…
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	… than if a Black person would push in or something on the road, if something happens or they overtake you, then he gets angry if it's a White person and then you only notice it but here at school, its like, oh, you're just a person.

Researcher:	How many of you girls, you did touch on it just now, um, integrate with other racial or cultural groups beyond the school?
Learner:	Most.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	All of us.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Um, I just got to St. Michaels last year so being exposed to, okay Asians, we had Asians in my previous school, it was just like two of them in class. So when I got here, it was like wow, okay, I have to get used to the whole idea to accommodate everyone I must speak English so we can all understand each other. So, so I felt its problem here and there but then um, I'm a bit used to, I'm used to it now but I'm only exposed when I'm at school. The moment I leave school grounds, I'm highly exposed to different races and so forth.
Researcher:	Okay. Um, the rest of you, do you integrate as in visit each others homes or just meet at the mall kind of thing?
Learner:	Meet at the mall.
Learner:	At each others' houses.
Learner:	Yes.
Researcher:	Do the house visit but the majority sort of meet at the mall thing?
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	But what I noticed like, I find like with um, different races, like when you go to Johannesburg and Cape Town, its more open. Like um, I've noticed, I've visited a friend here in Bloemfontein and their parents weren't the, they weren't like but you could see that they're not comfortable with this. So I think it also depends on which region you're in. I think Free State is more, I don' know, concentrated or they still that something in a…
Learner:	A bit behind.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	Okay, okay.
Learner:	Because when I also went to Jo'burg, I was so shocked…

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Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	… because…
Learner:	You see couples.
Learner:	… not like um, also be one of the people who are like Black people should stay with Black people but its 'cause you really see and its in Johannesburg, they actually date one another.
Learner:	In Cape Town.
Learner:	Yes, here its friends, then there are a few people who actually date out of their cultural or racial…
Researcher:	Where do you think that comes from? Do you think it comes from your own cultures be it Black or White or Asian or do you think its because of other peoples' perspectives?
Learner:	From parents.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	Yeah, its parents.
Learner:	Because like for instance they say the Saints boys, the White guys would generally date Black girls but they're scared of what other people are going to say…
Learner:	Are going to say.
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	… and its like that. Like in Cape Town, a White girl will come and talk to you but in Bloem it might seem a bit, why you with her, you know. It's mainly what other people think.
Learner:	And I, with us I think you guys have seen is that, Black guys are actually dating White girls…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… its becoming, its common but with the other, with a White guy going for a Black girl, that's very rare.

Learner:	But White guys, no Black girls, sorry no, Black guys and the White girls will date.
Researcher:	And what's your take on that, why do you think its…
Learner:	I think like, okay um, ma'am, we did this History project on this, so I went and interviewed this guy and he said no, he doesn't want to be put on record 'cause I could tape them and he said no. He said he doesn't have a problem with Black people but the fact that his son is going to mix with another, it like destroys that pureness. So I didn't, okay I didn't over analyse it but I think people want to maintain. Like if it's a son, then his going to be carrying the family name…
Learner:	Ja, I think they're scared of that.
Learner:	… and they don't want it to be mixed. Whereas the girls are going to loose their surname anyway, if they get married to a guy whether his Black or White. So its not that much of an importance as when it's a boy.
Learner:	That's why I don't understand that 'cause not like right now we're looking to get married and have kids…
Learner:	Ja, that is true.
Learner:	… so I don't understand how that mentality…
Learner:	I think girls, we take those things lightly…
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	White girls are so comfortable with it as for, I don't know like, White guys, the more Afrikaans ones, I don't what. I think they have this no, I must marry or go for a White girlfriend, you know. So but with White girls, maybe they're just more relaxed about it.
Learner:	Or maybe its just be but then I think that Black guys are more like open like, they just…
Learner:	Open-minded.
Learner:	… they, ja they're open-minded and they're very out there and then Black, I mean White guys are usually like quiet and reserved and stuff. I don't know if its just me and the ones I…
Learner:	But then to a certain extent, dating a White girl for a Black guy is sort of a trend here…
Learner:	Yeah.

Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	… like if a Black guys dates a White girl, then it's a big thing.
Learner:	It's a big thing, it gives them status, its like I'm dating a White girl.
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	If its another Black girl, whatever, she's another Black one. If it's a White girl, walking around with a White girl, the more its wow.
Learner:	But for a White girl to date a Black guy, its not…
Learner:	Girl.
Learner:	Girl.
Learner:	… girl, what are you doing.
Learner:	But what I find the worst one is that you could watch like a Trevor Noah video with a White guy and you'll laugh about this but its actually what's really happening in the country, ja.
Researcher:	I never quite looked at it from that perspective of, its okay for a Black boy to date a White girl and it is quite true, yes.
Learner:	Its true.
Researcher:	Wow, okay. Tell me something else, um, you say, so you do socialise out of school, what happens at break time in school?
Learner:	Um…
Researcher:	Do you, do you tend to see the different groups or do, is there a lot of integration?
Learner:	Ma'am like see, the thing is in this school is like, the majority is African, so integration is not that you know but I come from like a big school where there was like Whites and Blacks and Coloureds and Asians. So you, at break I'll see okay, there's the Coloured group and there's the Black group and there's the White group and there's that group and that group, so ja.
Researcher:	And here not?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	Ma'am I think it depends on what type of school you are in 'cause in this school, we usually just like together…

Researcher:	There's not a…
Learner:	… and also like classes, like Gr. 10's would probably be more okay, Black girls and White girls but then in our grade, we just so used to each other that…
Learner:	I think we're the only grade…
Learner:	We're the only grade where…
Learner:	… that actually sits together…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	… all of us and no one minds. Maybe other group, other grades, Gr. 10's…
Learner:	Like Gr. 10's and the matrics.
Learner:	… I also see it with matrics.
Learner:	According to language…
Learner:	Language.
Learner:	… ja, language, could be subjects that they take or…but with us, we just sit together.
Learner:	Ma'am I think the different groups that are formed is usually interests its not on race…
Learner:	Yeah, its interests.
Learner:	Yeah, the same interests.
Researcher:	Okay. How do you girls feel about um, your culture being represented in the teaching body of your school? Um, I believe you have one Black…
Learner:	Teacher.
Researcher:	… teacher and the majority of the learners here are Black.
Learner:	Ma'am I feel it doesn't make a difference, whether its Black teachers or White teachers, as long as they know how to teach. I don't see it as, if she is Black, then I can relate to her more or her teaching because in any test, we get taught in English, so its not like going to make a difference in my opinion.
Learner:	Yeah.

Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	I think ma'am, sometimes with the students coming in, sometimes they don't really know English that much and you tend to mark the Black ones more than the White ones because they have more background in English. So when they say something wrong, it's mostly 'kakakaka' and then when the White one, its like, ag shame.
Learner:	For me um, the Black ones tend to get very comfortable with us. I think that's one thing I don't like, you're a teacher. Then it comes to a point where, she's getting very comfortable with us and she's having her little comments or then, next thing, she's teaching us and she's teaching us in Sotho.
Learner:	Ja, no, that's out of line.
Learner:	Yes, like student teachers, well not teachers but student teachers and the Black ones. The Black ones get too comfortable with us, next thing, we, so what if we understand it but you're supposed to teach us in English, what about the other people who don't understand. They tend to get a bit comfortable with us, so I think that's why people always say, ag, I can't believe you're being racist against your own race. Its just sometimes they have their tendencies and we don't like them, so.
Learner:	And like, okay some people are stuck with this mentality that okay now, the White teachers know what they're doing and the Black ones are a bit you know, not up to scratch.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	But the things is, if we look at our Black teacher, Ms. Mokwena, she, she's very competent. So I think its just whoever can get the job done the best, I think Black we don't really see…
Learner:	And I think it's also for us like now, we were born in '94, so we all, so culture is not really important in a way, so we really don't care…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	… whether you're representing us or not. They're supposed to teach us, so its not really culture or anything.

Researcher:	Do you find a, that culture plays a role in, in interacting with other girls, like understanding wise and um, things you do and family life and, and that kind of thing? Do you feel a difference at all?
Learner:	Ma'am I think, no, not really. I think with just for instance now, if we talk, oh I have a funeral on Friday or whatever whatever and then our funeral is so different from theirs. So it will be stuff like that, like traditional stuff but generally it's a, okay.
Researcher:	But its seen in a positive light, is that what you're saying to me…
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Researcher:	… like it's a learning experience?
Learner:	'Cause it will be like oh, wow…
Learner:	You do that.
Learner:	… you do that. It will be like oh, is that what you do or, so ja.
Learner:	Ma'am, I think its dependant on the environment that you're in 'cause if you at school, then we all in one uniform, we all speaking English. Um, then you don't really feel it but if you go sleep over at somebody's house, your like, oh, they eat this food and you, then that's when you start to feel but you don't see it as like, oh. You just see it as a different experience or something, as an eye-opener, ja.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	And I also think the White girls get more fascinated with Black girls…
Learner:	Our lives.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… because they feel that we're so different and sometimes that we not even from this planet, the traditional stuff we do or the beliefs or whatever we have.
Learner:	And they love the language hey.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Ja.

Learner:	They love learning our language.
Learner:	Some of them even know how to speak, we've got Asians that can speak Sesotho. They think they're actually Black because they so used, we so used to each other in that way.
Researcher:	Would you like for, for um, or do you think its necessary that White and Asian and, and Indian or whatever other racial group, can speak an African language? Do you think it, its, it would be a good thing or something that should be encouraged in school?
Learner:	No.
Learner:	No ma'am.
Learner:	No, no, I'm against that.
Learner:	I think cause…
Researcher:	Why?
Learner:	Its okay for them to learn it but we, we live in a world now where we speak majority English. I mean I would find it really odd if somebody from another culture comes and speaks Xhosa with me. It will be like, no, I don't even speak Xhosa with my own friends, I only speak it with my mom. So I think like, in the world that we're living in no. If it was in the olden days where we still stuck to our cultures, maybe it would be necessary, so we can communicate but since we have English, we don't need another language.
Researcher:	You don't think it's unfair that you're forced to learn in a language that's not your home language?
Learner:	But ma'am if we said that we wanted to be taught in Sotho, we wouldn't be able to communicate with the rest of the world. So its basically you have to do it for your future.
Learner:	But then it goes the other way as well like the White girls or an Asian or whatever, should learn African cultures 'cause majority of South Africa doesn't speak English. So it would just be helpful to learn its not like you have to but it would help.
Learner:	Ma' am um, I had a friend, she comes from Botswana and she speaks Setswana and she's like, she speaks Setswana fluently and for me it was like incredible 'cause now I have this person that I can relate to and speak to you know 'cause, 'cause I, I, I think its necessary to a certain extent.

Learner:	I just think for them to communicate… (Announcement interruption)
Researcher:	Let's just wait. Sorry.
Learner:	… I think its just for them like, for instance now, if they… (Announcement interruption)
Learner:	I think its necessary like to learn the basic stuff like hello and whatever because now if they're forced to go to a place like a taxi rank or something, those people will not speak English with you. So its better if they'll be like, they would learn the basic stuff so that okay, they know where to go when what happens, ja.
Learner:	I actually don't want them to learn my language. Its not even funny, I think they're stealing something that belongs to us. I don't… but I, a language differentiates. Its like I know those people are Afrikaans because they speak Afrikaans. Then you get English people, then you get people in New Zealand who have an accent, London, British people, Americans. They have their own accent so it's almost like, oh my word, you can speak Sotho, its so great to hear. You know, I've even seen with Xhosa people when they find out that the one can speak Xhosa, there's just this immediate click to them…
Learner:	Mmm.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	… they so happy to know.
Learner:	I don't know if I really want that. I think already we have universal language English, lets stick to that and let's keep our own language 'cause then now you will see in class, then you'll have Afrikaans, then you'll have Taiwanese or Mandarin and people are speaking in Asian and then its us Sotho people, then its Xhosa. I don't know, its…
Learner:	We communicate with each other.
Learner:	Ja, so I don't want them to have it.
Learner:	But I don't know with that ma'am 'cause sometimes now the, for instance, the Taiwanese people or us or whatever, they speak and then you there and then its like, are you speaking about me or what, what are you saying.
Learner:	On that basis it's good but I think it depends where you live. If I was a White and I was living in a rural area, I would want to know the language…

Researcher:	Sure.
Learner:	… then there its beneficial but if I'm living somewhere where everyone's speaking English, then its not, I'm not really using the language but its also…
Learner:	But then you're assuming that they're going to stay there forever you know and somewhere at some point, you're going to meet someone of a different culture and it would be nice if you could communicate with them…
Learner:	Yeah.
Learner:	… instead of just assuming that I'm always going to be around English speaking people, you know.
Learner:	I don't have a problem with them learning the language. I'm just saying I don't see…
Learner:	Just the basics, just stick to the basic hello, how are you, I want to go there.
Learner:	Because then you start…
Learner:	Like okay, now I have to speak my language because I don't know the rest.
Learner:	Then we can hug them. I just wonder how you know the whole language, like now what.
Learner:	Ja.
Learner:	Then you're just on the same level.
Learner:	Yeah, we're on the same level.
Researcher:	Do you feel that your school has um, allows for you to celebrate your culture or, or your…
Learner:	No.
Learner:	I think to a certain extent…
Learner:	Here's where we do cultural things…
Learner:	… because they allow Indians to have like the… for a while, I think because Sharadah, I think Sharadah had it for a while but then she had to take it off.
Learner:	And the teacher who had, wasn't it Ms. Venter…

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Learner:	Ms. Venter. They allow it to a certain extent but then they can't allow you to come in like…
Learner:	Because it's a Christian school.
Learner:	… ja.
Learner:	And ma'am, when we have school plays, they are last to sing our cultural songs, so then there a person, if you didn't know what um Sotho people sing their traditional, 'cause you do get people that come in traditional wear…
Researcher:	Mmm, mmm.
Learner:	… and what not and so they do give us opportunity.
Researcher:	So you don't feel as though you…
Learner:	I have to go.
Researcher:	Yes.
Learner:	Yes ma'am, sorry.
Learner:	I also need to go.
Learner:	I'm so sorry.
Learner:	Sorry.
Researcher:	Okay love.