The effect of socio-economic locality on student aspirations in three Bophuthatswana schools
by
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

OUR THANKS TO:

- THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AT GARONA FOR GRANTING US PERMISSION TO CONDUCT THIS RESEARCH.

- THE PRINCIPALS OF THE THREE SCHOOLS INVOLVED IN THIS PROJECT FOR THEIR CO-OPERATION IN SETTING UP THE RESEARCH AND PROVIDING BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

- THE STUDENTS FOR THEIR WILLINGNESS TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THE PROJECT AND, ABOVE ALL, FOR THEIR HONESTY.
"My land and our home have all gone because of apartheid. One day my family were altogether and my father was always with my household. Then they came when I was a small boy and we were moved. Me and my brothers were very much confused and did not understand why these things were happening. My mother and big sisters cried and one small one tried to run away. Now my father comes home to see us only sometimes."

- Student from Batloung (School A)

"This is a so-called independence, they say it is free but it falls under South Africa. Mr. Mangope has to consult South Africa, if they say no he can't do it. Our grandfathers have been working in Joburg, but with independence they gave us Mafikeng - it is a barren place, economically poor - Why don't they give us Johannesburg? They drive us backwards."

- Student from Barolong (School B)

"In South Africa I feel at home more than any place."

"I want to live in Johannesburg because there is not much competition for jobs here, and it won't be interesting. I want to be a Managing Director."

"Independence has denied many people citizenship and even those who are citizens had no choice in the issues."

- Students from Mmabatho High School (School C)
A. INTRODUCTION

The tendency by some authors to commence writing a paper with words that what is about to be said is "neither definitive in nature nor exhaustive in scope" is a common opening literary gambit amongst academics. Usually what is meant is that in the event of any person or persons finding much fault with the paper the authors are always in a position to checkmate their opponents by reiterating their earlier comments:

"We did say that the paper was neither definitive in nature nor exclusive in scope"

Having put this preamble behind us we would like to say at the very outset that this paper is neither definitive in nature nor exhaustive in scope. This, however, is no literary gambit. We sincerely mean it! Indeed the field in which we are operating is so new as to force us to resort to such a tactic. This is perhaps why we address ourselves to the entire "floor" at this Conference - a floor so markedly divergent as to hopefully afford us a meaningful dialogue. It is hoped that by employing this strategy we will avail ourselves of a wide and experienced audience in our attempt to take this study beyond its present form.

However, we hope that gains made in the ensuing exchange will be beneficial not just to us but also the "floor" to which we direct our analysis.

B. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this study was to gain a sociological profile of what we took to be three contrasting secondary schools in Molopo/Mafikeng Region of Bophuthatswana. The specific and detailed nature of this contrast will become more evident in the Section D to follow; Suffice it to say here that the three Schools showed considerable sociological variation in terms of geographical locality and socio-economic characteristics.
With this sociological information in mind we hoped to gain some understanding of the extent to which such factors might influence the students' 

(a) occupational; 
(b) educational aspirations; and 
(c) political values and interests.

Although similar sociological studies have been conducted before the fundamental difference between these and our own study is the fact that we operate from what we believe to be a significantly interesting context, namely, a homeland. How specifically significant such a political locality is remains to be seen. However, we do believe that the effects of such a context are worthy of detailed further sociological study. Of course much more background discussion is still required hence the tentative sub-title to this contribution: "Towards a Sociology of Locality".

Although the analysis of locality and student aspiration and values is the basic aim of this paper a more fundamental motivation underlies our sociological interest in the area. This motivation is a direct result of our deep concern for both the state of sociology of education in South Africa in general and the marked lack of substantive "nitty-gritty" field work in the area of education in particular. Although this applies to sociology per se it is within faculties of education that this tends to be most marked.

Of particular concern to us are the related issues of the:

(a) Universality of overseas models of sociological explanation; and

(b) Africanisation or localisation of research into South African education.

/ By ..............
By and large one finds an uncritical acceptance of models developed in the United Kingdom and the United States without a thorough working through of the problems peculiar to the African context: The reasons for this are many and varied and have been tentatively explored elsewhere. Basically they revolve around

(a) the lack of opportunity on the part of researchers to get actively involved in the social realities of the African context; and

(b) the excessive theoreticism in the study of education.

The question of opportunity is understandable. For example there may exist - despite the willingness of researchers - structural/political impediments imposed upon them to conduct substantive critical work. The attitude of the South African Provincial educational authorities to such research is well known and need not concern us here. The overall consequence of this lack of opportunity is to deprive the analyst of direct involvement with empirical reality.

This situation may explain our second observation - the excessive theoreticism in the study of education. We should point out here that the concept of theoreticism held here has nothing at all to do with the negation of theory per se. Rather we mean the adoption of theory for theory's sake which tends to be untainted by everyday educational realities, or which ignore real existing individuals. Consequently instead of working through theoretical models via the interaction with real empirical realities in all their complexity and ambiguity we are never placed in a position to rethink existing models of explanation. This problem we hope will become more apparent during our discussion of the "results" of this pilot project. (Section E).
It is sufficient here to say that we are making a plea for the "dirty boots begets wisdom brigade" in order that we may look afresh at the issues and problems peculiar to education in Southern Africa. One of the results of this is bringing back to the centre of the stage student perceptions and classroom realities.

To sum up: we are not attempting to drive a wedge between research, theory and practice - a logically absurd position since all practice is theory - dependent. Rather we are making a plea for personal and rigorous engagement with the realities of Southern Africa education in the hope that we may be seen as moving towards a more indigenous sociology of education to which both our students and colleagues may meaningfully relate. We intend, therefore, raising more questions than we are capable of answering at this stage. These questions, however, we regard as logically prior to attempts at further research.

C. 1. RESEARCH METHOD

As earlier stated, the purpose of this study is to look at the nexus between the differing localities and the socio-economic characteristics of three schools in different areas and to assess the extent to which educational, employment and political aspirations are conditioned and influenced by these factors. With these aims in mind, we chose three schools in areas which we considered varying from low, through medium to high status.

Batlounge High School at Ikopoleng in the Ramatlabama Resettlement area, was chosen as a school which draws its students from an environment characterised by a high degree of migrancy (Surplus Peoples Project, 1982) and low socio-economic status.
Barolong High is a community school in the Stadt, the original Barolong village next to which Mafikeng was built. It is a boarding school which draws some of its students from Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Johannesburg but mostly from Mafikeng area, an area we regard as experiencing a low degree of migrancy and low to medium socio-economic status.

Mmabatho High School was built after Bophuthatswana's independence as a multi-cultural school. Students have to write an entrance examination and the fees are higher than other schools in Bophuthatswana. It has a low pupil/teacher ratio and the students write Joint Matriculation Board examinations instead of the National Senior Certificate which other schools in the area write. Situated in the new capital, Mmabatho, we regarded it's constituency as coming from fairly high socio-economic status background.

2. SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Using a random sample table we drew a sample from class lists provided by the schools. The sample was stratified in terms of the schools and also to achieve an acceptable male/female ratio. As Mmabatho High School only has ten matric students this year, we also included "second year" standard nine students. These are students who are doing a two year standard nine course to enable them to pass the Joint Matriculation Board Examination in matric.

The sample size was determined by the size of the population it was drawn from, on the basis that the smaller the population, the higher the percentage sample drawn to make it representative. It is for this reason that we took a 100% sample from Mmabatho High, (20 pupils) a 10% sample from Barolong High, (250 pupils) and a 20% sample from Batloung, (75 pupils). Although we regard the sample as representative, we feel that this study must be seen
within the parameters of the limited resources available in terms of trained research staff and time. It can be regarded as a pilot study for a more thorough and large scale project.

3. INTERVIEW TECHNIQUE

The study was done using personal interviews. Each student was privately interviewed for an average of 45 minutes. This enabled all questions to be carefully explained and reduced the possibility of respondents not understanding the question.

A standardised questionnaire was used as the basis for the interviews. Both interviewers tried to standardize the way in which the questions were asked and also the examples used to illustrate them, so as not to prejudice the students responses.

4. OBJECTIVITY

Students were not asked for their names so as to encourage them to be honest, especially with the more sensitive political questions. We also tried to identify ourselves with a member of staff at each school whom it was felt the students trusted. We made it quite clear that we were from the University and not from the Government or the Department of Education. On the whole students seemed to take the study seriously and responded honestly, as is evidenced by the response to the political questions. We did notice a reticence to discuss political issues among some of the female respondents, especially at Batloung. This is understandable in a recently resettled community.

/D. ............
D. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT OF THE SCHOOLS

Although the homelands are commonly regarded as labour reservoirs and dumping grounds for South Africa's surplus population and often treated as a homogeneous whole, considerable variation occurs in people's relationship to the means of the production, with a resultant difference in access for their children to education, employment and place of work. Even where people have a similar relationships to the means of production (as non-owners) large variation occurs, and it becomes necessary to look at further indices, such as job categories and parents educational background, the rate of migrancy in the community, etc., to gain a fuller understanding of the socio-economic matrix within which each school is situated.

To obtain a picture of the socio-economic characteristics of each school locality, the socio-economic status of each pupil, in the sample of each school, was calculated on the basis of parents occupation and education. Each school was then "averaged out" to gain an impression of the socio-economic environment within which the school is situated. Family size and the rate of migrancy was also looked at.

Throughout this study we have made use of the following coding for the tables:

Batloung High School - School A
Barolong High School - School B
Mnabatho High School - School C.

/ Parents .......
**PARENTS OCCUPATIONS AS AN INDEX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS**

**FATHERS OCCUPATION**

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROFESSIONAL MANAGERS</th>
<th>SALES</th>
<th>SKILLED</th>
<th>SEMI-</th>
<th>UNSKILLED</th>
<th>UNEMPLOYED</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AND</td>
<td>AND</td>
<td>TECHNICAL</td>
<td>AND</td>
<td>CLERICAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
<td>2 (13%)</td>
<td>3 (13%)</td>
<td>3 (19%)</td>
<td>5 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
<td>2 (13%)</td>
<td>3 (13%)</td>
<td>3 (19%)</td>
<td>5 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>3 (16%)</td>
<td>3 (16%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>3 (16%)</td>
<td>2 (11%)</td>
<td>5 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 (13%)</td>
<td>3 (16%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>3 (16%)</td>
<td>2 (11%)</td>
<td>5 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>10 (50%)</td>
<td>7 (35%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MIGRANCY (FATHERS)

Table II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>LEFT HOME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A(16)</td>
<td>8 (50%)</td>
<td>8 (50%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B(19)</td>
<td>3 (16%)</td>
<td>14 (74%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(20)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19 (95%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table I it is clear that 50% of the fathers at School A are from the unskilled or semi-skilled category. This figure correlates with that of Table II in that 50% of the men are away as migrants. School B has 35% of its fathers in the unskilled and semi-skilled category, while School C has none.

Conversely at School C fathers in the Professional and Technical categories constitute 85% of the total, School B 32%, and School C only 12%. It is significant that while School B has 16% of its men away as migrants, School C has none at all.

MOTHERS OCCUPATION

Table III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PROFESSIONAL</th>
<th>HOUSEWIFE</th>
<th>DOMESTIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A(12)</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td>6 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B(19)</td>
<td>7 (37%)</td>
<td>3 (16%)</td>
<td>9 (47%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(19)</td>
<td>8 (42%)</td>
<td>11 (58%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of interest in terms of mothers occupations from an educational point of view, is the fact that 58% of the mothers in School C are at home, enabling them to supervise and help children with schoolwork. This becomes especially significant when correlated with mothers educational level (See Table V), where 50% of the mothers at School C have a matric or higher qualification.
At Schools B and C, 16% and 25% of the mothers are housewives. As with fathers occupation School C has the highest number of professional mothers and School A the lowest. While Schools A and B have approximately 50% of the mothers working as domestic servants, School C has none.

PARENTS EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS AS AN INDEX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

FATHERS EDUCATION

Table IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A(16)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B(19)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(20)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At School A 8% of the fathers had an educational qualification of matric and higher, School B had 23% and School C 72%. On the other hand, 15% of fathers at School A and 35% at School B had no effective schooling (Standard 4 and below).

MOTHERS EDUCATION

Table V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A(16)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B(19)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(20)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ At
At School A not one mother had a qualification of standard 10 or higher, while 50% of the mothers at School C, and 37% at School B did. However, what is significant is that the mothers at School A had a higher percentage (77%) of mothers with qualifications between standard 5 and 10 than the fathers did. Mothers at Schools A and B generally had higher qualifications than fathers.

FAMILY SIZE

Table VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AVERAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>7,18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>6,35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>5,25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AVERAGE AGE OF STUDENTS

Table VII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>RANGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>19,75</td>
<td>18,22 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>19,78</td>
<td>17,29 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>17,00</td>
<td>16,18 -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDEX FOR THE DIFFERENT AREAS

To get a rough idea of the socio-economic index of each area, we worked out a scoring system for parents occupations and educational qualifications. For example, we divided the fathers job categories into three sections:

HIGH - Professional, Technical and Managerial
MEDIUM - Sales, Clerical and Skilled Workers
LOW - Semi-skilled and unskilled
Each section was given a score:

**HIGH**  -  3
**MEDIUM**  -  2
**LOW**  -  1

The percentage of fathers in each of the above sections was multiplied by the score in that section to obtain an occupational index score.

The same was done with mothers occupation and with both parents education to obtain a final combined socio-economic index for each school.

School A scored  717  
School B scored  823  
School C scored  1,043  

It is clear from the discussion above that there is considerable variation in educational and occupational status of parents, rates of migrancy and size of families in the schools under study. What remains to be seen in whether these different backgrounds, the interconnection between locality and socio-economic status of parents, has a marked influence on the aspirations of the students.

**E. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS**

In order to analyse the results of the structured interviews conducted we have divided our discussion into three distinct areas of enquiry. These involve an analysis of the students'  
- educational aspirations  
- occupational and employment preferences and aspirations  
- political attitudes and values.
1. EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Table VIII  Further Study - Post Matriculation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A (16)</td>
<td>12 (75%)</td>
<td>4 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (19)</td>
<td>15 (79%)</td>
<td>4 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (20)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>- (-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of immediate significance in the above is that despite differences within each school in terms of the desire to study further after completion of matriculation that difference is not so great. Pupils in School A, for instance, although clearly a lower status school reveals markedly high educational aspirations. This finding is in accordance with other studies on African school pupils where secondary education is not seen as "the terminal point of full-time education,"\(^3\). This indicates a marked contrast with educational patterns in the European and American contexts. Studies in these areas have successfully demonstrated that pupils from relatively low socio-economic status backgrounds are less likely to complete secondary school and aspire towards higher education. Moreover pupils from such backgrounds tend to perform less well on tests of academic achievement. Unfortunately the present study was not concerned with the question of academic achievement per se. However, because of its implications for future research a few observations need to be made before proceeding onto the issue of educational aspirations.

In the case of non-western contexts the accepted sociological wisdom is more equivocal. Silvey\(^4\) noted, for example, that parental education is not related to scholastic achievement in "any meaningful way".

Currie\(^5\) noted over three different years (1954, 1959 and 1964) a similar finding among Ugandan secondary school pupils. Numerous other findings by Heyneman\(^6\) using a
random selection of sixty seven primary schools from five diverse districts in Uganda resulted in findings of interest. After, gathering information from each child on parent's education, occupation, number of material possessions in the home he concluded:

"The fact that a child comes from a privileged background in which his parents have received more formal education, or in which his father has a better paying, more secure income, or in which his home contains a greater number of possessions, does not necessarily mean that a child will score better on a test of academic achievement"

In turning to the question of educational aspirations (Table VIII) we find a similar trend. Heyneman in a later study noted:

"What is startling about Ugandan children is not their low occupational expectations but the seeming irrelevance of socio-economic status to their aspirations"

While these observations are empirically illuminating and tend to confirm our findings in Table I it is only when we examine the possible theoretical attempts to explain the differences noted that we move into interesting avenues for debate and further research. Indeed, we would argue that the raising of such issues is logically prior to any further investigations of this kind in Southern Africa. We would like here to raise some of these issues.

Contrary to many studies in the United Kingdom and the United States there is a possibility that our study may indicate certain anomalies in the area of research into social stratification and educational achievement and aspirations. In the case of non-African contexts it has been argued that:

"An ........
"An important and consistent finding in the area of stratification research is that children of higher social class origins are more likely to aspire to high educational and occupational goals than are children of lower class social origins."7

Turning to studies in African and developing contexts we have seen that the finding above is not necessarily the case. This is most evident in School A situated in a rural resettlement camp. How is one to explain this?

We would suggest that an important starting point should be stratification theory and the vexed problem of how one conceives the concept of social class. A good place to start would be to consider the relevance - or blanket use - of this concept in varying socio-economic contexts. In the case of Uganda, for example, it has been noted8 that parts of that society may be economically stratified but has not yet become markedly characterised by distinct classes with corresponding differences in student values, attitudes, school and educational aspirations. Elsewhere it has been noted9 that socio-economic status categories (SES) and variables are strongly associated with achievement only in urban areas. It was noted, furthermore, that in some rural underdeveloped contexts:

"... the large proportion of the population lives in rural areas where differences in 'SES' as well as school facilities are small. Within such homogeneous groups differences in achievement associated with 'SES' are likely to be small"

This, of course, does not mean that with time the existence of a more sharply differentiated stratification may arise. It does suggest, however, that we might have to be a little
more clear as to how socio-cultural differentiation may assume a different form in context 'X' as compared to context 'Y'. The influence of this on educational achievement, aspirations, etc., would lead to interesting analyses.

To sum up Niles' points out:

"The complexity of social stratification will depend on the degree of industrialisation, and the complex structuring found in the West may not be found except perhaps in the urban sectors. Social classes cannot be defined purely on economic differentiation. It is important that studies should note the particular form that socio-structural differentiation assumes in the society studied."

Putting this theoretical problem aside we are still left with a need for explaining why the aspirations of these children from School A are so high despite the socio-economic status of their parents (Table VIII). A possible explanation we argue may lie in an argument that emphasized the students' clear perceptions of the relationship between education and social mobility. This is evident from many of the School A student responses to the question of why they saw the need to further their education. Some of the replies to this question are included below and clearly reflect the students' awareness of the relationship between further education and social mobility.

- "I want a clear future for myself and family and improve our station in life"
- "to help myself and family improve themselves"
- "to improve my family and gain more respect in the community"
- "if you are uneducated you will not be able to improve your position in the society"
A further explanation may also be sought in the students perceptions of the social structure in general and his or her social status as a secondary school student. Given the high drop out rate of many of the local pupils (in 1976 only 17 out of 100 pupils who entered the secondary school in Bophuthatswana reached Standard 10) the matriculant may be regarded as one of the elite of the system with the result that he or she may develop a positive self concept with corresponding high aspirations 11.

FURTHER STUDY: LOCALITY

In order to assess the possible influence of locality on the students three basic questions were asked during the interviews. Firstly, we were concerned with where they were likely to study (Table IX) after completion of standard 10. Secondly they were asked where — given the opportunity — they would ideally like to study (Table X). Finally, an attempt was made to gain an insight into the social realities of their various choices by asking them what they would take to be the most severe constraints imposed upon their actually studying further — (Table XI). The responses to these questions appear below. Discussion of the material follows the presentation of the Tables.

Table IX Likely to Study (Locality)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>UNIBO</th>
<th>RSA</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>NOT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A (16)</td>
<td>9 (56%)</td>
<td>3 (19%)</td>
<td>4 (25%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (19)</td>
<td>8 (42%)</td>
<td>8 (42%)</td>
<td>3 (16%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (20)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18 (90%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table X Ideally to Study (Locality)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>HOMELAND</th>
<th>RSA</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>NOT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A (16)</td>
<td>9 (56%)</td>
<td>3 (19%)</td>
<td>2 (12.5%)</td>
<td>2 (12.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (19)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6 (32%)</td>
<td>9 (46%)</td>
<td>2 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (20)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7 (35%)</td>
<td>13 (65%)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ Table ......
Table XI  Unable to Study (One Category)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>FINANCIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A (16)</td>
<td>9 (56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (19)</td>
<td>10 (53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (20)</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In examining Table IX we noted that many (56%) of the students from School A indicated their intention to study further at UNIBO rather than Universities in South Africa. Indeed, even when given the option of an ideal place for further study a homeland University was given as the choice (56%) rather than a university in South Africa. At first glance this reflects a very fundamental political conservatism amongst these School A students. Indeed, this political conservatism is supported by Table XIV. Here it may be noted that when all interviewees were asked whether or not they were satisfied with Bophuthatswana independence, School A received an 86% affirmative response. Despite this correspondence between their choice of university in Table IX and their satisfaction with Bophuthatswana their political views are ambivalent and, very often, reflect a critical political awareness and concern. Details of these political attitudes are discussed in a later section. Suffice it to say here that it is fallacious to assure that because these students hold positive views regarding the independence of Bophuthatswana they are necessarily uncritical of the overall political and economic dispensation existing in South Africa as a whole.

At best one could see their choice of area for study as a reflection of some of the positive benefits that have accrued to them since independence. We will return to this point later.
In marked contrast to School A is School C where it can be noted that 95% of the students reveal no interest in studying further at UNIBO (Table IX). When analysed in terms of ideal locality this number represents 100% of the sample (Table X). Before offering an explanation for this it should be noted that this finding should be seen against the theories of "development" held by educators and politicians in Bophuthatswana. It is difficult at this stage to gain such information. However, one point needs to be borne in mind here. This can be put in the form of a conditional statement. If, for example, the conception of "development" held (12) assumes a primary role of educational institutions then the findings of School C have marked implications since they suggest the limitations of such a concept of development. It does, for instance, ignore the structural dependency of the locality of School C on South Africa and, more particularly the PWV complex. Perhaps a more revised theory of education and underdevelopment employing a tracer study would be an interesting avenue to pursue.

Returning to Tables IX and X the possible reasons for School C's high educational aspirations seem to be a complex interplay of social and political factors. At one level the interviews clearly revealed a by far more broader conception of educational opportunity and aspirations. For example, 65% chose "other" (i.e. overseas or other African states) as a category for their "ideal" place of study. Realistically, however, 95% chose universities in South Africa. One obvious explanation for this is that given their choice of study career (mainly medicine, law and engineering) UNIBO would be logically excluded since the University does not offer these courses. Nonetheless during the actual process of interviewing political objections to UNIBO and other homeland universities were apparent. Moreover a fear that any qualification from UNIBO would not be recognised by other educational institutions was also clearly evident during the interviews. It should also be
noted that these students are taught by and socially interact with a significant reference group comprising well-qualified South African and overseas teachers. The influence of these persons on their aspirations cannot be ignored.

Turning to Table IX and the students reasons for possibly being unable to study after matriculation two observations may be made. First it can be expected that, given the marked socio-economic differences between the three schools, the problem of "lack of finance" would be most prevalent in School A and less so at School C. This is born out by the evidence where 65% of the students of School A indicated that "lack of finance" would prevent them from further study while only 15% of School C responded in such a way.

Despite this rather expected result a more significant observation to be made from this Table is that none of the total sample postulated that their lack of ability might be a factor in inhibiting their chances for further education. This observation has been noted elsewhere in Africa. Murphree et al, for example, noted that only 0.9% of her sample in pre-independence, Zimbabwe (N = 1,725) gave academic ability as a reason to be unable to study further. Clignet and Foster noted a similar trend in the Ivory Coast and argued that:

"the demand for schooling is so high that it blinds students to the realities of the educational structure, leading them to inflate their expectations unrealistically and to ignore their own academic shortcomings."

This is certainly the case of School A and B where present school academic performance indicates below average achievement.
In order to examine this we took the June marks of the students interviewed. While it is undoubtedly correct to argue that June marks may not reflect end of the year results, we nonetheless find some interesting observations. For instance the average total mark of the sample from School A is 36.3% (Range 23.6% - 46.9%) while that of School B is 43.2% (Range 28.8% - 56%). The average total mark for School C is 56% with a range from 38 to 80%.

It might then be possible to argue the students from School A and to a lesser extent School B, may have inflated their educational aspirations.

2. OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES AND ASPIRATIONS

The aims of this section was to determine students' perceptions of the occupational structure, their "ideal" occupational preference, the occupation they are most likely to get, and in which geo-political area they would prefer to work.

Pupils Perceptions of the Occupational Structure

The students were asked to rank a list of occupations in terms of prestige and respect. They were asked to indicate against each job the prestige and respect in which the job is held by society and the community generally. Many students found the question a bit vague and tried to personalize it by asking the interviewer:"Do you mean what do I think?" The interviewers then answered "Yes, you and the community you live in".

Students in all three schools showed a clear perception of the occupational hierarchy with very little variation between students of different socio-economic backgrounds. At the top of the list we find the professional and executive occupations, followed by sub-professional white collar, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. Of interest is the
low prestige accorded by students to the traditional occupation of Chief. This rejection of tribal institutions is in line with the students political aspirations (see the following section on political preferences) and suggests that occupational prestige is structurally generated rather than culturally. The prestige of an occupation is based on the economic demand for that job, the skill required, and the amount of money it earns. The students at the three schools thus have perceptions of the occupational structure which are very similar to those of students in other industrial capitalist societies.

Students Occupational Aspirations

Students were then asked what job they would like to do if they were free to choose any job and then what job they were in fact likely to get when they left school, taking into account their experience of the situation and their experience of their friends who had already left school. While 70% of the students in School C did not show any difference between their "ideal" choice and what they thought they would in fact end up doing, only 19% at School A and 32% at School B did not show any difference.

Where differences did occur some examples of the "ideal" choice followed by what the student thinks they will end up doing, are revealing, and shows again that they have a clear perception of the occupational structure, but at Schools A and B are only too aware of the difficulties facing them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IDEAL</th>
<th>SOCIAL</th>
<th>CHEMICAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENGINEER</td>
<td>DOCTOR</td>
<td>ENGINEER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOCTOR</td>
<td>WORKER</td>
<td>TEACHER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ Reasons ................
Reasons given for not being able to pursue their ideal job revolved mostly around a lack of money for achieving the appropriate qualifications and having to get a job almost immediately to support their family.

An analysis of the above data shows a similarity to many industrialised Western societies operating within a capitalist framework, in that the immediate gratification of students from the lower socio-economic levels is not some working class malaise but rather a structurally generated necessity. If the second choice in the examples seems to be rather optimistic in terms of the South African situation (clerk, etc.), one must bear in mind that the students in the study are in matric and in that sense are already something of an elite, although for most of them, it is as far as they will go. Dorsey in a similar study in then Rhodesia, found the same thing — that the level of aspirations increase as pupils climb the educational ladder.

Contrary to Dorsey's study, the present study found a strong correlation between social status and the students evaluation of achieving their occupational goals.

Geo-Political Preference

Rural - Urban Preference

Table XII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BIG CITY</th>
<th>MEDIUM</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>ECONOMIC IMPERATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A (16)</td>
<td>4 (25%)</td>
<td>11 (69%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (19)</td>
<td>7 (37%)</td>
<td>8 (42%)</td>
<td>3 (16%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (20)</td>
<td>15 (75%)</td>
<td>5 (26%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ Area ............
Area Preference

Table XIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HOMELAND</th>
<th>RSA</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A (16)</td>
<td>11 (69%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (19)</td>
<td>8 (42%)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4 (21)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (20)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6 (30%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparing the results in Table XII and XIII for School A we find a correspondence between people who choose to live and work in a medium size town like Mafikeng and those who would prefer to live and work in a homeland. Similar results for School A were also obtained when choosing place of further study (most chose UNIBO) and also satisfaction with Bophuthatswana's independence.

Conversely there was a correlation for School C between those who wished to live and work outside the homelands (90%) and those who wanted to live in a big city like Johannesburg (75%). School B had 58% wanting to live outside the homelands and 37% wanting to live in a big city.

In the total sample from all three schools, 47% wished to live in a big city and 53% outside the homelands.

Several points emerge from the Tables above. It is clear that students from a higher socio-economic locality such as School C and to a certain extent, School B, are far more likely to try and move to big urban centres like Johannesburg and away from the homelands which they perceive as second best in terms of education, employment and in terms of facilities (medical, entertainment, etc.) For them the benefit of a degree from a good university and the subsequent better job far outweighs the problems that apartheid might present.
For the students from School A the realities of recent removals from Western Transvaal towns such as Venterdorp, Coligny and Lichtenburg, their very real experience of the harshness of the apartheid state, make the relative freedom of Bophuthatswana more attractive and indeed real to them. The present expansion of the government bureaucracy in Mabatho and the availability of clerical jobs, have created for them the perception of occupational opportunity such as never existed in "South Africa". This point is discussed further in the section on political preferences.

The high level of the potential exodus from School C is ironic when one considers the amount of money the government is spending on the school, on what they consider no doubt to be an investment which will provide qualified local leadership of a higher calibre than other schools in Mafikeng/Mabatho area. Our findings lend support to the assertion in Francine De Clercq's paper that it is becoming increasingly simplistic, and indeed will become more so in the future, to regard the homelands as mere reservoirs of cheap unskilled labour. It is our contention that the "development" in the homelands especially with regard to education is an integral part of the restructuring which is going on within the central economy. It is a "development" which is structurally dependent on the central economy in terms of not only certification, staffing and money but also in terms of providing skilled labour for the centre.

It is in this sense that development of education in Bophuthatswana can be regarded as assisting in the continued underdevelopment of the area. This is especially true of a school like Mabatho High where the curriculum is highly academic and the teachers from white South Africa serve as a reference group for the students. All the signposts point to UCT, Wits or even overseas for that matter.
The kinds of occupations chosen by pupils at School C are further elements in this process of outward mobility. The University of Bophuthatswana does not offer training in medicine, engineering, computer science and other careers of this kind, and the students thus naturally aspire to the "main" South African universities. Secondly, once they qualify, especially in engineering and computer science they will find employment with multinationals who require these kinds of people.

3. POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Both researchers felt a need to explore the question of locality and its relationship to the political interests, values and influences of the interviewees. Obviously such a task is a daunting one since it raises the vexed problem of the objectivity of the present study and the sincerity of the students concerned. Given these methodological reservations, however, we found a remarkable honesty amongst the interviewees. Naturally we noticed a reluctance on the part of some students - mainly female respondents - but by and large the interview process revealed some apparent anomalies and interesting avenues for discussion. Generally we found about half the total sample either "very" or "somewhat" interested in issues pertaining to Southern African politics (53%). This in itself was not at all significant. Its significance was more apparent when one examines the response in terms of sex differences in the sample (see Table XIV below). 

/ Table .............
Table XIV  Interest in Politics : Sex Differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>VERY</th>
<th>SOME WHAT</th>
<th>NOT MUCH</th>
<th>NOT</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (16)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (19)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (20)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from the Table above that if one takes the "very" and "somewhat" categories together one finds marked differences in the male and female responses. For example, 22 of the total male sample (85%) expressed a view that they were either "very" or "somewhat" interested. The figure for the total female sample was 7 (24%). Conversely when the categories of "not much" or "not" were analysed we find only 3 of the male sample (12%) and 22 of the female sample (76%) answered in such a manner. While it has been postulated by some that the sex differences may be attributed to fear on the part of the female students we believe that the cultural role of women in less urban areas may explain these differences.

Turning to the question of whether or not the students were satisfied with the independence of Bophuthatswana we find some interesting observations which we argue may be attributable to the students' locality.
Table XV  Satisfaction with Independence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A (16)</td>
<td>14 (86%)</td>
<td>2 (13%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (19)</td>
<td>10 (53%)</td>
<td>9 (47%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (20)</td>
<td>7 (35%)</td>
<td>12 (60%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most striking observation to be made from this Table is the contrasts between Schools A and B. In School A we find 86% of the students felt that they were satisfied with the independence of Bophuthatswana while 60% of School C claimed that they were not satisfied.

At a glance this would indicate a point made earlier that the students from School A revealed a large degree of political conservatism vis-à-vis the socio-political realities of Southern Africa. We believe that this judgment may be a little premature and ignores the student's subjective perceptions of his or her immediate social reality. This became clearly evident during the actual process of interviewing the students concerned. Thus when asked to discuss the reasons why the students in School A answered "yes" a marked degree of political pragmatism was evident. We have selected below a selection of these comments:

"... there have been many changes in the homeland ... We have never heard of violence here ... the things that can disturb a person"

"... there is too much bloodshed in South Africa now ... here at least we feel safe and secure"

/ "...there......
"... there is no apartheid here ... I like it here because we are living freely ... there have been many changes"

"... we are living freely ... there are more jobs now and we have a better chance than before"

"... blacks are now given a chance to do things for themselves"

"... we can govern ourselves that is why I honour this place"

"... the areas puts blacks and whites together"

"... we feel liberated from most of the things we were suffering under ... we can just live freely"

"... we have independence without discrimination"

"... everything is for whites and blacks ... not just for whites only or blacks only"

The character and nature of these responses is interesting. At one level one is inclined to argue an uncritical acceptance of their homeland locale. At another level however, it is important to note the perceptions of these students must be viewed as relative both to their subjective experiences as a resettled and oppressed community and the objective structural changes that have taken place in their immediate environment. While the character of that change may be debatable its actual influence on these students is real. At best one can see their responses as reflecting a pragmatic concern for the changes in their immediate environment. However, to deduce from this an overall political conservatism would be naive.
For instance, if one correlates these overall comments with their responses to a question as to whether or not they viewed the future of South Africa in ethnic or in "broad South African" terms, one finds a very clear vision of future political scenarios in South Africa. It can be noted, for example, that 75% of these students from School A did not view themselves 'vis-a-vis' South Africa in ethnic terms but in terms of a broader South Africanism.

In short one could argue that these students are by and large concerned with their immediate previous political experiences as a resettled community. These experiences can best be described as involving harassment, social and political insecurity and excessive racial discrimination. This would explain why the bulk of their responses to their perceptions of "independence" are couched in terms of "no apartheid", "feel safe and secure", "living freely", "without discrimination", etc. Thus while one can safely maintain a structural relationship between the political consciousness of these students and their locality it would be naive to assume an over-determined conception of these students. Their awareness of themselves in terms of non-ethnic categories indicates that they may see their present socio-economic realities as temporary.

In examining the responses of School C we find a by far more broader and critical conception of independence and its implications. With regard to those in School C who claimed they were satisfied with independence (35%) their responses were similar to those of School A in that independence was perceived in terms of "petty apartheid" i.e. racial discrimination and freedom of movement. The majority of School C students, however, were not satisfied with independence. Their perceptions, moreover, were by far more critical of the notion of independence.

"... the ......."
"... the independence is superficial ... the whites in Mafikeng still behave as if they were still in South Africa"

"... there is still discrimination below the surface ... whites still get houses first"

"... nothing has changed for the bulk of the people you can see that if you drive to the other areas"

"... we still racially separate from the rest of South Africa ... instead of being one big united country"

"... we are being deprived of good education ... the institutions are inferior compared to South Africa"

Finally School B. Although here the negative responses to independence were less (47%) the school students concerned showed a similar, if not more perceptive, analysis of the situation. We attribute this to the tradition of marked political awareness amongst these students. In 1976, for example, this school was severely damaged by fire as a response to the Soweto uprisings. Consequently we find a marked political analysis amongst these students.

"... there is something better they can give me in South Africa ... I can get a better job afterwards and also a recognised degree"

"... South Africa is my place. I was born there and it has good education technically and at the university ... both are well-developed"

"... because ....."
"... because I am a South African!"

"... the place is said to be democratic we know that there is corruption"

"... freedom of speech is not real ... you can't criticise the government too much ..."

"... the party members care only for themselves"

"... only the children of parliament are promoted"

Clearly then we find here a by far more in-depth analysis of the dynamics of independence and political alternatives. This became more apparent when an examination was done of the students' view on political leaders in Southern Africa. For instance when asked to discuss with reasons the three political leaders they admired most it was found that School B consistently gave such political figures as Mandela, Tutu, Tambo and Biko as their replies (See Table XVI below).

Table XVI  Significant Political figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>MANDELA</th>
<th>TUTU</th>
<th>TAMBO</th>
<th>BIKO</th>
<th>MANGOPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A (16)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (19)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (20)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: The totals above refer to the number of times a particular person was mentioned by the students concerned.

/ Similarly......
Similarly the evidence of Table XVII below suggests that 72% of School B students openly supported the fundamental political philosophy of the ANC. Moreover it should be noted that even with School A we find that despite their satisfaction with Bophuthatswana independence (86%) support for the ANC represent 62% of the sample. The Democratic Party of President Mangope gained no support again reminding us of the logical error of assuming that a satisfaction with their homeland context necessarily entails a total acceptance of present socio political realities.

Table XVII  Party Support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>ANC</th>
<th>AZAPO</th>
<th>DEM.</th>
<th>BOP.</th>
<th>UDF</th>
<th>PFP</th>
<th>INK</th>
<th>NAT</th>
<th>NONE</th>
<th>DON'T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A (16)</td>
<td>10(62%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (19)</td>
<td>14(72%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (20)</td>
<td>11(55%)</td>
<td>1(5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1(5%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: One refusal was noted from each school.

F. CONCLUSION

The aim of the study was to gain a sociological profile of three schools which showed considerable variation in terms of locality and socio-economic characteristics. With this in mind we hoped to gain some understanding of the extent to which such factors might influence the students occupational and educational aspirations, and also their political values and interests.

The three schools/areas varied from low socio-economic status and a high degree of migrancy, through a medium socio-economic status and a low degree of migrancy to a "model" multi-cultural school with students drawn from a fairly high socio-economic background.
Educational aspirations were found to be uniformly high in spite of differences in the socio-economic background of students, a finding supported by evidence from the rest of Africa, and contrary to that of Europe and the U.S.A. This has important implications in terms of the effects of social stratification on education in differing contexts or localities.

Students in all three schools showed a clear perception of the occupational hierarchy, but as with education, there was a strong correlation between social status and the students evaluation of achieving their goals.

The nexus between socio-economic status and geo-political preference showed that education in certain contexts can contribute to the process of under development of the structurally dependent homeland areas. This is especially true for the higher socio-economic status school, where the majority of the students expressed the intention of leaving the homeland to study or work in South Africa proper.

This factor is especially pertinent in the light of De Clercq's (17) study. With the reformulation of apartheid policy, in particular the relocation of millions of workers and their relegation to commuter status, it becomes necessary to see the homelands as supplying an increasingly more skilled and permanently urbanised labour face.

The study also showed that although some students accepted the short-term benefits of independence, this did not imply an uncritical acceptance, as was shown by their awareness of political alternatives encompassing a broader South Africanism, as represented by Mandela and the ANC.
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8. See Note 6. Above

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