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**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE CLASSROOM
RELATED SCHEMATA OF TRAINEE TEACHERS
EDUCATED AT RACIALLY SEGREGATED SCHOOLS**

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Unless specifically indicated to the contrary in this text,
this thesis is my own original work.

ELIZABETH MARY RALFE

ABSTRACT

This thesis reports on an investigation of the schemata of trainee teachers from a range of different ethnic and language groups in KwaZulu-Natal who had been educated in racially segregated school systems. Informed by the insight that schemata are the products of life experience and that they constrain linguistic choices (see Tannen 1979), it was hypothesised at the outset that different ethnic groups have some different assumptions of what constitutes appropriate classroom behaviour and that this schematic knowledge is reflected in the surface linguistic forms used by teachers and pupils in classroom discourse. These differences in schemata could have unfortunate consequences for pupils of a different ethnic group from their teacher, and, in particular, those pupils from historically disempowered groups.

Data was collected using an eclectic mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. Firstly, students responded to a questionnaire which elicited responses concerning pupil and teacher roles. This was followed by interviews with selected student teachers during which they were asked to comment on those statements in the questionnaire which exhibited the greatest differences between respondents who attended schools administered by racially different educational authorities. Finally, a story recall experiment was conducted. Respondents/subjects were all trainee teachers at a multi-racial college of education.

The analyses of the findings of the quantitative questionnaire revealed significant differences between subjects from different education systems. The interview data, however, revealed that the differences were less marked than the findings of the questionnaire suggested. The analyses of the recall experiment suggested that while some differences between the subjects who had attended schools administered by racially segregated authorities do exist, these are not as great as initially hypothesised.

Teachers need to be made aware of the problems inherent in cross-cultural encounters, and this awareness should be extended to pupils. This awareness, together with goodwill, should ensure that pupils having different schemata from their teacher and/or other pupils in the classroom will not be disadvantaged.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

This study was prompted by my experience of the challenges faced by teachers and pupils who were experiencing the desegregation of South African state schools.

In 1990 and 1991 I was the chairperson of the management council of the school my children attended. This school had been a racially-exclusive 'white' school and it was controlled by the Department of Education and Culture, House of Assembly, through its agent, the Natal Education Department.

In 1990, when white parents were given the opportunity of choosing from three different governance 'models'¹ this school conducted a poll of parent opinion. They voted to open the school to all races.

When the 1991 school year began over a third of the intake were children of other race groups, and by the beginning of 1992 this percentage had risen to more than 50% (See Fig. 1 overleaf). Figures for more recent years are not available as schools were no longer required to inform the education authorities of the race of pupils and records of this were not kept.

¹ Three models designated A, B and C were proposed. Model A required schools to become private, Model B allowed schools to retain their state funding but devolved certain powers (one of which was control over admissions) to school management councils, while Model C limited state funding to the payment of a set number of staff salaries and school management councils would become responsible for all other running expenses.

Year	White	Coloured	Indian	Black	Total
1990	183				183
1991	174	21	35	30	260
1992	158	65	51	58	332

Fig. 1: Pupil numbers and race distribution.

This sudden influx of children of varying cultures and languages presented a number of challenges for both teachers and pupils.

A teacher survey² conducted at this school at the beginning of 1992, (see appendix A) to which all 19 teachers responded, revealed that few of them had been professionally prepared for teaching in a multicultural classroom or had had many personal experiences with people of other cultures. For many of them the only domain in which they had come into close contact with black people was the domestic, characterised by master/servant role relations with domestic and garden workers.

Prior to 1991, only private schools were permitted to integrate and then only on a very limited scale. Because of the stringent entrance tests and high cost of private school education the small number of pupils from groups other than middle class English speaking Whites at these institutions tended to be members of an intellectual or financial elite.

Because of the widespread racially-segregated nature of institutions in South Africa communication across racial lines was limited. Sport and cultural activities were totally segregated because of the apartheid policies of the Nationalist government

² This questionnaire was devised and conducted by Dr D Shiman (University of Vermont) who was engaged in research at this school in 1992.

so each racial/ethnic group remained relatively isolated. This isolation increased the potential for conflict, misunderstanding, and perpetuation of the disadvantage black children had suffered under apartheid, before schools finally began to de-segregate.

Tertiary education de-segregated before schools which even now, in 1997, are not all integrated fully. As early as 1980 students of colour were permitted to register at tertiary institutions if special permission was obtained and by the mid-1990's most tertiary institutions were completely de-segregated. As a lecturer at a multiracial college of education I was in a position to investigate the schemata of students who entered the college who came from racially segregated schools.

1.2 Terminology used in this study to indicate race

At the outset I would like to acknowledge the sensitivity surrounding issues of race. This is a multi-cultural study and as such it is necessary to separate respondents into various population groups. Race is a sensitive issue anywhere, but even more so in South Africa with its history of racial segregation.

In this study I have separated respondents according to the particular government administration which controlled their schooling e.g. House of Delegates (HOD), House of Representatives (HOR), Natal Education Department (NED), and KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture and Department of Education and Training (KwaZulu/DET). It is no secret, however, that behind these labels lie rigid racial categories. The House of Delegates controlled the schooling of Indian children, the House of Representatives controlled the schooling of so-called Coloured children, the Natal Education Department controlled the schooling of White children and the KwaZulu Department of Education and Training and the

Department of Education and Training controlled the schooling of Black, and in the case of this study, Zulu mother-tongue speaking, children.

1.3 Brief definition of schemata

Given its centrality in this dissertation the concept of schemata requires description at this point, although this discussion will be further expanded in chapter 2.

Schemata can best be described as a mental filing system in which all past experiences, concepts, actions and objects are stored and used to make sense of any new input.

According to scholars who have investigated them, e.g. Anderson, Bartlett, and Rumelhart among others, schemata are acquired from birth and continue to develop and adapt throughout our lives. They constitute all our experience and knowledge of the world and how it operates, including how we communicate. They are located deep in our long-term memory, and we use them as a basis for predicting and interpreting events. Our schemata lead us to have certain expectations based on our previous experience of the world and of language use. We are able to predict how certain events are likely to unfold by projecting these expectations or schemata onto what we already know. We are also able to interpret events because we have schemata made up of similar events which we have experienced in the past.

Because the life experience of each individual is unique, nobody has identical schematic knowledge. It is possible for miscommunication to occur intraculturally i.e. when people belonging to the same culture are communicating. People who have been brought up in similar cultures and environments, however, tend to share many

areas of background knowledge and this facilitates effective communication. Where schematic knowledge is markedly different, as when people belong to different cultural groups, miscommunication can (and often does) take place. The greater the disparity in schematic worlds, the greater the potential for miscommunication.

Research has shown that schemata, although dynamic because they constantly adapt in order to facilitate the interpretation of new input, are very resistant to change. Once schemata are established in the long term memory they are extremely difficult to expel or alter. Howard, for example, explains that 'new schemata may be hard to accept because they are just too discrepant from existing schemata and accepting them requires a major reorganisation of one's cognitive structures' (1987:191). This reorganization or adaptation evolves slowly and is sometimes a painful process.

1.4 The consequences of pupils and teacher having different schemata.

The importance of schemata in education and learning has been widely accepted and mismatches in schemata have been cited as a major reason for school failure. Teachers often view the classroom behaviour of children of different cultures as unresponsive or disruptive, and academically they are often labelled as slow learners (Corson 1993). This confirms the view of Saville-Troike (1979) and Ogbu (1982) that the education system is one which primarily prepares middle class children from the dominant culture to take part in their own culture.

Differences in schemata include different expectations about communication conventions. If the expectations of less powerful groups differ from those of the dominant cultural group this may result in the less powerful group being severely disadvantaged. Success or failure is interactionally accomplished. Corson (1993)

notes that 'education can routinely repress, dominate, and disempower language users whose practices differ from the norms that it establishes. Furthermore, it can do this while concealing the relations that underlie its power and while conveying a reality that can be highly partisan'(1993:7). Other researchers concur with this opinion (Brice-Heath and Branscombe: 1985; Michaels and Collins: 1984; Philips: 1983).

Howard (1987) explains that differing schemata can interfere with instruction and that the result is that 'material that cannot be understood with their [the pupils'] existing schemata is either ignored, compartmentalised, or learned by rote' (1987:42). Thus those pupils whose schemata differ from the teacher's and other pupils' will be disadvantaged in acquiring and recalling information.

There is evidence that teacher/pupil interactions in schools administered by KwaZulu/DET are considerably different from interaction in schools controlled by the other three administrations. Chick (1996) found that interactions in schools for black pupils in South Africa are 'highly centralized, with teachers adopting authoritarian roles and doing most of the talking, with few student initiations, and with most of the student responses taking the form of group chorusing' (1996:2).

A classroom culture is one in which status and power are clearly defined (Corson 1993) and the teacher has the status and the power to determine the success or failure of each pupil. Because of schematic differences a teacher may erroneously label a particular child as, for example, stupid or difficult. Research (e.g. Ford 1984 and Ogbu 1991) has revealed that the expectations of the teacher are often fulfilled with regard to the achievement of pupils. Scholars of whom the teacher has low expectations will often perform badly, while high expectations from the teacher will see children of mediocre ability perform well. Teacher expectation thus could have

an effect on the child of another culture in the multicultural classroom as racial/cultural stereotypes lead some teachers to judge children from a different culture negatively. In South Africa this situation is likely to be even more acute as 40 years of apartheid and centuries of negative racial stereotyping will have left a legacy in the subconscious of even the most liberal of South Africans.

Language is an important element of culture (Saville-Troike 1976), and culture is part of schemata. Language is the medium through which culture is transmitted and children are acculturated in the process of learning their mother tongue. Thus, an additional difficulty is that of language. Zulu mother-tongue pupils are obliged to be competent in English if they wish to succeed. Although English is the medium of instruction in all African schools in KwaZulu Natal from Std 3 upwards many of the pupils have a poor command of the language, and even if they are competent in speaking it, they may not have the socio-linguistic competence of a native speaker. If a pupil wishes to attend a multiracial school he or she needs to be proficient in either English or Afrikaans. This could disadvantage the child from another culture who is neither grammatically nor sociolinguistically competent in one of these languages.

Thus, for black pupils to succeed in multiracial schools which previously catered exclusively for white pupils, competence in the dominant language is only part of the challenge. Acquisition of the cultural 'baggage' that goes with any linguistic system is crucial to the child's academic success. Native English speaking teachers and pupils are accustomed to 'playing the game' according to shared expectations in the classroom situation. They know the rules that apply without being conscious of them. They therefore expect that second language pupils will instinctively know them too. If these pupils do not learn the relevant schematic knowledge then it is possible that they will fail in this highly sought after educational environment.

1.5 Brief historical overview of South African education

It is not within the scope of this research to give an exhaustive account of the history of education in South Africa but as the schemata of teachers and pupils are based amongst other things on their experience of the political, cultural, language and educational environment into which they are born, it is relevant to give a brief overview of how education has been used over the years to enforce separation and inequality. It is the forced separation of the different ethnic groups, who had little opportunity of meaningful contact, which has resulted not only in their having different schemata, but often schemata about each other made up of prejudice and ethnic stereotypes. An understanding of the historical context is also essential for the accurate interpretation of the findings of this study.

Inequalities in education can be traced back to the establishment of the first formal schools in South Africa. These schools were developed for the children of British civil servants and as such were situated around urban centres. Other population groups, including the Dutch settlers, were not catered for by the state. Schooling for African pupils was left to the missionaries. The British government tacitly supported mission schools because they 'civilized' the natives and assisted the British in exercising social control over the black population by preparing them for the position in society which the colonial government wished them to occupy: namely labourers, servants etc.

Many Boer farmers were forced from their land by the British at the end of the Anglo-Boer war in 1902. Since many had little in the way of skills or education, they were forced into urban areas where they had to compete with black people for unskilled positions. The British colonial government then adopted a more formal policy to protect white interests e.g. job reservation, differentiated wages, and

controls over the freedom of movement of black people. The government required skilled and unskilled manpower for the burgeoning mining industry and increased industrialization, and politicians determined that Whites would be educated to fill the skilled positions while Blacks would slot into the unskilled positions as and when required. The government decreed that where Blacks were not required they should live in reserves set up under the Land Act of 1913. Black education was inadequately funded, not compulsory, and left mainly to the missionaries.

When the Nationalist Party came into power in 1948 it set about manipulating education to achieve the preservation of an Afrikaner identity through the establishment of a strong Afrikaner powerbase, and the total separation of races in the interests of maintaining ethnic purity and power i.e. a divide and rule policy. This it tried to do by limiting the freedom of movement of black people, forcing them into townships, and establishing ethnic homelands.

One of the first steps in implementing this policy was to take control of the education of all children in South Africa and further separate it along racial lines. Thus the Bantu Education Act (1953) further and more deeply entrenched the separate and unequal nature of education in South Africa. The Christian and cultural character of education was emphasised, as was the fact that it should be supportive of the policy of apartheid. The then Minister of Bantu Education, H F Verwoerd, explained the object of the act stating: 'There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour' (Verwoerd 1954:24).

The first step in implementing the new policy was the closing of almost all the mission schools by cutting off their state subsidy. The Nationalist government justified this action on the grounds that these schools were educating Blacks for roles

that would not be available to them in the emerging apartheid society. Although there was an influx of Afrikaners into management positions in Bantu Education, white teachers were withdrawn from teaching in black schools and their places were taken by unqualified black teachers.

The first organized resistance to apartheid education found expression in the 1976 Soweto riots. This unrest, which spread to other parts of the country, was caused by government's insistence on black pupils being educated through the medium of Afrikaans. Following these riots the country's black pupils were at the forefront of the struggle. The slogan 'liberation before education' became the cry of black scholars.

The government eventually made some tentative steps towards desegregation in education in 1989 when a system of models was first mooted by the Minister of Education, House of Assembly, Minister Piet Claase. This was motivated by the external and internal pressure being exerted on the government by opponents of apartheid, and a shortage of finance as the government attempted to equalise spending on pupils of different racial groups. The government of the time led by President P.W. Botha vetoed the proposals, but in 1990, following President de Klerk's February 2nd speech, Minister Claase again began making statements about changes in the white education system. This culminated in parents being offered three models³ which they could choose to implement.

In September 1990 the parent committees of schools for white pupils were informed that if 70% of the parents agreed, the status of the school could be changed to one of the three models (see footnote on Page 1). Most schools that opted to take

³ Refer to the footnote on page 1 for full details of the three models.

advantage of this opportunity at this stage selected Model B. This allowed them to retain their state school status and thus the state provided funding, but gave them some autonomy with regard to their admission policy - in other words, they could accept up to 49% of children of other race groups if they chose to but they were obliged to accept any white child who lived within the geographical zoning of that school.

At some white schools parents voted overwhelmingly for Model B which provided the opportunity to open their school to all races. These white schools were, however, in the minority. They tended to be English medium schools located in middle to upper class urban areas. In effect admission of black pupils to these schools was limited as most charged substantial fees and conducted strict entrance tests which carefully vetted prospective black pupils. As education of white pupils was compulsory, they were automatically accepted and even if they were unable to pay the fees they were able to apply for state assistance.

In 1992 the Nationalist government, faced with an ever increasing financial burden as efforts were being made to equalize the amount spent on the education of black and white children, changed the status of all white schools to Model C which obliged those schools to become semi-private, state-aided schools. The only exceptions were schools where a poll was undertaken and 70% of the parent body resisted the change.

The election of the new government in 1994 heralded the end of racially-segregated education. Since then no school has been permitted to exclude a child on the basis of skin colour. Model C schools were abolished at the end of 1996 and all state schools enjoy the same status.

More comprehensive accounts of the history of the South African education system can be found in Kallaway (1991), Christie (1991) and Coutts (1992) from whom much of this information has been drawn.

The historical account above has contextualized this study and indicated how the political system engineered South African education into rigid groups that kept inter-ethnic communication to a minimum. This separation has led to different life experiences which in turn have led to different schemata.

1.6 Research Questions

My research questions spring from my hypothesis that, given the segregated nature of South African schools in the past, students who come from different ethnic groups will have different schemata about what constitutes acceptable classroom behaviour, and that these different schemata will be reflected in the surface linguistic forms of their discourse. (I further hypothesised that these differences in schemata could have unfortunate consequences for pupils who come from a different ethnic group from their teacher, particularly those from historically disempowered groups, though for reasons of scope I did not explore this in this study.)

This study would be described by Seliger and Shohamy (1989) as deductive research because it is hypothesis-driven. This means that it arose out of a theory which I wished to test. In testing this hypothesis I have been guided by focused questions in order to facilitate my discovering whether pupils and teachers from different ethnic groups have different schemata of what constitutes acceptable pupil/teacher interaction in the classroom.

In formulating the research questions I moved in steps from the most general questions to the most specific. My rationale was that if the answers to the first two research questions did not reveal differing schemata then my original hypothesis would require adjustment. I used an eclectic approach to discover what schemata school pupils have of the classroom, and, in attempting to confirm or disconfirm the main hypothesis, I sought answers to the following questions:

1. *Do South African trainee teachers who belong to different ethnic groups in KwaZulu-Natal have different schemata of pupil classroom roles? If so, how do these differ?*
2. *Do South African trainee teachers who belong to different ethnic groups in KwaZulu-Natal have different schemata of teacher classroom roles? If so, how do these differ?*
3. *To what extent does the overt communicative behaviour of trainee teachers of different cultural backgrounds (Black and other South African) in a previously white 'mainstream' teacher training college reveal evidence of differing schemata?*

1.7 Organization of thesis

The thesis is organized into five main sections. In chapter 2 the literature relevant to the study is reviewed. It begins with an overview of research into schemata and culture and how they have been defined by researchers from many different disciplines, finally giving the definition to be used in this study. The relationship between schemata and culture is then indicated, and the educational implications for

pupils who have different schemata from their teacher. Finally, the details of the research which informed the data collection methods are provided.

Chapter 3 consists of precise details of the methods used for data collection and analyses, and a rationale for their choice. This chapter gives the argument for an eclectic approach to data collection which includes both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to draw valid conclusions. It goes on to explain how the data were collected for the three research instruments (questionnaire, interviews and recall experiment) used in this study and the approach to the analyses of the data.

In chapter 4 the findings of the quantitative survey are presented, drawing on the work done by McCargar (1993). The statistics generated by the responses to the questionnaire are analyzed and interpreted, and details of interviews conducted with students to investigate the main areas of schematic discrepancy are provided.

Chapter 5 outlines the story-recall experiment and details the findings obtained from this research instrument. The work of Tannen (1979 & 1980) was extensively consulted in analysing the narratives. Where she was interested in simply identifying cultural differences in the surface linguistic forms used by the subjects of different nationalities, however, the focus here has been narrowed down to classroom interaction.

Chapter 6 concludes this thesis. This chapter indicates the relevance of the research to the classroom situation, and how the findings can be practically applied. The practical application of these findings is particularly important in South Africa today as the education authorities have desegregated and there is more and more movement of teachers and pupils to schools which were previously ethnically exclusive.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE SURVEY

This chapter examines a selection of attempts to develop schema theory and to investigate the existence of schemata empirically. In particular, it examines studies that have focused on cultural diversity in schematic expectations and how those impact on the quality of intercultural contact especially in the educational domains.

In the first part of the chapter I survey reading that led me to hypothesize that pupils from different cultural groups have different schemata of classroom behaviour. In the rest of the chapter various attempts to investigate schemata empirically are surveyed, focusing on the methods of data collection and analysis that were used, or adapted for this study.

I firstly provide brief background historical information on the origins and development of schema theory, including attempts to define the notion of schema. I also attempt to define culture, another key concept in this study, and explore the link between schemata and culture. Here the notion of culturally transmitted understanding is examined, and how this understanding affects the schemata of people from different cultures. Finally, I report on and discuss investigations into the schemata of classroom behaviour of children from minority ethnic groups around the world, before dealing with the schemata of classroom behaviour of minority group pupils in South Africa.

In examining how schemata have been investigated empirically, I look first at investigations of how schemata affect recall. I then examine in some detail a recall experiment conducted by Tannen under the direction of Chafe which is documented in Tannen (1979) and Chafe (1980). This study, in particular, informed the recall

experiment I conducted, the method of data collection and analyses of which are reported in Chapters 3 and 5. Finally I examine the quantitative research conducted by McCargar (1993). He devised a questionnaire which he used to investigate student and teacher expectations of student and teacher classroom roles. This informed the questionnaire I conducted, the methods of data collection, analyses and results of which are recorded in Chapter 3 and 4.

2.1 Schemata, culture and expectations

2.1.1 What are schemata?

A definition of the term schemata was provided in 1.3 of the introduction to this study. I would, however, for two reasons, like to expand upon that definition. Firstly, researchers from many disciplines have defined and categorised schemata in a diversity of ways and this has led to such a proliferation of terms and theories that it is often difficult to establish whether writers are referring to the same concept. Secondly, since the concept of schema is central to my research it is essential that I clarify in what sense I am using the term. In order to do this I will also provide a brief account of the origins of the term.

The study of mental organization is not new⁴. In the late 19th century psychologists and physiologists argued that the brain was ‘a storehouse of images’ (Munk: 1870 in Bartlett 1932:198). The wide use of the term ‘schema/schemata’ had its origins in the work of the psychologist Bartlett (1932) although he claimed not to be entirely happy with the term because it was ‘at once too definite and too sketchy ... the word

⁴ Rumelhart and Ortony (1977) claim that Kant referred to a similar notion in his book, Critique of Pure Reason (1787).

is already widely used in controversial psychological writing to refer generally to any vaguely outlined theory' (1932: 201). After considering using the term 'organized settings', which he preferred, but which raised other difficulties, he defined schema as follows:

Schema refers to an active organization of past experiences, which must always be supposed to be operating in any well-adapted organic response. That is, whenever there is any order or regularity of behaviour a particular response is possible only because it is related to other similar responses which have been serially organized, yet which operate, not simply as individual members coming one after another, but as a unitary mass. (1932:201)

Bartlett's definition is useful because it suggests that everything that has been experienced is organized and stored, and that these past experiences are drawn upon to interpret any new input. It further suggests that schema are dynamic and that a number of schemata can be instantiated simultaneously. It is important because it laid the foundation for further investigation into schemata by researchers from a number of disciplines.

Research into schemata, and the mental organization of information was, however, not undertaken with any rigour until the seventies. By the mid-70's research into the more complex aspects of schemata was being carried out by Rumelhart, Anderson, Abelson and Minsky among others. Rumelhart and Ortony (1977), cognitive psychologists, refined Bartlett's definition and described schemata as follows:

Schemata are data structures for representing the generic concepts stored in memory. They exist for generalized concepts underlying objects, situations, events, sequences of events, action, and sequences of actions. Schemata are not atomic. A schema contains, as part of its specification, the network of interrelations that is believed to generally hold among the constituents of the concept in question. Schemata, in

some sense, represent stereotypes of these concepts. (1977:101)

Rumelhart and Ortony go beyond Bartlett because they view schemata as structures which contain generic concepts rather than limiting them to past experiences. Their definition suggests that it is not necessary to have experienced something personally to have schemata of it. Also, Bartlett's 'unitary mass' is regarded by Rumelhart and Ortony as being something more organised, containing various networks which interrelate and overlap but are in some way discrete. At this stage while the interlinking or networking of different schemata representing different types of knowledge structures was accepted by researchers, clear description of discrete categories had not taken place.

Schank and Abelson (1977) were interested in artificial intelligence. They researched human cognition in order to replicate it in computers. They separated the concept of schemata into different categories. They used the term 'script' to refer to a stereotypical event, which they termed a 'standard sequence event' (1977:38). They claimed that when a story was recounted details were omitted on the assumption that the listener would be able to fill in these details because he/she was familiar with the script. They used the analogy of the restaurant script claiming that when the word restaurant was used it conjured up a script which included things like waitress, menu, eating a meal, paying the bill, etc. Every script, they claimed, contains an enormous amount of information and variability about what can occur at a restaurant, and speakers and listeners have descriptive, visual information about this variety. In each action of a story a 'vignette' containing auxiliary information is stored (1977:44). Thus, for example, classroom schemata would include scripts for words like teacher, pupil, textbooks, chalkboard, note-taking, discipline, power relationships, and discourse appropriate in that setting, among other things. Thus a script is a subset of schemata (Nelson 1985 in Mason 1992).

Widdowson is a linguist and his definition of schemata is useful as it emphasises the importance of schemata in predicting how events will unfold. He described them as 'cognitive constructs which allow for the organization of information in long term memory and which provide a basis for prediction' (1983:34). This suggests that schemata are deeply embedded in the long-term memory and that they provide a resource for predicting what is going to take place in discourse.

He went on to explain that 'information is made to correspond with a schema representing an internalized image of a normal state of affairs. The language itself does not convey information: what it does is to provide a set of directions for which a schema in the user's mind is to be engaged' (1983:35-36). This suggests that meaning is not conveyed by the syntax or the words but by the schema which is located deep in the subconscious mind. The text simply indicates what schematic knowledge we need to draw upon to interpret the discourse. In other words, we create meaning from what we already know.

Widdowson (1983) distinguishes between two categories or subsets of schemata which he terms 'frames of reference' and 'rhetorical routines'. Frames of reference are expectations about the propositional content or information content of the discourse. They are also known as 'content schemata'. Rhetorical routines are sets of expectations about 'the illocutionary activity of the discourse, to what is being done ...' (1983:37). They are therefore stereotypic images of an activity, not the activity itself. They are often referred to as 'form schemata'. Widdowson's 'rhetorical routines' are similar to Schank and Abelson's 'scripts'.

Tannen, also a linguist, favours the term 'expectations' rather than 'schemata' because it is a generic one 'which underlies talk about frames, scripts, and schemata in the fields of linguistics, artificial intelligence, cognitive psychology, social

psychology, and anthropology' (1979:137-138). Tannen explains that expectations arise from schemata. She writes that

based on one's experience of the world in a given culture (or combination of cultures), one organizes knowledge about the world and uses this knowledge to predict interpretations and relationships regarding new information, events, and experiences (1979:138/9).

She also emphasises the strong, dynamic, interactive nature of schemata, as they are constantly evolving as a result of interaction, as well as a strong connection between schemata and culture because '...these vital connections are learned as we grow up and live in a given culture' (1979:137).

The meaning of the term 'schemata' in this investigation is intentionally broad as can be noted from the definitions offered here and in section 1.3. The narrower terms, 'script', 'frame', 'rhetorical routine' etc. have been rejected because they tend to narrow the scope of the study. 'Expectation' is a generic term used in its lay sense by Tannen (1979) and I favour it for the same reason. Expectations arise from and are consequently an indication of schemata. In the course of examining the data in chapters 4 and 5 I will frequently use the term 'expectations' in looking for evidence of schemata because they are the outward manifestation of schemata.

2.1.2 What is culture?

Because this study investigates differences in the schemata of students from different ethnic groups who attended schools which were administered by ethnically exclusive education authorities, culture is inevitably a key concept.

It is not easy to settle on a definition of culture because, as with schemata, researchers from different disciplines and with different viewpoints have viewed culture from different perspectives. The anthropological view argues that culture is a set of discrete behaviours which are specific to a certain group. These behaviours include customs, traditions, language, social norms, etc. which suggest an organized way of life. 'Culture is something which is shared and can be observed' (Robinson:1985). Cognitive psychologists, on the other hand, view culture as a way of mentally organizing inputs and knowledge. Goodenough explains that,

... a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members... By this definition... culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behaviour or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them. (1964:36, in Damen 1987)

This suggests that culture is made up of organized, shared knowledge which people use to impose order on their particular world.

Neither of the above views, however, takes into account the dynamic nature of culture. Holland and Quinn (1987) claim that cultural knowledge is not static: it is constantly being extended and adapted as we encounter and seek to comprehend new experiences. By ignoring the dynamic nature of culture there is a danger that groups might be stereotyped or given a static sociocultural identity. Duff and Uchida (1997) argue that 'culture is a much more complex, subtle and political subject and system than most realise' (1997:476), and that sociocultural identities and ideologies are not static deterministic constructs that remain unchanged. They explain that in the classroom 'identities and beliefs are co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed on an ongoing basis by means of language' (1997:452).

It is my view that culture is a very deeply embedded and multilayered system which encompasses all of the above views. Culture pervades every aspect of our lives. It is to some extent shared with other members of a group, but these groups are not static or fixed, nor do all group members share exactly the same culture.

In this study as I hypothesise that students from different cultural groups will have different schemata of what constitutes acceptable classroom roles and behaviours, and that these will be evident, among other things, in the surface form of their discourse, but I do not believe that these different roles and behaviours are static and unchanging. It is my contention that, like schemata, culture is constantly being redefined and negotiated in the face of changing conditions.

2.1.3 The relationship between culture and schemata

If one accepts the views of some cognitive psychologists, schemata and culture are related so closely that they are almost indistinguishable; our schemata are influenced by our past experiences and the world we live in, our environment, and our environment is influenced by our culture.

Holland and Quinn (1987) view the two terms as being virtually synonymous. They consider the traditional definitions of schemata to be incomplete because they do not sufficiently take into account the distinctive nature of cultural knowledge. They argue that understanding is more than simply knowing or being able to recognize a 'script' or 'theme' because embedded in each script is a wealth of knowledge which is culturally unique. They argue that each individual has a great deal more knowledge about the world than he has been able to draw from first hand experience and that much of this knowledge has been learned and passed down from one

generation to the next. They state 'There is no experience, however concrete or however novel, that is not informed in some way by the culturally transmitted understandings an adult individual brings to that experience' (1987:20).

In this research I view culture as a subset of schemata. It plays a critical role in the formation and development of schemata but not all schemata are culture specific.

2.2 Culture, schemata and education.

Education is never neutral. According to a number of researchers (Botha (1996); Kunutu (1996); Mercer (1992); Ogbu (1991); Ovando and Collier (1985); Saville-Troike (1976 & 1979); among others) it functions as an instrument to impose conformity on a society. Education affirms and formally transmits a particular culture, and pupils who do not have access to that culture are destined to failure.

Mercer (1992) claims that 'more attention needs to be paid to the relationship between children's experiences within the cultural environments of home and school' (1992:31). He goes on to contend that school learning can never be decontextualized because a child will always be obliged to utilize its previous experience of the world to make sense of any task. Corson (1993), agrees with Mercer, going so far as to suggest that cultural differences can disempower certain groups and empower others. He claims that 'education has the power to enforce its linguistic demands by excluding dissenters, by rewarding conformity, by pillorying deviation, and by sanctioning the "legitimate"' (1992:7). He goes on to assert that 'this limits the educational opportunities of children from non-dominant groups because the school demands competence in the dominant language and culture which can only be acquired through family upbringing. While the school might not openly stress this

culture, it implicitly demands it through its definitions of success' (1992:9).

Culturally transmitted understanding is extremely important because pupils of other cultures who do not have knowledge that is expected (or taken for granted) in the educational context will be disadvantaged. Also, that knowledge is never explicitly taught, possibly because it is hidden so deep in the subconscious and long term memory and thus so much a part of each person that we scarcely realise we have it nor are we able to identify it adequately.

The disadvantage children can suffer if they do not share the culture of the school was explored briefly in section 1.4 of the introduction of this study. In this section I will describe the multicultural classroom and explain the term minority group. I will then discuss schematic difficulties which pupils experience in the classroom.

2.2.1 What is a multicultural classroom?

My research topic deals specifically with interaction in a multicultural classroom and it is therefore important to consider what constitutes such a context.

Muir (1986) suggests that it is an environment in which there is 'negotiation between equal partners of different cultures to forge a system of thought which will provide them with both intellectual and emotional security' (1986:23). While this might be a laudable goal to work for, as a definition it is inadequate because it suggests that education functions in a vacuum when in reality it is strongly influenced by social and political factors in the wider community.

The term 'multicultural classroom' in the South African context is an environment

in which pupils from a variety of different cultures and ethnic groups learn/ are taught; however, in most cases it is mainstream, middleclass, western values that are promoted in such schools. It does not reflect the variety of approaches to the acquisition of knowledge that the name suggests.

According to Hulmes (1989), referring to multicultural schooling in Britain, pupils from minority cultures are simply ignored in the multicultural classroom 'except when they speak at other levels of cultural activity such as music, dance, cuisine and social customs, all of which may be welcomed for the enrichment and delight they bring to the life of the wider community' (1989:13). Thus, the culture of minority students is affirmed only on special occasions.

This is true of South Africa as well. The school referred to in section 1.1 of this study coped with the increasing influx of pupils from other cultures in just this way. Much time and effort was expended on the preparation of an 'Indian Evening' and a 'Zulu Evening'. During these events all the pupils were encouraged to dress in the traditional clothes of the cultural group. Pupils who belonged to the particular cultural group presented a programme of traditional dance and drama, and traditional food was served. These events were timed around traditional/religious festivals e.g. the Indian Evening was around the festival of Divali.

The purpose of these events was to raise awareness and encourage acceptance of cultural differences. Despite such attempts to foster cultural sensitivity the rigidly mainstream culture of the classroom remained unchanged.

2.2.2 What is a minority group?

Although I do not use this term in the course of this study, it is never the less relevant because it is widely used to describe a particular group. In this study the term 'minority' is not used in the numerical sense as it can be made up of groups which are numerically strong. I am using this term to describe groups who have cultural, linguistic and social capital of their own, but whose capital is not recognised or valued in the formal education system and the society as a whole.

Ogbu (1991) draws a distinction between what he terms 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' minorities. Voluntary minorities are those who choose to re-locate and live in a different society. Involuntary minorities are those who cannot move away from the setting because it is their home. Involuntary minorities have a history of discrimination, subordination and exploitation. Corson explains:

Historically, they [involuntary minorities] have encountered a job ceiling in the world of work, inferior forms of education, and random racism in every sphere of living. Their cultural capital has not been recognized in the institution of education, and their cultural interests have not been consulted by policy makers at system or school levels. In short, the members of these minorities have good reasons for believing that they do not have an equal chance when compared with members of the dominant cultural group. (1993:50)

In this study I identify the subjects who attended schools administered by Kwa-Zulu/DET as members of a minority group, although numerically they are superior. As indicated in section 1.5 where a brief history of education in South Africa was presented, this group has suffered social, political, linguistic and economic domination.

2.2.3 What schemata of classroom behaviour do children from minority ethnic groups tend to have?

In outlining what research has revealed about the schemata of classroom behaviour of children from minority ethnic groups, I focus on research conducted outside South Africa in this section and deal with the schemata of South African minority group children in section 2.2.4.

I distinguish four types of schemata but this categorization is somewhat arbitrary because there is considerable overlap between the types.

2.2.3.1 Schemata about language

According to Vygotsky (1978 in Losey 1995) learning is a social process which occurs through language. It is through the negotiation of meaning which takes place in conversation that one learns the language conventions which operate in a given culture. Thus language conventions are part of each person's schemata. Communities who speak the same language share norms and values which are implicit in their rules of speech and interpretation. However, even where minority groups share the same mother tongue as dominant groups, as for example, is the case with English, their culture and speech conventions may be different. Brice-Heath (1983) and Michaels and Collins (1984) have shown that the conventions of socially marginalized groups in the USA are different from the dominant group. They have shown, moreover, that these speech conventions are not the same as those operating in the classroom.

Brice-Heath (1983) reports on research she conducted in three American English

speaking communities which she calls Maintown, Trackton and Roadville. She came to the conclusion, that the way language is acquired by the child will affect the development of his or her literate skills, and that language acquisition is culturally determined. Children who have not acquired a 'literate' culture are destined to failure in the school system. This is not because they are less willing to use narrative forms when they enter school, but because the narrative forms they use are different from those of the 'mainstream' pupils and that expected by the teacher.

Michaels and Collins (1984) found evidence of different schemata, i.e. different expectations about how discourse is to be co-constructed, in their examination of 'sharing time' in a kindergarten. Their research revealed that children from different cultures have different ways of structuring their discourse which provides evidence of different schemata. Social minority groups use a style which they call 'topic associated'. This style is characterised by a series of personal anecdotes linked by 'and' which appear to have no relevance because there is no clear beginning, middle or end although according to Michaels and Collins it does have thematic cohesion. This contrasts with the discourse style of mainstream children which they term 'topic centred'. Topic centred discourse progresses in a coherent, linear fashion. The consequence of this mismatch in schematic knowledge is that the teacher's ability to comprehend the topic centred discourse results in her attending to it and valuing it. Children who do not have this discourse are interrupted, ignored and marginalized in the classroom.

2.2.3.2 Schemata about interaction

Certain interactional patterns are ubiquitous in mainstream schools. The initiation - response - evaluation pattern (Mehan 1979), also referred to as 'triadic dialogue'

(Lemke 1990), in which the teacher initiates the interaction by asking a question, the pupils bid to respond to this question, and then the teacher returns with an evaluation, is common in mainstream schools. Lemke explains that children from middle class backgrounds tend to be more familiar with it than most children from minority cultures because it corresponds more closely to the 'activity structures' they are socialized into in the home.

That minority group children frequently do not have access to schemata associated with activity structures in widespread use in mainstream classrooms is clear from the findings of a number of researchers in various parts of the world.

Philips (1972) carried out research in the North American Indian community of Warm Springs, Oregon. She discovered that the Indian children were very reluctant to speak in class, and that as they moved through the school from class to class they participated less and less. In an attempt to discover why this sort of verbal behaviour prevailed she investigated the conditions which govern social interaction within their own community. Briefly, what she discovered was that socially appropriate behaviour of children in interacting with adults in the Indian community was different from that learned by Anglo-American children. This difference affected classroom interaction in three ways. Firstly, the Indian children talked less in teacher-pupil interaction; they responded less to teacher questioning and those responses were often judged by the teacher to be inappropriate. Secondly, they did not interrupt to 'get the floor' as often as other children and talk was more evenly distributed between participants when they did engage in discussion. Finally, they were often seen by the teacher to be inattentive and disruptive as they were more inclined than Anglo American children to interact with their classmates. Such behaviours suggest that these children did not have access to the schemata for classroom interaction of their mainstream teachers.

A similar conclusion can be drawn from the findings of Malcolm's (1989) study of classroom interaction in Western Australia. His interest was the difficulties experienced in communication between Aboriginal pupils and their white school teachers. He found that these pupils displayed what he referred to as 'passive resistance'. This general reluctance to communicate manifested itself in their failure to answer questions (declined replying); in responses made after such a long pause that the teacher has passed on (deferred replying); and responses being given so quietly as to be barely audible (whispered replying). The children's non-verbal behaviour was also judged as disruptive - they walked around, played with other things and apparently generally failed to focus on the lesson in progress.

Scollon & Scollon (1981), who investigated interactions between members of the Athabaskan community of Alaska and mainstream Americans explicitly attribute the differences in patterns of classroom interaction and misvaluation of ability of Athabaskan learners to differences in schemata. They explain that '... organizational schemata are not universal attributes of human cognition but rather specifically learned as part of one's cultural training.'(1981:131) They distinguish differences between schemata of Athabaskan and English speakers as follows:

In school English speakers **expect** [my emphasis] children to display their abilities as exhibitionists to the teacher as spectator. There is no doubt at the same time that the teacher is in the dominant or superordinate position. ... Athabaskan children are not expected to show off for adults. Adults as either parents or teachers are supposed to display abilities and qualities for the child to learn. The adult or superordinate is in the exhibitionist role while the child is in the spectator role. (1981:17)

2.2.3.3 Schemata about social context of the classroom

Social competence is an essential component of communicative competence. To be able to operate in a socially competent manner requires 'knowing what context one is in and when contexts change as well as knowing what behaviour is considered appropriate in each of those contexts' (Erickson & Schultz 1981:147).

There is considerable evidence (Scollon and Scollon (1981), Philips (1972), Malcolm (1989)) that the unresponsiveness of minority group children in the classroom is a response to the nature of the social context. Corson (1993) points out that the mere presence of members of the dominant cultural group could not be the reason for reticence in the classroom because during play periods this behaviour disappears. Philips (1972), too, observes that Indian children often take the lead in playground games. My own observation in a multicultural educational institution in KwaZulu Natal supports Corson's and Philips' view. I noted that students who are reticent and unresponsive in the classroom are often loud and extrovert outside of it suggesting that the multicultural classroom context is unfamiliar and incongruent with their schemata.

What is it about the context that minority pupils find unfamiliar? Roles are embedded in schemata in the same way as events and objects. Pupils from different cultures can, and sometimes do, have very different schemata of what constitutes appropriate teacher and pupil roles in the classroom. According to Mason (1992) if a particular group have a schema of the teacher being an 'authoritarian purveyor of knowledge' (1992:47) then they would find it very difficult to accept that a teacher who encouraged discussion and self-directed learning was behaving appropriately. This view is supported by Cameron (1990) who, when teaching a group of foreign post-graduate students, experienced problems because they saw their role as passive

receivers of knowledge while she expected them to be actively taking responsibility for their learning. Because they were working from a different schema both teacher and students found the experience unsatisfactory and effective learning failed to take place.

2.2.3.4 Schemata about competitiveness

Mainstream education is highly competitive. Hulmes (1989) comments that on entering school 'children can expect to be caught up in activities which are competitive and divisive' (1989:6). Similar observations are made by Mehan (1979) and Goldman and McDermott (1987).

Common occurrences in the classroom, e.g. questioning which requires pupils to display their knowledge, are competitive, as are school practices such as examinations, and 'streaming' or 'tracking', which involves grading children and placing them in classes according to these grades. These practices run counter to cultural values which favour co-operation.

Corson (1993) for example, refers to research in the Maori community in New Zealand. This research suggests that in the Maori community 'competitive individualism and individual gain are secondary to co-operation, and group benefit' (1993:55) and that these cultural characteristics constrain what are acceptable forms of evaluation in that culture. He claims that the school needs to take cognizance of this and 'great care needs to be taken to avoid embarrassment in moments of student failure and ... discourage conceit in success' (1993:55).

This sort of sensitivity is usually absent in mainstream schooling. Children from

minority groups are perplexed by the competitive ethos and often withdraw into silence. They are consequently often negatively evaluated.

2.2.4 The schemata of classroom behaviour of African minority group pupils

There are strong parallels between the findings of studies of the classroom behaviour of African minority pupils in South Africa, and those of studies of the behaviour of pupils in minority classrooms in other countries (Chick & Hornberger ms). They suggest that pupils attending schools which were administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and the Department of Education and Training have access to different schemata for classroom behaviour to those accessed by their counterparts in schools controlled by the other three administrations.

A number of researchers have described the classroom behaviour of teachers and pupils in the segregated schooling system as different and one can therefore infer that they have different schemata of classroom behaviour. According to Wallace-Adams (1996) black education is characterized by a 'rigid and didactic teaching style aimed at inducing rote learning of content.' (1996:314/315). This results in passive, taciturn learners who lack initiative and exist in a state of 'resigned docility' (Thembela 1986:42). These views are supported by Schlemmer and Bot (1986), Chick (1996), Chick & Hornberger (ms) and Botha (1996).

Wallace-Adams (1996) describes the culture of African minority group pupils in KwaZulu Natal as follows:

...traditional African culture, while being diverse with many sub-cultures, generally promotes deep respect for senior members of the

community and for those in authority. Young people are not encouraged to question their elders and it is considered impolite to push oneself forward as an individual.

Social cohesion is strong and consciousness of one's place in society is both implicitly and explicitly encouraged.... Many teachers use corporal punishment when pupils appear to be 'cheeky' when venturing to ask questions (1996:316).

This description of conventional social relations and behaviours consistent with them is congruent with the account of social relations and behaviour in segregated education for Africans supplied by Schlemmer and Bot and Thembela in 1986. Schlemmer and Bot observe that 'African pupils were actively discouraged from asking questions or participating actively in learning sessions. It was seen as bad manners and insubordinacy to ask questions and make suggestions in class' (1986:80). Thembela says that at home 'a child is expected to obey his superiors without question ... [this] ... tends to suppress creativity, initiative and originality' (1986:41) in the classroom situation.

Chick (1996) and Chick & Hornberger (ms) while accepting the accuracy of these descriptions of pupil-teacher relations in African minority group classrooms disagree that this behaviour can be traced to African culture. Research in other countries, and specifically in Peru where Hornberger conducted her research, reveal that such relations and behaviour are fairly widespread in minority classrooms. Their contention is that this behaviour arises from an asymmetrical distribution of social power and knowledge, evident in most educational institutions throughout the world, which is exacerbated by lessons being conducted through the medium of a dominant language which is not the pupils' mother tongue.

Chick (1996) and Chick & Hornberger (ms) claim that teachers and pupils collude by participating in what they term 'safetalk' and 'safetime'. This behaviour hides the

fact that little or no real learning is taking place.

Whatever the source of the social relationship between minority group pupils and their teachers, it can reasonably be inferred that expectations of such relations and the behaviour associated with them are entrenched aspects of the schematic knowledge of most pupils and teachers from that particular group. My own experience supervising and observing African student teachers in township schools supports this view. Even after exposure to methodologies at teachers' college that require quite different relations and behaviours, trainees often revert to the old teaching patterns of rote learning and group chorusing. When challenged about this they most commonly responded that such methodologies are unacceptable to both teachers and pupils in those schools.

2.2.5 The schemata of classroom behaviour of pupils in multicultural classrooms in South Africa

As indicated in section 1.5 of this study where a brief outline of the history of schooling in South Africa was presented, there was little integration of children of different cultures and language groups in South Africa until 1991 when schools were permitted to 'open' to a limited extent. Because it represents recent history very little research has been conducted in multicultural classrooms. Some research (e.g. Coutts 1989) was undertaken in private schools, many of which began accepting pupils of other races during the early 1980's. This research, however, dealt with general issues such as curriculum, ethos etc.

Gordon and Barkhuizen (1994) report on the case of two Xhosa mother-tongue speaking pupils who were admitted to a previously exclusively white state school in

Grahamstown and whose classroom behaviour was considered a 'problem'. The first child which they call 'Busi', seemed lost in the classroom. She walked around in a daze, was exceedingly forgetful and was frequently reprimanded. The second child, 'Thandi', refused to participate unless forced to, even though her command of English was judged as good. The teacher complained about her moodiness and erratic behaviour.

They attribute this behaviour to the alienation felt by minority group pupils in this setting. They claim that minority group children suffer three types of alienation: alienation from the pedagogical practices which influence the classroom culture which, in turn, limit their opportunities to learn and achieve positive reinforcement; alienation from their culture; and, alienation from their mother tongue, Xhosa, because of the 'English only' policy of the school.

I hypothesize that an important source of this alienation is the mismatch between these pupils' schemata for acceptable classroom behaviour and those of the dominant group in the school.

2.3 The effect of schemata on memory and recall

The preceding discussions have focused on defining and explaining the key terms used in this research and providing a rationale for my hypothesis. In this and the sections that follow the focus of interest shifts from theory to research methodology.

According to schema theory, schemata are crucial to remembering and recalling material. A number of researchers (Anderson, Spiro & Anderson (1978); Bartlett (1932); Carrell & Eisterhold (1983); Howard (1987); Steffensen & Joag-Dev (1984))

have investigated the role of schemata in recall. They explain that schemata are important in recalling information in three ways. Firstly, because when we take in information relevant to our schemata we tend to recall that data and discard and forget the incongruent matter. Thus they serve as a kind of filter. Secondly, schemata are used in reconstructing events from fragments in memory. In effect, they lead people to fill the gaps and elaborate on information from memory in ways that conform to their own schemata in order to facilitate interpretation of any new input. Finally, schemata affect how much we recall. If we have a well developed schema of a particular event or situation, we will recall much more, if the situation is unfamiliar or incongruent we will recall much less.

2.3.1 Using recall experiments to identify schemata

The use of story recall experiments to establish the role of schemata in how people perceive things is not new. Some of the earliest and most influential of these studies were those of Bartlett (1932) but his work was replicated and refined by Anderson et al (1978), Carrell and Eisterhold (1983) and Steffensen and Joag-Dev (1984) among others. Bartlett describes his procedures and the findings of this research thus:

Some scene is presented for observation, and a little of it is actually perceived. But the observer reports much more than this. He fills up the gaps of his perception by the aid of what he has experienced before in similar situations, or, though this comes to much the same thing in the end, by describing what he takes to be 'fit', or suitable, to such a situation. He may do this without being the least aware that he is either supplementing or falsifying the data of perception (1932:14).

Bartlett's interest lay in how people remember. He conducted a number of different

experiments involving recall. In one of these he required each subject to read a short Indian folk tale and then reproduce the story orally, first 15 minutes after reading it and then at some later stage. He discovered that accurate reproduction was exceedingly rare. Apart from confirming his hypothesis quoted above, he also found that once a version had been recalled subsequent recalls were more concise but very similar in content suggesting that once schemata have been established they are remarkably persistent (1932:93).

Anderson et al (1978) conducted experiments on the role of schemata in recall using college students. They required each student to read one of two texts. One of these texts was about a visit to a restaurant and the other was about a trip to the supermarket. They found that those items recalled best were those which were consistent with the respondents' schemata.

Carrell and Eisterhold (1983) document details of a story recall experiment they conducted using English Second Language students who were about to enter university. They were asked to read two different stories, one structured with a simple story schema and another structured in such a way as to deliberately violate the story schema. The subjects were then asked to recall the stories. The research revealed that when the story schema was unfamiliar both the quantity of recall and the sequencing of information was affected.

Conclusive evidence of different cultures having different schemata was revealed by the research of Steffensen and Joag-Dev (1984). They conducted a cross-cultural recall experiment using subjects from India and the United States. Each subject was asked to read a letter describing a wedding - one a traditional Indian wedding and the other a traditional American wedding. They were then required to recall what they had read and answer a number of questions on the texts. Results revealed that

subjects recalled the culturally familiar passage better and read it more rapidly. There were also more culturally appropriate elaborations suggesting that they filled in information that had not been provided but which they would expect to be there. On the other hand there were more distortions evident in recalls of the culturally unfamiliar wedding. These results suggest that if the schema of the reader is congruent with that of the writer comprehension will be more quickly and effectively accomplished.

The above experiments prove the existence of schemata and demonstrate their importance in how information is remembered and how much easier it is to read schematically congruent material. Tannen (1979 & 1980) and Chafe (1980) went one step further in their research which aimed at moving beyond merely inferring the existence of schemata to finding evidence of schemata in the surface linguistic forms used when recalling a scene.

Their interest originated from the early work of Bartlett who, as noted above, was interested in how people verbalize the things they have experienced when they later recall them. Chafe's interest lay in the area of culture-specific schemata and how these might become explicit in a similarly constructed experiment conducted across different cultures.

After conducting a pilot project which required respondents to describe a real event they had witnessed, Chafe realised that reliable data would only be possible if he could collect examples of different people talking about the same thing and then see what similarities and differences could be identified in the verbalizations of what was essentially the same scene. Thus Chafe and his fellow researchers decided to make a film which could be shown to a wide cross section of different respondents who would be required to perform the same task, one devised to test recall of the film.

The film was Tannen and Chafe's own production though made with the assistance of a professional film maker. It was 6 minutes in length and included sound but no words. Because a film that did not depict developing action might not have had a significant cognitive affect, they devised a short vignette. Briefly, it shows a man going up and down a ladder picking pears from a tree and putting them into one of three baskets on the ground. A boy on a bicycle comes by and steals one basket. As he rides away he passes a girl on a bicycle, his hat flies off his head and he falls off his bicycle. Three boys appear and help him find his hat and gather the pears. He gives them some pears and then they walk past the pearpicker who has just discovered his loss. He watches them walk by eating the pears.

This film was shown to subjects who were then required to retell the story to a third party who they were told had not seen the movie. These responses were taped, transcribed and then analysed for evidence of differences in recall between subjects from different countries. Tannen oversaw the Greek/American part of the study and her contribution was to identify the culture-specific expectations subjects belonging to the two nationalities brought to the story recall process.

She found that in describing the events portrayed in the film the subjects re-arranged and altered the events in the film in a variety of ways. By comparing the Greek and American recalls Tannen was able to find evidence in the surface linguistic forms used by the subjects of culturally-specific schemata. In the narrations the speakers' expectations of themselves as film viewers could be strongly detected, and along with this events/objects and people in the film triggered expectations about similar events/objects and people in the real world and their interrelationships.

Tannen identified 16 types of evidence or cues in the surface form of the recall which pointed to different schemata. They were (1) omissions, (2) repetition, (3) false starts,

(4) backtracking, (5) hedging and use of other qualifying words or expressions, (6) use of negatives, (7) contrastive connectives, (8) modals, (9) inexact statements, (10) generalizations, (11) evidence of inferencing, (12) evaluative language, (13) interpretations, (14) moral judgements, (15) incorrect statements, (16) addition (1979:166). These are discussed more fully in section 3.4.5 of this study.

Because it provided me with a means of investigating schemata empirically, i.e. not just relying on inferencing, the story recall experiment described above informed one of the data collection and analysis methods used in this study. This will be described in chapters 3 and 5.

2.3.2 Using quantitative methods to identify schemata

Whereas the researchers whose studies are reviewed in 2.3.1 used qualitative methods to investigate schemata McCargar (1993) uses essentially quantitative methods to do so. Using such methods he provides evidence that the students and teachers from different cultures (Indonesian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Persian, Arabic, Hispanic, Thai, American) that he researched have different schemata of student/teacher roles.

He administered a questionnaire which he called the 'Survey of Educational Expectations'. This consisted of 19 expectation topics made up of 8 student expectations and 11 teacher expectations. Each topic consisted of 5 statements which students had to respond to using a five point scale which moved from 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'neither agree nor disagree', 'disagree' to 'strongly disagree'. The full list of topics is given in the next chapter in figure 2 section 3.2.1.

He gave this questionnaire to a cross-section of English Second Language students from seven different countries who were studying in the United States, and to their teachers. He chose ESL students because they had recently arrived in the country and had had little experience of being taught in the host country.

He found that 18 of the 19 role expectation topics contained significant differences across cultures, showing that role expectations are different across cultures. He went on to suggest that these differences could cause students to become withdrawn and unhappy when their expectations were violated (1993:200). This view supports the findings of Gordon and Barkhuizen (1994) discussed in section 2.2.5.

This experiment recorded by McCargar forms the basis of the quantitative study which I undertook and which is documented in chapter 4 of this study.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter a selection of landmark research into the concept of schemata, was presented to explain that in this study schemata are viewed as mental representations of stereotypical events against which we measure and interpret all new input and experience. It was argued that schemata, culture and expectations are closely related, that they are deeply embedded in each person's subconscious, and that they can be observed in how people behave in certain contexts and how they recall their experiences.

Secondly, the observations of other researchers into the behaviour of minority pupils in classrooms across the world were discussed before focusing on the situation in KwaZulu Natal. These observations revealed that pupils who come from minority

groups and have a different schemata from the dominant group are disadvantaged in a school system which values and is congruent with western, middleclass culture.

Finally, research into recall and schemata was presented, and then research which informed the choice of research instruments was outlined. Particular attention was paid to the story recall experiment conducted by Tannen (1979) and the questionnaire administered by McCargar (1993). These will be enlarged upon in the following chapter in which the methods of data collection and analyses used in this study will be discussed.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

This study originated from the assumption that different ethnic groups would, hypothetically, given their different experiences of life and education, have differing conceptions of appropriate pupil and teacher behaviours in the classroom. Further, these varying schemata would influence the dynamics in a multi-racial classroom environment in South Africa today. In this chapter the methods used to investigate this research field will be explained and discussed.

Research is said to be ‘a systematic approach to finding answers to questions’ (Hatch & Farhady 1982:1) and in designing the data collection methods I kept this in mind. Thus, in this study an eclectic mix of quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection has been employed.

Neither quantitative nor qualitative methods are ideal on their own when conducting research in the human/social sciences. Quantitative methods can survey large samples of respondents and identify general trends, but they have limitations. The restricted choice of responses force respondents to make a choice without the opportunity of elucidating their choice. A further limitation is that respondents tend to respond subjectively rather than objectively, so these responses have to be tested in order to confirm their accuracy. Qualitative methods use small numbers of subjects but allow for much greater in-depth investigation than quantitative methods. The limitation of qualitative methods is that it would be inappropriate to generalize on the basis of small samples. Both methods, used in tandem, should lead to reliable findings.

The quantitative research consisted of a questionnaire of 95 statements about expectations of teacher and pupil classroom roles. It was undertaken to establish in which areas the greatest mismatch of schemata of classroom roles among the ethnic groups was evident. Once these were established interviews were conducted and then a recall experiment was designed and conducted to investigate those specific areas where the greatest mismatches in schemata were evident.

Quantitative methods were used for three reasons. Firstly, as noted in the previous chapter, schemata is a generic term for a wide variety of different knowledge structures not all of which are culture-specific. Since it is beyond the scope of this study to attempt to highlight **every** mismatch which might occur between individuals engaged in classroom discourse, a research instrument was needed which would narrow the focus and highlight areas in which the majority of respondents belonging to a particular ethnic group share schemata which are not shared by the majority of respondents from another ethnic group. Secondly, findings should be generalised as far as possible. Seliger and Shohamy (1989:115) state that 'while qualitative analysis will allow us to study individual performance closely, it may or may not represent the behaviour of other learners'. They recommend quantitative research methods if a researcher wishes to generalize the findings. Thirdly, possible subjective factors should be eliminated, as they can influence the findings if only qualitative research is undertaken. According to Seliger and Shohamy (1989:123) subjectivity can be controlled through quantitative research and triangulation. Triangulation is 'the ability to confirm findings, either by re-inspection or by demonstrating the same findings through different sources' (Seliger & Shohamy 1989:105).

Bartlett wrote: 'If statistical applications ...are to have any value whatsoever, they must be both preceded by and also supplemented by observation and interpretation, and the more exact these can be the better' (1932:8). Qualitative methods were used

in order to triangulate the research to ensure that the findings are valid.

Qualitative research methods used were in-depth interviews with selected students, in which statements in the questionnaire which revealed the greatest discrepancy between ethnic groups were discussed. This was followed by a story-recall experiment where respondents were asked to relate what they had seen in a video. These recalls were audio-taped, transcribed and analyzed.

3.1 Sources of Data

Three main instruments of data collection were used. They were:

- 3.1.1 A questionnaire concerning expectations about teacher and pupil roles (see appendix B1 and B2)
- 3.1.2 Audio-taped interviews with students (see appendix C)
- 3.1.3 Video recall experiment (see appendix D)

3.2 Quantitative Methods - Survey of Educational Expectations. (see appendix B)

Quantitative data was collected by means of a questionnaire (see appendix B1) in order to address the first two research questions, namely:

1. Do South African trainee teachers who belong to different ethnic groups in KwaZulu-Natal have different schemata of pupil classroom roles? If so, how do these differ?

2. Do South African trainee teachers who belong to different ethnic groups in KwaZulu-Natal have different schemata of teacher classroom roles? If so, how do these differ?

The questionnaire was based on one devised by McCargar (1993) concerning student and teacher expectations of student and teacher roles. This was particularly suitable since McCargar's research closely parallels this study. He hypothesised that role expectations vary across cultures and affect the educational outcome of students. He surveyed a cross-section of English Second Language (ESL) learners from 8 different cultures who were studying in the United States.

McCargar selected 19 role expectation topics, 8 dealing with pupil expectations and 11 dealing with teacher expectations. For each of these topics (eg. for pupils, Pupil/Teacher Relationships; for teachers, Teacher Strategies) he devised a set of 5 statements, to which respondents were asked to give their degree of approval/disapproval. He found that 18 of the 19 role expectation sets contained significant differences across cultures. Though he does not use the word 'schema' (there are many synonyms for this term in social science literature, some of which were referred to in chapter 2) it is evident that it is schemata about teacher and pupil roles that are his concern. Each statement in McCargar's questionnaire was examined and where necessary the statements were adapted to make them more comprehensible and relevant to respondents in South Africa.

3.2.1 Research Design

The questionnaire (see appendix B1) consists of 102 items. The first 7 elicit personal information that facilitates categorization in terms of social background. The

remaining 95 items elicit information relevant to pupil and teacher expectations about classroom roles. The modal strength technique, where the respondents are invited to select the response option which matches their reaction to a value statement, was used. This incorporated a Likert⁵ scale that allowed students a choice of 5 response options ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. These were: A -Strongly Agree, B - Agree, C - Neither Agree nor Disagree, D - Disagree and E - Strongly Disagree.

The 95 statements about classroom roles are divided into 2 sections: the first (pupil) section concerned with expectations relevant to 8 topics, and the second (teacher) section concerned with expectations relevant to 11 topics - 19 topics of expectations in total (see appendix B2). Each of these 19 topics is explored by means of 5 statements that the respondents are invited to agree or disagree with various degrees of certainty. For example, if a respondent felt in strong agreement with the statement, *Pupils should call a teacher by his or her first name*, then he or she would select A; if strong disagreement was registered then the choice would be E.

The 19 topics and their acronyms are listed overleaf. The numbers of the statements on the questionnaire which refer to each topic are listed alongside.

⁵ The Likert scale (Likert (1932) asks individuals to respond to a series of statements by indicating whether they 'strongly agree' (SA), 'agree' (A), are undecided (U), 'disagree' (D) and 'strongly disagree' with each statement. 'Strongly agree' may be assigned a weight of 5 points, while 'strongly disagree' may get a score of 1. Thus, in an attitude questionnaire, for example, favourable attitudes are reflected in higher scores' (Seliger & Shohamy 1989:173)

<u>Acronym</u>	<u>Expectation Topic</u>	<u>Statement No.</u>
PTR	Pupil/teacher relationship	8,16,24,32,40
PAE	Pupil Attitude towards error	9,17,25,33,41
PQA	Pupil Question Asking/Answering	10,18,26,34,42
PLM	Pupil Learning Motivation	11,19,27,35,43
PCP	Pupil Class Participation	12,20,28,36,44
PLC	Pupil Academic Locus of Control	13,21,29,37,45
PDT	Pupil Disagreement with the Teacher	14,22,30,38,46
PCB	Pupil Classroom Behaviour	15,23,31,39,47
TIB	Teacher Instructional Behaviours/Strategies	48,59,70,81,92
TCS	Teacher Cultural Sensitivity	49,60,71,82,93
TKS	Teacher Knowledge of Subject	50,61,72,83,94
TWM	Teacher Warmth	51,62,73,84,95
TCM	Teacher Classroom Management Practices	52,63,74,85,96
TQS	Teacher Questioning Strategies	53,64,75,86,97
TRE	Teacher Response to Pupils' In-class Errors	54,65,76,87,98
TEA	Teacher's Educational Approach	55,66,77,88,99
TPR	Teacher/Pupil Relationship	56,67,78,89,100
TOC	Teacher Organization/Clarity	57,68,79,90,101
TMV	Teacher Method Variety/Flexibility	58,69,80,91,102

Fig.2 Expectation topics, their acronyms and the numbers on the questionnaire of the statements which make up each topic⁶.

3.2.2 Data Collection

First year students entering a college of education in KwaZulu Natal in 1995 were asked to complete the questionnaire. First year students were selected because they would recently have been pupils and would have considered teacher roles in coming to their decision to train as such. The questionnaire was administered on the first day of the Orientation Programme. This was done to offset the possibility of leakage from instructional programmes at the college which might influence their responses and because it could be assumed because they had so recently been pupils that their

⁶ Refer to appendix B1 for full text of expectation topics and their statements.

responses would correspond closely to the schemata of pupils in the formerly segregated schools.

All first year students present on the first day of the Orientation Programme completed the questionnaire on a computer answer sheet (see appendix B3).

3.2.3 Data Capture and Coding

The responses were captured from the computer answer sheets by means of a scanner and the alphabetical answers were converted to numbers: A (Strongly agree) - 1, B (Agree) - 2, C (Neither agree nor disagree) - 3, D (Disagree) - 4, E (Strongly disagree) - 5. These numbers were then coded: A = +2, B = +1, C = 0, D = -1, E = -2.

This coding was done for two reasons. Firstly, a scale with discrete negative and positive extremes has potentially useful interpretation functions, reflecting the discrete graduation of responses from the positive, namely, strongly agree, agree, to the negative, namely, disagree and strongly disagree. Interpretation of data analyses with data based on a purely positive, discrete, 1 - 5 scale tends to be confused by the influence of 3 as the "neither agree nor disagree" option. For example, if 3 respondents answered *Agree*, *Neither agree nor Disagree*, and *Strongly Disagree* on a positive scale the sum of the responses would be $2 + 3 + 5 = 10$, while another 3 respondents might answer *Strongly Agree*, *Disagree* and *Strongly Disagree* which would also be $1 + 4 + 5 = 10$. Thus the -2 to +2 scale has a useful impact on the means. A negative mean signals clearly predominantly negative responses, while a positive mean clearly indicates positive responses. Such an assessment is not as clear using a purely positive scale.

To calculate each respondent's score for the expectation topics, each respondent's coded response to each question related to a particular expectation topic was added together. Thus the sum of the respondent's answers to the five questions which related to each topic of expectation became their score. For example, if a particular respondent answered *Strongly Disagree* to question 8, *Agree* to question 16, *Neither agree nor disagree* to question 24, *Disagree* to question 32, and *Agree* to question 40, their score for the expectation topic 'Pupil/Teacher Relationship' would be $-2 + 1 + 0 + -1 + 1 = -1$.

3.2.4 How the data was analyzed

After the data had been captured and coded it was examined using progressively more detailed levels of analysis.

3.2.4.1 Correspondence Analysis

At the most general level the data established the extent of difference between the overall responses of different groups of students (groupings defined in terms of the demographic information supplied). This was accomplished by means of a technique of ordination termed correspondence analysis. Ordination serves to summarize a matrix⁷ of data by producing a low-dimensional ordination space (of typically one to three dimensions) in which similar entities are close together and dissimilar entities are far apart (Gauch:1982).

⁷ a rectangular array of quantities in rows and columns that is treated as a single quantity.

A correspondence analysis was used to establish whether questionnaire responses were grouped according to demographic variables. Expressed simply, correspondence analysis involved taking all the responses to the 95 statements made by each student and grouping them according to a demographic variable or set of variables selected. Close proximity indicates that responses tend to be similar. Conversely, location far apart indicates that they are different: the further apart they are, the greater the difference.

3.2.4.2 ANOVA Tests

Having established from the results of the correspondence analysis that broad differences across groupings existed in the data collected, the differences in the responses of the groups to each of the 19 expectation topics were tested for significance using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). Analysis of Variance tests are used to establish the significance of the differences among more than two sample means. Put simply, this means that ANOVA will indicate that a significant difference exists, but will not show where that difference is located i.e. between which specific groups. For example, Fig. 8 (see 4.3.1) indicates a significant difference in the responses to the Pupil Expectation topics in respect of the responses to the expectation topic Pupil Learning Motivation (PLM) but it does not indicate whether the discrepancy occurs between respondents who attended schools administered by the HOR, HOD, NED or KwaZulu/DET.

For each of the 19 topics the subset scores of each respondent were grouped according to the four Education Administration categories. The demographic: 'Education Administration' was used as the independent variable because it would indicate if differences existed between the responses of different ethnic groups. The

dependent variable was the sum of the responses to the 5 statements which made up each of the 19 expectation topics⁸.

3.2.4.3 Multiple Range Tests

While ANOVA indicates whether or not a statistically significant difference exists between the group means, (i.e. whether or not there are significant differences among the responses of the 4 groups) it does not indicate between which of the 4 groups (HOD, HOR, NED or KwaZulu) the difference is most marked. Multiple comparison tests are needed to determine between which groups of respondents the differences lie.

A variety of multiple comparison procedures are available yet there is no agreement as to the 'best' procedure to employ routinely. Amongst the most widely accepted and commonly used methods is the Tukey test. This procedure was applied here. Furthermore, consistent with the original research by McCargar, Duncan's New Multiple Range Test was also used for this purpose. (The New Multiple Range Test does have a different theoretical basis to the Tukey, and is not as widely accepted as that of the Tukey procedure.)

3.2.4.4 Mean Tests

In order to establish the most marked differences in the responses to the 95 expectation statements based on the independent variable 'Education Adminis-

⁸ Refer to section 3.2.3 titled 'Data Capture and Coding' for full details on how this figure was calculated.

tration', the mean of the responses made by the four groups (NED, HOR, HOD, and KwaZulu/DET) to each statement was calculated. Those statements that elicited mean responses at the extremes of the 5 point scale were identified. The value of the largest positive and largest negative mean response to each statement were added to give the absolute difference in mean response for each of the questions of interest. These differences were then graded in descending order (see Fig.12 in section 4.5.1 and Fig.14 in section 4.5.2). These figures suggest where differences in schemata are the most marked i.e. where group means are on different extremes of the five point scale. (See mean responses Fig.13 in section 4.5.1 and Fig.15 in section 4.5.2)

3.3 Interviews with students (see transcriptions appendix C)

In analysing the questionnaire the individual Role Expectation statements exhibiting the greatest difference between respondents who attended schools administered by the different administrations were identified. Then individual interviews with selected students were conducted. During these interviews the selected students were asked to offer insights into the reasons why they thought there were marked differences in the responses made by the four groups of respondents to specific statements raised in the survey. These interviews have been transcribed and used to interpret the results of the survey.

3.3.1 Selection of students

Five students, three females and two males, were asked to attend individual interviews. All were senior students, three of them were at the end of their third year of study and three were final year students.

They were selected because they had all attended schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and had had experience practice teaching in schools administered by the ex-HOR, ex-HOD and ex-NED. They were therefore in a position to comment on the differences they perceived in the way pupils and teachers interacted within the schools previously run by the different administrations. Students who attended schools administered by the ex-NED, ex-HOR and ex-HOD were not considered for selection because none of them had experience of KwaZulu/DET schools.

3.3.2 Administration of the interviews

The interviews were semi-open and unstructured, taking the form of an informal conversation. Seliger and Shohamy describe the semi-open interview as one in which 'there are specific core questions determined in advance from which the interviewer branches off to explore in-depth information, probing according to the way the interview proceeds, and allowing elaboration, within limits' (1989:167). These interviews were held in my office at the college of education where I work.

I used the list of the Pupil Expectation Statements and Teacher Expectation Statements which exhibited the greatest difference in responses from respondents who had attended schools administered by the 4 different authorities as the basis for the interviews. Interviewees were given an Expectation Statement and information of how the groups had responded and then asked to give their opinion on the difference in response.

The interviews varied in length. The shortest was approximately 15 minutes and the longest was approximately 40 minutes. The tape recorder did not appear to inhibit

the discussion and interviewees were at liberty to elaborate and expand on their responses as they wished.

These interviews were transcribed (see appendix C) and used to interpret the results of the survey. The transcriptions accurately reflect what the students said, but do not include all the pauses and hesitations the students made, as the purpose was to elicit the opinions of the students, not to analyze what they said in detail.

3.4 Video recall experiment (see transcriptions appendix D)

The video recall experiment involved showing a 4 minute video of teacher/pupil classroom interaction with no sound to a group of students. (The video material is detailed in 3.4.1, and the selection of students in 3.4.2.) After they had viewed the video each student was required to tell another student what he or she had seen in the video. Each narrative was audio-taped then transcribed and analyzed to see if the surface linguistic forms used by the subjects indicated culture-specific schemata of classroom interaction.

This research instrument was included to answer the final research question,

3. To what extent does the overt communicative behaviour of trainee teachers of different cultural backgrounds (Black and other South African) in a previously white 'mainstream' teacher training college reveal evidence of differing schemata?

As I stated in the introduction to this study, my interest in this area of research was originally inspired by the story recall experiment conducted by Tannen under the

direction of Chafe which I describe in chapter 2. Their study sprang from an interest in how people verbalize the things they have experienced and later recall them.

When Tannen conducted her experiment her purpose was to see if any schematic differences could be identified between the surface linguistic forms used in the narratives of the Greek and American subjects. The film they made and showed, and the subjects who took part in the experiment were not selected to test if any particular schematic differences existed. My experiment differs in that the subjects were all student teachers and the video clips are of teacher/pupil classroom interaction. In examining the surface linguistic forms used in the narratives I am looking specifically at those which reveal the subjects' schemata of teacher/pupil classroom interaction.

3.4.1 Selection of film clips.

Before conducting this experiment it was necessary to select suitable film clips to show the respondents. Tannen and Chafe had made their own film, using professional actors and a professional director. I was unable to do this owing to financial and practical constraints.

After looking through a number of commercial films which contained scenes shot in a classroom, I selected two short scenes which depicted classroom interaction. These scenes were from the films 'Dead Poet's Society' and 'Stand and Deliver'. Each clip was approximately 4 minutes in length and the excerpts were shown to the subjects without sound. The length was determined by the boundaries of each episode and because the interest of the subjects might have waned if the episode were too long, particularly as the video was shown without sound. It was presented

without sound to allow the subjects to interpret the events which they had observed without being influenced by the accompanying sound track.

I selected these extracts because they had a degree of unity and formed a single scene. The setting of both excerpts is a classroom and the action does not move from this setting. Both of them consist of elements which I suspected would be foreign to the schemata of acceptable teacher/pupil interaction of subjects who were participating in the recall experiment.

The extract from 'Dead Poet's Society' (Video 1) shows a male teacher entering a classroom in which teenage boys sit at desks in rows. The boys are neat, clean-shaven and dressed in a school uniform. The room is wood panelled. The teacher begins the lesson sitting behind a desk reading from a book. He gets up and draws a diagram on the chalkboard while the class listen and some of the pupils take notes. Then the boys begin to tear out some pages from their textbook. The teacher leaves the classroom briefly and another male teacher opens the door. He leaves when the original teacher reappears with a waste paper basket into which the boys place their torn pages. The teacher then gestures to the boys to leave their places and gather around him.

The extract from 'Stand and Deliver' (Video 2) depicts a very different classroom. The pupils are not wearing uniforms and the school is co-educational. The pupils walk around the classroom. The teacher enters, writes on the chalkboard and then they leave the room. The action then switches to the same teacher wearing an apron and a chef's hat. He proceeds to cut an apple in half using a large knife. The pupils have apples on their desks. The teacher walks around the classroom. He picks up an apple that has a quarter cut out of it and another that has been eaten as only a core remains. Three pupils enter. A piece of paper proffered to the teacher is dropped on

the floor. The teacher allocates them seats then proceeds to speak to the leader, the whole time demonstrating using his fingers, while the leader of the boys sits impassively.

3.4.2 Selection of subjects

Twenty first year students at a college of education in KwaZulu Natal participated in this experiment, 19 female and 1 male. The reason for the preponderance of female subjects is that approximately 85% of the students attending this college are females. The response of one respondent, number 2, has been omitted from the analysis because it was not recorded in its entirety and is extremely short.

As this is a multicultural study it was necessary to select respondents who had attended schools administered by the different administrations. Eight of the subjects had attended schools administered by ex-KwaZulu/DET, six had attended ex-HOD administered schools, and five had attended ex-NED schools. There were no subjects from ex-HOR schools, because none volunteered to participate in this experiment.

3.4.3 Organization of the experiment

The subjects were not told the purpose of the experiment. They were asked if they would watch a video and then share what they had seen with a partner. The group were put into pairs, each couple having a tape recorder. Ten students were shown Video 1 (the extract from 'Dead Poet's Society') while their partners waited outside the room with the tape recorders. After seeing the video they left the room and told their partners what they had seen. This was audio-taped. Then the second group of

ten watched Video 2 (the extract from 'Stand and Deliver') and the same procedure was followed.

3.4.4 Transcription of the tapes

I transcribed these tapes and calculated the number of words the respondents used in their narratives. Pauses were inserted and are indicated by leader dots. Each narrative was broken up into idea units.

An idea unit is described by Chafe as a 'spurt of language' (1980:xv). They are usually about 2 seconds long and contain about 6 words. They can be recognised in three ways: firstly through intonation, a rise in the pitch such as might be marked by a comma, or a fall in the pitch such as might be marked by a full stop; secondly, through pausing which would only be a 'slight break in the tempo' (1980:14); and thirdly, because they usually contain only one verb and are a single clause often beginning with a conjunction, the most common of which is 'and'. Chafe maintains that they suggest there is a 'focus of consciousness' consisting of 'centres of interest' (Chafe 1980:14).

3.4.5 How the data were analyzed

I modelled my method of analysing the narratives on Tannen (1979) although our purposes were different. As I stated in 3.4, the introduction to this section, Tannen was looking at the surface linguistic forms for general evidence of culture-specific schemata when she conducted her experiment. On the other hand, I was looking for evidence of culture-specific schemata of teacher/pupil classroom interaction.

Tannen identified 16 types of evidence which she looked for in the surface form of the recalls which pointed to different schemata. They were: '(1) omission, (2) repetition, (3) false starts, (4) backtrack, (5) hedges and other qualifying words or expressions, (6) negatives, (7) contrastive connectives, (8) modals, (9) inexact statements, (10) generalizations, (11) inference, (12) evaluative language, (13) interpretation, (14) moral judgement, (15) incorrect statements, (16) addition' (1979:166).

3.4.5.1 Omissions

Omissions can be significant markers of a difference in schemata, particularly when contrasted with what is included by other subjects. If one group of subjects omits to mention something in their narratives which other groups do mention, it suggests there is a difference in schemata. For example, 2 of the 3 subjects who attended schools administered by the NED and 1 of 2 subjects who attended schools administered by the HOD mention that the teacher in video 1 began the lesson sitting behind his desk, while none of the subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET mention this. The omission of this by the KwaZulu/DET subjects suggests that this was unremarkable and consequently not considered worthy of inclusion in their narratives, while it was unexpected and consequently reportable by the subjects who attended NED and HOD schools.

3.4.5.2 Repetitions

A repetition can indicate that the subject is stalling, particularly 'when it is uttered at a slowed pace, with elongations of syllables and pauses, and with a clause final

intonation at the end' (Tannen 1979:167). For example, subject 20 repeats, *'they basically... they basically'* (D20 lines 21 - 22). This repetition is not a sign that an expectation has been violated or fulfilled. Here the subject is struggling to find the right words to continue her narrative.

A repetition made after an intervening phrase or idea is, however, a marker of schemata. Tannen says that repetition 'is closely related to the phenomenon of reportability which is a direct function of unexpectedness' (1979:168). For example, Subject 1 begins her narrative of video 1 by recalling the incident of the pages being torn out of the book. She returns to this incident towards the end of her narrative indicating the unexpectedness of this incident.

3.4.5.3 False starts

According to Tannen a false start is a statement that is made or begun and then immediately repudiated or changed. It reveals that the subject expected that events should have unfolded differently. For example, subject 11 who attended a school administered by KwaZulu/DET says: *'and then the teacher he tried to.. um.. to dis... not in fact to discipline them...'* (D11 lines 70 - 17).

The false start suggests that the subject's expectation that the teacher would discipline the pupils in some way was violated.

3.4.5.4 Backtracks

A backtrack is when a subject 'returns to an event that occurred earlier than the one just stated' (Tannen 1979:168). Sometimes it is what Tannen refers to as a 'causal

backtrack' that is, a break in the sequence in order to fill in background information, or it can be a 'temporal backtrack' when the subject realises that an error has been made and corrects it. Backtracks are used when the subject realises that information that is necessary for his listener to make sense of the narrative has not been included and this provides an indication of the subject's schemata. For example, Subject 15 backtracks in her narrative of video 2. She says, *'there was two guys in the class who decided that they'd outsmart him or something.. and they decided that... Oh, they had something to give him.. and they gave him this note..but they didn't give it to him in his hand they just dropped it onto the floor...'* (D15 lines 55 - 61). In this case the subject realises that she has omitted something important and returns to it. The information provided in the backtrack indicates the unexpectedness of the pupils' behaviour and qualifies what is to follow.

3.4.5.5 Hedges

Hedges are words or phrases which qualify or modify a statement. They include words such as: like, even, kind of, really, anyway, obviously, and many others. Tannen writes that 'by qualifying or modifying a word or statement, hedges measure the word or idea against what is expected' (1979:169). An example of a hedge is Subject 11 recalling that the teacher viewed in the video was *'... sort of teaching'* (D11 line 6). This hedge suggests that the teacher's performance does not measure up to the subject's expectation of a teacher.

3.4.5.6 Negatives

According to Tannen, negatives are used when the opposite was expected. For

example, Subject 19 recalls that *'the teacher didn't take offence at anything'* (D19 line 84). Her choice of the negative *'didn't'* suggests that this was unexpected and that her schema of acceptable classroom behaviour had been violated as she would have expected the teacher to be offended.

3.4.5.7 Contrastive connectives

Contrastive connectives can indicate that the expectation of a subject has not been met. Tannen says 'that an oral narrative uses the word "but" to mark the denial of an expectation not only of the preceding clause but of an entire preceding set of statements or of a narrative coherence in general' (1979:170). An example of this is when subject 19 recalls: *'he wants to like ...talk and get them to understand what he's saying but they don't listen to anything he's saying..'* (D19 lines 23 - 27). Her use of the contrastive connective **but** suggests that her expectation that the pupils would listen to the teacher in order to understand has been denied.

3.4.5.8 Modals

The use of modals in narratives, although according to Tannen rather uncommon, is an indication of the subject's expectations. Modals **must** and **should** 'reflect the speaker's judgement according to his or her own standards and experience', whereas **may** and **can** 'measure what has happened against what is possible' (Tannen 1979:171).

Subject 4 recalls that in video 1 the teacher *'said to them they must tear off their pages... Then they do that'* (D4 lines 8 - 10). Her choice of the modal **must** suggests

her expectation that the pupils will follow the teacher's directive without question which in turn points to a schemata of a teacher being an authoritarian figure whose instructions may not be questioned.

3.4.5.9 Inexact statements

Inexact statements occur when the subject slightly changes the events in the film or video. The schemata of each subject selects what details are significant. This process of selection 'can influence the categorization of actions within it (the event), causing them to be represented inexactly' (Tannen 1979:172). Subject 15 who watched video 2 recalls that while *'he[the teacher] was busy talking [the pupils] jumped up and ran away'*(D15 lines 33 - 34). Her choice of the verbs *'jumped'* and *'ran'* suggest that the pupils left the room hurriedly while this was not the case and these words make this an inexact statement.

3.4.5.10 Generalization

Generalization is when 'one object or action is reported as more than one' (Tannen 1979:172). This means that subjects will sometimes report one action as many. For example, in their narratives 2 of the subjects recalled that the pupils in video 1 were copying down notes while the teacher was teaching. In fact, only one boy was doing this. This suggests that they have generalized the one boy and recalled his actions as being those of the whole group. A schemata of how pupils should behave while the teacher is teaching triggers generalization.

3.4.5.11 Inferences

According to Tannen, 'Inferences are statements which could not be known simply from observation of the film' (1979:173). Inferences are made when a subject has seen something which is then combined with his schemata and together these form a particular interpretation of a scene or event. They occur when subjects report on the emotions, motives or thoughts of the characters they have seen. Tannen states that 'speakers state inferences as categorically as they state things they actually saw' (1979:173). Subject 20 who narrated what she had seen in video 2 said that the pupils had '*no desire to learn or be educated*' (D20 line 27). This is an inference because she has no way of knowing that this is the case. It suggests her schemata that pupils who behave that way have no interest in attending school.

3.4.5.12 Evaluative Language

Evaluative language is characterised by the subject's use of descriptive words such as adjectives and adverbs. The fact that a subject may choose to comment descriptively, to single out a particular character or event for description, can provide insight into his schemata. Adverbs are particularly evaluative because they describe an action, how something has been done, and they often indicate the subject's attitude towards the event or action. For example, Subject 18 uses evaluative language when she describes the pupils in video 2 as '*weirdy*' (D18 line 4) and the teacher as '*absolutely goofy*' (D18 line 11). These words suggest the values she has assigned to these characters and that their appearance is unexpected and violates her schemata.

3.4.5.13 Interpretation

‘Interpretation is similar to evaluation and inference, but it is a bit further removed from the events depicted in the film ... *Interpretive naming* is the process by which a noun is used for a character or object which represents more information than the film presented’ (Tannen 1979:174). An example of this is when subjects who took part in the recall experiment and viewed video 1 referred to the man who entered the room as the headmaster. This is interpretive naming as they had no way of knowing his position. His behaviour corresponded with their schema of a headmaster, however, and led them to interpretively name him as such.

3.4.5.14 Moral Judgements

Moral judgements ‘come entirely from the speaker’s frames or knowledge of the world and are imposed on the events of the film’ (Tannen 1979:175). For example, Subject 20 recalls that the pupils she saw in video 2 *‘just like being lazy and ignorant’* (D20 line 280). This is a moral judgement and it stems from her schemata and negative judgement of the pupils she viewed in the video.

3.4.5.15 Incorrect Statements

An incorrect statement is a false recollection. According to Tannen incorrect statements are caused by the subject’s preconceptions. They are thus a clear indicator of the subject’s schemata. For example, Subject 18 mentions that the teacher in video 2 *‘couldn’t find the chalk’* (D18 line 23) and this was not so because he picked up the chalk and used it to write on the chalkboard. This incorrect

statement arises from the subject's schemata of how an ineffective teacher may behave.

3.4.5.16 Addition

Addition is when the subject adds to his recall characters or events which were not there. Tannen says that this is 'the most extreme evidence of a speaker's expectations' (1979:177). It would appear that the subject who uses addition to 'build upon what she did see to add something she did not, based on her expectations of what would have been likely, had the film contained more' (1979:177). An example of this is when three of the subjects who watched video 2 stated in their recalls that the pupils were throwing paper around the classroom. This was an addition which suggests that part of the subjects' schemata is that when pupils behave badly they throw papers around the classroom.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I argue that an eclectic approach to the collection of data has allowed me to draw conclusions which are generalizable. The quantitative methods allow me to test a large number of respondents and single out areas where differences between the groups exist, but they have limitations in that the data relies on the respondents' subjective opinions. The qualitative methods allow for in depth examination of a small number of subjects. The limitation of qualitative methods is that they are not generalizable because of the small number of subjects. By using both methods valid conclusions can be drawn from the data collected.

Details of the three data collection methods are provided. Firstly, information about the drawing up, administration and methods of analysing the questionnaire is furnished. Secondly, information pertaining to the interviews is provided, namely, the selection of respondents and the administration thereof. Finally, the administration of the story recall is presented and the features that were considered important in analysing the transcribed narratives.

In the next two chapters the findings of the analysis of all data collected and the interpretations are reported in detail. Chapter 4 provides details of the findings and interpretation of the quantitative survey and subsequent student interviews, while chapter 5 reports on the analyses and interpretation of the story recall experiment.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE QUANTITATIVE SURVEY

In the earlier chapters of this thesis, the reasons for undertaking this study were given and the objective was stated. This was to establish whether respondents belonging to different ethnic groups had different schemata of classroom roles. The methods of promoting this enquiry were set out, both quantitative and qualitative.

The quantitative survey was carried out by using the questionnaire (appendix B1) adapted from McCargar's (1993) work. This questionnaire was used to investigate whether the pattern of response choices for the sets of statements corresponding to each of the 19 topics in the questionnaire (see chapter 3, Figure 2, section 3.2.1) was different for each of the groups. (As was explained in section 1.2 of the first chapter, for the purposes of this study ethnic group affiliation was assigned, admittedly crudely, by noting the authority which administered the school attended, and home language.)

In this chapter the findings of the analyses of the data derived from the quantitative survey are discussed. The findings reflect a progressively more detailed level of analysis. Firstly, correspondence analysis was used to indicate whether general differences in expectations about classroom roles were evident in all the responses of different groups identified by reference to demographic variables. Secondly, ANOVA and Multiple Range Tests were applied to facilitate a more detailed examination of the patterns of responses to the 19 topics (which had been calculated by finding the sum of the responses to the 5 questions grouped under each topic⁹). Finally, Mean Tests of group responses to each of the 95 expectation statements

⁹ Refer to section titled 'Data Capture and Coding' (3.2.3) for full details of how this figure was calculated.

were conducted to identify where there was the greatest disparity between the responses of different ethnic groups.

Correspondence analysis, ANOVA and multiple range tests take into consideration all the results obtained across the 5 point scale, eg. they will indicate differences in the degree of agreement or disagreement, while mean tests look only at responses on either side of the 5 point scale, eg. mean agreement or mean disagreement.

4.1 Participant Demographics

224 of the 407 first year students completed the questionnaire, i.e. 55%. The responses of 13 of the 224 were excluded from the survey because they did not, on the basis of their answers to the first 2 questions, fit in with the main cultural and language identified groupings. These questions identified students in terms of their home language and school authority (House of Delegates, House of Representatives, Natal Education Department and KwaZulu/Department of Education and Training) under which the school that they attended fell. Given the very recent desegregation of schools, it was assumed that the majority of students who attended ex-NED schools would be White, ex-HOR schools would be Coloured, ex-HOD schools would be Indian and ex-KwaZulu/DET would be Africans and predominantly mother-tongue Zulu speakers.

The numbers of students whose responses were used in the survey are tabulated overleaf:

EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION	NO.	HOME LANGUAGE
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY	87	124 English speakers
HOUSE OF REPS	21	
HOUSE OF DELEGATES	16	
KWAZULU	52	87 Zulu speakers
DET	35	

Fig. 3 Numbers of respondents and two main demographic variables used in the survey.

The remaining demographic information is tabulated below:

	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Age</u>					<u>Year Matriculated</u>					<u>Multiracial school</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u><21</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>>90</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Actual Responses</u>														
HOD	2	14	4	7	2	0	3	12	1	0	3	0	15	1
HOR	4	17	7	7	4	2	1	17	2	1	0	1	19	2
NED	13	74	30	37	14	4	2	68	11	5	2	1	85	2
KWA/DET	22	65	6	11	7	15	48	28	19	20	8	12	2	85
<u>Expressed as a %</u>														
HOD	12½	87½	25	44	12	0	19	75	6	0	19	0	94	6
HOR	19	81	33	33	19	10	5	81	9	5	0	5	90	10
NED	15	85	34	43	16	5	2	78	13	6	2	1	98	2
KWA/DET	25	75	7	13	8	17	55	32	22	23	9	14	2	98

Fig. 4 Participant demographics

4.2 Correspondence Analysis

As explained in section 3.2.4.1 of the previous chapter where correspondence analysis is discussed in detail, this technique takes all of the 95 statements made by

each respondent and groups them according to a demographic variable or variables. Where the responses are located in close proximity they tend to be similar, where they are far apart it indicates that they are different. The further apart they are, the greater the difference.

4.2.1 Results of the correspondence analysis

Fig. 5 (overleaf), which illustrates the difference between the responses and the first demographic variable: 'Home Language', reveals a marked difference between the responses of English mother tongue speaking and Zulu mother tongue speaking respondents. Whereas the English speaker responses tend to cluster in the right section of the graph those of Zulu speakers tend to cluster in the left section of the graph. Both groups tended to cluster in the upper half of the graph. There are, however, slightly more Zulu speaker responses in the lower section. Thus the results of the correspondence analysis reflected in Fig. 5 suggest that the schemata of classroom roles of English speaking and Zulu speaking students are significantly different.

Analysis using the demographic: 'Education Administration' again reveals significant differences between the responses of different cultural groups. Fig. 6 (page 75) shows students who attended schools administered by the Natal Education Department (NED), i.e. all white and English speakers, clustered in the upper right section of the graph; students who attended schools administered by the KwaZulu Government and Department of Education and Training (KWAZULU/DET), i.e. all African and Zulu speakers, on the left side of the graph; with students who attended schools administered by the House of Representatives (HOR), i.e. so-called coloured people, and House of Delegates (HOD), i.e. Indians, clustered in the centre.

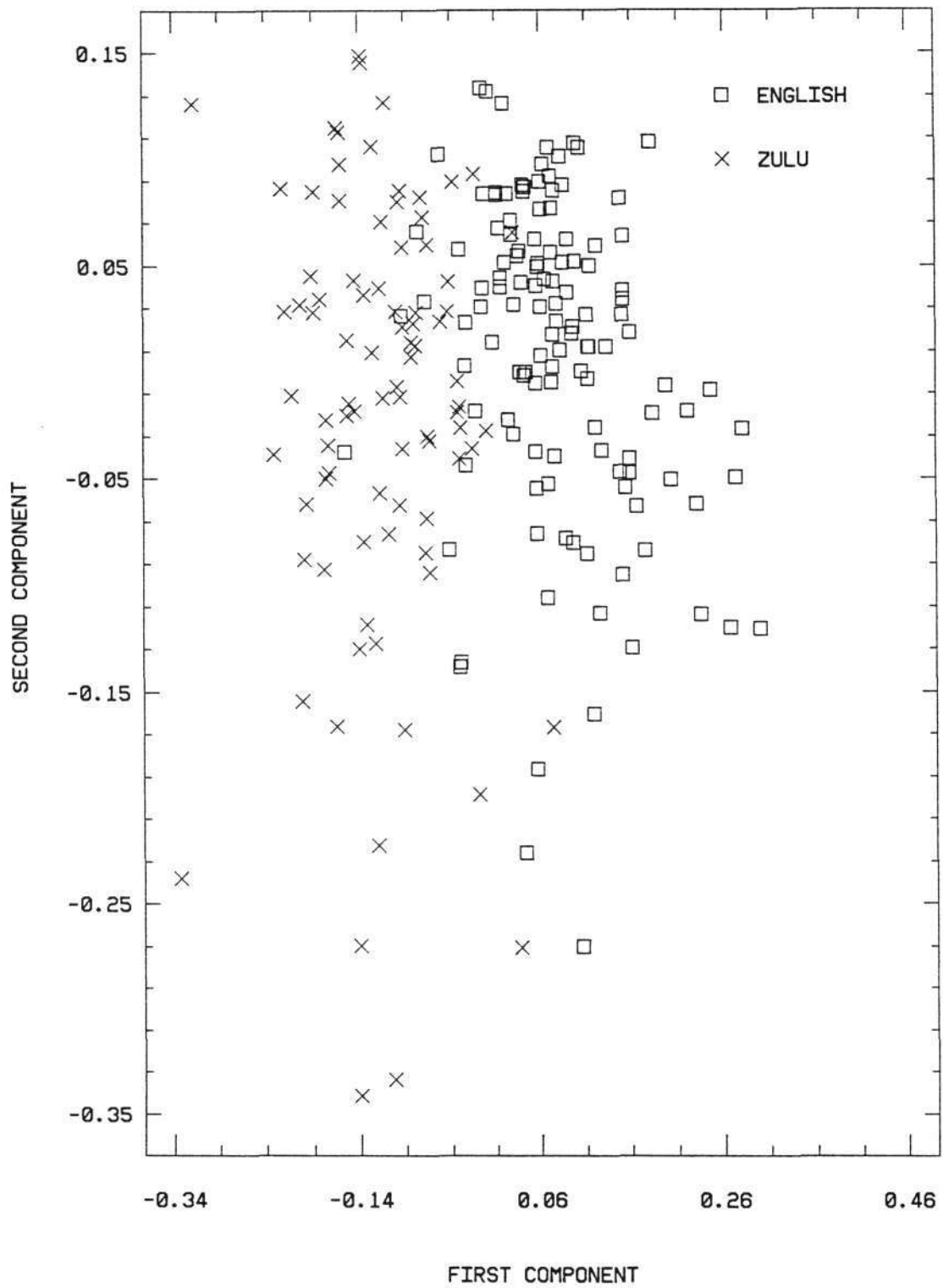


Fig.5 Correspondence analysis using the demographic variable: Home Language

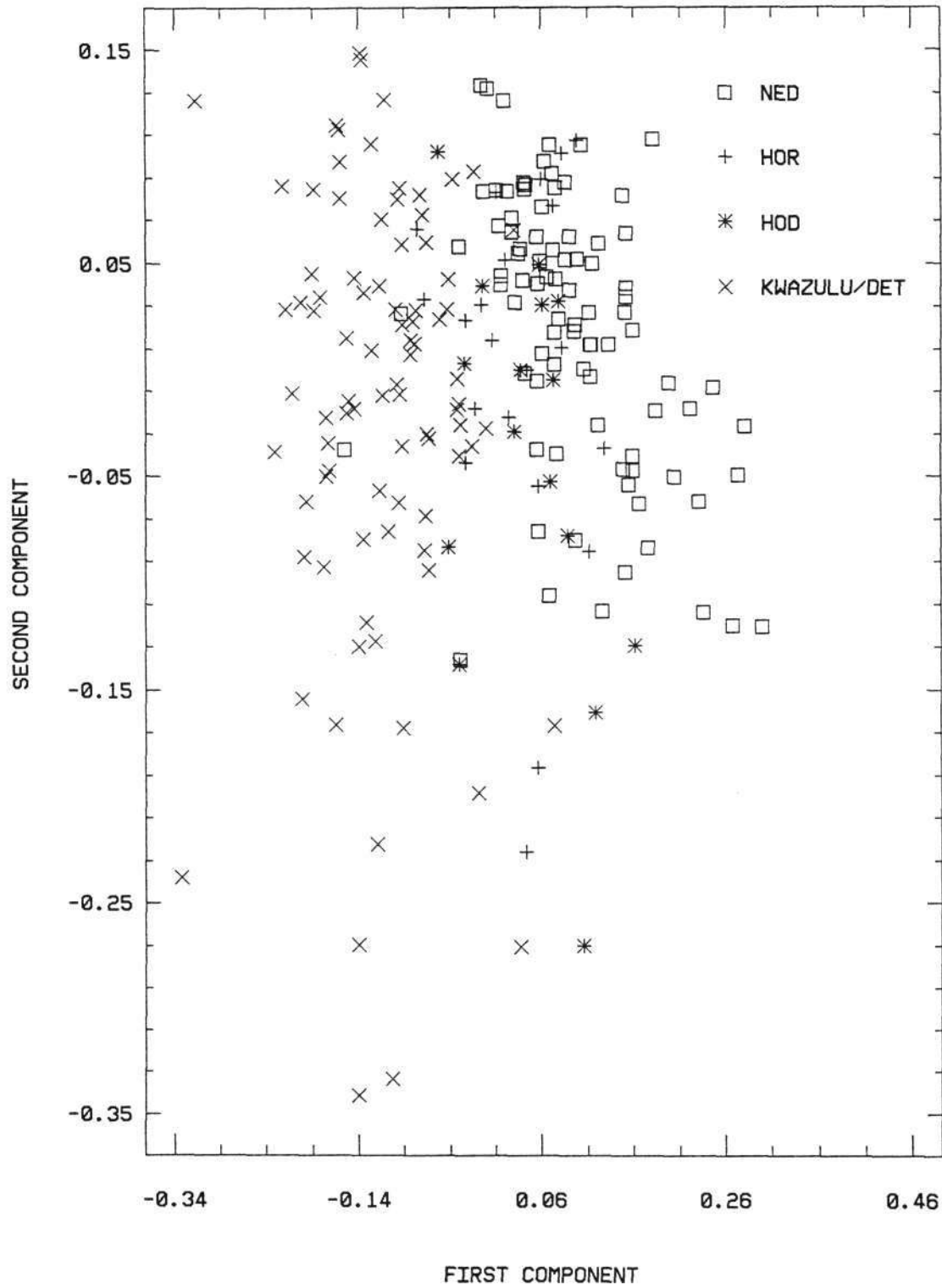


Fig. 6 Correspondence Analysis using the Demographic Variable: Education Administration

Further analysis using the demographic: 'Education Administration' isolating respondents who attended Natal Education Department (NED) and KwaZulu/-Department of Education and Training (KwaZulu/DET) controlled schools reveals that the greatest disparity in responses (see Fig.7 overleaf) can be observed between these two groups than between any other two groups. This graph shows the NED respondents clustered in the upper right half and the KwaZulu/DET respondents clustered on the left and distributed through the upper and lower sections of the graph. This suggests that these two groups have responded in a significantly different way to the expectation statements presented in the questionnaire.

Thus the results of the correspondence analysis reflected in Figs 6 and 7 suggests that the schemata about classroom roles of students of different ethnic groups is significantly different, and that this difference is the most marked in the responses of students who attended schools administered by NED and Kwa-Zulu/DET.

Correspondence analysis using the other demographic variables, namely: age, sex, year of matriculation and whether the school they attended was multiracial or single sex, did not reveal any significant differences in the responses.

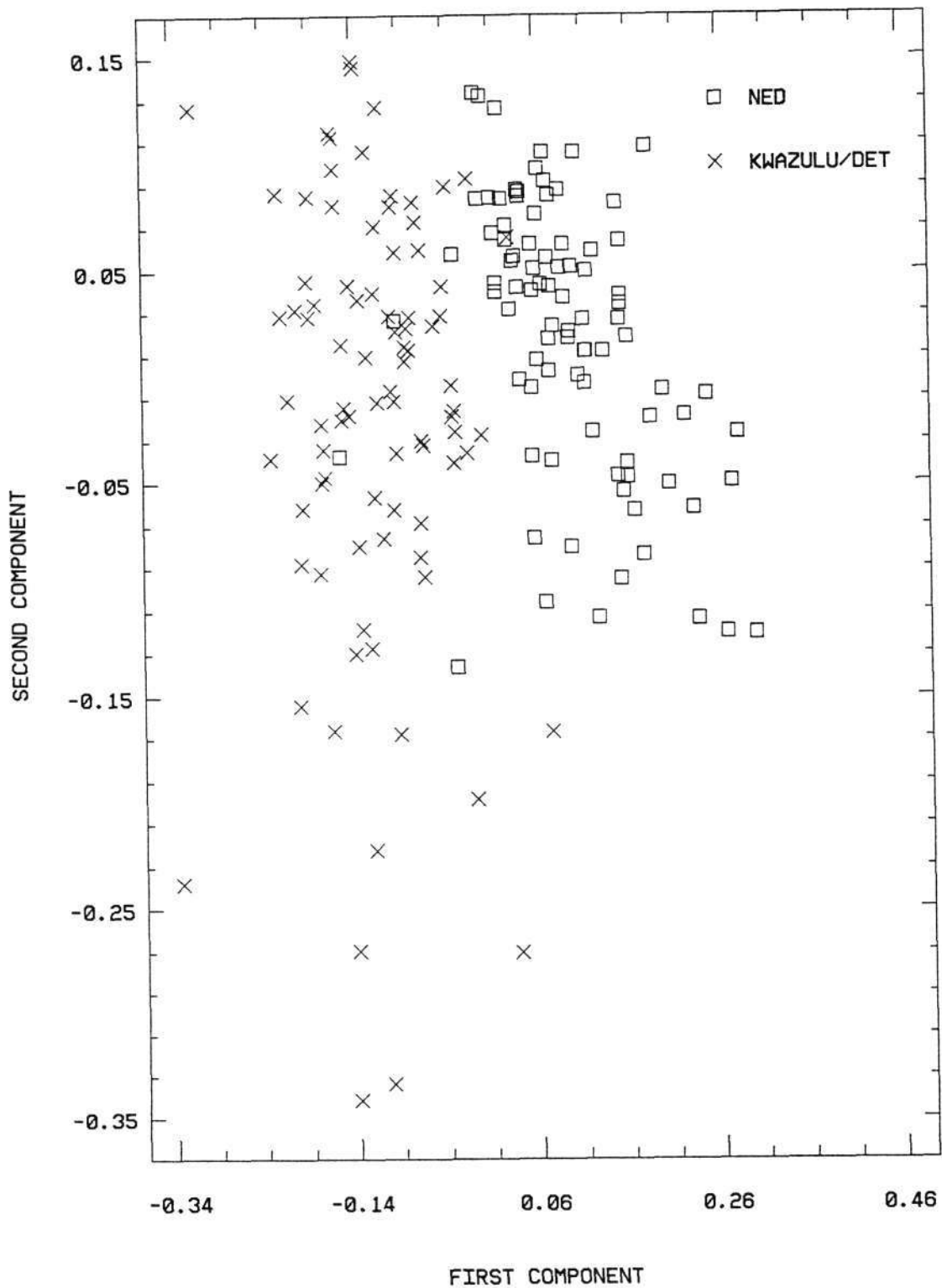


Fig. 7 Correspondence Analysis indicating the differences between responses of respondents who had attended NED and KwaZulu/DET administered schools

4.3 ANOVA Tests

As explained in section 3.2.4.2 of this study, Analysis of Variance tests (ANOVA) are used to establish the significance of differences among more than two sample means. In this case there were four sample means because the demographic variable 'Education Administration' was used in order to establish whether significant differences existed between the responses of respondents who attended schools administered by the four different education administrations. ANOVA will indicate if a significant difference exists amongst the four groups, but it cannot show where that difference is located i.e. between which specific groups.

The dependent variable used in the ANOVA was the sum of the responses to the 5 statements which made up each of the 19 expectation topics¹⁰. The independent variable was the demographic: Education Administration.

4.3.1 ANOVA Results - Pupil Expectation Topics

As Fig. 8 (overleaf) shows, the differences across participants grouped on the basis of administrative authority are highly significant. This suggests that the respondents who attended schools controlled by the four different administrations have significantly different schemata about the school situation, more so in respect of topics relevant to pupil role expectations (see Fig.8 overleaf) than teacher role expectations (see Fig. 9 page 80). It is noteworthy that all 8 pupil role expectation topics revealed significant differences at ($p < 0.05$) i.e. there is a probability of less than 5 out of 100 that this pattern of choices could have occurred by chance.

¹⁰ Refer to section 3.2.3 titled 'Data Capture and Coding' for full details on how this figure was calculated.

Topic	Degrees of Freedom			Sums of Squares			Mean Square		F	P
	Among	Within	Total	Among	Within	Total	Among	Within		
*PTR	3	207	210	72.0	880.44	952.46	24.01	4.25	5.65	0.001
*PAE	3	207	210	48.46	1021.38	1069.84	16.15	4.93	3.27	0.022
*PQA	3	207	210	50.16	960.50	1010.66	16.72	4.64	3.60	0.014
*PLM	3	207	210	133.92	1412.26	1546.18	44.64	6.82	6.54	<<0.05
*PCP	3	207	210	36.33	915.75	952.08	12.11	4.42	2.73	0.044
*PLC	3	207	210	200.56	1210.51	1411.08	66.85	5.85	11.43	<<0.05
*PDT	3	207	210	93.71	973.82	1067.53	31.24	4.70	6.64	<<0.05
*PCB	3	207	210	38.57	840.73	879.30	12.86	4.06	3.17	0.025

Fig. 8 Summary of ANOVA results for pupil role expectation topics.

* = significant at ($p < 0.05$)

As can be seen in Fig 8, the most significant difference is in respect of the responses to the expectation topics¹¹, Pupil Learning Motivation (PLM), Pupil Academic Locus of Control (PLC), and Pupil Disagreement with the Teacher (PDT), for which significance values of much, much less than 0.05 were recorded. These were followed by Pupil Teacher Relationship (PTR), Pupil Question Asking/Answering (PQA), Pupil Attitude towards Error (PAE), Pupil Classroom Behaviour (PCB) and, lastly, Pupil Class Participation (PCP).

4.3.2 ANOVA Results - Teacher Expectation Topics

The results of tests revealed differences of a lower level significance in respect of teacher role expectation topics (see results Fig.9 overleaf) where in respect of only 4 of the 11 topics there were significant differences at ($p < 0.05$).

¹¹ For full details of the topics and the statements refer to appendix B2 and section 3.2.3 'Data capture and coding'.

Topic	Degrees of Freedom			Sums of Squares			Mean Square		F	P
	Among	Within	Total	Among	Within	Total	Among	Within		
TIB	3	207	210	9.59	1330.60	1340.19	3.20	6.43	0.49	0.685
TCS	3	207	210	11.53	1237.45	1248.98	3.84	5.98	0.64	0.588
TKS	3	207	210	22.60	901.96	924.56	7.53	4.36	1.73	0.162
*TWM	3	207	210	217.54	1331.22	1548.76	72.51	6.43	11.28	<<0.05
*TCM	3	207	210	61.34	1299.10	1360.45	20.45	6.28	3.26	0.022
TQS	3	207	210	22.58	1173.53	1196.10	7.53	5.67	1.33	0.266
TRE	3	207	210	28.02	1101.05	1129.07	9.34	5.32	1.76	0.156
*TEA	3	207	210	70.96	1557.23	1628.19	23.65	7.52	3.14	0.026
TPR	3	207	210	29.04	1360.89	1389.93	9.68	6.57	1.47	0.223
*TOC	3	207	210	288.15	858.44	1086.59	76.05	4.15	18.34	<<0.05
TMW	3	207	210	11.61	1029.42	1041.03	3.87	4.97	0.78	0.507

Fig. 9 Summary of ANOVA results for teacher role expectation topics.

* = significant at ($p < 0.05$)

Fig. 9 reveals that the most significant differences are evident in the expectation topics¹² Teacher Warmth (TWM) and Teacher Organization Clarity (TOC), which recorded significance values that were much, much less than 0.05. These were followed by Teacher Classroom Management Practices (TCM), and Teacher Educational Approach (TEA). In the case of the other 7 expectation topics there were not significant differences.

4.4 Multiple Range Tests

As stated in 3.2.4.3, multiple range tests were used to establish between which of the four groups (HOD, HOR, NED and KwaZulu/DET) the most significant differences occurred. Two multiple range tests were used, the Tukey and Duncan's New Multiple Range test.

¹² For more information on the expectation topics and the statements located under each, please refer to appendix B2 and section 3.2.3 titled 'Data capture and coding'.

4.4.1 Results Obtained in the Multiple Range Tests

Both these tests (see Fig.10 overleaf and 11, section 4.4.1.2) revealed that the differences between the groups in 12 of the 19 expectation topics, 14 pupil, and 9 teacher expectations, are statistically significant. Fig.10 clearly reveals that the differences between the means of students who attended schools controlled by the NED, HOR and HOD were not significant, while the most significant differences were those between pupils who attended schools controlled by the NED and those who attended schools administered by the KwaZulu/Department of Education and Training. These differences were particularly marked in the pupil topics of expectations in respect of which there were significant differences in 6 of the 8 topics.

4.4.1.1 Pupil Expectations

The results of Duncan's New Multiple Range Test recorded in Fig.10 (overleaf) reveal that the means for respondents who attended schools administered by the Natal Education Department are significantly different from those who attended House of Representatives and House of Delegates administered schools in one pupil expectation topic¹³ respectively, the former in the topic Pupil Question Asking/Answering (PQA), and the latter in the topic Pupil Academic Locus of Control (PLC). They differed substantially, however, with respondents who attended schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and the Department of Education and Training in the expectation topics: Pupil/Teacher Relationship (PTR), Pupil Attitude towards Error (PAE), Pupil Learning Motivation (PLM),

¹³ For more information on the expectation topics and statements located under each, please refer to appendix B2 and section 3.2.3 titled 'Data Capture and Coding'.

Pupil Academic Locus of Control (PLC), Pupil Disagreement with the Teacher (PDT) and Pupil Classroom Behaviour (PCB).

<u>ADMIN</u>	<u>Pupil Role Expectations</u>								<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>PTR</u>	<u>PAE</u>	<u>POA</u>	<u>PLM</u>	<u>PCP</u>	<u>PLC</u>	<u>PDT</u>	<u>PCB</u>	
NED-HOR	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	1
NED-HOD	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	1
NED-KWA/DET	*X	X	-	*X	-	*X	*X	X	6
HOR-HOD	-	-	*X	-	-	-	-	-	1
HOR-KWA/DET	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	3
HOD-KWA/DET	-	-	*	-	-	-	*X	-	2

Fig.10 Comparison of Pupil Teacher Role Expectation Topics

(X) = significant at $p < 0.05$ using Tukey's MRT

(*) = significant at $p < 0.05$ using Duncan's NMRT

(-) = not significant

NED = Natal Education Department

HOR = House of Representatives

HOD = House of Assembly

KWA/DET = KwaZulu Education Dept and Department of Education and Training

Respondents who attended schools administered by the House of Representatives differed from those who attended schools administered by the House of Delegates in only one pupil expectation topic, namely, Pupil Question Asking/Answering (PQA), however, they differed from students who had attended schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and the Department of Education and Training in the expectation topics: Pupil Class Participation (PCP), Pupil Academic Locus of Control (PLC), and Pupil Disagreement with the Teacher (PDT).

Respondents who had attended schools administered by the House of Delegates were significantly different from those who had attended schools administered by the KwaZulu Department of Education and the Department of Education and Training in 2 of the pupil expectation topics, namely, Pupil Question asking/Answering

(PQA) and Pupil Disagreement with the Teacher (PDT).

4.4.1.2 Teacher Expectations

The results of the Multiple Range Tests tabulated in Fig.11 (below) reveal that there is a significant difference between respondents who attended schools administered by the Natal Education Department and schools administered by the House of Representatives in only one of the teacher expectation topics namely, Teacher Organization/Clarity (TOC), while the respondents who attended House of Delegate controlled schools differed in their responses to the teacher expectation topic: Teacher Warmth (TWM). As was noted in section 4.3.3.1, the greatest disparity occurred between respondents who attended schools administered by the Natal Education Department and those who went to KwaZulu Department of Education and Department of Education and Training schools, where 3 of the topics were significantly different. These were Teacher Warmth (TWM), Teacher Classroom Management Practices (TCM) and Teacher Organization/Clarity (TOC).

ADMIN	Teacher Role Expectations											TOTAL
	TIB	TCS	TKS	TWM	TCM	TQS	TRE	TEA	TPR	TOC	TMV	
NED-HOR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	1
NED-HOD	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
NED-KWA/DET	-	-	-	*X	X	-	-	-	-	*X	-	3
HOR-HOD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*X	-	-	-	1
HOR-KWA/DET	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	*	-	2
HOD-KWA/DET	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	1

Fig.11 Comparison of Teacher Role Expectation Topics

(X) = significant at $p < 0.05$ using Tukey's MRT

(*) = significant at $p < 0.05$ using Duncan's NMRT

(-) = not significant

NED = Natal Education Department

HOR = House of Representatives

HOD = House of Assembly

KWA/DET = KwaZulu Education Dept and Department of Education and Training

Respondents who attended schools administered by the House of Representatives differed from those who attended House of Delegate administered schools in the teacher expectation, Teacher's Educational Approach (TEA), but differed from those respondents who attended KwaZulu Department of Education and Department of Education and Training schools in their responses to 2 teacher expectations, namely, Teacher's Educational Approach (TEA) and Teacher Organization/Clarity (TOC).

Only one teacher expectation, Teacher Organization/Clarity (TOC) showed a significant difference between the responses of those respondents who attended schools administered by the House of Representatives and those who attended KwaZulu Department of Education and Department of Education and Training schools.

The above ANOVA and Multiple Range Test results confirm the findings of the correspondence analysis and reveal that the greatest discrepancy in schemata over the nineteen expectation topics is evident in the responses made by respondents who attended NED and those who attended KwaZulu/DET administered schools. Although there are differences between the other groups, they are not as extreme as that revealed between KwaZulu/DET and NED groups.

4.5 Analysis of Responses to Individual Role Expectation Statements

As was explained in 3.2.4.4 of this study, the mean of the responses to each of the 95 expectation statements was calculated, using the independent variable, 'Education Administration'. This was done in order to identify which expectation statements exhibited the most marked differences (one or more groups on the positive

(agreement) side of the five point scale, while responses of other groups were on the negative (disagreement) side of the 5 point scale) in the responses of the four groups i.e respondents who had attended schools controlled by the NED, HOR, HOD or KwaZulu/DET.

These differences were graded in descending order, see fig. 12 (below) and fig. 14 (section 4.5.2). These figures suggest where the differences in the responses are most marked i.e. where group means are on different extremes of the 5 point scale. (See mean responses fig. 13 (overleaf) and fig. 15 section 4.5.2).

4.5.1 Results and Discussion - Pupil Role Expectation Statements

Figure 12 (below) lists the ten statements of the 40 pupil expectation statements that elicited the most marked differences in response of the four groups. (There were 8 pupil expectation topics, each represented by 5 statements in the questionnaire.) The statement evoking the most marked difference (no. 46) is given first, the others follow in descending order of difference.

Stat.No	Topic	Text of Statement
46	PDT	Write so as to match the teacher's ideas.
25	PAE	Acknowledge verbally not knowing an answer.
40	PTR	Let the teacher go ahead of them when entering a class.
18	PQA	Ask questions so the teacher will notice them.
43	PLM	Learn something because it might be in the examination.
42	PQA	Help other pupils answer questions in class.
16	PTR	Call a teacher by his or her first name.
44	PCP	Talk the same amount as other pupils in class.
37	PLC	Do whatever the teacher asks.
47	PCB	Make jokes in class.

Fig. 12 Pupil Role Statements exhibiting the greatest differences

The differences in respect of these 10 pupil expectation statements indicate that responses of one or more of the groups were located on the positive (agreement) side of the five point scale, while responses of the other groups were on the negative (disagreement) side. Figure 13 (below) shows the distribution of these differing responses among the four groups by Education Administration.

Statement	Topic	Mean Response by Education Administration			
		NED	HOR	HOD	KZ/DET
46	PDT	-0.86	-0.67	-1.13	0.43
25	PAE	0.70	1.05	0.75	-0.37
40	PTR	1.13	0.86	0.63	-0.14
18	PQA	-0.69	-0.76	0.19	0.15
43	PLM	0.44	0.43	-0.50	0.22
42	PQA	0.32	-0.57	0.06	0.05
16	PTR	-0.87	-0.52	0.19	0.01
44	PCP	-0.51	-0.71	-0.75	0.08
37	PLC	0.07	0.00	-0.06	0.66
47	PCB	0.25	-0.14	-0.06	0.21

Fig. 13 Mean Response by Education Administration for Pupil Role Statements exhibiting the greatest Difference

After the statistical analyses of the data derived from the quantitative survey had reached this point, it was appropriate to introduce qualitative research to inform the interpretation of the data. Here the audio-taped in-depth interviews with selected students (see 3.3 for objective, selection and administration) were used to help elucidate some puzzling results or apparent contradictions. In the remainder of this section, reference will be made to these transcribed interviews which are located in appendix C.

The mean responses of respondents who attended schools administered by the NED, HOR, and HOD indicated marked disagreement to the statement that *Pupils should write so as to match the teacher's ideas* (No 46), (see mean responses Fig.13), while

the mean response of the respondents who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET indicated marked agreement.

When asked why respondents who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET tended to agree with this statement four of the five students interviewed suggested this was a response to the attitude of most teachers in these schools.

Some suggested that the teachers' sense of their own inadequacy caused them to insist that their pupils parrot their ideas. Student B said:

I think the teachers wants the children to take what they want them to understand because they cannot be able to give them a chance to think for themselves... They were trained in a way to pass on the facts so they are passing the facts to children. So it's the idea of the teacher that's passed to the child's mind. The child has got nothing to do, nothing to think about. He takes what he is being told by the teacher. (page C12)

Student C stated:

but they [the pupils] couldn't put it down in their own words because it's the way they've been taught - do it like this and not the other way. The teacher is always right you know. (page C21)

Student E attributed the difference to a slavish following of the syllabus, she ended saying:

It's always done like this - they [the teachers] just want, they like people should write what they say... (page C35)

Student A had a different view. He felt that the differences experienced in the classroom could be attributed to culture.

Well maybe its got something to do with their cultural background - where they come from you see. You find out at home ... the children at home is taught discipline - right from the beginning you know - straight discipline. That is to me a value - something they have - discipline. And on the other side[schools outside of township areas] you know children are free to do what they like in their own time and they carry the same attitude to school. (page C1)

These responses suggest that pupils who attend KwaZulu/DET schools have a schema according to which pupils emulate the teacher's examples and follow the teacher's instructions closely. This schemata according to informants is congruent with the society in which these schools exist.

Cameron (1990) found evidence of the existence of similar schemata amongst a group of newly arrived overseas students (from Africa, India and Indonesia) who were taking a pre-sessional English course. Her attempts to be a facilitator to learning and to encourage self assessment were repeatedly rejected. 'Again and again, students expressed the idea that there was a right way to write essays, answer exam questions and that the way to succeed was to give the lecturers what they wanted' (1990:69).

In the responses to No 43 and 37: *Pupils should learn something because it might be in the examination* and *Pupils should do whatever the teacher asks*, only respondents who attended schools administered by the HOD tended to disagree. This suggests that a part of the schematic knowledge of the majority of the respondents who attended schools administered by the other 3 departments is that what is likely to figure in examinations should be focused on and that authority resides with the

teacher. It also suggests that pupils expect that teachers are primarily concerned with the achieving of good examination results and that consequently their instructions should be followed without question.

It is interesting to note that KwaZulu/DET respondents registered a substantially higher positive response to No 37, *Pupils should do whatever the teacher asks*, (see Fig. 13) than those respondents who attended NED and HOR schools. Interviews with students who attended school administered by KwaZulu/DET suggested that teachers employed in their schools are very much more authoritarian, and that this is consistent with adult-child relations in a range of situations in Zulu culture. Refusal to follow an instruction would more than likely lead to severe punishment. As Student C observed:

The minute you're told that you give the wrong thing you better be shivering and crying because you know what's coming. Always there is a hiding. (page C26)

Student B concurred with this:

So if the teacher asks you to recite a poem you have to recite it. You must not say, 'No, I don't know it', because afterwards its punishment. (page C13)

A significant difference can be observed in the mean responses to the statement, *Pupils should acknowledge verbally not knowing an answer* (No.25). The mean responses of respondents who attended NED, HOR and HOD administered schools agreed with the statement while those who attended KwaZulu/DET administered schools tended to disagree.

All the students interviewed attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET and

agreed that this was the case in KwaZulu/DET schools but most were unable to offer an explicit explanation for this preference. Student D acknowledged that:

...if I don't know the answer I just sit there and wait for someone who knows the answer, even if I don't understand... that's the worst part of it, because if I don't understand it I have to keep quiet. I can't say why is that. (page C29)

Student B recounted that:

I remember when I was still a child, I couldn't say I don't know. It is better to keep quiet than say you don't know, because you were told yesterday - you must know it. (page C12)

This suggests that not only does the child lose face by admitting ignorance, but it is a reflection on the teaching.

Student E suggested KwaZulu/DET children would not acknowledge verbally not knowing an answer because questioning and testing pupil's comprehension was not normal practice in KwaZulu/DET schools. She suggested that this might be because of the large classes. She claimed that the teacher simply presented the information and the pupils were expected to listen and absorb it.

Student A was the only interviewee who suggested that this was a politeness strategy.

He claimed:

At home an African child would be brought up in way that he respects the knowledge of the elders, and if you don't know you don't question and you don't say anything. You just keep quiet and wait for a higher authority to give you a knowledge of the answers.(page C2)

The tendency of children from certain ethnic groups to decline to answer questions by simply remaining silent has been noted by many researchers and accounted for in different ways. Bhana (1994) noted that African children in a multicultural school previously administered by the HOD declined to answer questions, by remaining silent. She hypothesized that this was because they were marginalized by the discourse used in the multicultural classroom. Research conducted in Australia among Aborigines by Malcolm (1989) and in Britain by Cameron (1990) suggest that learners from certain different cultural groups would choose to respond with silence rather than lose face by admitting that they did not know the answer to a question. Chick (1996) comments on the volubility of a teacher and the taciturnity of the pupils in classroom data he collected in KwaZulu/DET schools and analysed. He says the chorusing behaviour which characterises classrooms in schools administered by KwaZulu/DET helps teachers and pupils avoid the loss of face caused by being wrong publicly. Thus, implicit in the above responses is the authoritarian nature of Zulu society and the concern of pupils not to appear to be 'rude' to their elders. For the Zulu child the public admission of an error or ignorance involves not only their own loss of face, but the loss of face of the adult involved whether in the school or the home.

Two statements which make up the expectation topic Pupil Teacher Relationship (PTR) indicated significant differences in group responses. Responses to the statement, *Pupils should let the teacher go ahead of them when entering a class* (No 40), indicated agreement on the part of respondents who attended NED, HOR, and HOD administered schools and disagreement from KwaZulu/DET respondents. The mean responses to the expectation statement, *Pupils should call a teacher by his or her first name* (No.16) indicated respondents from NED and HOR administered schools overwhelmingly tended to register disagreement while respondents who attended HOD and KwaZulu/DET schools indicated agreement. Although both of

these statements are grouped under the same expectation topic, they deal with different issues. When I first looked at these responses I hypothesised that No. 40 seemed to be concerned with social relations of power (status) while No. 16 seemed concerned with relative intimacy or distance.

Interviews with student respondents, however, revealed that the difference in the responses to No 40, *Pupils should let the teacher go ahead of them when entering a class*, is a difference in schematic knowledge related to the specific conventions of the school and not necessarily to adult-child relations in the group generally. All interviewees agreed that in KwaZulu/DET schools it is common practice for each class of children to queue outside their classroom and then walk ahead into the classroom with the teacher following.

They also claimed that an individual pupil (as opposed to a class group) would give way to a teacher when entering a room because *'in our culture you always give respect to the elders'* (Student A page C3).

The results of No.16, *Pupils should call a teacher by his or her first name*, are puzzling. Interviewees were emphatic that addressing teachers by their first names was not common in KwaZulu/DET schools. *'No, never done'* (Student E page C37), *'I don't know why they said that ... It doesn't happen in our schools'* (Student C page C23) and *'No, it doesn't happen. I think it's not allowed'* (Student D page C31) were some of the responses. Only one student offered an exception when she said:

Not unless in a high school where the teachers are more or less the same age as them so they sometimes call [by their first names] but its not official (Student B page C14).

Four of the five students interviewed had taught at a formerly HOR administered school during the 'practice teaching' period and they had introduced themselves to their classes by their first names and invited pupils to use them. On inquiry it appears that the intercultural nature of the encounter influenced their decision. When asked why they had done this student B claimed it was because *'most of the surnames are difficult to say'* (Student B page C14). This was confirmed by student D who said

My surnames was hard for them to call me ... what I was trying to do was make the situation more comfortable for them so that whenever they were referring to me it would be easy to call me by my first name. (Student D page C31)

Student C claimed that introducing herself by her first name to her class *'just felt right'* (page C23). She attributed this to a different relationship between teachers and pupils. In KwaZulu/DET schools

the teacher goes into the class only for teaching the lessons and out she goes. There's no time for chatting to pupils, getting to know them better, which is happening in other schools. (student C page C24)

Student A admitted to having made an error in allowing pupils to address him by his first name:

I had the idea of what usually happens there because, you know, usually in NED, HOR's schools you are called by your first name if that is acceptable. But where I was in Kwa Mashu this year I was referred to as Mr N-----de not more than that or less than that. I was just Mr N-----de. (student A page C3)

It is interesting that the only group whose mean responses indicated agreement with

the statement *Pupils should make jokes in class* (No.47), were those who had attended schools administered by the NED. This suggests that either the schemata of NED respondents for classroom interaction is more informal and interactive than that held by the other groups or it suggests a schemata for classrooms in which pupils are expected to display. It may also be that there are different assumptions about where jokes are appropriate and about who may initiate a joke in the classroom situation.

Two statements relating to the expectation topic, Pupil Question Answering (PQA), namely, *Pupils should ask questions so the teacher will notice them* (No.18) and *Pupils should help other pupils answer questions in class* (No.42) revealed extreme differences in the mean responses per group. Respondents who attended NED and HOR administered schools showed general disagreement with the first statement while respondents who attended HOD and KwaZulu/DET administered schools indicated general agreement. It would appear that the disagreement registered by respondents who attended NED and HOR schools stems from the taboo against 'shlooping' or 'sucking up' to the teacher. These two slang words are not familiar to students who attended schools administered by the HOD nor is the practice considered unacceptable. When asked, only one of the interviewees (Student C) had heard of a Zulu term to describe this sort of behaviour. Student A thought there might be a term but he did not know it. He felt that pupils '*would really love to be close to a teacher*' but this sort of behaviour was not encouraged because the pupil might have an ulterior motive '*to get good marks*' (page C5). Student B observed that '*those who ask questions are those who do understand ... those who keep quiet they do not understand*' (page C13) suggesting that face is an issue here, while Student D suggested that pupils did this in order to '*impress the teacher*' (page C30)

although this was not perceived negatively. It was suggested that answering a question correctly was tantamount to paying a compliment to the teacher.

Mean responses from respondents who attended NED, HOD and KwaZulu/DET schools to the second statement, *Pupils should help other pupils answer questions in class* (No.42), indicated disagreement, while that of respondents who attended HOR administered schools indicated agreement. This suggests that all but respondents from the HOR have a schema consistent with working alone in class. They also appear to have a schema that assisting others to answer questions will be viewed by the teacher as a breach of discipline. Lemke (1990) suggests the emphasis on individual learning in mainstream US schools allows authorities to shift the blame for failure from the school system to the individual learners.

An examination of responses to the statement *Pupils should talk the same amount as other pupils in the class* (No.44), revealed only respondents who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET tended to agree with the statement. Student A felt this was a cultural issue. He claimed that pupils who attended Kwazulu/DET schools lived a *'community based kind of life'* (page C5) with a strong emphasis on equality, while Student C attributed it to *'the whole democratic issue - you can't be different'* (page C24).

4.5.2 Results and discussion - Teacher Role Expectation Statements

Figure 14 (overleaf) lists the 10 statements of the 55 teacher role expectation statements that revealed extreme differences in the response of the four groups.

(There were 11 expectation topics, each represented by 5 statements in the questionnaire.) As in the previous section, the statement evoking the most marked difference (No 79) is given first, the others follow in descending order of difference.

Stat.No	Topic	Text of Statement
79	TOC	Follow the course outline/syllabus exactly.
78	TPR	Administer corporal punishment to those pupils who misbehave.
100	TPR	Encourage pupils to disagree with them.
72	TKS	Not make mistakes in class.
83	TKS	Be able to answer any question on any subject.
56	TPR	Treat students as the social equals of teachers.
48	TIB	Talk more often than pupils.
93	TCS	Correct students' cultural mistakes.
82	TCS	Change classroom rules to fit pupil's cultures.

Fig. 14 Teacher Role Statements exhibiting the greatest differences

Figure 15 (below) shows the distribution of these differing responses among the four groups by Education Administration. All nine statements had either one or more groups of respondents who attended schools administered by the NED, HOR and HOD on one extreme of the scale, while KwaZulu/DET respondents were on the other extreme of the five point response scale.

Statement	Topic	<u>Mean Response by Education Administration</u>			
		NED	HOR	HOD	KWAZULU/DET -
79	TOC	-0.38	0.19	-0.37	1.01
78	TPR	-0.64	-0.62	-0.87	0.44
100	TPR	0.72	0.67	0.88	-0.08
72	TKS	-0.54	-0.95	-0.63	0.00
83	TKS	-0.40	-0.24	-0.56	0.32
56	TPR	-0.46	-0.33	-0.06	0.17
48	TIB	0.18	0.09	0.38	-0.10
93	TCS	-0.18	-0.19	0.19	0.22
82	TCS	-0.09	-0.14	0.06	-0.15

Fig. 15 Mean Response by Education Administration for Teacher Role Statements Exhibiting the greatest Difference

Respondents who attended NED and HOD administered schools tended to disagree fairly strongly with the statement *Teachers should follow the course outline exactly* (No 79). This suggests a schema that reflects expectations/assumptions that teachers have considerable autonomy in making their own decisions with regard to the needs of their pupils. All the students interviewed agreed that *Teachers should follow the course outline exactly* (No 79) and that this was what happened in KwaZulu/DET schools. Student B explained this by referring to the training teachers in these schools received saying, *'using of syllabus and textbooks is most important'* (page C15). She went on to say that she also taught that way. Although none of the respondents explicitly said this, agreement of respondents who attended KwaZulu/DET and HOR could be linked to No. 43 in the previous section: the course outline must be followed because that is what will be examined.

A schema that reflects authoritarian views of classroom roles is suggested by the mean responses of students who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET who were the only group to agree with the statement *Teachers should administer corporal punishment to those pupils who misbehave* (No 78). Interviews with students confirm this view but see this behaviour as an extension of how misbehaviour would be treated in the home. They all claimed that 'spanking' misbehaving children was common practice. One interviewee went to far as to say *'when you don't do it they start misbehaving'* (Student A page C6) and another *'pupils are used to it - they always expect it'* (Student D page C33). Student B claimed that when she taught Zulu children in a Model D school they modified their behaviour when she taught them because *'they expect me to do it (corporal punishment) because I know it. They know I know it'* (page C16).

The above response is congruent with the general disagreement expressed by respondents who attended KwaZulu/DET administered schools to the statement,

Teachers should encourage pupils to disagree with them (No 100). Both these responses suggest that these respondents have a schema in which the teacher is assumed to be an authoritarian figure to be obeyed without question, while the pupils are expected to be passive and accepting of this authority in the classroom situation. This was confirmed by the interviews with students, one of whom summed it up as follows: *'children are only there to learn from you - you are the only authority figure in the classroom'* (Student A page C7). Respondents from the other three groups appear to accept questioning as part of learning and understanding.

Again, respondents who attended KwaZulu/DET controlled schools agreed with the statements that *Teachers should not make mistakes in class* (No 72) and *Teachers should be able to answer any question on any subject* (No 83). This response emanated from a schema in which the teacher is seen to be the all-knowing disseminator of knowledge rather than a facilitator. During the interview Student A stated that if this was not the case the *'they [the pupils] lose trust in you'* (page C8). He claimed that in the township schools the teacher was viewed as a

professional somebody. You have got to give him respect and so the human element is taken away from the teacher and that you see there is only authority and absolute power... You look at the person making these mistakes then you start to lose hope, faith in that person. (student A page C8)

On the other hand, according to Student D,

most of the time you will find that they [teachers] don't accept that they don't know. (student D page C33)

The statement that *Teachers should treat students as the social equals of teachers* (No 56) met with the disagreement of all of the respondents but those who had

attended KwaZulu/DET schools. Students interviewed were at a loss to explain this response. Student C commented, *'there's no equality in our culture between us and the others [parents and teachers]'* (page C27), while Student A observed, *'children and teachers - there is a social gap'* and this gap is so great that *'if you saw the teacher first and he didn't see you, you'd run away or hide'* (page C9). Student D felt that the respondents might have confused the statement and could have interpreted it as meaning that the teacher should treat all pupils equally. This he said was important because of the large number of pupils in each class they should be treated as *'just one thing'* (page C33).

Another puzzling result is the response to the statement *Teachers should talk more often than pupils* (No 48). Respondents who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET disagreed strongly with this statement while those who attended schools administered by other departments agreed. This response appears to run counter to the pattern of responses made to other statements by KwaZulu/DET respondents which suggest a schema of a teacher who is an authority figure in the classroom. Students who were interviewed felt that this statement must have been misunderstood by respondents because

the teacher is the only person in possession of more information than children and he is the only person that transmits this information to the children... The teacher talks and the children listen.
(Student A page C10)

The final two statements indicating differences in mean responses are two that fall under the expectation topic Teacher Cultural Sensitivity (TCS). These are the statements *Teachers should correct student's cultural mistakes* (No 93) and *Teachers should change classroom rules to fit pupils' cultures* (No 82). Respondents who attended schools administered by the NED and HOR disagreed with both

statements, those who attended schools administered by the HOD agreed with both statements, while KwaZulu/DET schools agreed that cultural mistakes should be corrected (No 93) but disagreed with the suggestion that classroom rules should be changed to fit pupil's cultures (No 82).

The mean responses to these two statements are interesting in that they possibly reflect schemata that have been conditioned by the differing experiences of South Africa's unjust political and educational policies. It is possible that White and Coloured respondents are ignorant of the need for accommodating other cultural/ethnic groupings because in the social hierarchy which existed in South Africa under the apartheid policies, Whites had the highest status. Many members of the 'coloured' ethnic group have a similar culture to that of Whites. As a cultural minority, Indians have had to fight to preserve their traditional culture and have been forced to become culturally adaptable in order to succeed in the face of unequal opportunities. Black students, too, realise the importance of acquiring knowledge of the culture of the group which has the economic power and consequently are in agreement with the statement that *Teachers should correct student's cultural mistakes*. In the interview Student D said he would like to see more than just the correction of cultural mistakes, he felt there should be *'discussions sometimes on culture so that these people can accept one another'* (page C34), while Student C observed, *'we're living in a multicultural society. Everyone has got to be included'* (page C28). Interviewees generally felt that classroom rules should not be changed to fit the pupil's culture because it would cause confusion, although there was a strong sense that cultural versatility would be a good thing for pupils to have and should be encouraged.

4.6 Conclusion

The analysis of the questionnaire has provided quantitative evidence which confirms my hypothesis that pupils from different cultures do have different assumptions and expectations (schemata) about classroom interaction, and this quantitative evidence has been confirmed by qualitative interviews, although the interviews suggest that the differences are not as great as the quantitative survey suggests.

Correspondence analysis revealed marked differences in the responses of the four groups to the questionnaire, with the greatest difference between the responses of groups who attended NED and KwaZulu/DET schools.

ANOVA and Multiple Range tests narrowed the differences between the groups by indicating the group responses to the expectation topics which revealed significant differences. Again, the most significant difference was between respondents who had attended NED and KwaZulu/DET schools.

Mean tests narrowed the differences further by isolating the role expectation statements which revealed the most significant differences. They identified marked differences in the group responses to 10 of the 40 pupil expectation statements (25%), and 9 of the 55 teacher role expectation statements (20%).

The interviews with selected students narrowed the differences even more by eliminating statements which might have been misinterpreted by the respondents. They also provided insights into the possible reasons for the groups responding as they did.

After close examination of the responses to the questionnaire and interviews, a

pattern appears to be emerging which I will investigate further in Chapter 5. Respondents who attended schools administered by the NED appear to have more flexible schemata of both teacher and pupil classroom roles while respondents who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET seem have schemata reflecting a more narrow repertoire of appropriate roles, with the pupils viewing the teacher as 'an authoritarian purveyor of knowledge' (Mason 1992:47). This view of the teacher finds parallels in the community in which children have relatively low status.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF THE RECALL EXPERIMENT DATA.

The results of the quantitative study together with the qualitative analysis of the student interviews reported on in the previous chapter provide considerable evidence that students who have attended racially segregated schools controlled by different education administrations have some different schemata of what constitutes appropriate classroom behaviour. In an attempt to verify these findings through triangulation, I conducted, in addition, a story recall experiment following Tannen (1979). This qualitative research sought to find evidence of different schemata in the surface linguistic forms of the recalls of students who were educated in the different education systems, and had the additional advantage that qualitative methods reveal differences between the members of each group which cannot be exposed or explored by quantitative analysis.

Details of the data collection and analysis methods used in conducting this experiment were provided in section 3.4 of this study. To briefly recap, however, twenty first year students at a college of education who had attended schools administered by the NED, HOD and KwaZulu/DET were shown a short excerpt from two commercial films. Ten students watched a segment from 'Dead Poet's Society' and 10 watched a segment from 'Stand and Deliver' without the accompanying soundtracks. Subjects were asked to tell another student, who audio-taped the narrative, what they had seen. These narratives were transcribed and examined to establish what differences were evident in the surface linguistic forms used by subjects from the various ethnic groups, in telling their stories.

In examining the data I first calculated the average length of the recalls of the subjects from the different groups. I did this because I assumed that marked

differences in length could be taken as evidence of broad differences in the schemata of the subjects from different groups. Then I examined closely the differences in the surface linguistic forms of the narratives which, following Tannen (1979) I took as reliable evidence of differences in their schemata relevant to teacher and pupil interaction. More specifically, again following Tannen (1979 & 1980), I focused on 16 types of evidence for schemata. They are: '(1) omission, (2) repetition, (3) false starts, (4) backtrack, (5) hedges and other qualifying words or expressions, (6) negatives, (7) contrastive connectives, (8) modals, (9) inexact statements, (10) generalizations, (11) inference, (12) evaluative language, (13) interpretation, (14) moral judgement, (15) incorrect statements, (16) addition' (1979:166). These features are discussed in detail in section 3.4.5 of this study.

There is evidence in the surface form of the recall data collected of a number of differences in schemata not relevant to this study. For example, the surface form of some of the narratives suggest that single sex classes did not match the expectation of subjects belonging to certain groups. There is evidence in other narratives of what Tannen (1979) termed, 'subject of experiment' schemata: the subjects belonging to some groups showed in what they recalled and how they recalled it that they recognised that an experiment was being conducted and that they were the subjects. Because my area of interest is in cultural differences in the schemata of teacher/pupil interaction and because my purpose in conducting this recall is to verify my findings in chap 4, I have, however, focused on evidence relevant to this area only.

5.1 Approach to the analysis of the data

In approaching the analysis of this recall experiment I have followed a pattern

similar to that used in chapter 4, where I move from the most general evidence to the most specific. I therefore report on and discuss evidence in the surface forms of the narratives of the subjects from the 3 groups for general differences in schemata of teacher and pupil classroom roles. I then narrow down the focus to deal with specific differences in their narratives of the various events shown in the videos. As there is evidence in the narratives that subjects from the 3 groups share some schemata of teacher and pupil classroom roles, these, too, will be discussed, particularly where the findings of the different research instruments are apparently contradictory.

5.2 Length of the recalls

I compared the length of the recalls of the subjects from the groups who attended schools controlled by different education administrations as a starting point in this analysis. According to Tannen (1979 & 1980) and Steffensen Joag-Dev (1984), although differences in the length of the narratives do not indicate specifically which schemata of classroom interaction of the three groups of subjects are different, this can indicate that general differences in the subjects' schemata exist.

Thus the average length of the recalls of the subjects from the different education administration groups was calculated to establish if there was any marked difference. On average the subjects who attended schools administered by the NED produced longer narratives than the subjects from the other two groups (see Fig.16 overleaf). The longest was, however, produced by subject 19 (553 words) who attended a school administered by the HOD.

	KwaZulu/DET	HOD	NED
Video 1	224 words	224 words	299 words
Video 2	288 words	301 words	479 words
Both videos	256 words	275 words	371 words

Fig. 16 Average Length of Narratives

This disparity in average length could be attributed to the subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET being less fluent in English as it is not their mother tongue, but this does not account for the disparity between subjects who attended schools administered by the NED and HOD, most of whom have English as mother tongue.

Another possible explanation for the shorter narratives of the subjects who attended KwaZulu/DET and HOD schools is that the classroom interaction depicted was so foreign to them that they were unable to recall the events in detail. This seems to be the case with subjects 3, 4, 13 and 14 from schools administered by KwaZulu/DET who produced very short narratives. The classroom scene depicted in video 2 would have been unusual to all the subjects who took part in the research but it presumably would have been especially unusual to subjects who attended KwaZulu/DET administered schools, where according to researchers whose studies are reviewed in chapter 2, and former pupils interviewed in this study (see appendix C), teachers tend to adopt authoritarian roles.

5.3 Expectations about pupil and teacher behaviour at the start of the two lessons

In order to discover if the narratives of the subjects from the three groups (KwaZulu/DET, NED and HOD) suggest any difference in their schemata of pupil and teacher behaviour in the classroom, I examined the surface linguistic form of their recalls for evidence. I looked, particularly, at their recalls of the start of the lessons in order to gain insight into their schemata about this specific event. Specific incidents which occur later in the videos are examined in detail separately.

According to Mehan (1979), lessons are organized sequentially into three component parts: the opening phase, the instructional phase and the closing phase. The opening phase is when teachers and pupils 'inform each other that they are, in fact, going to conduct a lesson as opposed to some other activity' (1979:36). At the beginning of a lesson the teacher requires the pupils' full attention as he/she provides information about what is going to happen during the main course of that lesson.

5.3.1 Expectations about the pupils' behaviour at the start of the two lessons

At the beginning of the video clip the pupils shown in video 1 are sitting in desks in rows with textbooks open in front of them and wearing school uniforms. By contrast in video 2 pupils are wearing their ordinary clothes and sitting in chairs which are not arranged in any order.

An analysis of the narratives reveal differences in schemata in both groups whether they watched video 1 or video 2. In their narratives subjects who attended schools

administered by KwaZulu/DET tended to focus more on the social behaviour of the pupils than did the subjects who attended schools administered by the NED and HOD. This suggests that the behaviour they viewed on these videos violated the expectations of the KwaZulu/DET subjects more than they did those of the other two groups.

5.3.1.1 Analysis of recalls of the start of video 1

Careful examination of the story recall data suggests that the pupils' behaviour in video 1 violated the expectations of subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET more than it did those who attended schools administered by the HOD or NED.

The surface form of the narratives of two of the four subjects from KwaZulu/DET schools suggests that a key expectation for them is that pupils concentrate in class. Subject 1 (KwaZulu/DET) says *'I don't know maybe whether the children were concentrating or not.'* (D1 line 4-5) while Subject 5 (KwaZulu/DET) says *'the students look like they are concentrating'* (D5 line 26). According to Tannen (1979 & 1980) negative statements such as are present in these statements, namely, *'don't'* and *'not'*, suggest that the affirmative was expected. She also notes that hedges (such as *'maybe'* and *'like'* in these two statements) measure the word or idea against what is expected by qualifying or modifying a word or statement. Such hedges convey the message: "not so much as you might have expected." (1979:169) These surface features suggest that these KwaZulu/DET subjects have a schema of classroom behaviour in which pupils should be concentrating on the lesson and what the teacher is saying.

Subject 3 (KwaZulu/DET) makes use of evaluative language¹⁴ eg. her choice of the adjective '*mischievous*'(D3 line 4) in describing the pupils, which again suggests that the pupils' behaviour violated her expectations. According to Tannen the use of evaluative language 'reveals some comparison with what might have been expected' (1979:173). By contrast the surface form of recalls of the subjects who attended schools administered by the HOD and NED suggests that the pupils' behaviour in the video corresponded more closely to their expectations.

Subject 7 (NED) describes the pupils as '*looking very bored or looking interested*' (D7 line 11 - 12). Tannen (1979) explains that contrastive connectives¹⁵ such as '*or*' in this statement mark the denial of the previous phrase. Subject 7's use of the contrastive connective '*or*' to link two contradictory phrases, '*looking very bored*' and '*looking interested*' suggests that the pupils are displaying a range of behaviour which she would expect in a classroom.

The pupils' behaviour is apparently also congruent with the expectations of subject 10 who had attended a school administered by the HOD. Her recollection is that '*they*[the pupils] *weren't very interested in what he*[the teacher] *was saying...*'(D10 line 4). The negative¹⁶, '*weren't*' suggests that the subject has a schema that pupils should show interest during a lesson. The choice of the evaluative, '*very*' in '*very interested*' is evidence that the pupils seemed more interested than the subject expected. This seeming contradiction suggests that the subject has a schema that

¹⁴ For a fuller account of the use of evaluative language refer to 3.4.5.12 of this study.

¹⁵ For a fuller account of the function of contrastive connectives refer to section 3.4.5.7 of this study.

¹⁶ For a fuller account of the function of negatives refer to section 3.4.5.6 of this study.

pupils should show interest during a lesson but that this often does not occur and these pupils are more interested than she expected.

There is no reference in the narratives of subject No. 4 (KwaZulu/DET), subject No. 6 (NED), subject No. 8 (NED) and subject No. 9 (HOD) to the behaviour of the pupils at the start of the lesson in video 1. Tannen (1979:167) explains that omissions¹⁷ can indicate expectations when they are contrasted with what other speakers have included. It would thus appear that the above subjects did not perceive anything unusual and consequently reportable about the behaviour of the pupils at the start of the lesson.

To sum up, examination of story recall data reveals that 3 of the 4 subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET were surprised by the pupils' behaviour in the classroom in video 1. One of the three subjects who attended schools administered by the NED and one of the two subjects who attended schools administered by the HOD comment on the behaviour but their narratives suggest that they found it less unexpected than ex-KwaZulu/DET had. This finding suggests that the behaviour of the pupils shown in video 1 was more congruent with their schema of pupil classroom behaviour.

5.3.1.2 Analysis of recalls of the start of video 2

All 10 subjects who viewed video 2 in their narratives use negative, evaluative language about the behaviour of the pupils at the start of the lesson. Subjects recall that the pupils were '*very undisciplined*' and '*not concentrating at all*' (D11 lines 11

¹⁷ For a fuller account of the function of omissions refer to section 3.4.5.1 of this study.

& 20, KwaZulu/DET); they *'ignored him'* [the teacher] (D12 line 22, KwaZulu/DET); they were *'misbehaving'*, *'making noise'* and *'rushing around'* (D13 lines 2, 5 & 6, KwaZulu/DET); were *'not disciplined'* and *'rude'* (D14 line 2 - 3, KwaZulu/DET); *'there was chaos in the class'* (D15 line 8, NED); *'the pupils are doing their own thing'* (D16 line 5, NED and D18 line 8, HOD); they were *'very rowdy'* and *'disobedient'* (D17 lines 8 - 10, HOD); the class was said to be in *'utter chaos'* and the pupils *'paid no heed'* (D19 lines 4 & 16, HOD).

The choice of negative evaluative terms clearly indicates that these respondents found the behaviour of the pupils in video 2 surprising and unacceptable. It reveals also that it is more surprising to subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET and HOD than to those who attended schools administered by the NED.

Subject 11, who attended a school administered by KwaZulu/DET, narrated as follows:

- 10 *The class .. the students*
- 11 *he.. he has look very undisciplined...*
- 12 *The others were look like punks..*
- 13 *they have big hair ..*
- 14 *others .. guys .. have earrings and er..*
- 15 *sometimes fooling around*
- 16 *and I just saw the student was ...*
- 17 *the.. the guy was hugging..*
- 18 *kissing the girls*
- 19 *in front of the teacher...*
- 20 *Other students were not concentrating at all.*
- 21 *They didn't even ...*
- 22 *it seems that they didn't even see*
- 23 *that the teacher was there*
- 24 *because they were throwing papers.*

This student offers here a very detailed and interpretive account of the appearance and behaviour of the pupils which reveals how much her expectations of classroom interaction have been violated. The use of the evaluative adverb *'very'* (line 11) suggests that the pupils are more undisciplined than she would have expected. Her choice of the word *'punks'* (line 12) to describe the pupils is also evaluative. *'Punk'* is a colloquial term used to describe young people who are members of a group or cult who enjoy a particular brand of music and can be identified by their unconventional appearance. Pupils in a classroom would not normally be associated with punks. The subject goes on to mention the pupils' *'big hair'* (line 13) and the fact that *'others .. guys .. have earrings'* (line 14). The pauses before and after the word *'guys'* reinforces the unexpectedness of males wearing earrings at school. The pauses and false start¹⁸ in lines 16 and 17 suggest that the subject views pupils *'hugging... kissing the girls in front of the teacher'* as surprising.

As in the recalls of subjects No. 1 and 5 which were discussed in section 5.3.1.1, pupil concentration seems to be a key expectation of pupils in the classroom. This subject says that the pupils were *'not concentrating at all'* (line 20). As I mentioned earlier in this section negatives are used when the opposite is expected, thus the use of *'not'* serves to point to an expectation that pupils should concentrate in class, while the evaluative, *'at all'*, serves to emphasise further that the expectation has not been met.

The use of the negative followed by the hedge, *'didn't even'* in line 21 and then repeated, *'they didn't even see that the teacher was there'* in line 22 and 23, suggests that the subject views the pupils' not being aware of the teacher's presence as extremely surprising. Tannen says "even" implies that this would be the least one might expect... "Even" intensifies the effect of the negative statement' (1979:169).

¹⁸ For a fuller account of the function of false starts refer to section 3.4.5.3 of this study.

This phrase is then repeated in the next line, the repetition further emphasising the unexpectedness of the pupils' behaviour.

Tannen says that 'the most extreme evidence of a speaker's expectations lies in the process of addition: the mention of a character or episode that was not in the film at all.' (1979:177). Line 24 of the narrative is an addition¹⁹. The subject incorrectly adds to her recall that the pupils '*were throwing papers*'. According to Tannen, addition occurs when subjects build on what they have seen by adding something they did not because, based on their expectations, it would have been likely. In this case the subject has the schema that pupils throw paper around when they are behaving badly and thus she adds it to her recall. This schema is apparently shared by both the subjects who attended schools controlled by the NED as subjects 15 and 16 both add to their narratives that the pupils are throwing paper around the classroom.

The preceding analysis focuses on the recall of only one subject, but the recalls of all the subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET reveal similar violations of their expectations.

The surface linguistic forms used by subject 20 who attended a school administered by the HOD reveals that the behaviour and attitude of the pupils violated her expectations. She devotes her entire narrative to describing and evaluating the behaviour of the pupils.

¹⁹ For a fuller account of the function of addition refer to section 3.4.5.16 of this study.

1 *OK er... and I basically saw the same thing*
 2 *the class was sitting*
 3 *with er.. pupils*
 4 *that didn't bother*
 5 *whether the teacher was there*
 6 *or wasn't there*
 7 *they have no respect whatsoever*
 8 *when he did come in to the classroom*
 9 *they didn't ..they didn't care*
 10 *they just did their own thing*
 11 *spoke*
 12 *they ate*
 13 *even though he was trying to teach them*
 14 *he.. they didn't bother*
 15 *they eventually walked out the class*
 16 *in their own time*
 17 *whatever time they felt like*
 18 *and..um.. they were adolescents*
 19 *they didn't really care*
 20 *they had no respect whatsoever*
 21 *they basically...*
 22 *they basically..*
 23 *don't listen*
 24 *and they have no..*
 25 *they have no.....*
 26 *I mean... (long silence)*
 27 *they have no desire to learn or to be educated..*
 28 *and they just like being lazy and ignorant.*

In a narrative consisting of 129 words, this subject used 12 negatives which is just under 10% of the narrative. As I have said before, the use of a negative suggests that the subject expected the affirmative. The many negatives used in this recall indicate how much this subject's schema of classroom behaviour has been violated.

According to Tannen (1979) what is omitted from a narrative indicates expectations, especially when considered against what the narrator has chosen to include i.e. narrators tend to omit what for them is highly expectable and therefore is not

remarkable enough to ‘deserve’ comment. In this case the subject omits all the action while focusing on the pupils’ on-task classroom behaviour e.g. she selectively omits the second scene of the video where the pupils are sitting and attending. She also infers they have ‘*no desire to learn or to be educated*’ (line 27) before judging them, saying, ‘*they just like being lazy and ignorant*’ (line 28). An inference²⁰ is a proposition which could not be known by simply watching the video. In this case the subject could not know that the pupils have ‘*no desire to learn or to be educated*’ (line 27) but she states it as categorically as if she does. She believes that this is true based on her interpretation of what she saw in the video against the background of her own schemata. Tannen says that moral judgements²¹ ‘come entirely from the speaker’s frames or knowledge of the world and are imposed on the events of the film.’ (1979:175) The subject’s moral judgement that the pupils ‘*just like being lazy and ignorant*’ (line 28) is a clear indication that she has imposed her own schemata on the events.

The narratives of subjects 15 and 16 who both attended schools administered by the NED reveal that the behaviour of the pupils in video 2 was less surprising to them. They both referred specifically to the setting of the video in their narratives. Subject 15 identified it as an ‘*American school*’ (D15 line 1), while subject 16 said, ‘*it was in a... typical classroom scene like overseas where.. all the.. the pupils are doing their own thing*’ (D16 lines 2-5). This response suggests that their schematic knowledge includes awareness of diversity in pupil behaviour in the classroom in various parts of the world. It suggests that they would expect social relations between pupils and

²⁰ For a fuller account of inferences and their function refer to section 3.4.5.11 of this study.

²¹ For a fuller account of the function of moral judgements refer to section 3.4.5.14 of this study.

teachers to be more symmetrical in some other countries. The use of the word *'typical'* by subject 16 suggests that the behaviour in the video corresponds to that subject's stereotypical perception of what classroom behaviour is like overseas. At the same time, implicit in this comment is an assumption that pupil behaviour in the classroom is different in South Africa i.e. this behaviour is not typical of classroom interaction in South Africa. This suggests that subjects who attended schools administered by the HOD and KwaZulu/DET have different schemata for social relations between teachers and pupils in the classrooms overseas or have more limited knowledge of social relations in school contexts overseas.

It is clear from the above analysis that subjects who attended schools controlled by KwaZulu/DET have differing schemata of what constitutes acceptable pupil behaviour during a lesson from those respondents who attended schools controlled by the NED or HOD. Analysis of recalls of KwaZulu/DET subjects revealed expectations of asymmetrical relations. This is consistent with Chick's (1986) finding that in his data the targeted interactional style of Zulu-English speakers includes a pattern of politeness behaviours associated with asymmetrical social relations, namely, solidarity politeness from the dominant speaker and deference politeness from the subordinate speaker. The results of the analysis of the quantitative data and the interviews reported in Chapter 4 confirm that there is the expectation of greater distance between pupils and teachers in KwaZulu/DET schools than in NED or HOD schools.

5.3.2 Expectations about the teacher's behaviour at the start of each lesson

Expectations about the classroom behaviour of teachers engaged in teaching a lesson are evident in the surface form of the narratives of the subjects who viewed the video

clips. The analyses of the narratives reveal that the subjects who attended schools administered by the HOD and NED focused more closely on the behaviour of the teacher rather than the pupils compared with the subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET.

5.3.2.1 Analysis of recalls of the start of video 1

A careful examination of the surface form of the narratives suggests that the behaviour of the teacher in video 1 matches the expectations of the subjects from all three authorities more closely than the behaviour of the teacher in video 2.

Only one of the subjects (No 3, KwaZulu/DET) made any comment about the teacher's teaching ability i.e. made an evaluative comment. She evaluated him as *'not a good teacher'* (D13 line 6) because *'they're [the pupils] just doing another thing while he's still busy teaching them'* (D13 lines 8 - 9). As noted earlier, the use of negatives, suggests that an expectation is not being met. The use of the word *'not'* suggests that this subject's expectations of a good teacher have been violated. Her choice of the hedge²², *'just'* followed by the evaluative *'still busy'* further suggests that she finds his continuing teaching while the pupils are not attending surprising.

Again as noted earlier, omission from a narrative, according to Tannen (1979 & 1980), can indicate a subject's schemata, particularly when contrasted to what has been included. Thus the fact that the rest of the subjects do not evaluate the teacher in video 1 suggests that they saw nothing out of the ordinary in his performance in front of the class and that he fulfils their expectations of a teacher.

²² For a fuller account of the function of hedges refer to section 3.4.5.5 of this study.

Two of the three subjects who attended schools administered by the NED (nos 7 and 8) and one of the two subjects who attended schools administered by the HOD (no 9) mention in their narratives that the teacher began the lesson sitting behind a desk reading out of a book while none of the five subjects who attended KwaZulu/DET administered schools mention this. Subject 7 (NED) says the teacher *'is sitting at his desk. He's got a book open...'* (D7 lines 6 & 7), Subject 8 (NED) says, *'he's sitting behind this desk with like a big book in front of him'* (D8 lines 5 & 6), while Subject 9 (HOD) says, *'this teacher .. was sitting.. um.. at his desk'* (D9 line 2 & 3). In this case it seems that a teacher delivering a lesson by sitting behind a desk and reading from a book is less remarkable to subjects who attended KwaZulu/DET administered schools, and unusual and consequently worthy of mention by the subjects who attended NED and HOD administered schools.

5.3.2.2 Analysis of recalls at the start of video 2

The overwhelming majority of the subjects evaluated the beginning of the first lesson portrayed in the second video clip. Many of the subjects negatively evaluate the teacher in video 2 as having *'tried'* or *'trying'* to teach or maintain discipline in the class. This suggests that although they recognise that an attempt is being made, they judge the attempt as unsuccessful. Although the surface forms of the recalls suggest that the teacher's behaviour is surprising, however, to all subjects, it is apparently less surprising to the subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET than to those from other authorities.

Subject 11 (KwaZulu/DET) says the teacher was, *'...sort of teaching'* (D11 line 6), the pause followed by the hedge *'sort of'* qualifying the participle, *'teaching'* suggests that her expectation of teaching is not quite being fulfilled i.e. her expectation has

not been greatly violated.

The narratives of subjects 12, 13 and 14 all of whom had attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET tend to focus on the behaviour of the pupils rather than the teacher. Subject 12 recalls, '*so he started his lesson and the students were not paying much attention to him*' (D12 lines 16 - 18). The use of the negative '*not*' followed by the hedge '*much*' which qualifies the noun '*attention*', suggests that the behaviour was not very surprising.

Subject 13 (KwaZulu/DET) says that the teacher '*was trying ..er.. to teach them..*' (D13 line 7) and that '*the teacher didn't stop them doing that*' (D13 line 12). The choice of the negative, '*didn't*' suggests that she finds it surprising that the teacher did not check the pupils' bad behaviour.

Subject 14 (KwaZulu/DET) says, '*when the teacher entered the room he told them to be... to discipline themselves and.. listen to what he's going to tell them*' (D14 lines 4 - 8). This is an inference. The subject infers what the teacher said to the class and her inference suggests what her own expectation is of what a teacher would say to a class that was behaving badly.

Various aspects of the surface form of the first 41 lines of the narrative of subject No 15 who attended a school administered by the NED point to her expectations of teachers. In part of this she recalls:

9 *and then the teacher walked in*
 10 *but he was late*
 11 *so nobody even knew*
 12 *that he was standing in front of the classroom*
 13 *so.. um...*
 14 *he tried to talk to them*

15 *he wrote his name on the board*
 16 *but everyone just laughed..*
 17 *laughed it off*

The choice of the contrastive connective *'but'* (line 10) points to the denial of the expectation and introduces a negative statement. This suggests that the subject expects that teachers will be punctual. The statement *'he was late'* which follows *'but'* is presumably an inference because the subject has no way of knowing that the teacher was late. She presumably infers this in order to explain the behaviour of the pupils that did not meet her expectations. The use of the connective, *'so'* (line 11) serves to explain why the pupils ignored his presence and shifts the responsibility for the behaviour of the pupils to the teacher. Later in the narrative she says: *'he tried to talk to them'* (line 14), *'he tried to get them settled down'* (line 21) and *'he tried to get some organization'* (line 24). Her repetition²³ of the verb *'tried'* re-emphasises the teacher's failure and the unexpectedness of this. She ends this section of her narrative by saying:

36 *so.. um.. it didn't look like*
 37 *he was going to be a very good teacher*
 38 *but then...*
 39 *it didn't look like he was enthusiastic...*

Her choice of the connective *'so'* (line 36) suggests that her preceding narrative has supported and explained the judgement which is to follow. Her use of the negative *'didn't'* (line 36) followed by the evaluative, *'very good'* (line 37) soften her criticism of his teaching. The contrastive connective, *'but then...'* (line 38) followed by a pause, however, marks the denial of the preceding clause and introduces a negative

²³ For a fuller account of the functions of repetition refer to section 3.4.5.2 of this study.

statement *'didn't look like he was enthusiastic'* (line 39) suggesting that the teacher has violated her expectations that a teacher should be enthusiastic and that in her judgement of his performance he was unlikely to be successful as a teacher.

Subjects 16, who attended a school administered by the NED, and 18, who attended a school administered by the HOD, both comment on the teacher's physical appearance. Subject 16 (NED) refers to the teacher as *'a typical nerdy kind of teacher.. with glasses.. he's got like a bald head'* (D16 lines 13 - 15). Subject 18 (HOD) describes the teacher as *'a bald man looking absolutely goofy with his thick glasses..'* (D18 lines 11 & 12). Later in the narrative she says he *'looks so comical considering he's fat'* (D18 line 55) and that he has *'big ugly eyes'* (D18 line 66).

It seems, then, that the subjects who comment on the teacher's looks negatively stereotype the teacher using the sort of labels used by American teenage high school pupils. It is possible that through the mass media HOD and NED pupils have been exposed to the discourse of American teenagers and to some extent construct a representation of their own world in terms of it.

Canaan (1987) researched teenage cliques in the United States and discovered that a three-tiered ranking system operates among American high school pupils. The highest ranking groups are labelled 'cool' while the lowest ranking groups are labelled 'brains', 'goody-goodies' and 'wimps'. She describes the highest ranking group as follows:

In school, [cool] kids display their cool by engaging in extra-curricular activities, telling jokes, teasing classmates, and dressing right. Underlying the particulars of performance is self-confidence (1987:388).

The members of the lowest group are 'distinguished in part for their excessive compliance with adult values' (1987:404). The behaviour of low group 'wimps' is characterised by their ineffectual behaviour, while 'brains' are viewed ambivalently. They are looked down upon because they conform to adult expectations but 'judged somewhat positively for their academic achievement' (1987:391).

The use of the adjectives '*nerdy*' (D16 line 13) and '*goofy*' (D18 line 11) are evaluative and parallel the use of 'wimp' and 'brain' in Canaan's research. A nerd is a slang term for a person who is narrowly scholarly. Nerds are typically, absent-minded, have a puny physique and recoil from physical activity, are pale in complexion and wear thick spectacles, similar to 'brains' and 'wimps' in Canaan's research. 'Goofy' is a word which means rather slow and stupid, derived from the Walt Disney cartoon character of the same name. Both 'goofy' and 'nerds' are portrayed as victims and are often the butt of jokes and ridicule. In the school context they would be used to characterise members of the low group.

The comment that the teacher has '*a bald head*' (D16 line 15) is inaccurate. Although his hair is thinning on top he has very thick black hair on the sides. The comments made by Subject 18 that the teacher is '*fat*' (D18 line 55) and has '*big ugly eyes*' (D18 line 66) are also evaluative. The choice of the word '*typical*' (D16 line 13) to describe the appearance of the teacher suggests that she views him as a teacher stereotype. In these accounts the subjects are evaluating the teacher according to their own knowledge of 'in' and 'out' crowd behaviour. They negatively evaluate the teacher as being a member of an 'out' crowd or a low ranking group because of his appearance and behaviour. Implicit in this is a schemata which recognises the behaviour of the pupils in the video as 'in crowd' or 'cool'.

The narrative of Subject 18 (HOD) includes other indications that the teacher is

being stereotyped as a member of a 'low group'. She recalls:

22 *and I think he wasn't prepared for his lesson..*
 23 *he couldn't find the chalk*
 24 *and the whole class started laughing at him*
 25 *and started walking out*
 26 *so he wanted to know from the class*
 27 *who took the chalk*

Line 22, '*and I think he wasn't prepared for his lesson*', is what Tannen (1979) categorises a moral judgement. The subject cannot know from watching the video whether the teacher has prepared the lesson or not but this judgement reveals her schema that a teacher should prepare for lessons. Line 23, '*he couldn't find the chalk*' is an incorrect statement²⁴ because in the video the teacher picked up the chalk and used it to write on the board. Lines 24 and 25, '*and the whole class started laughing at him and started walking out*' are also incorrect statements. While pupils in the class were interacting with each other they were ignoring the teacher. They did not laugh at him neither did they walk out at this point. Lines 26 and 27, '*so he wanted to know from the class who took the chalk*' is an inference. The teacher is talking, but as the video was shown without sound she cannot know what he is saying. This recall suggests that the teacher is being negatively evaluated according to their schemata of teenage 'in' and 'out' group behaviour. In their terms the absent minded, socially inept 'nerd' would be unprepared for a lesson and unable to find the chalk, while the weak and ineffectual 'wimp' would tolerate pupils laughing at him and openly defying him.

²⁴ For a fuller account of the function of incorrect statements refer to section 3.4.5.15 of this study.

5.3.3 Conclusion

The above analyses indicate a difference in the schemata of subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET and those who attended schools administered by the NED and HOD. These differences are evident in the different focus of the narratives: the KwaZulu/DET subjects focus more closely on the behaviour of the pupils, while the NED and HOD subjects focus more closely on the behaviour of the teacher. It is clear too that subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET found the behaviour of the pupils in both videos more unexpected than subjects who attended schools administered by the NED and HOD, while the subjects who attended schools administered by the NED and HOD found the behaviour of the teachers more unexpected than the subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET.

A further finding is that some pupils who attended schools administered by the NED and HOD negatively stereotype the teacher using the sort of 'in group'/'out group' labels used by American teenagers. This could be because exposure to the mass media (television) has influenced their schemata and led them to construct a representation of their own world in terms of this.

5.4 Expectations revealed in the analysis of recalls of the incident of pupils tearing pages out of their textbook

The narratives of the incident in video 1 where the boys tear out pages from their textbook provides evidence of a range of schemata. For reasons of scope I will focus on just three of these. Firstly, the narratives point to schemata relating to teacher and school values and behaviour consistent with such values. Their recalls show that

the subjects have expectations that teachers will discourage rather than encourage the defacing of textbooks. Secondly, there is evidence in the surface forms of the narratives of expectations of the relationship between teachers and pupils. Thirdly, in their recall of the man entering the classroom the subjects reveal their schema of authority figures in the social context of the school.

5.4.1 Expectations about teacher and school values

Most of the subjects who viewed Video 1 revealed through their narratives that the tearing out of the pages from the textbook violated their expectations. Eight of the nine subjects mentioned this incident in varying degrees of detail and in all of these the surface linguistic forms they used showed that this event was unexpected.

Subject 1 who attended a school administered by KwaZulu/DET makes no reference to (i.e. omits) what she saw on the first part of the tape and begins her narrative at the point when they are tearing the pages out of the book. This break in the temporal order of the narrative and the foregrounding of this incident reflects how very unexpected this incident is to her. She refers to the incident saying, '*suddenly we saw the.. the children .. taking off the pages.. of.. of a certain book*' (D1 lines 6 & 7). She omits mentioning at this point that the pupils were following a directive issued by the teacher. I have classified this as an inexact statement. According to Tannen inexact statements²⁵ 'relate to what was in fact shown in the film, but they do not report events precisely as they occurred. They are fuzzy or slightly altered.' (1979:171). A schema operates as a selection process and here the subject finds that a teacher issuing a directive such as this is so unexpected she selectively fails to

²⁵ For a fuller account of the function of inexact statements refer to section 3.4.5.9 of this study.

mention it. She does provide this information but only much later in her narrative when she says, *'I think that he was telling the.. the children... maybe he was explaining.. to the pupils why he said they must rip that book off..'* (D1 lines 31 - 33). The use of the hedges *'I think'* and *'maybe'*, and the false start where the participle *'telling'* is replaced by *'explaining'* suggest that the subject considers an explanation is necessary given the unexpectedness of the actions.

Her choice of the modal *'must'* (D1 line 33) is also significant. Tannen says that the choice of the modal²⁶ *'must'* *'reflect[s] the speaker's judgement according to her own standards and experience.'* (1979:170/171). The subject's choice of this modal suggests a schema in terms of which pupils are expected to follow a teacher's instruction without question.

Subject 5, who attended a school administered by KwaZulu/DET, recalls the incident incorrectly, stating that the teacher is unaware of what the pupils are doing. She recalls,

- 30 [the teacher] *talks to them*
 31 *and as he goes on*
 32 *and goes on*
 33 *some of the students take out the pages*
 34 *from the books like*
 35 *they tear the pages from the book.. OK?*
 36 *a-n-d he's not aware of it*
 37 *the teacher it seems*
 38 *at this stage*
 39 *is just not even awake*
 40 *and he goes to the other room*
 41 *and as he goes to the other room*
 42 *the whole of the class does the same thing*
 43 *they take the pages from the book*

²⁶ For more information on the function of modals refer to section 3.4.5.8 of this study.

An incorrect statement is a false recollection and according to Tannen (1979) reflects the subject's preconception. In this case the teacher's behaviour is so unexpected and violates her expectation so much that she incorrectly recalls the incident. Her use of the negative in, '*not aware*' (line 36) followed by the hedges and negative in '*just not even awake*' (line 39) reveals her expectation that the teacher should have been alert to such behaviour and if he had been he would have taken some action. Her use of '*Okay?*' at the end of line 35 suggests that she is checking the comprehension of the listener by drawing attention to the expectedness of the preceding statement.

Near the end of her narrative she says that he handed around the rubbish bin '*like he was aware that they were tearing the papers from the book*' (D5 lines 61 & 62). In this case the use of the word '*like*' is similar to 'as if' indicating doubt that he knew this had been going on. At no stage does she suggest that he is responsible for the pupils' behaviour. Her inaccurate recall suggests that she cannot conceive of a teacher instructing pupils to do such a thing.

Subject 7 who attended a school administered by the NED, mentions the tearing out of the pages but, like subject 1 (KwaZulu/DET) and subject 5 (KwaZulu/DET), omits to say that this was done on the instructions of the teacher. Subjects 4 (KwaZulu/DET), 8 (NED), 9 (HOD) and 10 (HOD) all hesitate, making false starts and backtracking²⁷, before providing this information. These are all signs that an expectation has not been met.

From these responses it is clear that the subjects, irrespective of which school they attended, have a common schema about school and teacher values that includes

²⁷ For a fuller account of the functions of backtracks refer to section 3.4.5.4 of this study.

respect for textbooks. This in turn leads to expectations that teachers will discourage the defacing of books and this expectation is clear from their narratives.

The reason for the similarity in the subjects' schemata is because literacy is no doubt highly valued universally in educational institutions. Historically, literacy was the property of the elite and was, in part, the means through which the elite maintained their power. Literacy, moreover, has long been viewed as a primary means of empowerment in almost all fields of endeavour. It can be argued that the main purpose of schooling is to teach pupils to be literate. Teachers, therefore, by the nature of their vocation, are expected to value the written word and discourage the defacing of books.

5.4.2 Expectations about doing whatever the teacher asks

It is clear from the analysis presented in 5.4.1 that all the subjects found the incident of the tearing out of pages from the textbook unexpected, revealing evidence of a similar schemata of this. The narratives of this incident also reveal expectations about relations between pupils and teachers, and about how pupils should respond to a teacher's instruction when they consider it unexpected, inappropriate and unacceptable.

The narratives of 3 of the 4 subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET reveal that they expect that pupils will do what teachers ask them to. Subject 4 says:

- 8 *Then the teacher he said .. he said to them*
- 9 *they must tear off their pages..*
- 10 *Then they do that..*

- 11 *and the .. the one boy did not do that ..*
 12 *he only write down the number line*
 13 *only he didn't tear the pages of his book...*

In line 8 the repetition of *'he said'* serves to emphasise the unexpectedness of the instruction. However, the compulsion to follow the instruction is expressed in the choice of the modal *'must'* (line 9). *'Then they do it'* (line 10) follows naturally as a consequence of the instruction given in the sentence before. Line 11, *'the one boy did not do that'*, repeated after intervening commentary by, *'he didn't tear the pages of his book'* (line 13), provides clear evidence of the subject's surprise at the boy's failure to do what he was asked. The repetition of the hedge *'only'* (lines 12 & 13) also signals surprise.

Two of the three subjects who attended schools administered by the NED revealed their expectation of lesser compulsion to do whatever the teacher asks if it is inappropriate or unacceptable. Subject 6 (NED) narrates,

- 4 *... he told them*
 5 *to tear out the pages of their book..*
 6 *Most of them didn't know*
 7 *how to react to this sort of thing*
 8 *but after a while..*
 9 *they all tore out the pages of the book and*
 10 *it seemed to be amusing..*

Her choice of the verb *'told'* (line 4) perhaps suggests that the subject understood the teacher to request rather than order the pupils to follow his instructions. She further suggests that the pupils did not follow the teacher's instruction directly and without question. The subject infers that *'most of them didn't know how to react'* (lines 6 - 7), followed by the contrastive connective *'but'* (line 8) which suggests that the subject might have expected the pupils not to follow the instruction i.e. they are

considering their options before deciding whether to follow the instruction or not. There is a break in the temporal order of the narrative '*after a while*' (line 8) as the pupils continue to consider their options before complying with the teacher's instruction. She follows with another inference, '*it seemed to be amusing*' (line 10) suggesting that such an unusual instruction would generate amusement among the pupils.

The narrative of Subject 8, who attended a school administered by the NED, reveals a similar schemata to that of Subject 6. She says that the teacher '*tells*' (line 28) the pupils to tear their pages out. She also suggests that the pupils pause to consider their actions and only follow the instruction after '*... one boy at the back just rips it out... goes like this or whatever... and sticks his hand up... and then everyone starts ripping*' (lines 38 - 42). This suggests that she has a schema that pupils do not follow instructions without considering them first and what the consequences of following or not following them might be.

Analysis of the surface form of the recalls of two subjects who attended schools administered by the HOD suggest a schema in which pupils are allowed even greater flexibility in following instructions from teachers. Subject 9 who attended a school administered by the HOD recalls,

19 *then he tells them to..um..*
 20 *tear the pages off their poetry textbooks*
 21 *er... um... and then well the guys...*
 22 *these guys look stunned*
 23 *and.. you know like shocked*
 24 *and so... they.. well anyway..*
 25 *they take it out*

Like Subject 8 (NED) she also uses the verb '*tells*' (line 19) to describe the teacher's

instruction. Her narrative is full of pauses and false starts and she uses the evaluative words '*stunned*' (line 22) and '*shocked*' (line 23) to describe the pupils' reaction, suggesting how unexpected and shocking the instruction is to her. The false starts '*and so... they.. well anyway..*' (line 24) suggest that her expectation that they would not follow so shocking an instruction, has been violated.

Subject 10, who attended a school administered by the HOD, says that the teacher '*asked the children to tear off the pages from their textbooks*' (line 11 - 12). Her choice of the word '*asked*' suggests that they can choose what they want to do, that there is no compulsion to do what they have been requested and it would be easy for them to refuse. She goes on, '*and .. er.. they.. er.. they.. just started ripping off the pages*' (lines 13 - 14). The false starts and hesitations followed by the hedge '*just*' suggest that they have violated her expectation that they would refuse to follow such an outrageous instruction.

The above analysis suggests that the subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET have a schema that pupils must do what the teacher asks without question, while the subjects who attended schools administered by the NED and HOD have a schema that teachers are not obeyed unquestioningly when they issue inappropriate instructions.

It is significant to note that this difference between KwaZulu/DET subjects on the one hand and NED/HOD on the other emerged also from the quantitative study. Respondents who attended schools administered by the NED, HOR and KwaZulu/DET registered mean agreement with the statement *Pupils should do whatever the teacher asks* (No. 37) while respondents who attended schools

administered by the HOD registered mean disagreement²⁸. The responses of NED respondents, although registering mean agreement, were closer to HOD respondents than KwaZulu/DET respondents. A glance at Fig. 13 in section 4.5.1 of this study reveals that KwaZulu/DET respondents showed much greater mean agreement with the statement (0.66) than NED respondents (0.07). This placed the responses of NED respondents closer to that of the HOD respondents (-0.06) than that of KwaZulu/DET respondents.

The results of the recall suggest that there is some ambivalence about whether the differences in the surface forms used by the subjects suggest differences in the degree of asymmetry in power relations or differences in the degree of shock at the behaviour of the pupils in the video. The results of the qualitative study assist in resolving this ambivalence and concluding that all students view teachers as figures to be obeyed, but KwaZulu/DET students are more likely to follow their instructions without question. Subjects who attended schools administered by the NED and HOD will also follow the teacher's instructions, but will question these instructions when they violate other strongly held values.

5.4.3 Expectations about authority in the school

In video 1 a man enters the classroom while the pupils are tearing the pages out of their textbooks and the teacher is out of the room. The narratives of this incident provide further insight into the subjects' expectations about social relations of power in the social context of the school.

²⁸ For a full account of the results refer to section 4.5.1 of this study.

In the course of narrating seven of the nine subjects used interpretive naming²⁹ when they referred variously to the man as *'the headmaster'* (Subject 4 (KwaZulu/DET), Subject 6 (NED), Subject 7 (NED) and Subject 8 (NED)), *'the principal'* (Subject 4 (KwaZulu/DET), Subject 9 (HOD) and Subject 10 (HOD)) and *'schoolmaster'* (Subject 1 (KwaZulu/DET)). Interpretive naming is when the subjects use a noun to name an object or person thereby providing more information than the video presented.

Six of the nine subjects who viewed video 1 inferred that the man came in because he wanted to know *'what was going on'* (Subject 1 (KwaZulu/DET), Subject 4 (KwaZulu/DET), Subject 6 (NED), Subject 8 (NED), Subject 9 (HOD) and Subject 10 (HOD)), while three of the subjects inferred that he was *'angry'* (Subject 5 (KwaZulu/DET), Subject 6 (NED) and Subject 9 (HOD)) and one made an incorrect statement recalling that *'he starts like shouting at them'* (D7 line 35, NED). This suggests that the subjects, irrespective of group, expected that the events depicted in the video (i.e. the teacher's handling of the class, the tearing of pages out of a book) would be viewed negatively by those in authority at the school.

It is significant that in the recall data all the subjects who attended schools administered by the NED and HOD see the man as a school authority, i.e. *'the principal'* or *'the headmaster'* while only one of the four subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET (Subject 4) does so. Of the remaining three subjects who attended KwaZulu/DET schools one refers to him as *'schoolmaster'* (Subject 1), one mentions the incident but refers to the man as *'someone'* (Subject 5), while Subject 3 does not recall the incident at all. These lexical choices suggest that the subjects who attended schools administered by the NED and HOD expect

²⁹ For a fuller account of the function of interpretive naming refer to section 3.4.5.13 of this study.

that the only person who would enter the classroom of a teacher in such a manner would be someone with the institutional authority to do so, for example, *'the headmaster'* or *'the principal'*, while for subjects who attended KwaZulu/DET administered schools another *'schoolmaster'* or any adult can do this i.e. even if not armed with institutional authority - just being an adult is enough.

This finding is supported by evidence from the interviews discussed in section 4.5.1. All the students interviewed emphasised the asymmetrical relationship which exists in Zulu culture between children and adults.

5.5 Expectations about confrontation with the two latecomers in video 2

Nine of the ten subjects who viewed video 2 mentioned the two pupils who arrived late for class and all of them interpreted their behaviour and evaluated it negatively.

This part of the subjects' narratives contain many evaluative words and phrases. They are described as looking *'like they were gonna shoot him [the teacher]'* (D11 line 65, KwaZulu/DET), as showing *'no good manners to him [the teacher]'* (D12 line 49, KwaZulu/DET), *'they come in approaching him [the teacher] in the wrong way'* (D13 line 29, KwaZulu/DET). They looked like *'real heavies'* (D16 line 44, NED), were *'troublemakers'* (D17 line 23, HOD), *'rebellious'* (D18 line 49, HOD) and *'thugs'* (D19 line 64, HOD), suggesting that their behaviour is unexpected and unacceptable to all the groups of subjects.

Four of the subjects recognised that the pupil had used an insulting sign to the teacher. Subject 12, who attended a school administered by KwaZulu/DET, says

that *'the guy just pointed to him the.. the finger.. the middle finger... they show him some kind of an insult'* (D12 lines 59 - 61) indicating that she is aware that the sign is an insulting one. She uses the hedge, *'some kind'*, to avoid expanding on the insult, while the other three subjects (No. 15 NED, No. 16 NED and No. 19 HOD) all laugh or giggle after narrating this incident, suggesting that they are embarrassed by this action which they find unexpected and inappropriate. Subject No 19 (HOD) says that *'this guy like said... pointed the middle finger to him.. so the teacher didn't take offence at anything (giggling)'* (D19 line 82 - 84). Her use of the negative *'didn't'* suggests that she would have expected the teacher to be offended and the fact that he was not, was surprising to her.

These findings indicate that there are many areas of commonality in the narratives, suggesting considerable commonality in the schemata of the subjects from different groups. All the subjects show in their choice of the surface form of their recalls that the behaviour of the latecomers is unacceptable and inappropriate and that they would expect pupils to approach a teacher in a politer, more deferential manner. They all express surprise and embarrassment that a pupil should use a rude sign openly to a teacher.

The quantitative study revealed differences in the responses of the groups to the teacher expectation statement, *Teachers should treat students as social equals of teachers* (No. 56). The results³⁰ revealed that respondents who attended schools administered by the NED, HOD and HOR registered mean disagreement to this statement while the respondents who attended schools administered by KwaZulu- /DET registered mean agreement.

³⁰ For the full results of the quantitative study refer to Figs 14 and 15 section 4.5.2 of this study

Thus the results of the qualitative study does not verify this finding of quantitative study. The recall data suggests that subjects from all groups have a schema of teachers being treated with respect and deference. The interviews reported on in section 4.5.2 also pointed to asymmetrical relations between teachers and pupils in KwaZulu/DET schools. The only explanation of this contradiction elicited in the interviews with selected students (see section 4.5.2) came from student D, who felt that the respondents might have confused the statement (*Teachers should treat students as the social equals of teachers*(No 56)) as meaning that the teacher should treat all students equally. I can only assume therefore that KwaZulu/DET students misinterpreted the statement in the quantitative study.

5.6 Expectations about pupils' taking notes during the lesson

The subjects' narratives indicate a difference in the schemata relating to pupils taking down notes during the lesson shown in video 1.

Two of the four subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET generalized³¹ in their recalls of this incident. According to Tannen (1979) generalization is when one action is recalled as being more than one. In video 1 the camera focused on one boy with red hair who was copying down what the teacher wrote on the chalkboard. In their narratives the action of this one pupil is recalled as that of all the pupils. None of the subjects who attended schools administered by the HOD and NED, however, mentioned that the pupils were required to copy down what the teacher was writing on the chalkboard.

³¹ For a fuller account of the function of generalizations refer to section 3.4.5.10 of this study.

Subject 4 (KwaZulu/DET) narrates:

- 4 *the teacher was teaching them*
 5 *they were busy doing their things*
 6 *and ... other they were copying the summary of the number line*
 7 *and others were reading their books...*

In line 5 she says that the pupils were '*busy doing their things*' which I presume to mean the things that pupils should be doing during a lesson. Then in lines 6 and 7 she elaborates, saying they were '*copying the summary*' and '*reading their books*'. Her choice of the pronouns '*them*', '*they*' and '*their*' suggests that all the pupils are active in the same way.

Subject 5 (KwaZulu/DET) also generalizes when she recalls that the pupils are actively involved. She says

- 20 *a-n-d they have to copy down and think*
 21 *because that's what they do*

Her choice of the words '*have to*' (D5 line 20) function in the same way as the modal '*must*' suggesting her expectation that all pupils should '*copy down and think*'. Line 21, '*because that's what they do*' suggests that the pupils are all following the teacher's directive.

The phenomenon of generalization is an intriguing one. Tannen speculates that it may reflect 'the nature of art, in this case the movie, in which a single instant is understood to represent multiple instances' (1979:172). She also speculates that it may support 'Bartlett's hypothesis of constructive memory, by which memory is seen as a process of storing individual images and recalling them as representative of numerous instances, based on the structure of expectation'. (Tannen 1979:172).

The fact that the subjects who attended KwaZulu/DET schools recalled this incident while the others did not suggests that the behaviour of the pupil was unexpected to KwaZulu/DET subjects. The generalizations probably arose from the subjects' expectations that all the pupils would behave in the way the one pupil does. The expectation that pupils would act in concert could be seen as verifying findings of the quantitative studies that also address the issue of whether individual or joint responses are expected. In response to the statement, *Pupils should talk the same amount as other pupils in the class* (No 44), KwaZulu/DET subjects registered agreement while the other three groups registered disagreement. When questioned on this disparity in the interview student A suggested that this was a cultural issue. He said:

I would say in our culture [Zulu] we always believe in equal opportunity, in equality and whereas on the other side [schools controlled by the NED, HOD and HOR] I would understand most of the time they like to come out individuals... On this side they grow up together like this so they expect to be given the same amount of opportunity.

5.7 Expectations about the disciplining of pupils

Expectations about discipline abound in the recalls of video 2. As stated in 5.3.1.2 and 5.3.2.2 the pupils' behaviour and what is perceived as the teacher's failure to deal effectively with this behaviour was evaluated negatively by all the subjects. The narratives also reveal, however, the expectation that unacceptable behaviour will/should be dealt with in some concrete way, i.e. by some kind of discipline being imposed, and this is evident in their recalls.

Subject 11, who attended a school administered by KwaZulu/DET, says: *'and then*

the teacher he tried to.. um.. to dis... not in fact to discipline them... but to put them on their way' (D11 lines 70 - 72). A false start is when 'a statement is made or begun and then immediately repudiated or changed' (Tannen 1979:168). The false start made by subject 11 suggests that she would have expected the teacher to discipline the pupils in some way and this did not happen. The use of the negative *not* also suggests that an expectation has not been met. The contrastive connective '*but*' denies the expectation that the pupil should have been disciplined by the teacher and is followed by an inference, '*put them on their way*', indicating her expectation that the teacher has made some attempt to discipline the pupils.

Subject 13, who attended a school administered by KwaZulu/DET, recalls the unexpected behaviour of the pupils, then says, '*and the teacher didn't stop them doing that..*' (D13 line 12). The negative '*didn't*' suggests that he would have expected the teacher to stop the pupils behaving badly. Subject 14, who also attended a school administered by KwaZulu/DET, recalled,

5 *he told them to be ...*
 6 *to discipline themselves and..*
 7 *listen to what he's going to ..*
 8 *tell them .. and...*

This narrative is full of inferences about what the teacher was saying to the pupils e.g. that they should '*discipline themselves*' and listen to him, revealing the subject's expectations of what a teacher would say to pupils in that situation.

Subject 15, who attended a school administered by the NED, offers a very interpretive³² account of the teacher's methods of dealing with discipline. She recalls,

³² For a fuller account of the function of interpretation refer to section 3.4.5.13 of this study.

- 84 *he [the teacher] didn't laugh it off or anything...*
 85 *he.. decided...*
 86 *I don't know really what he did...*
 87 *but he made the other guy feel stupid..*

Her choice of the negative '*didn't*' suggests that given his earlier responses it might have been expected that he would simply ignore the bad behaviour. She goes on to infer that the teacher came to some sort of decision with regard to the disciplining of the pupil and that she did not know what it was. The contrastive connective '*but*' (line 87) suggests that while she does not know what the teacher did, he used some alternative strategy which, she infers, was the disciplinary tactic of humiliating the offender, i.e. '*made the other guy feel stupid*'.

Two of the subjects who attended schools administered by the HOD mention what they interpreted to be the teacher's attempts at maintaining discipline. Subject 17 says '*I think he's trying to discipline them..*' (D17 line 20), while Subject 19 recalls, '*he tries to like reprimand them... right? He tries to bring the class to order...*' (D19 lines 14 - 15). The subject's choice of the verbs '*trying*' and '*tries*' in these narratives suggests that the subject expected the teacher to discipline pupils. Subject 19 says, '*Right?*' in order to check the comprehension of her listener. This behaviour is so unexpected to her that she fears that her listener will not comprehend what is taking place.

This analysis provides evidence that all the subjects' expectations with regard to discipline have been violated. They are all surprised that the teacher did not discipline the pupils in some way. One of the two subjects who attended a school administered by the NED suggests that the teacher used a different strategy to deal with discipline problems i.e. the teacher humiliated the pupil: '*he made the other guy feel stupid*' (D15 line 87). This could suggest that this subject has expectations that

discipline can be achieved in a variety of ways, but it is more likely that this interpretation arises from the expectation that the teacher would not allow such behaviour to pass unchecked.

5.8 Expectation that the teacher is always right

Two of the four subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET comment on the performance of the teacher at the end of their narratives of video 2. It is interesting that both these subjects viewed the teacher's performance positively whereas all the other subjects viewed it negatively.

At the end of her narrative subject 11 says: *'at the end of the story the teacher has proved himself right...'* (D11 line 90 - 91). This is an interpretive statement and she has no sure basis from the video to make such a judgement. It suggests, however, that in some way she feels the teacher has been vindicated.

Subject 13 ends off his narrative by recalling:

30 *He shows that he is a good experienced teacher*
 31 *by not responding to them [the latecomers]*
 32 *and just responded to the class as a whole...'*

In this narrative he uses evaluative language in his choice of the adjectives *'good'* and *'experienced'* and then goes on to make an incorrect statement that the teacher had not responded to the latecomers but had responded to the whole class. This is not the case as the teacher focuses on one of the latecomers at this point. This incorrect statement suggests that the subject has preconceptions about teachers and that he expects teachers to be good and experienced and to respond to the class as a whole

and not focus on a select group or individual.

The results of the quantitative study revealed that the respondents who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET were the only group to register mean agreement to the expectation statement *Teachers should not make mistakes in class* (No 72)³³. This was later confirmed in the interviews conducted with students and recorded in section 4.5.2. The recalls analysed above provide some support to these findings as two of the four subjects who attended KwaZulu/DET schools judge the teacher positively despite his poor performance. This could be because they have the expectation that teachers ought to be sufficiently well-educated not to make mistakes.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has established that subjects who attended schools administered by the three groups (NED, HOD and KwaZulu/DET) had a number of different schemata of teacher and pupil classroom behaviour and a lot of shared ones.

General differences in the length of the recalls suggest that the nature of teacher and pupil interactions viewed on the videos was more surprising to subjects who attended schools administered by the HOD and KwaZulu/DET than those who attended schools administered by the NED. Also, the focus of the narratives of the first part of both lessons is different, with subjects who attended KwaZulu/DET administered schools tending to focus on the behaviour of the pupils, while subjects who attended NED and HOD schools tended to focus on the teacher.

³³ For more details of the results quantitative study refer to section 4.5.1 of this study and appendix B.

The subjects share a common expectation that pupils will behave in a disciplined manner, that teachers have respect for books, and that pupils are not the social equals of teachers. They all recognise authority figures in the school context, although authority is more widely vested to include teachers and adults in the subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET.

The subjects' expectations differ in respect of following the teacher's instructions, copying down what the teacher has written on the chalkboard and viewing the teacher as being right. The narratives of subjects who attended KwaZulu/DET schools reveal stronger expectations that the teacher should be a powerful authority figure than those from subjects of the other groups.

The purpose of conducting the story recall experiment was to triangulate the study. To some extent these findings verify the findings of the quantitative study, but in general they suggest that the differences between the groups in their schemata of teacher and pupil classroom behaviour are not as great as originally hypothesised.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION.

This study arose from my hypothesis that schemata are culturally determined and that pupils and teachers from different ethnic groups will have different schemata of what constitutes acceptable classroom behaviour.

The historical account of education presented in Chapter 1 describes how education was used as a tool to separate and retain inequalities in society. The dominant ethnic group used education to secure their position. Segregated education meant that there was little or no contact between children or teachers of different cultures in the classroom situation. Social intercourse between the different ethnic groups, although common, was limited to specific domains. The consequence of this was that contact between ethnic groups was very limited.

The literature surveyed in chapter 2 supports my hypothesis. A number of researchers reveal evidence that culture plays a major role in forming our schemata with some researchers going so far as to view the two concepts as synonymous because they are virtually indistinguishable when investigating behaviour. Classroom research conducted among what Ogbu (1991) terms 'involuntary minority groups' overseas, and in South Africa, suggests that certain ethnic groups have different schemata of classroom behaviour and that this can lead to their negative performance in the formal education system.

The eclectic research methods selected have allowed me to triangulate and generalize my findings. The quantitative questionnaires allowed me to collect responses from a large sample of respondents, while the qualitative methods permitted in-depth investigation of a small group of subjects. Neither method is reliable on its own:

quantitative methods because of the restricted nature of the responses and the subjectivity of the subjects, and qualitative methods because the small sample investigated makes it impossible to generalize the findings and apply them to an entire ethnic group.

The quantitative study reveals significant differences between the responses of the main ethnic groups but particularly between respondents who attended schools controlled by the NED and KwaZulu/DET education administration. Correspondence analysis indicates clearly the differences across the entire questionnaire (see Figs 5, 6 and 7 in section 4.2.1). ANOVA tests confirm this finding as all 8 pupil expectation topics and 4 of the 11 teacher expectation topics reveal significant differences across the ethnic groups (see Fig. 8 section 4.3.1 and Fig. 9 section 4.3.2). The Multiple Range tests refine the findings to reveal that significant differences exist between respondents who attended schools administered by the NED and those who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET.

After calculating the mean responses to the individual role expectation statements it was found that 10 of the 40 pupil expectation statements and 9 of the 55 teacher expectation topics reveal mean differences between the respondents who had attended schools controlled by the different education administrations. This is a surprisingly small number given the results of the correspondence analysis, ANOVA and multiple range tests, but it must be borne in mind that they test the differences between each response of the 5 (strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree) while the means tests consider only those responses which are on either side (negative or positive) of the five point scale.

The interviews reveal that students from KwaZulu/DET controlled schools are accustomed to, and consider normal, more authoritarian teacher behaviour than

those who attended schools administered by the other three authorities. Pupils in KwaZulu/DET schools tend to follow their teacher's instructions closely, not ask questions if they do not understand, and if they do not know an answer feel more comfortable not responding to the teacher's question than answering incorrectly. That teachers in these schools should be able to make use of corporal punishment, that the authority of teachers should not be questioned by pupils, and that pupils should be punished for any infringement is implicitly accepted. There also tends to be a strong feeling that pupils should be treated as a group rather than as individuals and that the teacher should not emphasise differences by drawing attention to individual pupils, and pupils should not draw attention to themselves.

The results of the story recall reveal a number of differences and some similarities in the schemata of the subjects who attended schools controlled by the different education administrations. Again, the greatest difference is between subjects who attended KwaZulu/DET schools and those who attended NED and HOD schools.

The narratives of subjects who attended schools administered by KwaZulu/DET focus on the behaviour of the pupils in their recalls while the narratives of subjects who attended schools administered by the NED and HOD focus on the behaviour of the teachers. This finding supports the quantitative survey and interviews which reveal that teachers are viewed by pupils from KwaZulu/DET schools as knowledgeable authority figures who should be obeyed and not questioned or crossed.

Subjects across the ethnic groups shared the expectation that pupils will behave well and treat teachers with respect. They acknowledge that teachers are not the social equals of pupils and that there are authority figures in the school context.

It is clear from the findings of all the research instruments that subjects who attended schools controlled by KwaZulu/DET have schemata of more deferential behaviour towards teachers and authority figures in general than the subjects who attended schools controlled by the other administrations, but relationships between pupils and teachers are fairly formal and asymmetrical in all South African schools.

It is my contention that the schematic differences between the ethnic groups surveyed are not so great as to be an insurmountable problem for either teachers or pupils provided teachers are aware of these differences and take them into consideration in their teaching. What I believe is required is for teachers at the primary school level to work towards affirming the cultures of all pupils and making all children more culturally aware and versatile. They should also consciously work towards adapting their teaching methodology to make it congruent with the schemata of their pupils. At the high school and tertiary level students should be informed of cultural differences in classroom conventions. Teachers should be explicit about the conventions which will operate in their classroom. They should actively work towards empowering all their pupils by making them aware of schematic differences and encouraging them to become schematically versatile. At all times teachers should treat pupils from different ethnic groups sensitively and sympathetically.

6.1 Practical applications of the research

This research will be of interest to teachers, teachers in training and teacher educators as education is now, in theory, fully integrated. Schools are open to pupils of all races. The government's plan to re-deploy teachers means that teachers can be sent to work in schools anywhere. These changes, introduced against a history of

separation and discrimination, increase the potential for misunderstanding between teachers and pupils from different ethnic groups.

This research will, hopefully, raise awareness of where schematic differences exist and the difficulty of altering schema, which, although dynamic, are very resistant to change. According to Tasker (1981) teachers do not sense when a schematic mismatch occurs and have a range of assumptions regarding learners responses which may be incorrect and unjustified. After reading this research teachers will be alerted to areas where problems are most likely to occur and be able to take cognizance of these when teaching multicultural class groups.

This research will direct teachers to deal carefully and sensitively with pupils from different ethnic groups and prevent teachers from stereotyping and unconsciously discriminating against them. It will put them on their guard against making hasty, negative evaluations of pupils which might prejudice their future academic and social progress.

On the basis of this research overt instruction in dealing with multicultural classes has been introduced as part of the curriculum at the teachers training college where I work. Students are made aware of the areas where mismatches between the schemata of teachers and pupils are most likely to occur, and, in multicultural groups, discuss and devise strategies to overcome them.

6.2 Directions for further research

At this stage very little investigation has been undertaken in multi-cultural classrooms in South Africa. Political and social changes in the country as a whole

have fundamentally affected education, faced with the need for dramatic re-structuring with limited resources. The majority of schools in South Africa have been in crisis in recent years, and if the country is to progress it is important that dramatic progress in this re-structuring be achieved. This can only be accomplished if considered and informed decisions are made on the basis of sound research and investigation.

A number of possibilities for further research based on this study suggest themselves.

1. The repetition of this study after curriculum 2005 and Outcomes Based Education (OBE), have been introduced. In this way it would be possible to establish whether and in what ways different curricula and teaching methodology have impacted upon the schemata of teacher and pupil classroom behaviour.
2. As this research has established that different ethnic groups have some different schemata of classroom behaviour an investigation could be undertaken to see if the schemata of pupils of different ethnic groups have disadvantaged or advantaged them in any significant way. Research undertaken in other countries suggests that pupils from minority groups can be disadvantaged in a number of ways.
3. Different schemata is only one reason for problems occurring in the multicultural classroom. It is, however, one link in a chain which could lead to the alienation of children of different cultures. Another is language, and it would be useful to establish the effect learning through the medium of another language has on children of different ethnic groups in the multicultural classroom.

6.3 The way forward

Society in South Africa is in transition. The elections of April 1994 saw a new political order emerge and with it a commitment to freedom, justice, and equal opportunity for all.

Education has seen a number of changes as a result of the new order. Among these has been the abolition of the previously segregated administrations and the institution of one educational authority in each of the nine provinces. In theory all state schools are now 'open' to pupils of all races and enjoy equal status. There has been an increase in funds allocated to upgrading and improving the physical educational facilities in disadvantaged communities e.g provision of more classrooms and textbooks, and a commitment to providing quality education to all pupils regardless of their race, religion, gender or financial ability to pay.

The curriculum is in the process of being restructured in order to accommodate the previously disadvantaged minority groups. The introduction of Outcomes-based Education (OBE) which is the basis of Curriculum 2005 has been hailed by policy-makers and politicians as the hope for a brighter future for all.

Despite these changes, equality in educational opportunity is not yet a reality for all. For some, part of the disadvantage they face is that they are being taught by and together with people who do not share their schemata for classroom behaviour. For such learners and for the teachers who seek to help them achieve their potential, the research reported in this dissertation may be particularly valuable.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A - Teacher Survey conducted by Prof.D.Shiman.

Appendix B - Quantitative Survey.

Questionnaire	B1
Role expectation topics and statements	B2
Computer answer sheet	B3

Appendix C - Transcripts of interviews.

Student A	C1
Student B	C12
Student C	C21
Student D	C29
Student E	C35

Appendix D - Transcripts of story recalls

D1 - D20

APPENDIX A

TEACHER SURVEY

CONDUCTED BY PROF. D. SHIMAN

Teacher Survey

Please answer the following questions. This information is very important to my research. Note: To save space, I have used the term m/c to stand for multicultural(ism).

Professional Experience:

Teaching experience (# of years) _____
 Teaching experience at this school (# of years) _____
 Teaching experience at this school since it became "open" (# of years) _____
 Previous teaching experience in schools with m/c student population (# of years) _____
 Previous teaching experience in schools with m/c teaching staff (# of years) _____
 Level Presently Teaching _____

Personal Data:

1. Male or Female 2. Age _____
3. University Degree? (where/when achieved) _____
 Major Area(s) of Study _____
4. Education Diploma (where/when achieved) _____
 Area of Specialization? _____
5. Travel outside of S.A.:(where/length of visit) _____
6. Residence outside of S.A.(where and how long): _____

Professional Preparation:

Please indicate the degree to which the following were part of your academic and professional preparation for teaching.

	None	Little	Some	Much
1. Skill development aimed at:				
a. teaching m/c student populations	15	2	2	—
b. adapting teaching to different learning styles	7	4	6	2
c. evaluating curriculum materials for cultural, racial, gender bias	12	5	2	—
2. Examination of the following themes:				
a. equality in education	10	3	5	1
b. patterns of grouping for learning	4	7	5	4
c. apartheid in education	9	2	6	3
d. one's personal bias and culturally formed attitudes regarding race/ethnicity/gender	7	4	5	2
3. Study of:				
a. an African language	13	2	2	2
b. African cultural/historical studies	6	6	5	2
c. African literature and/or arts	8	7	4	—
d. any cultures other than one's own specify _____	7	5	3	3

e (7 or more times)

a b c d e

- | a | b | c | d | e | |
|----|----|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 1 | Attended workshops/conferences on m/c themes organized within your school. |
| 5 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 1 | Attended workshops/conferences on m/c themes organized outside of your school. |
| 3 | 10 | 1 | 0 | 5 | Sought to learn from someone whose ethnic/racial group is different from your own regarding teaching m/c student populations. |
| 1 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 6 | Sought to learn from someone whose ethnic/racial group is same as your own regarding teaching m/c student populations. |
| 0 | 9 | 4 | 0 | 6 | Read books/article to increase knowledge about other racial/ethnic groups in South Africa. |
| 3 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 4 | Read books/articles to improve teaching of m/c students. |
| 13 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | Studied an African language. |
| 8 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | Sought to increase knowledge/understanding of m/c students via other means. Specify _____ |
| 3 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 6 | Sought out curriculum materials with m/c orientation. |
| 6 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 4 | Other ways you have sought to increase effectiveness as teacher of m/c student populations. Specify _____
How often? _____ |

Personal Experiences:

Please indicate below the approximate number of times you have had each of the following experiences with Africans. Place one of the letters below in each of the columns to the right of each item:

- a (not at all),
- b (1-2 times)
- c (3-4 times)
- d (5-6 times)
- e (7 or more times)

PAST 2 YEARS					Entire Life				
b	c	d	e		a	b	c	d	e
2	1	0	8	1. Attended regular religious services with	4	2	1	0	11
5	3	0	6	2. Shared a meal in your home	5	3	5	0	6
3	1	0	2	3. Shared a meal in their home	11	1	3	0	3
5	1	1	7	4. Read books/articles written by	6	4	2	0	7
5	3	0	9	5. Read books/articles written about	1	5	4	0	9
4	2	0	2	6. Visited the home of	5	4	2	2	4
3	4	0	3	7. Worked with as professional peers	9	2	1	1	6
3	1	0	2	8. Had conversations with in their language	14	1	1	0	3
0	2	0	12	9. Had a serious conversations with (in any language)	4	1	2	1	11
1	0	0	3	10. Worked in a political organization with	15	0	1	0	1
1	1	1	7	11. Worked in social/cultural organization with	8	1	1	1	7
1	1	0	4	12. Worked in a religious organization with	9	1	2	0	7
2	2	1	3	13. Worked on a school committee with	10	1	1	1	6
4	4	0	4	14. Attended professional conferences/workshop with	6	3	4	0	5
3	4	1	9	15. Attended social function together with	4	3	3	0	9
1	0	0	5	16. Competed against in sports or other activities	10	0	1	0	7
0	2	0	4	17. Competed with(same side) in sports or other activities	10	0	1	0	5
5	2	0	5	18. Had as guest in own home	7	7	5	2	4
YES	NO	Answer items 19-27 with YES or NO			YES	NO			
n/a		19. Went to primary school with			0	19			

	ENTIRE LIFE		PAST 2 YRS	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
20. Went to high school with	1	18	M/A	
21. Attended classes at tertiary institution with	5	13	1	
22. Sent own children to school with	10	3	7	1
23. Had as close personal friends	10	7	4	6
24. Had as neighbor	4	15	1	10
25. Had as domestic worker in home	18	1	12	1
26. Had as garden worker at home	18	1	10	2
27. Had as nanny	11	8	4	7

Professional Needs:

1	2	3	4	5	Assess your current professional needs as they relate to multiculturalism. Rank each of the following needs on a 1(very low) - 5(very high) scale.	Ave.
0	0	5	7	7	Greater knowledge of culture, behavior patterns of m/c/ students I teach	4.1
0	1	6	6	6	Greater skills in diversifying teaching techniques to effectively reach student with different learning styles.	3.9
6	8	1	2	2	Deeper self examination of my own biases and culturally formed attitudes which might affect my teaching and interaction with students culturally different from myself.	2.3
0	1	8	4	6	List of human resources from other cultures on whom I can call to visit my class and enrich my teaching.	3.8
6	0	6	2	11	More curriculum materials which are appropriate to m/c student populations.	4.3
0	2	7	4	6	Opportunities to learn from cultural experts to help me better understand my students.	3.7
3	4	6	4	2	Opportunity to talk with colleagues in safe, nonjudgmental atmosphere about my feelings and concerns re "open schooling."	2.9
0	1	6	9	3	Opportunity to network with other teachers in integrated schools.	3.7
1	4	5	4	4	Presentations from specialists regarding teaching techniques in m/c school settings. Possible topics? _____	3.2
2	3	8	3	3	Opportunity to visit schools to observe and meet with teachers.	3.1
9	2	5	3	0	To be left alone so that I can get on with the business of teaching.	2.1
1	0	1	1	2	Other needs not included above: _____	

4. Thank you.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

SURVEY OF EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS

APPENDIX B1 - QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS

Read the following instructions carefully before you start filling in your answers.

- * This survey is made up of 102 questions.
- * Answers are to be indicated on the answer sheet provided.
- * Use H.B. pencil ONLY.
- * Make dark heavy marks that fill the oval completely, however, take care not to smudge the card or to colour outside the lines.
- * Erase unwanted marks cleanly using a soft rubber.
- * Do not doodle or make any stray marks on the answer sheet.
- * Do not fold or bend the answer sheet.
- * Before answering the questions, fill in your Student Number and Surname in the space provided then fill in the relevant numbers and letters below.
- * Make sure that the number that you are answering and the number on your answer sheet correspond.
- * Section 1 of the questionnaire requires you to mark the letter which applies to you.
- * When answering Sections 2 and 3 please mark clearly on the card the letter which is your choice of answer.

<i>STRONGLY AGREE</i>	<i>(A)</i>
<i>AGREE</i>	<i>(B)</i>
<i>NEITHER AGREE OR DISAGREE</i>	<i>(C)</i>
<i>DISAGREE</i>	<i>(D)</i>
<i>STRONGLY DISAGREE</i>	<i>(E)</i>

SECTION 1 - PERSONAL DETAILS

Please mark clearly in pencil on the card the letter which applies to you.

1. What is your home language?
Zulu (A)
English (B)
Afrikaans (C)
Xhosa (D)
Other (E)

2. Which administration did your school fall under?
House of Assembly (A)
House of Representatives (B)
House of Delegates (C)
Kwa Zulu (D)
DET (E)

3. Was your school multiracial?
Yes (A)
No (B)

4. What year did you matriculate?
1994 (A)
1993 (B)
1992 (C)
1991 (D)
1990 or before (E)

5. Was your school single sex?
Yes (A)
No (B)

6. How old are you?
17 yrs (A)
18 yrs (B)
19 yrs (C)
20 yrs (D)
21 and over (E)

7. Please indicate your sex:
Male (A)
Female (B)

PLEASE MARK CLEARLY ON THE CARD THE LETTER WHICH IS YOUR CHOICE OF ANSWER. YOUR CHOICE IS AS FOLLOWS:

<i>STRONGLY AGREE</i>	<i>(A)</i>
<i>AGREE</i>	<i>(B)</i>
<i>NEITHER AGREE OR DISAGREE</i>	<i>(C)</i>
<i>DISAGREE</i>	<i>(D)</i>
<i>STRONGLY DISAGREE</i>	<i>(E)</i>

SECTION 2

Pupils should

8. Call a teacher by his or her first name.
9. Feel embarrassed about giving a wrong answer.
10. Ask the teacher how to improve their results/marks.
11. Learn to gain experience through insight and understanding.
12. Give their own opinions in class.
13. Try to write down and learn whatever their teacher said.
14. Feel free to disagree with the teacher during class.
15. Raise their hands for permission to speak.
16. Treat teachers as the social equals of pupils.
17. Accept mistakes as necessary.
18. Ask questions so the teacher will notice them.
19. Learn so as to be able to think critically.
20. Participate in class discussions.
21. Encourage other students to follow class rules.
22. Always agree with the teacher during class.
23. Keep eye contact when talking to the teacher.
24. Learn better from a teacher of the same culture.
25. Acknowledge verbally not knowing an answer.
26. Ask for comments and criticism from the teacher.
27. Learn hard to be able to get a better job.
28. Volunteer to participate in class activities.
29. Accept that learning is their responsibility.
30. Feel free to raise your disagreement with the teacher after class.
31. Hand in work set on time.
32. Accept the authority of teachers.
33. Not respond to a question if the correct answer is not known.
34. Ask questions when confused in class.
35. Learn because lessons are interesting.
36. Volunteer to answer questions.
37. Do whatever the teacher asks.
38. Never openly disagree with the opinions of teachers.
39. Smile or laugh in class.

40. Let the teacher go ahead of them when entering class.
41. Not make mistakes in answering questions.
42. Help other pupils answer questions in class.
43. Learn something because it might be in the examination.
44. Talk the same amount as other pupils in class.
45. Ask the teacher to revise the course content.
46. Write so as to match the teacher's ideas.
47. Make jokes in class.

SECTION 3

Teachers should

48. Talk more often than pupils.
49. Understand each pupil's culture.
50. Admit not knowing an answer to a question.
51. Praise pupils who do good work.
52. Set written exercises regularly.
53. Give pupils as much time as they need to answer a question.
54. Correct every pupils error.
55. Organize lessons to stress the work of learning.
56. Treat students as the social equals of teachers.
57. Present lessons that show clear organization.
58. Use teaching methods familiar to the students.
59. Slow the pace of the class so everyone can keep up.
60. Help students understand each others' culture.
61. Admit having made a mistake.
62. Smile in class when they are happy.
63. Distribute a written list of marking policies.
64. Ask questions which require pupils to think creatively.
65. Punish pupils who give poor answers.
66. Organize lessons which force pupils to listen attentively.
67. Be friendly with pupils outside of the classroom.
68. Explain how lessons are linked.
69. Use more than one teaching method in each lesson.
70. Speak slowly.
71. Help pupils develop a new, shared culture.
72. Not make mistakes in class.
73. Make jokes in class.
74. Require pupils to do homework after each lesson.
75. Call on pupils who don't participate in class.
76. Not point out/ignore some pupil errors.
77. Organize the lesson to stress pupil participation.
78. Administer corporal punishment to those pupils who misbehave.

79. Follow the course outline/syllabus exactly.
80. Use several different teaching methods during the course of a term.
81. Do all the talking in the classroom.
82. Change classroom rules to fit pupil's cultures.
83. Be able to answer any question on any subject.
84. Discuss their personal lives/feelings in class.
85. Return marked written work or tests within a week.
86. Call on pupils to answer questions in a random order.
87. Ask pupils to correct each others' errors.
88. Organize the lesson to stress thinking and listening.
89. Be available to pupils whenever needed, including telephone calls at home.
90. Give lecture-style lessons that make the subject clearer.
91. Use only the single best teaching method.
92. Work with small groups of students during class.
93. Correct students' cultural mistakes.
94. Be able to deviate from the day's lesson plan.
95. Laugh in class.
96. Make detailed comments on written work or tests.
97. Ask questions requiring mechanical responses.
98. Point out a pupil error without correcting it.
99. Organize lessons which allow pupils to help each other.
100. Encourage pupils to disagree with them.
101. Use examples to clarify difficult points.
102. Change their methods to meet the needs of their pupils.

APPENDIX B2 - EXPECTATION TOPICS AND STATEMENTS

PUPIL EXPECTATION TOPICS

All statements prefaced by "Pupils should..."

1. **Pupil/Teacher Relationship (PTR)**
 8. Call a teacher by his or her first name.
 16. Treat teachers as the social equals of pupils.
 24. Learn better from a teacher of the same culture.
 32. Accept the authority of teachers.
 40. Let the teacher go ahead of them when entering class.
2. **Pupil Attitude Towards Error (PAE)**
 9. Feel embarrassed about giving a wrong answer.
 17. Accept mistakes as necessary.
 25. Acknowledge verbally not knowing an answer.
 33. Not respond to a question if the correct answer is not known.
 41. Not make mistakes in answering questions.
3. **Pupil Question Asking/Answering (PQA)**
 10. Ask the teacher how to improve their results/marks.
 18. Ask questions so the teacher will notice them.
 26. Ask for comments and criticism from the teacher.
 34. Ask questions when confused in class.
 42. Help other pupils answer questions in class.
4. **Pupil Learning Motivation (PLM)**
 11. Learn to gain experience through insight and understanding.
 19. Learn so as to be able to think critically.
 27. Learn hard to be able to get a better job.
 35. Learn because lessons are interesting.
 43. Learn something because it might be in the examination.
5. **Pupil Class Participation (PCP)**
 12. Give their own opinions in class.
 20. Participate in class discussions.
 28. Volunteer to participate in class activities.
 36. Volunteer to answer questions.
 44. Talk the same amount as other pupils in class.
6. **Pupil Academic Locus of Control (PLC)**
 13. Try to write down and learn whatever their teacher said.
 21. Encourage other students to follow class rules.
 29. Accept that learning is their responsibility.
 37. Do whatever the teacher asks.
 45. Ask the teacher to revise the course content.
7. **Pupil Disagreement with the teacher (PDT)**
 14. Feel free to disagree with the teacher during class.
 22. Always agree with the teacher during class.
 30. Feel free to raise your disagreement with the teacher after class.
 38. Never openly disagree with the opinions of teachers.
 46. Write so as to match the teacher's ideas.

8. **Pupil Classroom Behaviour (PCB)**
15. Raise their hands for permission to speak.
23. Keep eye contact when talking to the teacher.
31. Hand in work set on time.
39. Smile or laugh in class.
47. Make jokes in class.

TEACHER EXPECTATION TOPICS

All statements prefaced by "Teachers should..."

9. **Teacher Instructional Behaviours/Strategies (TIB)**
48. Talk more often than pupils.
59. Slow the pace of the class so everyone can keep up.
70. Speak slowly.
81. Do all the talking in the classroom.
92. Work with small groups of students during class.
10. **Teacher Cultural Sensitivity (TCS)**
49. Understand each pupil's culture.
60. Help students understand each other's culture.
71. Help students develop a new, shared culture.
82. Change classroom rules to fit pupil's culture.
93. Correct students' cultural mistakes.
11. **Teacher Knowledge of Subject (TKS)**
50. Admit not knowing an answer to a question.
61. Admit having made a mistake.
72. Not make mistakes in class.
83. Be able to answer any question on any subject.
94. Be able to deviate from the day's lesson plan.
12. **Teacher Warmth (TWM)**
51. Praise pupils who do good work.
62. Smile in class when they are happy.
73. Make jokes in class.
84. Discuss their personal lives/feelings in class.
95. Laugh in class.
13. **Teacher Classroom Management Practices (TCM)**
52. Set written exercises regularly.
63. Distribute a written list of marking guidelines.
74. Require pupils to do homework after each lesson.
85. Return marked written work or tests within a week.
96. Make detailed comments on written work or tests.
14. **Teacher Questioning Strategies (TQS)**
53. Give pupils as much time as they need to answer a question.
64. Ask questions which require pupils to think creatively.
75. Call on pupils who do not participate in class.
86. Call on pupils to answer questions in a random order.
97. Ask questions requiring mechanical responses.

15. **Teacher Response to Pupils' In-Class Errors (TRE)**
 54. Correct every pupil error.
 65. Punish pupils who give poor answers.
 76. Not point out/ignore some pupils errors.
 87. Ask pupils to correct each others' errors.
 98. Point out a pupil error without correcting it.

16. **Teacher's Educational Approach (TEA)**
 55. Organize lessons to stress the work of learning.
 66. Organize lessons which force pupils to listen attentively.
 77. Organize the lesson to stress pupil participation.
 88. Organize the lesson to stress thinking and listening.
 99. Organize lessons which allow pupils to help each other.

17. **Teacher/Pupil Relationship (TPR)**
 56. Treat students as the social equals of teachers.
 67. Be friendly with pupils outside of the classroom.
 78. Administer corporal punishment to those pupils who misbehave.
 89. Be available to pupils whenever needed, including telephone calls at home.
 100. Encourage pupils to disagree with them.

18. **Teacher Organization/Clarity (TOC)**
 57. Present lessons that show clear organization.
 68. Explain how lessons are linked.
 79. Follow the course outline/syllabus exactly.
 90. Give lecture-style lessons that make the subject clearer.
 101. Use examples to clarify difficult points.

19. **Teacher Method Variety/Flexibility (TMV)**
 58. Use teaching methods familiar to the students.
 69. Use more than one teaching method in each lesson.
 80. Use several different teaching methods during the course of a term.
 91. Use only the single best teaching method.
 102. Change their methods to meet the needs of their pupils.

APPENDIX C

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF INTERVIEWS

Interviewer: There was a question on this questionnaire which read, *pupils should write so as to match the teacher's ideas*. The NED, HOD, HOR students said no, pupils should not write to match the teacher's ideas, but the students who had attended KwaZulu/DET answered, yes, that pupils should write to match the teacher's ideas. Now have you any idea why there would be this sort of difference? You were at R---ds School and then at KwaMashu, did you notice any difference in the kind of focus... in the teaching?

Student A: Ja. There was a big difference where I was in KwaMashu. I noticed that children tend to agree with you most of the time. Whatever they are writing, they want to make sure that it is in conjunction with your ideas and style of teaching. Whereas on the other side, where I was last year, the children tended to put forward their own point of view rather than taking note of what you as a teacher need in class. O.K. They tended to be a little bit more creative, maybe, mainly because they had good exposure to books and other relevant material they need. Whereas on the other side they don't have the necessary material that would help them develop creative thinking and so on.

Interviewer: Is there any difference in the teaching style that would... ?

Student A: Ja, I would say so because in KwaMashu most of the teachers they use more or less the teacher tell method, where he/she as the teacher stands in front and transmits knowledge. Whereas on the other side, the children were given time to do their own thing in groups, so that is where the difference comes.

Interviewer: I see... you would say that most of the pupils are used to doing... would you say the KwaZulu pupils are more disciplined?

Student A: Yes, I would say so... I would say so.

Interviewer: I mean you had discipline problems at R---ds School? Did you find the same problems at KwaMashu?

Student A: Not at all. Not at all... because in Kwa Mashu maybe they use a stick, I don't know, but, you know, its far more different than R----ds. Children, when you talk to them, they listen, O.K? They listen and they make sure they do what you tell them to do. Whereas on the other side you speak to the children, they do as if they are listening while they are not. You know, you speak.. the other one is looking through the window, talking to his friend, you know, that is where the difference lies. You speak, they listen.

Interviewer: Why do they listen?

Student A: Well, maybe its got something to do with their cultural background - where they come from you see. You know, you find out at home.. a children at home is taught discipline - right from the beginning, you know, straight discipline. That is to me a value, something they have, discipline, and on the other side you know, children are free they do what they like in their own time and they carry the same attitude to

school. You as the teacher, you find it difficult to cope more especially if you different from them.

Interviewer: So you felt that?

Student A: Yes, I felt that - because you know at the end at R---ds they changed, mainly because I sat down and presented my case and told them who I was and where I come from, what kind of discipline I expected from them, and you know they tried to meet me half way.

Interviewer: Yes, because I know by the end everything was fine. But I remember those early lessons were a bit of a problem. Now there's another one that puzzles me here. It was the question, *pupils should acknowledge verbally not knowing an answer*. Now funnily enough, the NED HOR and HOD respondents all said, Yes, a pupil should acknowledge verbally not knowing an answer, in other words, if they don't know an answer they should say so. But the KwaZulu/DET said No, they shouldn't, and in a way that was backed up by some of the observations I did where when Black children didn't know an answer they just didn't say anything. Now why do you think that is the case? When you were in the KwaMashu school did you find that? Why do you think that is the perception, that you don't actually acknowledge that you don't know an answer?

Student A: Well, I'd say education is very broad and culture has a very big role to play in education. Because normally you go to school with what you have been taught at home. See, it might happen that, you know, at home an African child would be brought up in way that he respects the knowledge of the elders, and if you don't know you don't question and you don't say anything. You just keep quiet and wait for the higher authority to give you the knowledge and the answers. Whereas on the other side, I'd say children do always question. You see, they ask, they talk if they are not clear, they go forward and they are open, you see, and they are given a chance to express themselves quite more often than it happens on the other side. From a Black point of view I'd say from my own personal experience, I've been brought up to listen to my father when he speaks, not to question anything. So in that way I tended to be, you know, subconsciously, passive, not realising that I was being passive, but I thought I was being good and listening to whatever I was told. So you carry the same attitude to school where you respect the teacher as the sole responsibility - somebody you can only look up to for advice.

Interviewer: Yes, actually that comes through so clearly here.

Student A: Ja, ja, and I might say that has got an influence to African children not being able to say when they don't know. It's the same attitude they carried with themselves ever since they were children, so it's part of culture, part of the way they have been brought up.

Interviewer: ... they've been brought up, yes. Now this is a very puzzling one because it had to do more with politeness I suppose, or not quite, because politeness is not quite the right term, but let me give you the question. The question reads, *Pupils*

should let the teacher go ahead of them when entering a class. So in other words, a pupil would stand back for a teacher to go ahead. Now NED HOD and HOR said yes, but the KwaZulu said no. Which I found quite puzzling because you've now just told me that they are very disciplined, and yet they say no, a teacher should not go ahead of them when entering a class, they should go ahead of a teacher. Now is there a difference in manners here? Would it be considered bad manners for the pupils to go ahead or not in Zulu culture?

Student A: Um.....

Interviewer: Is that a tough one?

Student A: I am not very clear. Can you try and make it easier...

Interviewer: Well the question went, *pupils should let the teacher go ahead of them*, in front of them, *when entering the classroom*, and the other three groups said yes, that the pupils should stand back and let the teacher go first, but then the KwaZulu/DET group said no, they shouldn't... and and ja ... I'll come to the next one which I think goes together with that... or do find that a bit puzzling as well?

Student A: No, well, I do get the idea now. I will say ... um ... I wonder why they said no? Because normally in our culture you always give respect to the elders so the teacher being responsible and eldest in class - to me I think it is acceptable that you give him the right of way. I wonder why they said that?

Interviewer: Yes, I wondered why because there is another question here that's quite interesting because it says here *pupils should call a teacher by his/her first name*. Now you did that when you went to R----ds School which is one of the things I wanted to ask you about. Because it says here, the question was, *Pupils should call a teacher by his/her first name*. The other group said No, but the KwaZulu/DET group said Yes. I remember at R----ds when you introduced yourself to your class you did introduce yourself as Xolani didn't you? and not as Mr N----de. Now that again - why did you do that, and why do you think they came out saying Yes? Because it's not common to call teachers by their first names in KwaZulu schools - or is it?

Student A: No, it's not common. Well to me going to a different environment... um... I had the idea of what usually happens there because, you know, usually in NED, HOR's schools you are called by your first name if that is acceptable. But where I was in KwaMashu this year I was referred to as Mr N----de, not more than that or less than that I was just Mr N----de. Because again we're going back to culture. Culturally you are not supposed to call an elderly person by his/her first name, you would rather use the surname as a sign of respect. So.. um.. at R----ds I did that for a method that you know being exposed to a multi-cultural situation and environment I got to realize that most of the time people are free when it comes to names and things, they are not very straight as to how to call him/her.

Interviewer: At most schools across the board people do refer to their teachers as Mr or Mrs? And so that was actually a mistake - you thought that, because it was a freer environment. Did you make a mistake or did you think not?

Student A: Well, as we're talking I think I did make a mistake. Because I should have been referred to as Mr ... , you know, but you know, it's how I see it. You know... to me myself and children... maybe its because of the age, I wouldn't like to be referred to as somebody older or something like that. I just would like to feel the same as they are, just to be on the same level. Well I understand that I'll be a teacher someday but to me to make the learning environment more relaxed I would like children to always refer to me as Xolani rather than Mr N----de. To me its like there is formality going on, and usually I go against formality. I just want things to be informal and relaxed and let.... so that.... learning can take place from within.

Interviewer: I see... I hear what you are saying. Now another one that was different... Lets have a look... *Pupils should ask questions so the teacher will notice them?* Now there it was interesting because it was the two groups. The HOR and NED said no, pupils should not ask questions so the teacher will notice them, but the KwaZulu/DET group and HOD group said Yes, pupils should ask questions so the teacher will notice them. Now I wonder why that could be?

Student A: Um.... The Zulus said yes... Others said no... Well, I'd say it depends on an individual. You as a teacher and how you see your children in class. To me I'd say it is not really necessary that children should ask questions mainly because they want to be noticed. To me, my firm point of view I'd say that it is necessary that children should ask questions mainly because they are interested in something, or rather, there is something they do not understand that you are doing in class, rather than just for the sake of putting up a hand and the teacher to recognize you. In that way I would say that would be killing to children because they would normally have fun and ask questions even when there is no need at all just because they want to be noticed. But to me, I would say I would encourage the kind of an atmosphere where children learn to ask questions because they feel the need to ask questions, and there is something they do not understand, rather than just asking questions just for the sake of it. I wonder why they said Yes, they should do that? Maybe, maybe in a way they have to if the numbers are big, and they can't see each and every child in class.

Interviewer: Yes, that is actually a good reason. I want to ask you something else. Apropos of that question have you heard the term "shlooping"?

Student A: What?

Interviewer: Shlooping? It's an English term. Or sucking up?

Student A: Sucking up?

Interviewer: They are both slang terms used at school.

Student A: Maybe sucking up... yes.

Interviewer: Do you know what it means?

Student A: No, I don't understand it.

Interviewer: It's a.. it's a... particular term used by school children about pupils that go and try to get favour with the teacher. The kind of pupil I'm talking about, the kind who wants to be a teacher's pet. Is there a similar term in Zulu?

Student A: Er... let me think... um... I can't think of it right now, but I think there is because you know in the Black schools children do these things, they are exposed to such kinds of activities and things, because you find that at a school a child would really love to be close to a teacher, just to be close to a teacher for no particular reason. And um.. the word... I can't think of the word right now.

Interviewer: Is that kind of behaviour negatively or positively viewed by the other pupils?

Student A: Um... (long pause) Okay, many things come in here including politics, the way you have been brought up at home, moral values. Looking at it from a political point of view I would say such behaviour is discouraged because you know people have this perception that later on when you grow up you would tend to do the same thing again and again, until you find yourself um... giving favours to the police... giving help, you know, when you look at it from a political point of view. But when you looking at it broadly, I would say such a behaviour in our culture is is not really acceptable. OK? In a way it may be acceptable if a person is helpful and people realize that but, generally... if they're deliberately helpful you get the impression it's to get good marks... or, if there's a child that's...

Interviewer: ... that would not be acceptable..

Student A: ... but generally I think most people have a negative attitude towards that.

Interviewer: Yes, now one other one here, *Pupils should talk the same amount as other pupils in Class*. The other three groups said no, pupils should not talk the same amount as other pupils in class, but the KwaZulu/DET said yes, they should talk the same amount as other pupils in class.

Student A: Right... I would say usually in our culture we always believe in equal opportunity, in equality, and whereas on the other side I would understand because most of the time you know they like to come out as individuals they like to be independent in whatever they do. Whereas on the other side, you know, they come from a community based kind of life, where they grow up as a community helping each other, staying together like this. Whereas on the other side you have children living in suburbs and they are separated, so most of the time whatever they do they do it alone, you see, they are very independent. Whereas on this side, they grow up together like this, so they expect to be given the same amount of opportunity.

Interviewer: That's an interesting point. Last one in this is, *Pupils should make jokes in class?* This is interesting, because the NED are the only ones who said yes, pupils should make jokes in class, and the other three groups said no, pupils should not make jokes in class. What do you think about making jokes in class?

Student A: Um...

Interviewer: ... or does it go back to that formality which you mentioned?

Student A: Well, I'll say, to me personally making jokes in class is quite acceptable, because learning is life, and making jokes is part of life - it is human, it is something we need. We need to relax wherever we may be, no matter whether we are inside or outside the classroom. Humour is something that we need. So for learning to be spontaneous, for learning to happen smoothly without any problems or caring, I'd say sometimes children need to get imaginative and just think of something out this world, something out of what we would be doing in class, because whatever we would be doing, obviously it would be formal. So they would need to get informal a little bit. Also to me humour is... Sometimes, later on, when you look after it it can lead to comedians later on in life, because children are gifted differently. Not all the children can come out as academics. Some will grow up as actors, doctors, lawyers so on and so forth. I'd say giving humour a chance in the classroom is like also opening an opportunity for a certain child that is gifted differently to other children. But besides, I'd say for learning to take place in conjunction with the children's needs, expectations and desires, humour has to be something allowed to happen in the classroom, but that is my own point of view. But for others I have seen, I'd say Black teachers don't have a problem with humour. It depends on the character of the individual but you know most teachers I've seen they are always humorous whenever teaching. There is a bit of humour that usually comes in, in schools, I have seen before. I don't know about the general public, how they feel about humor, but to those few schools I've been at I've seen humour happening and children really enjoy a humorous teacher as opposed to a teacher who was formal most of the time.

Interviewer: Ja, now, let me see... Now this comes under the heading "Teachers should". *Teachers should administer corporal punishment to those pupils who misbehave.* The three said no but the KwaZulu/DET group said yes. I'm interested because corporal punishment has been outlawed, but now, is it, actually, still being administered?

Student A: Of course it does take place now and again, but not as it used to be before. I think it has dropped down, but it does happen because... I don't know why. Black children are accustomed to this method of getting a few spanks. If you can't do something properly and most of the time when you misbehave at home, you do really get a spank or two, just to put you in place, so I'd say they've been accustomed to that kind of behaviour for such a long time that when you don't do it they start misbehaving. Because, interestingly enough, after realizing at R---ds when I was teaching, the children who really misbehaved was not the Coloured children and others, it was mainly the Black children. Why? Mainly because there was no corporal punishment that was going on there at the time. You see? They do as they please and

then then tend to overdo it more than the others. Maybe its because there's no corporal punishment that is going on but in contrast to that in Kwa Mashu where I was this year - children, once you say, or rather even if you can't use a stick but you have it in front of you - they will behave quietly, properly. But once the stick is not there they start misbehaving a little bit, so a stick in that kind of situation will serve as a threat to them but if I misbehave that is what I am going to get, even if you can't use it but you just have it in front of you they feel intimidated and start behaving properly. I don't know why but it's not really always the case, depends on where you come from - the kind of background at home - the exposure you have had in terms of good behaviour and manners. Some children come from very bad families, they're not taught anything in terms of manners and how to handle themselves in public, in such a way that whenever they are in public they have to misbehave. But not all children are like that - only a few - and, you know, usually if you have a greater influence to the others who come from a good family..

Interviewer: Er... Oh yes, the other one is *Teachers should encourage pupils to disagree with them?* Now the HOD, HOR NED all said yes, teachers should encourage pupils to disagree with them, but the KwaZulu/DET students said no, teachers should not encourage pupils to disagree with them.

Student A: Well... It depends on

Interviewer: Rather than yourself think in terms of the general, because I'm sure you're going to be different...

Student A: I'd... I'd say generally ... um... teachers have this belief within themselves which they have copied when they were also children and under certain teachers at a time. They've copied the kind of attitude that you as the teacher - you are the one who personally responsible in the classroom. Children are only there to learn from you - you are the only authority figure in the classroom. On the other side, teachers at other schools, they come from a background where they have been exposed to the kind of teachers who gave them the freedom to do it themselves in front of them. Whereas on the other side, it was the opposite of that - the teachers that you have right now, they have also been exposed to the kind of teaching where they found a teacher who was an authority figure, who didn't get anything from the children's point of view, who only presented his own point of view, and, you know, it's like a tradition, once you expose to it, you carry it on... just continue doing it until the next generation and so on and so forth. But, you know, to me this might as well change if children are exposed to the kind of teachers who will give them the same amount of opportunity to say whatever they want to, and contribute in any way that they feel is possible. I'd say the difference is between the two - which is, the exposure they had themselves as children before they become teachers, and on the other side the same thing happening.

Interviewer: That's interesting... so one's role model is a teacher that you have had?

Student A: I'd say so. There's no particular reason why a teacher shouldn't want to be questioned by children. Maybe sometimes it depends on the qualifications which a

person has - if you are less qualified you may not have all the necessary things required to be a good teacher. But sometimes you do find that people who are less educated that are good teachers.

Interviewer: Yes, yes... Now when you were in the townships did you find that the teachers were more like... more authoritarian? Did you find any opposition to your kind of ... Edgewood way of teaching?

Student A: Well.. fortunately I didn't have any opposition, but at least I have had a chance to sit down and observe the style and kind of teaching method. They didn't allow children to ask more questions because they would feel.. I don't know how they would feel ... but to me as I saw it... its like, they just wanted to get into the classroom and do what they had planned to do without any interruptions coming in the form of questions. Whereas when I came into the classroom I encouraged children to ask me if there was any query. Surprisingly enough I was to realize they didn't ask me anything, but they just sat there quietly and waited for me to finish what I had to do and then the lesson was over.

Interviewer: Oh, they didn't ask questions?

Student A: No, not until later, when I was about to leave when they really started to enjoy the whole process of asking questions. Whenever they had problems and they asked more questions than I was supposed to teach but anyway ...

Interviewer: As they got used to you then... as they realized you were responsive to them.. to their questions, so they asked more.

Student A: And I say also maybe, you know, this whole thing is also based in culture as well, not being able, or allowed, to ask questions from an elderly person because it seems like you are being a little bit difficult, you see .. not behaving as expected by society.

Interviewer: Oh I see. Now the next one here is *Teachers should not make mistakes in class* and other three groups disagreed. They said teachers can make mistakes - but the KwaZulu/DET group agreed - they said said teachers should not make mistakes in class?

Student A: Ok. They agreed mainly because they probably have this idea of.. (tape ends then continues on the other side) They expect the teacher as the authority figure, as their role model, as the absolute power in the classroom available at the time, the only source of information. To make mistakes... because if the teacher says, no, I've made a mistake, or, no, I don't know, it's like... its like... you know... they lose trust in you. This person, whatever he says maybe it's wrong. I no longer trust him as I used to before. But here on the other side, they realize that a teacher is as human as they are, and so that person is sometimes exposed to mistakes, he is able to make mistakes. Whereas on the other side you are taught every time that a teacher is something more than human to you - is the authority figure, not your friend - is a professional somebody. You have got to give him respect, and so the human element is taken away

from the teacher and what you see there is only authority and absolute power and nothing more than that. So once that kind of feeling goes to you, and when you look at the person making these mistakes, then you start to lose hope, faith in that person.

Interviewer: I see that - that actually ties up with the next one which is *Teachers should be able to answer any question on any subject* - the other three groups said No, but you've really answered that too, because the KwaZulu/DET group said Yes, they should be all knowing. Now, this is an interesting one - *Teachers should treat pupils as the social equals of teachers* - the social equals. Now the three other groups said no, they shouldn't, but the KwaZulu/DET said yes, they should. And somehow that doesn't tie up with what you say about the authoritarian... and it's very puzzling for me that they say... and it's quite a strong group response which says yes, pupils should treat teachers as social equals. I wonder if it has anything to do with the changes in society that are going on at the moment and this whole democratization?

Student A: I'd say so because.. if I.. The way I see it, before people voted for new government and the new kind of political system to run in the country - I'd say people they looked at teachers as I've mentioned to you before, that is how they saw teachers, but now as things start to change and now people are being exposed to certain things they have never known before, you see. They start to change their views, their ideas about who the real teacher is, see the role that a teacher is supposed to play. In that case maybe they said Yes.

Interviewer: Yes, students teachers should treat pupils as the social equals of teachers...

Student A: Maybe they said yes mainly because of influence that they've just had. Not, not because, you know, they really feel like that... because to the schools.. to the school where I was, the teachers, they were just the teachers, and that was it. That was it. So for... for these other students to say Yes, maybe it is a bit theoretical, that is how they see it, mainly because they have been exposed to a different environment, and they start to see things in a different light, you see. But basically when you go back down there at schools you'll find out that children and teachers, there is a social gap. It's still there. Maybe then they will try and come up with something new, something that children know, and try and bridge the gap, but the gap is still there. Children and teachers, socially they don't really interact that much, because going back to my personal experience of teachers and the socialization that you are supposed to take place. I would say when I saw my teacher outside the classroom I would hide.

Interviewer: Oh, really?

Student A: Yes, I would do that, I would hide, because I won't like him to see me outside the classroom. Maybe it was better inside the classroom that was fine. But outside the classroom... You see, no matter how young or old the teacher was once you see the teacher outside the classroom you like feel shy to even greet the teacher but, you know sometimes you would go and greet the teacher and that was, then you go, that is respect. But other than that, if you saw the teacher first and he didn't see you, you'd run away or hide until he goes past.

Interviewer: So that was probably not quite an accurate answer. Now, here's another puzzling one, and I wonder what you think of this. *Teachers should talk more often than pupils*. Now the three other groups said Yes, teachers should talk more often than pupils, but the KwaZulu/DET group said no, teachers should not talk more often than pupils. I wondered if they misinterpreted the question?

Student A: Maybe, maybe.

Interviewer: Or perhaps can you throw some light on that?

Student A: Well, as I've said maybe, they might have misinterpreted the whole question, but other than that, they... the KwaZulu students... Maybe they were thinking of something else in terms of talking in class, and I don't know with the other ones. But what usually happens is that in KwaZulu schools teachers do a lot of talking than children do, and on the other side a teacher will only talk when he is giving children a task, you see. But most of the time children are actively involved in the learning process. They are the ones who come up with ideas, problems, questions, you see, and the teacher is only there to try and give some light. Whereas on the other side, the teacher is the only person who's in possession of more information than children are, and he is the only person that transmits this information to children. He is the only person that is giving guidelines, asking questions, maybe because, you know, what happens is the visa versa: the teacher talks and the children listen. The teacher asks questions, and the children give answers. It's very rare to find out the visa versa where children ask questions and the teacher gives answers. So I think there is a bit of a problem there.

Interviewer: Now this one specifically relates to R----ds School, I think. You see... and this is the last one that I want to ask you about. I can put the two together, they're both to do with culture and dealing in a cross cultural classroom and you've worked in a multicultural classroom. The first one says *teachers should correct students cultural mistakes*, and the KwaZulu DET students said yes, they should correct students cultural mistakes. The other one went *teachers should change classroom rules to fit pupils cultures*, and they disagreed with that. They said you shouldn't change classroom rules and you should correct cultural mistakes. Did you notice any of that going on? You see, it is difficult to ask that question of someone who has just been in a school that is unicultural and to a large extent the KwaZulu schools, I mean in KwaMashu, I imagine they were all Zulu speaking children there. You didn't have children from other groups. But at R----ds School you did experience that. Did you notice, did the teacher at any stage correct cultural mistakes? Do you think cultural mistakes should be corrected?

Student A: I would say cultural mistakes are not really an issue. It's something which we really must not look at because I'd say if a child acts in a way that is unusual to you and that way can be referred to as cultural, okay, that is acceptable, because that is natural and it's a way in which somebody has been brought up. For you, as a teacher, you need to be a person who is open to such things like culture, because these are things that happen more especially when you are exposed to a multi-cultural institution. For example, at R----ds School children they would do some things which I

wouldn't understand, you see, but I would talk to a child and ask why did you do that? And then I would get a better explanation of what was going on, rather than imposing my own belief to them and saying, hey, that is not acceptable to me, you see. But I think that would give you more scope as to how to handle different situations, because in multi-cultural society like South Africa, obviously we, as teachers, we are going to be exposed to such kind of an environment, so we need to really have light as to how to go about handling some different situations that you are not used to. So I would say in response to that, I would say, when they said cultural mistakes must be corrected. Did they say that?

Interviewer: Yes.

Student A: When they said cultural mistakes must be corrected I think that was to me wrong in a way, because you need to respect the other person for what he is, and in that way you are not only improving yourself as a social being, but you are also getting the chance to understand other people much more better than others do. So to correct.. to correct a mistake, especially a cultural mistake, that is a mistake in itself, because you are not supposed to do it. You need to respect the person and if you feel like you do not understand the reason or the action that has taken place, you have the right to go to the child and ask. Maybe, for example, if you come inside the classroom and children start laughing at you, as the teacher, if you don't understand why they do that, you simply have to do something easy - ask the children: What were you laughing about? Was there a joke? and they will tell you. No, normally maybe, when you were wearing this kind of clothes we just feel like laughing at you, something like that. Rather than say, Don't laugh at me, or, Don't laugh whenever I come. So that is where the problems is.

End of transcript .

Interviewer: *Students should write so as to match teacher's ideas.* Now the NED, HOR and HOD respondents at those schools, both said... all three of them said, no, that the pupils should not write so as to match the teacher's ideas, but the KwaZulu DET respondent said yes, pupils should write so as to match the teachers ideas. Why do you think that was the case? Do you have any ideas on that, you know, as to why, why they would have answered that way?

Student B: I think the teachers, why they answered that way, it's because they feel that their children have to write so that they can be able to read what they have done themselves. They feel confident that they have done it themselves, and they are able to read because they have written themselves.

Interviewer: Is this the KwaZulu teachers?

Student B: Most of the Black teachers to Black children. Because the most important thing with the teachers is that, are they able to give them a 2nd language properly, do they understand in a way. So if they have to understand it, they have to be able to write it so that they can be able to read it, to read it themselves.

Interviewer: Oh, I see. But now, what about this whole idea of ideas, because it's not so much the language as it is to write. Pupils should write so as to match the teacher's ideas. Now the other groups said no, but the KwaZulu/DET group said yes, they should match the teacher's ideas.

Student B: I don't think I do get the understanding of ideas properly.

Interviewer: Ja, in other words they should write what the teacher wants.

Student B: Okay, in that way I don't think it was right for them to say yes, but I think for the teachers wants the children to take what they want them to understand, because they cannot be able to give them a chance to think for themselves. With that I think it's the way of training they've got. They were trained in a way to pass on the facts, so they are passing the facts to children. So it's the idea of the teacher that's passed to the child's mind. The child has got nothing to do, has got nothing to think about. He takes what he is being told by the teacher - I think it's the idea.

Interviewer: I see. Now the other one here was, *Pupils should acknowledge verbally not knowing an answer.* In other words they should say that they don't know an answer to a question. Now, the NED, HOR and HOD said yes, that a pupil should say I don't know an answer of a question, but the KwaZulu/DET said no.

Student B: I wonder why they always say no? But I remember when I was still a child, I couldn't say I don't know. It is better to keep quiet than say you don't know, because you were told yesterday - you must know it.

Interviewer: So were you... was it fear do you think?

Student B: Ja, it's fear, its nothing else, it's fear and you are not told to think for yourself and try. You must get what has been given to you previously. So if the teacher asks you to recite a poem, you have to recite it. You must not say, "no, I don't know it", because afterwards it's punishment.

Interviewer: Oh I see. Then... Now this is an interesting one, letting the teacher go ahead of them when entering the class. *Pupils should let the go ahead of them when entering the class* and I wondered whether this was a politeness thing, because again the NED, HOR and HOD said yes, that a teacher should be... should go ahead of the pupils. The KwaZulu/DET said no, they shouldn't go ahead. Why do you think they answered like that?

Student B: I think, as far as I am concerned, I think it's the way the teacher sees the problem. If he lets them go inside the class before or when she is outside. If she feels it's going to cause a problem, it's better for her to come in first, but if she leaves them outside and they are going to cause a problem, so it's better to let them get in first. So, usually with the... with the children... the black children... If the teacher is in the class they go outside and run away and hide and don't want to come to class, so it's better for them to get into class first, and the teacher sees that everybody is inside, then the teacher will get inside and get them quiet.

Interviewer: Oh, I see, okay... now the other... Now this doesn't go together very well with this one about not knowing an answer but you see the other question was... *Pupils should ask questions so the teacher will notice them*, and the other groups said no, pupils should not ask questions so that teachers will notice them, but the KwaZulu/DET said yes, they should ask questions so the teachers will notice them.

Student B: Okay, with that it's very much interesting. I like it. I also believe that a person who doesn't know asks the question before, before I came here, but afterwards I've discovered that, you know, it doesn't go that way. Sometimes if you don't know, you are the one that keeps quiet and let those people who understand ask questions to lead to their understanding more. So I think with the other staff with the other teachers, they said those who are asking questions are those who do not know. But my understanding is that those who ask questions are those who do understand, but there are some things that they don't understand within the thing, and those who keep quiet, they do not understand, I am telling you. They even don't know what happening so they decide to keep quiet.

Interviewer: I see. I see. Ja, now this one. Okay, calling a teacher by his or her first name. *Pupils should call a teacher by his or her first name*. Now the groups said.. NED, HOR, said no, they shouldn't call a teacher by his or her first name, but the KwaZulu students said yes, and I remember that at R-----ds School many of you introduced yourselves by your first name. I don't know if you were one of them.

Student B: Ja, I did.

Interviewer: You did, because I know Xolani did as well. Now, I wondered why?

Student B: No, with the... with the first names when we go to a... the multicultural school it sometimes causes a problem with a surname. Most of the surnames are difficult to say and the children fail to say them, so it's better to say the name. But with me it was easy they called me Miss Z----. So it was easy for them to pronounce, but for the other students it was difficult. Surnames are difficult to pronounce so it's easy to use the name. Because their friends or their peers have got the same name, sometimes so they are able to call them. But in a school situation, in formal schooling, in a school situation, no, they don't. They don't call the teachers by their first names.

Interviewer: And not in the townships ?

Student B: No, they don't. Not unless in a high school where the teachers are more or less the same age as them so they sometimes call but it's not official.

Interviewer: Okay, now *pupils should talk the same amount as other pupils in class*. Now the other group said no but the KwaZulu DET group said yes, pupils should talk the same amount as other pupils in class. Why do you think they did that?

Student B: They said no, they shouldn't talk the same amount?

Interviewer: No, they should, that they should talk the same amount as other pupils.

Student B: But why they said no, then the other people said no (inaudible)

Interviewer: Yes, they said no, pupils should not talk the same as other pupils in class.

Student B: Why?

Interviewer: I don't know why, but I'm asking you why... Do you think all pupils should talk exactly the same amount?

Student B: Ja, it cannot be measured but if you see that a child is reserved and is not saying the amount of work that it is supposed to, the best thing to find out is whether she understands or he understands is to let her talk. So I think it's worth it that the child should talk in class, although it cannot be the same amount... but they can, they must, all talk in class so that we would understand if they do understand what we're teaching them.

Interviewer: But in township schools do they talk in class?

Student B: Not always as far as I understand. I don't know now or recently, but not that... Always it's the teacher that talks most of the time, but during his teaching he asks questions and they reply back. So I think it's that way of talking because I remember when I was still at primary school the teacher used to point from corner to corner and back, doing like this, so that we all got turns of answering questions, but when you're sitting at the back you find you get the difficult questions so you wish you

are sitting in the front get the best questions to answer. I think they are saying in those lines.

Interviewer: Do you think... It says here, *pupils should make jokes in class*, and I must say here the HOR, the HOD and the KwaZulu/DET said no, they shouldn't make jokes in class. What do you think about... what is the general perception in your culture about pupils, who are after all below the teacher, making jokes in class?

Student B: With the making of jokes people tend to make a joke out of the other one, then the other one ends up crying. So that's why, I think.. that's why the teacher is saying no jokes in class, because they tend to make a joke out of the other one. The most shy ones make the one who are always the targets to those who are and who bully each other making jokes and calling them what they are.

Interviewer: Okay, another one here... There are quite a few here which link together. Now this was another section of the questionnaire that started with Teachers should. Now, the first one is *teachers should follow the course outlined/syllabus exactly*. Now the other three groups disagreed, but KwaZulu/DET group strongly agreed with that. Why do you think that's the case?

Student B: I think there, Mrs Ralfe, it goes back to square one. It's the way they are trained. If they were trained that facts are the most important then 90% of the children... So that's why they say using of syllabus and text books is most important. So it goes back with the way of training. The way I've been trained I think is the best one so I'll use it. So they use it.

Interviewer: Ja, because it goes on to another one that says *teachers should encourage pupils to disagree with them* and the other three groups agreed that teachers should encourage pupils to disagree with them but the KwaZulu/DET group disagrees with that.

Student B: So, it goes back the same. Because if I am teaching the facts from the book, if the child says no, it's not that way, it's not that way, so where am I going to get the answer for that? And he's not thinking for himself or herself, I am taking it from the book, he has to take it as it is. We believe everything that is in the book, so it's still the way we are trained. You take what is written. What is written is correct.

Interviewer: I see, okay - and then there is another one *Teachers should be able to answer any question on any subject*. And there again the other three groups disagreed, and the KwaZulu group agreed that teachers should be able to answer any question on any subject.

Student B: That's a difficult one. I think the teachers were told to be able answer anything. They are ones who are in authority and they are superior. They've got all the knowledge, so the children must know that the teacher has got all the knowledge, so they are able to answer all the questions. And the other thing that I can think, it's because if they don't have a media centre to send the children to find out their own

information so they have to have all the answers from them. They don't have a place to go and look for the answers.

Interviewer: And then... All right.. The corporal punishment one, *teachers should administer corporal punishment to those pupils who misbehave*. The other three groups disagreed but KwaZulu/DET group agreed. Now, I don't want your personal opinion, but I just want to know why it is that they agreed.

Student B: Okay, I'll first say the personal feeling about this. The way you are brought up at home contributes to what your behaviour is at school. So we believe the way the child behaves at school is the way he or she was taught at home. If at home he behaves badly, he is punished. So if at school he behaves badly, he must be punished, the way the teachers understand and the way I feel. So they do the same. If the teacher has a child at home and he misbehaves he or she punishes him at home. He doesn't give anything that, if you do this you will be punished in this way, or you won't be given this thing. Okay, to make a good example, like maybe in your families you say on Saturday we'll go out for dinner to certain place, like hotel or whatever, but if you misbehave we are not going to go there. There is no such with a Zulu family. There is no such. If you do the wrong thing you are punished. So I think that's the way that it is.

Interviewer: Oh, I see. that's an interesting one. So you reckon that where we would threaten a punishment, Zulu families don't do that?

Student B: Not at all. Not at all, because there are no incentives that they are going to give worry to a child. A child is there to be sent to a shop and come back. A child is there to be sent out and go and play. You cannot say you are not allowed to use a book, if you mention this, because there are no books at home and the child doesn't like to read anyway, because there are no books at home. So the only solution when you've done wrong, you know that you are going to be punished. First thing to say I'm going to hit you. If you do this, I'm going to hit you. Next time you go for it. So the children understand that way at home, it applies to school as well. By so saying they were right, because the Black children, they take advantage. Even if I went to N--t School and there were only Black children, they wanted me to hit them, because they know I understand how, but with their teacher, with their class teacher, they know she was not going to hit them and they behaved well even if she was not, because they know she doesn't, then she is not going to do it, she does not understand the way it goes. If they look at me and say she knows. They expect me to do it because I know it. They know I know it.

Interviewer: Oh, I see and so did the other teacher, they behaved with her all right because they knew that she didn't know.

Student B: Ja, she didn't know, and she is not going to do that. She is going to do it in the other way. And sometimes they don't feel the pain, the pain even if she punishes them. If she says you are not, you are not going to go out to break they like it. They are going to sit and chat and chat.

Interviewer: But you didn't use the stick at N----t School?

Student B: I did sometimes.

Interviewer: Did you?

Student B: Ja, I told them I'm going to hit you now, and they know I am going to do it. I was going to do it. And I can do it.

Interviewer: Which Standard did you have?

Student B: I went to Standard 3

Interviewer: Oh, I see. And who was the teacher?

Student B: Mrs T----r. She was one of the students here.

Interviewer: Oh, was she. Okay, now let's have a look, which one have I not asked? I've asked you about teachers not making mistakes. This other one goes together with that... Teachers encouraging pupils to disagree with them, I've asked you that. Ja, now, *pupils should be treated as the social equals of teachers*. Now the other three groups said no, but the KwaZulu DET group said yes. Now we are talking here about social equals. Why do you think they did that?

Student B: They said yes. I can't answer that one, I don't think I understand it properly why they say yes.

Interviewer: Do you think it has anything to do with political changes? I mean what is interesting about what you say to me, is that I get the impression, not only from you... but the schools are very authoritarian and very disciplined and teachers are 'in charge' and yet the schools have been used politically a lot, not necessarily through teachers. A lot of rebellion in a whole lot of ways, political and so on... And I wondered if it hadn't got anything to do with that, because there is a time when pupils seem to rebel against that authority.

Student B: Well, with that I think it differs from school to school and from place to place. As a rule of school you hardly find the children rebelling against the rule, even if it's oppressive, but it's not easy to find it, why because the background at home. The child is taught the adult is always right. So if the teacher says do this, you will do it, even if you are crying, you will do it, because it is the adult that told you so. But with the township children it's different now, because most of time they don't live with their parents, they live with another adult at home who are not their parents. It differs the way they are taught the things, so they start thinking for themselves. They do the things... Then maybe there is no one at home, mother is coming late, so they start thinking this is right, this is wrong, then they start acting against the authority that is applied to them at school. So I think it's one of the reasons why the children decide to rebel. Now they are exposed in a situation where they have to think for themselves - the mother has left at 6am and they have to go to school at 8am, and there is no one,

so they think for themselves. They do all the things for themselves, then they even come before she comes back home... This is one of the reasons, but in rural areas or in rural schools it's not easy to find this.

Interviewer: Now do you think, it says here: *Teachers should correct students cultural mistakes*. Now you have been in cross cultural schools, and the KwaZulu/DET agreed with that.

Student B: I also agree with that. Because most of the parents especially mothers believe that a child is sent to school to be morally educated as well. Also the teachers they agree that parents should do the same. So if the child misbehaves the teacher thinks she/he was not taught to behave at home - morally this time. So the teachers play that role as well as the parent to let the child grow, so we have to have the cultural background of the same kind. Especially Christianity assists the behaviour of the child - more especially they used to say a Christian do not do this, so you mustn't do it. Even at home they say the same.

Interviewer: What about in a school like R---ds School? You were teaching there Zulu... teaching Zulu children... but what about where you have cross cultural teacher of a different culture"?

Student B: I'd say its quite difficult, because if you look at the child and you will see that a child is playing, and she knows. Then you see that she does the thing that is done by the children you expect to do it, but you do not expect the child to do that. So it's very difficult. She is still a child, and she takes the things from other children. She doesn't really mean to do the wrong thing, but she is mixed with them, and she takes it, and maybe the teacher is like that, she accepts it. It's easy for her to get into that situation and do a thing, but you as a teacher from a Black society, you do not expect a child to do like that. It's quite difficult. Just to quote one thing, I've got a 4 year old daughter. She goes to a multiracial pre-school. When she sits, she crosses her legs, but when with her grandfather he says, "How are you sitting? Do you sit like that if you are a girl?" Then she has got to change and sit the other way. Then she is taught to sit that way at school. So I feel pity for her because she do not know what is correct. She is taught the other way at school, she is expected to do something else at home, and she cannot be blamed for that. The grandfather cannot understand why she is doing that because she is being taught that at school. The same thing that happens with children that go to multiracial school, they end up not knowing what is correct. This is accepted where she is during the day, but this is not accepted at home, or among the society she is living with, so it's a problem. It's a problem, not unless such time that comes when everybody understands if the child comes from a multicultural school she has to behave differently. The people start to hate those children in taxis and buses, they speak English, they don't respect, they do all the things, they sit like... and the children end up not knowing what exactly to do.

Interviewer: And so you think that correcting the cultural mistake is a good thing so that they become adaptable between the different cultures?

Student B: Ja but I don't see any way of working it out because we want our children to go and get the best education. At the same time, it's not only the education they get. They also get the different cultural behaviours for which they are not acceptable in our societies. I see no solution to that so far. Not unless the education system give an accommodation for that - maybe if the multicultural school has got a period where there is a period with a teacher from that culture to teach children how a child behaves from a different culture from which it comes.

Interviewer: Yes, I think it is happening in some schools. There are... how far they are involved in cultural rather than educational issues is another issue. This now links up with the next question here, *Teachers should change classroom rules to fit pupils culture*. The interesting thing is that they disagreed, KwaZulu/DET students disagreed with that.

Student B: I don't say they did disagree to that exactly, but I feel that they didn't understand. How can that be applied since their school is predominantly the Black school? How can that be applied?

Interviewer: You think it's because they don't understand?

Student B: They didn't understand. How can that be applied? If you change the classroom role you change for whom? Because their class is full of those people who have the same belief. I think it's one of the reasons because the way the roles are applied, but the children... in fact, they are subject to the changes.. any changes.. so they are flexible. They are still young to take everything, so they get confused sometimes, but the sooner they do get into it the better.

Interviewer: Now, where is your daughter at school?"

Student B: She's at Empangeni - there with my sister. She's not staying with me. But I think she has got a problem with behaviour. But the thing that she is doing at school and at home... my sister is not that much aware of the changes in teaching or understanding. If she comes up with crayons and she wants to write, they say no, no, no, you are dirtying the walls, you are causing trouble, take those papers back to the dirt bin, and she do not understand because at school she is encouraged to take paper and draw. She uses crayons now and then. If she wants to do that at home she is discouraged, and she gets confused. She wants to sit the way she is taught. She wants to please the teacher that she can be able to sit up straight and fold her legs. At home, no, sit up properly, its not the way you sit. Mummy, I want to sit as my teacher tells me to sit. Even myself, I don't know what to say to her ... What is correct.

Interviewer: Is there anything else you have noticed because you've taught in township schools, in Kwa Mashu, then you went to R----ds and been at N---t School - any other cultural differences? You've watched White teachers teaching, you've seen Coloured teachers and Black teachers teaching. Are there any other differences that you can pinpoint or think of , or any other problems?"

Student B: There is not that much difference but the difference is the way of teaching like applying the discipline. I cannot discipline a township child like I have disciplined a N-----t School child or a R-----d child. It doesn't mean anything to her, I have to discipline the way their teachers used to discipline. If they apply the corporal punishment I have to apply it but if I don't they are not going to do the work because Mrs Z---- is a nice smiling lady all the time. But the thing that I've noticed with the children from a multi cultural or White school they are so lovely - they love their teachers, they love everything, you do even if you discipline them they love you afterwards. I remember my last day at N-----t School they were imitating me doing all the things that I used to do in class - "sit down" and they laughed and they liked it. So I can say they're so loving towards the teacher but with the township ones they are a bit scared - they feel that the teacher is authority - I don't have to speak to her, I don't have to ask her any questions although they love you you can see they do - they smile at you but they cannot say things to you or ask some questions - but with the other ones they ask you Miss - where do you stay, who do you stay with do you have a child, how old is he, we want to see the pictures? Those types of questions show that they are closer to you, they get to know you - you are their friends or whatever. With the township ones they love you, you can see they love you, but they cannot say anything to you, not unless you go to them and ask them questions.

End of transcription.

Interviewer: Do you think *pupils should write so as to match the teachers ideas?* ... Pupils should write so as to match the teachers ideas, in other words a pupil, when they are writing, should write the teachers ideas down. The NED, HOD and HOR students said no, pupils should not write so as to match the teachers ideas but the KwaZulu/DET students said yes, they should write to match the teachers ideas. Now why do you think that was the case? Your knowledge of both lots of schools. What usually happens in township schools, I mean are they....you had that experience at R---ds School, you had the experience at N----t School and you did teach in your second year in the township didn't you? Ja, and then are the experiences the same?

Student C: No, actually maybe with the DET and KwaZulu students it's because, I mean in our schools it's the way things go. A child is not allowed to be... to think independently and creatively. They just take what the teacher has taught them and then give it back. Sometimes they can't even use or express themselves independently, but saying the same thing, putting it in a different manner.

Interviewer: Ja, so do you think that if you were in a KwaZulu/DET school to succeed you would actually have to just write what the teacher wants rather than write independently?

Student C: Yes, because it's the way things are going. I mean if you were a child. I've seen some creative children, Mrs Ralfe, but even in that school in which I worked in 1993, some were so clever, you know. You could see that they wanted to say something. Some said it verbally in the class, but they couldn't put it down in their own words because it's the way they have been taught: do it like this, not the other way. The teacher is always right you know.

Interviewer: And if they do it the other way, do they get penalized?

Student C: No, not exactly, but it's something which is very rare.

Interviewer: Oh, it's very rare. Because you see the other one I've got here is... ja it's a question and answer thing as well... But here is another one, *Pupils should acknowledge verbally not knowing an answer.* In other words, they should say if they don't know what's going on. Now here again, the NED, the HOR and the HOD said yes, they should say if they don't know an answer, but the KwaZulu/DET said no, if you don't know an answer you mustn't say so. I wonder why they would actually say that - that you shouldn't acknowledge, shouldn't say, that you don't know an answer?

Student C: In that question I disagree with them. Because as I've said before, in the school, even when I was still at school at the primary level, in a class we used to say, no, we don't know the answer, miss.

Interviewer: And did you ask questions? You felt free to ask questions if you didn't know the answer?

Student C: Yes, but at times you felt that your peers are going to look at you as if you're stupid. Most of the time that's what prevents pupils from asking questions.

Interviewer: Because I've done some video taping of classroom interaction at an NED school that is very multicultural and, for example, has small numbers of White pupils but there are Coloured pupils, Black pupils and Indian pupils and it's just everybody there. But the Black pupils don't answer questions. You know, they tend to be much quieter than other pupils. Did you find that at R----ds School?

Student C: No, I didn't find that. I found they even questioned me, and then like, when I gave them the answer, miss, why do you say so? Why is this the answer? Maybe when I work this out, or as far as I know, this is how it goes, Miss. Then why do you say this? Maybe it's because they've been to such schools from the beginning and so they're so used to asking questions and questioning things.

Interviewer: Do you think that in the township schools the pupils ask as many questions?

Student C: No, definitely not.

Interviewer: And why not?

Student C: Maybe they are not encouraged in the class to ask questions because even when you know the answer, like there was a "mixed" student from Duzuma, so you know it happened in the past that the child knew the answer but the student gave them the wrong answer. Then when she said, "But Sir, this is wrong, this is how we should go about it then the answer should be like this." Then she said, "no, this is the correct way." In that way he was discouraging the child, so all the children they said the teacher knows everything. He's right you're wrong. Those children really who are keen to ask, Mrs Ralfe, are at a disadvantage in the township schools.

Interviewer: Then another one here is: *Pupils should ask questions so the teacher will notice them.* And the KwaZulu/DET people said yes, that a pupil should ask questions so the teacher will notice them. Why do you think that is the case? Because it seems that questioning is not something... is there any reason why you think those students would have answered yes, they should ask questions?

Student C: Not sure. I'm not sure about that.

interviewer: Ja, somebody said maybe it's because the classes are so big, that it's... you have to be, if you want to ask a question, you've got to be noticed, you can't just look puzzled and then hope that a teacher's going to see you.

Student C: I think that depends on the teacher. I mean like, as I was there I could easily tell that the child was confused and that I used to take them during break time and lunch time and help them. Because I can easily tell, Mrs Ralfe, when a child doesn't understand. I know how to do that by looking at their faces. So I used to take them during break time and help them.

Interviewer: Now, another one here. Let the teacher go, *pupils should let the teacher go ahead of them when entering the class* and the KwaZulu DET group disagreed with that. Now when you were in a township school did they let you go ahead?

Student C: No - actually I let the children, I used to let the children go first and then go afterwards.

Interviewer: Is that how its normally done there?

Student C: Yes, in the schools, in township schools that's how they do it there. The teacher stands outside and lets the pupils all inside, and then goes in.

Interviewer: And if you're going through a door, who would go first? If you come to a door and there are pupils there?

Student C: They would stand aside.

Interviewer: They would stand aside. I see. No, that's fine because these are all things I want to query. Now, calling a teacher by his or her first name. *Pupils should call the teacher by his or her first name.* Now you did that at R---ds School didn't you? I'm asking this because the other group said no, you should not call a teacher by his or her first name, but the KwaZulu/DET students said yes, you should call a teacher by his or her first name.

Student C: You mean like me, as a student call my teacher?

Interviewer: Yes, because it went pupils should call a teacher by his or her first name, and they said they agreed with that, yes.

Student C: I don't know why they said that. Anyway, we are all entitled to our own opinions, but, as far as I know, it doesn't happen in our schools. Teachers are addressed as Mrs So and So or Mr.

Interviewer: But now you introduced yourself at R---ds School by your first name didn't you? Now why did you do that?

Student C: I don't know, it happened.

Interviewer: But did you do it the year before?

Student C: No.

Interviewer: But you did it at R---ds School, and I want you to tell me why, Nokothula.

Student C: Maybe because when we were in KwaMashu we were already introduced in the assembly as Miss so and so, Mr so and so, and then by the time I went to the

class they already knew that I was Miss K-----e so there was no way I was going to tell them I was Nokothula. No.

Interviewer: But why did you do it at R---ds School?

Student C: I don't know. It sort of felt right.

Interviewer: Do you think you made a mistake doing it at R---ds School?

Student C: No, because the pupils there they know their teachers names.

Interviewer: Ja, but what did they call you?

Student C: They called me Miss K-----e.

Interviewer: They called you Miss K-----e. Even though you introduced yourself by your first name? Ja, because that's an interesting one, you know how much using a first name is tied up with a - what I want to ask is... Is it a cultural norm? ...why the students said that, or whether it's a political thing?

Student C: Maybe its more cultural norm, Mrs Ralfe. You know, there's no, there's no closed border relationship between the teacher and the pupils. The teacher in our schools, I mean the child knows she's a pupil, there is no way she can be a little bit friendlier to the teacher to an extent that they find the teachers unapproachable if they have problems. Because how can you go to a person who never has time for you maybe just for a chat? Besides the time the teacher goes into the class is only for teaching the lessons and out she goes. There's no time for chatting to pupils, getting to know them better, which is happening in other schools. So I think that goes more to the cultural norm than anything.

Interviewer: Anything else, Ja. And then again, there's another question here that *pupils should talk the same amount as other pupils in the class*. Now the other three groups disagreed, but the KwaZulu/DET students agreed that pupils should talk the same amount as other pupils in class. Now why do you think that's the case?

Student C: (inaudible) I don't know.

Interviewer: You don't know why they would say that?

Student C: No, but it could be to do with the whole democratic issue ... you can't be different.

Interviewer: Do you think so?

Student C: Because some of the pupils can be creative. I used to point the hands of the very same pupils in the class. And some of them almost took all of the time in the class. I can't say that the... all the pupils should talk the same amount of time.

Interviewer: And then, what about making jokes in class, *pupils making jokes in class*, is that disapproved of generally?

Student C: I think it varies to the teacher. My class teacher she was open to this. But, one teacher in standard five, he really didn't like it, I know he's not the only one, Mrs Ralfe. Actually almost all the teachers they find it rude when the child is trying to show off to the other pupils and maybe to the student teacher in the class. Ja, and then afterwards they get the hiding.

Interviewer: Yes, now tell me something, you mentioned that showing off. Now in Zulu is there a term for showing off in class. Because now in English there's a slang word called "shlooping" and there's another word that my children use, it's called "sucking up." Now, sucking up is when a pupil will go to a teacher and try and do all the right things and carry the books and always be perfect. You know, you know the kind I'm talking about? Now is there a term in Zulu for that kind of pupil? Do pupils have a slang term in Zulu or a term they use for that kind of behavior?

Student C: Yes.

Interviewer: What is it?

Student C: Others say, (inaudible) or (inaudible) It means doing all the good things to the teacher so that he or she can make you pass at the end of the year or (inaudible) you want to be seen by the class and you think you are the best in class.

Interviewer: Oh I see, now are those slang terms?

Student C: Yes.

Interviewer: They are, I'm going to ask you to do me a favour. Can you write them down at the bottom there. Okay, because that I find interesting and the top one means that you are showing off to the teacher?

Student C: Yes.

Interviewer: And next one means that...

Student C: Doing things so that the teacher can make you pass.

Interviewer: Oh, okay fine. Now then there are just a few more about teachers. Now the other interesting thing here is one of the questions I've got was *Teachers should follow the course outlines or syllabus exactly*. Now the other three groups disagreed and the KwaZulu students agreed. Now why is that?

Student C: Well, it goes back to the thing I said before, there is creatively or I mean trying to think broadly is not encouraged in our schools - you just have to answer like something straight from the book - even when they make the notes they just take the book as it is write the notes on the board, on the board and then the pupil has to

answer and give it back as it is and to the extent that they're not even allowed to put the sentence in their own words but meaning the same thing. They've got to put it exactly as it is, as it was given to them.

Interviewer: Oh, so they're used to that then. They're used to that, and many I presume, think that that's what teaching is. Now the next one is corporal punishment. *Teachers should administer corporal punishment to pupils who misbehave* and there were a lot of... the rest of the groups disapproved. KwaZulu/DET said, yes, go for it. And why do you think that is?

Student C: Maybe its also one of the cultural things because in our homes you're not given the chance to reasoning - why did you do this? You're not asked to give your reasons, no. The minute you're told that you give the wrong thing you better be shivering and crying because you know what's coming next. Always there is a hiding. So they know that in class whenever they've done wrong it's just going to be spanked.

Interviewer: Do you think corporal punishment is a good thing?

Student C: No.

Interviewer: You don't.

Student C: I think it should be used as a last resort.

Interviewer: Ja, okay and the same, well I think the same. Well, I think the questions all interlink because the other one is: *Teachers should encourage pupils to disagree with them*. And, of course, the KwaZulu/DET came out very strongly no. So that goes back to the authoritarian thing. Now the other one here now, of the KwaZulu students, that *Teachers should not make mistakes in class*. And there again very strongly you've got the disagreement of the... the... of the other three groups and the agreement of KwaZulu/DET students. What do you think?

Student C: Okay, they agree. But I've seen teachers making mistakes in class.

Interviewer: Ja but generally, I think you said even earlier on to me you said if they always believe in the teacher. That authoritarian thing. The other one is *teachers should be able to answer any question on any subject*. And they agreed with that.

Student C: But it doesn't happen like that.

Interviewer: It doesn't happen like that. Ja, that's what I want to know. Oh, so you say it doesn't actually happen that way.

Student C: No, it actually doesn't happen that way because sometimes I'm asked a question which is scientifically based and then the teacher says, ask your science teacher. Because it's a lot of specialization in high schools, it's not the other way round like the teacher having his or her own class and teaching every subject, you know.

Interviewer: Now, this is a very puzzling one, I want you to listen carefully. *Teachers should treat pupils as the social equals of teachers.* And the other three groups disagreed and the KwaZulu DET students agreed. Teachers should treat the students as the social equals of teachers. Why do you think they answered that way?

Student C: I don't know again because in our culture, I'm sort of going there again.

Interviewer: No, I want you to do that.

Student C: There's no equality in our culture between us and the others. Because it's more of the thing in the school like the teacher is the "current figure" in the class and in the home, no ways can you... no ways can you talk to your parent, maybe like ask if they can ask for your opinion, about something in the house. It never happens.

Interviewer: But you know it's interesting, because by the same token black KwaZulu/DET pupils, school pupils are a lot more militant than their White, Coloured, Indian counterparts. After all it was this whole political thing that... and from that, one tends to think that... You tell me all these cultural things - but it's interesting because school children have been used so much in the political struggle. I mean I wondered if that was a response to a so-called democratization and does it still exist in the high schools?

Student C: Yes.

Interviewer: It still exists in the high schools?

Student C: Yes, that's why I say I usually tell myself that if I should happen to get a post in the township high school I will never go there. As they come out with questions you don't expect in the class and even the way they treat you - they don't know whether you are a teacher or what. Especially if you look a bit more like their equal or the same age group with them (inaudible).

Interviewer: Oh, really. Well then, that actually answers this question because, we are obviously talking about the students who answered this questionnaire. It was their second day at E-----d. And they will have come out of school as high school pupils and you reckon there's a big difference between a primary school pupil and a high school pupil?

Student C: Yes there is in the townships, there is.

Interviewer: So that might be, I mean it might be that they would expect teachers to treat pupils as their social equals in the high school? And do you think... what do you think that's a response to... politicization of the youth?

Student C: I think it's most of that because if it wasn't for political awareness they would never have considered it. Even some of their questions tend to go to politics and especially when it comes to history. The more questions they ask are based on politics, say they want to know...no, they're questioning things now, in the high school

that is. And there I found that the teachers clearly answered them but by the time 30 minutes has gone they haven't studied a thing but what they've learnt I think will have helped them a lot than what they could have learnt from the book.

Interviewer: Now, what about, lets move on to cross-cultural classrooms and have look at cultural errors. I mean for example at R---ds School you had multi-cultural classes. Do you think *teachers should correct cultural mistakes that pupils make?*

Student C: Well, maybe as time goes on but I don't think its going to be easy. I mean like when a child starts going to a multi racial school at a high school level, maybe Standard six - it will be difficult for them. But, if they started from a very young age they can still adapt and change their ways.

Interviewer: And, *do you think classrooms rules should be changed to fit in with cultural norms* or do you think really a classroom culture is a classroom culture?

Student C: Like for an example....

Interviewer: Well, to change... for example, if there are particular cultural norms, should... do you think the classroom should change to accommodate those?

Student C: Yes I think so.

Interviewer: You think it should?

Student C: Yes, because if you say we're living in a multicultural society everyone has got to be included.

End of transcript.

Interviewer: ... that's why I want to ask your opinion, so there's no right or wrong answer, I just want your ideas, actually that's what I'm asking. Now the first one here was "*Pupils should write so as to match the teachers ideas*" and the other three groups said no, pupils should not write so as to match the teachers ideas, but a lot, a big group of KwaZulu/DET students said, yes, pupils should write to match the teachers ideas. Now why do you think that was the case?

Student D: I think the whole system, you see, if you look at DET schools (inaudible) you find that in DET schools the teacher is a role model. It's like everything with the teacher is judged as absolutely correct. Children don't have to question that. And on the other hand I've found that in classroom (inaudible) you find that the situation is definitely more relaxing. I think children like to have an opportunity to make their own decisions.

Interviewer: I see, so that, when you were at school you would have written what you knew the teacher wanted?

Student D: I think...I tried by (inaudible) rule to be flexible because I understand what they think what always comes into my mind.... if I'm at high school.

Interviewer: Ja, but you know, I'm asking for a general answer, not necessarily you, because I know you are an E-----d student. I'm asking more what happens, you know all over, a general view of what happens in KwaZulu.... in those schools.

Student D: I think sort of....

Interviewer: Yes,

student D: (inaudible) pupils there do it differently.

Interviewer: Now the other one here was, *Pupils should acknowledge verbally not knowing an answer* and the KwaZulu/DET schools said no, pupils should not acknowledge verbally that they don't know an answer. And I noticed in videotaped classroom interaction that the black pupils are very quiet. When they don't know an answer they don't say anything. They don't say I don't understand or I don't know the answer they just say nothing. Why is that?

Student D: I don't exactly understand why is that, but I know that happens. You see I am coming from those DET schools. If I don't know the answer I just sit there and wait for someone who knows the answer even if I don't understand most of the time. I think that's the worst part of it, because if I don't understand I have to keep quiet. I can't say why is that.... I think it's the way the teachers teach... teach in these DET schools. I blame the whole system because you find that maybe you can't just raise up your hand and you don't know the answer, that would be like being rude.

Interviewer: That would be like being rude?

Student D: Ja, I think so.

Interviewer: So you would never do that.

Student D: Yes, the teacher would think you were rude.

Interviewer: To ask a question?

Student D: Ja.

Interviewer: Ja, that's an interesting one because, of course another one is that - that it's puzzling in the light of what you have just said - *pupils should ask questions so the teacher will notice them*, and the pupils from KwaZulu/DET said yes, pupils should ask questions so the teacher will notice them, which somehow doesn't go together with what you have just told me. Why do you think they answered that?

Student D: Okay, I'll put it like this. Most of the time pupils from DET... I'll say DET...

Interviewer: Yes, no that's all right, because I put the two together, anyway.

Student D: You find that most of the time when they are asking a question. They ask a question so that they understand, not that they don't understand. If they don't understand they'll keep quiet they won't participate in the classroom.

Interviewer: Oh, now that's very interesting. I want to ask you something else though. Is that kind of thing, that kind of behaviour, to ask a question to show that you understand... Is that an acceptable behaviour?

Student D: I say so according to the situation. They are working on how to impress the teacher and not that if they don't understand. They feel like, maybe the teacher will be embarrassed or will be cross if they ask questions which show they don't understand.

Interviewer: Oh I see, it is a reflection on the teacher if they don't understand. Because apropos of that would asking questions and knowing the answers would that be interpreted as "showing off" - there is a word in English called "schlooping" and "sucking up". That is the pupil that tries to get the favour of the teacher now is that, does that happen in DET schools or is that perceived as a bad thing to do?

Student D: I won't say its a bad thing to do but it just happens, I don't know why. The bottom line of it is that they try to impress the teacher, and that's it. I don't think there's something I can say about it.

Interviewer: Is this whole issue of "sucking up" to the teacher is that negatively viewed? Do the other pupils not like it... or teachers not like it... or do they expect their students to say that they know?

Student D: I think, but I don't understand your question very well. I've said that what they do is that the teacher will assume that pupils understand, and the time they ask questions which sometimes they know the answers, the time that repetition.

Interviewer: Oh yes those repetition sort of lessons. Now, calling a teacher by his or her first name. Now, this is an interesting one because I think you all did it at R---ds School. *Pupils should call a teacher by his or her first name.* The KwaZulu/DET respondents agreed with that. Now why do you think they agreed with that, because it doesn't happen in the DET schools does it? Pupils should call a teacher by his or her first name, call you Cyril instead of Mr N---go.

Student D: I would say that must depend on the classroom . If the teacher (inaudible).

Interviewer: But does it happen in DET schools?

Student D: No, it doesn't happen and I think it is not allowed. I can tell you from my own experience that most of the schools I went to - all the schools I went to were DET schools - maybe it's only one teacher who (inaudible).

Interviewer: Oh really... but now when you went to R---ds School didn't you introduce yourself by your first name ?

Student D: To the pupils?

Interviewer: Yes.

Student D: Firstly, I didn't, but as the time goes on even my surnames was hard for some of them to call me. I allowed them to use my first name.

Interviewer: And did they use your first name?

Student D: That's what they used most after I told them.

Interviewer: Did you think you made a mistake?

Student D: No, I don't think so, because I don't think there is any problem in that. What I was trying to do was make the situation more comfortable for them so that whenever they were referring to me it would be easy to call me by my first name, if it is a problem to call me by my surname.

Interviewer: Okay, fine. Now another one here: *Pupils should talk the same amount as other pupils in class.* And they agreed with that, that pupils should talk the same amount as other pupils in class. Why do you think they agreed with that? The others all disagreed.

Student D: I don't think...OK..In reality people don't talk the same amount. I don't think even in the classroom that must be an issue. But I think the teacher must try to

see that all the pupils are accommodated in the classroom in the sense that they can all get a chance to talk if they want to.

Interviewer: Oh, I see. Yes. Ja. Now what about pupils making jokes in class - do you approve of that?

Student D: Depending on what type of joke it is.

Interviewer: In what sort of situation?

Interviewer: Now lets look at teachers... There are a whole lot here that... *teachers should follow the course outline syllabus exactly*, and the KwaZulu/DET said yes, very strongly, they agreed that a teacher should follow the course outline, the syllabus exactly, and the other three groups actually disagreed, but the KwaZulu/DET very strongly said they must follow the course outline exactly. Why is that?

Student D: I think because... I agree with them especially in those schools out there they must stick to the syllabus, and that is what they do, because I think they are used to that. The way they teach they always stick to the facts and they don't teach.... what is this.... what they teach is what is on the books. Absolutely like that - they don't try to show any correspondence with the situation in the work. That's how they teach, that's why it can be easier for them, that's why they stick to it.

Interviewer: I see. The other one here- *teachers should encourage pupils to disagree with them*. And while the other three groups said yes, KwaZulu/DET said no, teachers should not encourage pupils to disagree with them.

Student D: I think by disagreeing that's the opening of a debate in the classroom. The disagreements or the debates in the classroom are okay only if they are for a learning purpose.

Interviewer: Do most teachers not encourage pupils to disagree with them?

Student D: I think they are just scared of challenges, because the children maybe... Sometimes I think that that's just one of the problems, that sometimes teachers tend to sometimes indoctrinate pupils like to accept some things they don't agree with. That's why they won't stand for being opposed by a student.

Interviewer: And then the other one here - *teachers should not make mistakes in class* and the KwaZulu/DET agreed with that, while the rest of them said yes, teachers can make mistakes in class, but KwaZulu/DET said no, they should not make mistakes in class, and the other question they agreed on. Teachers should be able to answer any question on any subject and the rest of the groups disagreed but the KwaZulu/DET agreed - so in both of those KwaZulu DET said teachers should not make mistakes in class and *teachers should be able to answer any question on any subject*. Why do they say that?

Student D: They say that because we find that in KwaZulu pupils tend to accept the teachers as if they are people who are very clever who know everything, you see. Now, even teachers try for honours to show that they know everything. Most of the time you will find that they don't accept that they don't know.

Interviewer: Ja, okay fine. Now another one that is puzzling, because you tell me how authoritarian it is, but, *teachers should treat pupils as the social equals of teachers*. The other three groups disagreed, but KwaZulu/DET agreed that teachers should treat pupils as the social equals of teachers. Now why do you think they said that? Specially if the schools are so authoritarian, and yet they say that teachers should treat pupils as social equals?

Student D: I would say that at school teachers tend to treat pupils as if they are just one thing. They don't look even if they have a problem they don't look at the problem as individuals they treat them as one thing.

Interviewer: And do you think that is a response to that?

Student D: Yes, and maybe if I can add on that, I say the problem on that is the number of pupils in classrooms. You find that if there are 80, you find that you must treat them as one thing.

Interviewer: It becomes more difficult...

Student D: Yes, you can't treat them separately.

Interviewer: Now, corporal punishment... that is another one they differed on. *Teachers should administer corporal punishment to those pupils who misbehave*. The other three groups said no, KwaZulu/DET said yes. Why is that the case? What is the story with corporal punishment in the KwaZulu/DET schools?

Student D: I think what I notice is that corporal punishment was taken as a part of teaching. Now I think that without corporal punishment... even pupils are used to it... they always expect it. I don't know how I would accept it, but that is how it is.

Interviewer: That is how it is. When you did prac. teaching this time were they still using corporal punishment?

Student D: Yes, some of the teachers.

Interviewer: Even though it is now banned?

Student D: Yes, by the time I was in prac. teaching it was banned already, but they were still doing it.

Interviewer: Now, *Teachers should correct students cultural mistakes*.. Now this relates particularly to a multicultural classroom. Do you think that teachers should correct students cultural mistakes?

Student D: Yes, I think that they must correct cultural mistakes, but more that that I think there must be discussions sometimes on cultures so that these people can accept one another.... Accept one another as the same.. and I think that the teacher must encourage the pupils to accept each other.

Interviewer: And then do you think though *that classroom rules should be changed to suit pupils cultures...*? I mean, for example, if you have a certain set of rules in a school, or a certain set of rules in a classroom, do you think those rules should be changed to accommodate that culture? Or do you think the rules must just stay the same?

Student D: If those who (inaudible) the regulations of the school they may be banned but I don't think the rule must be changed to accommodate all the people. I think that that's not easy. But rules must be made in such a way that they can accommodate multicultural pupils.

Interviewer: Within those... Ja. I have covered most... There is one here I'll ask you anyway - *teachers should should talk more often than pupils* and it is interesting that the other group said yes, and the KwaZulu/DET said no, teachers should talk more often than pupils, and I don't know how they interpreted that question. Because they said no, that teachers should not talk more often than pupils. Have you any thoughts on that, any idea why they answered that way? Teachers should talk more often than pupils and they disagreed, they said no, teachers should not talk more often than pupils.

Student D: Who disagreed with that one?

Interviewer: The KwaZulu/DET disagreed with that.

Student D: I don't know, but what I know out there in the schools, is that the teachers who do the most talking, and I think that they will find they are compatible with that. I really don't understand.

Interviewer: I think that maybe there is a misunderstanding of the question there. That they should have answered like that.

End of transcript.

Interviewer: one of the statements was *Pupils should write so as to match Teachers ideas*. The HOR, HOD & NED students disagreed, but KwaZulu/DET said yes, pupils should write so as to match the teachers ideas. Why is that? Why do you think they responded like that?

Student E: er... er... Do you mean they have to... to...

Interviewer: ... that pupils should write in the same way as the teachers, or with the same ideas that the teacher has.

Student E: OK... For any of the school subjects?

Interviewer: For anything... for anything, yes. But I'm particularly interested in the fact that KwaZulu/DET respondents said yes, Pupils should write so as to match the teachers ideas, and the other three groups said no, they shouldn't write to match the teachers ideas. Why do you think they answered in that way?

Student E: I think, especially in most of our schools, the teachers they just follow the syllabus, maybe as it is there, if they want the pupils to learn. They want everything to follow the book or pattern. The answer, when they're certain, maybe the test, the teacher must take it from what she has told them to write, which is not just facilitating their thinking because they won't be just critical thinkers as they just follow the pattern the teacher wants. But it's always done like this, they just want, they like, people should write what they say to write.

Interviewer: Another one - *Pupils should acknowledge/agree verbally that they do not know an answer?* Other three groups said Yes, pupils should say when they don't know an answer, but the KwaZulu/DET students said No, they shouldn't acknowledge verbally when they don't know an answer?

Student E: It's just that the situation in our school it's... it's... maybe it's because the teachers themselves... I don't think they are child centred... We always learn things as they want us to do. You know, if the classes are perhaps 90... 90 students in... 90 pupils in the classroom, so the teachers do not even have the time to ask them. Do you understand or not? Because if they, you didn't understand, she is not going to go back and repeat what she has been saying because she's tired of this... this stress. There is too much people and repeating everything. So people will not always agree to say we don't understand, because it would seem as if you weren't even listening although maybe a teacher wouldn't have even said it in the right way. But she has been teaching.

Interviewer: So they would say that you hadn't been listening?

Student E: They would say that. I'm sure they're forced by the situation, that there is always... KwaZulu classrooms, they're always combining maybe three classes at once, maybe 150 in a class. You see, if you think in that way, you see that, maybe they... it's that cause of too much children make them not asking, Did you understand? because it

is not often asked if you understand. If it is asked, you find it not easy to say I didn't hear, because you would look even stupid in front of the children. She would just be harsh in that position.

Interviewer: Now another one that's an interesting one, *pupils should let the teacher go ahead of them when entering the class*. The other three said yes, pupils should let the teacher go ahead of them when entering a class, and the KwaZulu/DET said no, pupils should not let teachers go ahead of them when entering a class?

Student E: Well, that depends on the situation, because sometimes at the schools... where I was last year, the teachers were... they always use their classrooms, as maybe during break, as the staff room is open they don't even come out of their classroom most of the time. They just would just stay there in the class, and the pupils would just wait outside, maybe until she tells them to get inside, especially in primary. So, it's.. I can't say really that's how does it happen. It depends on the situation, but we used to just queue outside until the teacher let us in. Queue outside until they let us in and then once she's told us to come inside we just....

Interviewer: Now, *pupils should ask questions so the teacher will notice them*. While the other groups said no, pupils should not ask questions so the teacher notices them, the KwaZulu/DET pupils said yes, pupils should ask questions so the teacher would notice them. Now why do you think that that is the case? Why do they ask questions so the teacher would notice them?

Student E: The pupils ask questions about the subject... or any questions?

Interviewer: Well, just questions, I didn't specify. Pupils should ask questions so the teacher will notice them. Do pupils try to get the teacher to notice them?

Student E: I can't say that I've experienced that, because in my experience we haven't been... even we used to be afraid of the teacher, even asking anything, because that question... if that question goes back to that one the teachers about....

Interviewer: ... matching teachers ideas?

Student E: ... so you always listen and take what you are given by the teacher, and then we didn't really even ask, unless the teacher is out and we just talk to your neighbour. You didn't used to ask questions. Even when I'm doing prac. teaching the pupils were not keen to ask questions. When they ask questions it's when they always reported that somebody has done this... reporting things and not a good question about the lesson. But those which are in NED schools, like at G----e, I found they made sure they asked everything - the language they've just developed, English, they want to use it, so they ask more questions. They even correct you if you're confusing words like sun and song. They just like to do that.

Interviewer: Then, calling the teacher by his/her first name, they agreed, KwaZulu/DET pupils agreed, that *pupils should call a teacher by his or her first name*. Now that I found unusual because you told me they're very authoritarian.

Student E: They don't do it - even if they can ask it in the class room. Maybe because when they are here, they have learnt some, maybe, new skills or experience in the college, and they think it must be done. But we didn't do that, even in our experience. Maybe they should, it's something which should be done. Respect, that is often in use at schools and at home. It's something we're not used to.

Interviewer: So it's not done?

Student E: No, never done.

Interviewer: And then *pupils should talk the same amount as other pupils in class*, they, KwaZulu/DET, agreed that pupils should talk the same amount as other pupils in the class. Why do you think that?

Student E: Pupil interaction?

Interviewer: Yes, they've said you must talk exactly the same amount as other pupils.

Student E: In the classroom you have got different pupils which have got different sets of principles. There are those that are quiet, introverted, extroverted so they can't just be the same. I won't think it's the thing which you say must be done. Unless you just want them to be involved, maybe on a certain thing, but not just talking, they can't be. They can't do that. Others they are clever, but they can keep quiet and until you get even worried, but they will just give you their work you want.

Interviewer: Tell me is there... now in white schools there is a term called "shlooping" or, "sucking up", which means, actually, to catch the teacher's attention so that you can maybe get good marks, do you know what I'm talking about? Does that happen in KwaZulu/DET schools?

Student E: I won't say it happens that much, because the pupils in our schools they maybe help our people, but they don't have that much confidence even if they are talking with the teacher or drawing their attention. They just stay far from the teacher if they do it. It's not just a case of... maybe.. It's something which you can find which can be even observed clearly. Me, I don't remember having that kind of experience but I won't say there isn't such things. The teacher chooses the child he wants to... Maybe like, pupils used to clean the teachers shoes, if there is mud or dust on the table, in that case the teacher chooses a child, or the child chooses to do it. Maybe in that way it happens.

Interviewer: Now teachers, *teachers should follow the course outlined or syllabus exactly*. Now the other three groups disagreed, but KwaZulu/DET agreed, that teachers should follow the course outline or syllabus exactly.

Student E: I always find conflict I was in wherein mostly got White teachers and Black children so its good for African students at High School. I found out that teachers they always follow the syllabus as it is, if it's put the book here, they put the book here, whereas we are not taught that here we wanted to change the things and

we find it... maybe we are hindering some progress in KwaZulu. The teacher wants to finish the syllabus, maybe that just dealing with the syllabus once she finishes, they follow it. They don't even make pupils maybe, motivated by even always submitting... on Friday assembly they are marked so that Principal will announce them in assembly. But the White teachers were... during the day their classes were always called up in the assembly to motivate pupils.

Interviewer: So, there was a big difference there?

Student E: There was a big difference.

Interviewer: Now corporal punishment. *Teachers should administer corporal punishment to those pupils who misbehave* and here again the KwaZulu\DET agreed that we should administer corporal punishment to pupils who misbehave. What do you think of corporal punishment? Is it quite common in black schools?

Student E: It is very common because everyone does it. It's done at home, it's done in school and severely done in school. I don't know whether to them the idea.. as we are here in tertiary. Where I'm doing prac. teaching it is something which we taking out from us... that we mustn't do. From as early as age one year you give corporal punishment right through to matric. Home as well as the schools. So I don't support it as I don't see the good results. Corporal punishment can chase the child from school for the whole of his life. Maybe the child can just not go to school and be afraid there will be beating and then never go to school the next day.. and if she sees its 2 days now ... Even though there will be punishment - like in my experience I remember other children they do things and then they are afraid of going back home because they know what they're going to get - that's why they run away and stay in the streets, become street kids, or run away from schools, because school doesn't have positive implications for them. They learn, but at the end they get beaten. But may be better now because of the feeding scheme at the school. They'll be beaten but they will get food. I know some cases people who run away from home or from school, it's from punishment.

Interviewer: Now *teachers should encourage pupils to disagree with them*, and again, the KwaZulu\DET disagreed with that, they said no, teachers should not encourage children to disagree with them. They also said *teachers should not make mistakes in class* and *teachers should be able to answer any question in any subject*. They should not make mistakes in class, and they should not encourage pupils to disagree with them. So why do you think... Those three are very much linked together... Those the three there... Is that the authoritarian...?

Student E: ... because even if you can go and observe like in the classroom where I was during prac. teaching, also the teachers are opposed now to be in the classroom while student teachers are there so that the children wouldn't be naughty or asking those questions or disagreeing with the teachers. They don't take that as a challenge, a student asking. They're just there to keep them quiet, so that they don't ask anything and it's always done. I can ... from other school, and go to another school, I know that I can do as I please with the children. I can punish them if I want if they are asking silly

questions or irrelevant questions which I can't answer. I just do as I like, I won't even encourage them to keep quiet.

Interviewer: These are the last questions and they have to do with culture. Do you think *teachers should correct students cultural mistakes*? Because the KwaZulu/DET students agreed that teachers should correct students cultural mistakes if they make a mistake, if they're in a school that's perhaps heavily weighted in another culture. Should teachers correct their mistakes?

Student E: If it causes conflict. Like there's a child at home and there's a thing where maybe they bring in those leather bangles. The teacher at school... The child knows exactly that it's something everyone is wearing at home and she has to keep it on when going to school. She finds that there's a conflict when the teacher's telling them that the thing is smelling, you don't have to wear the thing, take it out. Or others even cut it off to the children. The children are, will be, confused and then they come and report it at home and it wouldn't sound correct because we know traditionally it's something which is done by all the Africans. I don't think it is right because if it's... What do you mean by mistakes?

Interviewer: Yes, I thought much less of their wearing anything, but other mistakes. Maybe in the way they address people, or politeness conventions, and so on... If they make a mistake, that's a cultural mistake. Do you think a teacher should correct it?

Student E: I don't think so really unless... Because in this world we are all following the Westernized culture, but if it's maybe a bracelet... They find it very strange to other people but it's not always done because what is good to other culture is bad to another, or what languages are different. Like in Xhosa words can mean bad things if you translate them in Zulu, see, but that child won't think it's wrong for what he said in the class. Because there are words which really are sometimes disgusting if you hear them, but the child knows that language and it's the language he speaks and then if the teacher is using that, maybe knowing that the child is not coming from... has not got the same cultural background as this. Like the one who was being staying in Johannesburg - the language there, especially Zulu, is not different as the one here. If you know the teacher now will take that child and then knowing that she is capable, but also (inaudible) ensure the progress... Where the child now is not going to be boosted or in, you know, success, as such, of the child who has been coming from Johannesburg. It's my auntie's child, she gave me position-wise, but I know that just now in June she got about 15 or 16 years. I think, maybe its just that they are looking at that her Zulu is mixed with... its mixed... its got... in Johannesburg they have 9 languages. They mix Afrikaans, English, Zulu Xhosa and I am sure the child has a problem in learning. Her progress now is slow. She is not getting the position that she is supposed to get, and the parents are not happy at all.

Interviewer: Now then, do you think that *teachers should change classroom rules to fit a pupils culture*? Do you think classroom, classroom regulations and rules, do you think they should be altered to fit a pupils culture?

Student E: Since there is this thing... of a multi-cultural thing... I think we would have to change, because just to suit everyone... Not that it's good for this culture and bad for that culture, but really, they must change. Like here at college, lecturers also find they are... they are marking others as like... you see... you are... like... I don't know how to put it. But you may write psychology essay, the lecturer there will... the other lecturer will just mark the essay as, I understand what she is trying to say, but it's just a language deprivation, it's not first language speaker, but I do understand, there is an idea and meaning in this essay, it's just something is short... The others teachers don't just penalize you totally for that until you fail. Other lecturers, they want you to put it as they want it, as they will phrase it as first language speakers, whereas really all students who are here, I'm sure about 80% students, didn't go to matric to the multiracial schools where there is English. The others got the language problem.

End of transcript.

APPENDIX D

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE VIDEO RECALL

VIDEO 1 - from DEAD POET'S SOCIETY

D1

SUBJECT NO 1

Home Language: Zulu
School Attended: Kwazulu/DET
Ethnic Group: Zulu
Sex: Female

1 ...in a classroom and then there ..
2 there was a teacher
3 and then ..
4 I don't know maybe whether the children
5 were concentrating or not.. er..
6 suddenly we saw the.. the children ..
7 taking off the pages.. of.. of a certain book
8 and then.. the.. the teacher.. er.. went
9 and fetched the.. the bin...
10 the dustbin..
11 and then the.. the paper
12 that they were ripping from that book..
13 they put them in that.. er.. in that.. that bin.. then..
14 I.. I don't know maybe that... that man...
15 there.. there was a man who came...
16 and then.. er.. I think.. maybe he was schoolmaster
17 he was..
18 maybe he heard .. the... that there was ..er..
19 noise in the class
20 and then he came to check what was going on..
21 then he.. he came in
22 then he... then he...
23 talked with that teacher..
24 then.. that teacher which was inside the classroom..
25 and then... after that
26 the.. er.. teacher.. er..
27 the.. the teacher says.. er..
28 he didn't (inaudible)
29 in the middle of the classroom..
30 between desks..
31 and then.. I think that he was telling the.. the children
32 maybe he was explaining.. to the pupils
33 why he said they must rip that book off...
34 and then ...
35 what happened?.... (long pause)
36 and then... er...
37 the teacher ...the teacher stood up...
38 I.. I.. think he was discussing something with the pupils...
39 er... because I don't understand
40 they were doing sums..
41 they were doing sums.. but what happened? (long pause)
42 after that.. er...
43 or they were doing the sums...
44 I.. I don't know what happened..
45 because they were they were doing the sums
46 because er.. the.. the teacher was writing
47 something like a graph on the board
48 and then I saw that book written...
49 I don't know...
50 but it was about poetry...
51 that's all.

(288 words)

VIDEO 1 - from DEAD POET'S SOCIETY

D2

SUBJECT NO 2

Home Language: Zulu

School attended: Kwazulu/DET

Ethnic Group: Zulu

Sex: Female

- 1 ...after that he told them..
- 2 to tore the pages away
- 3 after that .. he ..
- 4 he told them to put ..
- 5 to put the papers
- 6 on the dustbin.

(25 words)

VIDEO 1 - from DEAD POET'S SOCIETY
SUBJECT NO 3

D3

Home Language: Zulu
School Attended: Kwazulu/NED
Ethnic Group: Zulu
Sex: Female

1 What I see on the video ..er..
2 I see the teacher.. teaching his class..
3 his students..
4 but they .. they were mischievous...
5 The way he teach them he have..
6 he's not a good teacher...
7 The way I saw him..
8 they're just doing another thing
9 while he's still busy teaching them.

(49 words)

VIDEO 1 - from DEAD POET'S SOCIETY

D4

SUBJECT NO 4

Home Language: Zulu

School Attended: Kwazulu/DET

Ethnic Group: Zulu

Sex: Female

1 Er.. I saw ..er.. the teacher
2 and the childrens
3 who was teaching them the .. the number line
4 and what the teacher was teaching them
5 they were busy doing their things
6 and ... other they were copying the summary of the number line
7 and others were reading their books...
8 Then the teacher he said .. he said to them
9 they must tear off their pages...
10 Then they do that..
11 and the .. the one boy did not do that ..
12 he only write down the number line
13 only he didn't tear the pages of his book...
14 Then .. then .. er .. the teacher went out
15 to.. to.. to fetch .. er.. the bin
16 so that they can put their ... that pages
17 should have been ...
18 then the ..er.. then the principal came ..
19 then the .. I think the headmaster...
20 I don't know
21 but he came in
22 and asked what's going on
23 and the .. and the teacher .. and the teacher said
24 he told the the pupils to tear their books...
25 Then ... er... (long pause)
26 but I don't remember what happened after that...

(164 words)

VIDEO 1 - from DEAD POET'S SOCIETY

D5

SUBJECT NO 5

Home Language: Zulu

School Attended: Kwazulu/DET

Ethnic Group: Zulu

Sex: Female

1 OK.. er what I've just seen inside
2 was a.. learning situation
3 whereby there was a teacher ...
4 a male teacher.. and er..
5 students.. students...
6 the class consist of only.. boys OK?
7 The only.. male students inside the class.. OK?
8 It starts with the teacher sitting down
9 and the class is listening to him
10 like its.. like its... y'know like..
11 there's no voice inside..
12 no sound
13 and you can't hear anything that's taking place
14 but we can see the actions
15 so its like he's giving them a homework.. OK?
16 and they have to write it down
17 but then later on he stands up
18 and he goes to the board
19 and he draws them a graph.. OK?
20 a-n-d they have to copy down and think
21 because that's what they do
22 They copy their graph down
23 and they sort of colour it in.. OK?
24 like he talks to them about it
25 and some of the students
26 look like they are concentrating
27 and that.. and now.. OK?
28 and he talks to them
29 and talks to them
30 and talks to them
31 and as he goes on
32 and goes on
33 some of the students take out the pages
34 from the books like
35 they tear the pages from the book.. OK?
36 a-n-d he's not aware of it
37 the teacher it seems
38 at this stage
39 is just not even awake
40 and he goes to the other room
41 and as he goes to the other room
42 the whole of the class does the same thing
43 they take the pages from the book
44 a-n-d the page that appeared was poetry
45 you know.. like
46 from the other side was written poetry
47 and the.. by the time
48 the teacher's not in the class
49 someone peeps through the window
50 and he sees them
51 tearing the pages from the book

52 and he looks like wheew (whistling sound)
53 and he goes inside
54 and at first he looks angry
55 but then later on
56 the.. the teacher comes inside with a basket
57 you know everyone is taken out the pages from the book
58 now the teacher comes inside with a basket
59 or sort of a... rubbish bin
60 that they should throw in the papers inside
61 like he was aware
62 that they were tearing the papers from the book
63 a-n-d... ja... the.. the teacher talks to them about...
64 no we don't know what they talk about
65 they just gather round the teacher and talk
66 that's all.

(396 words)

VIDEO 1 - from DEAD POET'S SOCIETY

D6

SUBJECT NO 6

Home Language: English

School Attended: NED

Ethnic Group: White

Sex: Female

1 We had a classroom situation
2 where the.. teacher
3 was teaching his class English... um..
4 After a while he told them
5 to tear out the pages of their book..
6 Most of them didn't know how to react to this sort of thing
7 but after a while..
8 they all tore out the pages of the book and
9 it seemed to be amusing..
10 and.. the teacher walked away.
11 When he came back
12 the headmaster had walked into the classroom
13 and he looked..
14 rather angry about what was going on.. um..
15 but he left..
16 and then the teacher went around
17 picking up all the pieces of paper
18 that the kids had torn out of their book..
19 He then called them all to come round him
20 and he was telling them something.
21 They all seemed
22 intrigued by what he was saying..
23 and amused.

(138 words)

VIDEO 1 - from DEAD POET'S SOCIETY

D7

SUBJECT NO 7

Home Language: English

School Attended: NED

Ethnic Group: White

Sex: Female

1 All right
2 we were shown like this video clip of
3 Dead Poet's Society.. OK?
4 It opens...
5 first scene is where um..
6 Robin Williams is sitting at his desk..
7 he's got a book open..
8 and it shows you
9 the whole class
10 and all the boys like with their heads down
11 you know looking very bored or
12 looking interested into what he's saying
13 then he starts like drawing a graph on the board..
14 and.. he draws
15 like other little diagrams and things
16 or writing and then...
17 another boy in the class
18 he seems..
19 I think he read something out of a book...
20 and then.. um ..
21 a boy at the back of the class
22 he tears out the page of his book
23 then like he's waving it around
24 and then Robin Williams goes out
25 to like one of the back rooms
26 and all the boys start tearing out their pages
27 and like you see the one boy who seems like very ..
28 diligent and always does things perfectly
29 like he'll like he puts his ruler down in the book
30 and then he tears the page out carefully
31 you know like first he wasn't too sure
32 if he should do this or not you know
33 and everyone's like
34 throwing pieces of paper round
35 and going crazy.. and then..
36 this guy walks in the room
37 he must have been like
38 a headmaster or an HOD
39 and he starts like shouting at them
40 and then Robin Williams comes back inside
41 and.. and then.. the.. the guy who walked in the room
42 walks out
43 and then Robin Williams comes in with
44 like a dustbin
45 a metal sort of wire dustbin thing
46 and they all put their papers inside and that..
47 and then like he walks in the centre of the classroom
48 and he kneels down
49 and he's like talking to them like
50 sort of brings himself down to their level..
51 you know
52 and that was that.

(317 words)

VIDEO 1 - from DEAD POET'S SOCIETY

D8

SUBJECT NO 8

Home Language: English

School Attended: NED

Ethnic Group: White

Sex: Female

1 OK.. now I think its Dead Poet's Society
2 but its got no sound
3 and.. um..
4 starts off with Robin Williams
5 and he's sitting behind this desk
6 with like a big book in front of him
7 and then.. um..
8 you see the whole class
9 and the class is all wearing like
10 jackets and ties and then um..
11 they all start working ..
12 they start doing some kind of work
13 and then you see Robin Williams sitting.. er..
14 he's at the teachers table
15 then he stands up
16 and he starts drawing like a graph
17 you know.. like x and y axes..
18 starts drawing a graph
19 and there's one boy with like orange hair
20 he starts copying it down
21 and then.. then.. you see him... scrubbing it out
22 cos' its got no sound at all
23 then he scrubs out this graph
24 that he's just drawn
25 this orange haired boy
26 then.. um.. he stands..
27 ja.. then he..
28 oh.. then he.. um... tells them all
29 to rip out the first pages of their poetry book
30 of the.. er.. of this.. this text book
31 they have in front of them so they all start ripping it out
32 and when they rip it out
33 there's a page that says
34 part one poetry and um ..
35 no one like..
36 everyone's like quite surprized
37 to really rip it out
38 and then one boy at the back
39 just rips it out
40 goes like this or whatever
41 and sticks his hand up
42 and then everyone starts ripping
43 except this orange haired boy
44 who doesn't understand
45 why we must rip out this book..
46 then... (laughter)
47 OK?... then... um... the..then.. you see (more laughter)
48 then Robin goes out the classroom
49 he goes like (more laughter, inaudible)
50 then Robin goes out the classroom
51 into this like storeroom at the back
52 and while he's at the back there
53 you see the door
54 but on the other side of the door

55 is the headmaster
56 looking in through like
57 a little glass pane
58 and the headmaster looks in
59 and he opens the door
60 and goes
61 and obviously goes like
62 what's going on in here?.. and then.. um..
63 Robin comes out with a big um....
64 waste paper basket made of wire mesh and um..
65 this get passed around the classroom
66 and everyone throws their ripped up poetry books
67 inside the basket
68 then by now the headmaster's gone out
69 or I don't know if it was the headmaster
70 some man also in a jacket and tie and um.. then..
71 Robin Williams walks in between the pupils and um..
72 then he they start like
73 gathering around him
74 and then he bends down
75 and they all like gather round him
76 and that's where she turned it off.

(441 words)

VIDEO 1 - from DEAD POET'S SOCIETY

D9

SUBJECT NO 9

Home Language: English

School Attended: HOD

Ethnic Group: Indian

Sex: Female

1 Er.. it started off..
2 this teacher..
3 was sitting.. um.. at his desk and..
4 his pupils..
5 who were all male
6 were sitting at their desks
7 and then.. um.. all of a sudden
8 he.. gets up
9 and goes to the board
10 and starts.. um.. writing
11 he draws a sort of a graph on the board
12 and um.. he.. he puts points on it
13 and he draws sort of a... right angled graph
14 and he puts points on it on either sides
15 and.. er.. he starts explaining something to them
16 and they start copying it down as well..
17 but after he talks to them
18 he.. he scribbles it out.. and er..
19 then he tells them to..um..
20 tear the pages off their poetry textbooks
21 er... um... and then well the guys...
22 these guys look stunned
23 and.. you know like shocked
24 and so... they.. well anyway..
25 they take it out (inaudible)
26 and then.. er..
27 well as they're tearing out
28 the teacher goes to.. um..
29 I think one of the back rooms
30 and in walks..
31 I.. I think its the principal...
32 and he's like very.. um.. angry
33 and he wants to know what's happening here
34 and then the teacher tells him something
35 and.. he sort of calms down
36 and he goes out again..
37 And then ..um.. er.. the teacher
38 passes around the waste paper basket
39 for them to throw all the pages of the textbook inside..
40 Right?
41 and.. er ..er.. they.. they threw all the pages in
42 and then he gets them all together in a group
43 and he tells them something..
44 It.. it looks as though he is reciting a poem..
45 and then that's the end... Ja.

(256 words)

VIDEO 1 - from DEAD POET'S SOCIETY

D10

SUBJECT NO 10

Home Language: English

School Attended: HOD.

Ethnic Group: Indian

Sex: Female

1 There was a teacher
2 who was teaching a class
3 er.. at first the pupils...
4 they weren't very interested in what he was saying
5 they were doing their own things
6 one boy was eating
7 and there was another boy was doing homework
8 another one was...
9 and there was just this one boy was concentrating
10 and .. um
11 the .. the teacher asked the children
12 to tear off the pages from their textbooks
13 and .. er.. they.. er.. they
14 just stated ripping off the pages
15 now this one boy was concentrating
16 he put a ruler
17 and he tore off the pages neatly
18 and the principal walked in
19 er.. and he wanted to know what was going on
20 and er.. after the teacher explained him
21 he laughed
22 and he walked out the class
23 and then the teacher brought the er.. the er.. dirtbin in
24 the children put in all the pages
25 that they tore
26 then he made the children gather
27 in the centre of the class
28 um.. and he sat down
29 and he spoke to them
30 and it was... it was just then only
31 that the children were engrossed
32 in what he was saying.

(192 words)

VIDEO 2 - from STAND AND DELIVER

D11

SUBJECT NO 11

Home Language: Zulu
School Attended: Kwazulu/DET
Ethnic Group: Zulu
Sex: Female

1 Unfortunately.. the story I'll going to tell
2 had no sound...
3 What I saw there..
4 there was a teacher
5 he was in a classroom
6 and then he was ... sort of teaching
7 and then there were two teachers...
8 The other one went out
9 and the other one left the class.
10 The class .. the students
11 he.. he has look very undisciplined...
12 The others were look like punks..
13 they have big hair ..
14 others - guys - have earrings and er..
15 sometimes fooling around
16 and I just saw the student was ...
17 the.. the guy was hugging..
18 kissing the girls
19 in front of the teacher...
20 Other students were not concentrating at all.
21 They didn't even ...
22 it seems that they didn't even see
23 that the teacher was there
24 because they were throwing papers.
25 It looked like they were making noise
26 even though I couldn't hear it
27 because there was no sound...
28 And then after ..
29 the teacher ..
30 there were three guys standing on the wall...
31 They looked like ..
32 to the teacher..
33 like as if he was a fool or something..
34 I don't know..
35 and then they were asking each other like
36 'what.. what is he doing?'
37 and the other said,
38 'I don't know...'
39 even though I didn't hear
40 but I could see the actions. ...
41 Well.. the teacher came
42 and make a demonstration...
43 He took an apple
44 and then he was wearing..
45 like a cooker..
46 maybe.. maybe some of you have seen a cooker in the hotels..
47 something like that
48 and then he was wearing like that...
49 And then he took a big knife
50 and cut the apple
51 and then he took the apple
52 to show to the students
53 and then there was other student
54 who was wearing sunglasses

55 who was.. who was sitting there shameless.
56 He took the apple
57 and he was sitting with the apple
58 looking at the apple
59 and then the teacher took the apple
60 and showed to the student.
61 The apple was half on the other side
62 ... um... and then... those.. those two guys
63 who came while he was still demonstrating
64 and then they looked like
65 they were gonna shoot him
66 the way they were acting..
67 they go... they went straight to him...
68 looked like they were asking something
69 and then the teacher
70 he tried to.. um.. to dis...
71 not in fact to discipline them...
72 but to put them on their way... um...
73 Later they come down
74 and the other guy was sitting down.
75 The teacher went to him
76 and say he must ...
77 he was using his fingers
78 like he was saying 'count up to ten'
79 and then he refused...
80 He did it...
81 he did it
82 even though you can see
83 he didn't like to do it
84 but he did it...
85 And then at the end..
86 at the end of the time
87 he just looked like a fool
88 because every student was looking at him
89 and then he had to do what the teacher has said
90 then at the end of the story
91 the teacher has proved himself right...
92 Thank you, that's the end of my story..
93 I think you've enjoy it..
94 bye bye.

(507 words)

VIDEO 2 - from STAND AND DELIVER
SUBJECT NO 12

D12

Home Language: Zulu
School Attended: Kwazulu/DET
Ethnic Group: Zulu
Sex: Female

1 Well... (laugh)..well..
2 I saw.. in..in the tape..
3 I saw students in class
4 and they were.. talking
5 and I saw like er.. er..
6 two..two students seemed to be in love..
7 they were holding each other
8 and the lady sitting on the guy.. (laughter)
9 and the teacher came in
10 and the other one
11 there was a teacher in class
12 so he came out
13 the teacher came..
14 the other one came in
15 so he started..
16 his lesson
17 and the students
18 were not paying much attention to him
19 um..he.. he asked them questions..
20 they.. they didn't show an interest to answer those questions
21 and they were just playing
22 they ignored him
23 and so the way they acted
24 they.. they showed no good manners
25 they are apart..um..
26 it was the same teacher too
27 so he came in the class just quiet
28 and they were quiet sitting..
29 and he was wearing er.. like er.. er ..er
30 like er.. a mans working in a baker.. bakery .. in bakery
31 well.. he saw..
32 so he saw um.. one lady eating an apple
33 so he..he went to her
34 and he.. he asked her..
35 but I don't know what he asked her
36 so the lady just.. just kept quiet
37 and he caught one boy to eating something
38 and he went to him
39 and.. still that.. that.. that guy didn't.. didn't stop eating
40 he continued eating
41 and the um..
42 the other.. the other.. boy..
43 two boys came in while he was teaching
44 and they.. they showed him a er.. er..
45 they showed him.. er.. a note
46 and instead of handing it to him politely
47 they just throw it in front of him
48 so.. he..
49 that showed no good manners to him
50 and afterwards the same guy
51 said something
52 and the teacher came to him
53 and we saw.. teacher counted to him.. er..
54 fingers.. with his fingers

55 he.. he seemed as if he was counting
56 and the boy..
57 he wanted the boy to do the same thing
58 and the guy just pointed to him
59 the.. the finger..
60 the middle finger
61 they show him some kind of an insult
62 so the class..
63 the class have not realised to ...
64 they.....
65 that's all.

(348 words)

VIDEO 2 - from STAND AND DELIVER

D13

SUBJECT NO 13

Home Language: Zulu

School Attended: Kwazulu/DET

Ethnic Group: Zulu

Sex: Male

1 After watching a video..
2 I saw.. the pupils in the classroom misbehaving
3 and when their teacher comes in ..er..
4 they.. they didn't mind..
5 they go on making noise..
6 rushing right around the classroom ..
7 And when he was trying ..er.. to teach them..
8 they were busy doing their own things..
9 like.. um.. grimacing in class..
10 combing their hair.. er..
11 shaking their.. shaking hands with their friends..
12 and the teacher didn't stop them doing that..
13 and when breaks .. er.. times comes
14 they just go ..go out..
15 And on the second section
16 I was so pleased to see the teacher
17 teaching the.. em.. the pupils..
18 while they were sitting down
19 and they were attentive..er.
20 what caused that..
21 I think it's because.. um..
22 the teacher was active..
23 he was doing a demonstration
24 and that's the thing the children likes most..
25 when the teacher is..er involving themselves..
26 And I liked the way ..er he entered
27 when he meet.. uh.. two of the guys
28 when they come in
29 approaching him in the wrong way..
30 He shows that he is a good experienced teacher
31 by not responding to them
32 and just responded to the class as a whole..
33 Thank you.

(195 words)

VIDEO 2 - from STAND AND DELIVER
SUBJECT NO 14

D14

Home Language: Zulu
School Attended: Kwazulu/DET
Ethnic Group: Zulu
Sex: Female

1 I saw some people on the class and ..
2 they were not disciplined their .. themselves
3 they.. they ..were rude.
4 when the teacher entered the room..
5 he told them to be ...
6 to discipline themselves and..
7 listen to what he's going to ..
8 tell them .. and..
9 he give them a break.
10 After that break
11 he came in and demonstrate..
12 and demonstrate.. them the shapes ..
13 of the.. different things .. um ..
14 He demonstrate ...
15 In his demonstration he use an apron ..
16 Then there.. then entered two gentlemen ..
17 who like to join the class
18 and he allowed them to join the class and ..
19 one of his..of their .. of his students.

(103 words)

VIDEO 2 - from STAND AND DELIVER

D15

SUBJECT NO 15

Home Language: English

School Attended: NED

Ethnic Group: White

Sex: Female

1 It was set in er a American school..
2 and it was co-ed ..
3 and so it started off
4 you saw this.. er..
5 I think it was a guy
6 walking up to a girl
7 and he.. he had obviously some sort of a friendship
8 and.. there was chaos in the class.. OK ..
9 and then the teacher walked in
10 but he was late
11 so nobody even knew
12 that he was standing in front of the classroom
13 so.. um...
14 he tried to talk to them
15 he wrote his name on the board
16 but everyone just laughed..
17 laughed it off
18 and like people were throwing paper at him
19 and everything..
20 and they thought this was such a joke..
21 so he tried to get them settled down
22 but nobody would..
23 and.. um...
24 oh he tried to get some organization
25 in front of the class
26 I don't know what he did ...
27 he moved the front row backwards
28 and the back row forward ... (laughter)
29 I don't know why but...
30 and then um...
31 nobody was listening to him anyway
32 and the bell rang
33 and... and like he was busy talking
34 just jumped up and ran away...
35 and then...
36 so.. um.. it didn't look like
37 he was going to be a very good teacher
38 but then...
39 it didn't look like he was enthusiastic...
40 nobody wanted to listen
41 to what he's saying
42 and then what happened was
43 the next time we saw him and
44 he got dressed up and everything
45 and he was the chef...
46 and he ... was... doing something...
47 I think it was a science demonstration
48 about chopping an apple or something...
49 I don't know..
50 and.. he noticed the
51 shy girl in the class and
52 he walked up to her
53 and she wasn't saying anything..
54 and .. (laughter) he played with her apple... (laughter)

55 and then.. there was two guys in the class
56 who decided that they'd outsmart him or something..
57 and they decided that...
58 oh, they had something to give him..
59 and they gave him this note..
60 but they didn't give it to him into his hand
61 they just dropped it onto the floor
62 so that he had..
63 would have to pick it up...
64 and then.. this... the guy...
65 the one guy that was there, OK?
66 he went and sat down
67 but he was still.. er...
68 tuning the teacher
69 how do you say that? (laughter)
70 and so .. and so... (laughter)
71 um .. what happened was the teacher went up to him
72 and.. um.. and didn't let it phase him now..
73 like it did... did...
74 like it did in the first lesson
75 because he knew his class a bit better..
76 and what they were like
77 and he walked up to him and..
78 he said to the guy
79 count to three..
80 so the guy counted to three
81 and pulled a zap sign at the third one (laughter)
82 so the guy...
83 like you know...
84 he didn't laugh it off or anything...
85 he.. decided...
86 I don't know really what he did...
87 but he made the other guy feel stupid..
88 and then the bell rang
89 and everyone hopped up
90 and ran away again.

(429 words)

VIDEO 2 - from STAND AND DELIVER

D16

SUBJECT NO 16

Home Language: English

School Attended: NED

Ethnic Group: White

Sex: Female

1 OK..I don't know what the movie was from..
2 but it was in a..
3 typical classroom scene
4 like overseas
5 where.. all the.. the pupils are doing their own thing
6 they're throwing paper
7 and talking
8 and the guys are massaging the girl's backs
9 and they've like got these short dresses on
10 and all the rest of it like ...(inaudible)
11 and then.. the teacher walks in
12 and everyone still ignores him
13 and he's like a typical nerdy kind of teacher
14 with glasses
15 he's got like a bald head
16 and he walks in
17 and he goes to the front
18 and he's like trying to talk
19 and no one's listening to him
20 and they're all just going on with their own thing
21 and then.. eventually one of them
22 like nerdy kind of guys
23 he.. he like looks like he tries to settle things down
24 and they.. start to sort of..
25 not really listen
26 and get up and walk out the classroom
27 then we got a bit a.. a black out
28 but then it came back into the picture (laughter)
29 and he came..
30 and we were back into the classroom
31 and he did a lesson
32 and now he's got an apron on
33 and like a chefs hat thing
34 and they're doing a lesson
35 and he's.. everyone's got an apple in front of them
36 and he's got an apple in his..
37 front of him
38 and he chops it
39 and then they all have to do the chopping of the apple
40 but we don't see that
41 so then he does this demonstration
42 and he walks round the class
43 and then two guys
44 like the real heavy guys
45 come in with dark glasses
46 and like serious faces
47 they don't smile or whatever..
48 and they walk to the front of the classroom
49 and hand him a note
50 and its obviously like a.. it looks like..
51 a sorry we're late kind of note
52 but like more of a serious..
53 note you know ..
54 because they don't smile or anything

55 they're real heavies
56 and they walk to him
57 and they drop the note in front of him
58 and then they.. then they..
59 like just like nod their heads
60 and they go back to their desks
61 'cos they were late
62 and he carries on with his lesson
63 and he goes in front of this one guy
64 and they were doing counting with their fingers
65 and the one guy counts
66 and he was going the one.. two.. three..
67 and then he put his other fingers down
68 and he left his middle finger up (laughter)
69 so he pulled a zap sign at him (laughter)
70 and then the teacher
71 just like did these like funny things
72 with his fingers facing him
73 I don't know what he was doing
74 he was going one.. two.. three.. four.. five.. six.. seven.. eight
75 and then..
76 that's how it ended.

(465 words)

VIDEO 2 - from STAND AND DELIVER

D17

SUBJECT NO 17

Home Language: English

School Attended: HOD

Ethnic Group: Indian

Sex: Female

1 OK.. basically.. the movie was ...
2 Stand and Deliver.. er ..
3 the teacher first he comes into the class...
4 I think he's teaching ..
5 I'm not sure..
6 I think it's Maths.. er.. and ..er..
7 When he first walks into the class its ..um..
8 very rowdy ..er and ..er
9 the pupils are very ..er
10 disobedient
11 and they don't really listen to him..
12 And he tells them something
13 and they walk out ..er ..
14 I think its the next day that he comes in
15 and he brings in a.. in an apple
16 and he tries to show them something..
17 demonstrate something..
18 and two new boys walk in
19 and he tries ..
20 I think he's trying to discipline them..
21 one of them..
22 because they seem to be like ..um ..um..
23 troublemakers.. basically...
24 and that's it.

(129 words)

VIDEO 2 - from STAND AND DELIVER

D18

SUBJECT NO 18

Home Language: English

School Attended: HOD

Ethnic Group: Indian

Sex: Female

1 The first insert that I watched is as about ..
2 this class..
3 they're all like gangsters in this class.
4 They all dressed up like weirdy ..
5 earrings, leather jackets and all that...
6 One guy .. one girl..
7 she was sitting on her boyfriend's lap
8 and they were doing their own thing..
9 getting passionate.. (laughter)
10 and the teacher watching this class...
11 a bald man looking absolutely goofy
12 with his thick glasses..
13 and the whole class starts laughing
14 and one boy in front...
15 he's reading a book ..
16 another two boys in the corner..
17 they're talking
18 and shaking hands
19 and everything...
20 and the teacher goes to the blackboard
21 to get the chalk
22 and I think he wasn't prepared for his lesson..
23 he couldn't find the chalk
24 and the whole class started laughing at him
25 and started walking out
26 so he wanted to know from the class
27 who took the chalk
28 and then the whole class...
29 he called into the front...
30 they're all standing in one line at the chalkboard
31 and they're all... (inaudible)..
32 standing in the class
33 and walked out...
34 The second insert...
35 its the same teacher
36 he's.. dressed up as a cook
37 he's wearing a hat and an apron
38 and he's showing the class
39 how to chop an apple in half
40 using a chef's knife..
41 so he goes to the one girl
42 and he turns the apple around
43 and half the apple is already cut
44 and everyone starts laughing so
45 he goes to another boy
46 by the time he gets to that boy
47 the boy's finished eating the apple..
48 So there's another boy in class..
49 he's like rebellious
50 he doesn't want to listen to the teacher
51 so he goes in the front
52 and he throws a note down on the floor
53 and the teacher has to bend down
54 to pick it

55 and looks so comical considering he's fat
56 and then by the time he bends to pick it ..
57 so he bends and picked it
58 and he put it in a box
59 and the boy went and sat back in his place
60 so now he couldn't...
61 I think the boy couldn't understand anything
62 the teacher went back to him
63 the teacher was trying to explain to that boy something
64 he was showing his fingers
65 and the only thing you could see was his face (inaudible)
66 and the big ugly eyes looking at him.

(391 words)

VIDEO 2 - from STAND AND DELIVER

D19

SUBJECT NO 19

Home Language: English

School Attended: HOD

Ethnic Group: Indian

Sex: Female

1 Um... Um.. this..um.. this part that we watched
2 opens out with this teacher in the class.. OK?
3 he's.. he comes into this class
4 and this class is in utter chaos
5 there's no order
6 there's people sitting on desks.. um
7 there's people..
8 I don't know..
9 theys .. they just look unkept
10 they got hair in all different styles.. and um..
11 as.. as he enters the class
12 they.. they kind of like ignore him
13 there's no attention being paid to him so..
14 in his way he tries to like repri.. reprimand them
15 right he tries to bring the class to order
16 but... they take no heed
17 they carry on...
18 they carry on being.. um rude..
19 and.. inconsiderate of what he's saying..
20 so then he like tries to teach a lesson
21 its a maths lesson
22 he wants to get the point across
23 he wants to like... talk
24 and get them to understand
25 what he's saying
26 but they don't listen to anything he's saying
27 they carry on doing their own thing..
28 and like there was this guy
29 right in front with a book
30 this teacher's talking
31 and there's a book
32 he's just reading it
33 there there's no attention to what he's saying
34 then in the next part he comes in..
35 he like.. he tries a new technique with them
36 he implements a new.. er technique with them
37 and this technique works
38 because he has their attention..
39 they sit in an orderly fashion
40 he has the desks open
41 now they've got their books out on their desks
42 the class is in neat order..
43 um.. the class is in a neat order and um..
44 you know the pupils
45 the way they were laid out it was..
46 that was quite nice..
47 and he was now the chef
48 he had this knife this er..
49 cleaver
50 and he had an apple in front of him
51 and his movements
52 and everything like cap..captivated them
53 because they were all like
54 paying this attention to him..

55 they want all his attention ..
56 and then he approached this one girl..
57 and he like said something to her
58 and her apple tho' from the front it looked full
59 at the back it was like...
60 cut out
61 you know it wasn't a full apple
62 and he comes to the front
63 these two guys approach him
64 they're thugs
65 they've got a thug look about them..
66 and they give him a letter
67 but.. like he..
68 doesn't give him the letter in his hands
69 the first guy..
70 drops the letter to the ground
71 and then the teacher has to go to bend
72 and pick it up..
73 and then the second guy just gives it to him OK?
74 just take this letter away.. OK?
75 and then.. they like give him this letter
76 he reads it
77 he puts it on his desk
78 and then he parted them
79 and sits down
80 he was talking to this one guy
81 that dropped the letter at him
82 and this guy like said..
83 pointed the middle finger to him
84 so the teacher didn't take offence at anything (giggling)
85 he went up to him and said um..
86 let's count now
87 one.. two.. three.. four.. five...
88 you know like.. just showed him the movements but
89 that the middle finger was..
90 eradicated..
91 it was eliminated..
92 it wasn't showing
93 and that's how it ends
94 but in the last part he had their attention.

(553 words)

VIDEO 2 - from STAND AND DELIVER

D20

SUBJECT NO 20

Home Language: English

School Attended: HOD

Ethnic Group: Indian

Sex: Female

1 OK er... and I basically saw the same thing
2 the class was sitting
3 with er.. pupils
4 that didn't bother
5 whether the teacher was there
6 or wasn't there
7 they have no respect whatsoever
8 when he did come in to the classroom
9 they didn't ..they didn't care
10 they just did their own thing
11 spoke
12 they ate
13 even though he was trying to teach them
14 he.. they didn't bother
15 they eventually walked out the class
16 in their own time
17 whatever time they felt like
18 and..um.. they were adolescents
19 they didn't really care
20 they had no respect whatsoever
21 they basically...
22 they basically..
23 don't listen
24 and they have no..
25 they have no.....
26 I mean... (long silence)
27 they have no desire to learn or to be educated..
28 and they just like being lazy and ignorant.

(129 words)