

**PATTERNS OF INTERACTION AMONG SCHOOL
CHILDREN IN KWAZULU NATAL: SOUTH AFRICA**

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DECLARATION

This is to declare that the work is the author's original work and that all the sources have been accurately reported and acknowledged, and that this document has not in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university in order to obtain an academic qualification.

Latanya Padayachy

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ABSTRACT

South Africa's Apartheid legislation divided 'races' and ultimately dictated interactions between people. Post-Apartheid children have been born into a society that focuses on the importance of tolerance, diversity and interaction across 'race' lines. The schooling system is one such platform that may encourage interaction among children. This study explores the patterns that emerge in the interaction between children of different 'races'. Ethnographic observation using schedules of interaction was used to investigate patterns of interaction. To focus the observation, a sample of seven 'Indian' children, aged between 9-10 years were observed, paying particular attention to their interactions with children around them in various contexts such as structured/formal lessons, unstructured lessons and free time. The research data was then qualitatively analysed using ethnographic descriptions and content analysis. The study found that patterns of (de) racialised interaction between children are affected by: 1) the degree of structure in the context; 2) Gender; 3) Language. Authority figures can facilitate interaction by organising the space in particular ways, increasing co-operation between children on particular tasks. However, most interaction across 'races' occurs in unstructured lessons. The form of boys play tends to be physical and facilitates collective play without respect to 'race'. Girls play is more dependent on talk and given that the children in the study speak different mother tongues, this leads to separate groups forming during playtime. The results of this study also highlight the importance of a renewed focus on contexts, activities and a revisit to the multilingual schools policy to ensure that opportunities for interaction between 'race' lines are increased and all barriers to interaction are reduced.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 National Context

Apartheid South Africa was characterised by wholesale racial segregation, with inter-group relations regulated to such an extent that separate living spaces, amenities and laws reinforcing the prohibition of inter-racial contact were established such as The Group Areas Act (No. 41 of 1950) and The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (No. 49 of 1953). Further, under these Apartheid laws, racially segregated education was implemented to ensure that pupils or students did not mix beyond their colour lines. It was only in 1991 that the Group Areas Act was abolished and this allowed different 'races' to live and school together in previously 'race-designated' areas. Children were therefore given an opportunity to mix with children of other 'races' at school; thus schools have become a site of interest with regard to inter-group relations, as these represent a microcosm of South African society.

There is no doubt that racial categorisation plays a fundamental role in South Africa's history. Apartheid South Africa referred to four broad 'racial' groupings in categorising the population; these categories were 'Black', 'Coloured', 'White' and 'Indian'. The Apartheid regime created a society that was characterized by inequality and oppression. According to Bonner, Delius and Posel (1993), "Apartheid is synonymous in most people's minds with a virulent form of racial ideology and a thoroughgoing system of racial social engineering" (p.1). 'Race' is in essence, a concept that refers to a classificatory system based on the physical appearance of the human race; namely skin colour. Another aspect that creates

further divide between races is the differing social and psychological attributions 'given' to each race. The concept of race evolved from "heterogeneous lines of thought [that] came to be fused in the single claim that human groups were differential by nature, and that there was a natural line of separation between them" (Guillaumin, 1995, p.2). This racial disparity is therefore a social construction of society as race is not a natural reality but a socially constructed concept that serves ideological purposes.

Guillaumin (1995) provides an interesting account of the historical evolution of the term and meaning of 'race'. She postulates that 'race' appeared as a term during the eighteenth century and then expanded through the nineteenth century. 'Race' in the eighteenth century was defined as a '(line of) descent, all those who come from the same family' (Guillaumin, 1995, p.40). 'Race' in this definition is not fuelled with racism but presents the view of people being categorized according to their line of descent and heredity. However in the late nineteenth and in the twentieth century, 'race' became defined as 'a subdivision of species...constituted by individuals with common hereditary characteristics which represent variations within the species' (Guillaumin, 1995, p.40).

However, although "race may be a random and wholly unjustified system of categorisation" (Kendal and Devin, 2009, p.1), yet it is still a factor that continues to have an impact in South African society. 'Race' labels are still widely used in contemporary South Africa as a form of social categorisation of the population, e.g. in census data and various institutional structures of the state and private sector. This project also makes use of 'race' labels in attempting to describe the kinds and patterns of interactions between children. The use of 'race' labels in

this project does not imply an acceptance of these labels as indicating 'real' differences between people but are employed here as the core interest of this research is on how previous Apartheid categories persist or are challenged by children in contemporary South African society. Children observed were categorised according to the four historically and politically defined 'racial' groupings. This information pertaining to children's 'racial' classification was taken from school documentation completed by the respective parents.

1.2 School Context

The South African Schools Act (No.84 of 1996) makes reference to the historical inequities of Apartheid and to the importance of recognising diversity and practising anti-racism in schools.

WHEREAS the achievement of democracy in South Africa has consigned to history the past system of education which was based on racial inequality and segregation; and

WHEREAS this country requires a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in educational provision, provide an education of progressively high quality for all learners and in so doing lay a strong foundation for the development of all our people's talents and capabilities, advance the democratic transformation of society, combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination and intolerance, contribute to the eradication of poverty and the economic well-being of society, protect and advance our diverse cultures and languages, uphold the rights of all learners, parents and educators, and promote their acceptance of responsibility for the organisation, governance and funding of schools in partnership with the State (p.1).

The Schools Act is one is also based on the fundamentals of racial unity and tolerance and thus confront Apartheid's separate education policy. Both clauses referenced address the wrongs of Apartheid's racial inequality by emphasising that in post democratic South Africa, it is (1) illegal to refuse admission to a learner/staff member because of their 'race' and (2) that unfair discrimination and intolerance of diversity will be dealt with severely, through various penalties, fines or imprisonment. Apartheid policies removed all possible instances of 'races' interacting with one another. The abolishment of Apartheid Acts (Separate Amenities and Group Areas Act) and the advent of the new Schools Act in post Apartheid South Africa created a unique and interesting social platform for increased interaction amongst children of different 'races'. The school context is therefore an ideal context for the observation of social interaction between children.

Further to this acknowledgement of fair and equal rights, the Schools Act (1996) also states that schools' admission policies must not "discriminate on the grounds of race", and that any person who is in contravention of these clauses will be liable to a fine or imprisonment (1996, p.17). The Language policy of public schools states that governing bodies of schools may determine the relevant language policy for the school, however, this must be in accordance with constitution. One of the main clauses within the language policy sub-section is that "No form of racial discrimination may be practised in implementing policy" (1996, p.6).

As the study was aimed at observing patterns of interaction among school children in South Africa, it was vital to choose a school that had a 'multi-racial' context. Manor Gardens Primary School is one such school that provided the ideal platform for the observation of

patterns of interaction. Manor Gardens has been in operation since 1967, hence it has evolved from a purely 'White' only school under the Apartheid era, to a school that houses a diversity of cultures and 'races'. It is a co-ed school that has a Foundation phase or Junior Primary phase and a Senior Primary phase. The Foundation phase encompasses Grades 1-3 and the Senior Primary phase relates to Grades 4-7. Manor Gardens is the closest school to the University of KwaZulu-Natal, situated in Durban. The children come from quite diverse residential areas, some previously 'white' suburbs that have become increasingly integrated and some previously 'race' designated areas during Apartheid that are still highly populated by specific 'races', such as Chatsworth, Umlazi and Wentworth. Manor Gardens Primary School is therefore a meeting ground for these children of different 'races', diverse cultures, who may live in different areas from their peers at school. The school's policies foster interaction among different 'races' and cultures. The school is mixed with 'Black', 'White', 'Indian' and 'Coloured' children. On a tour of the school, the principal explained that most of the classes are racially integrated with equal proportions of boys, girls and different 'race' groups. She also asserted that the school is very sensitive towards various 'races' and cultures; e.g. the school explores different cultural festivities such as the Hindu festival of Diwali when all children are encouraged to dress in Indian attire and there is a special assembly with song, dance and learning elements. Walking around the school, this promotion of 'racial' and cultural interaction is clearly illustrated in posters on the walls conveying messages about different cultures, creating a platform for racial unity and tolerance.

The only hope South Africans have of moving beyond a society pre-occupied with race is to engage constructively with the issue. As a nation, we need to consistently re-examine

and re-evaluate our understanding of race — a process which can only ever begin with self-examination and a willingness to change strongly-held prejudices. (Kendal and Devin, 2009,p.1).

With race relations being such a fundamental part of South Africa's history (Holtman, Louw, Tredoux and Carney, 2005), it is important to investigate if 'race' continues to be an important aspect of South Africa's contemporary society. It was for this reason and because of an interest in children's interactions and perspectives that this project was initiated to focus on uncovering 'Patterns of Interaction among school children in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa'.

1.3 Research Focus and Rationale

This project sought to investigate the nature or patterns of interaction among children with a specific focus on 'racial' interaction. This research aimed at gaining insight into the 'de/racialised' interactions of children's everyday experiences at school. The study focused on with whom children interact, the context of these interactions, the nature of interactions or kinds of interactions that occur and how frequently these interactions happen in the daily goings-on of school children. The project focuses specifically on 'Indian' children in a racially and culturally mixed school and, through this focus, aims to analyse the shifting role that 'race' plays in shaping the ways children interact with one another. Through observing the interactions of children, it was possible to explore the ways in which the social constructions of 'race' and 'racial' stereotypes shift and play themselves out in contemporary South Africa among those born after the abolishment of Apartheid. With this focus, we can ascertain

whether 'race'/'racism' is perpetuated or challenged in the everyday lives of children in an ostensibly integrated society.

The researcher chose to use 'Indian' children as the focus of observation in this study due to the fact that most research on 'race' in South Africa focuses largely on Black and White relations and perspectives, often concealing 'Indian' perspectives on 'race' issues in South Africa. 'Indians' have retained a minority status from Apartheid and into democracy. In Apartheid, it was a case of not being 'White' enough and in Democracy, it's a case of not being 'Black' enough, often cast as the 'forgotten' or ignored race with regards to race research (Henrard, 2002). The final reason for choosing to pursue this topic of research is because it can assist in understanding South Africa's present state of race relations through the youth and the future of South Africa.

1.4 Research Questions

1. How do children interact with one another in a multi-racial context?
2. How frequent are interactions with those of other 'races'?
3. What is the quality of interaction, is it a brief encounter or sustained interaction?
4. In what context does interaction occur, does 'de/racialised' interaction happen in the classroom when provoked by a teacher, is interaction in the school field during break the same or more spontaneous?
5. Are there any other social factors that affect patterns of interaction among children of different 'races'?

1.5 Outline of Dissertation

In this particular chapter, Chapter 1, the study is located within a particular focus, rationale and context; Chapter 2 provides a theoretical focus on the relevant literature that supports and creates a context for understanding the particular points of interest that are imperative to this study. Chapter 3 provides the methodology, participants, method and analysis of data used in investigating patterns of interaction. Chapter 4 presents the results of the research observation process. In chapter 5 the results are discussed in relation to particular theoretical perspectives highlighted in the project. Finally, Chapter 6 ends the project with a brief discussion on implications for the study and concluding comments.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter seeks to explore the theoretical underpinnings of the project. The first section focuses on 'Intergroup relations', including pertinent theories that assist in conceptualising intergroup relations and 'racial' interaction in South Africa. The discussion on intergroup relations then moves to a focus on children's development of 'racial' awareness. The particular developmental stage that is observed in this study is typically labelled as 'Middle Childhood', and theories of social development offer additional insight into peer interaction and the concept of friendship between children. The common thread throughout this project is the importance of thinking in '*interactional*' terms emphasising that people, their interaction and behaviour should not be analysed by observing them as single entities in total isolation from the social context in which they live. People should rather be observed in terms of their interactions and relations with others in society and how they live their everyday lives. As a result the final section of this chapter is dedicated to the importance of 'thinking in interactional terms' or conceptualising the perspective of 'relational' selves.

2.1 Intergroup Relations

According to Goffman (1967), "...the proper study of interaction is not in the individual and his psychology, but rather the syntactical relations among the acts of different persons mutually present to one another" (p.2). Most psychological theories tend to be 'individualist', focusing on individual cognition, beliefs, thoughts, attitudes, perceptions, in order to understand a phenomenon such as intergroup relations, e.g. Allport's emphasis on attitudes (1935). Personality theories such as that of Adorno et al. (1954); Majority-Minority

theories by Asch and Milgram (1974) and Social Identity Theory's individualist focus on self-concept and the self in comparison to others. According to Foster (2006), individualistic approaches deem the individual as being the 'primary unit of analysis' and the "social sphere is regarded as outside, as external to the unity of the individual" (p.28). While, Social Psychology theories such as Contact Hypothesis (Sheriff, 1936) and Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) do attempt to provide a framework with which to think about the social influences of society on people, they remain focused on attitudes, perceptions towards others in society, social categorisation, identity, stereotyping and the relation to 'race'. This 'cognitivist' or 'mentalist' focus often ignores the relational nature of people with those in their social world and how these interactions play a crucial role in their thought, behaviour, interactions and selfhood.

This project thus aims to apply existing social psychology theories in providing an awareness of the importance of everyday interactions, focusing the nature of interaction and patterns of interaction that influence identity, 'racial' perceptions and social relations among children in South Africa. The "proper study of interaction" (Goffman, 1967, p.2) is not accomplished by focusing on the 'individual' with regard to attitudes, personality and prejudice but rather with a focus on the everyday relations between people who are "mutually present to one another" (Goffman, 1967, p.2). One early theory that may contribute to our understanding of the influences that interactions have on people is Allport's contact theory (1954).

Allport's (1954) 'Contact Hypothesis' postulates that structural (political and economic) changes will effectively deracialise society by creating opportunities for people from

different groups ('races') to be in contact with each other. Hence, according to this theory, direct intergroup interaction and contact with members of other 'races' will facilitate peaceful and positive change in society (Dixon and Reicher, 1997; Mynhart and du Toit, 1991). Allport perceived contact between people as an "attitude-changing mechanism", asserting that increased interaction would show discrepancies in negative stereotypes between different groups and instead confirm the similarity that these groups share. Allport (1954; Mynhardt and du Toit, 1991) listed a range of optimal conditions that are fundamental to adequate contact or interaction among people, such as equal status of people, common goals and the support of key figures or authorities. However these conditions that act as a prerequisite to ideal contact, render this theory problematic, as these optimal conditions for contact do not always operate simultaneously in society and may in fact only be fully functional where negative stereotypes and racism have been abolished (Pettigrew, 1998). Allport's theory also falls short of adequately providing a framework with which to think about 'voluntary segregation'. Although there is an increased amount of intergroup contact where racism is not legislated such as in contemporary South Africa, there still continues to exist 'voluntary racial segregation' among 'race' groups (Shrieff, Tredoux, Dixon and Finchilescu, 2005). Even though Apartheid legislation has been abolished and different 'races' may live as neighbours, 'racialised' segregation still occurs.

As children develop, their patterns of interaction evolve and so too do their 'racial' attitudes. Similar to Allport's 'Contact Hypothesis' theory, Levinger (1974), focuses on children's contact with each other and postulates that there are levels of peer relatedness with regards to interracial contact and the development of racial attitudes within the classroom context. The three levels of interracial interactions that Levinger (1974) has identified are 'Unilateral

awareness'; 'Surface Contact' and 'Mutuality'. 'Unilateral Awareness' refers to a level of 'racial attitude' formation where there is no actual interaction with the 'other' peer. However within this level, a child develops an impression of the 'other' peer and this forms the very foundation for race awareness or the conception that the peer is 'different' to him or her. The second level of other interaction is 'Surface Content' where interaction with the 'other' peer occurs on the surface or in passing. It is momentary encounters that give children an indication as to whether they may wish to pursue a friendship with the 'other' peer. It is at the third level of 'Mutuality' that interracial peer acceptance is achieved and friendships are formed. At this level, interracial contact with a peer of a different 'race' goes from surface contact to intimate contact where feelings of companionship, trust and closeness develop.

Since 1994, subsequent to the abolishment of Apartheid, people are able to use the same amenities, live in racially mixed areas and go to racially mixed schools, universities and work sites. However, according to Dolby (2001), racial issues, stereotyping and voluntary segregation continues to exist in post-Apartheid South Africa. According to Sherif (1936), people's judgement, beliefs and values and norms converge with those of their social group. Foster (2006) reiterates this when he states that people tend to retain social group-norms as their own. Studies have shown that "group-based norms were retained over a series of generations of successive groups when none of the original group were present" (p.37). This shows that people are exceptionally prone to social influence and these group norms become a part of who you are, how you think and feel about the world around you. Foster (2006) conveys that group-based norms, values and value judgements about out-groups or those experienced as other are passed on from one generation to the next. Because of these

problems, the school environment is a particularly important site for fostering contact between children that may not spontaneously occur in their home environments.

Another theory that assists in creating a framework with which to think about intergroup relations is Social Identity Theory (SIT) of Tajfel and Turner (1979). This theory provides an interesting way of understanding inter-group relations and the social influences of groups on people. SIT seeks to understand how and why people categorise themselves into particular groups that share commonalities in the ways they think and behave. This theory explains the concept of 'social identity' in terms of 'social categorisation', 'social identification' and 'social comparison'. 'Social categorisation' refers to the way people categorise and label others as 'Indian', 'Afrikaner', etc. 'Social identification' is how we associate with and identify as an individual with our own groups/ 'races', and 'social comparison' refers to how we ethnocentrically compare our group or 'race' to other groups or 'races' (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

One arena that may be influential in fostering 'Social identification' across previous boundaries is sport in South Africa. According to Booth (1998), "South Africa was the pariah of world sport: the international sports community considered the Republic's apartheid policies, which discriminated against black people, the antitheses of sporting ideals" (p.1). In contemporary South Africa however, sport is a factor that transcends 'race' boundaries and acts as a factor contributing towards nation building, "political socialisation [and] particularly [the] forging of national identities" (Black and Nauright, 1998, p.1). The interest in national sport and unified support behind national sporting teams creates commonalities between

different 'race' groups (Black and Nauright, 1998). This assists in creating a sense of social identity across different groups with a new national identity.

2.2 Social Development

2.2.1 Socio-cultural Underpinnings

Development does not occur in isolation from a child's socio-cultural environment as "human life is...a complex cultural construction" (Morss, 1996, p.31). Through the socialization of children through parents and with peers around them, they create their ideas, values and beliefs about other groups or races. Following Vygotsky, Mkhize (2004) argues that "the general genetic law of cultural development, higher psychological functions such as thinking first represent relations between people (social or interpsychological plane). Later, these relations become part of the individual's inner world (the intra-psychological plane)" (p.55). The social or 'inter-psychological' functions that Mkhize (2004) alludes to are the cultural tools such as writing, language and speech that children use to function socially in everyday life. It is when these 'inter-psychological' social functions/tools are internalized to form part of the child's 'intra-psychological' world that a higher level of thinking evolves and further cognitive development occurs. Kagen, Moore and Bredekamp (1995) concur that "social and emotional development cannot be understood as the mere amalgamation of variables that pertain to the individual as an isolated entity" (p.21). Development is therefore influenced by society and interactions with peers; a child learns particular languages, ways of communicating and thinking, these represent the socio-cultural tools that are used to mediate the social world in which the child lives. These socio-cultural tools play a vital role in a child's development (Kagen et al., 1995). For example, parents or those involved in a child's

early development will guide the child through certain tasks or give instructions about how to behave relative to their cultural background and social context; the child reiterates these social instructions and rules of the parent/s and these then become a part of the child's 'inner world' (Van der veer and Valsiner1991; Mkhize, 2004).

Hence, a child is socialized or influenced by society, his/her very thoughts, perspectives and behavior is a direct consequence of the society in which he/she has grown up. When parents direct their child's thought and/or behaviour they do so in a culturally charged way, through the use of particular 'cultural tools' such as language, song, story-telling, etc. and with particular conveyance of values, beliefs and judgments about the social world (Mkhize, 2004). These family processes of socialisation are extended through the formal schooling system. These theoretical accounts of the socialisation of societal norms and values forms a backdrop towards an understanding of how concepts of 'race', 'racial stereotyping' and multi-racial interaction is played out in South Africa, amongst children who have only lived in a post-Apartheid country. Hence, we can then understand why, after 16 years of abolishment of Apartheid, voluntary segregation may continue to exist. These particular theoretical frameworks provide ideas about socialisation; that children cannot escape the meanings and values of the adults in their society who have grown up under the context of Apartheid rule.

2.2.2 Language and peer interaction

"Language can be a gate-keeper, a discriminator, which facilitates participation and sharing or acts as a barrier to accessing opportunities. This is what has happened in South

Africa: language has become a barrier between the majority of citizens in this country and economic prosperity” (Webb, 2002, p.14).

Language has historically been a subject of much contention and debate in South Africa. The Soweto uprisings of 1976 is an example of how language played a key role in South Africa’s past. The Soweto uprisings were a protest by the Black youth against the Apartheid government who, after the institution of the demoralizing Bantu Education policy, insisted that all education be rendered in the Afrikaans medium. This was a blatant disregard for students’ own preference for learning in English and a marginalisation of African languages. Democratic South Africa has eleven official languages to cater for all language groups in a fair and equal manner. However, even though there are 11 official languages, most of which are African languages catering for the demographic majority of South Africa, English is the medium for instruction in many South African schools. Lessons are taught in English and all assessments are conducted in the English language. The Language Educational Policy emphasises the notion of respect for all language groups and as such elaborates on dual medium schools (Neville, 1999). Multilingualism is supposedly to be encouraged in schools. However, the majority of schools operate in English or Afrikaans mediums, thus inadvertently marginalising African languages (Neville, 1999; Orman, 2008). In a discussion on his Language Educational Policy, the then Minister of Education, Minister Bengu discussed the following regarding the inclusion of ‘language’ in the education policy:

“As an integral and necessary aspect of the new government’s strategy of building a non-racial nation in South Africa. It is meant to facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language and region, while at the same time creating an environment in which respect for languages other than one’s own would be encouraged” (1999, p.38).

There are very few schools in South Africa that practice multilingualism in the classroom. In line with the National Education Policy Act to “promote and develop all official languages” (paragraph 5), many schools in South Africa do offer learners the opportunity to learn official languages, such as isiZulu and Afrikaans as second languages. An attempt is made to incorporate different language groups in schools and create an atmosphere where language will not act as a barrier to interaction. Language is a strong aspect of ‘ethnic’ or social identity and people may identify in South Africa as being ‘Zulu’, ‘Xhosa’ or ‘Afrikaans’ and valuing these languages and associated cultures preferring to socialise with their particular ‘in-groups’ (Orman, 2008). In essence, language encourages interaction between those who speak the same language. On the contrary, there has been a loss of ‘Indian’ languages over the last century. People of ‘Indian’ origin settled in South Africa in 1860, all spoke ‘Indian’ languages such as Gujurati, Tamil, Hindi, Urdu and Telegu (Mesthrie, 1996). “Initially they used their respective languages for in-group communication and learned pidgin fanagalo for communication with outsiders” (Branford and Claughton, 1996, p.207). English was therefore not a wide spoken language within the ‘Indian’ community, “generally, the use of English among Indian’s in the nineteenth-century Natal was the exception rather than the rule” (Mesthrie, 1996, p.161). It was schooling and interaction with English speaking teachers that made this language more common amongst the ‘Indian’ community. It was in the 1960’s and 1970’s that the language shift from an ‘Indian’ vernacular to English as a first language occurred (Mesthrie, 1996). Kamwangamalu (2004) relates the shift in language to Apartheid’s discriminatory language policies, which forced ‘Indian’ people to move away from conversations in their mother-tongue to English. Present day South Africa represents a loss of ‘Indian’ languages, which are invisible in the public sphere, and increasingly so even in the private domain of families. The majority of South African ‘Indian’ children are English speaking and only a minority of these children speak an ‘Indian’ secondary language.

'Indian' languages are now only often spoken by the older generations and also solely used for religious purposes (Kamwangamalu, 2004).

2.2.3 Developmental Stage

According to Collins (1984), the 'developmental stage' referred to as 'middle childhood' is often neglected by many theorists who focus on early development or adolescence. However, middle childhood is a phase of development that is particularly important for exploring interaction as "the radius of significant relationships expands to include classmates, team mates and close friends" (Newman and Newman, 2008, p. 279). Hence, middle childhood is the ideal stage to observe the development of childhood friendships and the ideal platform to explore patterns of interaction among school children in contemporary South Africa as a "substantial portion of a child's daily existence is spent in peer interaction..." (Collins, 1984, p.243).

Middle childhood is typically thought to span from six years to twelve years of age (Collins, 1984; Cooper, Coll, Bartko, Davis and Chatman, 2005). This period of childhood is linked to children beginning school and therefore accessing new settings, new possibilities for friendships and increased interactions with other children (Collin, 1984). It is also at the stage of middle childhood that children develop 'close' friendships with other children as they seek friendships with peers who share similar interests and those whose company they enjoy. Newman and Newman (2008) reiterate this as they suggest that "peer relationships include forming meaningful dyadic and group relationships, participating in larger peer networks and experiencing peer acceptance or rejection" (p.279). Early childhood is

generally controlled by parents or guardians who facilitate contact with other children, whereas in middle childhood, with the advent of schooling, children have an increased potential for interaction and therefore facilitate their own contact with other children (Collins, 1984).

It is also at this developmental stage that gender awareness becomes more apparent. According to Collins (1984), children in mid-childhood tend to choose friends of the same sex as gender awareness is heightened between the ages of six and twelve. It is during middle childhood that children choose their friends according to common interests and having a close friend to confide in becomes imperative to children (Newman and Newman, 2008). Children tend to confide in those of the same sex as girls relate better with girls and boys with boys in terms of biological and social development which is quite disparate between sexes at this stage of childhood (Collins, 1984).

2.2.4 Friendships

A child's early interactions are with the primary caregiver/s and immediate family. Early childhood represents a period of life when caregivers and the immediate family have closest and most frequent interactions with the child; hence it is usually the parents and siblings that have the primary influence on the early development of the child. According to Erwin (1998), "throughout childhood there is a gradual shift" to more interaction with peers and less with parents. The play of children "becomes increasingly sophisticated and selective" (p.59). Hence, the significance of peer relationships increases as a child grows and changes with age. From middle-childhood right into adulthood, the patterns of interaction change. As children

grow, their memberships of various institutions changes and, as such, their daily interactions with other people increase, their social networks expand; they are therefore exposed to many other children/people with whom they develop friendships. These friendships with peers become more 'personally significant' to a child as they grow older (Erwin, 1998). It is during mid-adolescence that these very relationships with peers supercede the relationship with parents (Erwin, 1998). The child's peers become the primary source of social support and social affirmation.

According to Erwin (1998), children begin to use the term "best friend" at approximately 4 years of age. It is usually during this early childhood stage of life that children begin to attend Pre/Play-school and choose "best friends" based on who is in their class/school. However, it is very common amongst children to have various 'best friends' in different contexts and situations such as home, within the surrounding neighbourhood, at school, children of parents' friends and even different friends when particular games are being played. In early childhood, friends come and go and are replaceable, as a child grows older, their friendships become more stable and thus irreplaceable (Erwin, 1998). Mannarino (1980) agrees that children experience different friendship patterns as they grow. Children grow from self oriented or egocentric interpersonal relationships to more altruistic relationships (Mannarino, 1980). The meaning of 'friendship' is often associated with words such as 'companionship', 'affection', 'camaraderie' and 'closeness' amongst many other terms. However, these words are also used to describe other interpersonal relationships and do not necessarily differentiate friendship from other interpersonal relationships (Mannarino, 1980). The particular aspect that makes friendship different from other interpersonal relationships is the positive reciprocity inherent in interactions.

Both Erwin (1998) and Mannarino (1980) believe that as children grow older, there is a need to validate their social abilities, attitudes and values and this is done through 'consensual validation'. As opposed to seeking objective validation from parents and siblings, children tend to validate social skills and interests through their friends. The concept of 'consensual validation' is one such perspective that assists in explaining the choice of friends that a child chooses. When seeking validation from friends, children aim to gain approval from them and they do this by choosing friends who will approve of his/her social values as they are consistent with their own (Erwin, 1998). Similarly, Mannarino (1980) shares the perspective that during adolescence the need for acceptance or validation of one's social values and abilities increases to 'peer group acceptance'. 'Peer group acceptance' has often been used synonymously with 'popularity'. According to Fay (1996), a person can be 'active' or 'reactive'; if thoughts and actions stem from within a person, from your 'self', then it is deemed to be an active thought or action. However, and in most cases of peer acceptance, thoughts and actions tend to be 'reactive', as emanating from without, from the people/peers around you.

Social competence is the ability to behave appropriately in specific contexts, the rules that govern social interaction are not explicit but can be "extracted from observations and interpretations of patterns of interaction" (Weinstein, 1991, p.174). According to Kagen et al. (1995), social competence with peers has two integral aspects; the social skills required to interact with peers and the "ability to form and sustain reciprocal friendships" (p.20). Having the appropriate social skills to interact with peers is, according to Kagen, et al. (1995):

“understanding the right of others, the ability to interact with others without being overly submissive or directive, the ability to distinguish between incidental and intentional actions, the willingness to give and receive support, and the ability to treat other children the way one would like to be treated” (p.20).

In addition to having the right social skills to establish social competence; reciprocal relationships are very important, these relationships are based on mutual affection, support and companionship.

2.3 The Classroom as a social context for interaction

“Education is a continuous effort to impose on the child ways of seeing, feeling and acting at which he would not have arrived spontaneously” (Luke, 1973, p.12, in Wootton, 1997). The classroom environment is indeed a particular social setting that provides an ideal platform for interaction among children and, in the newly integrating South Africa, this includes opportunities for interactions across racial boundaries. According to Weinstein (1991), children “are assigned to classes that may contain strangers, adversaries, [and] students are expected to act harmoniously” (p.173). The classroom environment thus encourages social interaction between children as they are encouraged to exist within the same educational grouping which is comprised of different ‘races’ and cultures. There are four fundamental assumptions pertaining to the classroom as a social context (Weinstein, 1991); First, most interaction is based on communication, it is therefore a social process that involves language. Second, according to Erikson (1982, in Weinstein, 1991), “school lessons are located on a continuum between formal ritual and informal spontaneity” (p.175). The teacher thus plays

an important role in the kinds of interactions that emerge from the classroom context, as the teacher's attention/control of the class decrease, "opportunities for student interaction increase" (Weinstein, 1991, p.175). The teacher plays the role of managing the class to ensure that there is an academic focus maintained in group work or class interactions. The third assumption that Weinstein (1991) points out, along the lines of Allport's Contact Hypothesis thinking, is that the classroom context houses various children of different cultural and racial backgrounds, hence social interaction between children "influences the development of children's communicative competence" (p.175). The last assumption is that social interactions within the classroom influence friendships outside the classroom. The classroom environment therefore groups children together and gives them a platform to interact not only for the specific purposes of learning but also socially with one another. This often brings together children of diverse backgrounds who would not have spontaneously interacted with each other if they were not joined by their class grouping. Hallinan and Sorenson (1985) agree with this as they also maintain that class groups affect friendship and interaction patterns. They believe that the class context influences patterns of interaction across different 'races' in that it encourages interactions, which act to facilitate the discovery of similarities between peers and serves to encourage the development of new and additional similarities with peers.

The classroom environment gives rise to 'Activity Segments' (Weinstein, 1991 and Gump, 1980). These 'Activity Segments' describe various social interactions that "can occur and have implications for other social phenomena, such as the development of friendships and status hierarchies among students" (Weinstein, 1991, p.173). The kinds of interactions that form part of 'Activity Segments' are those such as talking, laughing, playing, etc. Weinstein

(1991) further elaborates that these 'Activity Segments' differ along two different dimensions; viz. "the extent to which external events (teacher behaviour) stimulates students attention and participation"; and secondly "the degree to which the participants are interdependent" (p.174). Weinstein thus pays particular attention to the differences in interactions across differing social contexts and explores "context specific/appropriate behaviour" (p.174). A context is defined as a "distinct boundary" and the classroom or school context is also a "distinct boundary" that "exerts particular communicative and social demands on participants" (Weinstein, 1991, p.174).

2.4 Self – Other: Development of the understanding of 'Race'

Racist ideology, of different 'races' being different or 'other' to one's own, is entrenched in South Africa (Foster, 2006). However, to properly understand 'race' and 'racism', it may not always be necessary to embark on an elaborate analysis of 'race psychology', mental structures or social structures in society, but rather what needs to be highlighted is the way in which 'race' and 'racism' appear in everyday lived life and talk.

According to Foster (2006) "racism is seen as primarily an inter-group phenomenon and not merely as a matter of individuals holding erroneous ideas" (p.49). In addition, Tajfel (1979) points out that although interpersonal engagement is based on individual behaviour/identity, when intergroup behaviour occurs, this is a result of "social identity". According to Gudykunst and Bond (1997), "An intergroup interaction occurs when one of the two parties becomes aware that the other is a member of a different group" (p.125). Focusing on inter-group phenomena is imperative in attempting to explore the general nature of inter-group

interactions. This project does not seek to elicit information about individual children and particular schools to ascertain if they are 'racist' or not, as the focus lies in the inter-group interaction among Black, 'Indian', White and 'Coloured' children and how these children interact in contemporary South Africa. This research project emphasises interactions among children of different 'races' and how this very interaction may lead to understanding the link between children and society and how social identity is constructed through interactions. According to Sampson (1989),

“We do not begin with two separate entities, individual and society, that are otherwise formed and defined apart from one another and that interact as though each were external to the other. Rather society constitutes and inhabits the very core of whatever passes for personhood: each is interpenetrated by its other” (p.4).

De la Rey (1991) reiterates this perspective when she states that, “group membership becomes internalised as a part of the self-concept” (p.44). It is, therefore, through the processes of social comparison and identification, and social 'othering' that group membership and, in turn, 'self concept'/'identity' is derived (Hall, 1996). Hall (1996) refers to “identification” as a process of construction based on shared ideals, origins, and characteristics with a person or a group. He, therefore, referred to people as defining their identity in relation to one another and, more importantly, in relation to the 'other'. According to Hall, identities are a product of society, of “historical and institutional discourses”, are thus relational and are “constructed through, not outside difference” (p.18). As members of particular 'race' groups we define who we are through relations with those from our own 'race' groups, through interaction with those of the 'other' 'race' groups as well as through projections of other 'races' in society. Hence, it “is only through the relation to the other, the

relation to what one is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its constitutive outside...that its 'identity' can be constructed" (Hall, 1996, p.18). Hence children are not born with 'racist' personality types, it is only through inter-personal socialisation and relations with those of one's own race group and with those of 'other' race groups that people conform to conservative racial norms, stereotypes and prejudices (Foster, 2006).

Fay (1996) also reiterates that people are social actors and what we think, our beliefs and thoughts are a consequence of our interactions with others. "The relevance of this to the question of the unity of the self is this: perhaps the self is not unified substantially but relationally" (Fay, 1996, p.37). We are who we are in relation to others, we can only distinguish our 'self', in comparison or relation to others in our social world, hence our sense of self is made up of our social histories, contemporary discourses and group membership. This is due to the perspective that "the self is not a thing which undergoes various state changes, but instead just is various states of consciousness related in a certain manner" (Fay, 1996, p, 37).

2.5 Focus on Interaction

It is important to think in 'interactional' terms in order to come close to understanding the nature of society and the people who occupy it. Erwin (1998) has the perspective that even 'friendships' have a history that is entrenched in national, cultural and societal roots that shape them. In addition, Erwin elaborates that society determines the patterns of interaction among people as the factors influencing interaction are those of 'functional proximity' and 'social class' (p.85). Interaction is largely influenced by 'functional proximity', which is the

physical space within which people live. Apartheid South Africa was governed by the Group Areas Act of 1950; people were segregated by race to specific residential areas. Subsequent to the abolishment of Apartheid and the Group Areas Act, all South Africans are able to move freely within the country and live wherever they wish. Hence, race segregation diffused into class separation; South Africa's new social order is based on socio-economic factors and contemporary South African society is highly unequal with a huge discrepancy between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. Therefore 'functional proximity' is now primarily determined by socio-economic class; people within similar social classes live within the same neighbourhoods and in most cases send their children to the same schools. These factors thus enable a higher propensity for interaction among children who are from similar social classes and live geographically close to each other. By focusing on interaction and patterns of interaction among children in schools we can come to understand why after sixteen years of democracy and an end to Apartheid people still live in a context of racial divisions (Shrieff, et al., 2005). The 'proper study of interaction' is indeed not with a focus on the 'individual' with regard to attitudes, personality and prejudice but rather with a focus on the everyday relations between people who are 'mutually present to one another' (Goffman, 1967, p.2).

CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY

In order to understand the de/racialisation of experiences for school children in present day democratic South Africa, it is important for the researcher to observe the relational patterns of interaction that occur in a natural setting, in everyday life. Like Woods (1979), this project has an interest in “interpersonal relations and processes within a social context linked to the wider social framework” (p.23) and was conducted within a qualitative paradigm to enable an in-depth understanding rather than general description. According to Charlotte Burck (2005), “the types of research questions which qualitative methodologies address are often open-ended and exploratory, aiming to generate hypotheses rather than to test them” (p.238). Qualitative methodologies provide a platform to further investigate other research possibilities that may arise and, even though research is guided by structured research plans, as one delves deeper, new ideas, nuances and realizations of society materialize as opposed to starting with hypotheses or ideas and then attempting to test them. Applying a qualitative methodology to study the patterns of interaction among school children allows one to explore the relational nature of human beings. The particular focus on the de/racialisation of interactions requires specific attention to socio-historical dynamics and the context in which the observations occur. Qualitative research enables researchers to understand the social world through ethnographic observation, interviews, focus groups, etc with small samples and, through the analysis of qualitative data collected, we may then draw evaluations and understand how the social world operates (Silverman, 2000).

Davies (1999) states that “social research must be concerned with methodology throughout the research process” (p. 38). She goes on to further explain that when initially forming a research question, one must always locate it within a theoretical framework or paradigm. A methodological framework assists in outlining the ideological position of the researcher in relation to the research; it directs the project and provides a platform from which all else evolves. The qualitative paradigm emphasizes the role of interpretation, focusing on the meanings constructed in everyday social phenomena. According to Holliday (2002), researchers provide an interpretation of the social world and seek to enquire how people make sense of their lives.

3.1 Ethnography

“Ethnography is more than a one-day hike through the woods: It is an ambitious journey through the complex world of social interaction” (Fetterman, 1989, p.9).

One methodological approach within the qualitative interpretive paradigm is ethnomethodology. This approach is highly appropriate for this study because of its interest in interactions between people rather than individual attitudes and perceptions. As Billington, Hockey and Strawbridge (1998) argue:

“The routine of everyday social activity constantly reproduces the structured, predictable properties of social life. However, it is through human action or ‘agency’ that social life is also altered and changed. Thus it is the fact that human actors reflect upon what they do, and indeed on social interaction in general...” (p.16).

This project conceives of children's lives as 'relational' or 'interactive'. Early social interactions and relationships with peers greatly influence a child's sense of self as the self is established through interactions with other people (Morgan and Thomas, 1996). Schooling provides a platform for social interaction between children. In childhood, every interaction is a contributing factor towards social thought and action as "these experiences of family and close kin relationships survive as building blocks for the way we experience, behave...in group settings through the rest of life" (Morgan and Thomas, 1996, p.75). It has been noted that children do not grow up in a vacuum, in total isolation to the rest of society, children are indeed social actors who are deeply influenced by the social contexts in which they live, and these very contexts play a vital role in their socio-psychological development. With this theoretical/conceptual framework in mind, the individual is thus not viewed as the 'primary unit of analysis' with the social or society on the external periphery (Foster, 2006).

Ethnography is a method that enables the research of socio-cultural "patterns and meaning in communities and other social settings" (Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte, 1999, p.1). In contrast, the positivist framework upheld scientific methods of experiment as key to researching social phenomena. An experimental or laboratory setting is a 'manufactured' way of researching social aspects as it presents settings that are not conducive to everyday life, activities and interaction. Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon and Finchilescu (2005) concur with this view of scientific methodologies as they state that the "forms of contact examined in experimental settings are arguably rare in everyday life. Moreover, experimental research may mask everyday obstacles to social change" (p.434). They extend on this matter by referring to experimental research as being "engineered" thus forcing activity and interaction that may not necessarily occur in everyday life. This presents the very reasoning behind why

I have chosen to look at a very ordinary everyday context for finding out about race dynamics among children. Schrieff et al. (2005), in their study of 'Patterns of racial segregation in University residence dining-halls' further explain that "in everyday life...people may choose to maintain racial boundaries and distances, thus limiting the extent of their interaction with others, even within apparently desegregated contexts" (p.434). Even though South Africa represents a 'desegregated' society that appears to encourage racial interaction, some people choose to remain within their racial circles with little or no interaction with those of other races. The introduction of an experimental setting would distort the social reality of everyday activity and interaction as people become aware of this distortion, particularly if it is apparent that the study is addressing sensitive issues of 'race'. By contrast, the utilisation of the ethnographic observation method allows the researcher, through his or her gaze, to view the everyday extraordinary activity that is so crucial in making sense of the social world and all those who occupy it. Ethnography as a method of data collection and analysis is particularly apt for exploring the everyday constructions of race, as research is conducted with people in their own social contexts (Hammersely, 1990). Corsaro (in Alldred, 1998) refers to ethnographic observation with children as "joining in the children's activities whilst not affecting the flow of peer episodes" (p.151). Again, this process offers a fruitful way of entering into and understanding children's perspectives on an issue that is difficult to research because the legislated changes in South African society may mean that 'race' and 'racism' has mutated and perhaps play out in more nuanced ways.

Denzin (1997) refers to ethnography as "that form of inquiry and writing that produces descriptions and accounts about the ways of life of the writer and those written about" (p.11). As opposed to positivist perspectives that attempt to eliminate all forms of human/social

influence on the research, ethnography embraces the social element that is inherent in the research. The social gaze of the researcher and his/her interaction with the social world is just as important as the social interactions of those being observed. In addition, this method of data collection does not only depend on what people say about their social world, but also aids in observing what they do.

3.2 The Role of the Researcher

Ethnography acknowledges the importance of researcher subjectivity within the research process and perceives the role of the researcher as a pivotal one. I am therefore conscious of the ideological position of myself as a young, 'Indian' female within South African society and how this, in turn, influences my research. In accordance with other social science methods such as those typical of narrative and discursive approaches, ethnography perceives the researcher as being the "primary tool of data collection" (Schensul et al, 1999, p.1). The researcher has to have a firm understanding of the local population within a broader socio-economic context; the understanding of this macro context is essential in order to situate local experience and cultural observations. These are reasons why most ethnographic research is done by local researchers who belong to these particular societies being researched. According to Schensul et al (1999),

"ethnographic research is conducted locally: conducted in communities, organizations, workplaces, schools, and other population collectives that are spatially defined and within which ethnographers communicate face to face with the research participants and collect primary data. Ethnographic research always involves face-to-face contact between the ethnographer and the community of study" (p.67).

This study demonstrates the ‘face-to-face’ contact that is imperative to ethnographic research. All ethnographic observations have been conducted in a school within KwaZulu-Natal, using the insider status that I enjoy as an ‘Indian’ South African. Davies (1999) best describes the essence of the ethnographic researcher when she states that:

“all researchers are to some degree connected to, a part of, the object of their research. And, depending on the nature of these connections, questions arise as to whether the results of research are artefacts of the researcher’s presence and inevitable influence on the research process” (p.3).

In undertaking social research, a researcher must always remember that he/she is also part of that particular social world in which phenomena is being researched. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) reiterate that “we act in the social world and yet are able to reflect upon ourselves and our actions as objects in that world. By including our own role within the research focus and systematically exploiting our participation in the world under study as researchers, we can develop and test theory without placing reliance on futile appeals to empiricism...” (p.25). As a researcher, I understand that I am both a part and not a part of the children’s world that I am observing. Although I am a South African and grew up in the Durban areas, my own experience of childhood in South African society differs in significant respects from the childhoods of these ‘born free’ children. The abolishment of the Group Areas Act of 1950 and ‘racialised’ education has given people living in contemporary South Africa the freedom to live and attend school wherever they choose. In addition, with the advancement of technology, children in contemporary society grow up under global influences. There are now different reasons why children may or may not engage in de(racialised) interactions in present day South Africa such as language differences or

barriers to communication, geographical areas in which they live and class differences, amongst many other possible reasons. Through constantly reminding myself that I will never fully understand the experience of childhood in present day South African society, I am able to come closer to an understanding on the patterns of interaction between children as I continue to research and explore interaction as it unfolds before me.

One of the key tenets of ethnographic research is self-reflection or reflexivity (LeCompte, Schensul, Weeks and Singer, 1999; Davies, 1999). The act of reflexivity is “self-reflection about one’s own impact on the field, as well as one’s preferences, prejudices, biases, hopes, concerns [and] how these affect [the] outcomes of research” (LeCompte et al, 1999, p.66). Reflexivity is particularly pertinent to ethnographic research as this research within specific contexts of study is in-depth and therefore, the involvement of the researcher and the particular society in question is a relatively close one (Davies, 1999). Pollner and Emerson (2001) summarise the ethnomethodological meaning of reflexivity as referring to “what actors ‘know about’ or ‘make of’ and ‘do in’ a setting is itself constitutive of the setting and informed by it” (p. 121). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), agree that “reflexivity has implications for the practice of social research too. Rather than engaging in futile attempts to eliminate the effects of the researcher, we should set about understanding them” (p.17). Reflexivity must not be mistaken for reflection, whereby people reflect on their actions within the world; reflexivity in this regard is deriving a sense of who you are through interpretation and understanding of the social world. It is through the interpretation of the social context and in the interaction with those around you that you, the researcher come to envisage a sense of self (Fay, 1996). Davies (1999) argues that ethnographic “observation must also include reflexive observation – that is, the ethnographer needs to be sensitive to the

nature of , and conditions governing, their own participation as a part of their developing understanding of the people they study” (p.73). Ethnographic observation is done through a researcher’s gaze; the researcher guides and directs the observation process as he/she determines what is and is not recorded (Schensul et al, 1999). The constant practice of reflexivity was an important facet of the research process for me as I became more and more involved and acquainted with the school of study. My contact with the participants was close as I spent full days at the school and followed particular children to different lessons and school breaks. I began to immerse myself within this school society and had to constantly reflect on my thoughts as a researcher with regards to my own concerns, biases and opinions on the interactions that occurred.

3.3 Ethics

As with all and any research, especially research with children, there are ethical guidelines to follow. Bray and Gooskens (2005) in a paper for the Centre for Social Science Research emphasise that “ethical guidelines in social research often specify that studies involving “minors” require additional protective measures in the light of power relations between adults and children. It is only sensible to attend to the possibility that children may be exploited in the research process” (p.8). Protective measures have to be taken to ensure that research intentions and processes are clearly outlined and made available to all those involved.

According to Bray and Gooskens (2005), “the subject of ‘informed consent’ in research with children is one that dominates guides on ethical practice” (p.9), and is one that has particularly dominated this research project. In order to initiate the data collection process, I

had to ensure that informed consent was received from the University Ethics Committee, Department of Education, the school in question, teachers, parents and the children. Not only did the informed consent forms present the research intentions to the participants, they also stressed confidentiality and anonymity with regards to the findings, how these findings will be used and reaffirmed the free-will of participants, if at any stage during the research process, they were not comfortable with being involved, they had the right to withdraw their participation (See Appendix 2). In addition, all consent forms had an English and isiZulu translation to allow for a better understanding of the research intentions by all those involved. All parents of children in the selected Grade 4 class (not just the parents of particular selected participants) were sent observation consent forms as general interactions between all children were video recorded.

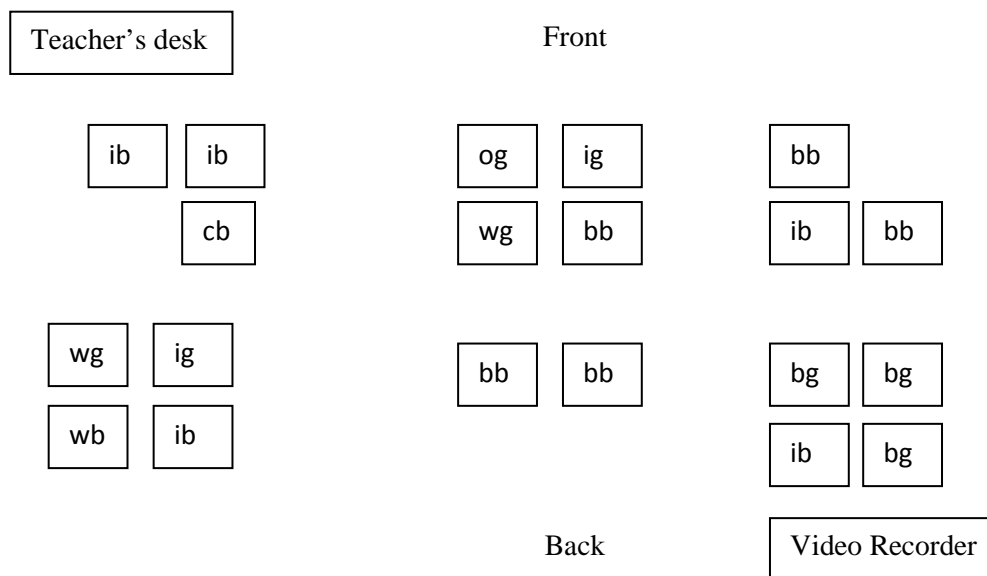
3. 4 Participants

Primary school children from Grade 4 aged between 9-10 years of age were observed on the school field. While entire cohorts of racially mixed children were observed, the point of entry was a small group of 'Indian' Grade 4 children, recording the frequency and quality of interactions with their peers within the classroom and school field settings. It was pointed out by the school principal that this specific Grade 4 class was one of the most racially diverse classes in the school. It was imperative that I chose particular children to observe so that I could closely observe the interactions with their peers and establish patterns. A general observation of the entire class without using these particular children as points of entry would result in 'bits' of data being generated from observations and would not have allowed me to generate in-depth information about the patterns of interaction among children.

I specifically opted to observe the Grade 4 class with the children's ages varying from 9 - 10 years. The reason for observing participants from a Grade 4 class is that these children are in the middle of their primary schooling career and by this time have already established their own patterns of interaction.

Figure 1 below gives an indication of the seating arrangements within the classroom. Of the 20 children, 3 are racially categorised as 'White', 7 as 'Indian', 8 as 'Black', 1 as 'Coloured' and 1 as 'Bi-racial'. While it is recognised that deploying these 'race' categories may seem to inadvertently reinforce 'race thinking', it was considered necessary for the purpose of speaking about interaction amongst the diverse people within South Africa. The class seating arrangement was facilitated by the teacher who said that she had divided the class according to groups that worked academically well together.

Figure 1: Illustration of class seating arrangement



*ib = Indian Boy

*ig = Indian Girl

*bg = Black Girl

*bb = Black Boy

*wg = White Girl

*wb= White boy

The focus on ‘Indian’ children as a basis for ethnographic observation ties in with Hammersley’s notion that research of this nature utilizes a “single setting or group and this is done on a relatively ‘small case’ basis in order to get a large amount of ‘raw’ data” (1990,p.2). In order to ensure the quality and depth of observations, I observed the interactions of seven ‘Indian’ children (see Table 1 below) whom I followed throughout the school day, from lesson to lesson and during school breaks.

Table 1: Selected Participants for focused observation

Name/Child	Gender	Age
*Kapil	Boy	10
*Nisha	Girl	10
*Deshan	Boy	10
*Sashen	Boy	11
*Leila	Girl	9
*Suhail	Boy	10
*Tyler	Boy	10

*All names have been changed

3. 5 Data Collection

“Observation” is defined as that which can be seen through the “eyes of the ethnographer” (Schensul et al, 1999, p.95). The ethnographic researcher thus plays a pivotal role in shaping the research as he/she conducts observations within social settings. The manner in which researchers conduct their observations varies, this is primarily due to the type of setting, whom they are observing and what precisely they intend to observe. Hammersley (1990) agrees that “observation can take a variety of forms; it may be covert or overt, to varying degrees and varying in relation to different groups of participants; it may involve participation in an established role in the setting (marginal or more central) or in a ‘visitor’ or specially created researched role”(p.30). The classroom environment is well acquainted with ‘visitors’ or external people constantly coming into the school or classroom, such as student teachers, Department of education officials, visiting teachers, etc. I represented another visitor to the school whose participation in classroom activities was marginal as I observed and recorded interactions from the sidelines.

3.5.1 Orientation to the field

The initial days of observation in the field served to orientate the researcher to the particular setting with regards to how to observe the participants, what to observe and where to observe these (Schensul et al, 1999). Subsequent to the first few days of orientation and acquainting myself with the observation process; I was able to become more ‘selective’ with regards to what should drive observation (Schensul, et al, 1999). The first visit to the school was done over a four day period; this assisted me in acquainting myself with the school environment and its routines, across the course of a week and also allowed the children to become

accustomed to my presence. The initial research stage provided me with opportunities to observe children of different ages in different situations that facilitated varying dynamics. Video recording was only introduced a few days into the initial visit to the school and a general schedule of interaction was developed to tabulate the frequency of kinds of interactions. The initial visit to the school assisted in revising the general schedule of interaction to a more refined one based on actual interactions that were observed, this schedule was then used for the second visit to the school. There were also instances of additional/contextual information regarding interactions that could not be recorded on the schedule of interaction; as a result detailed field notes of interactions were also kept. “The challenge for the researcher lies in the transformation of observations into field notes, which then constitute a scientific record of the experience for future reference” (Schensul et al, 1999, p.114). In addition, “the more complete and accurate the field notes, the easier it is for researchers to catalogue, code, and use them as data “(Schensul et al, 1999, p.114). Keeping good field notes can assist in facilitating the analysis stage of the project (Fetterman, 1989; Pelto and Pelto, 1978). Field notes must endeavour to be as detailed as possible whether these refer to “inferences and personal observations, reflections, hunches, and emotional reactions”, in addition to descriptions of the situation (Schensul et al, 1999, p.115). Detailed descriptions of settings, environments, individuals, appearances, behaviours, etc must be noted to add meaning to descriptions/observations (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983).

3.5.2 Ethnographic Observation

Upon re-visiting the school for the data collection process, I was well informed about the school culture, how the lessons, school breaks or general school day operates and more

importantly, I was able to focus on the specific lessons or situations that involved a high amount of interaction, situations that revealed patterns of interaction.

There are various means of recording ethnographic observations; such as descriptive note-taking, personal field notes; recording frequencies manually via a frequency schedule using pen and paper and “sketching an area’s physical layout...outlines [of] informal social networks” (Fetterman, 1989, p.73). These types of recording tools that have been discussed, according to Fetterman (1989) are the least obtrusive methods but can be difficult in terms of fully capturing observations. Other tools for recording also include laptops, dictaphones, camera shots in documenting interactions or behaviour and video recording which was used in this study. Video recording gives the researcher the ability to capture everything at once without taking the focus off one aspect to focus on another. Fetterman (1989) agrees that “ethnographers usually have a fraction of a second to reflect on a gesture...video tape provides the observer with the ability to stop time” (p.85). With the interest of this research project being on patterns of interaction among school children in classroom/school settings, it becomes increasingly difficult to focus on all interactions and observe the necessary related frequencies of these interactions, which is indeed crucial towards a holistic understanding of de/racialised interactions. Video recording of observations has allowed me as the ethnographer to “tape a class and watch it over and over again, each time finding new layers of meaning or non-verbal signs from teacher to student, from student to teacher and from student to student” (Fetterman, 1989, p.85). This enables patterns of interaction to become clearer when observing the video recordings repeatedly over time (Grasseni, 2004).

Although video recording represents a tool for recording a vast amount of 'raw' data, it is also important to note that it may be an obtrusive method for recording observations especially when it is used with children. In the first few days of 'video observation', the children were distracted by the presence of a video recorder and as a result reacted to this. For example, instead of continuing on with their usual classroom or school break activities, children would sometimes walk up to me and speak into the camera or display random humorous acts as if they were performing for the video. One has to constantly be aware of this and try as best as possible to reduce this obtrusiveness. In an attempt to reduce the obtrusiveness of the video camera used during my observations, I positioned myself at the back of the classroom behind the class who could not see me making use of the video recorder. This helped in capturing the general interaction of the children in the class. In addition, after a few days of video observation on the school field, the presence of the video recorder lost its novelty and the children continued with their usual break activities (Fetterman, 1989). Another reason why I chose to make use of video recording is because it also assists in increasing the validity of observations as it represents official visual documentation of observations that can be repeatedly observed and cross referenced to avoid misinterpretation (Grasseni, 2004). It, in a sense, freezes time and allows the researcher to replay interactions and pieces of everyday life over and over again.

Subsequent to the observation process, I was left with 27 hours worth of video recorded data. In order to make sense of the recorded data and establish patterns of interaction, the revised schedule of interaction was used (See Table 2). The schedule of interaction assisted in noting the finer details of the observations and thus contributed to a greater understanding of the interactions that were observed. There were two dimensions to the schedule of observation to

incorporate both ‘classroom interaction’ and ‘interaction on the school field during break times’. These distinctions between the two different school settings assisted with noting and comparing the varying interactions that have occurred. The study focuses on different situations of (a) a classroom space where children’s freedom of movement and interactions are controlled or restricted by the presence of a teacher and then in comparison, (b) those interactions on a school field during break where children are free to interact with whom they choose.

Table 2: Schedule of interaction

Table of interactions: Formal lessons					
Kind of interaction	White Child	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured child	Bi-racial
Dyadic Play					
Dyadic Talk					
Group Talk					
Group Play					
Working Together					
Reading to/with					
Physical contact					
Gestures across the classroom					
Borrowing Stationery					
Table of interactions: School Break/After Care/Excursion					
Kind of interaction	White Child	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured child	Bi-racial
Dyadic Play					
Dyadic Talk					
Group Talk					
Group Play	Singing				
Physical Play - Sandpit					
Physical Play – Ball Games					
Working Together					
Reading to/with					
Physical	Holding				

contact	Hands					
	Arms around shoulders					
Gestures across the classroom						
Borrowing Stationery						
Sharing Food						

The descriptions of interactions that were used in the schedule of interaction are: dyadic play, dyadic talk, group talk, physical play (group; ball game, dance; singing), working together, reading to/with each other; physical contact (hugging; holding hands; high fiving; arms around shoulders; grooming actions), sharing food, gestures across the classroom, gestures across the school field, interaction with the teacher and borrowing stationery from fellow learners. The use of these descriptions of interactions assisted in further investigating de(racialised) interactions, when these happen and why, whether these were consistent interactions that denote friendship or were they few and brief interactions, were the interactions facilitated by a teacher or independent of any third party influence? The level of engagement in interactions listed on the schedule of interaction differs; for example physical contact presents a close or higher level of interaction than working together with a peer. These categories have enabled me to focus my observations on the frequency and particular kinds of interaction that contribute to an understanding on the patterns of interaction among children. The video recorded data was played repeatedly to allow for individual schedules of interaction to be completed per child in each context.

¹ Brief interactions relate to momentary interactions of a few seconds less than a minute. Whereas sustained interactions refer to interactions which last longer than a minute.

Ethnographic observation was done with a specific Grade 4 class, 7 children in the class were used as points of reference and I focused on the interactions between them and their peers. In properly researching the patterns of interaction among these children, I had to ensure that observations were done at the same times every day. As a result, the observations were conducted during the early morning lesson at 8:00am -9:00am, during first and second breaks which were both 20 minutes 10:00am – 10:20am and 12:20pm to 12:40pm, the lesson just after first break was also observed. As most of the children being observed attended ‘After Care’, I also observed their interactions within this space. In addition, I had the opportunity to observe the children in a space outside the school environment on a half day excursion.

3.6 Data Analysis

“In ethnography the analysis of data is not a distinct stage of the research. It begins in the pre-fieldwork phase, in the formulation and clarification of research problems, and continues into the process of writing up” (Hammersely and Atkinson, 1983, p.174). The analysis of data collected via ethnographic research “involves interpretation of meanings and functions of human actions” that have been observed, this also “mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most” (Hammersley, 1990, p.2).

The analytic framework for this research project aims to assist in the understanding of patterns of interaction among children in contemporary South Africa, primarily interaction between different ‘races’. This can be done using ethnographic data analysis. Ethnographic analysis emphasises the importance of the research process as an influential aspect that

impacts on the interpretation of data (Hammersely and Atkinson (1983). It is the very nature of data collection that produces particular ‘thick’ descriptions of observations (Geertz, 1973). Thick descriptions of observations do not involve noting a simple description of an interaction. When observing interactions among school children, it was not only simple actions of children playing together, talking, sitting together that were noted, but it was the very intricacies of these interactions that were focused on. Thick descriptions of interactions were generated during observation such as; where and when children interacted with one another, what were their actions, how many times did they repeat these activities, who was the interaction with (racial and gender specification), was the interaction brief or sustained? According to Hammersely and Atkinson (1983), the analysis of thick descriptions can reveal complex social meanings; looking at what children do can reveal patterns of interaction that can be extended to explain wider social phenomena. In other words, the development of the observational schedule was the first phase of “analysis”, segmenting the flow of experience in particular ways.

Perception, according to Fetterman (1998) is a key starting point for analysis of ethnographic data. The video recorded data presented a wealth of raw data. Not all data collected in the video recordings may necessarily contribute toward a greater understanding on patterns of interaction as “the field presents a vast amount of material, however, and in understanding day-to-day human interaction elementary thinking skills are as important as ethnographic concepts and methods” (Fetterman, 1998, p. 93). The schedule of interaction was then used to make sense of the large amount of video data and assisted in establishing frequencies of different kinds of interactions per child in the different school lessons and contexts.

Content Analysis stresses the importance of categorizing and classifying research content through systematic coding that will inevitably reveal recurring patterns inherent in the research data (Weber, 1990). Coding of data or as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) term it, “thematic organization” was used to sort and organize the data collected during observations and interviews. In attempting to make sense of data, it is imperative that it is sorted into ‘mutually exclusive’ and ‘exhaustive’ themes or categories (Weber, 1990). The frequency schedule of observation that was used to analyse the video recordings of interactions assisted in focusing on certain interactions that lead to particular patterns becoming apparent. Fetterman (1998) speaks about looking for “patterns” in data; aspects/interactions in observations that reoccur over several instances. Emergent themes evolve from the research situation particularly from the types of observations recorded. Therefore, it is how the data are collected that will influence data produced and in turn also influence thematic organization during data analysis (Holliday, 2002). Using Content analysis to code the research data, frequencies of different interactions among children observed began to surface and sets of themes began to emerge from the data.

Once the information was coded according to the emergent patterns of interaction, I had to place careful attention on re-analysing the data for variants in the patterns as these also assisted in creating a better understanding of interaction among children. Thematic organization of data establishes a sense of coherence within the project; the coding of research data acts as a tool with which I made sense of the pool of data collected. The systematic coding or sifting through data as is prescribed in content analysis assists in establishing the kinds of interaction that are evident in the children’s activities. Using the kinds of interactions that were prevalent in the observations, I was then able to focus more

closely on the frequencies of these kinds of interactions and these were used to analyse the emergent patterns of interaction.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

The results presented in this chapter provide descriptions of the interactions of each individual participant child in three different settings; 1. Formal classroom setting; 2. Unstructured lessons and 3. Free Space. The kinds of interactions for each child were tabulated from the video recorded sessions in each context and are presented in summary tables in each section, together with diagrammatic representations of the children's arrangements in space and descriptive accounts of their interactions.

4.1 Formal Classroom Setting

The seating arrangement largely affects interaction within the classroom as children who sat in close proximity had more frequent interactions with each other. These interactions were, as a result, effected by the teacher who was responsible for the seating arrangement. In addition, the presence of an authority figure also hampered free interaction among children within the classroom setting. Although classroom interaction was limited, there were instances where the teacher left the room or initiated group work; these particular instances provided greater insight into the patterns of interaction as the children had the freedom to do what they wanted to do. Table 3 below presents the results of observations across race categories for four children, Nisha, Deshan, Sashen and Suhayl.

Table 3: Summary of interaction – Children seated to the right of the classroom: Nisha, Deshan, Sashen and Suhayl

Table of interactions: Formal lessons	
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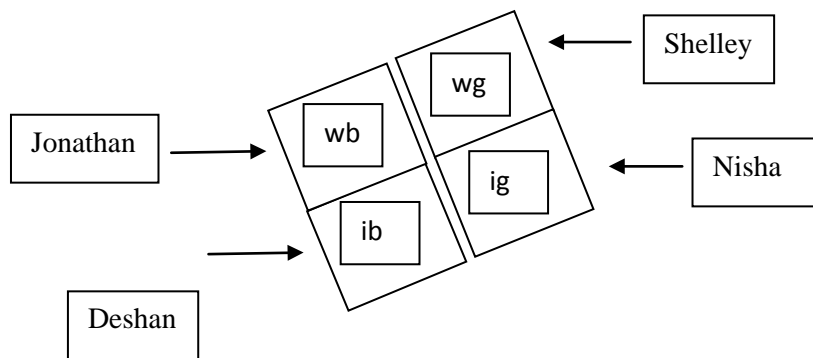
Kind of interaction	White Child	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured child	Bi-racial
Dyadic Play	Nisha = 2 sustained and 2 brief Deshan = 3 brief	Nisha = 2 brief	Nisha = 3 brief Deshan = 1 brief	Nisha = 1 brief	
Dyadic Talk	Nisha = 17 brief and 5 sustained Deshan = 8 brief and 3 sustained Sashen = 5 brief; Suhayl = 5 brief and 1 sustained	Suhayl = 1 brief	Nisha = 12 brief and 3 sustained Deshan = 9 brief and 5 sustained Sashen = 4 sustained and 8 brief Suhayl = 8 brief and 3 sustained	Sashen = 11 brief and 7 sustained Suhayl = 2 sustained	
Group Talk	Nisha = 9 sustained and 16 brief Deshan = 16 brief and 9 sustained Sashen = 3 sustained	Sashen = 4 brief Suhayl = 4 brief	Nisha = 9 sustained and 16 brief Deshan = 16 sustained and 9 brief Sashen = 8 brief and 9 sustained Suhayl = 3 brief and 3 sustained	Suhayl = 3 brief and 3 sustained	
Group Play		Deshan = 2 sustained			
Working Together	Nisha = 4 brief Sashen = 1 sustained Suhayl = 1 sustained	Deshan = 2 sustained	Nisha = 3 brief Deshan = 2 brief and 2 sustained Sashen = 2 sustained Suhayl = 2 sustained		
Reading to/with					
Physical contact	Nisha = 2 brief				
Gestures across the classroom		Deshan = 1 brief			
Borrowing	Nisha = 6				

Stationery	brief				
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4.1.1 Maths Lessons

Nisha, an Indian girl sat at the back of the classroom with the group described by the teacher as the ‘academically inclined children’. This particular group of children as per Figure 2 below includes a White girl, Shelley and a White boy, Jonathan, Nisha and an Indian boy, Deshan.²

Figure 2: Seating arrangement Group A



Most of Nisha’s interactions occurred with Shelley who sat directly opposite her, there were five instances of a brief comment or dyadic talk between both of them. As the teacher would turn her back, they would quickly exchange a glance and a word or two. For most of the lesson, Nisha listened to the teacher and quietly completed her required work tasks. She engaged in a brief group discussion with Shelley, Deshan and Jonathan and this conversation

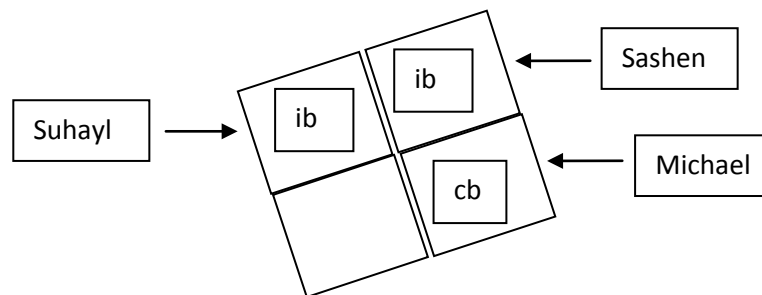
² All names have been changed

was sparked by the worksheet that was handed out to them by their teacher. Subsequent to this, she repeatedly turned to Deshan sitting to the left of her to gain some clarity on what was required of the task. At one point in the lesson, Leila, an Indian girl stood up and walked over to the teacher's desk which is a desk away from Nisha. While walking back to her desk, Leila excitedly waved and smiled at Nisha who smiled back in return before resuming her work. There were four instances where Nisha reached over to Jonathan's desk to borrow stationery from him, besides the borrowing of Jonathan's stationery and a brief group conversation, Nisha did not have further interactions with Jonathan during this lesson.

Also sitting with the 'academically inclined' group was Deshan. As per Figure 2 above, Deshan sat to the right of Nisha and opposite Jonathan. During the Maths lesson, Deshan engaged in three brief conversations with Jonathan. After the teacher handed out the worksheet, he was the one who initiated a group conversation with Nisha, Shelley and Jonathan. After briefly discussing the worksheet with his peers, he then returned to doing his work. A while later Nisha turned to Deshan twice to ask him for assistance with her work. The interaction amongst this group was minimal, there was only interaction in a situation where there was a need to borrow stationery or a brief comment on schoolwork.

Figure 3 below shows the seating arrangement within the classroom setting of Group B; Sashen, Suhayl and Michael

Figure 3: Seating arrangement Group B



Sashen and Suhayl sat next to each other. They originally chose to sit next to each other at the beginning of the year and the teacher left them to sit together as they worked well together. They are both Indian boys who sat in a group with Michael, a coloured boy who sat directly opposite Sashen.

Suhayl was much quieter than his two peers in the group. He worked independently throughout the lesson without consulting with his peers regarding his school work. Suhayl had a sustained conversation with Sashen as soon as the teacher turned her back to speak to another learner. They both whispered to each other and then began laughing at the amusing conversation before being reprimanded by the teacher. Suhayl did not interact with either Sashen or Michael until the teacher turned her attention away from them again, at this point he briefly mumbled to Michael about something and then proceeded to finish his task. Suhayl is very aware of the teacher's presence and the requirement to be work focused.

Sashen engaged in one sustained conversation with Suhayl, the conversation seemed to be social in nature as they were very amused by each other's comments, and expressed great enthusiasm by what Suhayl was talking about. This was the last interaction that Sashen had with Suhayl for the entire lesson. The remainder of the lesson, Sashen had nine brief interactions of dyadic talk with Michael (See Table 3 above for a summary of interaction).

Table 4 below presents a summary of the interaction observed for children spatially seated to the left of the classroom.

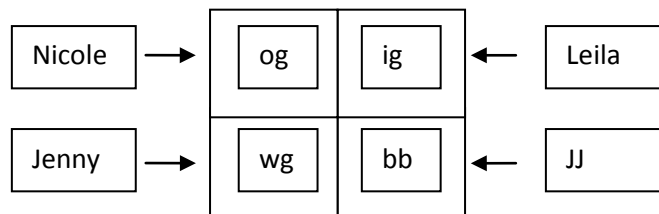
Table 4: Summary of interaction – Children seated to the left of the classroom: Leila, Tyler and Kapil

Table of interactions: Formal lessons					
Kind of interaction	White Child	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured child	Bi-racial
Dyadic Play		Tyler =7 sustained			
Dyadic Talk	Tyler = 6 brief; Leila = 21 brief and 4 sustained; Kapil = 1 sustained and 2 brief	Tyler = 32 brief and 14 sustained; Leila = 6 brief and 6 sustained;	Tyler = 13 brief; Leila = 4 brief and 1 sustained; Kapil = 1 sustained		Leila = 11 brief and 3 sustained
Group Talk	Leila = 8 brief and 2 sustained; Kapil = 1 sustained	Tyler = 17 brief and 6 sustained; Kapil = 1 sustained	Tyler = 3 sustained and 12 sustained; Leila = 6 brief and 2 sustained; Kapil = 1 sustained	Tyler = 2 brief	Leila = 8 brief and 2 sustained
Group Play		2Tyler = 2 sustained	Tyler = 2 sustained		
Working Together	Leila = 1 sustained	Tyler = 9 sustained	Tyler = 1 sustained; Leila = 2 sustained		
Reading to/with					

Physical contact		Tyler = 5 brief			
Gestures across the classroom		Tyler = 2 brief;	Leila = 1 brief		
Borrowing Stationery	Leila = 4 brief	Tyler = 6 brief; Kapil = 1 brief			

Leila is an Indian girl who sat at the front of her class with three of her class peers; JJ, a Black boy; who sat next to her, Nicole, a bi-racial child and Jenny a White Girl. Figure 4 below illustrates the seating arrangement of this group.

Figure 4: Seating arrangement Group C

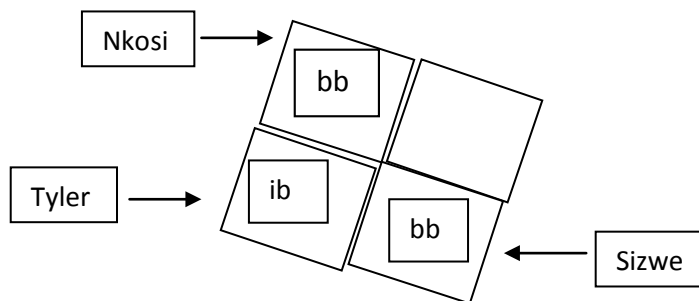


Throughout the lesson, Leila had brief conversations with all those seated within their group seating. Leila engaged in seven brief interactions of dyadic talk with Jenny who sat diagonally opposite her and five brief interactions of dyadic talk with Nicole. As soon as their teacher walked to the back of the classroom and diverted her attention away from them, she would engage in a conversation with either Nicole or Jenny. There was one sustained and two brief conversations or group talks between all the girls seated at the table. The girls did not include JJ, the boy sitting next to Leila in any of their conversations, however there were two instances of dyadic talk between JJ and Leila (See Table 4 above). Both these interactions with JJ were brief. As the teacher handed the worksheet to Leila and the group, she leaned over to JJ and spoke to him while pointing out something in his work book. The other brief conversation with JJ occurred when he whispered to Leila; they both then lifted their desk

lids to hide their conversation from the teacher. During the lesson, Leila got out of her seat twice. The first time she got out of her seat, she walked to the dust bin to throw her scrap pieces of paper that she had cut from her worksheet, when walking back to her desk, Tyler, an Indian boy who sat behind her said something to her, she replied with a comment that amused both of them. The teacher then looked at both of them and they stopped their interaction immediately and returned to their work. The second time Leila got out of her seat was when she went over to the teacher's desk for a tissue, upon returning to her seat, she glanced at Nisha, smiled and waved at her across the classroom before sitting down again.

Figure 5 refers to the seating arrangement of the Group D, which includes Nkosi, Tyler and Sizwe.

Figure 5: Seating arrangement of Group D

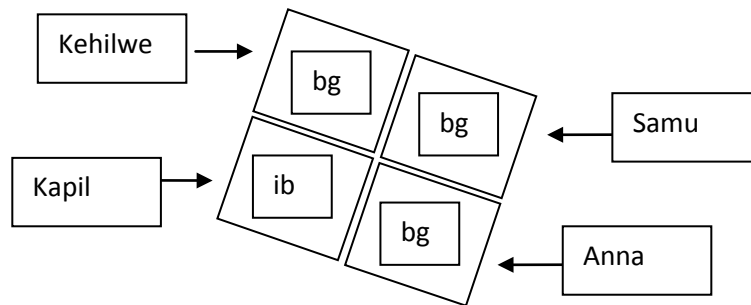


Tyler is an Indian boy who sat at the front left of the classroom; there was no one that sat directly next to him. There were two Black boys, Nkosi and Sizwe that sat across him within the same seating group.

The positioning of Tyler's group within the classroom made it easier for them to interact freely with one another as they were not in the direct gaze of their teacher. Tyler's group was positioned at the corner of the classroom. Both Tyler and Sizwe were very playful boys. In between attempting to complete their school work, both of them were talking, laughing and joking with each other the entire lesson. Tyler had 11 brief interactions of dyadic talk and three sustained conversations with Sizwe during the lesson (See Table 4 above). After the teacher handed them their worksheets they began cutting these out to glue into their books, the left over pieces of paper cuttings presented them with the opportunity to then engage in dyadic play. Both boys scrunched up their papers into a ball and proceeded to play a basketball type game as they versed each other trying to see who could score by throwing the balls of paper into the dustbin. Both continued to play this game for approximately 12 minutes, often getting up when their teacher was not looking to pick up the paper balls from the floor for another attempt to throw it into the dustbin. Leila sat behind Tyler, she left her seat to go to the dustbin to throw her scraps of paper and noticed Tyler and Sizwe playing their paper ball game, Tyler then made a remark about the game to Leila who replied with an amusing comment, all three laughed and then promptly stopped their interaction when the teacher noticed them. Once Tyler and Sizwe became bored of the paper ball game, they returned to their school work, often looking up, leaning over their desks towards each other, whispering and then giggling.

Kapil is an Indian boy who sat at the back corner of the classroom with three Black girls, Kehilwe, Samu and Anna. Figure 6 below presents the spatial seating arrangement of this group.

Figure 6: Seating arrangement Group E

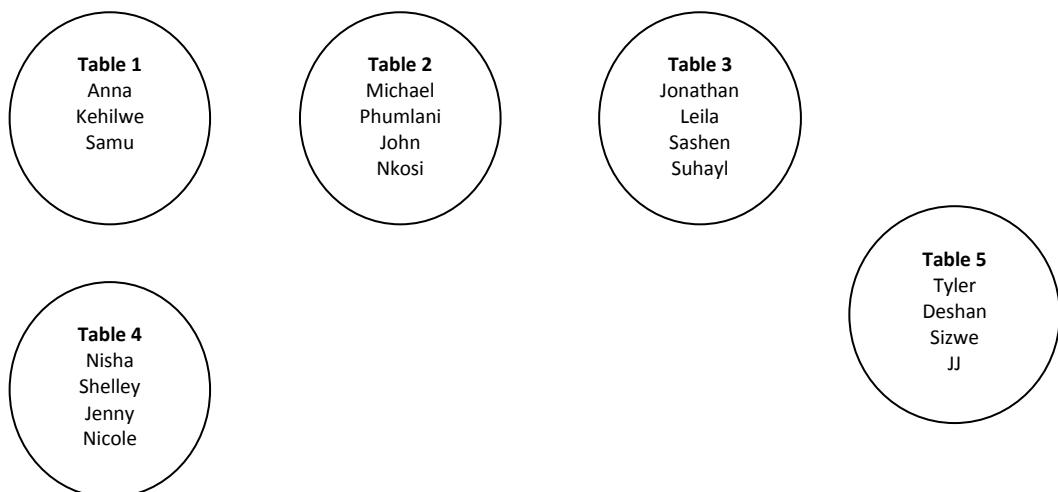


The three black girls all spoke isiZulu to each other thus effectively excluding Kapil from their conversations. For most of the lesson he quietly did his work without any interruptions from anyone. While cutting out their worksheets, the three girls engaged in a conversation about downloading music and Kehilwe was giving both Samu and Anna advice on what they need to download and how they should go about doing it, Kapil was amused at this conversation and smiled to himself. However, the girls did not include him in the conversation nor did he comment on what they were saying. He had two brief interactions with Kehilwe regarding the worksheet that the teacher gave to them. He had one interaction with Anna when he asked to borrow her pair of scissors. Table 4 (page 61) illustrates the total interactions of Leila, Tyler and Kapil observed in the formal lesson setting. This includes the Maths Lesson and isiZulu lesson interactions.

4.1.2 Maths Lesson – Outside the classroom

The teacher handed out the Maths worksheets and then told the class that they would be working through this sheet in groups outside. As Kapil was absent on this day, there were 19 children present. The teacher then allowed Anna, Kehilwe and Samu to work as one group. Tyler, John and Sashen were then told to choose who they wanted to work with. Tyler chose first, he picked Sizwe, Deshan and JJ to be in his Maths work group. John, a Black boy who sat next to Simo in the middle of the class chose Nkosi, Michael and Phumlani to work with. Most of the boys were already allocated to groups, Sashen then chose the two boys left in the class; Suhayl and Jonathan, and he then paused for a minute to think which of the girls he wanted to work with. After much deliberation, Sashen chose Leila as the last member of his Maths work group. This meant that four girls were left; Shelley, Nicole, Nisha and Jenny who formed their Maths group. The teacher allowed the groups to work outside on the tables opposite the classroom, figure 7 is an illustrative representation of these work groups during the Maths lesson.

Figure 7: Maths work group seating arrangement outside the classroom



The groups were clearly chosen according to gender. The teacher gave the three boys the opportunity to choose with whom they wanted to work and they all immediately chose other boys. Even Sashen chose the boys in his team first and picked Leila not because he wanted to, but because he had to choose a fourth group member.

Anna, Kehilwe and Samu were actively engaged in a sustained group conversation throughout the Maths lesson. While they completed their task they spoke simultaneously to each other in isiZulu. None of them attempted to make contact with any of the other children from the other groups.

Michael, John, Nkosi and Phumlani also had a sustained group conversation throughout the lesson. Michael turned to his right four times to speak to Suhayl who he sat opposite to in class; they both repeatedly leaned towards each other and had brief dyadic conversations before returning to their Maths group. During the times that Michael interacted with Suhayl; Nkosi, Phumlani and John carried on with the completion of their Maths task.

Group 3 comprised of Sashen, Suhayl, Jonathan and Leila. The three boys in the group were having a sustained conversation regarding the Maths task while Leila sat quietly working through the Maths sheet herself. Upon seeing that Leila was working through the sheet, Jonathan then asked for her input. The four then worked together as a group to solve the Maths problems. There were three times when the boys had their own group conversation excluding Leila who focused on the completion of her worksheet.

Nisha, Shelley, Jenny and Nicole worked together on their worksheet and had a sustained group discussion for most of the lesson. When they had completed their task, Nisha and Shelley had a sustained dyadic conversation for the remainder of the Maths lesson, whilst Jenny and Nicole had their own dyadic interaction. Jenny sat behind Nicole talking to her and braiding her hair.

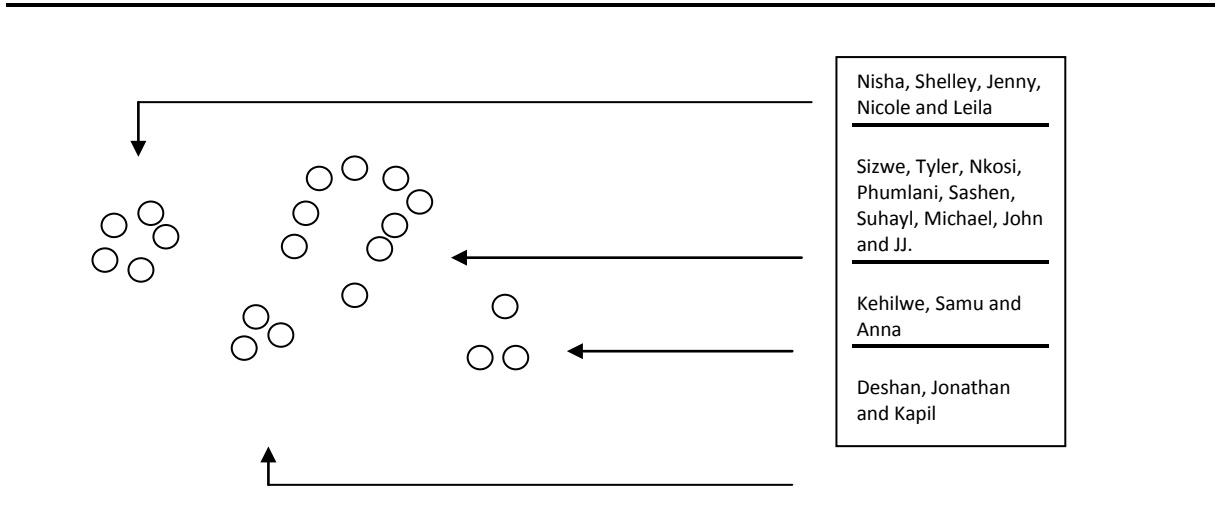
Group 5 included Deshan, Sizwe, Tyler and JJ. This group sat away from the other groups. The four attempted to work on their Maths worksheet but engaged in a group conversation that amused all of them. They laughed and joked with each other as Deshan and Sizwe lifted their rulers to play as if they were in a sword fight, this dyadic play occurred for a minute before Tyler and JJ joined in the group play. The teacher then noticed that the boys were not focused on their Maths task at hand and reprimanded them. The four then sat down and began discussing their task. Whilst Deshan, JJ and Sizwe tried to complete their worksheets, Tyler walked over to Sashen and had a brief conversation with him before returning to his group. Once, the worksheet was completed, the boys then resumed their group play by crumpling up pieces of paper torn out from a book and throwing it at one another. (The summary of interaction for this lesson is included on tables 3 and 4 above).

4.1.3 Maths Lesson Day 3

Ten minutes into the Maths lesson on day 3; the class was restless and unsettled. As a result the teacher then told them to remove their school shoes and make their way onto the school field as they would be going for a run around the field. The teacher then instructed that they

should leave the class group by group in an orderly manner. Nisha and Shelley walked out of the classroom together engaged in a dyadic conversation. Jonathan and Deshan followed behind them. Sashen, Suhayl and Michael walked out of the classroom and towards the school field while having a group conversation. Phumlani and Nkosi both ran towards the school field. Leila, Nicole and Jenny stood up from their seats and walked to the school field, leaving JJ behind to walk alone. Tyler, Sizwe and John followed closely behind the rest; the three had a race with each other to see who could get to the field first. Anna, Kehilwe and Samu walked together to the field while talking to each other, Kapil followed as the last one to leave the classroom and walked alone to the school field. When Kapil reached the field; his peers were standing in smaller groups waiting for their teacher to arrive. Kapil then joined Jonathan and Deshan who were talking to each other. Figure 8 below is a representation of the class's spatial arrangement on the field.

Figure 8: Class group arrangements on the field while waiting for their teacher



The interaction between the children was limited during their classroom setting lesson as they only interacted within their seated groups. The class returned to their desks, the lesson resumed with the entire class reciting their Maths Times tables to the teacher. Talking to

peers during class was prohibited and the lesson is structured as such; the teacher talked and the children listen. However there were certain instances where the teacher was handing out work or only focused on one particular child that gave rise to platforms for interaction amongst peers. The spatial arrangement of the class largely affected who interacts with whom and as a result all the formal lessons resembled similar patterns of interaction among the children within the class.

4.1.4. IsiZulu lesson

The atmosphere in the isiZulu lesson was very different to the Maths lessons. The isiZulu teacher was young, casually dressed and soft spoken. As the lesson began, the isiZulu teacher gave the class a work task in which they had to write sentences describing their best friend. The children were allowed to speak to one another and were not reprimanded for walking around the classroom or for creating a noise. This situation presented a lot more opportunity for interaction, even though the children were in their classroom environment; there was less disciplinary control than was present during the Maths lesson.

There was substantially more interaction in the isiZulu lesson amongst Nisha and Deshan's group than there was in the Maths lesson. Nisha, Deshan, Shelley and Jonathan had three group conversations throughout the lesson as they worked on their isiZulu task. The group continuously called on the isiZulu teacher to enquire about certain isiZulu words that they wished to include in their sentences. Shelley and Nisha exchanged books so that each of them could have a look at the others work; they both then engaged in a long conversation

before being interrupted by Leila who came to their desks to speak to them. At first Leila spoke to both Nisha and Shelley, and then as Nisha withdrew herself from the conversation to complete her work, Shelly and Leila continued with their conversation for a few minutes before Leila returned to her seat.

As soon as the isiZulu teacher finished explaining the isiZulu sentence task to the class, Deshan lifted up his desk lid to retrieve his book. Upon doing this, he turned to Nisha and spoke to her briefly before closing his desk lid again. Deshan then walked to the front of the class to speak to the isiZulu teacher about possible word choices to use in his sentence, when walking back to his desk he looked at JJ, a Black boy who sat in the front of the class with a comical expression on his face that made JJ laugh. As Deshan returned to his seat, he immediately initiated a group conversation with Nisha, Jonathan and Shelley; they talked continuously whilst working on their Zulu tasks. Deshan then turned to his right to speak to Nisha, as they spoke he showed her the sentences he wrote and she in turn showed him her completed work. This dyadic conversation lasted about two minutes.

A short while after, Deshan's pencil rolled onto the floor, he leaned over to pick it up, as he leaned over, Jonathan also peered over to see what fell onto the floor and spoke to Deshan briefly before returning to his work. Shelley, Jonathan, Nisha and Deshan left their school bags against the back wall of the classroom which is approximately one metre from where Deshan sat. Shelley stood up and walked over to collect a book from her school bag situated next to Deshan; she then stood by his desk and engaged in a sustained conversation with him. The teacher then walked over to the group to answer any isiZulu questions that they had,

Nisha, Deshan, Jonathan and Shelley had a sustained group conversation with the teacher, before Anna, a Black girl approached the teacher with a question. As Anna finished speaking to the teacher, Deshan looked up and briefly made a comment to Anna before she walked away. The group then resumed with their conversation speaking briefly to each other while they completed their work.

Sashen, Suhayl and Michael sat near to Nisha and Deshan's group; however the majority of their interactions occurred within their seating group. The three boys engaged in many brief and sustained group conversations as they alternated between working on their tasks and talking to each other. Suhayl and Michael engaged in two sustained conversations while Sashen worked on his task. Sashen then walked to the back of the classroom near Deshan's desk where the teacher stood to ask her a question. While waiting to speak to the teacher, Sashen then engaged in a brief dyadic conversation with Deshan before returning to his seat (For Nisha, Deshan and Suhayl's combined summary of interaction for the formal setting, please see Table 3 above).

As the isiZulu lesson began, Leila looked diagonally opposite her to speak to Jenny. They spoke briefly to each other before Leila put up her hand to ask the teacher a question pertaining to the task they were given. Once the isiZulu teacher left the group, the three girls; Leila, Jenny and Nicole had a sustained conversation excluding JJ, the only boy in the group from their conversation. Leila turned to JJ four times during the lesson and mentioned something briefly to him. Each girl within Leila's group would speak to JJ briefly but they never included him in their 'girl' group talk. Leila had several brief and sustained dyadic

conversations with Jenny and fewer dyadic conversations with Nicole. On two instances during the lesson, Leila walked to the back of the classroom. The first time Leila went to speak to Shelley and Nisha, they had a sustained group conversation; the second time Leila walked to the back of the classroom, she only spoke to Shelley, they had a sustained dyadic conversation. Leila was quietly working on her isiZulu task when Tyler who sat behind her tapped her on the shoulder. He said something that amused her as she giggled and spoke to him briefly before resuming her task.

Tyler and Sizwe were not focused on their isiZulu tasks, but were preoccupied in their sustained conversation, both boys sat in the front corner of the class laughing and joking with each other. Sizwe had a mini white marker board that he was drawing on, Tyler leaned over and grabbed the pen and marker board out of Sizwe's hand, and he then proceeded to erase the picture from the board. Sizwe then grabbed the marker board back from Tyler and then initiated a game of 'noughts and crosses'. Both leaned in close to each other with the white board marker in the middle, taking turns to use the marker pen. As the game continued, Sizwe placed a 'nought' in a block and then handed the marker pen to Tyler to place his 'cross'. However upon realising that he had made a wrong move that would enable Tyler to win, he arm wrestled with Tyler as he tried to pull the pen back so that Tyler would not make his mark on the board and win the game. Both Sizwe and Tyler playfully arm wrestled with each other for the marker pen until Tyler won the pen back and proceeded to win the game. At this point, the teacher walked over to their desks to see what they were doing. After a brief conversation with the teacher, both Sizwe and Tyler began to work individually on their isiZulu tasks. While he worked on his isiZulu task, Tyler began to swing his legs back and forth underneath the table and playfully swung his legs forward to kick Sizwe's shoe. Sizwe

looked at him and then swung his legs forward to kick Tyler's shoe, they both broke out in laughter as they continued to swing their legs and kick each other's shoes during the Zulu lesson.

The three girls who sat with Kapil at the back of the classroom had a sustained group conversation while doing their work. They alternated between speaking in isiZulu and English. Once Kehilwe completed gluing in her worksheet into her isiZulu book, she turned to Kapil and asked him for something, he then briefly replied prompting Kehilwe to raise her hand and ask the teacher a question. The entire group then reached into their desks to retrieve their isiZulu dictionaries. Kapil then opened his dictionary to read out a few words, he then started laughing, Anna made a comment about his actions and then they both started laughing. This interaction was interrupted by Samu who pulled out something from her school bag, Kapil and Kehilwe leaned over the desk to see what it was, however Samu immediately pushed the item back into her bag. Kehilwe then stood up from her seat and walked around to Anna and Samu to see what was in Samu's bag, the three girls huddled together hiding the item from Kapil. When Kehilwe returned to her desk, Kapil leaned over to tell her something, she did not reply to him. The isiZulu teacher walked over to answer any questions they may have had, she explained the task to them and left. Kapil, Samu, Kehilwe and Anna then engaged in a brief group conversation before Kapil continued with his isiZulu work while the three girls continued with a sustained group conversation. (For a combined summary of interaction regarding structured/formal lessons for Leila, Tyler and Kapil, see Table 4 above).

The results displayed in Table 3 and 4 above on pages 57 and 61 show that there was an increased amount of interaction between children of different ‘races’ who sat in close proximity to each other. Nisha, Deshan and Leila displayed a higher frequency of interactions with ‘White’ children than any of the other ‘Indian’ children observed. The higher frequency of interactions that these three ‘Indian’ children experienced with ‘White’ children within the formal classroom context seems entirely due to the fact that they sat within the same groups as the only ‘White’ children in the class. Similarly, Tyler and Kapil had a higher frequency of interaction with ‘Black’ children as they sat in close proximity to black children. Suhayl and Sashen sat with the only ‘Coloured’ child in the class and displayed a higher frequency of interaction with this child and Leila sat with the only Bi-racial child in the class and was thus the only one who had any interaction with her during the formal classroom setting. The two most frequent kinds of interactions that occurred in this setting were brief dyadic and brief talk.

4.2 Unstructured Lessons

These lessons do not occur in the typical classroom environment where seating was predetermined/ structured. These lessons presented opportunities which allowed children to choose where they wanted to sit and with whom they wanted to interact. For a summary on the patterns on interaction within the unstructured lesson context/s, refer to Tables 5 and 6 below.

Table 5: Summary of interaction for Deshan, Nisha, Sashen and Suhayl

Table of interactions: Unstructured Lessons					
Kind of interaction	White	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured child	Bi-racial

	Child				
Dyadic Play					
Dyadic Talk	Nisha = 12 brief and 1 sustained; Deshan = 4 brief and 2 sustained	Deshan = 3 brief and 1 sustained; Suhayl = 3 brief Sashen = 3 brief	Nisha = 10 brief and 1 sustained Deshan = 4 brief and 4 sustained Suhayl = 2 sustained and 7 brief Sashen = 9 brief and 2 sustained	Suhayl = 1 brief and 1 sustained	
Group Talk	Nisha = 2 sustained Deshan = 2 brief	Nisha = 1 sustained; Deshan = 3 brief	Nisha = 1 sustained; Deshan = 2 brief		Deshan = 1 brief
Group Play					
Working Together			Sashen = 1 sustained and 2 brief		
Reading to/with	Nisha = 4 brief and 1 sustained;	Deshan = 1 sustained and 2 brief	Nisha = 2 brief Deshan = 4 brief; Sashen = 1 sustained		
Physical contact		Suhayl = 1 brief			
Gestures across the classroom			Deshan = 1 brief		
Borrowing Stationery	Nisha = 2 brief	Deshan = 1 brief	Deshan = 2 brief; Sashen = 3 brief3		

Table 6: Summary of interaction for Leila, Tyler and Kapil

Table of interactions: Unstructured Lessons					
Kind of interaction	White Child	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured child	Bi-racial
Dyadic Play					
Dyadic Talk	Leila = 8 brief Kapil = 3 brief and 1 sustained	Leila = 4 brief and 1 sustained; Tyler = 3 sustained and 5 brief Kapil = 6 brief and 1 sustained	Leila = 14 brief and 1 sustained; Tyler = 6 brief and 2 sustained Kapil = 4 brief and 1 sustained	Tyler = 1 sustained and 2 brief	Leila = 3 brief

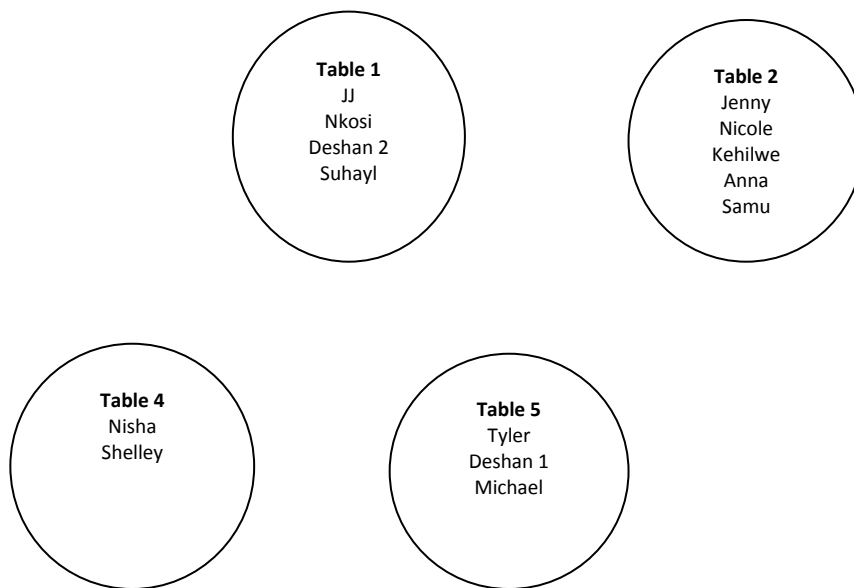
Group Talk	Leila = 1 sustained; Kapil = 1 sustained	Leila = 1 sustained Tyler = 1 sustained Kapil = 1 sustained	Leila = 1 sustained; Kapil = 1 sustained		Leila = 1 sustained
Group Play					
Working Together					
Reading to/with	Leila = 3 brief	Leila = 2 brief Tyler = 2 sustained		Tyler = 1 sustained	
Physical contact					
Gestures across the classroom		Leila = 1 brief Tyler = 3 brief			
Borrowing Stationery		Tyler = 2 brief Kapil = 3 brief			

4.2.1 Media Lessons

The Media Room was housed within the school library. In these lessons, children were allowed to move around the library looking for books that they wished to take home and read. This lesson encouraged spontaneous grouping of the class as the media teacher did not divide the class into particular groups or seating arrangements. In the middle of the room were four tables with 6 chairs each, once each child chose their books for the week, they returned to these tables to read with their peers.

Figure 9 below represents the spontaneous seating arrangement in the library. As this is an unstructured lesson, children moved around as they wished and chose to sit where they wanted to. Figure 9 thus illustrates the choice of seats that particular children chose for most part of the lesson.

Figure 9: Spontaneous grouping arrangements during the library/Media lesson



Some children from the class do not appear on this illustration as they did not sit down at the tables, but moved around the library looking for suitable books. Deshan is indicated as ‘Deshan 1’ and ‘Deshan 2’ as he moved from one table to the next.

Tyler and Sizwe stood in the corner of the room, paging through a book together and talking, Nkosi joined them. Phumlani and John stood nearby also paging through a book. Sashen and Deshan were looking for books in the same area of the library. Once Sashen found a book, he walked over to where Deshan was to show him the book. They both looked at the book and talked briefly before Deshan walked to the other end of the library to continue his search. Deshan then joined Sizwe and Tyler, the three stood next to the shelves talking. After a few minutes, Michael then walked over to where Sizwe, Tyler and Deshan were and joined in their group conversation. After having a sustained group conversation, Michael and Tyler then walked to one of the tables, they both sat down next to each other to look at Michael’s

book. This left Deshan and Sizwe together at the corner of the library; they both stood together but did not exchange any words or comments as they stood quietly reading their books. JJ was sitting on a table by himself, Anna walked to him to give him another book. Then both Anna and Samu took their books to one of the tables to page through them.

Leila walked around the library looking for books, Kehilwe was in the same section of the library with Leila, and they reached for the same shelf and then talked briefly to each other. Leila then walked away to look in another shelf. Anna joined Kehilwe to show her the books she found, seeing this Leila then walked over to them and had a brief dyadic conversation with Anna.

Jonathan walked past Tyler and Michael and talked briefly to them before leaving. Sizwe then approached Tyler and spoke to him briefly before leaving Tyler and Michael to return to reading their book. As Deshan walked past Michael and Tyler, he made a comment to them briefly before walking over to a book shelf to look for a book. A few minutes later, Deshan returned to join Michael and Tyler at their table, he sat with them for four minutes before Tyler left the table to speak to the teacher. Once Tyler left the table, Deshan walked over to JJ and Nkosi's table where he sat down and engaged in a sustained conversation with Nkosi, leaving Michael alone at his table.

Sashen and Suhayl walked around the library individually. Sashen walked to where Sizwe was standing and reading his book, the both had a brief dyadic conversation before Sashen returned to the far side of the library away from the crowd to read his book. Suhayl then

went to speak to Sashen briefly before wandering off again to source a suitable book. He walked past Tyler and commented briefly as he made his way toward the back table where Deshan was sitting with Nkosi and JJ. Suhayl sat next to Deshan and read his book for the rest of the lesson.

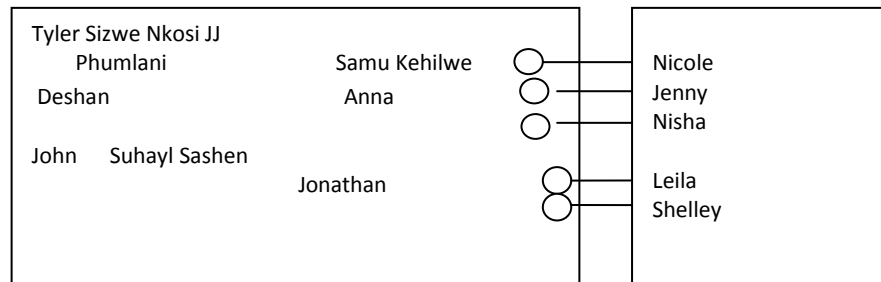
At one of the other tables, JJ and Nkosi sat together looking at a book and talking about it. Kapil was seated next to them reading his book by himself with no interaction with the boys seated next to him. John joined Kapil at the table and sat opposite him. They both talked briefly before Kapil returned to reading his book.

Nisha and Shelley walked around the library together talking and looking for books. If Shelley left a section of the library to go to another, Nisha followed her. Leila joined Shelley and had a sustained dyadic conversation, they both walked to over to the Media teacher and Nisha followed them. After finding the books that she wanted to take out, Nisha then walked to where Leila was standing near a book shelf. They both talked briefly before being joined by Nicole.

4.2.2 Unstructured lesson 2: Music

The music room had no desks; it was a room with a big carpet where the children in the class decided where to sit and with whom to sit. Figure 10 below represents an illustration of the seating arrangement during the Music lesson.

Figure 10: Music room seating arrangement



The music teacher did a music exercise with the children which required them to come up in groups and perform individual acts with the make do instruments. The first group to come up was Nkosi, JJ, Michael, Phumlani, Deshan, Tyler and Sizwe. The second group comprised of John, Suhayl, Sashen, Jonathan and Shelley. The last group included Samu, Anna, Kehilwe, Jenny, Nicole, Nisha and Leila. As the groups finished their performances, they immediately returned to the exact spaces in which they were previously sitting. The group was sitting in gender specific spaces, with boys on the left of the classroom and girls on the right hand side of the classroom.

As soon as everyone had completed their performance, the teacher handed them a worksheet to fill in music trivia questions. During this time, her focus was on the right hand side of the class on the girls. Deshan then threw a piece of paper at Tyler sitting in front of him to get his attention. Tyler turned around and they both had a sustained dyadic conversation with Michael listening in to what the both were talking about. The teacher then turned her attention back to the boys and reprimanded Tyler and Deshan for talking and not completing

their tasks. The both then returned to their tasks. A while later, Deshan turned his attention to John who was seated behind him; he briefly asked John if he could borrow his stationery, to which John agreed. Once Deshan had finished using John's colour pencils, he grabbed them back. This interaction of borrowing stationery between John and Deshan occurred throughout the lesson (See Table 5 above).

Tyler sat at the front of the class doing his work, and intermittently turned to Sizwe and Michael and had a series of brief dyadic and group conversations with the both of them. Tyler and Michael worked on their task together. Suhayl who was sitting next to John peeked over at John's work and turned to him twice during the lesson and spoke briefly to him before returning to his work. Suhayl and Sashen were sharing Suhayl's crayons and they both worked quietly on their work. Apart from borrowing Suhayl's crayons and brief conversations with him, Sashen did not interact with anyone in else in the class (See Table 6 above).

Nisha sat in between Jenny and Leila. Nisha turned to Jenny three times during the lesson to speak to her briefly. However Nisha and Leila were engaged in brief conversations with each other throughout the lesson. Shelly leaned over to Leila to borrow an eraser and mentioned something to her briefly. Even though Nicole, Leila, Jenny, Nisha, Leila and Shelley sat in close proximity to Kehilwe, Samu and Anna; none of the girls from either of these groups interacted with each other (See Table 5 and 6 above).

4.2.3 The Excursion

The Grade 4 excursion was to the Umgeni Bird Park. Both Grade 4 classes were involved in this excursion. During the bus trip and while at the bird park; the children were allowed to sit where they wished to and surround themselves with their friends as they walked about the park. Tables 7 and 8 below provide a summary of interactions that occurred during the excursion.

Table 7: Summary of interaction for Nisha, Deshan, Sashen and Suhayl

Table of interactions: Excursion					
Kind of interaction	White Child	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured child	Bi-racial
Dyadic Play	Nisha = 1 brief	Deshan = 2 brief and 1 sustained	Deshan = 1 brief and 1 sustained Nisha = 1 brief		
Dyadic Talk	Deshan = 22 brief and 5 sustained Nisha = 32 brief and 5 sustained Sashen = 1 sustained and 1 brief	Deshan = 1 sustained and 3 brief Nisha = 6 brief Sashen = 6 sustained and 4 brief Suhayl – 9 brief and 3 sustained	Deshan = 21 brief and 6 sustained Nisha = 11 sustained and 16 brief Sashen = 11 sustained and 14 brief; Suhayl = 14 brief and 7 sustained	Nisha = 2 brief	Nisha = 3 brief
Group Talk	Deshan = 2 brief Nisha = 16 brief and 10 sustained Suhayl = 1 sustained	Deshan = 6 brief and 1 sustained; Nisha = 4 brief Sashen = 2 sustained and 3 brief Suhayl = 7 brief	Deshan = 2 sustained and 12 brief; Nisha = 16 brief and 10 sustained; Sashen = 6 sustained and 11 brief; Suhayl = 2		

			sustained and 12 brief		
Group Play					
Working Together	Deshan = 2 brief Nisha = 4 sustained	Suhayl = 3 brief and 2 sustained	Deshan = 4 brief and 1 sustained Nisha = 4 sustained Sashen = 8 sustained and 5 brief; Suhayl = 17 sustained and 12 brief	1SuS	
Reading to/with					
Physical contact					
Arms around shoulders		Deshan = 1 brief	Sashen = 1 brief Suhayl = 1 brief		
Gestures across the classroom					
Sharing food			Deshan = 2 brief		
Borrowing Stationery					

Table 8: Summary of interaction for Leila, Tyler and Kapil

Table of interactions: Excursion					
Kind of interaction	White Child	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured child	Bi-racial
Dyadic Play	Kapil = 7 brief	Tyler = 5 brief Deshan = 2 brief and 1 sustained Kapil = 5 brief	Tyler = 2 brief;		
Dyadic Talk	Tyler = 1 brief Kapil = 7 brief and 1 sustained; Leila = 4 sustained and 5 brief	Tyler = 35 brief and 11 sustained Kapil = 5 brief and 2 sustained Leila = 9 brief and 4 sustained	Tyler = 22 brief and 7 sustained Kapil = 6 sustained and 11 brief Leila = 7 brief and 2 sustained	Leila = 22 brief and 10 sustained Tyler = 2 sustained and 5 brief	Leila = 3 brief and 4 sustained
Group Talk	Kapil = 2 brief	Leila = 3 sustained	Leila = 3 sustained	Tyler = 2 sustained and 7	Leila = 3 sustained

	Leila = 1 sustained and 1 brief	Tyler = 2 sustained and 7 brief Kapil = 4 brief Sashen = 2 sustained and 3 brief Suhayl = 7 brief	Tyler = 12 brief and 2 sustained Kapil = 6 sustained and 8 brief	brief	
Group Play					
Working Together	2DB;4NS; 6KB;6LB	2KB;5TS;4TB;3LS; 3SuB;2SuS	4DB;1DS; 8TS;2TB 3KS;4NS;6LB; 8SaS;5SaB; 7SuS;12SuB	5LS;3LB;1SuS	
Reading to/with				Leila = 2 sustained	
Physical contact					
Arms around shoulders		Tyler = 1 brief	Tyler = 2 brief		
Gestures across the classroom					
Sharing food					
Borrowing Stationery					

Prior to leaving the school, the children gathered to hear a few general rules set out by both the Grade 4 teachers accompanying them on the school trip. As this was happening, the children had already found the friends that they wanted to sit next to on the bus and stood by them. As one of the major rules was not to make a noise; the children were allowed to talk quietly to those seated next to them. All the children chose to sit next to their friends so that they could talk to them.

Nisha sat in the middle seat of a three seater; on the right of Nisha was Raksha, an Indian girl from the other Grade 4 class and on her left was Shelley, a white girl, who she sat opposite in class. Kapil sat on a two seater next to Kyle an Indian boy from the other Grade 4 class.

Tyler, also sitting on a two seater chose to sit next to Sizwe. As there were a few free seats in the front of the bus available, Sashen chose to sit on his own. Suhayl also chose to sit by himself diagonally opposite Sashen. Deshan sat near the back of the bus on a two seater; he chose to sit next to Lovan an Indian boy from the other Grade 4 class. Leila sat on a two seater next to Desiree, a Coloured girl from the other class.

The children were all given a worksheet with various questions pertaining to different bird species. As they walked around on the guided tour with their teachers, the children filled in any pertinent information on their sheets. They were given time to look at the bird cages and complete their work either alone or with friends.

Nisha, Shelley and the Indian girl from the other class, Raksha stood in front of the first bird cage looking at the birds and discussing their worksheet. Shelley then left the two 'Indian' girls and walked towards Deshan to give him her satchel to carry, to which he pleasantly obliged. Shelley and Nisha walked towards another bird cage, leaving Raksha to join another group of girls, which included; Leila, Desiree and a Black girl from the other class named Janet. The four girls then stood at a bird cage writing down notes on their sheets. Leila then turned away from the group to speak to another Black girl who was from the other Grade 4 class, once she had concluded her brief dyadic conversation; she left the group to walk to the next cage. Seeing Leila move onto the next cage, the other three girls then followed her. Leila and Desiree stood in front of Raksha and Janet, often isolating them as the both whispered to each other while pointing to the different birds.

As the girls walked out of the enclosure, Nisha walked out with Raksha closely following behind Leila and Desiree. The four girls then stood in front of another cage while they talked briefly and filled out their worksheets.

Shelley then went to Deshan to retrieve something from her bag which she had given Deshan to carry, they both walked out of the enclosure together. Upon seeing Nisha, Desiree and Leila waiting by a cage close to the enclosure, Shelley left Deshan to join Nisha. The girls then split up as they walked towards the pond. Shelley and Nisha walked together and Desiree and Leila walked together while engaged in a dyadic conversation. As Shelley and Nisha reached the pond, they went to join Janet who was filling out her worksheet. Nisha asked Janet something briefly before turning her attention back to Shelley.

Sashen, Suhayl, Lovan and Thulani, a Black boy from the other Grade 4 class stood in a circle in the middle of the walkway near the bird cages. All four boys were engaged in a sustained group conversation. Sashen and Thulani then walked towards the birdcage on the right, both boys had a sustained dyadic conversation while Suhayl stood behind them quietly completing his work. The boys then walked into the enclosed section of the park. Sashen and Suhayl then stood next to Michael, a Coloured boy from their class, the three found a particular bird amusing as they had a sustained group conversation. Once Suhayl was done with viewing all the birds within the enclosed section, he headed towards the gate to wait for everyone else to finish. Standing at the gate was Kapil, Thulani and Jerome, a White boy from the other class. The four then had a brief conversation and then stood and waited patiently for their teacher to let them out of the enclosure. While waiting at the enclosure

entrance gate, Kapil, Suhayl, Thulani and Jerome were joined by Phumlani, JJ and John. These boys then engaged in a sustained group discussion as they joked and laughed with each other. After the teacher had reached the gate of the enclosure where the boys were having their conversation, they disbanded moving away from the gate to allow the teacher through. This left Suhayl standing by himself while the teacher explained what they were going to be doing next. Not hearing what the teacher instructed them to do, Nkosi, who was standing behind Suhayl then tapped him on the back to gain some insight from Suhayl on what the teacher had said. The two boys had a brief conversation before leaving the enclosure. Sashen, Thulani and Nkosi walked out together straight to another cage where the three stood together discussing their worksheet.

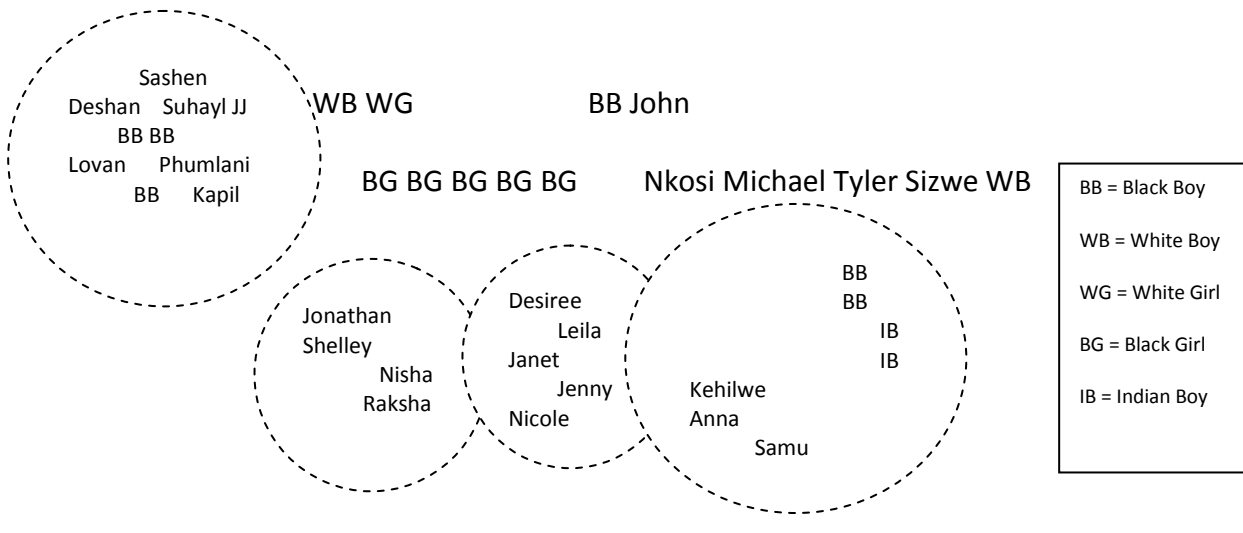
Tyler, Sizwe, Phumlani, Nkosi, JJ and John walked around together looking at the birds. The six boys then stopped periodically at each cage commenting to each other about each bird. As the enclosed section of the bird park was narrow; the boys had to manoeuvre their way through the other children waiting to see the other cages. Tyler rushed past Leila to catch up with his friends, as he passed her; she made a brief comment to him and then returned to writing down information on her worksheet. Tyler then stopped at a cage where Michael was standing; they had a brief dyadic conversation before they were interrupted by Sizwe and Nkosi who were trying to get a glimpse of the bird cage where Michael and Tyler were standing. Tyler and Michael then walked out of the enclosure together towards the ponds to have a look at the other birds. They worked together and had a sustained conversation as they followed the Grade 4 group.

There were numerous interactions between Nisha, Deshan, Sashen, Suhayl, Leila, Tyler, Kapil and the other children from Grade 4. However, although these particular children walked through the park talking and interacting with different children throughout the day, they still returned to the same friend or group of friends. Although Nisha had many brief and periodic interactions with her Grade 4 peers of both genders and different races, she always returned to Shelley and Raksha; similarly, Deshan always returned to Lovan, Sashen and Suhayl returned to joining each other, Leila returned to joining Desiree, Tyler returned to joining Sizwe and Kapil returned to joining Kyle. The particular children that Nisha, Deshan, Sashen, Suhayl, Leila, Tyler and Kapil incessantly returned to are also the same children that they chose to sit next to on the bus ride to the Bird Park. Tables 7 and 8 provide combined interaction summaries for the descriptions above.

4.2.4. Lunchtime at the Bird Park

The Grade 4 group was then able to sit on the floor in an open space and eat their lunch with their friends. Once seated, they were given the instructions to not stand up and walk around and that they could talk quietly in their groups. Figure 11 presents the seating arrangement during lunchtime on the excursion.

Figure 11: Lunchtime seating arrangement at the Bird Park



Although the Grade 4 group were sitting in distinct groups with particular chosen peers and friends, there were overlaps in groups as children sat in close proximity. Some children only interacted within their group whereas others interacted with other children sitting outside their primary lunch seating group.

Sashen sat next to Deshan, just behind Suhayl. He sat eating his lunch for a while before leaning over to his right to whisper briefly into Deshan’s ear. Suhayl was having a conversation with JJ, the two Black boys sitting in front him, Phumlani and Lovan. Sashen listened into this group conversation before he too joined in with a brief comment on the topic of discussion. Deshan was ruffling through his bag looking for his lunch and was preoccupied for a moment, before he also turned his attention to the group discussion and made a brief comment before returning his attention to his lunch. The boys then talked and

ate their lunch at the same time. After they had exhausted their group discussion, the two Black Boys turned away from the group towards each other to engage in their own dyadic conversation. Lovan sat quietly eating his lunch with Deshan nudging him momentarily to speak him. Deshan also turned to Sashen and had a sustained conversation with him, the both moved closer towards each other while comparing the watches on each other's wrist. Suhayl and Sashen also engaged in periodic dyadic discussions with each other. JJ also turned to Suhayl 7 times and they both had brief interactions of dyadic talk. The boys in this seating group engaged in 4 sustained group conversations (See Table 7 above). However Kapil and the Black Boy seated next to him were excluded from the group conversations; both these boys spoke briefly to each other three times. They listened to the other boys' conversations and ate their lunch quietly but were not actively involved in any of the interactions with the other boys in the group.

Nisha sat with Raksha to her right, Shelley sat to her left and Jonathan sat in front of her. Nisha ate her lunch and engaged in several brief dyadic conversations turning at times to speak to Raksha and then turning to her left to speak to Shelley. Raksha pulled out her lunch and Nisha grabbed the lunch wrapping from Raksha's lunch to look at something before returning it to her. After noticing that Shelley was sitting very quietly eating her lunch, Nisha pulled Shelley's pony tail to get her attention and the two girls had a brief conversation. Nicole sat with her back to Nisha and her group of friends; she had a packet of sweets and turned around to offer some to Shelley, Nisha and Raksha. The girls then returned to their group conversation (See Table 7 above). Although Jonathan was sitting within this group, he only spoke to Shelley, Nisha and Raksha had no interactions with Jonathan throughout the lunch break.

Tyler chose to sit with Sizwe, Nkosi, a White boy from the other class and Michael. The boys sat together in a line eating their lunch. Tyler turned to the White boy sitting next to him and talked to him briefly. Michael, Nkosi and Sizwe were engaged in a group conversation; Tyler leaned in to listen to the conversation and joined in the group talk. Nkosi and Sizwe then broke away from the conversation to have their own dyadic talk, leaving Michael and Tyler engaged in their own dyadic conversation (See Table 8 above). Throughout the break Nkosi, Tyler, Sizwe, Michael and the White boy from the other class had a series of brief conversations with each other.

Leila was with a group of girls which comprised of Desiree, Nicole, Jenny and Janet. On the left of Leila sat Desiree, on Leila's right was Jenny. Janet and Nicole sat opposite Leila. Leila and Desiree shared their lunch and constantly leaned over to whisper to each other. Leila also had frequent brief conversations with Janet sitting opposite her. For most of the lunch break, Leila and the four girls sitting with her were engaged in a sustained conversation (See Table 8 above).

4.3 Free Time/Space

Free time represented a context that was not facilitated by a teacher and had a low amount of disciplinary authority present. This was the time where children were allowed to choose what activities they wished to engage in and with whom they wished to interact.

4.3.1 Interaction on the playground: Break time

The school did not designate a particular ‘girls’ or ‘boys’ section of the playground. Children were able to sit where they wanted and interacted freely with one another. However, the boys and girls who were observed spontaneously separated themselves during break, leaving distinct gendered sections of the school field. As both groups ‘The boys’ and ‘The girls’ sat in on opposite ends of the school field in relation to each other, observation of the two groups was alternated between both breaks. Table 9 below is the boys summary of interaction observed on the school field.

4.3.1.1 The Boys

Table 9: Summary of interaction: The boys

Table of interactions: Playground - Break					
Kind of interaction	White Child	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured child	Bi-racial
Dyadic Play	Deshan = 4 brief Kapil = 12 sustained and 3 brief	Deshan = 1 brief	Deshan = 2 brief Kapil = 6 sustained and 6 brief Suhayl = 4 brief		
Dyadic Talk	Sashen = 4 brief Tyler = 4 brief Deshan = 12 brief and 4 sustained Kapil = 15 sustained and 22 brief Suhayl = 6 brief	Sashen = 11 brief and 3 sustained Tyler = 38 brief and 6 sustained Deshan = 17 brief and 3 sustained Kapil = 4 sustained and 14 brief	Sashen = 15 sustained and 23 brief Tyler = 24 brief and 9 sustained Deshan = 31 brief and 6 sustained Kapil = 9 sustained and 12 brief Suhayl = 34 brief and 9 sustained		

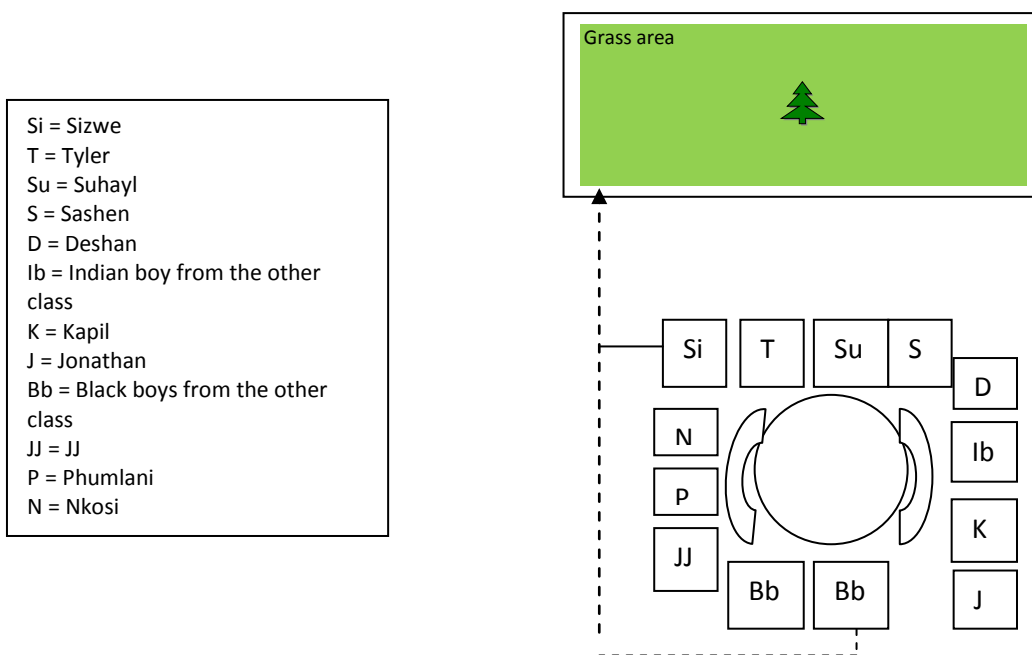
Group Talk	Sashen = 2 sustained and 2 brief Tyler = 2 brief Deshan = 16 brief Kapil = 8 sustained	Sashen = 12 sustained and 14 brief Tyler = 7 sustained and 21 brief Deshan = 23 brief and 1 sustained Kapil = 23 brief and 4 sustained	Sashen = 13 sustained and 24 brief Tyler = 16 brief and 12 sustained Deshan = 31 brief and 6 sustained Kapil = 4 brief and 4 sustained	Kapil = 2 brief	
Group Play	Deshan = 6 sustained	Deshan = 50 sustained	Deshan = 43 sustained		
Physical Play - Sandpit					
Physical Play – Ball Games	Sashen = 6 sustained Tyler = 6 sustained Kapil = 9 sustained Suhayl = 6 sustained	Sashen = 50 sustained Tyler = 50 sustained Suhayl = 50 sustained	Sashen = 43 sustained Tyler = 43 sustained Kapil = 7 sustained Suhayl = 43 sustained	Tyler = 5 sustained	
Working Together					
Reading to/with					
Physical contact					
Holding Hands					
Arms around shoulders		Tyler = 3 brief	Sashen = 1 sustained and 1 brief Suhayl = 1 brief and 1 sustained		
Gestures across the playground			Sashen = 4 brief Deshan = 6 brief Suhayl = 3brief	Deshan = 4 brief	
Borrowing Stationery					
Sharing Food					

Tyler and Sizwe walked out the classroom together with their lunchboxes in their hands. Opposite the Grade 4 classroom were tables and benches, both boys walked over to a table and were then joined by Deshan, Jonathan, Kapil, JJ, Nkosi, Phumlani, Sashen and Suhayl

from their form class. Another 2 black boys and an Indian boy from another class joined them at the table too. The boys stood around the table eating their food and talking in a group for about ten minutes.

The black boys broke away from the main group and formed their own group. They stood in close proximity to the main group of boys on the grassy area looking at the bird feeders that their class had made. Figure 12 below shows the spatial arrangement of the boys during school break.

Figure 12: Illustration of the Boys' group formation



Tyler, Deshan and the Indian boy from the other class stood on either side of Suhayl and Sashen who had their arms around each other's shoulders. The five of them were discussing what ball game to play next. Kapil and Jonathan stood at the other end of the table engaged in their own dyadic conversation. Tyler, Deshan, the other Indian boy, Suhayl and Sashen then

left their lunch boxes on the table and walked onto the school field to play a ball game, the six Black boys that initially left the group joined in the ball game; they were also joined by other Black, Indian and White children who were already playing on the school field (See Table 9 above). Once they had eaten their lunches, Kapil and Jonathan walked over to the stands where there was another White and Indian boy sitting, the four then started playing a ball game with each other.

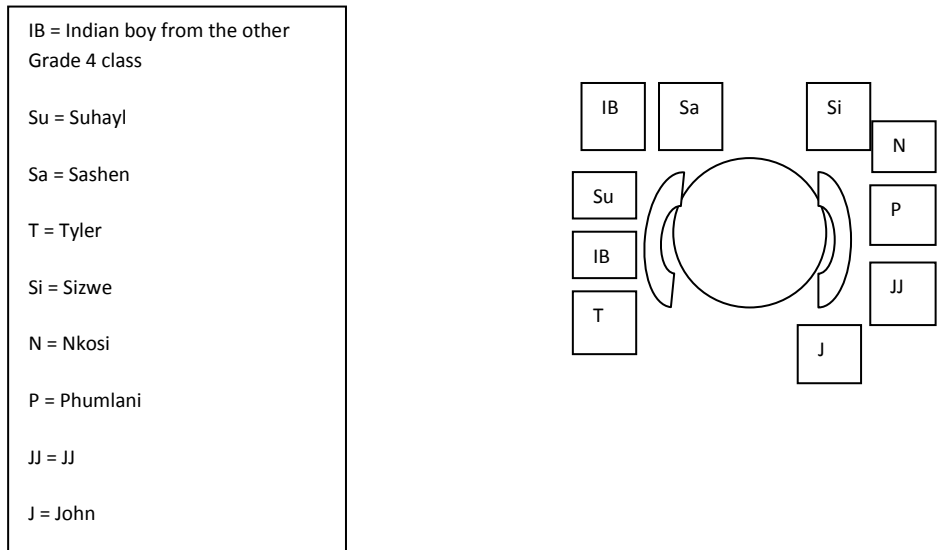
Tyler and Sizwe took a periodic rest from the game and stood at the sidelines under the shade of a tree. While they rested Tyler leaned his arm on Sizwe's shoulder and they both engaged in a dyadic conversation before returning to the game.

The children in the school all had their own spaces that they returned to daily. All met with their friends at one particular bench, table or space on the school field before separating into smaller groups. The particular space in which the children chose to sit was the primary place where they left their personal belongings, a place where they repeatedly returned to throughout the break even though they might have moved around the field to speak to friends or play. The boys also returned to the same table every break. They stood around the table engaged in brief conversations with each other while eating their lunches during the first half of break (See table 9 above).

The second half of the break was spent playing a ball game on the school field. The children that returned to the table everyday was inconsistent, on this particular day, two Indian boys from the other class joined, Tyler, Suhayl, Sashen, Nkosi, Sizwe, Phumlani, Nkosi, JJ and

John at the table. The Indian boys all stood to the left of the table and all the black boys stood together on the right hand side of the table. Figure 13 is a representation of this spatial arrangement of the boys during school break

Figure 13: Spatial arrangements during school break



After having a brief group conversation, the boys then spontaneously re-grouped around the table to have their own conversations. Tyler and one of the Indian boys from the other Grade four class stood with their arms around each other's shoulders, both were engaged in a sustained dyadic conversation. Suhayl, the other Indian boy and Sashen were having their own group conversation. The Black boys standing on the opposite end of the table then moved a few metres away from the table to have their own group conversation. All the Indian boys left Tyler by himself at the table while they went to the tuck shop. The Black boys who moved away from the table then returned to the table to speak to Tyler. Tyler, Nkosi and Sizwe had a brief conversation with each other while Phumlani, JJ and John engaged in their

own group conversation. After concluding his conversation with Nkosi and Sizwe, Tyler left the table to walk towards the classroom to leave his lunch bag. At the classroom he was met by Jonathan, a White boy from the other class and Deshan. The four boys had a brief group conversation. Deshan and Jonathan then left Tyler by himself outside the classroom and made their way to join Nkosi, Sizwe, Phumlani, John and Kapil who had also just joined the boys at the table. The group spoke briefly before Kapil and Jonathan left the table to sit at the next vacant table. The boys sat together eating their lunch and talking to each other. Two White boys from the other class walked over to where Phumlani, John, Nkosi, JJ and Sizwe were standing and made a brief comment to them before going to the next table to speak to Kapil and Jonathan. Tyler and Deshan then appeared with a tennis ball in their hands and gestured to the other boys to join them in the game (See Table 9 above). The remainder of the break was spent playing “hand tennis” (a popular game amongst the children in this school) with all the boys except for Kapil and Jonathan who were at their table engaged in a sustained dyadic conversation.

The boys also displayed daily routine behaviour that was observed everyday for five days. They returned to the same table where they met with their friends, engaged in conversations and ate their lunches together. Once, the lunch had been eaten and the conversation had subsided, the boys then go onto the school field where they played a physical game. Table 9 gives a summary of the interactions that was observed for the twice a day during a five day school week cycle (as was detailed above).

4.3.1.2 The Girls

Table 10 presents the combined summary of interactions for the girls during school break

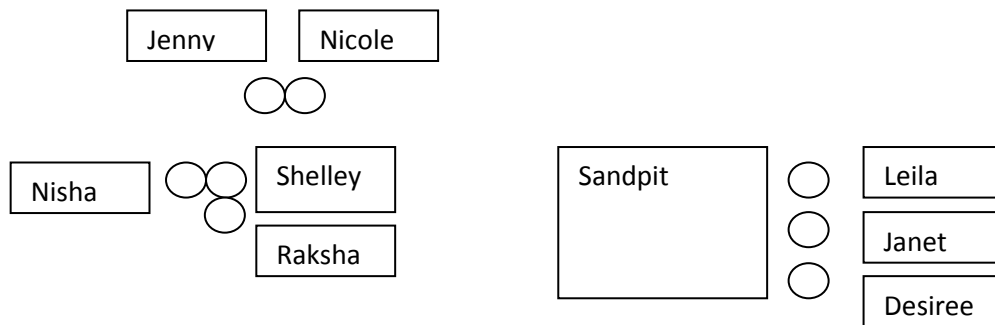
Table 10: Summary of interaction: The girls

Table of interactions: Playground - Break					
Kind of interaction	White Child	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured child	Bi-racial
Dyadic Play					
Dyadic Talk	Nisha = 33 brief	Nisha = 15 brief Leila = 22 brief 17 sustained	Nisha = 30 brief and 9 sustained	Leila = 46 brief and 18 sustained	
Group Talk	Nisha = 18 sustained and 9 brief Leila = 14 sustained and 32 brief	Nisha = 12 sustained Leila = 19 sustained and 23 brief	Nisha = 18 sustained and 9 brief Leila = 11 sustained and 30 brief	Nisha = 12 sustained Leila = 19 sustained	Nisha = 12 sustained Leila = 11 sustained and 14 brief
Group Play	Nisha = 8 sustained	Nisha = 6 sustained 6NS	Nisha = 12 sustained	Nisha = 6 sustained	
Physical Play - Sandpit		Leila = 6 sustained	Leila = 4 sustained	Leila = 8 sustained	
Physical Play – Ball Games					
Working Together					
Reading to/with					
Physical contact					
Holding Hands	Nisha = 6 brief	Leila = 3 brief	Nisha = 4 brief	Leila = 3 brief	
Arms around shoulders	Nisha = 2 brief	Leila = 5 brief		Leila = 2 brief	
Gestures across the playground					
Borrowing Stationery					
Sharing Food	Nisha = 2 brief				

The girls from the class sat together during break, except for the Black girls who sat within their own group. The Black girls from the class sat in close proximity to where the Grade 4 boys spent their break time on a nearby bench. These girls joined girls from other classes;

they sat together, ate their lunches and then played together in the form of singing and dancing. Most of their conversations were in isiZulu. Figure 14 shows the spatial arrangement of the girls during school break.

Figure 14: Spatial illustration of the Girls during school break



The rest of the girls from the class, together with girls from the other classes sat on the far end of the field, away from everyone else. The group comprised of eight girls; Jenny (White), Nicole (Bi-racial), Shelley (White), Nisha (Indian), Leila (Indian) and girls from other classes; Raksha, an Indian girl, Janet, a Black girl and Desiree, a Coloured girl. The girls sat together in a circle on the grass and ate their lunches. Once they all had finished their lunch they relaxed before breaking up into smaller groups. Leila, Janet and Desiree broke away from the group seated on the grass and walked arm in arm to play in the sand pit nearby; all would take turns jumping into the sand pit to see who can jump further. When they became bored of this game, they sat with their legs dangling into the sand talking quietly amongst the three of them.

While Leila and her friends played in the sand; Jenny and Nicole, who sat next to each other in class sat facing each other engaged in a dyadic conversation. Nisha, Shelley and Raksha, the Indian girl from the other class who were also sitting on the grass near to Jenny and Nicole were engaged in their own sustained group talk. Nisha and Shelley also sit within the same group seating in class.

Sitting together in a group, having a group conversation and then branching off into smaller groups to engage in conversations or go to play in the sandpit is the primary routine that these girls followed every day. There are slight changes from day to day, but with whom Leila and Nisha interacted during break remained consistent (See Table 10).

The next day, Leila waited for Janet and Desiree who were in the classroom next to her. The three girls then walked across the field to meet Nisha, Shelley, Raksha, Nicole and Jenny. On this particular day, the girls were joined by another White girl from the other class. The girls sat in a circular group formation eating their lunch and talking to each other.

Figure 15 represents the seating arrangement on the school field. Although the girls were sitting together as a big group of nine, there was a clear distinction in the two sub-groups. Leila, Desiree, Jenny, a White girl from the other class, Nicole and Janet were sitting very closely together. Shelley, Nisha and Raksha were sitting closely together.

Figure 15: Seating arrangement on the school field – Day 2



The girls were engaged in a group conversation until Shelley turned to speak to Nisha and Raksha; the three had a sustained group conversation. The other six girls also engaged in their own group conversation until the White girl sitting with them left the group to join another group of White girls sitting in the middle of the field. Janet and Desiree left the group to play on the bank just behind where the group was sitting on the grass. Jenny then turned to her left to speak to Shelley who was having a conversation with Nisha and Raksha; all four girls had a sustained conversation. At this point, Leila and Nicole were also having a dyadic conversation with each other. Janet and Desiree, playing on the bank of the field nearby called out to Leila for her to join them. Leila went to join her friends in their game, leaving Nicole, Nisha, Raksha and Shelley in a group conversation. After speaking to each other for a few minutes, Nisha pulled Shelley playfully by the arm, nudging her to stand up. Raksha and Nisha then stood up and they both pulled Shelley up. The three girls stood and talked briefly while Nisha had her arms around Shelley's shoulders. After talking briefly to Raksha and Nisha, Shelley returned to her seat on the grass next to Jenny and rejoined the conversation. Nisha and Raksha then left the group to join Desiree, Leila and Janet on the bank. As soon as Nisha and Raksha began playing on the bank, Leila and Desiree returned to where the group was sitting, leaving Janet on the bank with the other two girls, a few minutes

later, Janet also returned to the group. Seeing Leila and Desiree leave the group to run to the sand pit, Nisha and Raksha followed close behind. Desiree and Leila jumped into the sand pit to dig in the sand, Raksha and Nisha talked to the both of them as they watched from the side of the pit. As the bell rang to signal the end of break, the girls walked back to where they were originally sitting to retrieve their lunch boxes. Nisha reached for her water bottle and began to sip water, Shelley turned to Nisha and asked for a sip of Nisha's water, Nisha handed the water bottle to Shelley as the both walked back together towards their classroom.

The girls continued to follow the same patterns of interaction during break times. During the first half of break they sat as a group on the far end of the school field, the second half was spent playing in the sand pit, on the banks of the field or talking in smaller groups. During another school break, the girls returned to their space on the far end of the school field (see table 10 above). Nisha, Raksha, Shelley, Jenny and Nicole sat together on the grass eating their lunches and talking to each other. Leila, Janet and Desiree joined them a while later, the three girls sat away from the group and shared each other's lunches. After eating Leila, Janet and Shelley left the main group to walk around the field by themselves, they walked around the large field engaged in a sustained conversation. Leila and Desiree walked in front of Janet and whispered to each other as they walked, excluding Janet from their conversation. When school bell rang to signal the end of break, Desiree and Leila ran together to retrieve their lunch boxes from where the main group of girls were sitting, leaving Janet trailing behind them. Although Leila, Desiree and Janet left their lunch boxes where Nisha and peers were sitting, there was no interaction between these three girls and the rest of the group. Table 10 gives a summative account of the interaction between the girls at break and shows the patterns of interaction amongst girls and how they interact with those of other 'races'.

4.3.2 After Care

After care is a school facility that allows parents to leave their children under the supervision of adults who are not teachers at the school but independent people that run the child care facility. Children whose parents work full days and do not have the privilege of child minders at home send their children to After Care. There is a specific section of the school that is designated for After Care. This area of the school is divided into different classes for different grades. Interaction, therefore, only occurred with children of the same grade. Attendance at After care was erratic as children attended according to their parents convenience and availability to pick them up from school on certain days. After Care occurred directly after school, which was at 2:30pm and most parents picked up their children by 5pm. During the first hour of After Care, children were assisted with homework, thereafter they were allowed to spend the afternoon at their leisure. There were numerous activities that were available to the children to occupy their time, such as; arts and crafts, sports or games on the school field. Table 11 below refers to the summary of interactions observed during all aftercare sessions.

Table 11: Summary of interactions: Deshan , Tyler and Suhayl

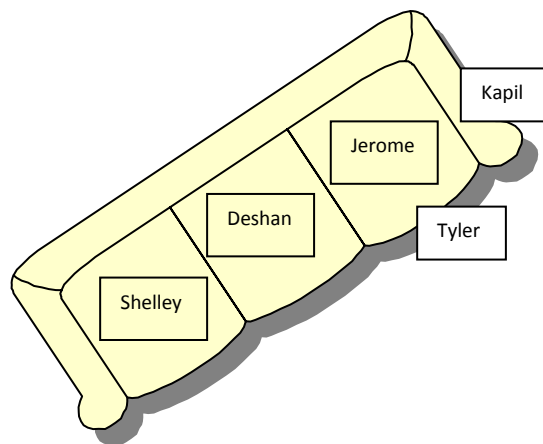
Table of interactions: After Care					
Kind of interaction	White Child	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured child	Bi-racial
Dyadic Play	Tyler = 3 brief Deshan = 4 brief Suhayl = 1brief	Tyler = 4 brief	Tyler = 1 brief Deshan = 1 brief		

Dyadic Talk	Tyler = 6 sustained and 13 brief Deshan = 9 sustained and 28 brief Suhayl = 2 brief and 4 sustained	Tyler = 5 sustained and 4 brief Suhayl = 1 brief	Tyler = 11 brief and 8 sustained Deshan = 3 sustained and 33 brief Suhayl = 13 brief and 5 sustained		
Group Talk	Tyler = 4 sustained and 11 brief Deshan = 16 brief and 6 sustained	Tyler = 3 sustained and 15 brief	Tyler = 4 sustained and 13 brief Deshan = 4 sustained and 8 brief		
Group Play					
Physical Play - Sandpit					
Physical Play – Ball Games	Tyler = 2 sustained Deshan = 2 sustained	Tyler = 3 sustained Deshan = 3 sustained	Tyler = 2 sustained Deshan = 2 sustained		
Working Together					
Reading to/with	Deshan = 2 sustained				
Physical contact					
Holding Hands			Suhayl = 3 brief		
Arms around shoulders		Tyler = 3 brief	Tyler = 1 brief Suhayl = 1 brief		
Gestures across the classroom					
Borrowing Stationery					
Sharing Food					

Six children from the Grade 4 class attended After Care, these children were; Deshan, Suhayl, Tyler, Shelley, Phumlani and Kapil. When the children arrived at the After Care classroom, the After Care facilitator asked them all for their homework books. Most of the children in Grade 4 did not have homework on this day as they had attended the excursion for half the day. Deshan, Shelley, Jerome, a white boy from the other Grade 4 class sat on the

sofa in the room. Deshan sat in the middle with Shelley on his right and Jerome on his left. Kapil was leaning over the side of the sofa and Tyler was standing in front of Jerome. Figure 16 presents the spontaneous seating arrangement observed during after care.

Figure 16: Spontaneous seating arrangements at After Care



The five children were looking at a Football album which housed famous Football player cards. They paged through the book together talking about each football player they came across and for which team they played. This sustained group conversation occurred for several minutes. In between talking to each other and looking at the album; Jerome and Kapil engaged in their own dyadic conversation. Similarly, Deshan turned sporadically to Shelley and sang a funny song which amused Shelley each time. Tyler and Kapil then left this group to go outside the classroom; both stood on the grass and had a sustained conversation. Shelley and Jerome walked over to where the other Football albums were and both of them took one for themselves. They then returned to the sofa and resumed their previous positions. The three, Deshan, Shelley and Jerome, then began swapping player cards with each other to complete the albums they had in their possession. During this time, Suhayl stood at a table nearby the sofa playing solitaire with a pack of cards; Tyler returned to the

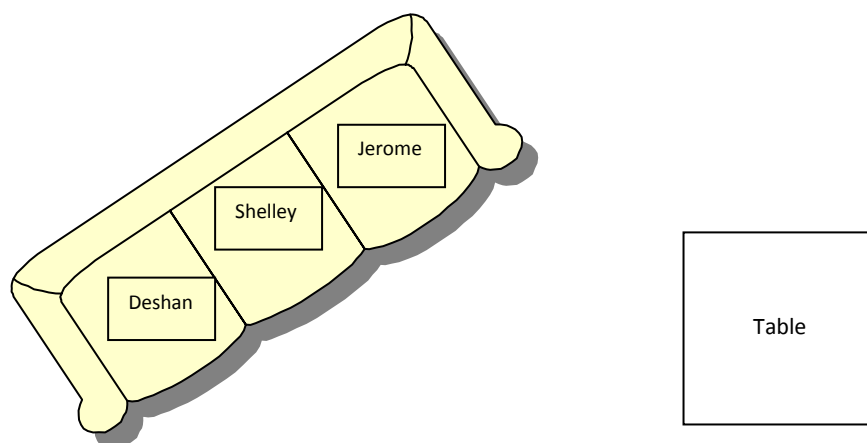
classroom and briefly commented to Suhayl before joining Phumlani at the other end of the table. Once Suhayl became bored of his card game, he gave the cards to Tyler and Phumlani and went to the sofa to join Jerome, Deshan and Shelley. At this point, Shelley moved over to sit on the far side of Jerome and Suhayl took her place next to Deshan. The four continued to discuss the player cards and swap each other for different cards. Shelley left the sofa to go over to look at the other player albums that were left. Tyler then walked over and spoke briefly to the group seated on the sofa, he left to fetch another batch of football player cards and once he sifted through it he walked back over to the sofa to show the cards to Deshan, Suhayl and Jerome. Suhayl had a player card in his hand that Jerome wanted; Jerome then leaned over Deshan to pull Suhayl's hand so that he could steal the card. Suhayl then moved further back and the three boys started laughing, this drew the attention of both Shelley and Tyler who returned to the sofa to see what the three boys were laughing at. Shelley and Tyler stood in front of the sofa where Suhayl, Jerome and Deshan were seated. The five children then had a sustained conversation before Deshan stood up from the sofa to give Shelley a space to sit. Deshan left the group seated on the sofa to stand at a nearby table (See Table 11). After having a brief conversation with the group, Shelley then left the group to join Deshan at the table. Deshan and Shelley leaned in close to each other to read the book together, while they read the book and had a sustained conversation. The children continued to move in between the sofa and the table within the classroom swapping player cards to fill their albums. These interactions continued for the rest of the After Care session.

At the next After Care session, Deshan, Shelley, Jerome and Tyler were present. The children ran into the classroom, took off their shoes and then made their way onto the school field. The four children were joined by two Black boys and a Black girl from the other class. The

children then stood in a circle on the school field as they discussed what game they were going to play. A physical game of soccer then erupted with Deshan, Shelley and Jerome on one team and Tyler and the three other children on the other team. When either team would score a goal the children rejoiced ran toward each other and gave their fellow team members a 'high five'. The children played soccer for 45 minutes before the two Black boys walked off the field to return to the classroom, the rest of the children continued to play soccer for another 20 minutes before also returning to the classroom. Deshan, Jerome and Shelley returned to the sofa where they sat the previous day. The three sat and paged through a book and engaged in a sustained conversation. Shelley then left the sofa to join the Black boy and the Black girls from the other class at the nearby table.

Figure 17 below shows the spontaneous seating arrangement that was observed on the second day at After Care.

Figure 17: Spontaneous seating arrangement at After Care – Day 2



The children were sitting next to the teacher finishing an arts and crafts project, Shelley had a sustained conversation with both of them before also taking a piece of paper to do some artwork. Upon seeing that Shelley and the other children at the table were enjoying their artwork task, both Deshan and Jerome then joined the art table. The children sat at the table doing artwork and engaging in a group conversation. Table 11 provides a summation of the After Care interactions described above.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

The everyday interactions between children at school seem to indicate that 'race' as a factor that previously dominated all social interaction during Apartheid, may not necessarily be a primary feature in determining children's interactions in contemporary South Africa. Although 'Indian' children interact more frequently within their 'race' group, this is not primarily due to 'race' but due to other contributing factors, which play a role in facilitating either greater interaction among children of different 'races' resulting in 'de-racialised' interaction, or prevent interaction between children of different 'races' inevitably leading to 'racialised' interactions. The factors that largely affect the patterns of interaction among children are 1) the contexts in or under which interactions occur and 2) gender differences particularly in forms of play, which makes language barriers more significant for interaction between girls than between boys.

The current study found that particular school contexts reveal varying patterns of interaction among children of different 'races'. The classroom context is one such space that is dominated by the authority of a teacher, thereby presenting a context that is highly structured and with a clear disciplinary presence. As the interaction between children is controlled, 75% of all classroom interaction occurred with children who sat in close proximity to each other and these interactions were in the form of dyadic conversations (See Tables 3 and 4 on pages 57 and 61). Although interactions in the classroom are brief with few sustained engagements; the seating arrangement as influenced by the teacher assists in creating

opportunities for group interaction among children who may not have spontaneously opted to work together.

Luke (1973) shares this perspective that the educational system “impose[s] on the child ways of seeing, feeling and acting at which he would not have arrived spontaneously” (p.12, in Wootton, 1997). Hence the school context provides the social setting for interaction between children who would not have necessarily interacted with one another. In using the observed school as a sample of the South African schooling system and in agreement with Weinstein (1991), it is evident that the school context does pull together children of different ‘races’, cultural backgrounds, gender and demographics. As much as the school system enables different children from diverse backgrounds and ‘races’ to be within the same social space, the teacher has a role to play in deliberately ‘de-racialising’ groupings.

Erikson (1982) and Weinstein (1991) agree that the classroom is a context that is highly controlled by the teacher, as he/she is the only adult and authority figure present in the classroom environment, the teacher has complete control over the seating patterns as well as the behaviour of the class group in question. Observations reveal that children who sat in close proximity to each other have more contact with each other. Hence children who sat within groups seated with children of different ‘races’ naturally had more interaction with those children as they were situated close to them. The ‘Indian’ children observed who were seated next to children of other ‘races’ had a higher frequency of interaction with these children. It is imperative that these interactions are located within the specific context, in order to properly understand the influence that contextual factors such as seating

arrangements and authority presence have on patterns of interaction. Interactions within the classroom are therefore, 1.) primarily determined by the teacher who either deliberately increases interaction between children of different 'races' or limits the interactions that a child could possibly experience with children of other 'races'; and 2) the presence of a teacher as an authority figure actively instilling discipline and ensuring an academic focus is maintained serves to further limit interaction. However, the focus on academic tasks also creates a purpose and structure that enables interaction among children of different 'races'. This affects interactional dynamics with regards to how children engage with each other as well as the frequency and quality of interactions that materialise.

The classroom context fosters interaction between children of different 'races' and cultural backgrounds. As schools operate daily for five days a week and seven hours a day, children grouped within the same class spend an increased amount of time with each other. This creates a sense of familiarity and as a result in accordance with Weinstein (1991) and Hallinan and Sorenson (1985), results in a higher propensity of friendships being created out of the classroom context between children in the class who have more contact with each other. This is also consistent with Allport's Contact Hypothesis Theory (1954) which postulates that increased intergroup interaction based on equality will result in attitude changing mechanisms between different 'race' groups and as such enable friendships. The task specific focus within the classroom encourages increased contact between children of different 'races' as they have to work together to complete a task, this provides a platform for high quality interactions between children. This perspective is validated by the observations that children of different 'races' who sit together within the same class grouping who work on shared tasks join each other in contexts outside of the typical classroom environment,

during free and unstructured lessons where interaction is not directly influenced by an authority figure.

Types of lessons or situations within the school context affect the kinds or quality of interactions that are possible. There are structured lessons, unstructured lessons and free times that yield varying patterns of interaction among children. Engagement in terms of group talk and play is not encouraged in structured lessons such as Maths and English due to the high academic focus that is required throughout the lesson (See Tables 3 and 4 on pages 57 and 61). Structured lessons are typical classroom setting contexts where children are seated at prescribed desks with limited movement and interaction. The most common interactions accounting for 80% of the interaction activity within this context were brief dyadic talk, brief group talk, borrowing stationery and brief instances of working together (See Tables 3 and 4 on pages 57 and 61). The majority of interactions within these lessons occurred between children who sat in close proximity to each other, hence those who could steal a brief conversation or glance at one another while the teacher's attention moved to another part of the classroom. This is consistent with Weinstein's (1991) perspective that as the teacher's span of control decreases, interactions between children increase. Unstructured lessons represent a context where the teacher's span of control is decreased thus resulting in higher frequencies and more extended forms of interaction.

Structured lessons produce patterns of interaction that are brief and limited to particular children seated within close proximity to each other. Unstructured lessons produce more opportunities for more sustained interactions characterised by a higher quality of engagement such as extended dyadic conversation. Although unstructured lessons have a fundamental

academic objective inherent in them and maintain the presence of an authority figure, they are less formalised as there is 1) an absence of a typical classroom setting with no permanent seating at specific desks, children have the freedom to sit where and with whom they want; 2) the subject content is more creative in the forms of music, dance, reading to or with each other, educational movies and 3) these lessons require more group work as opposed to an individual academic focus (See Tables 5 and 6 on pages 75 and 76). As a result, unstructured lessons gave rise to more opportunities for interaction between all children and specifically between different 'races' when compared to the structured lesson context. These interactions were in the form of 70% brief and 30% sustained dyadic and group talk as well as sustained interactions of working and reading together.

The highest level of opportunities for interaction occurred during 'Free Time' where children had the free will to choose who they wanted to join. Interaction was spontaneous. This observation is consistent with previous research, which stipulated that with the absence of teacher manipulation over patterns of interaction in this 'free time' context, children have the freedom to decide how and with whom they wish to utilise this time (Weinstein, 1991). The groupings observed in the 'free time' space were consistent throughout the week thus indicating certain patterns of interaction among children of different 'races'. In the free time context, 'Indian' children had 10% high quality interactions with 'White' children in the form of sustained interactions and 10% low quality interactions in the form of brief interactions. There was a 25% frequency of low quality interactions or brief encounters characterised by brief passing comments or gestures between 'Indian' and 'Black' children and a few sustained interactions. However, the most sustained and high quality engagement making up for 55% of the interactions during free time occurred between 'Indian' children and other

'Indian' children. The patterns observed tell us that even though there is considerable interaction between 'Indian' children and their peers of other 'races', they still seem to interact more frequently with other 'Indian' children. However, this frequency of interaction among 'Indian' children does not seem to be a simple matter of 'race' but rather an outcome of the contexts in which interactions occur, the different types of play that boys and girls engage in, as well as the language barriers that inhibit interaction.

These various contexts within the school environment yield different forms of interaction. It is therefore imperative to take contextual aspects into consideration when analysing the patterns of interaction among children. Interaction and behaviour are moulded by the situations that children are in and specifically within the school context by factors such as teacher control or the presence of an authority figure, seating arrangements and the type/structure of lessons.

All of the school contexts mentioned affect the quality of interactions that are produced between children of different races. Structured lessons present brief interactions that are of a poor quality of engagement, unstructured lessons give rise to a mix of both high and poor quality interactions, whereas free time presents the best contexts for quality sustained interactions. In addition to affecting the quality of interactions between children of different 'races', different contexts also give rise to different frequencies or opportunities for interaction. On a scale from highest to lowest, Free time presents the most amount of opportunities for interaction, Unstructured lessons presents a fair amount of frequent interactions and Structured lessons have the least amount of recorded interactions. When the quality and frequency of interactions are combined, they reveal certain patterns of interaction about 'racial' engagement. Structured lessons have a high amount of interaction between

children of different 'races' as this is facilitated by the teacher who determines the seating arrangement and can therefore increase interaction between 'races' through tasks that encourage group work. Even though there are facilitated 'race' interactions, these are limited as movement within the structured lesson is not encouraged. Free time presents many opportunities for interaction between children of different 'races' and has the absence of structure, an authority and an academic focus, which allows for more frequent and sustained interactions. However, these opportunities for the interaction between children of different 'races' do not always materialise due to social factors such as types of play and language barriers, and result in children having frequent and sustained interactions with children of the same 'race' group. According to Mkhize (2004) 'race' divisions and voluntary segregation are perpetuated in contemporary society through the social factors that act as barriers to (de) racialised interaction. Unstructured lessons represent the most suitable context for interactions between children of 'different' races as it has a certain degree of structure and teacher facilitation of group work but it also gives children the freedom of movement and choice to interact with children of other 'races'. There are additional social factors embedded in each context that affect the patterns of 'race' interaction among children. Different types of activities that girls and boys engage in such as 'play' and 'talk' and the language barriers related to this affects 'race' interaction between children.

5.1 Gender as an influencing factor on the patterns of interaction

This study found that gender plays a critical role in influencing the patterns of interaction among children. Gendered interactions were common across all contexts of interaction within the school. Collins (1984) offers an explanation as to why gendered interactions were so

prominent in this study; that it is due to the developmental stage of 'middle childhood', which corresponds to the age group of the children observed. This is a time when children tend to choose friends according to gender lines as gender differences are heightened at this stage of childhood.

Classroom seating arrangements as determined by the teacher comprised of children of different 'races' and both genders. Even though there were instances of brief group talk between these seated class groups, most interactions occurred along gender lines, with girls more frequently interacting with other girls in the group than they did with the boys and likewise, the boys in the group more frequently interacting with each other. Similarly, in both structured and unstructured lessons, where group work was required, children chose groups according to gender. Spontaneous grouping was therefore gendered, in instances where children were able to move freely and interaction was not limited, children gravitated towards same sex peers resulting in groups of boys and groups of girls.

There were brief interactions between girls and boys during lessons, however, with this particular group of children, in situations of sustained interactions during free time or unstructured lessons, patterns of interactions were clearly gendered. The school field during break time is testament to this finding as there were groups of boys and groups of girls scattered across the field. The particular activities that this group of children engaged in differed along gender lines. Boys displayed an interest in physical activities such as sport and ball games and girls chose to spend their free time on 'talk' with other girls. The difference in choice of activities that boys and girls engaged in affected the interactions across 'race' lines. There is a 'racialisation' of interactions between girls due to language barriers that exist and as a result of the nature of sustained talk; girls tend to spend intimate time with other girls

developing friendships. Whereas, boys interaction is (de)racialised and not as intimate as girls', boys' activities are physical and their activities are sports related resulting in brief interactions with very few sustained quality engagements.

5.2 Play and Language as influencing factors on patterns of interaction

It has been observed that different types of play influence the patterns of interaction that emerge out of the school context. The nature of 'play' differed amongst boys and girls. Boys' 'play' during break and free time was more physical in the form of sports, such as ball games: soccer, rugby, hand ball. Girls, on the contrary spent their time in more intimate settings, sitting in a group talking and eating their lunch. An analysis of the interaction summaries relating to the participants observed shows that the boys have more and frequent interaction with all children of other 'races' (See Tables 9 and 10 on pages 93 and 99). The 'de/racialised' interaction that was observed in relation to the boys was precisely because of their engagement in sporting activities during free time. This finding is supported by Booth (1998) and Black and Naughtright's (1998) notion that sport transcends all 'race' boundaries and may be used to 'forge' national identities and social cohesion. Booth (1998) also comments that in physical sport, there are no language barriers or social connotations; as long as all participants understand the rules of the game, all are included. This is in complete contrast to the girls who primarily have interactions revolved around 'talk' and the effect of this, because of language differences, 'racialises' girls' interactions

This study found that girls' patterns of interaction and levels of engagement were more intimate in the form of girls seated in close circles engaged in group and sustained dyadic

talk. These groups comprised of 'Indian' girls, 'White' girls, and 'Coloured' and 'bi-racial' girls. However, 'Black' girls consistently sat in their own circle of friends and conversed in isiZulu. As the nature of interaction amongst girls is predominantly in the form of 'talk', this immediately limits interaction amongst 'Black' girls and other 'races' due to language barriers as 'race' in South Africa is deeply connected to language. It is obviously easier for people of the same mother tongue to converse in their first languages. 'Black' girls therefore find it easier to speak in their first language, which in this case, is isiZulu whereas mixed 'race' groups tend to converse in English, which is the medium used within the schooling system. In agreement with Webb's perspective "language can be a gate-keeper, a discriminator, which facilitates participation and sharing or acts as a barrier to accessing opportunities" (2002, p.14). The predominance of 'talk' as the main pattern of interaction amongst girls does indeed "act a barrier to accessing opportunities" that may facilitate interaction with those of different language groups. The loss of 'Indian' language in contemporary society has resulted in 'Indian' children becoming English first language speakers. Although, 'Indian' language is invisible in South African society, it does not relate to any loss whatsoever in 'Indian' culture but does effectively serve to permeate language barriers and (de)racialise interactions and between 'Indian' children and those of other 'races'.

Orman (2008) concluded that the majority of South African schools operate in an English and Afrikaans medium, and in doing so, marginalise African languages. Multilingualism is encouraged by the Department of Education and the Language Educational Policy; however, schools continue to disregard the importance of incorporating African languages into the educational medium. This is an area of concern as there is a definite requirement for schools

to incorporate multilingualism into the school's policy in order to promote interaction amongst all learners.

5.3 Conclusion

It is evident from the observations and subsequent findings of this study that there are various factors within the schooling system that serve to 'racialise' or 'de/racialise' interaction between children growing up in contemporary society. It is therefore of key concern to always locate patterns of interaction observed within specific contexts and to simultaneously consider the everyday social aspects of gender, play and language in order to properly understand how children interact with one another. This finding highlights that of Goffman (1967) who found that patterns of interaction are revealed through an observation of the everyday relations between people who are mutually present to one another, and these simple everyday interactions make a valuable contribution towards an understanding of the societal framework. There are also various opportunities for interaction within the South African schooling system. Every effort must be made to focus on increasing these opportunities that facilitate interaction between children of different 'races'. Group related activities within the arts and culture sphere, sporting activities and increasing multilingualism within schools all create platforms for interaction between 'races' and must be highlighted as points of importance in future curricula and school policies.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This research study shows that interactions among children happen across 'racial' lines, however it is the nature of particular contexts that affects patterns of interaction (Weinstein, 1991). There are different school contexts such as the classroom environment that consists of structured lessons, unstructured lessons and free time such as school break. These contexts influence the kinds, frequencies and quality of interactions that occur between children of different 'races'. Some contexts proved to encourage and enable 'de/racialised' interaction through teacher facilitation (Hallinan and Sorenson, 1985), while other contexts proved to 'racialise' spontaneous interaction due to further contributing factors such as language differences that are inextricably linked to interaction. Structured lessons are on the one end on the continuum with 'more' interactions across 'race' lines occurring, Free time is on the other end of the continuum with 'less' interaction between children of different 'races' and Unstructured lessons with aspects from both structured and free time contexts is in the middle of the continuum and produces the 'most' interaction between 'race' groups. Interactions that occur within the unstructured lesson context are frequent and sustained in nature; therefore these lessons produce the highest quality interactions than any other lesson context.

Further to context playing a pivotal role in the patterns of interaction, there are other social factors that influence interaction between children of different 'races'. These are gender, language and play; factors that are interwoven and play a vital role in the everyday relations between children. As the participant sample was composed of children in 'middle childhood',

gender was a crucial factor influencing interaction (Collins, 1994; Newman and Newman, 2008). The findings of this research support this perspective as girls and boys spontaneously separated during free unstructured time and this resulted in interaction within gender lines. In addition, it can be concluded that the different ways in which boys and girls interact affects the possibilities for 'racial' interaction. Findings show that boys spend their time engaged in 'play/physical sport' activities, whereas girls spend their time engaging in 'talk' activities. As sport transcends all boundaries and highlights commonalities between 'races' (Booth, 1998; Black and Naughtright, 1998), boys have more opportunities for interaction between different 'races'. Language is a fundamental property of interaction and, for this group of girls, the most common interaction was in the form of dyadic and group conversations (Orman, 2008). Language differences present a barrier that inhibits interaction between Black girls who choose to converse in isiZulu and other girls who speak English as a mother tongue. It can also be concluded that interaction across 'races' is thus compromised when language acts as a barrier to engagement as language and 'race' in South Africa are overlapping and interlinked aspects of society (Orman, 2008). Language affects the quality of interactions between children and can act as a barrier for sustained engagement between children who do not speak the same first language.

This research study has shown that it is imperative to think in interactional terms in order to properly understand the relations between people. Children are not 'isolated entities' (Kagen, Moore and Bredekamp, 1995) that exist independent of the political, social and economic goings-on of society. Children are thus products of society and are influenced by the everyday interactions they have with others in their social world. More attention must be paid to everyday interactions with others in the social sphere to explore patterns of

interactions that convey the nature of relations between children in contemporary South Africa.

In addition to focusing on the interactions between people to further a proper understanding of contemporary society, it is imperative to move away from mainstream theories that conceptualise the 'individual' as the 'primary unit of analysis' (Foster, 2006). This research thus challenges individualistic theories that perceive intergroup phenomena as being a direct consequence of thought and action as emanating from within a person. These mainstream theories neglect the fundamental importance of the dialectical relationship between society and the individual. New theories and conceptual ways of thinking need to be developed in order to facilitate an understanding of intergroup and race relations as opposed to locating 'racialised/deracialised' thought and behaviour within the individual.

There is vast amounts of research that exist on 'friendships' between children, most of which is done in an American or European context; however very little research exists on friendships and patterns of interaction thereof between children in contemporary South Africa. There is insufficient research done with regards to how children engage with each other in post-apartheid South Africa and how this can then assist in understanding contemporary intergroup relations and the potential implications that it may have for South Africa's future adults and leaders. This research study has contributed towards an understanding of patterns of interaction among children and how this can lead us towards a better understanding of the South African landscape and the contextual factors that affect 'racial' interaction among children.

There have been substantial measures taken to correct the wrongs of the past and highlight the importance of language as being an imperative part of tolerance and diversity. However, this study implies that more measures must be taken to encourage multilingualism in schools and specifically place an importance on bilingual medium schools. The incorporation of bilingual medium schools presents a context that encourages children to learn languages other than their own and could possibly lead to more inclusive interaction between children of different 'races'. The South African Schools Act of 1994 indicates an understanding of the interplay between 'race', culture, ethnicity and language in South Africa; however more attention must be paid to the importance of bi-lingual medium schools by relevant policy makers.

This study also suggests that context plays a vital role in the interaction between children across 'races'. There is a need to ensure a balance of both structure and free choice in classroom environments to enable frequent and quality interactions among children of different races. A possible suggestion is to employ the versatility of movement within the structured lesson context while still maintaining the academic focus that is managed by the teacher. The teacher is thus crucial to patterns of interaction that emerge between children of different 'races', and as such, all teachers must bear in mind their influence over their potential to either increase or decrease opportunities for interaction across 'races'. In addition to teachers understanding their importance in influencing patterns of interaction, so too must the school and the Department of Education by instituting more sporting or cultural activities within the curriculum that will enable a high amount of quality interactions among children of different 'race' groups.

As this study was based on a small sample of 'Indian' children in one specific school in KwaZulu-Natal, it could be beneficial to use a sample of children across the different South African regions to test the conclusions of this study. In addition, it may be helpful to use samples of different 'race' children as a focus in order to compare the patterns of interaction between different 'race' groups and the findings that this study has yielded with a specific focus on 'Indian' children.

It may also prove useful to do interviews with children observed for a more in-depth understanding on why they chose to interact with certain children and to further unpack the patterns of interaction that were observed. Furthermore, this study can be expanded to other contexts other than the school environment, such as recreational clubs, the home and social events such as children's parties or gatherings. This may help to extend the general findings on interaction included in this study.

After 16 years of democratic South Africa, interactions have become, to some extent (de) racialised. Even though South Africa has made good progress in facilitating interaction across all 'races', there is room for improvement. As South African's we must be cautious not to ignore the importance of focusing on solutions to all barriers in the hope that it will foster increased interaction among people of different 'races'. If concerted effort is made to provide further opportunities for 'races' to interact with one another, the frequency and quality of (de) racialised interactions will be a positive characteristic of South African society.

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APPENDICES

7.1 Appendix 1: Summaries of interaction

Table: Interactions during school break

Interaction on the school field during break		Name: Tyler		
Description of Interaction	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a Coloured Child
Dyadic Play				
Dyadic talk		2 sustained	2 brief	
Group talk	1 brief	1 sustained	1 sustained	
Physical play (Group)	1 sustained	1 sustained	1 sustained	
Physical contact		1 sustained		
Sharing food				
Gestures across the field				
Total	1 brief 1 sustained	5 sustained	2 brief 2 sustained	

Table: Interactions during school break

Interaction on the school field during break		Name: Deshan		
Description of Interaction	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a Coloured Child
Dyadic Play				
Dyadic talk			1 brief	
Group talk	1 sustained	1 sustained	1 sustained	
Physical play	1 sustained	1 sustained	1 sustained	

(Group)				
Physical contact				
Sharing food				
Gestures across the field				
Total	2 sustained	2 sustained	2 sustained 1 brief	

Table: Interactions during school break

Interaction on the school field during break			Name: Sashen	
Description if Interaction	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a Coloured Child
Dyadic Play				
Dyadic talk			1 sustained	
Group talk	1 brief	1 sustained	1 sustained	
Physical play (Group)	1 sustained	1 sustained	1 sustained	
Physical contact			1 sustained	
Sharing food				
Gestures across the field				
Total	1 brief 1 sustained	2 sustained	4 sustained	

Table: Interactions on the school field

Interaction on the school field during break			Name: Suhayl	
Description if Interaction	Interaction	Interaction with a	Interaction with an	Interaction with a

Interaction	with a White Child	Black Child	Indian Child	Coloured Child
Dyadic Play				
Dyadic talk	2 brief	3 brief	2 sustained	
Group talk			1 sustained	
Physical play (Group)	1 sustained	1 sustained	1 sustained	
Physical contact			1 sustained	
Sharing food				
Gestures across the field				
Total	2 brief 1 sustained	3 brief 1 sustained	5 sustained	

Table: Interactions on the school field

Interaction on the school field during break		Name: Kapil		
Description of Interaction	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a Coloured Child
Dyadic Play				
Dyadic talk	2 sustained		1 sustained	
Group talk	1 sustained		1 sustained	
Physical play (Group)	1 sustained		1 sustained	
Physical contact				
Sharing food				
Gestures across the field				
Total	4 sustained		3 sustained	

Table: Interactions on the school field

Interaction on the school field during break		Name: Nisha		
Description of Interaction	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a Coloured Child
Dyadic Play				
Dyadic talk	3 brief	1 brief	4 brief	
Group talk	2 sustained	1 sustained	2 sustained	1 sustained
Physical play (Group)				
Physical contact				
Sharing food				
Gestures across the field				
Total	3 brief 2 sustained	1 brief 1 sustained	4 brief 2 sustained	1 sustained

Table: Interactions on the school field

Interaction on the school field during break		Name: Leila		
Description of Interaction	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a Coloured Child
Dyadic Play				
Dyadic talk				
Group talk	2 brief	1 sustained 4 brief	5 brief	2 sustained 7 brief
Physical play (Group)		1 sustained		1 sustained
Physical contact		2 brief		1 brief
Sharing food				
Gestures across the field				
Total	2 brief	2 sustained	5 brief	3 sustained

		6 brief		8 brief
--	--	---------	--	---------

Table: Summary of Nisha's interactions

Classroom Interaction: Zulu Lesson		Name: Nisha		
Description of interactions	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a coloured child
Dyadic Play				
Dyadic Talk	8 brief		6 brief	
Group Talk	3 sustained		1 brief 2 sustained	
Working Together	1 sustained		1 brief	
Reading to/with				
Physical contact				
Gestures across the classroom				
Borrowing Stationery	1 brief			
Total Interactions	9 brief 4 sustained	0	8 brief 2 sustained	0

Table: Summary of Nisha's interactions

Classroom Interaction: Maths Lesson		Name: Nisha		
Description of interactions	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a coloured child
Dyadic Talk	5 brief			
Group Talk	1 brief		1 brief	
Working Together			2 brief	
Reading to/with				

Physical contact				
Gestures across the classroom			1 brief	
Borrowing Stationery	4 brief			
Total Interactions	10 brief	0	4 brief	0

Table: Summary of Deshan's interactions

Classroom Interaction: Maths Lesson		Name: Deshan		
Description of interactions	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a coloured child
Dyadic Talk	3 brief			
Group Talk	1 brief		1 brief	
Working Together			2 brief	
Reading to/with				
Physical contact				
Gestures across the classroom				
Borrowing Stationery				
Total Interactions	4 brief	0	3 brief	0

Table: Summary of Suhayl's interactions

Classroom Interaction: Maths Lesson		Name: Suhayl		
Description of interactions	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a coloured child
Dyadic Talk			1 sustained	1 brief
Group Talk				
Working Together				
Reading to/with				
Physical contact				

Gestures across the classroom				
Borrowing Stationery				

Table: Summary of Sashen's interactions

Classroom Interaction: Maths Lesson		Name: Sashen		
Description of interactions	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a coloured child
Dyadic Talk			1 sustained	9 brief
Group Talk				
Working Together				
Reading to/with				
Physical contact				
Gestures across the classroom				
Borrowing Stationery				
Total Interactions	0	0	1 sustained	9 brief

Table: Summary of Kapil's interactions

Classroom Interaction: Maths Lesson		Name: Kapil		
Description of interactions	Interaction with a White Child	Interaction with a Black Child	Interaction with an Indian Child	Interaction with a coloured child
Dyadic Play				
Dyadic Talk		2 brief		
Group Talk				
Working Together				
Reading to/with				
Physical contact				

Gestures across the classroom				
Borrowing Stationery		1 brief		
Total Interactions	0	3 brief		0

7.2 Appendix B: Authorisation for Research

13-MAY-2008 12:05

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P. 01



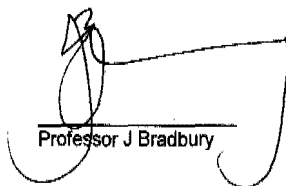
Bradbury@ukzn.ac.za
Tel: 031-2603261
Fax: 031-2602618

To Whom It May Concern

Re: Authorisation for Research by Latanya Padayachy

Ms Latanya Padayachy is registered with the University of KwaZulu-Natal for the Master of Social Science degree in psychology. As part of this degree, she will be conducting research on the topic: **Patterns of Interaction among children in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa: An Indian perspective**. Her project proposal has been approved by both the Higher Degrees Committee and the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences. The project will be conducted under my supervision so please feel free to contact me should you require further information. Thank you for granting permission for Ms Padayachy to conduct this important research in your school.

Yours sincerely



Professor J Bradbury

School of Psychology

Postal Address: Durban, 4041, South Africa

Telephone: +27 (0)31 260 7423

Facsimile: +27 (0)31 260 2618

Email: chettyth@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

Founding Campuses:

■ Edgewood

■ Howard College

■ Medical School

■ Pietermaritzburg

■ Westville

7.3 Appendix C: Letter to Parents and Consent Forms

Consent for Research

I, (Full names) of
Parent/Guardian) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this letter and the
nature of the research project, and I consent to recorded observations of my child at
school in the classroom and playground.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw my child from the project at any time,
should I so desire.

.....
SIGNATURE OF PARENT

.....
DATE

Mimi.....

(Amagwala wonke zephile)

umzali/Tumbeki wengula, ngiyeqwisa ukuthi ngiyeqonda konke olophakathi
kwalencwadi. ngiyabizwa ngobomi bawantso, futhi ngiyabizwa ngokuba
ekalimelwa kommiwama wami esikoleni ekhethi Kanye nusenkuleni yemidlalo.

Ngiyabizwa ukuthi ngikuthulekile ukuthi ngingamshinga umntso. aho woni
laevantso noma ngasithi isikhothi ura ngizanda.

.....
SIGNATURE OF PARENT

.....
DATE

For further information, you can contact me, Lorraine Padayeev on 0832124274 or
201296557@gmail.com or my supervisor Professor Jill Bradbury at the School of
Psychology, Howard College Campus, University of KwaZulu-Natal 031-260 2527,
or bradbury@ukzn.ac.za



3 August 2009

Dear Parent

I am a Psychology Masters student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am currently doing research for my dissertation and would kindly like to ask for your permission to observe your child at school.

My dissertation topic is the **Patterns of Interaction among children in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa**. This research is focused on finding out how children in post-apartheid South Africa interact with one another. Research of this nature thus requires observation on the playground and in the classroom. These observations will be video-recorded daily over the course of a week. All such recorded material will strictly be for research purposes only and be viewed only by myself and my supervisor, Prof. Bradbury, and subsequently destroyed. The names of all participants will not be disclosed in the project report. Permission has been requested from the Department of Education, and approval of the project has been granted by the principal of Manor Gardens, Ms. Lottising and the class teacher, Mrs. Marshall-Cornellan. Feedback of findings will also be shared with the school to allow for a better understanding of patterns of interaction among children.

I do believe that this research will contribute to a better understanding of present-day South Africa and hope that your child will be a part of this important process.

For further information, please contact my supervisor Professor Jill Bradbury at the School of Psychology, Howard College Campus, University of KwaZulu Natal, 031, 260 2527, or jbradbury@ukzn.ac.za

Yours Sincerely,

Leranya Padyachdy

Consent for Research

I.....(full names of Parent/Guardian) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this letter and the nature of the research project, and I consent to recorded observations of my child at school in the classroom and playground.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw my child from the project at any time, should I so desire.

.....
SIGNATURE OF PARENT

.....
DATE

Mina..... (Amagama wonke aphelele onzali/Umhlobo wegama, ngiyaqinisa ukuthi ngiyaqonda konke okuphakathi kwalenewadi, ngiyaluqonda noblobo lozwango, futhi ngiyakugonyazisa ukulandlwa komchwana wami esikoleni eklasini kanye nasenkundleni yemidlalo.

Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ngikubulekile ukuthi ngingamchipasa umntana olile wesi lozwango noma ngasishi isikhathi uma ngifunda.

.....
SIGNATURE OF PARENT

.....
DATE

For further information, you can contact me, Latanya Padayachy on 0832124274 or 201296557@ukzn.ac.za or my supervisor Professor Jill Bradbury at the School of Psychology, Howard College Campus, University of KwaZulu-Natal 031-260 2527, or bradbury@ukzn.ac.za

Mzal: Othandokayo,


Ngiwumfundi owenza iziqu ze Masters anyuvesi yakwa Zulw Natali. Njengamanje ngenza ucwaningo wezifundo zami futhi ngiyathanda ukuvela inyama yokufika ngilandele umrwanz wakho nje ngasayo yocwaningo esikoleni.

Isthloko sonqulu wami ocwaningo yami sithuzindlela izingane ezixhumana ngayo lapaa Kwa Zulw Natali eNingizimu ne Afrika. Lokocwaningo lubhekela kakhulu ekuhlaleni ukuthi abantwana bawenza kanyani amagumbini okufandela am-a kopheliswa yisikhathi kobandlulako eNingizimu Afrika. Uocwaningo lwoluhlobo ludinga ukufika ukufandela komawana enkundeni yisudulwa kanye nasegumbini lokufandela. Lokufandela komawana kuzobe kuthatha ngomshini zonke izipuka zesikhathi calinganeSonto. Konke lokuthwaba we ngomshini kuzosetsbenziselwa ucwaningo luphela futhi kuzobukwa yimama kanye nomhloli wama uProfessor Jill Bradbury hese kathi curva kwafako sikulobho sikulahlle. Amagama abantu ababambe iqhaza kithocwaningo ngoke kwatitwa muutu omnywe. Inyume yikweza lolocwaningo itholwe eMnyagwen wezentlulo futhi waluvuma ne Thisha Nhlolo wesikole u Nkos. Lectoring kanye nengilishela weclassi labantwana u Nkosikazi Cannellan. Imiphumela yocwaningo iyosinolakala esikoleni ukuzo avunyelwe ukufandela kangoono kwazindida zokuxhumana kubantwana.

Ngiyethemba ukuthi lolocwaningo luzofika isadla ekugqineni kangoono ukuxhumana kubantwana esikolweni samnywe eNingizimu Afrika. futhi ngihemba ukufandela umrwanz wakho uzoba yingxenywe ekwenzeni lolushintsho.

Am ufuna ulwazi kubanzi ngaloku ngiyecole uxhumane noMhloli wami u Professor Jill Bradbury eMnyagweni wakwa Psychology o Thusi/Howard College, eNyuvesi yakwa Zulw Natali kule nombolo (031 - 260 3261, roma jbradbury@ukzn.ac.za va

Yours Sincerely,


Latanya Padayatchy

7.4 Appendix D: Letter to the DOE



Dear Mr. Mkhize

RE: RESEARCH TO BE CONDUCTED AT MANOR GARDENS PRIMARY SCHOOL

I am a Psychology Masters student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am currently doing research for my dissertation and would kindly like to ask for your permission to use Manor Gardens Primary School as a research site.

My dissertation topic is the **Patterns of interaction among children in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa**. This research is focused on finding out how children in post-apartheid South Africa interact with one another. Research of this nature thus requires observation on the playground and in the classroom. Observation within the school will take place over a period of a couple of weeks. All information found will remain strictly confidential and the names of all participants will not be disclosed in the project. The principal of the school, Carol Lottering has already been approached and is willing for her school to participate in this project. Prior to commencement of the observation period, formal consent will be obtained from teachers and parents. Feedback of findings will also be shared with the school to allow for a better understanding of patterns of interaction among children. The school may withdraw from the project at anytime should they so wish.

The relevant University committees have already granted approval of this research project on ethical and scientific grounds. I do believe that this research will contribute to a better understanding of present-day South Africa and hope that the Department of Education and schools will be a part of this important process.

For further information, please contact me on 083 566 4444/ 201296557@ukzn.ac.za or my supervisor Professor Jill Bradbury at the School of Psychology, Howard College Campus, University of KwaZulu-Natal 031-2603261, or bradbury@ukzn.ac.za

Yours Sincerely,

Latanya Padayachy