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# **THE SOCIAL REGULATION OF LITERACY THROUGH TEACHER EXPECTATIONS**

By

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A dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree

Master of Education

University of Cape Town  
Graduate School in Humanities  
School of Education

January 2012

Supervised by Dr. Ursula Hoadley & Dr. Johan Muller

## **DECLARATION**

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Signature

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Date

## Declaration

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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

GRADUATE SCHOOL IN HUMANITIES

**DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER IN THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

I, SHELLY WILBURN, do hereby declare that I empower the University of Cape Town to produce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents of my dissertation entitled *THE SOCIAL REGULATION OF LITERACY THROUGH TEACHER EXPECTATIONS* in any manner whatsoever.

Signed:

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January 2012

## **Acknowledgements**

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First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to the beautiful country of South Africa, as it has provided me with life-changing experiences and personal inspiration regarding the study of education. As an American, I have gained an international perspective on teaching and learning that will be carried into my future endeavors as a classroom teacher and researcher. Furthermore, the University of Cape Town has provided me with intellectual growth and fundamental expertise regarding the study of education, specifically related to curriculum, both locally and internationally, and the practice of research methods. In association, the SPADE research project (i.e. Schools Performing Above Demographic Expectations) of UCT's School of Education is entitled to use the findings of my dissertation, and I am deeply thankful for the financial support from a SPADE scholarship that funded the execution of my dissertation.

I am exceptionally grateful for the continued support and supervision of Dr. Ursula Hoadley and Dr. Johan Muller of the University of Cape Town, School of Education. Their expertise in education and passion for the study of curriculum provided me with the motivation, knowledge, and tools I needed to succeed in the writing of this dissertation. Both Dr. Hoadley and Dr. Muller inspired me to diligently employ my time and effort while also helping me to appreciate and understand the process and complexities of research. Finally, I would like to thank my supervisors for providing me with the insight I needed throughout the writing process of my dissertation, as they helped me to develop the theoretical and empirical logic of my research. Without their support, this dissertation would not have been possible.

I would like to thank my parents, Kenneth and Carolyn Wilburn, for their encouragement regarding the importance of gaining a global perspective on life and education. Their constant reinforcement of the importance of learning, their admiration for the country of South Africa, and their open-mindedness and positive disposition toward my passion for teaching ultimately allowed for my pursuit of an international education at the University of Cape Town.

To all of my friends, locally and internationally, that have supported, motivated, and pushed me to reach my goals to be a classroom teacher and ultimately, to earn a Master's degree in Education, I am tremendously grateful. Their belief in my capabilities as a teacher and researcher provided me with the motivation to strive and achieve my ambitions.

To each and every principal, teacher, and colleague that I have worked with over the past few years, I am grateful for the knowledge I have gained through collaboration and interaction. This dissertation is inspired by personal teaching experience working with at-risk students in the United States as well as in South Africa; therefore, I am grateful for the opportunities afforded to me to practically apply my knowledge of teaching and learning.

The willingness, cooperativeness, and kindness I received from the participants of my research deserve the utmost appreciation and thanks. Their time and patience during each interview as well as their hospitable nature allowed for a successful investigation of teacher expectations.

Lastly, I would like to thank God for each and every blessing in my life, particularly the passion I have within myself for teaching and contributing toward the system of education.

## Abstract

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This study is motivated by the problematic of underdeveloped literacy skills, particularly the reading and writing skills of at-risk learners, and draws theoretical support from Basil Bernstein's sociology of education linked with the 'school effectiveness' theory of teacher expectations. I suggest a relation between the social context or community of a school, the culture and order of the school, and forms of teacher expectations, to propose a school-level expectation orientation that suggests a particular theory of instruction.

For my investigation of teacher expectations, I select two contrasting, relatively high-performing, primary schools in working-class contexts in the Western Cape Province of South Africa, and I interview grade 3 and grade 6 language teachers. Interview questions are based upon a novel conceptualization of expectations. This conceptualization is derived from Bernstein's sociology of education and particular aspects of 'school effectiveness' empirical research. I differentiate aspects within the concept of teacher expectations using six particular dimensions: *Form/Mode, Position, Location, Source, Outcome, and Origin*. I describe each teacher's expectations using these dimensions. I then develop two, school-level, expectation orientations by drawing relations between and among each expectation dimension.

Supported by teacher interviews, the Western Cape Education Department school/district assessment results, and the 2001 South African Census, the results of my study suggest a link between relative high performance in literacy, social context, and teacher expectations. I determine each school's unique, context-specific, expectation orientation and comparatively analyze each to display how society influences the way teachers think about teaching, learning, and their students. From the comparative analysis, I suggest that a high-performing school is successful due to a context-specific response to its socially shaped surroundings. I conclude to suggest that *individualized instruction* is common in both schools and is produced in particular context-specific ways that may be associated with each school's relative high performance in literacy.

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# Chapter I

## Introduction

### 1.1 Roots of the Dissertation

According to Nelson Mandela, “Education is the most powerful weapon we can use to change the world” (2003). Improving and implementing an effective system of education, where students receive equal opportunity to learn, has the power to positively shape lives, which in turn may shape the future. Large-scale studies, such as the US Coleman Report, suggest the home-background of learners often overrides the influence of the school (Coleman *et al* 1966; Christie *et al* 2007). Yet, the school has also been commonly described as an *interrupter* of social reproduction, which may give students access to other ‘styles of life and modes of social relationships’ (Bernstein 1975: 37 in Gamble & Hoadley 2008). I have pursued a profession in education, both as a teacher and researcher, based on the school’s power to beat the odds of social disadvantage and open the doors to knowledge. It is for these reasons that I write and contribute this thesis to progress the system of education.

From 2009 – 2010, I taught a “Fast Track” class in North Carolina, USA. This remedial, state-funded program streams learners who have been retained at some point, either once or twice, during their academic career between kindergarten and grade 6. The program’s aim is to “catch learners back up” to their appropriate grade level before they reach high school. My responsibility, as the teacher of this class, was to focus on mathematics and language, combine grade 6 and 7 curriculum, and take learners from grade 6 to grade 8 in one year. Based on personal observation and experience, the implications from promoting a learner to their age-appropriate grade are extensive. Not only are learners able to interact with peers of similar age, their self-confidence improves, and their future academic pursuits are enhanced through individualized attention in reading, writing, and mathematics.

The majority of learners in my “Fast Track” class were 13 years old, yet their reading/writing skills aligned with a grade 2 level of proficiency. Because of their low level of literacy skill development, access to new knowledge is constrained in areas such as history and science. Independent exploration of new knowledge is part of the beauty of learning, which is usually required in grade 4, as children are expected to “read to learn” versus “learn to read”. For this reason, my study orientates itself around literacy, but does not delve deeply into specific theories of literacy skill development. I use the occurrence of low literacy skills as a problematic that needs to be addressed based on my experience teaching the “Fast Track” class. In order to address this problem, I begin my investigation by asking the question: “Why were my students’ literacy skills so far below that of their peers, and what can teachers do to prevent learners from falling behind in the first place?”

## **1.2 Teacher Expectations**

In order to best approach the issue of literacy and learning, I reviewed articles and books related to “at-risk” learners and literacy. From the literature, I concluded that one of the most *salient* aspects discussed as significant within an effective school was teachers’ expectations. For example, Barone’s (2006) longitudinal study follows students in high-poverty schools from kindergarten till grade 6 in order to suggest reasons as to why learners struggle with literacy. Barone suggests numerous teaching practices that may contribute toward or hinder literacy skill development, including teachers’ expectations of their students. Using the concept of teacher expectations, I continued to investigate relevant literature and empirical studies conducted locally in South Africa and internationally that suggest implications and effects of teachers’ expectations. Many of these empirical studies fall within ‘school effectiveness’ literature, and I review these findings in Chapter 2.

Because teachers’ expectations vary throughout empirical studies, I draw from a *sociological* theory of education in order to explain *why* teachers expect in particular ways. Basil Bernstein, one of the leading sociologists in the field of education, has developed numerous concepts that I apply and extend in order to socially locate my concept of expectations. I also draw from Bernstein in order to suggest sociological reasons for the

origination and transmission of expectations. Adapting Bernstein allows me to understand how the 'outside' world relates to the 'inside' (school) world, and how expectations play a role in this relation. Because the 'outside' world informs diverse ways of thinking, acting, speaking, valuing, and believing, so must the school, and therefore teachers. As teachers' 'outside' world is shaped, teachers' 'inside' (school) world is regulated by this shaping, which may affect the structure and transmission of knowledge (Bernstein 1987). I suggest society shapes the way teachers think about their learners, and this thinking shapes the way teachers think about their instruction, constituting an instructional theory that carries and transmits expectations.

### **1.3 Overview of Study**

Based upon the problematic of underdeveloped literacy skills, I suggest that teachers' expectations may be shaped by society as well as themselves shape an instructional theory that regulates literacy in a particular way. This thesis is initiated by a thorough review of the expectation literature, mainly found in the 'school effectiveness' literature, coupled with a review of the most significant concepts relative to my study from Bernstein's sociology of education. From the literature I develop a unique operational concept of expectations by adapting empirical findings to create distinct dimensions within the concept. I link these dimensions to Bernstein's sociological theory of education to understand how the dimensions of expectations work together and originate from society.

To explore my hypothesis and most effectively extrapolate the theoretically based concept of expectations, I select two primary schools that both out-perform their district's average scores. I base my concept of performance on the 2010 Western Cape Education Department's systemic literacy results from grade 3 and grade 6 (WCED 2011). My study investigates relatively *high performing* schools based on the relation between teacher expectations and academic achievement, supported by the expectation literature presented in Chapter 2.

The methodology of this study takes the form of two case studies, one per school. I apply the dimensions of expectations to generate 15 interview questions in answer to which

teachers espouse their beliefs regarding teaching, learning, expected outcomes, and the community. Each interview question reveals and describes a dimension of expectations, which I use to suggest an individual teacher-level orientation (i.e. how each dimension of expectation is described and related to one another). From the level of the teacher, I move forward to suggest that each school possess a particular expectation orientation, (i.e. a united way of thinking, believing, valuing, and ordering), specific to the school's context. I then comparatively analyze both high performing schools, based upon their context-specific expectation orientation, and conclude by suggesting implications regarding teaching and learning.

By selecting two schools that differ contextually (e.g. language, ethnicity, population, location, etc.), I am able to illuminate a pattern in each context that suggests a link between the social condition of a society/community and a school's expectation orientation. I suggest teachers' expectations are context-specific, shaped by the community, and relayed by the school. This suggestion runs counter to the argument for generalizing effective instructional strategies, and I propose that effective schools consider and respond to their context or environment in a particular way. In this study, each school acts according to its prevalent social factors. I support this claim with interview data throughout Chapter 4 by exploring relations between each school's context and the expectations espoused by the teachers.

Although I make a claim regarding context-specific expectations as they relate to teachers' instructional beliefs, both school's expectation orientations produce particular forms of *individualizing* instruction. Ultimately, I suggest that an external context shapes a school's internal ordering. This ordering shapes teachers' expectations, and it is the relation between teachers' socially shaped expectations and their instructional theory that regulates achievement in literacy. I will now formally express the aims of my study within a research question, based upon the significance of teachers' expectations, as it relates to society.

#### **1.4 Research Question**

*How do grade 3 and grade 6 language teachers' expectations shape the way they think about their instruction, within two high-performing primary schools in the Western Cape Province of South Africa?*

- *How can I conceptualize expectations based upon the expectation literature and Bernstein's sociology of education?*
- *How does the social context of each school shape the order of the school as well as the teachers' expectations?*
- *How do expectations shape the way teachers think about their instruction?*
- *What particular expectation orientations do teachers possess at a school level?*

#### **1.5 Conclusion**

The following chapter reviews the most significant literature relevant to this study. I explore how South African and American scholars have conceived expectations as well as how Bernstein's theory socially supports and locates expectations. From the literature, I develop a concept of expectations using terminology that differentiates aspects of expectations supported by empirical/theoretical evidence. The conceptualization of expectations generated from the literature, as it relates to an external social order, produces the study's methodological approach as well as a coherent framework applied throughout the remainder of this thesis.

# **Chapter II**

## **Literature Review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the literature that frames my investigation of teacher expectations as they relate to the school and society. I use both the 'school effectiveness' literature and Bernstein's sociological theory of education to produce a framework that conceptualizes teachers' expectations. I will point to this conceptualization throughout the literature review as well as provide support for the relation between teachers' expectations and educational sociology. Ultimately, this literature will be applied throughout the design of this research project and support the methods of data collection and analysis.

Current empirical and theoretical research related to the social shaping of expectations, as it relates to the transmission/acquisition of knowledge, is explicated in this chapter. The literature illuminates the foundation on which my study is constructed. Theoretical and empirical research by Rosenthal & Jacobson (1968), Cotton (1989), Cooper and Good (1983), Merton (1948), Dusek (1975), Brophy (1982; 1983), Rubie-Davies (2007; 2010), Eccles & Wigfield (1985), Hoadley (2005), Christie, Butler, and Potterton (2007), Fleisch (2008), Howie (2005), McKinney, Flenner, Frazier, & Abrams (2006), Watson (2011), Braam (2004), Bernstein (1975; 1987; 1990; 1996), Atkinson (1985), Gamble & Hoadley (2008), Muller & Hoadley (2010), Maton & Muller (2007), and Morais (2002) will be reviewed.

### **2.2 The Conceptualization of Expectations: A Historical Overview**

The concept of teacher expectations as influential regarding learner achievement in school has been analyzed and critiqued for decades. One of the first empirical studies, by Rosenthal & Jacobson (1968), suggested that students' intellectual development is largely a response to what teachers expect and how those expectations are communicated (cited in

Cotton 1989). This study prompted an interest for researchers in the field of school effectiveness and led to an immense amount of theoretical and empirical research that investigated the relationship between high expectations and effective schools (Cotton 1989).

Many other scholars have contributed to expectation research with their own research-based descriptions of potential expectation effects. These include but are not limited to scholars such as Merton (1948), who referred to the “self-fulfilling prophesy”, Cooper & Good (1983) who found that teachers have the ability to sustain performance based on prior achievement, and Dusek (1975) who determined that teachers often generate expectations based on interactions with students (Cotton 1989). Babad, Inbar, & Rosenthal (1982) contributed the ‘Golem effect’ and its counterpart, the ‘Galatea effect’; *Golem*, referring to the negative effects of teachers’ low expectations, and *Galatea* referring to the positive effects of teachers’ high expectations. When teachers consistently reinforce a particular way of understanding academic achievement, aspects of students’ self-concept and motivation to learn may be shaped, therefore, potentially impacting literacy skills (Eccles & Wigfield 1985).

### **2.3 Expectations and Perceptions of Intelligence**

Rubie-Davies (2010) suggests in a study regarding teacher expectations and student attributes, that teachers who view intelligence as an *entity*, or as *fixed*, view students as either having the ability to achieve or not. These types of teachers believe there is little they can do to alter student achievement. Alternatively, teachers who view student intelligence as *incrementally changing* believe all students can learn given appropriate support by the teacher. Rubie-Davies furthers her claim by supporting intelligence perceptions with evidence from numerous studies conducted by Weinstein and colleagues, ranging over a 20-year period. Weinstein *et al* investigate high and low differentiating teachers, based on data from interviews, observations, and questionnaires (1979; 1982; 1984; 1987; 2000 cited in Rubie-Davies 2010). The results across each of the five studies suggest that teachers who view intelligence as *fixed* promote a high differentiating pedagogy that often consists of *fixed* ability groupings, performance goals (versus mastery goals), extrinsic

rewards, and negative behavior management. Teachers who view student intelligence as *incrementally changing* promote more individualized instruction through interest-based groups, mastery goals, intrinsic motivational strategies, as well as take more responsibility for student learning (Rubie-Davies 2010). I aim to investigate whether the findings of Rubie-Davies regarding student intelligence, supported by Weinstein *et al*, are in accordance with my study regarding teachers' expectations.

Teacher perceptions and the behaviors associated with each view of intelligence suggest that teacher expectations may influence pedagogy, therefore promoting or limiting student achievement. In other words, "differential teacher perceptions may mediate the effects of teachers' expectations particularly when also mediated by differential pedagogical beliefs and instructional practices" (Rubie-Davies 2010: 132). In this thesis, I apply the relation between teachers' beliefs regarding learner intelligence, instruction, and expectations to develop one of the six dimensions of expectations, known as *Position*. Applying this relation allows me to explore how beliefs related to intelligence may shape the way teachers think about their instruction.

## 2.4 Locating Expectations

It is important to note that prior research has distinguished between *school-wide* and *teacher* expectations. According to Cooper & Good (1983), *teacher* expectations refer to inferences teachers make about the future academic achievement of students, whereas *school-wide* expectations refer to the beliefs held by the staff as a whole about the learning ability of the student body (Cotton 1989). It is within these two domains, i.e. teacher and school-wide, that expectations can be located.

I suggest that 'school effectiveness' research, regarding the location of expectations, can be linked to Bernstein's theoretical concepts<sup>1</sup> of:

- Teachers' *regulative discourse* (i.e. what and how knowledge is transmitted)

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<sup>1</sup> Section 2.10 provides an in-depth review of Bernstein's *regulative discourse* and *expressive order*.

- The *expressive order* of schooling (i.e. the social order of the school that carries beliefs, ideals, morals, and values).

I use the relationship between Bernstein's concepts and 'school effectiveness' domains to further conceptualize expectations, and create the dimension, *Location*. This relation will be explored and explicated throughout the remainder of this thesis in order to link the two schools of thought, i.e. psychology's expectations and the sociological notion of regulative order. Exactly *how* expectations fit into the social ordering of education will be considered as I develop its conceptualization through the relevant literature.

## 2.5 Teacher Characteristics and Expectations for Achievement

Research has provided room for debate regarding whether particular characteristics of *teachers* or characteristics of *students* play a more influential role in the formation of expectations. Rubie-Davies (2007; 2010) has examined high and low expectation teachers and the differential classroom practices associated with teacher perceptions, while Cotton (1989) has reviewed numerous expectancy studies, suggesting that student characteristics are often found to influence expectations, such as socio-economic status or ethnicity. My research project does not aim to argue one way or the other, as I assume teacher expectations are both influenced in part by their own characteristics (e.g. culture, social solidarities, etc.) as well as the characteristics of students. I will now briefly review the major findings of Rubie-Davies (2007; 2010) and Cotton (1989) to extract the possible factors related to the shaping of differential expectations through teacher characteristics.

Rubie-Davies (2007) proposes that teacher characteristics, rather than student characteristics, may play a more influential role in the formation of expectations. She identifies three main 'mechanisms', which regulate teachers' expectations. These are, 1) teachers' beliefs, 2) classroom interactions and 3) classroom environment (as based upon beliefs and interactions). The achievement disparities that appear in Rubie-Davies' study between the high and low expectation teachers' learning environments may explain the substantial differences found in students' reading progress (ibid). Mechanisms, which are found to significantly influence student reading progress and are associated with *high teacher expectations* within Rubie-Davies' study, are valuing the social climate of the

classroom, asking higher/more open-ended questions, encouraging task mastery goals (versus performance goals relative to peers), and providing regular feedback. Scholars that investigate instructional practices, such as Weinstein (2002), Hattie (2005), Bohn *et al* (2004), and Topping & Ferguson (2005) support these mechanisms for effective instruction *outside* of the expectancy research (cited in Rubie-Davies 2007). Therefore, we can conclude that teacher expectations/beliefs do have important implications for effective instructional practices.

A second relevant component of the teacher characteristic research regarding expectations is that of teachers' *self-efficacy*. It has been suggested that self-efficacy regarding confidence in teaching is a characteristic that may affect student achievement and motivation (Brophy 1982; Eccles & Wigfield 1985). Teachers' confidence in their ability to help low-expectancy<sup>2</sup> students master material, confidence in low-expectancy students' abilities (in correlation with intelligence perceptions), as well as conviction that the curriculum can/should be mastered by everyone are all aspects of self-efficacy (Eccles & Wigfield 1985).

Students' self-concept of their own abilities may interact with teachers' expectations of their achievement potential; therefore, teachers' self-efficacy has the power to positively control opportunities for effective classroom interaction (Cooper 1977; 1979 cited in Eccles & Wigfield 1985). If teachers believe they have the ability to control and change the future performance of students, then their expectations may become a mediator in the shaping of those beliefs, ultimately enhancing or diminishing student motivation/effort (Eccles & Wigfield 1985).

Lastly, teacher characteristics, which may impact expectations for student achievement, may be derived from the socio-cultural experiences specific to a context or situation. Hoadley (2005) presents a rationale in her PhD for why differences in pedagogy may be reproduced, relayed by the teacher, and aligned with social class. She suggests that

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<sup>2</sup> The terms *low expectancy* and *high expectancy* are used to describe students whom the teacher expects will achieve at low or high levels (Eccles & Wigfield 1985).

teachers' construction and articulation of knowledge (in this case I suggest expectations) is in fact related to the social context and based upon contextual solidarities, such as the solidarities of the school and/or community and strategic dispositions (i.e. instructional practices) of teachers. In the case of South Africa, the differentiated system of education during the years of Apartheid (i.e. Bantu education and Afrikaans schooling) created different types of knowledge and socialization into differential pedagogic practices (Hoadley 2005).

It may also be that teachers' expectations are formed from consistent exposure to different ideals and solidarities of a context or social status. For example, Hoadley (2005) found that the 'typification' of learners differed between contexts; the middle class context was regulated by a school ethos (e.g. 'the Arbor child'), and the working class context was regulated by a community ethos (e.g. teachers commonly referred to learners in terms of their home, community, and social problems). Based upon this particular study conducted by Hoadley (2005), it may be surmised that teachers are inherently oriented to ways of thinking/perceiving based upon their socio-cultural experiences. Therefore, expectations are a relevant component of this orientation, which may be due to distinct, context-specific experiences. I apply Hoadley (2005), in conjunction with Rubie-Davies (2007) and Eccles & Wigfield (1985), to support the development of a third expectation dimension, *Source*, which investigates how teachers' beliefs, such as an ideal learner and personal self-efficacy, might mediate instructional beliefs.

## **2.6 Learner Characteristics and Teacher Expectations**

The effect of learner characteristics on teacher expectations is supported by the review of expectancy literature produced by Cotton (1989). She draws from scholars such as Brookover *et al* (1982), Cooper (1982), and Good (1987) to generate a list of the most significant factors which may lead teachers to hold lower expectations for some students than others. This list includes sex/gender, socio-economic status, race/ethnicity, type of school (e.g. rural, urban, etc.), appearance of learner, oral language patterns, disorganization, readiness for new knowledge, generalizations based upon single

characteristics (i.e. the 'halo effect'), seating positions, common collegial comments/remarks, and tracking/ability grouping.

Each of the factors listed above is associated with a concept of the 'ideal learner', which is based upon socially constructed solidarities of accepted behavior and character, stemming from the community context. Teachers may associate levels of ability to these factors, which may contribute to an unequal expected learning potential among students.

Teachers' socially formed perceptions of learners can be further understood as a dimension of expectation, *Source*. This dimension carries teachers' beliefs, such as the effect of learner characteristics on performance, which may mediate instructional beliefs.

## 2.7 Enacted Expectations

Brophy's (1983) article on self-fulfilling prophecies and teacher expectations claims that teachers may *directly* or *indirectly* contribute toward a learner's overall academic success, affecting learners' attitudes, beliefs, attributions, expectations, achievement motivation, and classroom conduct. Teachers either *directly* limit the available knowledge for students, or *indirectly* communicate messages of capabilities, which may then become internalized by the learner. Teacher expectations then become mediated by learners' perceptions of their individual potential (Brophy 1983 cited in Cotton 1989).

Modifying the curriculum, either directly or indirectly, becomes a medium for communicating expectations. It has been found that teachers are often unaware that they are communicating differential expectations based upon inappropriate factors (Cotton 1989). Therefore, the underlying characteristics of teachers, based on their socialization, as well as the characteristics of students, is significant to my study of how expectations are formed, how expectations are translated, and what type of orientations teachers possess in relation to the specific social context. Furthermore, scholars such as Brattesani, Weinstein, & Marshall (1984) employ the term, '*differentiating*', which describes the extent to which: 1) teachers provide distinctly different work depending on their high or low expectations and 2) send messages of capabilities (cited in Rubie-Davies 2010). The findings described above form the fourth expectation dimension, *Form/Mode*, which points to teachers'

expectations/beliefs regarding the curriculum and how knowledge should be transmitted, modified, and organized.

In conjunction with modifying the curriculum based upon expectations, forms of motivation are also relevant to my research. Modifications and motivation are both products of particular expectations. "Holding expectations for students has no magical power to affect their performance or attitudes. Rather, it is the translation of these expectations into *behavior* that influences outcomes" (Cotton 1989: 8). I will suggest that this 'behavior' communicates differential forms of motivation, which relate to an expectation orientation. Therefore, the fifth dimension of expectation will be known as *Outcome*, or the translation of teachers' expectations into intrinsic/extrinsic motivational strategies. Bernstein's concept of regulative discourse may hold modes of motivation within its execution, as this translation of expectations is shaped by socio-cultural ideals, values, and solidarities regulating pedagogical beliefs.

A common psychological distinction between 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' is adapted here to differentiate between modes of motivation. The use of this distinction will contribute toward understanding the inter-relatedness of motivation and expectations. *Intrinsic* motivation will be regarded as based upon the internal attributes of a student, igniting individual interest from within to pursue further academic practices without an external reward. *Extrinsic* motivation is regarded here as an external force, which ignites the students' will to produce teacher-directed academic practices for an external reward. For example, giving the student control over the selection of a text of individual interest intrinsically motivates the academic practice of reading, versus providing a reward for reading a teacher-specified number of books within a given period of time extrinsically motivates the learner.

## **2.8 Empirical Findings - Teacher Expectations and Achievement**

In a report to the South African minister of education entitled, 'Schools that Work', Christie, Butler, and Potterton (2007) analyze the dynamics of 18 South African secondary schools

that perform well under conditions that are typical of the mainstream of the South African education system (i.e. quintile 3). Among the findings and major themes presented in the research, the schools were described as highly motivated with a focus on achievement. Christie *et al* report that “a feature of all the schools in the study were the high expectations of teachers, and even more so, of the learners” (76). In almost every school, teacher and learner motivation was a key feature as the staff went to great lengths to acknowledge, praise, and *motivate* in public ways (i.e. extrinsically) for good performance. The successful pedagogic relationship between teacher and learner is described as crucially depending on teacher assumptions about how learners learn as well as the will or motivation to breed success. Success was a culture within each of the schools, and was dependent on the ways in which teachers and staff transmitted these expectations, in turn motivating continuous achievement. ‘Success breeds success’ was pronounced as one of the most powerful messages from this study.

Fleisch (2008) similarly identified major themes from former empirical studies to lay out research-based evidence of factors that contribute to reading/mathematics achievement in primary schools in South Africa. Fleisch reveals the significance of the ‘Pygmalion effect’ through a South African study reported by the Western Cape Education Department in 2004, but remains clear that the study is context-specific. Fleisch explains how Penny Vinjevold responded in the *Cape Times* to South African teachers’ estimations of their learners’ level of achievement on the Western Cape’s 2003 Comprehensive Grade Six Evaluation. Vinjevold reported, ‘teachers had often overestimated the performance of their pupils and had not recognized the “demands” of the new curriculum’ (cited in Fleisch: 129). Fleisch further extends Vinjevold’s point by suggesting that children collectively achieved to the expectations of their teachers, commonly referred to as the ‘Pygmalion effect’, and the teachers’ misinterpretation of the curriculum standards influenced their instruction and expectations. Therefore, beliefs related to curriculum and proficiency shape instruction and learner outcomes. This form of teacher expectation effect can be described as ‘self-fulfilling’ as the level of achievement was based upon the unknowingly low level of teacher expected performance (Merton 1948).

Howie's (2005) analysis of the TIMSS (Third International Mathematics and Science Study) data aims to understand South African performance in comparison to other countries, in relation to multi-literacies, and influenced by school, classroom, and student level factors related to achievement. Howie's study suggests that generally, South African teachers' expectations of learners are too low, and learners become complacent with what they know and how much they need to know. Many more South African learners believe that mathematics is easy, in comparison to the higher-achieving countries, such as Japan and Korea who believe the opposite. Howie concludes:

"The academic standard within many South African schools is low and this combined with low expectations results in an environment that is not challenging enough for pupils. This situation (low standards and low expectations) perpetuates pupils' over inflated opinions of their ability and lowers their motivation resulting in lower goals being set" (184-185).

Howie's analysis provides insight into the mechanism of 'self-fulfilling' expectations and of 'sustaining' expectations (Merton 1948; Cooper & Good 1983). The teachers' inaccurate expectations of proficiency led to the fulfillment of low results, which in turn provoke sustaining levels of achievement, as learners low abilities are seen as acceptable.

An American study, produced by McKinney, Flenner, Frazier, & Abrams (2006), identifies internal and external factors related to 'at-risk' learner academic achievement and failure. While acknowledging the relevance of poverty, violence, and collective socialization in students' lives, McKinney *et al* provide a research-based model for culturally proficient instruction, pointing to the significance of teacher expectations as they relate to socially formed perceptions of learning potential in the context of poverty and cultural diversity. The notion of the 'Pygmalion effect' is used to present an argument, in which teachers often carry misconceptions of learners from disadvantaged backgrounds, therefore developing lower expectations. The following study by Watson (2011) provides empirical data that illuminates how experiences regarding ethnicity may have an impact on the ways in which teachers view the world.

Watson's (2011) American investigation of particular values and interpretations that teachers attach to the term 'urban' (i.e. as it relates to the 'urban student') illuminates how social factors, such as race/ethnicity and class, impact on teachers' pedagogy as well as on their beliefs about students. Bourdieu's concepts of 'cultural' capital (i.e. the valued knowledge, skills, and behaviors) and 'symbolic' capital (i.e. the valued sets of meanings associated with a word or category, such as 'Black') are used by Watson to describe how teachers perceive their 'urban' students. Ultimately, Watson determined that even though teachers desired to teach 'urban' students for reasons related to social responsibility, they associated positive expectations and satisfaction with 'urban' students who displayed the desired cultural capital most often associated with the 'suburban' or 'White' student. As one of the participants explained during an interview, "I just wonder if part of what draws me to that school is that it's urban, but not *too* urban" (28). The symbolic capital of the term 'urban' was valued among many of the teachers as long as the students possessed the behaviors, values, and beliefs seen as acceptable, i.e. not *too* urban.

Understanding the ways in which teachers make meaning regarding their students is essential to understanding how components of effective instruction come into practice. We see in Watson's investigation of teacher perceptions that the term 'urban' is actually a "cultural construct" that has little to do with the geographic region in which students live (Watson 2007 cited in Watson 2011). The teachers in Watson's (2011) study explain their understanding of the 'urban student' as low skilled, unmotivated, and needing additional forms of pedagogy, therefore claiming that 'urban' teaching is "teaching *plus*", i.e. having to deal with all of the socially constructed perceptions of teaching in an urban context. As these teachers expected to experience violence and more discipline problems in the classroom, their expectations were mediated by the perceived cultural resources of the traditional urban student (Watson 2011).

How these teachers measured their students was closely aligned with their expectations and beliefs. The perceived cultural traits associated with race/ethnicity form the basis for how these teachers viewed their students (Watson 2011). It is therefore a significant component of social research to investigate *why* and *how* teachers' experiences affect their

expectations, perceptions, and overall instruction. Based on this study, I extend the expectation dimension, *Source*, in relation to teachers' concept of the ideal learner, as teachers associate learner capabilities based on their expectations. Furthermore, the final dimension, *Origin*, i.e. *why* teachers develop particular expectations, is supported by Watson's exploration of teacher values/beliefs. As teachers are socialized into a particular context, particular expectations originate based on the solidarities of the people in the community concerned. I will extend the dimension, *Origin*, using Bernstein's theory of education in section 2.10, as it relates to the 'school effectiveness' findings of Watson (2011).

### **2.8.1 Empirical Findings – Teacher Expectations and Language**

Policy related to literacy and language in the context of South Africa stands as a highly debated issue, as the eleven official languages of the country provide complex methodological questions for the community, and teachers face the implementation of streaming. Braam's (2004) exploration of a Western Cape community's perceptions related to language and learning provides a context for examining the relevance of social ideologies and perceptions influencing teachers' instruction and expectations. The relationship between language and power is built into the economic and social structure of a society, so shaping the ideologies of the collective group (Tollefson 1991: 2 cited in Braam 2004: 7). Based on the empirical research, as I showed above, the origin of a belief or perception initially stems from experiences and socialization into a collective way of understanding the external world (Hoadley 2005; Watson 2011). The findings I review from Braam's study shed light on the relationship I suggest is significant to education, that is teachers' orientation to the social order of their community/context, which shapes their expectations and ways of motivating learners with respect to learning literacy/language.

The most relevant finding from Braam's (2004) study, as it relates to my research, is that of attitudes and stigmatization pertaining to the hegemony of English within the school described above. Given the data from interviews and failure rates, the Afrikaans stream underachieved two-fold compared to its English counterpart (ibid). Braam states that within this particular school, there are socially accepted beliefs of inferiority and low-

status related to Afrikaans. The language is stigmatized with under-achievement in this context. Furthermore, Braam believes that the school ethos (which I will conceptualize below in section 2.10 in terms of Bernstein's expressive order) makes it clear that English is the preferred language in this school and community, as seen through administrative correspondence. This language preference leads to cultural ambivalence, lower motivation to achieve, and a stratified social arrangement. This relation between language, power, and learning extends my argument that socialization into particular ways of thinking, believing, and perceiving what students are capable of produces differential access to and acquisition of knowledge. Furthermore, the contrasting expectations associated with each particular language stream can be described as 'sustaining' levels of learner achievement, as the school's expressive order orients teachers' regulation of *what* and *how* knowledge should be transmitted.

## **2.9 Summary of School Effectiveness Contributions to the Operation of Expectations**

Based upon the literature reviewed thus far, I have determined 6 different dimensions of expectations by extrapolating the effects expectations may have on teachers' instructional beliefs. These six dimensions are *Form/Mode*, *Position*, *Location*, *Source*, *Outcome*, and *Origin*. The literature provides research-based evidence suggesting expectations may shape teachers' beliefs, which mediate their instructional beliefs. I use the empirical findings presented above to conceptualize expectations so that it can be located within Bernstein's regulative discourse and expressive order, discussed below. The following sections, 2.10-2.12, will explore sociological aspects of education to locate expectations, and eventually extend the dimension, *Origin*. I understand *Origin* as mainly social factors that contribute to the shaping of expectations. Following chapter 2, I will outline my methods in chapter 3, which will extend the theory and concept of expectations to investigate two schools that outperform their district's average scores for language.

## **2.10 Bernstein's Sociology of Education**

Applying the sociological theory of education derived by Basil Bernstein, I will extend the concept of teachers' expectations as contextually shaped. Bernstein's concepts of *expressive order* and *regulative discourse* enable specific points of interest to be analyzed related to classroom reproduction of knowledge. Because Bernstein has generated a set of social principles with which to understand the circulation of knowledge within a society (i.e. the pedagogic device), forms of social solidarity and ideology, which influence teachers' transmission of knowledge, become visible and describable. In other words, one may ask the question, "how does the outside become inside, and how does the inside reveal itself and shape the outside?" (Bernstein 1987: 563).

In order to demonstrate the usefulness of Bernstein's concepts for this study, I will first discuss the *pedagogic device*, which enables a principled view of society's knowledge circulation. From Bernstein's perspective, pedagogic communication (i.e. between transmitter and acquirer) is a relay for ideological messages, external power relations, as well as various skills and knowledge (Bernstein 1996). The inter-related hierarchical relationship between each field shows how various forms of knowledge are transmitted according to a rule particular to that field, as well as how consciousness is specialized in society's image (Maton & Muller 2007). The pedagogic rules are as follows:

1. **Distributive Rule** – university production of knowledge (power)
2. **Recontextualizing Rule** – school curriculum structure (knowledge)
3. **Evaluative Rule** – realization of knowledge based on criteria (consciousness)

Each rule is derived from the former and integrates particular forms of social relations. A model for how differentiation and regulation of communication shapes social structure and is shaped by it can be explored through the relation between each rule (ibid). An adaptation of the pedagogic device from Maton and Muller (2007: 18) is displayed below:

**Table 1: The arena of the pedagogic device (adapted)**

| <i>Field of practice</i>  | <i>Production</i>  | <i>Recontextualization</i> | <i>Reproduction</i> |
|---------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| <b>Form of regulation</b> | Distributive rules | Recontextualizing rules    | Evaluative rules    |

|                                    |  |   |                                  |
|------------------------------------|--|---|----------------------------------|
| <b>Kinds of symbolic structure</b> | Knowledge structure                              | Curriculum                                  | Pedagogy and evaluation          |
| <b>Principal types</b>             | Hierarchical and horizontal knowledge structures | Collection and integrated curricular codes  | Visible and invisible pedagogies |
| <b>Typical sites</b>               | Research papers, conferences, laboratories       | Curriculum policy, textbooks, learning aids | Classrooms and examinations      |

The recontextualizing rules constitute specific discourses: *instructional* and *regulative*, which are carried in the reproduction of knowledge (Bernstein 1996). The concept of regulative discourse allows my study to describe the effects of social ideologies on teacher expectations. I suggest that within the production, recontextualization, and distribution of knowledge, expectations are carried and relayed through differential forms of communication. For example, a curriculum is based on standards produced by those mainly in the academic arena. The curriculum standards in turn generate levels for proficient academic achievement, often found in policy documents, academic textbooks, and teaching aids. Furthermore, when teachers reproduce knowledge in the classroom, expectations for proficiency are relayed from the site of production to the site of reproduction via the regulative discourse.

Regulative discourse has been defined and re-defined and for the purposes of my research, I will synthesize my understanding of the regulative based upon the literature of Bernstein (1975; 1987; 1990; 1996), Muller & Hoadley (2010); Gamble & Hoadley (2008); Morais (2002), and Atkinson (1985). I will then draw a relationship between teachers' regulative discourse and the expressive order of the school to suggest an explanation for the analysis of the hierarchical transmission of social ideologies as they relate to differential expectations.

## 2.11 Regulative Discourse of Teaching and Learning

The theoretical concept of regulative discourse stems from social principles of control and order related to knowledge production and reproduction between transmitter and acquirer. Modes of social solidarity and ideology shape the recontextualization of knowledge, which influences forms of consciousness, orientating ways of understanding the external or outside world (Bernstein 1996). Exactly *what* is recontextualized and *how* knowledge is transmitted essentially translates the dominant values of society by regulating and controlling the order of instruction (e.g. selection, sequence, and pace) (Gamble & Hoadley 2008). This theory of instruction provides an ideological model of the teacher, the learner, and a relation between the two (ibid). From the social shaping of instruction, forms of solidarity and legitimacy originate. Therefore, the rules of the dominant social group provide teachers with an orientation to this social ordering, i.e. a form or mode of regulating knowledge.

Dynamics arise from within this regulative structure, which are related to the preservation of the moral order of society:

In order for modern society to exist and persist, for organic solidarity to reproduce itself, cooperation is required, and in order to internalize the ideal of cooperation it is necessary to learn how to voluntarily subordinate particular desires to the greater good. The greater good is refracted into multiple forms of association. (Alexander 1982: 263 cited in Muller & Hoadley 2010: 165)

Because of this need for a sustainable society, education (essentially the teacher) mediates between the family, community and the culture of modern society (Muller & Hoadley 2010). From within these social relations, a discourse is produced which specifies and regulates the particular rules of social order, instructional order, relationships, and the identity of learners (Atkinson 1985). The teacher and school ultimately provide the community with a site for reproducing the norms and values of the dominant group.

In relation to the school as a site of reproduction, particular forms of pedagogy are products of the societal or community order. Bernstein (1990) differentiates between a

*visible* and *invisible* pedagogy; a *visible* pedagogy that emphasizes external products of performance and an *invisible* pedagogy that emphasizes acquisition of internal competencies. Both pedagogies produce a specific regulative discourse that carries a concept of an 'ideal learner' in relation to the external social ordering. This learner ideal also carries what is *expected* from the learner. Furthermore, the ideals carried within different pedagogies also affect the selection and organization of what is to be acquired, therefore, ultimately shaping the consciousness of the learner (Bernstein 1990). I suggest, based on Bernstein's theory of *visible* and *invisible* pedagogies, that expectations are produced by societal order and carried within the teacher's regulative discourse, which shapes classroom instruction.

Morais' (2002) work provides a theoretical view of the micro-level processes of the classroom, which allows insight into the application of Bernstein's theoretical concept of regulative discourse as it relates to the social shaping of teacher expectations. Morais' paper focuses on the discourse of teachers and the fundamental characteristics of pedagogy. Her case of the *socially constructed* 'evaluative criteria' of teachers (i.e. specific requirements needed to produce a proficient outcome) supports the notion of differential, socially constructed expectations. Morais makes the distinction between teachers' *instructional discourse* (i.e. the knowledge being transmitted) and regulative discourse (i.e. the social construction of *what* and *how* knowledge is transmitted) to decipher the teacher's message transmitted to the learner. The example of various teacher corrective responses provided to students when evaluating an assignment, such as "if you had paid attention in class, your answer would have been right", extends the theory of regulative discourse to a relation between *expected* learner behavior, conduct, values, and the evaluative criteria (ibid: 562). I suggest the types of criteria used to evaluate what teachers expect to be legitimate are directly dependent on the forms of social dispositions inherent within the teacher, which in turn relate to the expressive order of the school and community from which the teacher comes.

Regulative discourse will be used within my study to distinguish it from skills/formal knowledge (i.e. *instructional discourse*), locate teachers' particular expectations and their

outcomes, and suggest a carrier for the social factors that impact on and shape expectations. Based upon my synthesis of regulative discourse, a proposal regarding its relationship with the emergence of teacher expectations will be made here. As teachers' forms of discourse are shaped by the social principles of the dominant group in society, this external ordering structures and shapes the ways in which teachers perceive the potential abilities of learners. A brief review of Bernstein's expressive order will now be used to root my conceptualization of regulative discourse within a broader layer of social structure.

## **2.12 The Expressive Order of the School**

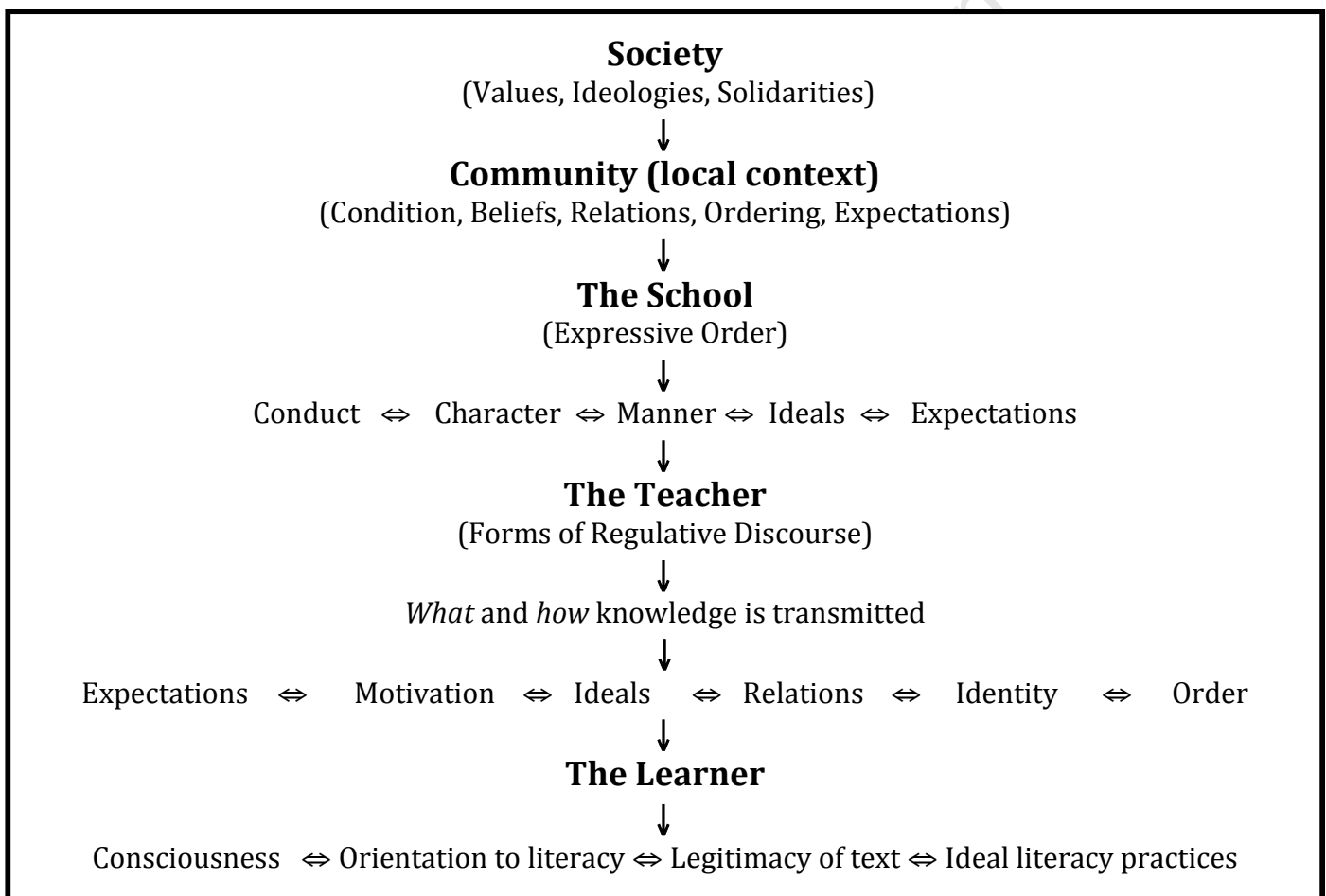
Differential recontextualization creates a differential curriculum, which, aligned with the resultant pedagogy, therefore determines differential attainment of knowledge for different groups (Muller & Hoadley 2010). This process of *what* knowledge and *how* knowledge is transmitted is related to the order or culture in which the community and school is positioned. It is within this order that a school's culture, values, and standards bind the school as a distinct moral collectivity (Atkinson 1985). Bernstein's concept of the *expressive order* of school allows for an orientating site of the regulative discourse of teaching. This source of social ideologies, i.e. the expressive order, transmits particular valued norms as made visible within practices, activities, procedures, and judgments (Bernstein 1975). It is from within this higher expressive order of the community and school that particular forms of regulative discourse are shaped.

"The expressive order of a school is often a formalization, crystallization, even idealization, of an image of conduct, character, and manner reflected by some, but not all, groups in the wider society" (Bernstein 1975: 49). A relevant component of the expressive order, which directly affects the form and consequence of teachers' regulative discourse, is based upon the diversity of the school. The school's notions of acceptable performance/behavior are produced from society's valuing of order, relations, and knowledge. Because of the fluid nature of contemporary industrialized societies, as well as the diverse layers of the division of labor, the expressive order of school may not reflect the ideals of all groups within a society, which may produce different standards expected for different groups of learners

(Bernstein 1975). This differentiation of knowledge acquisition may, in part, be due to the conflicting concepts of education and its function in society (ibid). Here, the function of teacher expectations is a direct derivative of this ordering within the school.

**Table 2** represents a model for understanding the hierarchical relationship between the expressive order and regulative discourse, grounded in a broader context of social order and social relations.

**Table 2: Social Structure of Schooling – Socio-Educational Hierarchy<sup>3</sup>**



### 2.13 Conclusion

<sup>3</sup> I am aware that the directionality of the socio-educational hierarchy can be reversed, i.e. moving from the learner upward to society, although for the purposes of my study, I am only concerned with how society ultimately shapes learner consciousness.

Bernstein's concepts of regulative discourse and expressive order, paired with empirical school effectiveness findings explicated throughout Chapter 2, provide a means for generating a coherent conceptualization for investigating teachers' expectations. From a review of the theoretical and empirical expectation literature I distil six expectation dimensions. I also derive from Bernstein's social theory of education a relation between concepts of social order and structure and the concept of expectations. The dimensions that conceptualize expectations are: *Form/Mode*, *Position*, *Location*, *Source*, *Outcome*, and *Origin*. Ultimately, my goal is to stipulate and describe society's role in the shaping of expectations within the community, school, and teacher, and to determine how these expectations shape instructional beliefs regarding learners' literacy skills.

In the following chapter, Methodological Approach, I outline my data collection methods and introduce each high performing school with a description of its context, supported by the 2001 South African Census and teacher interview data. I then operationalize the six expectation dimensions, developed throughout Chapter 2, and provide a methodology for coding and classifying teachers' expectations. Furthermore, I code my findings at the level of the teacher, according to each expectation dimension, and conclude with an expectation orientation at the level of the school, based upon the collective expectations of the teachers. The teacher level coding and school level orientations presented in Chapter 3 will be used to assess my claims in Chapter 4, Data Analysis. Chapter 4 takes a more sociological approach as I draw relations between and among each expectation dimension based upon the relation between society, expectations, and instructional beliefs.

## **Chapter III**

### **Methodological Approach**

#### **3.1 An Overview of the Research Design**

In order to speak to the problematic of differential literacy skill development, I apply the literature presented in Chapter 2 concerning the relation between teachers' expectations and social order to develop a method that utilizes the six dimensions of expectations, that is *Form/Mode, Position, Location, Source, Outcome, and Origin*. I provide a thorough description of each dimension in section 3.3 of this chapter as well as how each dimension shapes the methodological approach of my study. My aim is to explore two contrasting contexts and link the expectations of the teachers via interviews with the social order/condition of the school, community, and surrounding area.

I select two relatively high-performing schools, based upon the grade 3 and grade 6 Western Cape Education Department assessment results for 2010 (WCED 2011). I describe each school's context using the 2001 South African Census data and teacher interview data, which support my analysis in Chapter 4. Therefore, I combine three sources of data to substantiate my investigation of teacher expectations: 1) teacher interviews, 2) WCED assessment results, and 3) the 2001 South African Census data. Lastly, I explain my rationale and methods for data collection and coding as well as how I move from a teacher-level orientation to a school-level orientation between contexts, based upon the data as it relates to the dimensions of expectations. The following chapter, Data Analysis, will apply the data coding presented in this chapter and provide a more sociological approach to interpreting the dimensions of expectations.

### 3.1.1 School Selection and Teacher Interviews

Within the Western Cape Province of South Africa, I select two relatively high performing primary schools to investigate teachers' expectations. I base relative high performance upon each school's grade 3 and grade 6 2010 WCED assessment results for literacy in comparison to each school's district average scores. I refer to each school using a number in order to maintain confidentiality, and I abbreviate School 1 and School 2 with S1 and S2. According to the WCED (2011), S1 was formerly controlled by the DET<sup>4</sup> (i.e. Department of Education and Training) and is considered part of National Quintile 3<sup>5</sup>. The WCED literacy pass rates for S1 in 2010 are 40.3% for grade 3 (compared to the district's average of 41% for grade 3) and 55.8% for grade 6 (compared to the district's average of 38.8% for grade 6). I thoroughly describe the context of S1 and S2 in the next section, 3.2.

S2 was formerly controlled by the HOR<sup>4</sup> (i.e. House of Representatives) and is considered part of National Quintile 2 (WCED 2011). The WCED literacy pass rates for S2 in 2010 are 52.7% for grade 3 (compared to the district's average of 39.8% for grade 3) and 48.4% for grade 6 (compared to the district's average of 35.9% for grade 6). Although S2 is more above average than S1, I do not aim to compare the school pass rates in my study; rather, I support my claim for relative high performance within each school independent of one another to comparatively analyze the social order of each context as it relates to teachers' expectations.

In order to explore the relationship between each school and its community, I interview two grade 3 and two grade 6 literacy teachers to gather data related to expectations and the surrounding community. I do not assume that teachers' responses to interview questions are a *literal* reality; rather, teachers' remarks are understood as doors that provide access to a higher, external, ordering, which explains the relation between the expressive order of the community, school, and individual instructional theory. Although

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<sup>4</sup> The DET formerly controlled curriculum, funding, and operation of 'Black' African schools, whereas the HOR controlled curriculum, funding, and operation of 'Coloured' schools during Apartheid. (Kallaway 2002; Chisholm & Sujee 2006).

<sup>5</sup> National Quintile 3 holds the majority of mainstream schools in South Africa, according to Christie *et al's* study entitled, 'Schools that Work' (2007).

interviews are limited in their provision of tangible or necessarily reliable evidence, teachers' espoused beliefs and perceptions provide me with the means to substantiate, albeit tentatively, my claim of expectations regulating literacy instruction. As I shall show, it is not the enacted instructional practices that need to be evidenced, it is the espoused principles regarding literacy and learning from the perspective of the teacher that authorize access to what cannot be seen. Therefore, I suggest that observable data is not necessary in order to provide evidence in this study for the expectations of teachers.

To access and delineate the six dimensions of expectations, as well as relate the social order of the school with that of the community, I apply the literature discussed in Chapter 2 and create 15 semi-structured interview questions, paired with probes for further inquiry. Each interview question measures a particular dimension and is pre-coded for analysis according to the expectation dimension literature. A list of interview questions and the pre-coding schema can be found in Appendix 1, pp. 99. Interviews lasted approximately 25 minutes and were audio-recorded for transcription and analysis. I refer to teachers throughout this thesis in the order that they were interviewed. For example, Teacher 1 will be known as T1. Teacher responses to interview questions were manually coded and organized into expectation dimension tables supported by data at the level of the teacher. Interview data was then organized and analyzed further at the level of the school, paying particular attention to the interrelation of expectation dimensions relative to the context. I provide a step-by-step explanation of this process in section 3.4.

Before contacting S1 and S2, I executed a pilot interview with an English language teacher who works in an alternative private school in Cape Town for learners who are unable to function in the mainstream curriculum. The data I collected from this pilot interview enhanced my theoretically based interview questions, illuminated the areas that needed to be revised (e.g. the language of the questions), as well as provided a sample with which to extrapolate the dimensions of expectations. The pilot interview also allowed room for trial and error, providing me with the opportunity to test my theory, interview questions, and method of coding/analysis.

Because this study takes the form of a social investigation, my position as interviewer and the data I collect can be understood as highly dependent on the local context. I depart from the assumption that interviewees draw from broader social norms and constructs in which their beliefs are rooted, as well as from their general experiences (Rapley 2001). It is therefore essential to have carefully structured questions that are sensitive to the specific socio-cultural context. Furthermore, because all interviewees espouse their expectations from their own personal experiences, a potential limitation is that the interview responses suffer from social desirability bias.

### **3.2 Description of Schools in Context**

To understand the findings and implications of this study, it is essential to acknowledge the location/context of each school as it relates to teachers' orientation to literacy instruction. The following sub-sections (3.2.1 and 3.2.2) incorporate data from the 2001 South African Census regarding each school's community population and location. I also describe each school in relation to its context based on data from interviews. Images retrieved from Google Maps (2011) are used to portray the geographic location of each school. Furthermore, the descriptions of S1 and S2 will be expanded in the following chapter, Data Analysis, to socially analyze each community's condition as it relates to the school's order and teachers' expectations. This relation will display a unique orientation within each context that may play a role in the shaping of teachers' beliefs regarding their instruction.

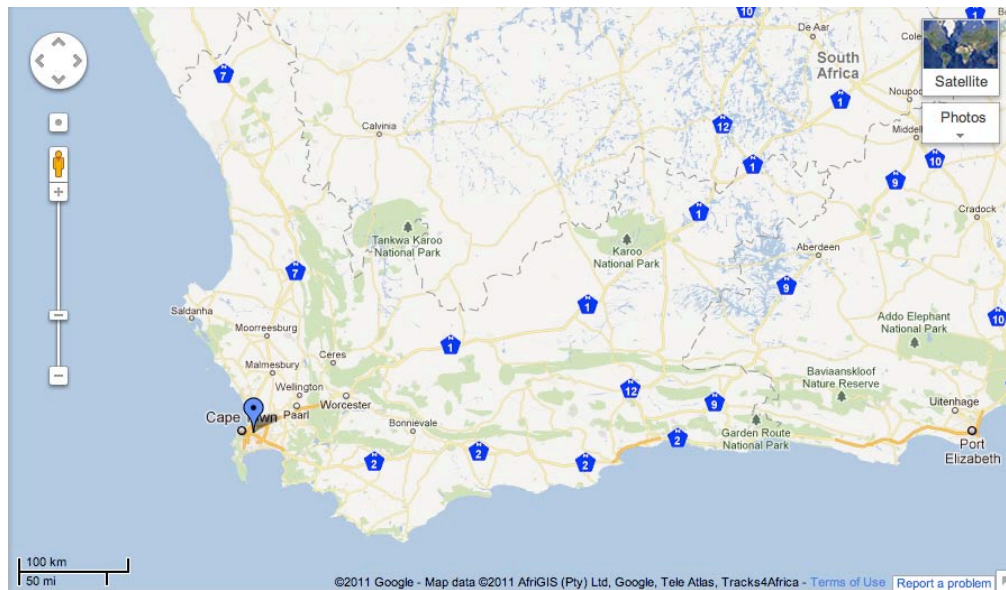
#### **3.2.1 Introduction to School 1**

S1 is situated approximately 15 km (9.3 miles) outside the metropolitan city of Cape Town and rests on the edge or perimeter of a 'Black', majority isiXhosa speaking, working-class township (SA Census 2001). According to the principal, S1 comprises approximately 42 teachers and 1,500 learners; the majority of learners (80%) reside in the township, and the other 20% of learners travel from nearby townships to S1. Because of the large size of the school, the average learner-teacher ratio is 35-40 learners to every one teacher.

Interestingly, the majority of teachers I interviewed in S1 grew up in the community and attended S1. Furthermore, the principal of the school was a former resident, learner, and

teacher at S1. This loyalty projects but a fraction of the optimistic culture regarding the envisaged social progression of the community and school.

An image retrieved from 'Google Maps' is shown below, which uses a blue balloon marker to represent the location of School 1 (found in the lower left corner of the image).



Based upon the interview data, I will provide a brief overview of the S1 community context. According to T2, all learners come from shacks, or commonly referred to by the locals and teachers, as “squatter camps”. T4 describes this situation thus: “You see, they live in shacks and there’s no space, you see? The parents comes late, he wants to sleep, so they switch off the lights, and it’s only one room.” Also, T3 explains that many children hold parental responsibilities for their younger siblings, such as assistance with homework. Although the S1 teachers do espouse in the interviews that there are parents in the community of S1 who take no part in the education of their children, they also explain that there are parents who strongly support their children’s future and desire a better life for them through education. It is these contextual factors that initially shape S1’s expectations for learning and teaching. I will provide a further in-depth description of S1’s *Origin* in Chapter 4, Section 4.2, and apply data from the South African 2001 Census to support my description.

Because of the generous and open character of the school's principal and teachers, I was allowed 20-30 minutes with each of the four teachers: two from grade 3 and two from grade 6. T1 and T2 teach grade 3, although there are four grade 3 classes. At the grade 3 level teachers stay with their learners throughout the entire school day and teach all learning areas (e.g. mathematics, science, language, life orientation, etc.). Learners are taught all learning areas in their home language, (i.e. isiXhosa is the medium of instruction), and English is taught as a 2<sup>nd</sup> language learning area. When learners reach grade 4, they begin to learn all learning areas in English. This switch from learning in isiXhosa to learning in English is considered to have an impact on learner performance, according to the grade 3 teachers, T1 and T2.

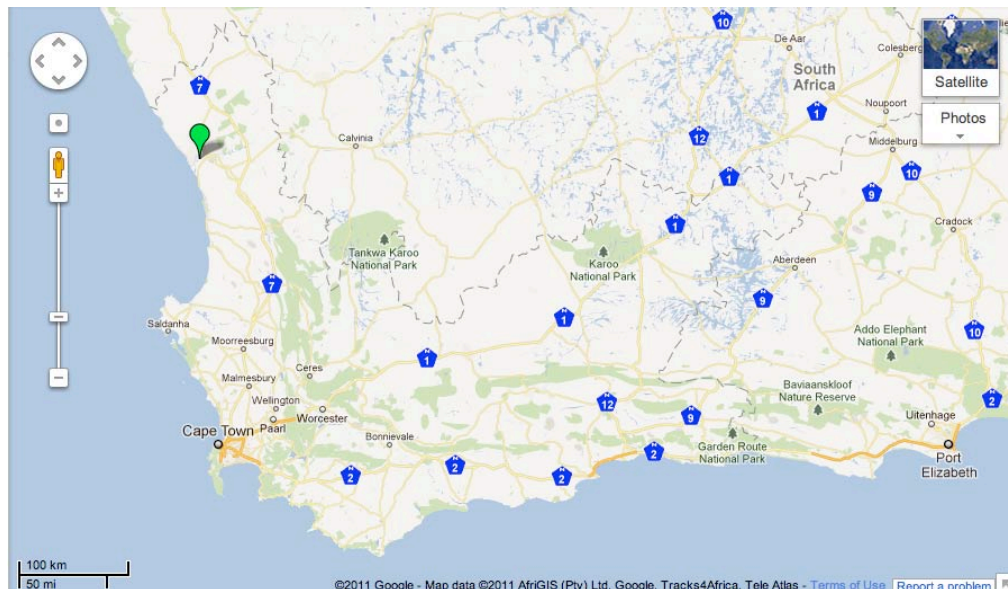
I was also able to interview two grade 6 teachers: an English teacher (T3) and a mathematics and science teacher (T4). Because I requested two, grade 6, language teachers from the principal, and because I was unaware that only one grade 6 teacher teaches English, I decided to accept the opportunity to interview T4. Although this may appear to be a limitation in my study, T4 contributed relevant data, which adds to my overall, school-level, pattern or orientation regarding expectations. I do not include any literacy specific data from T4 and only use views related to overall, general expectations.

### **3.2.2 Introduction to School 2**

Located on the west coast of South Africa's Western Cape Province is the *rural* community where S2 is found. The school's community is approximately 14 km (8.6 mi) from the closest town of Lutzville, which is relatively small in size. The West Coast municipality has a total population of only 282,671, compared to Cape Town's 3 million residents (SA Census 2001). The school is situated in an isolated community that is purely Afrikaans speaking and 'Coloured' in ethnicity (SA Census 2001). Based on the interview data, many S2 teachers grew up in the local community and continue to live in the area presently, raising their families. According to the principal, S2, which is the community's one primary school, is small in size with only 513 learners and 20 teachers in total. This constitutes a ratio of approximately 25 learners to every 1 teacher. The principal also told me that the

majority of learners live in the community of S2, but a small percentage of learners travel from other communities in the West Coast Municipality, such as Lutzville and Papendorp.

An image retrieved from 'Google Maps' is shown below, which uses a green balloon marker to represent the location of School 2 (found in the upper left corner of the image).



Based upon the interview data, I will now provide a brief description of the S2 community, that points to a particular relationship between the school and its context. According to T1, “The parents are illiterate, that is why [only a few learners read and write outside of school]. So schooling stops at school. When the bell rings, teaching or schooling stops.” T1 continues to describe a depressed view of the context: “Our community... they are very selfish... because there’s no work. And those who have money and who have work, they are very selfish.” This sentiment runs through each teacher interview regarding the disconnection between the school and the community. Illiteracy, unemployment, alcoholism, and many other issues will be explored further in Chapter 4, Section 4.3, regarding the *Origin* of S2.

Interestingly, what will become apparent is that even though there remains a relatively unsupportive connection between the school and its community, this in turn causes the

school to act as a buffer against the prevalent social issues, such as Fetal Alcohol Syndrome and illiteracy. Furthermore, because of the isolation and ethnic/language homogeneity of the community, School 2 nevertheless remains within and a part of the community culture, keeping social and cultural change static, and transmitting local beliefs and values within the school. I make this claim based on the consensus of teachers regarding the community in the interview data and will now present an overview of the School 2 culture, which contrasts greatly with that of School 1.

Afrikaans is the medium of instruction for each and every grade in S2. English is only offered as a second language learning area. The small size of the school creates a close-knit staff, majority female, that work well together. A culture of respect and responsibility is displayed towards the learners, which emerges from the community, teachers, and staff of the school. According to T1, “[The students] are very respectful pupils and very proud of their school.” Behavior management did not present itself as an issue within the teacher interviews. I suggest a significant source of the traditional school culture that creates a respectful environment is in part due to the traditional community as well as the former principal. The current principal of S2 has only been a part of the school for a few months (i.e. since April 2011), as he replaced the former who was a part of S2 for over 40 years. According to the teachers, the former principal left a lasting imprint on the culture of the school and deserves recognition regarding the annual, consistent, success of S2’s scores for the WCED systemic assessment.

Four teachers were interviewed in S2, one each from grade 2, grade 3, grade 4, and grade 6. Because of the school’s size, I was unable to interview more than 1 teacher in grades 3 and 6. All teachers are female, ‘Coloured’ in ethnicity, originally from the local community/surrounding area, Afrikaans speaking, and each provides similar responses to the 15 interview questions. The grade 2 (T1) and grade 3 (T2) Foundation Phase teachers (i.e. grades 1-3) have been teaching for over 30 years and are responsible for all learning areas. The grade 6 teacher (T3) is head of the department for the Intermediate Phase (i.e. grades 4-6) and is strategically involved in the maintenance and improvement of the school’s systemic marks. The grade 4 teacher (T4) is responsible for teaching each and

every learning area, including physical education. Throughout each interview, the four teachers espouse a relatively favorable view of the School 2 culture; the staff is pleased and content in their roles as educators, supportive of one another, and holds each other accountable for their behavior and instruction.

### 3.2.3 Introduction to Expectation Dimensions

The context of each school, described above, establishes a foundation for data coding and analysis. In the next section, 3.3, I discuss each expectation dimension, summarized in Table 3, shown below, followed by a thorough description of each dimension to present the methods and basis for which to interpret my data. Based on the literature presented in Chapter 2, the six dimensions are tools with which to classify teachers' expectations. From each classification within each dimension, an *orientation*, or comprehensive classification, is created and used to answer the question of *why* and *how* teachers regulate literacy development/instruction in their classroom the way they do. This orientation is formed from a particular relation between each expectation dimension. Dimensions provide the means to exhibit a psychosocial pattern, (i.e. a link between psychological expectations and sociological order), within each school, as well as how each psychosocial pattern differs between schools through a particular context-specific order.

### 3.3 Operationalizing the Dimensions of Expectations

The six expectation dimensions can be summarized in the following way.

**Table 3: Summary of Expectation Dimensions**

| <b>DIMENSION</b> | <b>DESCRIPTION</b>  |
|------------------|---|
| <i>FORM/MODE</i> | The degree to which teachers individualize, partially individualize, or communalize their instruction based upon their espoused instructional strategies and curriculum modifications |
| <i>POSITION</i>  | Teacher beliefs regarding the intelligence of learners as it relates to the potential for learners to achieve; i.e. either fixed or incremental                                       |

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| <i>LOCATION</i> | Regulative Discourse/Teacher Expectations – expectations regarding learner academic potential shaped by the expressive order; i.e. what and how knowledge is transmitted<br><br>Expressive Order/School-Wide Expectations – beliefs and actions regarding the student body, i.e. the multiple external factors that contribute toward the regulation of literacy in the classroom |
| <i>SOURCE</i>   | Teacher beliefs that mediate instruction, based upon expectations; i.e. concept of the ideal learner, relationship between language and learning, and the effects of learner characteristics on performance   |
| <i>OUTCOME</i>  | The translation of teacher expectations into motivational behaviors regarding reading/writing; i.e. either intrinsic or extrinsic   |
| <i>ORIGIN</i>   | The community’s expectations, outlook, support, history, and context; i.e. why teachers have developed particular expectations or orientations to the expressive order of the school as it is relayed through the teacher’s regulative discourse.   |

This summarized description must now be further elaborated so that it can form a model for the identification of teacher expectations from the interviews.

### 3.3.1 Form/Mode

With *Mode* subsidiary to *Form* (i.e. ultimately supporting and shaping *Form*), this dimension is one of the most significant areas of analysis. *Form/Mode* together describe the extent or degree to which teachers individualize or communalize their instruction based upon their espoused instructional strategies. It is within the instructional strategies that *Mode* is able to control *Form*. I will now describe *Form* and *Mode* separately in order to best explicate the implications of each part of this dimension as they relate to each other.

Based upon teachers’ particular expectations regarding students’ abilities, as it relates to the curriculum, *Form* positions the teacher on a spectrum, indicating particular beliefs regarding their instruction. The pace, sequence, selection, cognitive demand, as well as the strategic dispositions of assessment/feedback and levels of questioning are all components that can be traced back to the *Form* of regulating literacy. ‘Individualized’ *Form* is defined

as instruction formed by expectations based upon individual student characteristics or individual learning styles. 'Communalizing' is defined as instruction formed by expectations based upon group characteristics or the perceived learning potential of the class as a whole. Between these two extremes, a 'Partial Individualizing' *Form* may also be found, that is instruction based upon the individual, yet carried out in groups or streams. I hypothesize that 'individualized' instruction may be correlated with relatively higher-achieving schools. Teachers, who recognize that students learn at different paces and on different levels of cognitive demand, are likely to have a theory of instruction that expects differentiated outcomes or assessment results. Furthermore, a theory of instruction, which leans toward 'individualized' along the spectrum of *Form*, is able to differentiate between students' levels of literacy development. Therefore, expectations of students tend to be more reasonable than the communalizing teacher as their awareness of students' unique characteristics informs their instruction, and there is less tendency to 'middle' the expectation.

*Mode* describes a specific change in a teacher's instruction. Either a teacher directly or indirectly modifies, adapts, limits, and/or sends messages of capabilities which affect learners' attitudes, beliefs, attributions, expectations, achievement motivation, classroom conduct, and ultimately their self-concept or identity as a learner (Brophy 1983). Eliciting teachers' *Modes* of transmitting expectations through either direct or indirect modifications will be determined through an analysis of their interpretation or perception of the curriculum, its appropriateness for their learners, as well as their beliefs regarding the possible benefits of instructional modifications.

Levels of questioning may also prove to elicit teachers' *Modes* of transmitting expectations as they make assumptions regarding the learning abilities of their students. Asking a simple "knowing" question (e.g. List the provinces of South Africa) versus asking a student to "compare" the populations between two particular provinces transmits an expectation of ability or an expectation of cognitive demand. It is within this *Mode* of transmission that the *Form* of instruction can be described, and expectations can be analyzed/classified for ascribing teachers' orientations to the regulative discourse of literacy. Essentially, *Mode*

specifies enacted instructional strategies that constitute a *Form* of instruction, or degree to which teachers *individualize* or *communalize*.

### **3.3.2 Position**

As I investigate teacher expectations from a cognitive point of view, the teacher's *Position* regarding intelligence is a significant component of the regulation of literacy. I use the expectation dimension of *Position* to describe *how* a teacher has come to understand the learning ability of their students. This *Position* is assumed to be based upon social and cultural ideals, values, and beliefs particular to a context and can be differentiated between assumptions of 'fixed' (i.e. students either have the ability or not) and 'incremental' (i.e. all students can learn when given appropriate support) learner intelligence. Furthermore, a 'partially fixed' *Position* describes a teacher's belief that a learner *might* have the ability, yet there is no action upon this expectation.

Teachers' expectations of their learners' potential abilities determines the *Position* a teacher holds, which may then impact on their instruction and ultimately regulate learning and literacy. In order to elicit whether a teacher holds a 'fixed' or 'incremental' intelligence position, I investigate teachers' beliefs regarding grounds for learners' ultimate success in school, their instructional decisions relative to the learner's presumed intelligence, and beliefs regarding the ideal learner and her or his genetic endowments. Furthermore, teachers' *Position* regarding intelligence ultimately influences what they expect out of their students, whether it be students' level of learning potential, appropriateness of instructional strategies, ideal behavior/performance, and/or desire to learn. There may therefore be a direct correlation between *Position* and other dimensions of expectations.

### **3.3.3 Location**

As teachers make instructional decisions on a daily basis, the *Location* of these expectation-based decisions are rooted in either teacher or school-wide inferences or beliefs. Not only are these two dimensions of *Location* rooted within empirical research (Cooper & Good

1983; Cotton 1989), but also the teacher and school-wide beliefs can be traced directly to Bernstein's concepts of the school's expressive order, which transmits and orients the teacher's regulative discourse. *Location* locates the social ideologies, values, and beliefs, which inform the particular expectations of the school, principal, and teachers. In my study of teacher expectations, I use *Location* as a descriptor for the multiple external factors that may contribute toward the regulation of literacy in the classroom.

In order to best elicit a description of the *Location* of expectations within my study, I investigate the relationship between the school, teachers, and learners. The school-wide ethos, as it influences teachers' instruction, lays the foundation for particular expectations related to learner achievement. Depending upon the context of the school, differential *Forms/Modes* of instruction are relayed through the community, parents of the learners, and the staff of the school (Braam 2004). It is within this relay of expected instruction regarding literacy that teachers' beliefs are directly shaped, which in turn impacts on student learning through the interpretation of these instructional expectations. In other words, teachers' regulative discourse is the relay for the school-wide expressive order.

#### **3.3.4 Source**

As my study is situated within a sociological frame, I assume there to be multiple *Sources* or motivations for the development of particular teacher expectations. These include their concept of the ideal learner, appropriateness/assumptions related to the curriculum, beliefs regarding the importance of reading, writing, and speaking, assessment/feedback, levels of questioning, teacher self-efficacy, and learner characteristics. Each of these sources may impact directly on the pedagogy of the classroom, and each has been investigated within numerous empirical studies (Rubie-Davies 2007, 2010; Cotton 1989; Brophy 1982; Eccles & Wigfield 1985; Hoadley 2005). From the list above, I select three particular *Sources* to investigate within my study. These are 1) teacher's concept of the ideal learner, 2) teacher's relation between language and learning, and 3) teacher's beliefs regarding the impact learner characteristics may have on academic performance. I aim to elicit descriptions of each expectation *Source* in order to support a particular theory of instruction within each context.

In order to access reliable data related to each of the three expectation *Sources*, I develop a series of interview questions, which draw on teacher's local theory of instruction in their classroom. Furthermore, Bernstein's (1990) notion of 'visible' and 'invisible' pedagogy (i.e. explicit versus implicit theory of instruction) will serve to provide the ideological model for the construction of the ideal learner. From this point of view, the discourse which regulates literacy skill development can be understood as situated within a socially-constructed ideological model for determining the particular relay for pedagogy, i.e. *what* and *how* knowledge is transmitted. Because pedagogy has the ability to reproduce class and advantage particular social groupings, exploring teachers' theory of instruction as it carries ideals related to the learner may shed light on the consequences that expectations have on instructional theory.

I also investigate teachers' beliefs regarding the importance of using language/literacy to learn new knowledge. If the teacher understands that reading and writing are the foundation for literacy skill development, and connects this belief to the independent ability to learn knowledge in other subject areas, then I classify the teacher's *Source* of expectations as *connected*. This is based on the assumption that teachers, especially primary school teachers, should be fully aware of this notion and cultivate the relation between learning to read and reading to learn. Lastly, I classify teacher expectations as either *affected*, *partially affected*, or *unaffected* by learner characteristics as they relate to teachers' beliefs regarding performance. The three *Sources* of expectations described above, (i.e. the ideal learner, the relation between language and learning, and learner characteristics) correlate with other dimensions and contribute to a context-specific expectation orientation that shapes a unique theory of instruction particular to each school.

### **3.3.5 Outcome**

The relation between learner and teacher, as situated within a particular theory of instruction or ideological pedagogy, is greatly impacted by instructional implications based upon particular expectations. The relation ideally motivates the practice of learning; therefore, *Outcome* is the translation of expectations into a behavior that influences learner

achievement. *Outcome* serves to investigate the relationship between teachers' regulative discourse and learners' motivation to pursue further academic practices. This motivation to learn will be understood as either *intrinsic* or *extrinsic* and will be based upon the teacher's beliefs regarding learning. Carried within a teacher's theory of instruction, teachers' forms of motivation, that is *extrinsic* or *intrinsic*, can be linked to the *Sources* of their expectations and their particular *Form/Mode* of instruction, as shaped by their expectations. I explore this link between dimensions using interview data throughout Chapter 4, Data Analysis, which comprises a context-specific expectation orientation within each school. The final dimension, *Origin*, is discussed below and supports the contribution of social factors found in the community of a school, in relation to a theory of instruction.

### 3.3.6 Origin

*Origin*, one of the most important dimensions, completes the social hierarchy within this thesis. The highest structure of the hierarchical model of society is that of the broader society's (or community's) values, ideologies, and solidarities. Therefore, investigating the *Origin* of expectations through teachers' beliefs regarding education, community, and society will provide a broader external ordering that may explain *how* and *why* teachers' expectations regarding literacy have been particularly shaped. Furthermore, these social principles, which regulate teachers' discourse, provide the school with a model for instruction.

From interview data, I use teachers' beliefs regarding education to connect the hierarchical structure of society, to the expressive order of the school, to the regulative discourse of the teacher, and finally, to the consciousness of the learner. The relation between each component of the hierarchy<sup>6</sup> generates a coherent sociological orientation that describes teachers' regulation of literacy. I code or classify teachers' responses by contrasting each school/context in order to characterize social features that may contribute to the ordering of the school and teachers' theory of instruction. These characterizations are developed

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<sup>6</sup> See Chapter 2, Section 2.12, for Table 2 that displays the *Socio-Educational Hierarchy*.

during the data analysis process. I further substantiate *Origin* with the 2001 South African Census data to suggest sociological reasons for particular orientations to expectations.

### 3.4 Coding of Data

Based upon the six expectation dimensions explained and described above, I create a coding instrument that describes, classifies, and compares/contrasts the data obtained from and between S1 and S2. I will now provide a synthesis of the coding instrument below, in Table 4, using *italics* to display descriptors for the expectation dimensions. Each dimension is differentiated into a unique spectrum for description, which allows us to draw relationships between each dimension as well as to generate particular, overall, orientations for the regulation of literacy.

**Table 4 - Coding Instrument for Dimensions of Expectations**

|  |
|--|
| <p><b>FORM/MODE</b></p> <p>Areas of Analysis: Space, Content Modifications, Instructional Strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Individualizing</i> –instruction based upon expectations of individual learner abilities</li> <li>• <i>Partially Individualizing</i> –instruction based upon expectations of individual learner abilities, yet carried out in leveled groups (streams) and individually</li> <li>• <i>Communalizing</i> – instruction based upon expectations of whole class abilities</li> </ul> |
| <p><b>POSITION</b></p> <p>Areas of Analysis: Intelligence of learner, Causes, and Support for belief</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Fixed</i> – belief that learners possess/lack abilities required for academic success</li> <li>• <i>Partially Fixed</i> – belief that learner <i>might</i> have ability, yet does not act upon belief</li> <li>• <i>Incremental</i> – belief that all learners can achieve academic success and master the curriculum if given appropriate support from the teacher</li> </ul>    |
| <p><b>LOCATION</b></p> <p>Areas of Analysis: Beliefs/Actions re expectations for learner performance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Teacher Expectations (Regulative Discourse) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ <i>High, Average, or Low</i></li> </ul> </li> <li>• School-wide expectations (Expressive Order) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ <i>High, Average, or Low</i></li> </ul> </li> </ul>  |

|   |
|---|
| <b>SOURCE</b>   |
| <p style="text-align: center;">Areas of Analysis: Teacher beliefs re theory of instruction which mediate expectations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ideal Learner – contextual ‘typification’ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ <i>Performance</i> versus <i>Competence</i> Centered</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Language Beliefs – relation between learning to read &amp; reading to learn <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ <i>Connected</i> or <i>disconnected</i></li> </ul> </li> <li>• Learner Characteristics – sex/gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status (SES), and home language <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ <i>Affected, Partially Affected, or Unaffected</i> expectations</li> </ul> </li> </ul> |
| <b>OUTCOME</b>  |
| <p style="text-align: center;">Areas of Analysis: Teacher Behavior and Strategies that motivate reading/writing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Intrinsic</i> – based upon internal attributes of learner, igniting interest from within</li> <li>• <i>Extrinsic</i> – external force which ignites will to produce teacher-directed academic practices for an external reward</li> </ul>   |
| <b>ORIGIN</b>   |
| <p style="text-align: center;">Areas of Analysis: Community’s Expectations, Support, History, Population, and Context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Rural</i> versus <i>Urban</i></li> <li>• <i>Connected</i> with versus <i>Removed</i> from Community</li> <li>• <i>Homogeneous</i> versus <i>Heterogeneous</i></li> <li>• <i>Static</i> versus <i>Mobile</i></li> <li>• <i>Open</i> versus <i>Closed</i> to society (a <i>Visible</i> versus <i>Invisible</i> society)</li> </ul>  |

After transcribing each of the 8 interviews, I used the coding instrument displayed above to identify and label particular aspects of teachers’ discourse. Although each interview question was pre-coded (in the sense that I pre-determined under which categories I would understand/interpret/analyze the responses of the teachers), it became evident that the dimensions of the dialogue were not bound to this pre-coding schema. I often found evidence for dimensions that did not correspond to the categories in my schema. The pre-coding schema can be found in Appendix 1, pp. 99. I labeled the transcribed interview data according to each of the particular expectation dimensions, designating a classification based on the coding schema above. This allowed for a visible illumination of *how* each teacher’s responses could be differentiated.

Once each teacher’s interview responses were labeled according to the coding instrument, I first analyzed the findings at the level of the teacher as it related to each expectation dimension. I then sorted the eight teachers into two tables, one per school, in order to see

distinctions at the school level. These tables are detailed, providing explanations for the coding. Once the teacher-level coding was complete, I created one table that compared the data at the level of the school in order to see the relationship between each dimension and between S1 and S2. This table provides less explanation for the coding and illustrates a visible score of teacher classification for each dimension in order to easily compare the findings between schools. From this visible comparison, I was able to determine a pattern within each school, portrayed by the relations between each expectation dimension, ultimately suggesting a particular orientation to the expressive order of the school, relayed through the teacher’s regulative discourse. Each of these data-orientated tables is displayed and described throughout the remainder of this chapter and will be applied for a more in-depth sociological analysis in Chapter 4.

### 3.4.1 School 1 Coding at the Level of the Teacher

Table 5 displays the *initial* coding of the individual teacher’s responses to the interview questions. The coding is paired with data in order to provide my rationale for why each dimension of the teachers’ expectations was understood in a particular way.

**Table 5 - Initial School 1 Teacher Level Data and Coding**

|           | <b>Form/Mode</b>   | <b>Position</b>  | <b>Location</b>  |
|-----------|--|--|--|
| <b>T1</b> | <b>Partially Individualizing</b><br>Space: leveled groups in class; individualizing during lunch break<br>Mode: Differentiates leveled group tasks<br>Strategies: Intervention Books         | <b>Incremental</b><br>Cause: expects all learners to pass through the use of supportive learning strategies  | <b>High School Wide</b><br>Principal requests progress reports for weak learners<br><b>High Teacher</b><br>Member of intervention committee                                    |
| <b>T2</b> | <b>Partially Individualizing</b><br>Space: leveled groups in class<br>Mode: differentiates tasks according to perceived abilities of learners<br>Strategies: sets performance goals for weak | <b>Fixed</b><br>Cause: believes weak learners will not pass, and assess learner progress to determine potential abilities  | <b>High School Wide</b><br>Principal requests progress reports for weak learners<br><b>Low Teacher</b><br>Weak learners will not pass and uncertain re matriculation potential |
| <b>T3</b> | <b>Individualizing</b><br>Space: 1:1 support in class<br>Mode: weak learners are given extra work and reduction of cognitive demand<br>Strategies: multiple instructional approaches         | <b>Incremental</b><br>Cause: believes weak learners will not pass due to MOI, yet learners have the potential to reach proficient literacy level; challenges even weak with higher-level tasks | <b>High School Wide</b><br>Proactive team of teachers who initiate interventions/remediation<br><b>High Teacher</b><br>Believes learners have the potential to pass            |
| <b>T4</b> | <b>Partially Individualizing</b><br>Space: individualizes during lunch/holidays<br>Mode: does not differentiate level of CD, yet give extra tasks<br>Strategies: monitors progress           | <b>Incremental</b><br>Cause: expects all learners to pass, yet recognizes language barrier; holds high level of CD for all learners  | <b>High School Wide</b><br>Principal expects progression<br><b>High Teacher</b><br>Believes all learners are capable of passing  |
|           | <b>Source</b>  | <b>Outcome</b>   | <b>Origin</b>  |

|           |   |   |  |
|-----------|---|---|--|
| <b>T1</b> | <b>Ideal Learner</b> – performance centered – fluent to read and can do all the work you give<br><b>Language Beliefs</b> - connected<br><b>L Characteristics</b> – affected by SES and language                       | <b>Intrinsic</b><br>Methods: uses visuals/demonstrations to activate prior knowledge; strong readers are rewarded with personal choice of text  | <b>Open to/Supported by Community</b><br>Positive Outlook; Connects success in school with academic career; Emphasis on parent-teacher-learner relation; Community supports children through programs                                  |
| <b>T2</b> | <b>Ideal Learner</b> – performance centered – can do any work you give and help others<br><b>Language Beliefs</b> - connected<br><b>L Characteristics</b> – affected by gender/sex and language                       | <b>Intrinsic</b><br>Methods: incorporates drama, poetry, and debates to motivate interest in literacy   | <b>Open to/Supported by Community</b><br>Emphasizes parent involvement; Community provides reading program, believes school is one of the best with great teachers, and believes in the school's ability to produce "better" learners  |
| <b>T3</b> | <b>Ideal Learner</b> – performance centered – can work independently and achieve outcomes<br><b>Language Beliefs</b> - disconnected<br><b>L Characteristics</b> – affected by SES, sex/gender, ethnicity and language | <b>Intrinsic</b><br>Methods: reads with learners and incorporates personal struggle to achieve in life<br><b>Extrinsic</b><br>Methods: Incorporates vocabulary and spelling into games for reward | <b>Open to/Supported by Community</b><br>Community groups conduct learning activities in school, related to practical application of knowledge (e.g. debating); Believes some parents cannot support homework due to lack of knowledge |
| <b>T4</b> | <b>Ideal Learner</b> – performance centered - perform well and submit work on time<br><b>Language Beliefs</b> - connected<br><b>L Characteristics</b> – affected by SES and language                                  | <b>Intrinsic</b><br>Methods: Incorporates practical, hands-on activities paired with content knowledge<br><b>Extrinsic</b><br>Methods: high marks are rewarded with a prize                       | <b>Open to Society</b><br>Believes socio-economic context of community impacts learning; Desires more career guidance for learners; Emphasizes importance of education and building a strong democracy                                 |

Beginning with *Form/Mode*, I coded S1 with an overall, *partial individualizing* classification. This is due to more emphasis on leveled grouping and less emphasis on individual instruction/curriculum modifications. For example, T1 and T2 espouse group instruction, T4 offers extra instruction during lunch/holidays, and T3 emphasizes the importance of 1:1 instruction and modifications for weak learners.

The *Position* of S1 is coded with an overall *incremental* perception of intelligence, as 3 out of the 4 teachers support this *Position*. T1, T3, and T4 espouse a positive belief that all learners have the ability to be successful, although T2 does not believe struggling learners have the potential to pass.

The *Location* of expectations in S1 was coded as *high* on a school-wide *and* teacher level. All four teachers espouse *high* school-wide expectations based upon their descriptions of the principal as well as the school-wide strategies implemented to boost learner improvement. On a teacher level, 3 out of the 4 teachers (i.e. all but T2) believe that even weak learners have the potential to pass. School-wide strategies and teacher beliefs regarding learner potential support the coding of *Location*.

Teachers' *Source* of expectations is sub-divided into three dimensions: The Ideal Learner, Language Beliefs, and Learner Characteristics. I coded all four teachers with a *performance-centered* concept of the ideal learner based upon their description of what their best learner *can do* (e.g. achieve high marks). Language beliefs are coded as *connected* by 3 out of 4 teachers (i.e. teachers see the connection between learning to read and reading to learn). T3 did not provide any reasons for why reading/writing might be more important than speaking/oral skills. Lastly, S1 expectations are coded as *affected* by learners' characteristics. All four teachers believe the home language affects performance. T1, T3, and T4 believe socio-economic status affect performance. T3 believes ethnicity affects performance, and T2 and T3 believe a learner's sex/gender affects performance.

S1's *Outcome* of expectations is coded as *intrinsic* as well as *extrinsic*. Although teachers provide examples of intrinsic motivational strategies, teachers also provide examples of how learners are rewarded externally for high marks. T1 and T2 espouse intrinsic strategies, and T3 and T4 espouse both *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* strategies.

The final dimension, *Origin*, is coded as *urban*, *socially mobile*, *heterogeneous*, *open* to society's visible characteristics/changes, as well as *supported* by the surrounding community through NGOs and high expectations. I support these claims with the 2001 South African Census data as well as teacher interview data, and I will demonstrate each of these characterizations through evidence in the following chapter, Data Analysis.

### 3.4.2 School 2 Coding at the Level of the Teacher

Table 6 shows S2's teacher level expectation dimensions and how I have coded the teachers' interview responses using interview data.

**Table 6 - Initial School 2 Teacher Level Data and Coding**

|  | <b>Form/Mode</b> | <b>Position</b> | <b>Location</b> |
|--|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|--|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|

|           |   |  |  |
|-----------|---|--|--|
| <b>T1</b> | <b>Partially Individualizing</b><br>Space: leveled groups in class; reading group afterschool for weak<br>Mode: differentiates tasks by level<br>Strategies: monitors progress to determine level of task   | <b>Incremental</b><br>Cause: believes all learners have the potential to pass if given more time and support   | <b>Average School-Wide</b><br>Principal is aware of local circumstances and does not expect all to pass, yet requires teachers to set goals for pass rate<br><b>High Teacher</b><br>Sets goals for learners and believes all have potential to pass                    |
| <b>T2</b> | <b>Partially Individualizing</b><br>Space: small group instruction for weak; uses learning support teacher<br>Mode: decreases CD for weak<br>Strategies: activity cards   | <b>Fixed</b><br>Cause: believes some learners will not pass or complete matric due to a low literacy skill level   | <b>High School-Wide</b><br>Principal evaluates teachers' instruction via curriculum advisor<br><b>Low Teacher</b><br>Believes struggling learners will not succeed   |
| <b>T3</b> | <b>Individualizing</b><br>Space: leveled groups in class; provides individualized instruction for weak; afterschool, weekend, and interval remediation for weak<br>Mode: differentiate tasks and challenges all learners<br>Strategies: delegates more time for weak and independence from strong | <b>Fixed</b><br>Cause: believes some learners will not pass due to a lack of motivation and lack of desire to achieve/learn  | <b>High School-Wide</b><br>Enforcement of punctual and efficient instruction; positive school culture and teacher accountability<br><b>High Teacher</b><br>Head of department re improvement of marks; sets benchmarks paired with methods and continuously reassesses |
| <b>T4</b> | <b>Individualizing</b><br>Space: leveled groups, 1:1 instruction, afterschool remediation<br>Mode: differentiates tasks and pace for all learners<br>Strategies: monitors progress; independent/peer/1:1 learning for groups  | <b>Fixed</b><br>Cause: believes weak learners will not pass due to being over the appropriate age for grade as well as learning barriers, such as Fetal Alcohol Syndrome     | <b>Low School-Wide</b><br>Principal does not expect all learners to pass<br><b>Low Teacher</b><br>Believes low learner motivation and Fetal Alcohol Syndrome result in lack of learner achievement and future success  |
|           | <b>Source</b>   | <b>Outcome</b>   | <b>Origin</b>  |
| <b>T1</b> | <b>Ideal Learner</b> – competence centered – best learner has a broad general knowledge and is confident<br><b>Language Beliefs</b> - disconnected<br><b>L Characteristics</b> – partially affected by language   | <b>Intrinsic</b><br>Methods: hands-on, practical application of language; activates prior knowledge; encourage learners to draw conclusions and predict text; Visits library | <b>Removed from community; Isolated</b><br>Emphasizes Fetal Alcohol Syndrome, poverty, illiteracy, lack of jobs, alcoholism, and lack of parental interest in education; Respectful learners due to conservative history of community/old values                       |
| <b>T2</b> | <b>Ideal Learner</b> – competence centered – interested in learning and asks questions<br><b>Language Beliefs</b> – partially connected<br><b>L Characteristics</b> – partially affected by ethnicity   | <b>Intrinsic</b><br>Methods: uses magazines to learn new vocabulary; Visits the library; uses hands-on visual tools  | <b>Isolated; Static; Closed to society</b><br>Small community produces awareness of local circumstances; Emphasizes low socio-economic standards of living;  |
| <b>T3</b> | <b>Ideal Learner</b> – competence centered – wants to get the best marks and enthusiastic/determined<br><b>Language Beliefs</b> - disconnected<br><b>L Characteristics</b> – unaffected   | <b>Intrinsic</b><br>Methods: Visits the library; reads with learners; daily time for personal reading; uses magazines and newspapers; district competitions                  | <b>Static</b><br>Believes Fetal Alcohol Syndrome is a cause of learner failure yet circumstances of poverty can be overcome; Emphasizes benefits of education; Attempts to connect with parents regarding learner progress   |
| <b>T4</b> | <b>Ideal Learner</b> – competence centered - can work independently and help others<br><b>Language Beliefs</b> - connected<br><b>L Characteristics</b> – partially affected by language   | <b>Intrinsic</b><br>Methods: visits the library; visual, hands-on learning; encourages importance of reading; uses pictures to prompt writing tasks                          | <b>Removed from community</b><br>Originally from local community; believes parents are not supportive enough in their child's education  |

The *Form/Mode* of S2 is coded as *individualizing*. This is due to a greater emphasis on individual instruction versus leveled grouping. T1 and T2 are coded as *partially individualizing* as they both espouse leveled groupings as well as modifications for weak learners. T3 and T4 are coded as *individualizing* as they espouse both leveled group instruction and individualized instruction during and after school. This emphasis on the

individual leads me to code S2 as leaning to the *individualizing* side of the *Form/Mode* spectrum.

The *Position* of S2 teachers is *fixed*, as 3 out of the 4 teachers espouse reasons for why learners will not be able to achieve or complete matric. These reasons are related to *Origin* and include issues such as Fetal Alcohol Syndrome, lack of motivation/desire to learn, and learners being over age for their grade. T1 is the only participant in S2 that believes learners will be able to achieve if they are given more time and support.

The *Location* of expectations on the school-wide and teacher level is coded as *average*. There is a combination of *high*, *average*, and *low* responses among the teachers regarding the learning potential of the student body. T1 has an *average* expectation at the school-level due to the perception of the principal's beliefs yet holds a *high* teacher expectation, corresponding to the *incremental* intelligence *Position*. T2 holds a *low* teacher expectation due to learners falling behind in literacy skill development; yet, T2 and T3 hold a *high* school-wide expectation due to their perceived expectations of both teachers and learners. T3 also holds a *high* teacher expectation for learners through the proactive membership in a school committee with respect to the improvement of marks. T4 holds both a *low* teacher expectation as well as a *low* school-wide expectation due to the contextual circumstances that are believed to affect how successful a learner can be.

Within the *Source* of expectations, teachers in S2 are coded as having a *competence-centered* concept of the ideal learner. All four teachers espouse internal characteristics that learners *possess* in order to be successful (versus what a learner can do). Teacher expectations regarding learners' external characteristics are *partially affected*. T1 and T4 believe language may affect performance, T2 believes ethnicity plays a role, and T3 does not believe any external characteristics affect performance. Lastly, the language beliefs of teachers in S2 do not suggest a strong connection between learning to read and reading to learn. T1 emphasizes oral/speaking skills before reading/writing, T3 believes that being well spoken correlates with reading/writing, T2 was not able to explain why reading and

writing were most important; yet, T4 believes reading/writing are essential in all learning areas (which is most likely due to T4's number of learning areas taught).

S2 teachers' *Outcome* of expectations is *intrinsic*. Each teacher espouses particular forms of motivation that ignite internal interest in order to get students interested in reading and writing. For example, activating prior knowledge, using hands-on activities/visual aids, and visiting the library were commonly espoused as successful motivation strategies.

Lastly, the *Origin* of S2 is characterized as *rural, socially static, homogeneous, closed* to the broader society's visible characteristics, and seen to be *removed* from the community do to a prevalence of alcoholism and Fetal Alcohol Syndrome. This characterization is the product of a process that begins with the teacher's description of the community and is ultimately shaped into an external ordering of the community. I further substantiate my characterization of S2 *Origin* in the following chapter with evidence from teacher interviews and data from the 2001 South African Census.

In the next section, I present my methods for how I organize S1 and S2 teachers into a school level coding structure. This allows me to determine how the particular teacher expectation orientations can be understood beyond the level of the individual. I will ultimately show a pattern within each school as the teachers' expectations (or regulative discourse) relay the external expressive order of the community and school.

### **3.4.3 School Level Coding Methods**

The teacher level coding of S1 and S2, presented above in 3.4.1 and 3.4.2, is used to determine a comprehensive school-level coding of the expectation dimensions. Table 7 below encapsulates the teacher level coding and averages a synthesized description for each school. There is a numerical score for each dimension. For example, the dimension *Form/Mode* in S1 is represented as 3x Partial Individualizing and 1x Individualizing, that is 3 out of the 4 teachers espoused Partial Individualizing strategies and 1 out of the 4 espoused Individualizing. This creates visibility needed for a comprehensive teacher orientation within each school; therefore, on a spectrum from Individualizing to Communalizing, S1 leans toward *Individualizing*, as compared to S2, which was found to

lean even closer to *Individualizing*. Regarding *Origin*, I understand the school as either *supported by/open* to the community or *removed* from the community, based upon the teachers' espoused descriptions of the context. When I move from the school level comparative coding to a school level orientation, *Origin* displays external components of the community that shape the external expressive order of the school.

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| S | FORM/MODE  | POSITION  | LOCATION   | SOURCE   | OUTCOME  | ORIGIN  |
|---|--|---|--|--|--|---|
| 1 | <p><b>3x - Partial Individualizing</b><br/> <b>1x - Individualizing</b><br/> <b>SPACE:</b><br/> Leveled groups; 1:1; lunch break &amp; holidays<br/> <b>MODE:</b><br/> Differentiates tasks at group level; Weak Ls are either: challenged with high CD, given extra work, and/or <i>given tasks with low CD</i>???</p> <p><b>STRATEGIES:</b><br/> Intervention books; performance goals; multiple approaches; monitors L progress</p>                       | <p><b>3x – Incremental</b><br/> <b>CAUSES:</b><br/> Expects all to pass; Believes weakness due to MOI, yet all have potential to reach achievement</p> <p><b>1x - Fixed</b><br/> <b>CAUSES:</b><br/> Believes weak Ls will not be able to achieve</p> | <p><b>SCHOOL-WIDE:</b><br/> <b>4x High</b><br/> Expects <i>all</i> Ls to pass; Principal requests progress reports of weak Ls; Expects progression; Intervention committee for weak Ls</p> <p><b>TEACHER:</b><br/> <b>3x High</b><br/> Believes weak Ls will pass<br/> <b>1 Low</b><br/> Weak will not pass &amp; uncertain about future potential to matriculate</p>  | <p><b>IDEAL LEARNER:</b><br/> <b>4x Performance Centered</b></p> <p><b>LANGUAGE:</b><br/> <b>3x Connected</b><br/> <b>1x Disconnected</b></p> <p><b>L CHARACTERISTICS</b><br/> <b>4x Affected:</b><br/> 3x SES;<br/> 2x sex/gender;<br/> 4x language;<br/> 1x ethnicity</p>  | <p><b>2x INTRINSIC</b><br/> <b>2x INTRINSIC &amp; EXTRINSIC</b></p> <p><u>In-school:</u> visuals and demonstrations; activates prior knowledge; personal choice of text; drama, poetry, debates; teacher reads with/to class; personal story; practical, hands-on activities; computer lab; <i>prizes; vocabulary/spelling games</i></p> <p><u>Outside school:</u> Weekend reading program; Library</p>                      | <p><b>OPEN TO COMMUNITY</b><br/> Weekend reading program for youth; trusts/believes school is capable of producing “better” Ls; Parents/Teachers from community &amp; attended school; Believed to have best teachers;</p>  |
| 2 | <p><b>2x - Partial Individualizing</b><br/> <b>2x - Individualizing</b><br/> <b>SPACE:</b><br/> Leveled groups; 1:1; Learning Support teacher; afterschool, weekend &amp; interval remediation<br/> <b>MODE:</b><br/> Differentiates tasks &amp; pace; Reduces CD for weak Ls; Challenges all Ls<br/> <b>STRATEGIES:</b><br/> Monitors progress; activity cards; more 1:1 time for weak Ls while strong work independently &amp; average work with peers</p> | <p><b>1x – Incremental</b><br/> <b>CAUSES:</b><br/> All Ls have potential to pass</p> <p><b>3x – Fixed</b><br/> <b>CAUSES:</b><br/> Some Ls will not pass or complete matric; Weak Ls will not be able to achieve/pass</p>                            | <p><b>SCHOOL-WIDE:</b><br/> <b>2x High</b><br/> Evaluates T instruction via curriculum advisor; Enforces punctual &amp; efficient instruction; Positive school culture<br/> <b>1x Average</b><br/> Awareness of local circumstances &amp; does not expect all Ls to pass<br/> <b>1x Low</b><br/> Principal does <i>not</i> expect all to pass</p> <p><b>TEACHER:</b><br/> <b>2x High</b><br/> Believes all Ls have potential; Expects all Ls to succeed<br/> <b>2x Low</b><br/> Weak Ls will not succeed &amp; FAS/low L motivation = low future success</p> | <p><b>IDEAL LEARNER:</b><br/> <b>4x Competence Centered</b></p> <p><b>LANGUAGE:</b><br/> <b>2x Disconnected</b><br/> <b>1x Connected</b><br/> <b>1x Partially connected</b></p> <p><b>L CHARACTERISTICS:</b><br/> <b>1x Unaffected</b><br/> <b>2x Partially Affected:</b><br/> 2x Language<br/> <b>1x Affected:</b><br/> 1x Behavior/Ethnicity</p> | <p><b>4x INTRINSIC</b></p> <p><u>In-school:</u> Emphasizes purpose of school; hands-on, practical, &amp; visual tools; activates prior knowledge; Draw inferences/predict text; Library; Magazines; Newspaper; Reads with Ls; Daily time for R &amp; W; Pictures to prompt creative writing</p> <p><u>Outside school:</u> Books of interest to take home; District competitions; Weekend comprehension tasks; Watch news</p> | <p><b>REMOVED FROM COMMUNITY</b><br/> Dominant Factors: FAS, illiterate parents, no work/jobs, prevalent alcoholism; lack of parental support, communication, and interest in child’s academic life; School ends when the bell rings (no learning takes place at home); Community lacks ability to work efficiently together in order to progress forward</p> |

Table 7 – School level Data and Coding of S1 and S2

### 3.4.4 School Level Orientation Method

Using Table 7 above, I carefully examine the differences between each school's expectations dimensions. In doing so, the differences begin to illuminate patterns within each of the school's data. I use the term *orientation* to detect a discernable pattern within the dimension scores descriptive of each of the schools. From each of the school's orientations I am then able to determine how each of the dimensions relates to one another. Below Table 8 and 9, I portray the school-level orientations for School 1 and 2. I begin each table with the expectation dimension, *Origin*, as it is expectations' place of commencement and initial shaping. This orientation hierarchy follows the socio-educational hierarchy, discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.12, which explains how society produces different identities, solidarities, beliefs, values, and cultural practices that shape the local community, the school's expressive order, the teacher's regulative discourse, and ultimately the consciousness of the learner regarding literacy.

**Table 8 – S1 Orientation**

|   |
|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><b>ORIGIN</b><br/>Urban heterogeneous context &amp; Open to the community</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>EXPRESSIVE ORDER</b><br/>High School-Wide Expectations</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>REGULATIVE DISCOURSE</b><br/>High Teacher Expectations</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>SOURCE</b><br/>Performance Centered Ideal Learner<br/>Literacy Connected to Learning<br/>Learner Characteristics Affect Performance</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>POSITION</b><br/>Incremental Intelligence</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>OUTCOME</b><br/>Intrinsic &amp; Extrinsic Motivation</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>FORM/MODE</b><br/>Partially Individualizing<br/>Leveled Differentiated Groups<br/>Modified Cognitive Demand</p> |
|---|

**Table 9 – S2 Orientation**

|  |
|--|
| <p><b>ORIGIN</b><br/>Rural, homogeneous, isolated context &amp; Removed from the community</p> <p><b>EXPRESSIVE ORDER</b><br/>Average School-Wide Expectations</p> <p><b>REGULATIVE DISCOURSE</b><br/>Average Teacher Expectations</p> <p><b>SOURCE</b><br/>Competence Centered Ideal Learner<br/>Literacy <i>Partially</i> Connected to Learning<br/>Learner Characteristics <i>Partially</i> Affect Performance</p> <p><b>POSITION</b><br/>Fixed Intelligence</p> <p><b>OUTCOME</b><br/>Intrinsic Motivation</p> <p><b>FORM/MODE</b><br/>Individualizing<br/>Leveled groups &amp; 1:1 instruction<br/>Differentiates Cognitive Demand &amp; Pace</p> |
|--|

### 3.5 Conclusion

Throughout the duration of this study, my coding instrument has evolved from continuous ‘working’ with the data in relation to my theory. I have explained how I collected, coded, organized, and classified my data as it went through numerous stages to determine an overall school level orientation to expectations. Based upon each of these stages, I worked very closely with the dialogue in each interview gathering evidence, some of which will be quoted in the next chapter, Data Analysis. Chapter 4 takes a more sociological approach by diving deeper into the relations between each of the expectation dimensions. I will also comparatively analyze each school’s expectation orientation. This comparative section, 4.4, will illuminate significant aspects of each school’s context that may contribute toward the relative success of each school. I base my concept of success on the relatively higher than average WCED systemic scores for literacy in grades 3 and 6. I will draw conclusions that are not discernable on the surface of the data analysis and provide suggestions as to why each school ‘works’, on its own terms.

## Chapter IV

### Data Analysis: A Sociological Approach

#### 4.1 Aims of Data Analysis

The findings and coding presented in Chapter 3, Methodological Approach, establish a data-orientated foundation for a more thorough exploration of teachers' expectations with regards to the social order of each school's community. This chapter will consider each school independently of one another as well as comparatively analyze both, illuminating contextual differences as they relate to the order of the school and teachers' expectations. My independent school analyses begin with the *Origin* of the community. *Origin* will be suggested as the primary constituent for the socio-educational hierarchy, impacting and shaping teachers' expectations within their regulative discourse. I draw relations to and between the other expectation dimensions, such as *Source*, *Position*, and *Form/Mode*, to clearly generate an orientation at the teacher as well as at the school level, indicating implications for literacy skill development. Ultimately, this chapter will explore:

1. Espoused instructional practices used by the school/teacher
2. Beliefs that support particular strategic decisions
3. How expectations may shape the way teachers think about their instruction
4. Relations between expectation dimensions
5. Contextual issues and conditions that may impact learning and teaching
6. How each school level expectation orientation compares, according to context

#### 4.2. The Origin of School 1: A Foundation for Learning and Teaching

*Origin – the community's expectations, outlook, support, history, and context; i.e. why teachers have developed particular expectations or orientations to the expressive order of the school as it is relayed through the teacher's regulative discourse.*

Depending on where a child grows up, numerous factors either expose or limit a child's awareness of other forms of life, other forms knowledge, and/or other ways of thinking about life and knowledge. With a population of 49,664, S1's community is located near Cape Town's urban, metropolitan environment (SA Census 2001). I suggest that this location provides the capacity for social movement in and around Cape Town, generates access to future urban-based life opportunities, and exposes residents to diverse social opportunities and employment. I make this claim based upon the South African Census 2001 data, which shows that 24% of residents in the S1 community travel by foot, 17% take the city train, and 7% ride in the minibus taxis. Other forms of transport are employed to a lesser extent, such as cars and buses. Because public transport is readily available and the travel distance is less than other townships outside the city, I suggest that Cape Town is more accessible to the S1 community than it is to smaller rural communities, like that of School 2. Furthermore, S1's access to transport may also provide an awareness of different economic conditions or standards of living, therefore, creating visible social diversity for the community and the school.

I suggest residents in the S1 community are more likely to gain familiarity regarding other cultures, languages, and ethnicities due to the heterogeneity of Cape Town in relation its proximity to the S1 community, which allows social movement. The SA Census 2001 and teacher interviews provide evidence to support this claim. Although 97% of the S1 community speaks isiXhosa, the other 3% comprises more than 10 other languages. In the city of Cape Town, there are 1,199,049 people speaking Afrikaans, 808,446 people speaking English, 831,381 speaking isiXhosa, and the remaining 2% communicate in more than 9 other languages. While 85% of the S1 community is from the Western Cape province, 15% come from the other 8 provinces of South Africa. Furthermore, approximately 3 million people reside in the nearby city of Cape Town: 48% 'Coloured', 32% 'Black African', 19% 'White', and 1% 'Indian'. In relation to these statistics, I learned from the teachers of S1 that NGOs are widely present in the S1 community as its urban metro location is a target environment for social support. Weekend reading programs are offered to support literacy skill development, and learners from S1 regularly take part in this opportunity for academic and personal growth. I surmise that social contributions, such as NGOs, as well as

social diversity within and around S1, provide this community with visibility to the outside world, exposing a variety of external characteristics that substantiate a heterogeneous environment. The community's exposure to diversity may influence S1's particular ways of understanding the world as well as how particular perceptions may shape what is to be expected of the learners.

Based on the SA Census 2001 and teacher interviews, S1's *Origin* can be described as peri-urban, heterogeneous, and supported by the surrounding community in ways that may advance the very nature of learning and life, compared to other contexts of poverty.

The table below summarizes the previously mentioned components of *Origin* for S1.

**Table 10 - The Origin of School 1**

| <b>Origin of School 1</b>             |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <b>Type of Context</b>                | Urban, Heterogeneous, Working-class, Township   |
| <b>Size of School &amp; Community</b> | 1,500 Learners, 42 Teachers; Population of 49,664   |
| <b>Language</b>                       | 97% isiXhosa and 3% speak 10+ other languages   |
| <b>Transportation</b>                 | 24% by foot, 17% by train, 7% by minibus taxis  |
| <b>Migration</b>                      | 20% of learners travel from other townships, 15% of community migrated from 8 other provinces |
| <b>Community Support</b>              | High prevalence of NGOs and social support programs   |

Originally, S1 was governed by a national, centralized system of education known as the Department of Education and Training during the years of Apartheid (WCED 2011; Kallaway 2002). This centralization enforced particular forms of knowledge, teaching, and learning on schools in 'Black' townships, which may have present day implications for teachers' theory of instruction. *Origin* includes the external community expectations, and it is this higher ordering from the socio-educational hierarchy (see Chapter 2, Section 2.12) that may impact the beliefs and expectations of the school. According to the teachers, it is evident that S1's community, as read through the teachers' espoused beliefs, is optimistic regarding the potential success of the school and its learners. According to T2:

[Outside in the community], they've got a strong feeling that we are making or trying to produce some better learners... I know there's committees just outside the district of this community, I know they've got that trust in us. They believe we can do at least better for their learners.

Doing "better" for learners represents the community's optimistic outlook on the school's ability to provide a future for its learners and how that future can expose learners to opportunities for contributing to society. From this espoused optimism, a relation can be drawn between social optimism and school optimism. In the next section, I link the community's expectations (i.e. an element of *Origin*) to the school's expressive order or school-wide expectations regarding the abilities of its learners. It will become evident that the dimension, *Origin*, shapes the community's beliefs, values, and expectations, which are then relayed by the school.

#### **4.2.1 Origin and the Expressive Order of School 1**

*Expressive Order/School-Wide Expectations – beliefs and actions regarding the student body, i.e. the multiple external factors that contribute toward the regulation of literacy in the classroom*

As teachers' 'outside' worlds are shaped, teachers' 'inside' (school) world is directly regulated by this shaping, in turn affecting the structure and transmission of knowledge or the outcomes and competencies of learners (Bernstein 1987). It is this relationship between the 'outside' and 'inside' that greatly contributes toward how expectations shape the regulation of knowledge, specifically literacy. According to the data collected from the interviews, I am able to deduce particular school-wide expectations or an expressive ordering, which can be traced back to the community's expectations and ultimately, *Origin*.

S1's school-wide expectations are high, according to the teachers' responses when asked, "Does your principal expect all of your learners to pass?" and "What does the principal expect from you as a teacher?" Each of these questions elicited a high expectation for *all* learners to achieve as well as detailing particular strategic interventions put in place by

school-wide committees to focus on improving instruction and performance. The following extracts are from the interview data, which support the school's high expectations for *all* learners:

T1: We've got a committee here, so that we can emphasize the works... to those learners that are lacking from grade 1 to grade 9. We have some time for them and help them with the LC [literacy coach] teacher there.

T2: All principals expect all learners to pass. But what we did, we are doing... revision work for the previous papers, then we submit these assessment tasks to [the principal] so he can see those learners who are performing well and those learners who are struggling to perform well. Besides, even the principal, even the parents are expecting their children to pass.

T3: Of course he expects them to pass but he knows the problem. That's why we are coming up as a management, programs that we must use to intervene with those struggling learners.

T4: [The principal] is expecting me to teach the kids, that they must pass, each and every must progress, we must see progression from the learners.

It is these high expectations that lead to S1's intervention programs. As the teachers espouse descriptions of the school's intervention programs, a focus on high marks becomes visible. This focus on high marks continues to resurface within each dimension of expectations and will be explored throughout the rest of this chapter. I suggest that S1's community expectations initiate the filtration of optimism for achievement in S1. Based on this claim, the following section explores how optimism filters through the school-wide expressive order into the teacher's individual classrooms, as they regulate literacy and learning.

#### **4.2.2 The Regulative Discourse of School 1 Teachers**

*Regulative Discourse/Teacher Expectations – expectations regarding learner academic potential shaped by the expressive order; i.e. why and how knowledge is transmitted*

As previously mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the majority of teachers I interviewed originally grew up in the surrounding community and/or attended the school where they currently teach. They have overcome conditions of poverty and beat the socio-economic odds by moving out of the area and pursuing an educational career. When asked about the future academic potential of their learners, the majority of teachers I interviewed in S1 responded with high expectations, i.e. believing that all of their learners have the potential to pass at the end of the year as well as succeed in life.

I propose that S1 teacher expectations are based upon the high expectations of the community/school and therefore regulate teaching and learning in significant ways. Again, the relation between community, school, and teacher is based on the socio-educational hierarchy, which relays the process of expectation transmission. Strategic teacher membership in efforts, such as the school's intervention/remediation committee, a new library initiative, the successful implementation of computer labs, as well as grade-level schemes and phase-level meetings, indicate that teachers in S1 are proactively engaged in their role as an educator. I suggest in this dissertation that there is a relationship between S1 teachers' high expectations, their proactive involvement to improve teaching and learning, and the school's higher than average academic achievement in literacy (as compared to the district's mean).

T4 was most concerned with the future of South Africa and the need for literate, productive, citizens to enhance the future of the country. When I asked T4, "Do you expect all of your students to pass?" I received an answer that indicates a reasonable, yet optimistic outlook:

Yea, I think [all of my students] are going to pass. There are those [learners] who are doing very bad, but we are trying our hardest.

These efforts and expectations held over the student body and inside the classroom carry particular beliefs and ideals from society, which mediate an instructional theory. It is this mediation of expectations that regulates classroom instruction. The following section

points to the particular *Source(s)* of teachers' expectations and suggests *how* and *why* S1 teachers regulate literacy in three significant areas: 1) teachers' concept of an ideal learner, 2) teachers' beliefs regarding language and learning, as well as 3) teachers' perceived characteristics of learners and its effect on academic performance.

#### **4.2.3 Source(s): A Theory of Teaching and Learning in School 1**

*Source – teacher beliefs that mediate instruction, based upon expectations; i.e. concept of the ideal learner, relationship between language and learning, and the effects of learner characteristics on performance*

Teachers are more than just transmitters of information. Teachers are the product of a complex system of knowledge transmission that has been *produced* and *recontextualized* before it even reaches the classroom, known as the *reproduction* of knowledge (See Chapter 2, Section 2.10). This process can be conceptualized as Bernstein's 'pedagogic device', which explains how knowledge is particularly shaped and transmitted between contexts and reproduced by teachers differentially, depending on the ideals, values, beliefs, solidarities, and motivations of a society (Bernstein 1996; Maton & Muller 2007)

In order to most effectively explicate the *Source(s)* of expectations, I will now provide an analysis of how S1 teachers' socially shaped expectations regulate their concept of the ideal learner, their connection between language and learning, and their beliefs regarding learners' characteristics. This will eventually show an interconnectedness between and among the other dimensions of expectations, such as *Outcome*, *Position*, and *Form/Mode*.

##### **4.2.3.1 The Ideal Learner**

The most significant *Source* of expectations is that of the teacher's concept of the ideal learner. Previously reviewed in section 2.11 of this dissertation, I will now use Bernstein's (1990) differentiated concepts of *visible* and *invisible* pedagogy to understand teachers' expectations regarding the ideal learner. *Visible* and *invisible* pedagogy constitute two different types of ideal learners that are produced and relayed through teachers' regulative

discourse. Depending on the teachers' expected outcome for learner achievement, a *visible* pedagogy produces expectations for performance, whereas *invisible* pedagogy produces expectations for competence. I suggest these two types of ideals are relevant to my study, as they constitute a relation between expectations, pedagogical beliefs, and achievement.

S1 teachers project a unanimous vision of how the best learner in their class should behave and most importantly, *perform*. Based upon the theoretical conceptualization of an ideal learner, S1 teachers hold a *performance centered* ideal. When asked to describe the best learner in class, teachers' responses were quite similar:

T1: He knows all the work that you do, and you can give them work and within 10 minutes she will tell, 'Miss, I'm finished'.

T2: Anything that you give, him or her can do... I do have the best learners that are performing very well.

T3: They can do the work without being helped, and they can achieve those learning outcomes... He's good in spelling. He's good in making sentences, tenses.

T4: [The best learners are the] kids who are doing well. If you give them work or homework, they submit on time.

This focus on *performance* carries with it numerous implications for other instructional beliefs as well as distinct social organizing within the school and community. Ultimately, these implications can all be traced back to expectations. Teachers who hold a *performance-centered* concept of the ideal learner expect high marks (or grades). Therefore, the implications for learning and teaching inform particular strategic actions. For example, the implementation of intervention or remedial programs assumes that if learners are given appropriate support from the teacher, then their marks will improve, ultimately exhibiting the desired level of performance. A further exploration of intervention/remedial programs will be discussed within the dimension of *Form/Mode* in section 4.2.6.

#### **4.2.3.2 Learner Characteristics**

The second relevant *Source* of expectations is found within teachers' perceived relationship between learner performance and learner characteristics. This relationship can also be linked to teachers' concept of an ideal learner. With a focus on *external* marks and performance, teachers at S1 believe academic achievement can be influenced by *external* learner characteristics, such as ethnicity, socio-economic status, home language, and sex/gender. This 'affected' expectation shows a link between the *performance-centered* ideal learner and the *external* learner characteristics.

According to Cotton (1989), if learner characteristics shape teacher expectations, then teachers may hold differentiated expectations for particular learners. I suggest that these 'affected' expectations may influence the way teachers think about their instruction as well as the level of expected learner achievement. Based on S1's *Origin* of expectations, socialization within the S1 community may provide exposure to a heterogeneous context, which leads to a focus on output or performance and hence more individual learner characteristics, displaying an *external* orientation to society. What will become even more apparent is that this *external* orientation can be found within the other dimensions of expectations and may shape pedagogical beliefs in particular ways.

#### **4.2.3.3 Language and Learning**

The final component of S1 teacher beliefs that mediate instruction (i.e. *Source*) is the role of reading/writing in order to learn new knowledge. The relationship between 'learning to read' and 'reading to learn' is the foundation of education. Without linguistic independence from the teacher, a learner will not have independent access to other forms of knowledge in a world full of diverse learning areas. The majority of S1 teachers were able to articulate the significance of reading/writing in contrast to oral/speaking skills. For example, when asked, "Do you think it is more important to be able to read and write a language or be able to speak and use proficient oral skills? In other words, which do you believe must be emphasized most in your classroom?" teachers replied:

T1: Reading and writing darling. They are the most important things. They are the most important things in any learning area.

T2: It's reading and writing. I'm telling you... It's useless if you can even speak English fluently, if you cannot write it.

The relation between language and learning in S1 displays a *connected* relation with social significance that can be traced back to the *Origin*. Because S1 is located within an urban, socially mobile, heterogeneous context, access to diverse professional opportunities may be more visible and open. I suggest teachers and learners in S1 are able to see a future in which the development of the surrounding city/society can be achieved by anyone. Therefore, a focus on *performance* in other learning areas, such as mathematics and science, due to a proficient level of literacy skills, would be expected and emphasized in order to progress socially and economically.

#### 4.2.4 Positioning Intelligence

*Position – teacher beliefs regarding the intelligence of learners as it relates to the potential for learners to achieve; i.e. either fixed or incremental*

The transmission of knowledge in school carries underlying beliefs regarding the learner, such as ideal behavior/performance and the effects/or lack of effects of learners' characteristics on performance. "Understanding how teachers perceive students is important since perceptions can lead to altering pedagogy in line with beliefs about students" (Rubie-Davies, Hattie, & Hamilton 2006 in Rubie-Davies 2010). Based on this I suggest that teachers' beliefs regarding learner *intelligence* are a significant dimension of expectations that stems from a socially shaped *Position*. Based upon a study produced by Rubie-Davies (2010) that discusses the relation between teacher expectations and learner attributes, I distinguish teachers' beliefs regarding learner intelligence as either *fixed* (i.e. learners either have the ability or not) or *incremental* (i.e. all learners can achieve, given appropriate instructional support).

The majority of S1 teachers espouse an *incremental* position regarding intelligence. Their responses are optimistic in nature and substantiate the *Origin*, expressive order, regulative discourse, as well as *Source* of expectations. I use multiple data excerpts to form a judgment of this incremental position, referring to passing at the end of the year, enacted strategies, future matriculation potential, as well as level of cognitive demand for weak learners. For example:

T1: Yes, [I feel I am able to help struggling students] a lot. I want them all to pass and go on to grade four... Yes, [I believe that the curriculum is appropriate for] most of them...because they can do the work. They can do the creative writing, the spelling, the readings, all of it.

T3: I try and motivate them. I ask them, I ask one of them, to come and read, even the one who can't read. When you see he's struggling, I'll tell him you know what? You did well and you need to practice and then read this thing and come back tomorrow and tell me what you have read about.

T4: Yea, I think [all of my students] are going to pass. There are those who are doing very bad, but we are trying out hardest... That's why I even stay in the class even during lunch time, you see?

I suggest that the relatively high expectation orientation of S1 and its community produces an *incremental* intelligence position due to the expectation that all learners can in principle achieve. It might seem contradictory that teachers' expectations are affected by learner characteristics, yet they still believe that intelligence is incrementally shaped. I suggest that it makes sense here, for two specific reasons:

1. A *performance-centered* ideal learner carries an emphasis on high marks, in turn creating the strategic planning and implementation of intervention/remediation programs. Therefore, this enacted ideal supports an *incremental* position in which the weakest learners do have the potential to achieve and improvement is possible.
2. A heterogeneous, urban, and socially mobile *Origin* exposes teachers to multiple forms of life. External factors, such as the diversity of language and culture, are prevalent in and around S1, therefore shaping teacher expectations as well as the community's perception of life. Yet, the social and economic progression/mobility of the S1 community produces an egalitarian energy within the teachers (high

expectations for all learners). This may partly explain why optimism regarding learner potential to achieve is present, indicating an incremental position of intelligence, regardless of learner characteristics.

#### 4.2.5 The Outcome of Expectations: Motivational Behavior

*Outcome – the translation of teacher expectations into motivational behaviors regarding reading/writing; i.e. either intrinsic or extrinsic*

In conjunction with a performance-centered ideal learner, expectations shaped by regular exposure to external, diverse, learner characteristics, and a connection between 'learning to read' and 'reading to learn', S1 teacher expectations are translated into some intrinsic but mainly extrinsic motivational behaviors. These particular forms of motivation relate to the school's emphasis on high marks. Teachers at S1 not only intrinsically motivate reading and writing through hands-on activities, relevant topics, and personal time for independent reading, but S1 teachers and administration reward learners extrinsically through academic competition and annual parcels for high marks. These forms of motivation display a *performance-centered* theory of instruction, as S1 believes in academic achievement and provides certain means with which learners are able to progress.

The prevalence of an *external* orientation (i.e. extrinsic motivation and a performance centered ideal) suggests that S1 and its community deploy a particular form of socialization. I suggest that tracing this pattern of *externally* affected expectations back to the *Origin* of S1 provides a source for why these teachers (and learners) are orientated to a particular way of understanding the world. The mindset of teachers and learners has been shaped due to historical as well as present circumstances of life. When asked, "Do you think ethnicity affects learner performance?" T3 replied:

Most of the time, this kind of thing, they are coming from their mindset. Because according to me, a learner can be White, Black, or whatever. It's supposed to perform in the same way. But according to them [the learners], they think that's why this one is performing [better], because he's a White person, he's got everything, you understand? And I used to tell them that it doesn't go like that, the curriculum is one.

Exposure to diverse levels of economic and social standards influences *how* teachers and learners perceive the operation or function of the 'outside' world. The ways in which this exposure shapes teacher expectations and ultimately learner performance are the focus of this study. In the following section, I consolidate the findings from each dimension explained thus far and propose an explanation for S1's *Form/Mode* of instruction as well as why S1 may be performing higher than the average school, relative to the district's mean scores in literacy.

#### **4.2.6 Form/Mode of Instruction**

*Form/Mode - the degree to which teachers individualize, partially individualize, or communalize their instruction based upon their espoused instructional strategies and curriculum modifications*

The socio-educational hierarchy, which condenses the transmission and regulation of expectations, ultimately shapes teachers' pedagogical beliefs. I suggest that these beliefs carry expectations that may influence literacy skill development due to particular *forms* and *modes* of instruction. S1 has a context-specific orientation to expectations regarding teaching and learning, and from which it produces an enacted *Form* of instruction that is 'subsidized' by the *Mode* or the particular modifications of the curriculum. Grade 3 teachers work together as a team in order to provide the necessary instruction to achieve high learner marks required for the ANA and WCED assessments. According to T1:

We divide our [grade 3] learners. We take the bright ones, the good class ones, the average ones, and the weak ones, so that we have a time for them, so that we have enough time to emphasize the work for them... That is why we do this exercise. We want them to pass...

This leveled grouping or streaming denotes a *partial individualization*, which acknowledges the individual learner's expected level of ability, yet also communalizes by grouping particular 'types' of learners. S1 teachers differentiate the level of cognitive demand based upon their expectations, yet may send messages of capabilities through this grouping scheme (Rubie-Davies 2010). A potential reason for this *partial individualization* could be large size of S1 and the number of learners per grade. Because the learner-teacher ratio is approximately 35-40 learners to every 1 teacher, ability streaming allows for individualizing at the level of the group, which is why describing the *Form/Mode* of instruction as *partially individualizing* remains appropriate. The grade 3 teachers emphasize that this grouping strategy is beneficial due to teacher rotation, which allows learners to gain new knowledge from a different point of view.

T1: They don't have me only... We shift, the next time, Ms. K came to my class and do the work with them, and Ms. M and Ms. C. So we do that shifting each and every morning till the break time. And after break time, they go back to their [regular] classes.

S1 teachers seem to be generous with their time as 3 out of the 4 expressed the importance of providing extra support or remediation either during lunch, afterschool, or during holidays. This more pure form of *individualization* leads to differentiated instruction, or curriculum modifications, at the level of the individual. T2 explains that setting goals for learners who fall in the 40-50% range is essential if the school wants to improve its pass rate. According to T1, intervention books are used with learners who are weak in literacy skills. Furthermore, the principal of S1 asks to see weak learners' intervention books as well as their progress reports. According to T3:

The approach [used for a writing lesson] won't be the same because there are those learners who are very weak, and that I must know ah, see these ones? And this is how I must do it. Maybe I will scaffold it. I'll do it step by step and then to them I must always go and sit with them and tell them, now you do this... At the same time, there are those who move fast, they know just how this things' supposed to go.

These *Forms* of individualization suggest that S1 does differentiate at the group level as well as for the individual learner, whose literacy level is differentially assessed and achieved. I suggest that this *Form/Mode* of instruction is a result of the ideals, beliefs, and

solidarities of the school and its surrounding community, which can be traced through each dimension of expectations (e.g. *Origin, Source*, etc.). Because S1 has an optimistic outlook regarding the potential abilities of its learners as well as high expectations filtering through from the community into the school, the classroom discourse carries these high expectations, shaping instructional beliefs and ultimately learners' literacy skills. It is this particular socio-educational orientation that creates a successful school-level pattern in S1.

#### **4.2.7 School 1 – Final Thoughts and Implications for Achievement**

In conclusion, S1 displays a relatively optimistic orientation, which originates from the *Origin* of teachers' expectations, i.e. a visible and diverse democracy driven by egalitarianism. This optimism paired with an emphasis on the *external* (heterogeneous) characteristics of the surrounding context provides a rationale for why S1 produces *high* school-wide/teacher expectations, a *performance-centered* ideal learner (with a focus on high marks), *affected* performance expectations based on learner characteristics, as well as *extrinsic* motivation and *partial individualization* that groups learners according to perceived ability and modifies the cognitive demand of the curriculum. Overall, S1's expectation orientation can be described as an *external* socialization or culture.

Due to an *external* emphasis found within each expectation dimension, a culture of social *communalizing* is produced from the diversity of S1's community and surrounding urban environment. Ethnicities and language practices (i.e. *external* characteristics) are visibly segregated and culturally communalized (to a certain extent), and, therefore, instructional beliefs are also shaped by this *external* orientation. I have described an overall school-level pattern, which constitutes a theory for the transmission of expectations and the relation between each dimension of expectations. I suggest this optimistic, communal, and externally focused pattern within each level of expectations is linked to the school's relatively higher literacy achievement in S1. In the following section, I contrast S1 with an entirely different school orientation to expectations. This contrast will reveal how socially unique expectation orientations may still produce relatively high achievement.

### 4.3 The Origin of School 2 – A Foundation for Learning and Teaching

*Origin – the community's expectations, outlook, support, history, and context; i.e. why teachers have developed particular expectations or orientations to the expressive order of the school as it is relayed through the teacher's regulative discourse.*

I travel through the same method of analysis used for S1, beginning with the most significant dimension, *Origin*. The context of S2 provides very different reasons, compared to S1, as to *why* the school is performing well above the WCED district's average scores in literacy (WCED 2011). These differences stem from the school's surrounding community and will be illuminated to shape a particular school-level orientation to the expressive ordering. The school-level orientation will be emphasized throughout the dimension analysis and will ultimately point to a unique socio-educational relation between the community, S2, and its teachers.

The particular social, economic, and cultural characteristics of a community, such as ethnicity, language, size, location, and access to knowledge, relate to teachers' beliefs regarding academic achievement. From the South African Census 2001, S2's immediate surrounding area contains a population of approximately 355. Each and every person counted in the census for this area claimed Afrikaans as their first language and 'Coloured' as their ethnicity. Furthermore, 342 out of the 355 have been residing in the Western Cape since birth. One could speculate that these permanent residents may have also been residing in the *community* since birth, due to its isolated location. Public transport, such as trains are not regularly used, due to the community's rural location; over 50% claim that transport is not applicable to their living situation and 28% claim that their primary mode of transportation is by foot, leaving only 22% of the community with access to motorized transport, such as cars, buses and minibus taxis (SA Census 2001). Each of these socio-economic characteristics produces implications that may shape the socio-educational relations between the community, school, teacher beliefs, and academic achievement.

For example, S2's small isolated location does not have the same contextual elements as that of an urban community school, which provides exposure to diversity. Because of the lack of public transport, travel time is much longer to the nearest town, resulting in a smaller amount of social migration in and out of the community. I suggest that these factors contribute to the homogeneity of the community culture. Furthermore, I suggest that the lack of access to employment due to minimal transport and isolation is associated with a sense of depression and immobility. Based upon the *Origin* of the S2 context described above, life in a small rural community shapes the school's theory of instruction in a way that reflects the condition of the community and accounts for the lack of social support. Although this condition would seem to contradict S2's high achievement in literacy, it will become evident that a particular expectation orientation stems from the community's condition, shapes the school's expressive order, and influences teachers' beliefs regarding instruction in ways that enhance the culture of learning and teaching.

One of the most significant factors that embed certain ways of thinking and expecting, as it relates to teaching and learning, is the high prevalence of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) throughout the community and surrounding areas. FAS is the result of prolonged prenatal exposure to alcohol, and the effects on children vary across a spectrum of cognitive and physical disabilities (Crede *et al* 2010). The west coast winelands of the Western Cape provide considerable amounts of and access to alcohol, and more specifically, wine. Because of under-employment, isolation, and lack of social mobility, this rural community suffers from an extreme yet preventable social condition. What will become evident throughout this analysis is how FAS affects the community as well as the mindset of the teachers in S2. I will suggest that FAS does contribute toward teachers' beliefs regarding their theory of instruction and ultimately, regulates a particular form of learner consciousness, i.e. literacy.

When I asked T1 *why* she believes some of her learners will not pass, she replied:

Say a quarter of them, have, what do you call it in English? FAS? Alcohol Syndrome? See? So other is circumstances at home, poverty, mother and father are illiterate, and no work at home. And they are drinking, not interested in the children, don't even come to school. So that are the main reasons.

The community of S2 openly exhibits a depressed temperament regarding the potential of its socio-economic future. The lack of parental support creates a strong boundary between the home and school. This in turn leads to particular instructional decisions, such as more individualization and 1:1 instruction. I will refer back to these issues throughout the dimension analysis in order to point to reasons as to why teachers in S2 think, believe, value, and expect particular outcomes related to the learners of the school.

A second exceptional aspect of S2's *Origin* is that of the learners' positive attitude to and valuing of their primary school. According to the teachers of S2, this respectfulness originates in the surrounding community, stemming from the traditional culture, and is reinforced on a daily basis by each and every teacher. At the end of my interview with T1, she added:

[Our Learners] are proud of their school...If you walk down [the corridor], I don't think you will see a paper lying around. They are very proud of their school and they love their teachers. I have a place there in my class, a corner, full of letters for me.

This sense of school pride or appreciation is a direct result of the original value system that has been transferred over time from generation to generation within the community. The transmission of values is directly related to the contextual homogeneity, as exposure to other value systems is sealed off (to a certain degree) by the lack of social movement in and out of the community. Although the community lacks a supportive home structure, (e.g. due to alcoholism, illiteracy, and disinterest in education), the original morals and values of the community continue to be passed down and relayed within the school, shaping the attitude and behavior of the learners, therefore, regulating their outcomes and competencies. Most teachers will agree that if learners behave appropriately and exhibit respect, the transmission of knowledge is less interrupted and more effective.

As *Origin* includes the expectations of the community, it is evident that the general lack of optimism and support regarding children’s academic achievement has an effect on the extent to which learners are able to extend their knowledge acquisition within the home. Although it would seem reasonable to assume that a lack of home support would lead to underachievement, S2 continues to produce relatively high literacy marks. How this aspect of S2’s *Origin* shapes the school’s culture as well as teachers’ expectations and beliefs regarding their instruction will become apparent throughout the remainder of this chapter. Reasons for this seeming contradiction will be discussed in the analysis of each expectation dimension.

The table below summarizes the previously mentioned components of *Origin* for S2.

**Table 11 - The Origin of School 2**

| <b>Origin of School 2</b>             |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <b>Type of Context</b>                | Small, Rural, Homogeneous, Isolated, 100% ‘Coloured’  |
| <b>Size of School &amp; Community</b> | 513 Learners, 20 Teachers; 355 counted in SA Census   |
| <b>Language</b>                       | 100% Afrikaans-speaking   |
| <b>Transportation</b>                 | 50% immobile, 28% by foot, 22% by car, bus, or taxi   |
| <b>Migration</b>                      | Little social mobility; 343 out of 355 residing in Western Cape since birth; small percentage of learners travel from neighboring towns in the West Coast Municipality District |
| <b>Community Support</b>              | High prevalence of illiteracy, alcoholism, unemployment, and Fetal Alcohol Syndrome; Traditional values relayed by the school promoting well-behaved, respectful learners       |

Generally, the *Origin* of S2 can be described as rural, isolated, depressed, socially immobile, economically stagnant, and under-employed; *yet*, the community values respectful character and manner, therefore transmitting these values into the school. Furthermore, the community shapes the ways teachers account for the lack of social support through particular pedagogical beliefs espoused in the interviews. In the sections to come, I will describe each dimension of expectation, trace the findings back to *Origin*, and ultimately

generate a school-level orientation, which will provide an explanation for high learner achievement in S2.

#### **4.3.1 Origin and the Expressive Order of School 2**

*Expressive Order/School-Wide Expectations – beliefs and actions regarding the student body, i.e. the multiple external factors that contribute toward the regulation of literacy in the classroom*

The *Origin* of S2 has a complex effect on the school-wide expectations due to the external community's condition. I suggest that because of the depressed environment surrounding the school, the expressive order of S2 exhibits an average, reasonable, expectation regarding the potential of its learners and is regulated by the context-specific issues. Based upon the interview data, the principal and teachers of S2 are acutely aware of the local circumstances; therefore, school-wide expectations may be shaped by this awareness, based on issues related to unemployment, illiteracy, and alcoholism. According to T1:

[The principal] knows the circumstances, he knows the people, he knows the vicinity, he knows that ok, maybe it is his desire for the whole school or the whole class to pass, but in the back of his mind he knows that it isn't possible.

This realistic view, regarding learner potential and school-wide improvement strategies, is espoused unanimously by all four teachers that were interviewed. Based on the interview data, S2 does not expect all of its learners to pass, although, the principal/school committees implement strategies that monitor and evaluate *teachers'* instruction that aim to improve learner achievement in literacy. For example, curriculum advisors regularly assess teachers' lesson plans, methods of instruction, as well as learner assignments in order to monitor the productivity and effectiveness of the school as a whole. Also, teachers are required to set quarterly benchmarks for each learning area. This instructional strategy is related to an expectation of potential learner achievement. Once a benchmark is set, teachers are required to submit their instructional strategies to be implemented for improving learner marks in order to reach the set benchmark. This monitoring of

instruction holds high expectations over the teachers of S2, emphasizing accountability and sustainability for school improvement. In association with high expectations of teachers and accountability methods, teachers at S2 set annual goals for learner improvement at the end of each academic year. T1 explains:

Every year, at the end of every year, we have to complete a form, and then you must state on the form the percentage that you want to pass for the next year. Say, maybe 10% or whatever. You know that you are not going to reach it, but you work up to that so I think that that motivates us [the teachers] to reach that 10%.

The expressive order of S2 emphasizes high expectations of teachers and accountability regarding their learners. Teachers are motivated to improve their own performance as well as their learners' performance. The self-efficacy of the teachers becomes evident as a level of individual or personal accountability is enforced within the culture of the school. In relation to these systemic school-wide methods, the former principal left the teachers of S2 with a sense of responsibility and autonomy in their own classroom practices. According to the description of the former principal's regulation of school activity, teachers reported that they must *always* be on time, be at school every day, emphasize time on task in the classroom, genuinely commit to education inside *and outside* of school, and instruction must be taken seriously. Because the former principal managed S2 in this way for 40 years, an effective culture of the school is sustained, therefore contributing to the regular high learner achievement. It will become evident throughout each dimension of expectation how this effective school culture shapes a theory of instruction based on particular, context-specific teacher expectations.

#### **4.3.2 The Regulative Discourse of School 2 Teachers**

*Regulative Discourse/Teacher Expectations – expectations regarding learner academic potential shaped by the expressive order; i.e. why and how knowledge is transmitted*

The average, realistic, school-wide beliefs and strategic actions regulating learner achievement, (i.e. the expressive order), parallel the teachers' regulative discourse in S2. Generally, teachers in S2 believe that only *some* learners will be able to pass or achieve literacy proficiency; yet, effective instructional strategies are visibly implemented to counteract underachievement. This belief that only *some* learners will pass is based upon the effects of FAS as well as effects from the surrounding community. For example:

T3: Now most of them, in our area, the parents are drinking, and they don't care much for the children. And you can see those who do good, the area where they live or they are better than some of those who can't do it. But we have some people who doesn't look at the circumstances, they try to do better, but we don't have much support from the parents... We can try to talk to them, we can preach to them, but sometimes its in here and out there, it goes on in the circumstances at home really.

Furthermore, because of the area's homogeneity, high academic achievement is regarded as an internal possession of a unique characteristic that only certain learners possess. This belief will be further explored when I discuss S2 teachers' concept of an ideal learner or a *Source* of teacher expectations (See Section 4.3.3.1). In order to illustrate teachers' regulative discourse, I will provide a few excerpts from the interview data that exhibit a differentiated level of expectations regarding the academic learning potential of the students:

T3: Some of them [will complete matric]. I think a lot of them will. They have the motivation, we motivate them everyday, some of the students go to high school and we have much interest in them. We ask the teachers there how they perform and they know we watch what they are doing... I think most of them, they want to be educated and they want to have a better life than they have now.

T4: [Some learners] are so weak. A lot of them, and we got the overage kids in the class, and those who got learning barriers. So I don't think all of them are going to pass.... Those ones in my class, I don't think [they are going to complete matric]. Because they, some of them, are, when the mother drinks, so some of them got that, and then the learning barriers. I can't push them to do something because they don't want to do it.

From these teachers' explanations as to *why* learners will or will not be able to achieve, a balance between high and low expectations can be inferred. Teachers 1 and 2 also provide both high and low expectations regarding learner achievement, similar to Teachers 3 and 4.

Because of this balance, I describe the regulative discourse of S2 teachers as average (neither wholly optimistic or pessimistic), yet realistic, in relation to the expressive order of the school, and ultimately regulated by the condition of the community.

Regarding T3's reference to continued support for learners who have reached high school, I suggest S2 teachers are committed to education, not only inside, but also *outside* the school walls. These teachers are positioned to take on a form of parental responsibility in order to maintain educational progress due to the lack of a supportive home structure. The relation between teacher and learner in S2 sustains a productive and effective environment for academic success within the community. Although not all learners are held to such high expectations, teachers believe that there are *some* who possess what is needed to achieve. Again, this directly relates to the concept of an ideal learner, which will be discussed in further detail in the following section. The relationship between teachers' regulative discourse and their instructional theory will become apparent as I examine the implications that expectations have for beliefs and outcomes in the classroom.

### **4.3.3 Source(s) – A Theory of Teaching and Learning in School 2**

*Source – teacher beliefs that mediate instruction, based upon expectations; i.e. concept of the ideal learner, relationship between language and learning, and the effects of learner characteristics on performance*

As explained in S1's introduction to *Source*, a theory of instruction stems from the production of knowledge, recontextualized into the curriculum, and finally to the classroom where knowledge is reproduced (Bernstein 1987). This process transfers particular beliefs and ideals, which the teacher carries in their theory of instruction. S2 teachers regulate literacy through a particular form of instruction that makes assumptions based on the surrounding community context. I will now provide a description of S2's concept of the ideal learner, their understanding of the relation between language and learning, and the beliefs regarding learner characteristics and achievement. What will become apparent is the relationship between each sub-dimension of *Source* as well as *Source's* relation to

*Origin* and the *Location* of expectations, i.e. the expressive order of the school and the regulative discourse of teachers.

#### **4.3.3.1 The Ideal Learner**

In contrast to S1's *performance-centered* ideal learner (with an emphasis on high marks) S2 teachers espouse an emphasis on the *internal* characteristics of learners, therefore exhibiting an ideal related to competence. I will refer to this as a *competence-centered* concept of the ideal learner. This ideal falls into a particular pattern of expectation or literacy regulation as it relates to the *Origin* of S2. Furthermore, the competence-centered ideal learner also explains the teachers' *Position* regarding intelligence, as well as the *Outcome* or motivational strategies. In order to make this connection, I will first describe why and how teachers in S2 believe that a learner possesses something that makes them academically successful.

The primary reason that impacts on S2 teachers' expectations and concept of the ideal learner is the prevalence of learners diagnosed with FAS. Because this condition effects cognitive as well as physical abilities, teachers believe that their learners either have the potential to succeed or lack the necessary "tools". In Watson's (2011) study regarding teachers and their concept of the 'urban' student, it was evident through interviews with teachers that particular expectations were attached to the term 'urban'. Furthermore, Watson suggests that teachers often generate "cultural constructs" or a redefinition based on context. In the case of S2, I suggest teachers may generate their own "cultural construct" of the FAS or S2 child and associate particular expectations stemming from the community culture and condition that shape pedagogical beliefs. T1 points out that some learners are often unable to remember new information and believes this is due to FAS, ultimately causing the inability to pass or matriculate. Although, T3 explains that the circumstance does not always have to limit educational success. I suggest that because of the isolation and homogeneity of S2, learners often appear the same; yet, if a learner does stand out among the rest of their classmates, it is due to the possession of some internal characteristic that not all learners have. According to T3:

[The best learner in my class is] enthusiastic. Also, wants to do more than the others, come and ask me... When he's finished with his work, he's also busy reading. And he come and ask me what does this mean, so enthusiastic. He wants to get the best marks, and he come and ask me but why is this wrong, what must I do to make it. Enthusiastic, wants to get to the top one day. He tries to do his best.

The internal possession of something others do not have is described specifically above. The best learner (or ideal learner) in S2 has an internal drive to achieve, and does just that. What is interesting to note is the difference between S1 and S2 in this instance. S1 teachers say that the best learner is one who *gets* the best marks, but S2 teachers describe the best learner as one who *wants* to get the best marks. The difference between “*gets* the best marks” and “*wants* the best marks” exhibits the *external* versus *internal* orientation to instructional theory, regulating literacy achievement. Based on this unanimous conceptualization among the teachers of a *competence-centered* ideal, learners are appreciated not for what they can do, but for what they have that is needed to do what is required to achieve. Furthermore, this explains why teachers believe only some learners will be successful. If there is no motivation or internal trait to support the acquisition of knowledge, then intelligence must be seen as fixed. This will be discussed in Section 4.3.4 on *Position*.

#### **4.3.3.2 Learner Characteristics**

According to Cotton (1989), numerous scholars have suggested that *external* characteristics of learners, such as their socio-economic status, have an effect on teachers' expectations. The majority of S2 teachers firmly believe that ethnicity, socio-economic status, home language, and sex/gender have no effect on learner performance. Therefore, I suggest that S2 teachers' evince a common *internal* orientation, in that the 'outside' has little or no effect on academic performance. Two reasons support this view:

- 1) The homogeneity of the community
- 2) The *competence-centered* ideal learner, i.e. a focus on internal characteristics.

Because the community of S2 is not exposed to diverse ethnicities, languages, cultures, or standards of living like those found in an urban context like Cape Town, I suggest S2 teachers believe that a capacity to learn is found internally, i.e. a competency.

Furthermore, because of the community's long-term isolation from these diverse features of an urban context, chances are there have not been many *visible* changes since the end of Apartheid. This leads to a static view of life in South Africa, which explains the firm "no" that I received from almost every teacher in response to questions such as, "Do you believe being White, Black, Coloured, Asian, Indian, etc. affects learner performance?" In contrast, the majority of teachers in S1 believe that learner characteristics do affect performance as the urban context provides visible differences between ethnicities, languages, socio-economic standards, and sex/gender. A theme of isolation effects will also be seen in the next sub-dimension of *Source*, i.e. Learning and Language.

#### **4.3.3.3 Language and Learning**

The relationship between learning to read and reading to learn is essential for independent future progression in an educational career. Teachers who expect high achievement in literacy should be keenly aware of this connection in order to produce literate learners. Teachers in S2 do not confidently espouse a connection between these two literacy practices. When asked whether it is more important to emphasize reading/writing or speaking/oral skills in class, teachers' responses did not connect language and learning:

T1: We first do the oral, and then we come to the writing.

T2: Reading and writing, it's better to teach it. [this teacher could not explain why]

T3: I think if he speaks well, he will also write well, most of it.

T4: [Reading, writing, and oral] go hand in hand.

Language, science, history, or any other learning area requires the ability to read a text, respond to it, and think critically about it. Teachers who are regularly exposed to the wide range of career opportunities in a city would know that for a learner to be successful, they must be able to read/write outside of a language class. I suggest the isolated nature of S2's community prevents exposure to these other forms of life, which would typically enhance the necessity of reading to learn, which is more prominently found in S1.

#### 4.3.4 Positioning Intelligence

In relation to a *competence-centered* ideal learner, *unaffected* or negligible expectations regarding learner characteristics, and the *Origin*, S2 teachers consistently espouse a *fixed Position* of intelligence, i.e. learners either have the ability or not. This *Position* follows the *internal* orientation of the S2 community and teachers, as it relates to learning and teaching. Three out of the four teachers in S2 support reasons as to why they believe some learners will not be able to achieve. Many of these reasons have been mentioned and discussed throughout the analysis of the previous expectation dimensions.

According to the teachers of S2, the most prevalent reasons as to why some learners will not pass or complete matric are:

- 1) Low literacy skill levels
- 2) A lack of internal motivation to learn or desire to achieve/excel in life
- 3) Fetal Alcohol Syndrome
- 4) Exceeding the appropriate age for their grade (due to internal characteristics)

These reasons elicit an *internally* focused expectation that positions learners on a spectrum of able or not able. Below is an example from T3 that supports this *fixed Position*:

I say you must do [the task] like this and this and this. Some of them can do it. But the others, but there is some of them who will never get to that level.

In contrast, teachers who hold an *incremental* intelligence *Position* would most likely believe that learners have the ability to achieve; all they need is remediation/intervention, intrinsic motivation to excel, and/or an alternative environment for learning that addresses the effects of FAS. It becomes evident that the rural community's isolated and depressed context has an impact on the beliefs held by the staff of S2. The socio-educational hierarchy for the transmission of expectations explains why this controls the teacher's beliefs regarding the potential to learn.

#### 4.3.5 The Outcome of Expectations

*Outcome – the translation of teacher expectations into motivational behaviors regarding reading/writing; i.e. either intrinsic or extrinsic*

Each teacher in S2 utilizes *intrinsic* motivational strategies. Many of the teachers express the use of relevant, visual, hands-on activities to get their learners interested in reading/writing. Others suggest taking their learners to the library on a regular basis in order to explore the infinite possibilities from reading. T3 designates a daily time for individual reading/writing as well as incorporates texts that interest learners. She believes that using the local newspaper (which must be brought in from the nearest town) ignites intrinsic interest, as learners want to read about the most recent headlines. The most commonly mentioned motivational strategy though, is consistent verbal reinforcement. For example:

T1: In my class every day, every day in my class before I start with my work, I tell my pupils, you know why you come to school? And they know they must come to learn. They want to go to grade 3. And I'm taking it another step further past grade 3. I say, remember you must end up in grade 12. So they know everyday I must come to school, I come to school for a purpose and not just to be in school.

These motivational strategies are the *Outcome* of S2 teachers' particular expectations. This intrinsic *Outcome* is in relation to the pattern found within each of the previously mentioned expectation dimensions, i.e. an *internal* orientation to teaching and learning. Because of S2 teachers' *intrinsic* motivational strategies, an internal desire to learn is inferred, therefore shaping the school's levels of achievement in literacy. The final dimension, *Form/Mode* will carry the *internal* orientation, leading to a particular theory of instruction, which leans strongly toward *individualizing* on a spectrum of extent or degree to which teachers modify their instruction for individual learners.

#### 4.3.6 Form/Mode of Instruction

*Form/Mode - the extent or degree to which teachers individualize, partially individualize, or communalize their instruction based upon their espoused instructional strategies and curriculum modifications*

Throughout each analysis of S2's expectation dimensions, a pattern or orientation has been suggested that points to an *internal* focus on learning and teaching. This pattern is consistent with the final dimension, *Form/Mode*, which suggests a strong *individualizing* theory of instruction. Each of the four teachers in S2 espouse particular teaching strategies that focus on the individual learner. This individualization can be traced directly back to the *Origin* of S2, i.e. an unsupportive community with low expectations. Therefore, according to T4, "The community doesn't play a big role. We as teachers must go out of our way to help the students." This explains the extensive commitment of S2 teachers to their learners.

Similar to S1, streaming is used in S2 as an intervention in order to individualize for different levels of learning. T1 explains:

We work in groups. Say when group 1 and group 2 is busy with their work on their level, I take the intervention group on their level and I give activities for them to do and mostly it is listening programs and how to sound, how to build words, make sentences.

Although this strategy does fall into a partial individualizing classification, as learners are communalized based on their individual capabilities, this is only one of many strategies that S2 teachers use to individualize. Below I list the most commonly used individualizing strategies:

- 1) Assessments determine individual level of ability
- 2) Afterschool, weekend, and interval (break time) remediation for weak readers
- 3) Sit with weak learners in class to give 1:1 instruction

- 4) Weaken pace, yet gradually increase cognitive demand for weak learners so that they stay within the zone of proximal development
- 5) Monitor learner progress in class
- 6) Differentiation of tasks by using multiple approaches for teaching

As *Mode* is subsidiary to *Form*, each strategy deployed by S2 teachers holds a keen interest for the individual learner. This may be heavily influenced by the small size of the school, which allows for a small teacher to learner ratio (approximately 1:28). Even though the teachers hold a *fixed Position* of intelligence, their expectations are based upon an underlying belief that learners are internally unique. This appears to lead to more individualization. Learners are given an extra amount of individual attention, which is ultimately based on the transmission of the community's socio-cultural beliefs into the teacher's expectation orientation, shaping beliefs regarding the *Mode* and *Form* of instruction.

#### **4.3.7 School 2 – Final Thoughts and Implications for Achievement**

With an emphasis on *internal* characteristics, which leads to more of an *individualizing Form* of instruction, S2 achieves relatively high results in literacy. Although the community is isolated, lacks social mobility, and does not readily support education outside of the school, teachers of S2 espouse beliefs that suggest accountability for learner achievement, as teachers are held more responsible for efficient and effective in-school practices. Furthermore, the community condition appears to shape teachers' expectations at the school level, which leads to a particular orientation that produces ways of regulating teaching and learning in the classroom. As mentioned above, the former principal instilled an effective school culture, which has sustained high expectations over teachers as well as teamwork among the staff. The prevalence of FAS is a serious issue that must be addressed from not only a social development perspective, but also from an educational point of view. And although these contextual issues would most likely hinder achievement in school, S2 is an exceptional example, which illustrates that if teachers take responsibility for their learners' education, individualization will most likely occur.

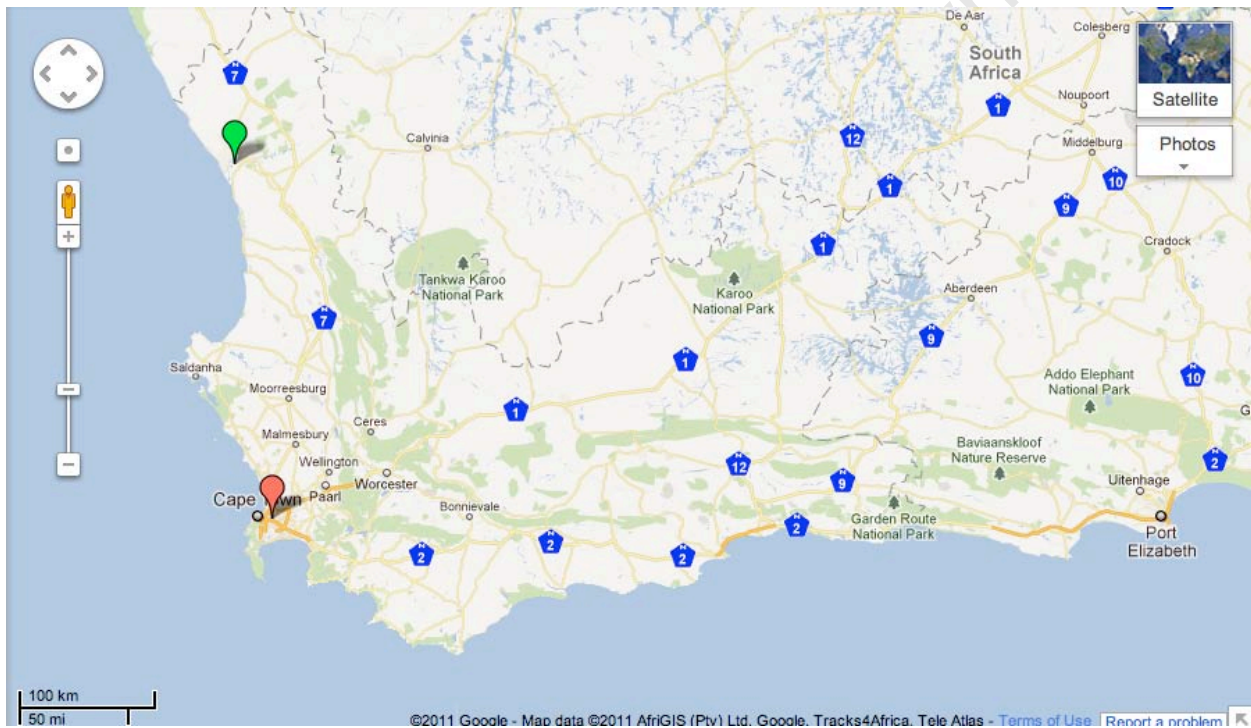
Because there is little *visible* opportunity for future progression in society within the community of S2, due to its rural setting, I suggest this may shape teachers' as well as learners' expectations and motivation to excel in life and beat the odds. This attitude creates a drive to achieve a "better" life than what is presently being experienced in the community. Furthermore, the small population allows for small class sizes, therefore leading to more individual instruction. Lastly, because S2 uses a language of learning and teaching (LOLT) or medium of instruction (MOI) that is the home language of the teachers and learners a sense of teacher self-efficacy is likely contributing to the high literacy achievement. Because language carries particular socio-cultural characteristics and is highly dependent on the situated context of its practice, S2 has a paradoxical advantage because of its isolated location. There is little coming and going within the community, therefore there is little effect on the complexity of communication between teachers and learners. S2's school-level orientation to expectations suggests an internal, individualizing, theory of instruction, which can be attributed to the particular ideals, issues, and conditions, specific to the community/context.

#### **4.4 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF S1 AND S2**

There is no magic formula that creates a successful school. Success is highly dependent on the context that surrounds the school, which infiltrates the expectations of the community, the school, and the teachers. Different conditions generate different ways of understanding the world in which we live. Teaching and learning are no different. Different conditions shape the way teachers expect learners to perform, therefore shaping the actual culture of the school. S1 and S2 are contrastive in more ways than one, and it is these differences that provide insight regarding the particular contextual features that play a role in their consistent relative success in literacy. This section extrapolates the most significant factors discussed in the analysis of S1 and S2 in order to provide insight regarding expectation's implications for achievement. Below is table 12, which illuminates the most significant factors that will be used to contrast S1 and S2 throughout this section of the analysis as well as an image retrieved from Google Maps that visually contrasts the location of both schools. An orange balloon marks S1 in the *lower* left corner, and a green balloon marks S2 in the *upper* left corner.

**Table 12 Comparative Analysis of S1 and S2**

| SCHOOL 1                   | SCHOOL 2                     |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Urban                      | Rural                        |
| Heterogeneous              | Homogeneous                  |
| Visible Society            | Invisible Society            |
| External Orientation       | Internal Orientation         |
| Communalizing Organization | Individualizing Organization |
| Connected to the Community | Removed from the Community   |



**Map of S1 and S2 Location**

One of the most significant factors that contributes toward the contextual orientation of each school is the *type* of location, i.e. *rural* (S2) versus *urban* (S1). It becomes evident that when I compare the consequences of a school’s location, teachers’ expectations are affected in distinct ways. S1’s urban location *provides visibility* to the surrounding society, whereas S2’s rural location *limits* outside societal *visibility*, therefore influencing the community’s understanding of how the world works. Because education is essentially preparation for

productive participation in society, teachers' ideals, values, and theories of teaching and learning may be impacted on by the amount of visible elements. For example, career opportunities carry underlying assumptions related to their visible prevalence. A lack of exposure to scientists or businessmen may affect the value a community places on the significance of those particular careers.

The type of location, as it creates a degree of visibility to society, also contributes toward a community's exposure to human diversity. The contrast between S1's heterogeneity and S2's homogeneity affects the differentially espoused ideal learner. A focus on *external* versus *internal* characteristics can be used to explain why teachers produce a particular form of instruction, based upon their particular expectations. Society's external ordering, i.e. the location, visibility, and degree of diversity, has the ability to shape the ordering of a school, therefore shaping how teachers regulate literacy. For example, I discuss in the analysis of S2, in section 4.3.3.1, that teachers espouse a *competence-centered* concept of the ideal learner, supported by a learner who "*wants to get the best marks*" (versus "*gets the best marks*" in S1). Based on the previous explanation of social ordering, regarding teachers' regulation of literacy, S2's *internal* orientation may be due to the lack of diversity, therefore, generating a belief that diversity is found within, i.e. a competency (versus S1's *external* orientation that focuses on output). I suggest that these differential orientations (i.e. *internal* versus *external*) are attributable to the community's unique way of life and each school's expectation orientation.

In tandem with the effects a community's external ordering has on the people, and especially the school, an organizing orientation is produced. This is evident from the contrast between S1's *communalizing* and S2's *individualizing* organizational culture. The way teachers "see" the world essentially requires a commensurate form of regulation to generate order. For example, S1's *incremental Position* of intelligence suggests that all learners possess what is needed to be successful, whereas S2's *fixed Position* of intelligence suggests only those who possess what is needed will be successful. In other words, learners are organized as communally able to pass, or individually unique. This shows the

relationship a school's organizational orientation has to the community, based upon the degree of societal visibility and diversity.

The ideal teacher has yet to be discussed within this thesis. Just as a teacher forms a concept of an ideal learner based upon the external ordering of the community and school, an ideal teacher is similarly formed through the community's expectations, which influence those of the school (e.g. the principal). An important contrasting factor that suggests one reason for S1 and S2's differential ideal teacher is based upon the social relations between the community and the school. S1 can be described as *more* connected to society due to the high expectations of the community and parents, whereas S2 may be considered *less* connected due to the static culture of the community, producing a boundary between the community and the school. S2 interestingly continues to remain within the culture of the community, even though the supportive relation is disconnected. This can be explained by the homogeneity and isolation of the community, which allows little access to differential ways of thinking, believing, and living. Because of these types of community-school relations, the role of the teacher is shaped in a particular way that provides what is necessary to most effectively benefit learner academic achievement.

The more closed relation between S2 and its community suggests that the ideal teacher can be described as heavily accountable to the learner and responsible for the academic as well as moral development of the student population. In contrast, S1's open relation to the community, which allows for more permeability of outside influences on learning (e.g. NGOs), creates an ideal teacher whose role does not take on as much responsibility for academic and moral development. Furthermore, partial accountability seems ideal in S1, as teachers believe that the community *should* play a role in the education of its future citizens. S2 teachers act as a buffer to society (i.e. due to the prevalent alcoholism and other issues) whereas S1 teachers incorporate provisions from society into their instruction.

In conclusion, each of these school-community characteristics exemplifies how expectation theory is located within a sociological expressive ordering that *regulates* teaching as well as

learning. Each school produces a particular orientation to expectations and education, which is based on contextual factors that ultimately shape the organization and ideals of the classroom. Although both schools are producing relatively higher-than-average literacy results, I suggest this is caused by the situated, contextual, conditions that have effectively shaped the school's expressive order and the teachers' regulative discourse. In the final chapter, Conclusion, I will apply the sociological and expectation theory that has been developed throughout this thesis and discuss implications from this study regarding learning and teaching, specifically related to literacy skill development.

University of Cape Town

# **Chapter V**

## **Conclusion**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The inspiration for this study arose out of my personal teaching experience working with “at-risk” learners whose literacy skills were far below proficiency for their grade level. Based on this problematic, I identified one of the most salient aspects in the ‘school effectiveness’ literature, teacher expectations, and located my conceptualization of expectations within Bernstein’s sociology of education. The methodological approach and data analysis of each relatively high performing school that I investigated displays this multi-dimensional concept of expectations and produces a unique, context-specific, expectation orientation for each school. Supported by the findings presented in Chapter 3 and 4, I suggest, in this chapter, a link between society, community, school, and teacher, that carries socially shaped expectations and has the power to shape instructional beliefs. In other words, the external ordering of society has the power to shape the internal ordering of the school (Bernstein 1987).

This chapter will discuss four main areas:

1. The novelty of my conceptualization of expectations through its utilization in this study
2. Pedagogical beliefs from teacher interview data that carry expectations and are associated with relatively high achievement in literacy
3. The implications of teachers’ pedagogical beliefs for effective literacy instruction
4. Suggestions for future research

### **5.2 Towards an Alternative Concept of Expectations**

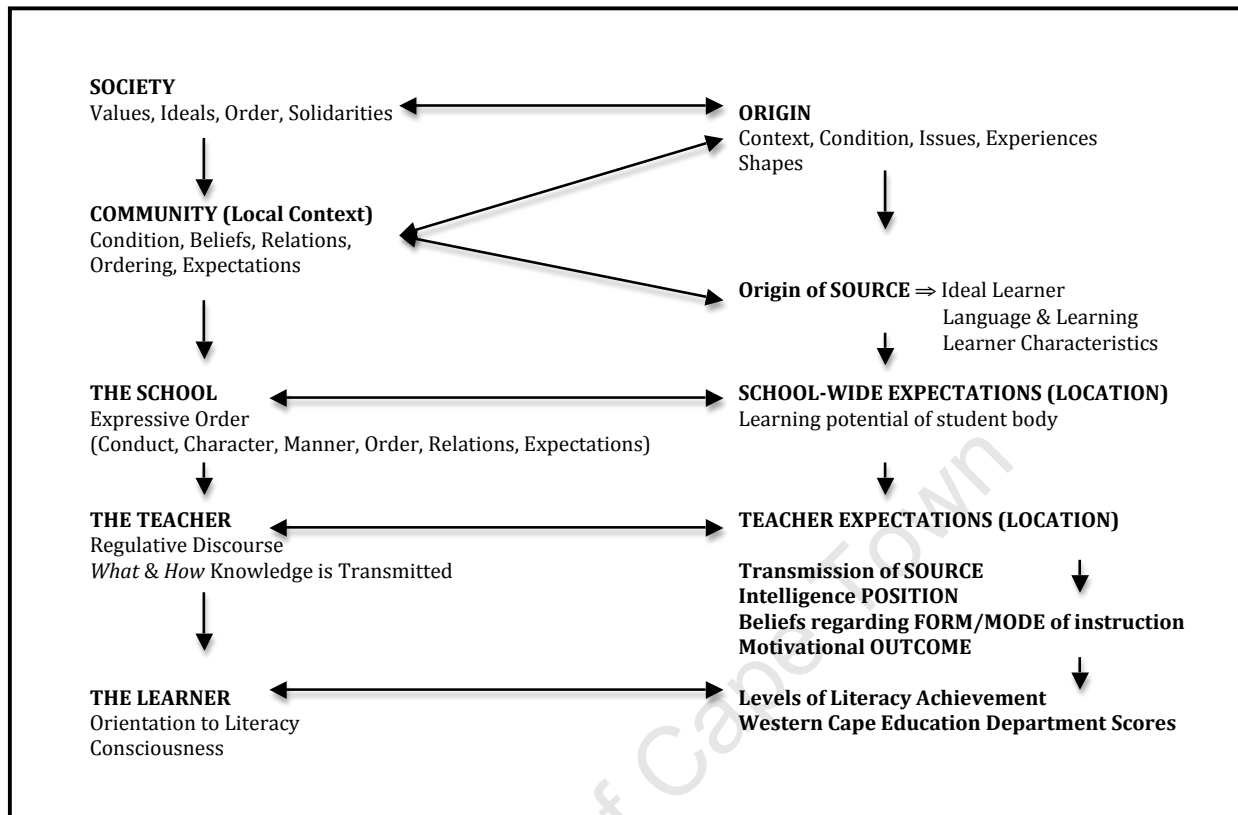
One of the main goals for this study was to generate a relationship between the school effectiveness literature on teacher expectations and Bernstein’s sociological concepts of expressive order and regulative discourse. These two schools of thought are often

considered separate and distinct from one another, school effectiveness being more psychological, and Bernstein purely sociological. I would like to propose, based on the findings from my study, that while teachers' expectations are located within the human psyche, society plays a contributing role in the shaping of these expectations, ultimately shaping the way teachers think about their role in the classroom.

Perhaps this relation can be compared to one of biology's most renowned disputes: are humans a product of their genetic nature or a product of the nurture of their environment? I believe the pre-determined genetic nature of the human mind plays a role regarding how teachers' expectations are formed, but the nurturing social conditions also play a role in the shaping of how the mind understands its surroundings, leading to particular ways of thinking, believing, and expecting. Furthermore, I suggest that expectations not only play a role in how teachers think about students, but expectations are also translated into outcomes or beliefs regarding teaching and learning. It is the 6 expectation dimensions (i.e. *Origin, Location, Source, Position, Outcome, Form/Mode*) that provide a site for investigating the relationship between expectations and teacher beliefs. Based on the findings from my study, an orientation can be synthesized from the dimensions of expectations and explained by the sociological ordering of society.

Below, Table 13 models the link between the expectation dimensions and the socio-educational hierarchy, presented and discussed in Chapter 2. This link is one of the most significant conclusions and contributions of my research, supported and validated by each of the two school-level, context-specific, expectation orientations discussed in Chapter 4. I align each school of thought, i.e. the psychology of expectations and the sociology of education, into a psychosocial model that displays how expectations originate from the ideals, values, and order of society. Furthermore, I show how expectations are not only shaped by society, but are carried from the community into the school and regulated by the teacher. The model can be read vertically, as society initially shapes and carries expectations, as well as horizontally, as the expectation dimensions relate across to each level of the social hierarchy. Ultimately, this model displays the transmission of expectations and forms a framework for explaining the findings of my investigation.

**Table 13 The Socio-Educational Hierarchy Linked with Expectation Dimensions**



Throughout the literature review of this thesis, I include empirical findings that suggest a correlation between high expectations and effective instruction. For example, Rubie-Davies’ study regarding learner intelligence and teacher expectations suggests: “differential teacher perceptions may mediate the effects of teachers’ expectations, particularly when also mediated by differential pedagogical beliefs and instructional practices” (2010: 132). In association with empirical findings by Rubie-Davies (2010) and others reviewed in Chapter 2, I use Bernstein’s sociological theory regarding education to explain how these “differential perceptions” came to be. In order to determine a cause for teachers’ “differential perceptions” and its effect on teaching and learning, I ask: “how does the outside become inside, and how does the inside reveal itself and shape the outside?” (Bernstein 1987: 563). The answer to this question provides an ordering that supports the socio-educational hierarchy I use to develop an expectation orientation, which stems from society and ultimately shapes pedagogical beliefs. In the next section I will illuminate

features of S1 and S2 that align with the expectation and socio-educational theory in order to suggest implications for *effective expectations* as they regulate pedagogical beliefs.

### **5.3 Implications for Achievement in Literacy – Individualization**

Based upon the two particular expectation orientations found in both S1 and S2, I suggest that *individualized instruction* is surprisingly common in both contexts, in particular ways that are context-specific, and forms part of an effective school-wide theory of instruction. This conclusion is supported by Rubie-Davies' (2007) study that suggests mechanisms, such as valuing the social climate of the classroom, questioning that promotes higher order thinking, encouraging individual task mastery goals, and providing regular feedback, are mediated by teachers' expectations. There is a prevalence of individualizing theory within these mechanisms, which supports my argument that teachers' particular expectation orientations shape beliefs regarding instruction. Based on the expectation theory, and because S1 and S2 consistently outperform their district's average literacy scores, I surmise the classroom practices espoused by S1 and S2 teachers are influenced by the *expectation effect* on teachers' pedagogical beliefs, ultimately leading to *forms* and *modes* of individualization. Throughout Chapter 4, I provided examples of strategic actions espoused by the teachers, both at the school and classroom level, such as leveled groups or streaming and 1:1 instruction.

This section, 5.3, contains four main aims:

1. To provide a comprehensive definition of individualized instruction
2. To support this with a list of the most commonly espoused strategies in S1 & S2
3. To provide reasons as to why S1 & S2 utilize individualizing strategies differently
4. To substantiate my argument with literature that supports the implementation of an individualizing pedagogy that differentiates instruction

**5.3.1 Individualized Instruction**<sup>7</sup> is comprised of instructional strategies that differentiate content, pace, and method based on diverse student abilities, interests, and learning styles. Differentiation occurs most importantly in relation to:

- Content - the material to be learnt (also referred to as *cognitive demand*)
- Pace – the amount of time given to a student to learn the content
- Method – the way the instruction is structured, relayed, and managed

### **5.3.2 Individualizing Strategies in S1 and S2**<sup>8</sup>

- Leveled grouping or streaming
- Small group instruction
- Peer to peer cooperative learning (differentiated method)
- 1:1 instruction
- Modification of cognitive demand
- Periodic assessment to determine progress and proficiency levels
- Monitor learner progress during class and over extended periods of time
- Afterschool, weekend, interval, and lunch time remediation
- Implementation of methods that match needs of learner and their learning style (e.g. visual/hands-on activities, code-switching, etc.)
- Extended time for slow learners (modification of pace)
- Differentiation of tasks (based upon abilities, interests, or learning styles)
- Maintain challenging instruction for strong students while keeping weak within the *zone of proximal development* (i.e. learner is still challenged and needs the teacher)

### **5.3.3 Regulation of Literacy in S1 and S2 – Individualizing Instruction**

No two students will enter a class with the same interests, needs, abilities, or experiences, and because of this, I suggest instruction should meet students' needs, specifically tailored

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<sup>7</sup> The comprehensive definition of *Individualized Instruction* is supported by Betrus' (2011) article, 'Individualized Instruction: Pace, Method, Content, Examples of Individualized Instruction, and Final Issues'. The article can be accessed online from *Education Encyclopedia*. URL: <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2085/Individualized-Instruction.html>

<sup>8</sup> The list of individualizing strategies is based on the S1 and S2 data and supported by an article produced by Willoughby (2005) on *differentiated instruction*.

to their unique characteristics, in order to effectively promote the individual learner's potential for academic success (Willoughby 2005). Based upon the findings of my research in S1 and S2, forms of individualizing instruction are prevalent. I surmise a relation between each school's higher-than-average achievement, their particular expectation orientation, and an individualizing theory of instruction. Because society shapes our ideals as well as our understanding of the world in which we live, each school's community has a particular effect on the school itself, leading to particular forms of individualizing instruction, and based upon the context-specific condition.

Each community carries cultural characteristics that shape its context-specific condition. This condition regulates the order of the school as well as teachers' instructional beliefs. For example, School 2 is a small, isolated, homogeneous, socially static, and depressed area suffering from alcoholism and Fetal Alcohol Syndrome. Throughout Chapter 4, I suggested that these context-specific characteristics shape the ways teachers think about their students and their instruction (i.e. the dimensions of expectations). Therefore, forms and modes of individualizing instruction are not only a product of teachers' experiences, but are also a product of the broader community's social influences that relay into the school, carried within a context-specific expectation orientation.

In association with the relation between context and instructional theory, school size appears to be one of the most significant factors in determining the different forms of individualizing that are found in S1 and S2. I suggest that because S1 is located within a metropolitan environment, the population of the community and school is much larger. People tend to gravitate toward cities due to higher employment opportunities as well as differential socio-economic conditions. S1's individualizing strategies account for the large size of the community/school as their strategies of grouping learners, based on *individual* ability, allows for teachers to control for large class sizes. In S2, a much smaller school, (nearly 1/3 the size of S1), more individualizing is espoused by the teachers. With smaller class sizes, it becomes easier to pay special attention to individual learners who may need content modifications or alternate methods of instruction.

These forms of individualizing strategies, found in S1 and S2, provide a model for positing a spectrum in which two poles can be determined. Both S1 and S2 espouse instructional beliefs that are located closer to Pole 1, and S2 located closer than S1.

- **Pole 1 – Individualizing** - pure 1:1 instruction that is modified specifically for the individual
- **Pole 2 – Communalizing** – instruction is the same for all, i.e. the same pace, content/cognitive demand, and method of transmitting information

While both schools are outperforming the average for their district, S2 does achieve higher marks in literacy than S1. While I cannot confidently conclude that this is due to more individualized instruction, as there may be other factors contributing to this higher achievement, I do surmise that individualized instruction is one of the many contributing factors that not only regulates high literacy achievement in both schools, but even higher achievement in S2. Based upon the six dimensions of teachers' expectations, in both schools, pedagogical beliefs relating to the individual learner are visible. It would seem likely that if this study were to be repeated in other higher performing primary schools, individualizing instruction would be present. Although, the context-specific condition of the surrounding community as well as that of society would play a role in the shaping of how the teachers' expectations would influence the *Form* of individualizing pedagogical beliefs. What one school may consider effective, another may contrast with greatly, due to the social situation. In the next section, 5.4, I will suggest recommendations for future research pointing to the contributions of this study.

#### **5.4 Suggestions for Future Research**

In conclusion, I have generated a research model that applies relevant expectation and sociological theory to create a method for investigating how society shapes the ordering of a school, how a school shapes teachers' expectations, and how those expectations shape pedagogical beliefs, which have the potential to be enacted and influence achievement in literacy. I have found that expectation orientations are specific to a context, as social

conditions contribute toward ideals, solidarities, and values. Teachers are part of a complex socio-educational hierarchy that reaches from society all the way to learner consciousness. Also found within this hierarchy is the ordering of the school, which is often investigated by researchers in the field of 'school effectiveness'<sup>9</sup> (e.g. Cooper & Good 1983; Brophy 1982, 1983; Rubie-Davies 2007, 2010; etc.). Effective strategies are often tested via quantitative methods, but do not account for the broader sociological factors that may contribute or relate to a school's success or failure. The benefits from this qualitative investigation stem from the relationship between expectations and social ordering, which is based on an external force that shapes the way teachers think about their learners.

I would like to recommend that this study be repeated to determine if similar findings are found in different contexts. A repetition would require modifications in order to produce the most effective research design. For example, a limitation of this current study is that only two schools were used to collect data, leading to a small range of evidence. It would be beneficial to reproduce this research in multiple schools that are higher performing than the average. Also, differential contexts (e.g. rural versus urban) provide clarity for pulling out the particular forms of expectations that generate unique orientations.

It would be interesting to determine the expectation orientations of contextually similar schools in order to compare and substantiate societal shaping on the community, school, and teachers' expectations. This would support further the relation between expectations and social ordering. The dimensions that shape the interview questions of this study could be manipulated in future based on the personal interest of the researcher. I used dimensions of interest, extrapolated from expectation research, such as beliefs regarding learner intelligence (Rubie-Davies 2010), learner characteristics (Brookover et al 1982, Cooper 1982, & Good 1987 cited in Cotton 1989), and content modifications (Brophy 1983) to shape my conceptualization of expectations.

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<sup>9</sup> See Section 5.2 for Table 13 that displays the hierarchical link between the 'school effectiveness' theory regarding expectations and Bernstein's sociology of education.

Other limitations within this study should also be taken into consideration for further extended research. I use teachers' opinions based on their espoused beliefs, which may contain bias. Although, I suggest that because expectations are in fact based on beliefs, the method of teacher interviews does provide the necessary data to support my investigation. Secondly, I do allow for teachers to speak for the school and the surrounding area, although the application of census data does substantiate my claims, such as homogeneity versus heterogeneity. This study is highly suggestive and contributes a theory of relation between society and teacher expectations. Although I am not able to justify my claims through confirmed evidence or proof, the theory used to support my research design does support the analysis of my findings.

### **5.5 Final Thoughts**

Ultimately, my research investigates a system of education and how it has the potential to shape learners' literacy skills. I support my claims with data and provide insight into the effects of particular expectation orientations between contexts. The aim of my study is to suggest what a school may be doing right, in order to illuminate effective pedagogy based upon teachers' beliefs that are shaped by their expectations. I contend literacy is the most important skill needed to be an effective participant in our society, especially as globalization and technological developments continue to influence the way we live and understand the world. Learners should have equal access to knowledge as well as the right to be provided with the most effective instruction. It is our responsibility as scholars and teachers to continue with new and innovative research initiatives that contribute to the evolving field of education. After all, this is where the thesis began, with the words of Nelson Mandela; "Education is the most powerful weapon we can use to change the world" (2003).

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## **Appendix 1: Teacher Expectations: Questions, Probes, and Coding**

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University of Cape Town

|    | <b>Question</b>  | <b>Probes</b>  | <b>Coding</b>  |
|----|--|--|--|
| 1  | <b>Do you believe that <i>all</i> students in your class will pass at the end of the year?<br/>Why or why not?</b> | Is there something in particular about these students that makes you believe they will not pass?<br>Do you think these students have the potential to pass?                          | <b>POSITION</b> – fixed versus incremental<br><b>FORM</b> – individualized versus communal   |
| 2  | <b>Do you feel able to help the students in your class who are struggling?</b>                                     | What do you do to help your students who are struggling?<br>Tell me some successful strategies   | <b>SOURCE</b> – teacher self-efficacy<br><b>POSITION</b> – fixed versus incremental<br><b>FORM</b> – individualized versus communal  |
| 3  | <b>Please explain how you would teach your students to write a letter to the president.</b>                        | Do you believe the curriculum standards for language, for example writing a letter, are appropriate for your learners, given their educational history?                              | <b>MODE</b> – modification of curriculum<br><b>SOURCE</b> – teacher beliefs re curriculum<br><b>FORM</b> – individualized versus communal                                    |
| 4  | <b>Do you ever change what or how you teach for your weak students? Strong students?</b>                           | If so, how do you do this?<br>If so, why do you believe it is important to change what or how you teach?<br>If so, would you do this for the whole class or for individual learners? | <b>MODE</b> – modification of curriculum<br><b>SOURCE</b> – teacher beliefs regarding understanding of curriculum<br><b>FORM</b> – individualized versus communal            |
| 5  | <b>Does your principal expect all children to pass?</b>  | How do you know?<br>How does he/she communicate this?<br>What does the principal expect from you?<br>Do your students know what the principal expects from them?                     | <b>LOCATION</b> – school-wide expectations (expressive order)<br><b>FORM</b> – individualized versus communal  |
| 6  | <b>How would you describe the <i>best</i> learner in your class?</b>   | During a typical lesson, how do you expect your students to act, participate, or behave?<br>Do your students know what you expect from them?<br>How do you communicate this to them? | <b>SOURCE</b> – ideals related to pedagogy, achievement, and the ideal learner<br><b>FORM</b> – individualized versus communal<br><b>POSITION</b> – fixed versus incremental |
| 7  | <b>Do you believe that being a boy or girl affects a learners' performance in school?</b>                          | Being rich or poor?<br>Being Black, White, Coloured, etc.?<br>Speaking English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, etc.?  | <b>SOURCE</b> – teacher beliefs regarding learner characteristics  |
| 8  | <b>Do you think it is more important to speak a language or read/write a language?</b>                             | Which do you think is more important to emphasize while teaching? Reading/writing or oral skills?  | <b>SOURCE</b> – teacher beliefs regarding language   |
| 9  | <b>What do you do to get your students interested in reading/writing?</b>  | How do you motivate them to read/write?  | <b>OUTCOME</b> – intrinsic versus extrinsic  |
| 10 | <b>What do you do to get your students to practice reading/writing outside of school?</b>                          | How do you motivate them to read/write at home?  | <b>OUTCOME</b> – intrinsic versus extrinsic  |
| 11 | <b>Do you think all of your students will complete matric?</b>   | Why or why not?  | <b>LOCATION</b> – teacher regulative discourse<br><b>SOURCE</b> – teacher beliefs regarding learner characteristics<br><b>POSITION</b> – fixed versus incremental            |
| 12 | <b>What kinds of things does the surrounding community do to influence the success of your school?</b>             | Parents?<br>Governing Body?<br>Local organizations?  | <b>ORIGIN</b> – support from community   |
| 13 | <b>Why did you decide to become a teacher?</b>   | Why is education important to you?   | <b>ORIGIN</b> – social principles of society   |
| 14 | <b>Why did you decide to teach at this school?</b>   | Do you enjoy teaching here?  | <b>ORIGIN</b> – contextual history   |
| 15 | <b>What do you think is your role in this school, other than teaching?</b>   | Do you think your students enjoy coming to school?<br>What role does your school play in your students' lives?   | <b>ORIGIN</b> - relations  |