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INTERPERSONAL TRUST IN TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS: MEANING FOR BLACK STUDENTS (14-16 YEARS) OF CARIBBEAN BACKGROUND IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE GREATER TORONTO AREA.

by

Claire Annette Busby - Sham Choy

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education
Department of Adult Education, Community Development, Counselling Psychology
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto

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Interpersonal trust in teacher-student relationships: Meaning for black students (14-16 years) of Caribbean background in Secondary schools in the Greater Toronto Area.

Claire Annette Busby - Sham Choy  Doctor of Education 1998
Department of Adult Education, Community Development, Counselling Psychology
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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the issue of trust in the relationship between black high school students of Caribbean background and their teachers. Researchers have looked at the issue and for the most part have found that trust is an important characteristic that not only binds the relationship but also enhances learning in the classroom.

Other researchers suggest that trust is an emotionally felt experience. Some not only regard emotion as a physiologically felt experience but also as an experience that is essentially social, cultural, racial, historical and political.

The central purpose of this dissertation is to examine trust in terms of its internal-external dynamics. It suggests that students pay attention not only to their external experiences but also their internal experiences. It also suggests that emotional experiences are among these internal experiences and that the characteristics of age, gender and length of time in Canada influence the trusting relationship between these students and their teachers.

To explore this phenomenon a grounded theory approach is used. To truly understand what the phenomenon means to students, an approach that allows for total emergence of these meanings is best suitable. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are employed, however the quantitative approach is regarded as only subsidiary to the qualitative in that it provides a partial picture of the phenomenon, one that demands further exploration and understanding. The qualitative method is used as the main approach since it allows for such exploration and understanding.

Twenty-four informants from throughout the Greater Toronto Area were used in the study. They consisted of eleven (11) males and thirteen (13) females between the age of fourteen to sixteen.
All informants were of Caribbean background and were either born in Canada or in the Caribbean. Five (5) of these informants arrived in Canada within the last two and a half years.

Analysis revealed that black students trust non-institutional persons (parents, family members and friends) more than they trust institutional persons (police, school administrators, teachers and counsellors). In depth findings using Grounded Theory revealed more interesting findings. There is a link between the internal and external world. As students decide whether their teachers are trustworthy they look inward to their feelings, memories, expectations, beliefs and values and outwards at the verbal and non-verbal behaviours of their teachers, friends, family members and classmates. Specifically, they look at behaviours in teachers which they regard as respectful, and once they have encountered that respect, they make a confident decision (which they may or may not immediately act on) to trust their teachers. Simultaneously, they experience feelings of security which give them the impetus to approach the teacher and the task in a positive manner.

Grounded Theory is of enormous methodological significance in this study. It allows for the emergence of the meanings of informants. Rather than imposing meaning on the data, the method of constant comparison and testing of hypotheses brings out a holistic meaning of trust in the relationship between these students and their teachers.

Findings from this study suggest that trust in the relationship between these students and their teachers is a mutually shared experience involving above all, respect. For these students, respect not only involves behaviours related to the academic but also the non-academic including behaviours that demonstrate respect for their racial heritage.

These findings have numerous important implications for the micro-level relationship between teacher and students as well as for the structural factors that impact on this relationship. Greater respect, understanding and sensitivity in relating to students are important for teachers and other school personnel to demonstrate. It is also important that curriculum and educational policy issues demonstrate and facilitate such respect, understanding and sensitivity.

In concluding, it must be pointed out that this study set out to investigate the experiences of a particular group of students at a particular point in time. Findings therefore cannot be generalized at this time to similar or diverse populations. The potential for generalization is best left to be explored in future investigations.

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This dissertation would not have been possible without the tremendous contribution of three gentlemen on my committee. First and foremost, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Dr. Peter Gamlin who, from the inception of my doctoral programme offered invaluable knowledge, guidance and support. To Dr. Sabir Alvi whose thoughtful and encouraging suggestions helped me to look again and again for deeper meaning. To Dr. George Dei who provided another valuable dimension to the study and challenged me to look into unfamiliar areas. To my external examiner, Dr. Peter Waxer and to Dr. David Hunt, I extend my sincere appreciation for your contribution.

This study would not have been completed without the willing participation of the twenty-four adolescents. It is unfortunate that their names must remain anonymous but to them I owe a great debt for the time and the information that they so generously provided.

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1.0. Introduction

1.1. Organization of the Thesis

Chapter 1 outlines my personal mission as well as the background to the study, its purpose and the statement of the problem. An extensive review of the literature as it relates to both the content and methodology used in the study, is discussed in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 outlines the methods used to undertake the investigation and at the same time, it emphasizes the strengths and limitations of these methods.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed account of the findings of the investigation. It not only points out the role that context plays in understanding students’ constructions but this chapter highlights the interaction between students and teachers as they establish trusting relationships. Finally, this chapter examines the core category which was gleaned from extensive analysis of students’ narratives in individual and focus group interviews.

The final chapter takes these findings into consideration and explains the process used by informants as they arrive at what trust means in their relationships with their teachers. This chapter also examines the limitations of the study as well as implications for future research, recommendations for change and concluding statements.

1.2. Personal Mission

Interest in the present study emerged out of my experiences as a black parent and educator. Both roles allowed me to come face to face with the challenges faced by black students in their interactions with teachers. One of my interests as an undergraduate student in the late seventies, concerned the adjustment of West Indian students to Canadian society, moreover the Canadian education system. At that time many reports were being written and exchange programs conducted in order to understand the adjustment of these students. Today, twenty years later, the adjustment of these students is still a cause for concern as evidenced by the number of recent reports that are being written to address this concern.
Apart from this earlier interest, later interest emerged as I began raising an adolescent in the Canadian school system. This experience gave me the impetus to pursue my earlier interest. It was at this point that I decided to look a little closer at the relationship between students of Caribbean background and more specifically their relationships with teachers. Whereas my earlier interest centred around the structural and political factors influencing this relationship, this time I wanted to find out more about the psychological and emotional aspects of this relationship.

As I listened to the adolescents around me one of the recurring themes emerging from their discussions seemed to relate to the issue of trust. It was these discussions that prompted me to look at the issue of trust and moreover to find out what it means in students’ relationships with their teachers.

This thesis therefore represents for me a political and academic mission that began more than twenty years ago. In particular, the content and methodology used in this study are reflective of this journey. They take into consideration a number of theories which I believe truly guide understanding of the multiple realities of black students of Caribbean background as they interact with their teachers.

**Personal Knowledge**

The desire to truly represent the experiences of the young people who spoke with me was the impetus for ensuring that I took the words of various theorists seriously. Not only were their epistemologies a guiding force for me as a researcher but so too were my own experiences as a person living within a context that I soon came to realize did not always reflect the multiple realities that exist within it. In my desire to accurately represent the experiences of these young people, I undertook a deliberate process of collecting and analyzing the experiences of those who shared them with me.

This process which began in earnest long before undertaking post graduate study took a number of steps such as using my personal and professional experiences to always search for deeper understanding. The first systematic opportunity came once I entered the proposal development stage of the program. After having reviewed the literature on the topic I was about to study, I conducted a pilot study to get a better understanding of the young people about whom I wanted to know more. This phase of the research process was also used to refine and formulate questions which I wanted
to ask. Through community contacts and friends within the education system, I met a number of young people who helped me to develop and refine the questions. I was also able to gain an understanding of how adolescents think, feel and act with teachers, as well as with researchers. Another opportunity arose at the point of putting the final touches to my proposal. This time I ventured into the formal educational arena of the adolescent. I had the opportunity to observe adolescents in the classroom setting. This opportunity provided me with an important advantage. It prepared me to interact with a group of young people about whom I was really interested in gaining a deeper understanding.

It is not only the theoretical viewpoints but the practical exposure that I gained into the world of the adolescent that prepared me better for conducting the study.

**Role of Researcher: The Researcher as Learner**

During the collection of the data, I saw myself as someone learning about the experiences of a group of young people. I did not consider myself completely naive, but I deliberately assumed the role of learner in order to allow the adolescents the psychological space and the freedom to inform me. After having stated the purpose of my research at the beginning of the interview, I let each of the participants know that they were the ones informing me and that although I may have some idea, I certainly did not have the total picture. To maintain this relationship with the informants, I reminded them of how I saw our respective positions within the relationship. Whenever participants appeared hesitant during the conduct of the interviews, I assured them that I considered them the experts in this exercise. At times when I attempted to clarify what I thought participants said to me, I reminded them of my perception of their role - I told them that I did not want 'to put words in their mouths.' The importance of being open and straightforward was also crucial to my study. Asking informants to share with me their constructions of trust in a teacher-student relationship required that I modelled behaviour that was congruent with the area under investigation.

A major part of the research process also involved reflection, introspection and analysis of the issue of trust as it relates to my own experiences as a teacher and also as a student. Needless to say, many of these experiences were used to develop, refine and conduct the research. I found myself thinking about what the informants had shared with me and relating that to my own personal
experiences as teacher and student. This ongoing reflection and analysis on my part allowed me to ask for further clarification, to present scenarios, to formulate hypotheses and make the research process a truly sensitive and dynamic one.

1.3. Background to the Study

**Trust**

Interpersonal trust is regarded as the key ingredient in healthy relationships. Many theorists (Erikson 1950, 1953, Luhmann 1973, Brookfield 1990, and Rotenberg 1991) refer to it as a basic fact of social life and an experience that binds one to another.

One of the earliest proponents of interpersonal trust, states that social trust first occurs when the newborn infant experiences "mutual regulation of his increasing receptive capacities with the maternal techniques of provision ...." (Erikson, 1950, p.219). The consequence of this symbiotic relationship for the infant is a feeling of "inner goodness" and "comfort" (Erikson, 1950, p.219). According to Erikson (1950), the newborn's first social achievement is "his willingness to let the mother out of sight without undue anxiety or rage, because she has become an inner certainty as well as an outer predictability" (p.219). Erikson (1950) regards the development of trust in the newborn infant as "The constant tasting and testing of the relationship between inside and outside." (p.219-220). He states that the development of a sense of basic trust "depends ... on the recognition that there is an inner population of remembered and anticipated sensations and images which are firmly correlated with the outer population of familiar and predictable things and people ...." (p.219).

Luhmann (1973), regards trust as important for reducing social complexity. He states that trust occurs within a framework of interaction involving not only inner psychological factors but also social factors. Rotenberg (1991) states that trust is important for 'cementing interpersonal relationships.' Brookfield (1990) refers to trust as the 'affective glue' that binds students with teachers.

These theorists also believe that the experience of trust facilitates positive experiences. In Erikson's (1950) case, the infant experiences a kind of confidence which involves "more naivete and more mutuality" (p.220) and the result is a relationship about which one is certain and feels comfortable. Luhmann (1973) also defines trust as "confidence in one's expectations" (p.4) which
results in the experience of a reduction in one's perception of a socially complex world. Rotenberg (1991) states that children experience harmony and cooperation in their relationships with others as a consequence of experiencing trust (p.1) and Brookfield (1990) believes that the element of trust underlies all significant learning within the classroom.

The issue of trust has been examined from the standpoint of race, more specifically among blacks within a white North American culture (Grier and Cobbs 1968, Triandis 1976, Terrell and Barrett, 1979). Findings from these studies show that although trust is believed to be an important variable in enhancing positive relationships, so far the relationship between blacks and whites has remained one that is characterized by mistrust of whites by blacks. Within the Canadian system, Dei, Holmes, Mazzuca, McIsaac and Campbell (1995) and Dei, Mazzuca, McIsaac and Fine (1997) refer to the general mistrust of the system by black students in the Canadian school system. According to these researchers, in their narratives, these students “saw some danger in their parents giving too much credit to schools to do the right thing.”(p.115).

Findings from the present study which also utilize the narratives of black youths, show that when they refer to trust between themselves and their teachers, these students refer to it in a context of mutual respect. For these students, trust involves behaviours such as honesty, equal treatment, confidentiality, keeping one's promise and believing in students’ abilities other than music and sports.

**Black High School Students in Ontario**

Within recent times much attention has been focused on the educational achievement of black students in Ontario. Recent reports, RCOL 1994 and Learning or Leaving the Drop-Out Dilemma among black students in Ontario Public Schools 1994, indicate that the plight of these students, so far as educational achievement goes, is not improving. Based on the results from one school board in 1992, the report from the Commission (RCOL)indicates, that "42% of the black 1987, Grade 9 students had left the system ... without graduating" (p.93). A similar pattern exists in other boards in Ontario. In the City of York, figures were indicated by place of birth for this racial group. It was shown that Canadian-born black students of Caribbean descent are over-represented in basic and general level math courses and that ... foreign-born black students of Caribbean descent are over-represented in basic and general level English and Math programs. The report however, shows that
foreign-born black students of African descent are more equitably represented at each level (p.93). Overall, the figures from this report indicate that 36% or one out of every three black students was likely to leave school before graduating.

The second report, *Learning and Leaving: The Dropout Dilemma* (1994) confirms these findings, but also expands on them. This report highlights the experiences of black students in Ontario. It states that the issue of "dropping-out" is rather one of fading out and disengagement. In other words, 'dropping-out' is not to be seen as an intra-individual matter whereby students willingly leave the system. Instead what occurs is a process whereby the structural factors that exist in the school system serve to push students out and consequently these students disengage from the system.

With respect to gender, this report indicates that males are more likely than females to leave school before graduating. According to this report (1994) of the students who left school, 65.4% were male and 34.6% were female.

The figures on students' ages reveal a large increase in the drop-out rate of students between the ages of fifteen to sixteen. Whereas only 6% of students left school by the time they were fifteen years old, this percentage increased to 20% by the next academic year. There was a much smaller increase among 17 year olds. Twenty-one percent (21%) of seventeen year olds dropped out, indicating an increase of 1% from the previous academic year. These findings reveal a large increase in drop-outs among students after Grade 10.

The issues raised in this report, *Learning and Leaving: the Dropout Dilemma* (1994) were again addressed in a recent book by Dei et al. (1997): *Reconstructing Dropout: A Critical Ethnography of The Dynamics of Black Students' Disengagement from School*. This book restates the experiences of these black students and shows that black students experience alienation which leads them to disengage and eventually drop out of the school system.

The underachievement of black students especially those of Caribbean background in Ontario schools is cause for concern. These researchers have made recommendations related to all aspects of the curriculum and other areas of schooling. Most of these reports tend to focus on the issue of structural factors. However, Dei et al (1995*) in a recent report has looked at the process of disengagement that occurs prior to leaving and has suggested that among other aspects "the emotional, spiritual and psychological aspects of teaching and learning be taken more seriously."
He acknowledges that students have views and expectations of their teachers and furthermore that a dynamic system of interrelationships contribute to forming a pattern of views and behaviours which ultimately lead to students dropping out.

The present study has attempted to draw on Dei's suggestions and to place more emphasis on examining what occurs within this system of interrelationships. Although it considers the sociocultural factor as an important component in this interaction, the study explores some of the psychological and emotional aspects that may contribute to or retard the teaching-learning interaction and focuses on trust as an important component in this interaction.

1.4. Purpose of the Study

The study focuses on the issue of trust and what it means to black students. It attempts to provide an understanding of the way in which black students of Caribbean background between the ages of 14-16 years living in the Greater Toronto Area, construct what they mean by trust within the context of their relationship with their teachers.

This study therefore examines the process that students go through as they decide whether or not they could trust their teachers. It assumes that this process is not only cognitive but also emotional, whereby students actively look for symbols in the verbal and non-verbal behaviours of others and themselves. The study assumes that these symbols are evaluated as either trusting or mistrusting behaviours and that students regulate their behaviours according to these evaluations. It also assumes that this process is dialectical, that is, it involves a constant looking in and out for information. To provide a framework for exploring these assumptions, the study has attempted to answer the following questions.

1. What are the behaviours of teachers that students use in deciding to trust a teacher?
2. What are some of their own behaviours and feelings that students consider before deciding to trust a teacher?
3. What role do their experiences and that of others play in this decision-making?
4. To what extent do age, gender and length of time living in Canada account for meaning in their decision-making?
1.5. Statement of the Problem


Studies which focus on the learning experiences of black students (Dei et al 1995, Watkins, Terrell, Miller and Terrell 1989, Terrell and Barrett 1979, Thompson, Neville, Weathers, Poston and Atkinson 1990, Nickerson, Helms and Terrell 1994), have shown that black students within predominantly white schools perceive the school environment as one which presents a number of risky situations.

Canadian, American and British researchers have examined the adjustment of black students in the education system. The theme that emerges consistently from their findings is one that paints a picture of a black student who perceives the classroom to be a risky environment, that is, one that presents threat. These researchers have pointed to the role of the teacher-student relationship as an important contributing factor in a climate where students do not feel psychologically safe. They have examined teacher attitudes, such as their stereotyping behaviour and negative expectations of black students. They have referred to the negative quality of the interpersonal relationships between black students and their teachers and have acknowledged the impact of such relationships on the psychological and the academic well-being of these students.

Dei, Holmes, Mazzuco, McIsaac and Campbell, 1995 focus on the context within which these negative relationships evolve. These researchers highlight the role played by a system of power relations and dynamics as a major contribution to these negative relationships. Although these studies
refer to the role played by social and psychological factors, very few of them have examined trust as a key factor in the relationship and its influence on the learning experiences of black students.

The few studies that have examined this phenomenon, have been conducted mainly in the United States and have been inclined to focus on the adult student especially the College student. Very little has been done on trust as it relates to teachers and black students within the high school environment. Furthermore, nothing at all has been said about this phenomenon from the point of view of the black high-school student of Caribbean background and what it means to him or her.

This study, therefore, attempts to discover from these students what is involved in the process of establishing a trusting relationship with a teacher. It employs quantitative and qualitative methodology using structured questionnaires, in-depth, semi-structured individual interviews and focus groups to capture and report on the experiences of these students. The views of various theorists (Gendlin 1978, 1962, Denzin 1989, Lincoln and Guba 1985, Dei 1996) provide a discursive framework to guide understanding of the experiences of black students. A grounded theory approach (Strauss and Corbin 1990) is used to analyze and report the findings.

Findings from this study will help to throw light on the meanings students give to their relationships with their teachers but more so, to the psychological and emotional factors that permeate this relationship. Findings from this study will also show that the meaning of trust, although an emotional and psychological phenomenon, is also constructed from students' social, cultural, political and historical experiences. Finally, it cannot be forgotten that characteristics such as age, gender, and length of time living in Canada help to shape the identity of students and are an integral part of the process of constructing what it means to trust one's teacher.
Chapter 2

2.0. Literature Review

The following review examines the current state of relevant literature. It focuses on various theories which guide understanding of the phenomenon and those which guide the methodology used in the present study. The literature review begins by looking at popular and global definitions of trust. Generally, these definitions refer to the issue of trust as involving risk and vulnerability. The literature also examines the importance of trust for learning, in general and in particular, for the learning experiences of black students. One of the important strengths of the literature is that it regards the issue of trust not only as influenced by structural factors but emphasizes the role of social, psychological, emotional and physiological factors.

While the prevailing views on trust regard it as an essential component in the teacher-student relationship and one that is at a low level in the relationship between black students and their teachers or counsellors, these perspectives have not examined trust in the relationship between black high school students and their teachers. The literature has also neglected to investigate what trust means from the point of view of these particular students.

The present study not only looks at trust in the relationship between black students and teachers but it does so from the perspective of the young high school student. Moreover, the present study departs from previous studies in that, it tries to understand how trust is constructed, that is, what it means to these black high school students of Caribbean background as they interact with their teachers.

The literature review also examines the views of various theorists which help to guide exploration of a complex phenomenon. The study assumes that the phenomenon is a socially constructed one involving not only internal processes of students but also external factors such as socio-cultural,
political, economic and historical experiences. It is therefore guided by theoretical approaches that allow these multiple realities to emerge.

The review begins with an examination of those views that provide the content for understanding the meaning of trust as an interpersonal process.

Content

2.1. Trust as "Accepted Vulnerability in a Situation of Perceived Risk"


In a study examining trust in cooperative relationships, Good (1988) states "... in conditions where the long-term interests of the participants are stressed ... where there is no potential for threat ... a certain level of trust can develop." (p.37). Luhmann (1988) regards trust as "an attitude which allows for risk taking decisions." (p.103). Johnson-George and Swap (1982) state "... willingness to take risks may be one of the few characteristics common to all trust situations ...." (p.1306). Deutsch (1958) regards risk as an important aspect in his definition of trusting behaviour (in Rotter 1980, p.6). Chevalier (1995) regards trust as "... an interpersonal relationship that involves risk." (p.119). Brookfield (1990) states, "Not trusting teachers has several consequences for students .... They avoid risk. They keep their most deeply felt concerns private." (p.163). Spector and Gibson (1991) regard trust as important for risk taking. They state, "The more trust students develop, the more willing they
are to risk total immersion in an experience ... and the more willing they are to take intellectual risks." (p.480).

While the concerns about risk are common to many, if not all, some researchers (Chevalier 1995, Triandis 1976, Dei 1996) believe that we cannot ignore the socio-cultural, political, economic and historical context of people's subjective experiences. Dei 1996, in particular, addresses the subjective experiences of black students and believes that these experiences [of risk, for example] must be taken within a context, past and present, of white power and domination. According to Dei 1996, race must be explored not only as a site and source of difference but also as a site where "relations of domination, exploitation and oppression exist." (p.27). Furthermore, he suggests that to discuss the subjective experiences of black students without critically interrogating power is to severely limit understanding of social reality.

In many trusting situations, risk involves disclosing one's weaknesses either verbally or non-verbally by opening up or expressing one's needs consciously or unconsciously so that they can be met. Wheeless and Grotz (1977) regard trust as "... antecedent to a willingness to disclose ... [and] ... the process of self-disclosure does impose certain risks an individual must take ... [such as] ... (the possibility that revealing one's weakness about the self will lead the disclosed-to-person to generalize about other weaknesses the discloser might have)." (p.250).

2.2. Importance of a Trusting Environment for Learning

Students enter the classroom environment with a variety and range of unmet needs. Abraham Maslow (1954) has outlined what he refers to as a "holistic-dynamic theory of human motivation." (p.80). Maslow's hierarchy of needs range from the most basic or fundamental physical needs to the higher-order need for self-actualization. While many have criticized Maslow in terms of the order, few can dispute that the range of needs he has outlined, do exist in the daily experiences of people.

Students do come into classrooms not only because they need to be taught, but also because they need the truth, they need respect, they need to be understood. Some of these students may also need to talk to someone, others may need to feel physically safe and others may need just a good meal.
For black students, given the nature of their existence within a system of domination, knowledge of this experience has to be taken into account in their willingness to express their needs. Indeed, Maslow 1954, refers to "preconditions" for basic need satisfaction. Some of these "preconditions" include "freedom to express oneself, justice, fairness [and] honesty." (p.92). According to Maslow 1954, any danger to these prerequisites are "reacted to as if it were direct danger to the basic needs themselves." (p.92). Given the history of their relationship with a system that has traditionally denied them these prerequisites by delegitimizing their experiences, blacks have come to perceive the expression of these needs as futile. They are told that they are not as intelligent when they do not understand and their stories or experiences are delegitimized when they are expressed. Thus, these students soon arrive at an understanding that any expression of these needs will not be respected by others.

Thus, for some students disclosing these needs may be easy, for others it may be difficult. Instead of expressing their needs openly in the classroom, some students may choose to express them in ways not in keeping with a curriculum built on a particular ideology.

As stated earlier, disclosure must be preceded by trust and for needs to be disclosed in the classroom, students need to feel that they are in an environment where they can accept their own vulnerability and feel psychologically safe. They need to feel that they can openly disclose their needs to their teachers and that what they say will be treated with respect and valued.

My own preliminary investigation with students between the ages of 14-16 confirm the existence of these needs. Findings from the preliminary investigation indicate that the feeling of safety is paramount in a trusting relationship with a teacher. When asked to describe how they feel they are treated by teachers whom they trust, students indicated that the teachers made them feel comfortable, that they (the students) felt more relaxed and relieved after they "let everything out". Feelings alone, however, do not guarantee successful learning experiences.

Other researchers (Brookfield 1990, Spector and Gibson 1991, Imber 1973, Hobbs 1966 and Raths 1972) refer to the role that methods used by teachers, play in establishing trust and consequently improving students' learning. Brookfield (1990) states that the successful use of experiential methods in the classroom requires an element of trust between students and teachers. More specifically, he states, "... because of the emotionally charged nature of participating in role
plays and simulations, students need to feel that they are not being taken advantage of or being made to look foolish ...." (p.131).

In their study of the factors facilitating the learning of science, Spector and Gibson (1991) found that among students, "a perception of psychological safety emerged from believing they were able to trust the people in their environment ...." (p.476). According to these researchers, the feeling of safety among students set off "a chain of psychological events resulting in increased learning." (p.477)

In his study of the relationship of trust to academic performance, Imber 1973, found that bright children may or may not trust their teachers and that the same can be said for children who score poorly on an intelligence test. Imber (1973) also found that both trusting one's teacher and performing well on an intelligence test were significantly related to higher scholastic achievement (pp.149-150).

Hobbs (1966) states, "Trust, coupled with understanding, is the beginning point of a new learning experience, an experience that helps a child know that he can use an adult to learn many things: how to read, how to be affectionate, how to be oneself without fear or guilt." (p.1110)

Raths (1972) states that in any new learning situation children perceive an element of risk. He states, "... learning is more apt to take place when the learner has a deep and fundamental trust in the situation ...." (p.123). According to him, "Children need this feeling of trust, of security, to offset the threat of what is new." (p.123)

In summary, teachers play an important role in helping meet students' learning needs. To successfully do so, trust between them and their students must first be established.

Importance of Trust in the Learning Experiences of Black Students

Black students also perceive teachers as important in helping them meet these needs and in making the learning environment psychologically safe. Two reports (Dei 1993, 1995b) have examined the perception and feelings of these students as they relate to the role of the teacher in making their learning environment psychologically safe.

The first of these reports looks specifically at the high dropout rate among black students. In this report Dei (1993) refers to the sense of betrayal experienced by black students. He states, "some
students feel betrayed by the school system which promised to develop their academic potential, raise their self-concept and self worth, and build their confidence" (p.28). In the second report, the issue of psychological safety as it relates to student disengagement from the schooling process, is also addressed. Using students' narrative discourses as evidence for their findings, Dei et al (1995b) cite the remarks of one student regarding the belittling experienced by students from their teachers. This student says:

But I really didn't understand and she says, "Well, if you don't understand maybe you shouldn't be in enriched math. Maybe you should ... take a course in plumbing." (File 004: Lines 884-906) (p.70)

Teachers' reactions to the perceived needs of students (in the above case, the need for clarification), can influence whether students feel safe to continue expressing their needs in the classroom environment. Dei et al. (1995) also highlight the vital role, as perceived by students, that teachers [and guidance counsellors] play in making the classroom psychologically safe for students. According to these researchers, teachers and guidance counsellors are presumed by black students to be evaluating them in the light of various misconceptions. These students perceive the classroom to be an unwelcome environment, one in which "... a climate of prejudice fuelled by negative racial stereotypes ... made confiding in teachers or guidance counsellors difficult" (Dei et al. 1995b, p.40). In this report, students refer to the negative behaviours of teachers - such as differential treatment - which make them feel subordinated. One black student remarks:

[If the White kids talk and are making jokes ... [the teacher] is going to laugh with them. And if we talk she's going to look at us and cross her eyes .... (Dei et al. 1995b, p.69).

The preceding examples not only draw attention to black students' experiences as they risk expressing their needs - in one case, belittling, in another, a feeling of subordination - but it also shows that black students do pay close attention to the views and actions of their teachers as expressed within a relationship which is defined as one dominated by power relations and dynamics. These examples implicitly refer to the absence of psychological safety that is experienced by these students.

The need for psychological safety is important to all students, however, for black students, this need must be understood within the context of their race. Any expression or non-expression of such needs must, therefore, take into consideration what these students perceive as a relationship
involving issues of power and influence within a Eurocentric context. For instance, Dei (1996) looks at this issue within the context of the marginalization of certain voices in society. In essence, he believes that black or other minority students who do not perceive themselves as having a legitimate voice within the context of their schooling, experience exclusion. Dei 1996, attributes this feeling of exclusion to the existence of a power structure which exists mainly in the form of Eurocentric curriculum theory and practice - a power structure which, he believes, subordinates and/or ignores the experiences of black students. According to him, the result of such delegitimization for many black students is gradual disengagement and eventual drop out from the Eurocentric school system.

2.3. Trust: A Social, Psychological and Emotional Experience in the Teacher-Student Relationship

The examples of students' narratives used in the preceding discussion support Holt's observations about children's experiences in the classroom. Holt (1982) states "children ... learn how to predict ... strange creatures ... They know the complicated emotional terrain of the adults they live with and can detect and understand these subtle human signs" (p.94). It is clear that not only do social and psychological factors play an important part in the teacher-student relationship, but from the reactions of students to their teachers' actions, an emotional factor also permeates this relationship.


Holt (1982) examines the education system and the role that teachers play in either nurturing or destroying trusting relationships within the classroom and the implications of such relationships for failure. He refers to the narrow and defensive strategies that students use in order to please their teachers - which, for the most part, he says, is giving the right answer. Some of these strategies include guessing, mumbling and waving their hands in the air as if they know. Holt (1970) regards these strategies as an attempt on the part of students to 'minimax', that is maximize their wins and
minimize their losses in an environment where they are encouraged to produce the right answers. (p.48).

Mitchell (1990) states, "... students as recipients of counselling (or assistance offered by other professionals) for troubled interpersonal relationships at school ... often report or are recognised to be lacking interpersonal trust" (p.847). Brookfield (1990) states, "If students don't trust you at a very basic level, then they will either hold back from participating fully in their exercises, or they will be frozen with the anxiety induced by what they see as the need to give a good performance" (p.131). Spector and Gibson (1991) also address the importance of healthy student-teacher relationships. They refer to the bonding that takes place between teachers and students as "the single most significant influence" (p.476) affecting student's learning. Powell and Jordan (1992) emphasize the need for creating a facilitatory environment to establish trust between teenage autistic students and their teacher. In his examination of the role of "connection" in the therapeutic community, Bell (1994) states, "... If residents do not connect, do not care for and trust one another then you may have a therapeutic facility but you do not have a therapeutic community" (p.534). Lack of connection according to Bell, can be the most important single cause for resident attrition. Levasseur (1995) focuses on the important role of non-verbal communication between teacher and students in the applied voice studio. She states, "... non-verbal communication is particularly important ... because of the intense vulnerability students feel as a result of their teachers' guidance, evaluations and perceptions of performance ...." (p.207).

Social, Psychological and Emotional Factors in the Black-student-teacher Relationship

Canadian and American researchers who have examined specifically the relationship between white teachers and black students, have focused on the influence this relationship has on the educational outcome for black students.

A number of these studies have been conducted among black secondary school students in Ontario. Most of these reports have focused on the rate of retention among black students. Some of these reports regard teacher attitudes as a major contributing factor to the issue of disengagement and eventual dropout from school among black students. Dei et al. (1995b) refers to the "powerful effect of the interpersonal relationship between teacher and students and the repercussions that can occur
if this relationship is perceived to be negative." (p.22) The importance of the student-teacher relationship for the black student's success in school, is again highlighted by Dei (1993), in his examination of the high dropout rate among black students in Ontario. He states, "... when black students are asked about things they would change about school, they articulate a desire to change teacher attitudes ..., [to improve] student-teacher relations ...." (p.29).

A report in the Toronto Star draws on the views of black educators to highlight what are considered to be some of the factors that will improve the educational experiences of black students. These educators repeatedly refer to the importance of having teachers who are "committed to student success" [who] "must not let kids off the hook, where they're demanding, encouraging, making sure students work" (February 11, 1995, (B4). They call for teachers who provide black students with input, who set "boundaries and guidelines" (B4). Most of all, these educators lobby for teachers "who believe in the abilities of [black] students and can look beyond the expectations that they'll become entertainers or athletes or pimps or criminals" (p.B4).

In another report, Dei (1994) concludes that many of the black students' negative experiences with school had to do with differential and unjust treatment within the teacher-student relationship. He acknowledges the role that social, psychological and emotional factors play in this relationship. He recommends that learning and education must be an "emotionally felt experience ...." (p.21) and that "We need to pay attention to the spiritual and psychological aspects of teaching" (p.21). He suggests that students' concerns about the way they are treated by school authorities are "... sources of emotional and psychological conflicts ...." (p.14). Furthermore, Dei et al. (1995b) suggest that the social aspects of schooling should not be underestimated since they can "ultimately influence their [the students'] decision of whether or not to remain in school" (p.28).

The preceding findings regarding differential treatment, as perceived by black students in Ontario high schools, confirm the views expressed almost thirty years ago by American researchers Grier and Cobbs (1968). In looking at the situation of African American children, these researchers state, "Black children are acutely sensitive to the undemocratic formation of "exclusive groups and social bodies" (p.142). Grier and Cobbs 1968, highlight the acute responsiveness of the black child to an environment that is perceived to be unequal. They state, "Children are responsive to the expectations of their environment. They read clearly both the conscious and the unconscious
messages" (p.131). Furthermore, these researchers state, "... for his [the black child's] own survival ... he must develop a cultural paranoia ... unless he personally finds out differently" (p.178).

Coleman, Jussim and Isaac (1991) examined the reactions of black undergraduate students to feedback conveyed by their white and black teachers. These researchers found that black female students perceived the white teachers as assessing their performance less positively (i.e. they perceived them to underestimate their ability). Negative feedback also led these black students to believe the teacher held an unfavourable but inaccurate impression of their ability.

Credle and Dean (1991) found that one of the institutional barriers to black student retention in higher education included negative attitudes towards blacks by faculty. The presence of these negative attitudes in the black student-teacher relationship is confirmed in the findings of Garibaldi (1992) who found that teachers in public schools are subject to internalizing and projecting negative stereotypes that are used to describe black males. He recommends that teachers must provide students with positive feedback for academic accomplishment.

Nance and Foeman (1993) describe the need for white teachers to examine orientations toward black students. They suggest that instructors should make behavioural shifts that include expanding teacher-student contact.

Birrell (1995) examined one ethnically encapsulated first year teacher's response to black youths' ethnic behaviour in school. He found that behavioural symbols were important influences on the teacher and his black students' cultural sensitivity. According to Birrell (1995) "since neither appeared to value the others' cultural symbols, neither grew to value the other" (p.147).

The emotional nature of the interaction between teachers and students and the impact on students' learning is emphasized by Gilmore (1985). He states, "Many of the most crucial social interactions in school settings are highly charged with emotion and regularly interpreted with regard to "attitude" (p.139). Gilmore (1985) emphasizes, "... the way in which confrontations are interpreted and treated by teachers and students will strongly affect the nature of the attitudes conveyed as well as any learning which takes place ...." (p.139).

On closer examination of reactions conveyed by black students and teachers' responses to these reactions, Gilmore (1985) found that "expressive forms of communication such as stylized sulking can essentially be viewed as metaphors for the human condition ... [and] ... Through the use
of this metaphor it became apparent that a "bad attitude" was closely associated with a conveyed message of black alignment." (p.160). Furthermore, Gilmore (1985) adds "this type of behaviour which was associated with a certain class of black communicative repertoire ... has typically been a marker for failure in our society ... and that they tend to close rather than open doors for black students who are trying to be successful ...." (p.160).

Findings regarding cultural sensitivity or insensitivity are reinforced by Dei (1996). With reference to the culture of public schooling which he says, tends to legitimize certain hegemonic ideas and practices and delegitimize others, Dei (1996) states, "The public school has reinforced social differences in society through its dominant authority notions of what is acceptable and unacceptable in school, and what constitutes valid knowledge and what is not valid knowledge." (p.180). The consequences for students whose culture does not 'fit in' with that of the school system, can be devastating.

Dei (1996) cautions that as critical educators/researchers, we "cannot escape the schools' ability to engage some students while ... disengaging others." (p.180). For black students, disengagement begins when students get "caught in a struggle to escape social labels and categories which repeatedly oversimplify the complexities of their lived realities." (Dei 1996, p.180). As previously stated, Gilmore's (1985) findings draw attention to the potential for such oversimplification to occur within the classroom situation and its consequent negative repercussions for black students.

So far it has been shown that the teacher-student relationship does have an important influence on black students' success or failure in educational institutions, especially those institutions which continue to perpetuate certain cultural hegemonic principles and practices. It is from this standpoint that this relationship is seen as a contributing factor to the issue of disengagement and eventual dropout from school among black students. It will be, therefore, useful to know the role that 'trust', a key ingredient in this relationship, plays in contributing to disengagement from school among black students.
2.4. Trust in the Student-Teacher Relationship

As the one who mediates learning in the classroom, the teacher is seen as essential to successful learning. A quality relationship is essential between teacher-and-student and trust is seen as the key ingredient in this quality relationship. Some researchers (Brookfield 1990 and Spector and Gibson 1991) regard trust as essential to establishing good student-teacher relations which, in turn, enhance learning in the classroom.

Brookfield (1990) sees trust as "an important affective underpinning of all meaningful education" (p.131). He states, "Underlying all significant learning is the element of trust. Trust between teachers and students is the affective glue binding educational relationships together" (p.163). He states, that it is important to know what the contextual features are that influence students' definition of trusting behaviours.

Spector and Gibson (1991) found that trusting the individuals in their learning environment, including adults, was one of the factors that high school students perceived to be helpful in learning science. These researchers found that "... the degree of bonding students experienced with each other and the staff made them feel safe, setting off a chain of psychological events resulting in increased learning" (p.477).

Using a grounded theory approach, Spector and Gibson's study involved participant observation, individual interviews and open-ended group interviews as a check on reliability. They found that students felt free to speculate, which led to innovative ways of seeing things and inventing ideas and that they had the courage to take intellectual risks by testing these ideas with others. Furthermore, these researchers found that students' lack of defensiveness emerged as a willingness to display their intellectual prowess and creativity and to modify ideas using input from others which resulted in increased learning. (Spector and Gibson, 1991, pp.477-478).

Mitchell (1990) states, "Trust ... is the initial step toward developing interpersonal relationships. Without a foundation of trust .... No major or enduring relationship can exist happily and comfortably" (p.849). Mitchell (1990) however, does not focus on the teacher's role but emphasizes the role the student's verbal or non-verbal behaviour plays in establishing trusting relationships with others. She states, "The student's ... behaviour may communicate lack of trust and thereby plant the seed in other persons to actually do what the individual fears will be done" (p.849).
Although he does not make direct reference to the teacher-student relationship, Bell (1994) focuses on the therapeutic community as one where change in behaviour or learning takes place. He states that trust is crucial to establishing successful therapeutic relationships and consequently successful treatment. He says, "A relationship of trust is ... the sine qua non of successful treatment" (p.528). Furthermore, Bell emphasizes, "... the failure to develop trust may be the most important single cause for resident attrition" (p.534).

Chevalier (1995) states that trust is especially important in adult education where positive student-teacher relationships could improve among other things class attendance and the self-esteem of both teachers and learners. Her findings show that trust may be much more complex than conceived of in educational circles. By conducting case studies of two teacher-learner relationships, Chevalier found that each trusting relationship is unique and deeply influenced by the participants' expectations and goals as well as by the surrounding sociocultural and political context.

2.5. Trust in the Black Student-Teacher Relationship

Erikson (1953) regards trust as 'basic' and an essential component of a healthy personality. He stresses its development within an interpersonal context and acknowledges the role of culture in its formation. Erikson (1953) states "different cultures make extensive use of their prerogatives to decide what they consider workable and insist upon calling necessary" (p.191).

However, the term culture on its own, is insufficient and needs to be expanded in order to understand how trust or mistrust develops within the black student-teacher relationship. According to Dei (1996), "In our search for understanding ... culture and race should not be seen as one category." (p.22). He states that in addressing issues of culture, race must be included because in doing so, it "emphasizes the roles of power and social conflict as the crucial variables in intergroup relations. According to Dei (1996), it also means that we must interrogate the processes by which certain groups are singled out for unequal treatment on the basis of real or imagined phenotypical characteristics." (p.22-23). Dei notes, "The historical processes of European colonization, cultural and political imperialism, and enslavement of the world's indigenous and non-white peoples are
juxtaposed to simplistic notions of racial domination and difference based on skin colour and "national" difference." (p.25).

Thus, while Erikson draws attention to the role of culture in the development of a trusting personality, it is imperative that we also examine the role that race and other factors play in the development of trust among black students in their interactions with their teachers.

For purposes of this section, discussion will be confined to the role of race in the development of trusting relationships. Studies that have examined the phenomenon of trust and mistrust, as it relates to the black student, have been inclined to focus on the African-American college student (Terrell and Barrett 1979, Watkins, Terrell, Miller and Terrell 1989, Nickerson, Helms and Terrell, 1994, Thompson, Neville, Weathers, Poston and Atkinson 1990). These studies have all focused on the counselling relationship. Only one study (Terrell, Terrell and Miller 1993) so far has focused on trust as it relates to black high school students. The focus of their study, however, has been on exploring the relationship between trust of whites and the academic and occupational expectations of Black students. Findings from their study show that black students with lower occupational expectations had higher levels of mistrust.

Generally, these studies tend to agree that black students are more mistrusting than white students. Terrell and Barrett (1979) have examined the function of race in interpersonal trust among college students. These researchers found that "white students were more trusting than black students" (p.1194). They even suggest that, for black students, "mistrust serves as an adaptive mechanism in some instances" (p.1194). Grier and Cobbs (1968) and Thompson et al (1990) reiterate this view of adaptation. Grier and Cobbs (1968) state, "... it is necessary for a black man in America to develop a profound distrust of his white fellow citizens .... For his own survival ... he must develop a cultural paranoia ... unless he personally finds out differently." (pp.177-178). They refer to the consequences of such adaptation as "cultural antisocialism" (p.178). These researchers consider these traits to be "simply adaptive devices developed in response to a peculiar environment. They are no more pathological than the compulsive manner in which a driver checks his equipment ... or a pilot his parachute" (p.178). Grier and Cobbs (1968) refer to these character traits as the Black Norm.

Watkins, Terrell, Miller and Terrell (1989) found that highly mistrustful black students may have real difficulty in discussing some concerns with a white counsellor and as a result may be unable
to maximally use the counselling relationship. These researchers emphasize the need for counsellors to be sensitive to the mistrust issue and its potential effects on black client-white counsellor relationships.

Nickerson, Helms and Terrell (1994) examined the relationship among mistrust of whites, opinions about mental illness, and help-seeking attitudes among black college students. Findings supported their hypothesis that higher levels of cultural mistrust would predict negative help-seeking attitudes.

Other studies dealing with the issue of trust among blacks have focused on the influence of the socio-political and historical context and the perceptions and actions of blacks as minorities living within a society which they perceive to be dominated by Eurocentric ideology and practice - an ideology and practice which relegates them to marginal positions within the society.

Thompson et al (1990) state, "As a result of the history and continued evidence of racial, political and social discrimination ... many African-American people have adopted a general attitude of mistrust toward Euro-Americans for adaptation and survival" (p.162). These researchers prefer to use the term "racism reaction" instead of cultural mistrust. They see the cause of this "racism reaction" as related to the sense of personal threat that some African-American students feel is directed against them. In response to one of the statements¹ on a survey which they administered to both African-Americans and Euro-Americans, Thompson et al (1990) found a higher mean score (4.64) for African-Americans than for Euro-American (3.30).

Jeanquart-Barone (1993) focuses on the superior-subordinate relationship while Young (1991) addresses the criminal justice system, in particular, attitudes of blacks towards the death penalty. The results from Jeanquart-Barone's study indicate that race is a very powerful characteristic in person perception and that it affects trust. Young's study suggests that as a result of their relatively frequent contact with the criminal justice system, blacks are "keyed perceptually" to the actions of justice system representatives and, therefore, trust in these representatives (for example, police) influences their attitude towards the death penalty.

¹ ("I have to be prepared to deal with a threatening environment.")
In a study which examines variations in black and white perceptions of the social environment, Triandis (1976) found the presence of a general "eco-system distrust" among blacks. By this he means that blacks see most entities in their environment as potentially harmful and do not see themselves as able to improve their situation. The consequence is that they feel unimportant. Consistent with the concept of eco-system distrust was a rejection of the establishment. In other words, Triandis (1976) found that "there was a general black rejection of establishment roles whereby their [blacks] reactions to other stimulus persons [white or black] associated with the establishment, are much more negative than those of other samples." (p.129).

Triandis 1976, suggests implications for his findings. He states, "the distrust of blacks for whites ... suggests that any behaviour of a white man might be "misinterpreted" by blacks, [and] ... establishment roles are likely to be rejected by blacks" (p.132). His research acknowledges the role played by the history of race relations in America and the way it has affected how blacks and whites see their social environment.

Triandis 1976, also acknowledges other variables involved in forming these perceptions. According to him, the expectations of role appropriate behaviours that people bring to social situations, their differential attention to different cues in their environment, the manner in which they weigh the importance of those cues and the different ways in which language is used are important variables in forming these perceptions.

2.6. Trust - A Socially Constructed Phenomenon

The preceding studies have all concluded that black students are more mistrusting than white students and that mistrust is an adaptive mechanism that is used to deal with what is perceived as a potentially harmful environment. While it is important to recognize the contributions of these studies, with regard to structural factors, and to some extent, inter- and intra-personal factors, it is also necessary to expand on these perspectives in order to provide a more holistic understanding of trust within the black student-teacher relationship. The present study departs from these perspectives by regarding trust as not only a response to external factors but moreover as a socially constructed phenomenon.
As a socially constructed phenomenon, trust also involves the selection, attention, interpretation, evaluation and labelling of information from both the internal and external world. As it relates to the experiences of black students, an understanding of how trust is constructed within the context of the student-teacher relationship not only involves the information used from their immediate experience in that relationship but also information from the socio-political and historical experiences that surround that relationship.

In as much as we need to know the information that students select from the external situation (actions of teachers and others) and their own internal interactions (feelings, thoughts, memories) we must also take into consideration the background knowledge and experience that students bring to their constructions.

2.6.1. Importance of the Broader Context

A number of theorists have highlighted the importance of accounting for the context used to construct the meaning of trust. Geller (1967) states that trust means different things to different people depending on the situation and the same thing to different people depending on the situation. He states, "... it is clear that if we are to increase our understanding of trust ... the empirical base ... must be broadened. No single situation can provide a comprehensive definition of a construct as rich in implication as interpersonal trust" (p.21). Geller also believes that the symbols inherent in each situation would arouse different expectancies and consequently different behaviours.

Scott (1980) examines the contribution of attitudinal and situational factors in explaining levels of interpersonal trust. He found that both factors play an important role, but "the situational factor explains a greater amount of the variation in interpersonal trust ...." (p.810).

Brookfield (1990) states that trust must be placed in context since "contextual features affect ... strongly how students and teachers define ... [trusting] ... behaviours" (p.175).

Chevalier (1995) states that "each trusting relationship is unique and is deeply influenced by ... the surrounding sociocultural and political context" (p.179).

In dealing with the issue of cultural mistrust as a contributor to mental health and psychopathology, Barrett (1984) states that accumulated life experiences critically determine an individual's level of trust. He believes that in situations where racial prejudices and biases are most
apparent to those victimized, those biases will influence the level of mistrust in interracial relations. Barrett (1984) also states, "the nature of one's experience with a given reference group will critically determine the extent of trust or mistrust an individual may feel toward that reference group." (p.4).

The need to take into account the influence of one's accumulated life experiences on relationships with others, is reinforced by Dei (1996) who says, "Anyone who seeks to interrogate and understand social relations is confronted with certain fundamental questions about their own histories and identities." (p.19).

Thus, to gain full understanding of how black students construct trust within the student-teacher context, it is necessary to consider the history of power relations and dynamics that has existed and continues to exist within this relationship.

2.6.2. Cues from the Immediate Situation (External)

Apart from the broader context, it is also important that anyone who wants to gain full understanding of the phenomenon, must examine the immediate context. This context consists of a variety of behaviours, verbal as well as non-verbal, that black students select, pay attention to, interpret, evaluate, label and respond to, externally as well as internally.

Geller (1967) believes that children learn to predict the adults around them and that they make these predictions based on situational cues. Holt (1980) states "... children ... learn how to predict ... strange creatures .... They know the complicated emotional terrain of the adults they live with and can detect and understand these subtle human signs" (p.94). Using one of his observations of children's behaviour in the classroom, Holt (1980), highlights how children seek information by attending to the non-verbal behaviours of their teachers. He states "From the angle of her [the teacher] body to the blackboard the children picked up a subtle clue to the correct answer" (p.37).

Brookfield (1990) cautions, "what we do as teachers is invested with enormous symbolic significance by students" (p.172). He advises teachers to recognize the inevitable symbolic significance of their actions and to ensure that these actions are perceived as authentic by students.

In his studies on children's interpersonal trust, Rotenberg (1991) found that "children's interpersonal trust is by definition affected by children's judgement that others are lying ...." (p.43). He states that children can identify the cues that will assist them in arriving at their judgments. He
puts forward four domains of "adult" cues that have been identified by children. They are verbal cues, vocal paralinguistic cues, visual cues (combining visual-facial and visual-body cues) and miscellaneous cues. Rotenberg (1991) also points out the sophisticated use of these cues by high school students. He states "... children's use of the verbal/non-verbal consistency principle increases with age ... and [that] it is evident in a sophisticated fashion in ... high-school students" (p.46-47).

In examining the role of non-verbal communication in the student-teacher relationship, Levasseur (1995) found that the coding that develops between student and teacher is idiosyncratic, unique and intimate. She suggests that "over time this coding becomes so precise that affective states and cognitive concepts can be initiated and reinforced instantly by using one or two gestures which have been associated with certain expectations or demands ...." (p.207). Levasseur suggests that the effective use of non-verbal communication in the learning environment can provide a positive atmosphere where trust can be fostered.

Bell (1994) suggests that trust depends on caring. However, he states that, since most humans cannot read minds or even emotions, caring remains unobservable and, therefore, must be inferred. Bell (1994) states, "The inference of caring depends on observable behavioural indicators, from gross actions to subtle non-verbal cues to verbal accounts. Thus, what is important is the caring that people show ...." (p.535). Bell (1994) states that caring comes through personal interaction and shared experience and must grow out of shared emotion.

Grier and Cobbs (1968) state that "Children are responsive to the expectations of their environment. They read clearly both the conscious and unconscious messages" (p.131). Triandis (1976) states "... When two people look at their social environment in different ways, they make assumptions concerning the causes of the other's behaviour" (p.1). According to Triandis (1976), humans react subjectively to their social environment. He states, "The way they attend to cues from the environment, the way they think about "what goes with what," and the way they feel about different aspects of the environment constitute important aspects of their subjective culture" (p.3). He also states that some of the most important determinants of subjective culture are historical events. He states, "When two people who have different subcultures come together to do something, it is likely that they will have difficulties in agreeing on how to do it" (p.12).
It is clear from the observations of these researchers that people construct their social environment. They attend to the cues that are immediately available to them. They place the information they select in the context of their individual and collective past as well as present experiences and interpret, evaluate and label this information. When a black student goes through the process of constructing his or her social environment, he or she does so, not only within the context of his or her individual experience, but also within the context of the collective experiences of black people.

My own preliminary investigation with black adolescent students on the issue of trust indicates that students do pay attention to the verbal and non-verbal behaviours of their teachers. When asked what it was about the teacher that made them (students) want to trust him or her, these students mentioned characteristics such as a "gentle tone of voice," "a lot of hand gestures," and "an approachable appearance." In addition to the external characteristics of the teacher, students also expressed positive feelings -"comfortable," "relaxed," "relieved,"- about being able to trust these teachers.

2.6.3. Cues from the Emotions

The latter observation draws attention to the fact that not only do students notice the statements and behaviours of their teachers but also that their own feelings play a significant role in determining whether they consider their teachers as trustworthy.

The role that emotions play as part of constructing meaning within the context of interpersonal relationships has been highlighted by a number of researchers. Jones, (1994), Oatley (1991), Greenberg (1995) and Greenberg and Safran (1987) refer to the role of emotions in giving us meaning, direction and guidance in social relationships.

Jones (1994) states, "... emotions ... affect which considerations will be salient to an agent.... Emotions open up ways of seeing the world.... Emotions can thus help agents arrive at the right view of a situation ...." (p.266). Oatley (1991) states, "Emotions are not just about any old thing that we like or dislike, they are about our goals and plans in the physical and more especially in the social domain. Greenberg (1995) states that our emotions signify what is important or of concern to us ... without [them] things are not meaningful.. Greenberg (1995) sees emotions as highly involved in the
social bonding process because they give information about our reactions to people and situations. Greenberg and Safran (1987) regard emotion as "a form of tacit knowing ... [which] ... imbues events with meaning ... is motivational ... [and] ... has actions inherent in it." (p.148).

Greenberg (1995) defines emotion as the "appraisal of the relevance of a situation in relation to a need, goal or concern (OPA, 16 February 1995). The role of emotion in giving direction is also linked to the way in which the information regarding our feelings is processed. Greenberg 1995, regards this process as a "co-constructive process," one that he refers to as a "dialectic of inside and outside" (OPA, 16 February 1995). Thus, for Greenberg and other theorists (Doi 1976, Clarke 1989, Kityama and Markus 1994, and Lutz 1988) emotion is to be regarded as not only internal but essentially social. Doi (1976) states that "all symbolic representatives have two points of reference, one internal ... boundaries of the body ... one external ... [the social context]" (p.70). Clarke (1998) refers to "... the interplay between the "felt-sense" and the symbol continuously effecting the meaning of each other." (p.140). Kityama and Markus (1994) state "... emotion can be ... conceptualized as being social in nature." (p.1). They believe that "... core cultural ideas can structure individual emotional experience, and ... this individual emotional behaviour can, in turn, influence cultural meanings and practices." (p.16). Lutz (1988) states, "Each emotion concept ... exists in dialectical relationship with a set of social practices, both shaping and being shaped by them (p.149). She states that "... people commonly look for behavioural cues in speculating about the emotional position of another." (p.174).

In his study of social relationships and physiological reactivity, York (1994) found that there was an increase in physiological reactivity among subjects in situations perceived as threatening and a decrease in such activity in the absence of any perceived threat. Lutz (1988) also supports the notion of the relationship of the body to emotion. In her study of the Ifaluk's expressions of thought/emotions (nunuwan), she states that these emotions are often spoken of as "coming out" or "coming up" from our insides." (p.94). She sees such expression as being "consistent with the traditional view of thoughts and desires as originating in the gut." (p.94). She puts forward the view that there is a link between the emotional/mental and physiological functioning.
Rosaldo (in Shweder and Levine 1984) states, "Emotions are thoughts somehow "felt" in flushes, pulses, "movements" of our livers, minds, hearts, stomachs, skin. They are embodied thoughts ... processes ... propensities for physical response ...." (p.143).

However, although Rosaldo (1984) and Lutz (1988) acknowledge the role played by the motivational, cognitive (social constructivist) and physiologically based theories of emotion, they do not subscribe to the view that these theories operate in isolation from the socio-cultural, political, economic and historical context. Rosaldo (in Shweder and Levine 1984) states, "... there are correspondences between emotions, social forms and culturally shaped beliefs .... What is not recognized is the possibility that the very problem - how society controls an inner self - may well be limited to those social forms in which a hierarchy of unequal power, privilege and control, in fact, creates a world in which the individual experiences constraint." (p.148). Rosaldo's views are supported by Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990), who state, "... the reality of emotions is social, cultural, political and historical." (pp.18-19). They also argue that "emotion talk must be interpreted as in and about social life ...." (p.11).

Lutz (1988) outlines a theoretical framework as well as an approach to understanding how emotional meaning is constructed. She states, "Emotions ... are human, cultural and historical interventions for viewing self and relations with others." (p.9). She states that within Euro-american contexts, "The concept of emotion ... exists in a system of power relations and plays a role in maintaining it ..." (p.54) [and] therefore, "talk about emotions is ... talk about society ... about power and politics." (p.6). She strongly suggests that a study of emotion should examine the speech behaviour of individuals, for example, the metaphors they use. She says that people use metaphors to give understanding and, therefore, metaphors will be frequently used to communicate and understand the experience of self and others and self in relation to others.

Method
2.7. Discursive Framework

To guide data collection and understanding of students' experiences, the views of the following theorists were taken into consideration. These views emphasize the importance of paying attention to the multiple realities embedded in students' meanings.
2.7.1. Naturalistic Paradigm

Denzin 1989, and Lincoln and Guba 1985 subscribe to the principle of naturalistic inquiry which proposes locating data in the natural world of everyday life. According to these theorists, by doing so, a more holistic understanding of what takes place will emerge from the data. Patton (1980) refers to this approach as a holistic-inductive approach to inquiry or the 'verstehen' which "focuses on the meaning of human behaviour, the context of social interaction, an empathetic understanding based on subjective experience, and the connections between subjective states and behaviour." (p.45). The verstehen approach is rooted in the phenomenological tradition which requires the researcher to play an active rather than passive role in the research process. It is also the belief of Lincoln and Guba (1985) that realities are wholes that cannot be separated or understood in isolation from their contexts and that for these realities to emerge in the process of data collection, no a priori non-human instrument would be suitable since it could not capture the variety and range of these realities.

2.7.2. Grounded Theory

Strauss and Corbin 1990, reiterate the views of the preceding theorists. They propose Grounded theory to emphasize the importance of building theory "that is faithful to and illuminates the area under study" (p.24). Like Lincoln and Guba 1985, these theorists state the importance of having theory emerge from the data. An emergent theory recognizes the multiple realities that exist among those sharing the data. Strauss and Corbin (1990) refer to the impossibility of complete neutrality on the researcher's part and recognize the role that the values of the researcher play in determining boundaries. They believe that, in spite of this, the researcher must suspend assumptions in order to truly hear the voices (and the multiple realities) of those who experience the phenomenon.

2.7.3. Critical Anti-Racism Theory

"Anti-racism is a critical discourse of race and racism in society and of the continuing racialization of social groups for differential and unequal treatment ...." (Dei 1996, p.25). As critical theory, anti-racism is "aimed at understanding and transforming existing ways of thinking and knowing and doing
things." (Dei 1996, p.10). Like the preceding theorists, it recognizes that there are different and multiple ways of knowing.

Placing power relations at the centre of the discourse on race and social difference is a major tenet of anti-racism theory. According to Dei (1996), race must be explored as a site and source of difference and identity, as well as a site of historically-constituted relations of domination, exploitation and oppression. (p.27).

Anti-racism theory is both theory and practice. As a process-oriented approach, it allows the researcher to ground analysis and understanding of the issue of trust, in the individual and collective experiences of students who, because of their race, experience social reality differently from others. Dei (1996) states, "anyone who seeks to interrogate and understand social relations is confronted with certain fundamental questions about their own histories and identities." (p.19).

It is for these reasons I have also included critical anti-racism theory as a way of looking at and understanding the experiences of black students. The theory proposes the following:

1. the concept of race is central to anti-racism discourse.
2. race is mediated with other forms of social oppression.
3. individual agency is tied to and constrained by institutional power.
4. certain voices in society are marginalized through the delegitimation of their knowledge and experience.
5. a holistic understanding of the human experience must comprise social, cultural, political, ecological and spiritual aspects.
6. the notion of identity as self recognizes that the inner self is connected to the outer self.
7. there is need for a more inclusive education system which engages the rich experiences, perspectives and viewpoints that are brought into the system.
8. the education system has historically served the material, political and ideological interests of the state and those of industrial capital.
9. the school experiences of youth cannot be understood in isolation from the material and ideological conditions and, therefore, demand a holistic analysis.
economic and political conditionalities mediate micro- and macro-level experiences of youth.

2.8. Assumptions

While not all of these theorists have addressed the issue of race, they have provided a framework that would guide understanding of the experiences of black students as they construct what they mean by trust in the context of the student-teacher relationship.

The study attempts to describe what is involved in the process of trusting someone. It examines this process from the perspective of the young black high-school student of Caribbean background, within the context of the student-teacher relationship. The study assumes that, for black students:

1. there are risks involved in trusting teachers.
2. in the process of deciding whether they can trust teachers, they attend to selected behaviours of their teachers and evaluate them.
3. at the same time, they also pay attention to their own behaviours and evaluate them.
4. emotions play a significant part in this process.
5. the process of trusting is influenced by their past experiences as minorities living at the disjunctures of a society structured within a system of domination and oppression.
6. in constructing what they mean by trust, these students take into consideration not only their individual experiences but also the collectively lived experiences of black people.
7. the process of trusting varies with age, gender, length of time in Canada, overall trust in others and degree of trust in specific persons.

To test these assumptions, the study will attempt to find out, from students, the following:

1. what are some of the risks involved in trusting teachers?
2. what are the behaviours (of teachers) that tell them they can trust them?
3. what are some of their own behaviours that tell them they can trust their teachers?
4. what are their feelings like as they begin to realize that they can trust their teachers?
(5) what are some past experiences, their own and others', that have influenced what they look for in teachers they trust or mistrust?

The study will, therefore, try to discover the central themes and patterns that constitute the process of trusting within the black student-teacher relationship.

To add variation, these themes and patterns will be examined along with factors such as age, gender, length of time in Canada, overall trust in others and degree of trust in specific others.

To provide further understanding of the phenomenon and verification to the study, students will be asked to:

(a) describe a situation of trust/mistrust within the context of their relationships with their teachers;
(b) state what they expect from teachers so that they can trust them;
(c) state whether other black students look for the same trusting behaviours in their teachers that they themselves look for.
(d) state whether it is important for them to become more trusting, and if so, what they or others can do, so that they can become more trusting.
Chapter 3

3.0. The Research Process

This process was guided by the views of the preceding theorists. My role as ‘learner’ in this process also contributed to gaining deep understanding and meaning of a complex issue such as trust.

3.1. Design

Although quantitative and qualitative methods were used, the focus of the study was more amenable to a qualitative approach. The quantitative design used in the first part of the results section (4.1) was necessary in so far as it provided an estimate of where informants place their trust as it pertains to institutional and non-institutional persons. It must be pointed out however that the quantitative approach used in this section was only subsidiary to the qualitative approach which was the major one used in this study. Although the quantitative approach used in the structured interviews (Appendices IV and VI) provided preliminary information to guide the semi-structured interviews, the qualitative approach allowed for more in-depth exploration of the phenomenon, that is, informants’ meanings of trust in the teacher-student relationship.

Strengths and Limitations of Quantitative and Qualitative Methods

The quantitative method was useful in so far as it guided preliminary understanding of trusting as a phenomenon. It provided an indication of whom students trust and do not trust but it did not provide the detail that was necessary to understand what students mean when they talk about trusting their teachers. The use of the quantitative method provided a starting point from which to begin deeper exploration and understanding of the phenomenon. Results from the use of this method showed that students made clear distinctions between persons with respect to where they place their trust. The major drawback of this method was that it reduced a complex experience to numerical indices and thus provided partial understanding of this complexity.

The qualitative approach was therefore useful in addressing this limitation. This approach provided a deeper understanding of a complex phenomenon that the quantitative could not provide. According to Glesne and Peshkin (1992), “The openness of qualitative inquiry allows the researcher to approach the inherent complexity of social interaction and to do justice to that complexity, to
respect it in its own right." (P.7). The assumption behind the emphasis on qualitative methodology was that the phenomenon of trust between black students and their teachers was a complex one involving multiple realities which can only emerge through use of this method of inquiry.

3.1.1. Why Qualitative Methodology

A qualitative design was used to guide understanding of the phenomenon and was undertaken in keeping with an approach that allowed for the subjective experiences of informants to be fully explored and understood. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990, p.19) qualitative methodology can be used to uncover and understand what is behind phenomena about which little is yet known. This approach allowed for the complex interactions that a quantitative approach could not have fully provided. Although some numerical measures were used to collect and represent data (Appendix III, IV and VI), this information only provided a preliminary understanding of trusting as a phenomenon as it applied to students' meanings of trust. Patton (1980) states, "Qualitative data consist of detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions and observed behaviours, as well as direct quotations from people about their experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts ...." (p.22). This approach to data collection requires open-ended narrative which does not attempt "to fit ... people's experiences into predetermined standardized categories ...." (Patton, 1980, p.22).

On the other hand, quantitative measures rely upon "the use of instruments that provide a standardized framework in order to limit data collection to certain predetermined response or analysis categories." (Patton, 1980, p.22). The approach used in this study did not attempt to limit but it was one that provided, from its inception, the opportunity for depth and the details of informants' experiences to emerge.

3.2. Sample and Sampling Procedures

Twenty-four informants consisting of eleven (11) males and thirteen (13) females were selected from among black students of Caribbean background between the ages of fourteen to sixteen years. Informants were selected from within the Greater Toronto Area and were either born in the Caribbean or born in Canada. To provide a richer dimension to the study, a sample of students who had recently arrived (within the last two and a half years) was also included. This group was added
in order to provide a more accurate representation of the population of black students of Caribbean background within the Greater Toronto Area. A demographic profile of the twenty-four informants is outlined in Table 3-1.

To gain access to potential informants, letters were sent to community organizations (Appendix I) requesting assistance in finding participants for the study. Personal contact with individual members within the Caribbean community also provided me with access to potential participants. Eventually, a snowballing technique was used which resulted in the twenty-four informants who participated in the study.

Attached to the letter to community organizations was a letter of informed consent to parents (Appendix II) which clearly outlined the sample I was seeking. Persons who were referred to me either contacted me or were contacted by phone. Clarification was given where necessary, either on the phone or face-to-face. Details regarding criteria for inclusion in the sample, data collection procedures, confidentiality and the purpose of the study were addressed in the course of these clarification sessions. For example, it was important to emphasize that the potential informants should identify themselves as black. In most cases, consent was immediately given and in a few cases, time was needed for reflection by parents of participants or by the participants themselves. Some of those needing time for consideration, eventually consented and contacted me.

The characteristics of the sample eventually reflected variation in age, gender, birthplace and length of time in Canada. Informants were not paid to participate in the study yet were all willing to do so. Token gift certificates were given in appreciation at the end of the interviews.

3.3. Data Collection

The study consisted of three phases. During the first phase in-depth, face-to-face interviews were conducted using a semi-structured questionnaire (Appendix V- Form I). These interviews were conducted individually and the majority of the interviews were held privately in the informants' homes. Privacy was allowed since the confidential nature of the interviews was discussed beforehand with parents and guardians of the informants. Wherever interviews could not be conducted in the informants' homes, they were conducted at meeting places, mutually arranged with informants and
Table 3-1  
Demographic Characteristics

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<th>Age 16</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Born in Canada</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
<th>≤2.5 yrs</th>
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5M 3F 4M 6F 2M 4F 6M 9F 5M 4F 2M 3F 1F
8 10 6 11 13 15 9 5 4

X = Female  ✓ = Male
their parents. Some of these meeting places included private rooms in church halls, community agencies, and, in one case, a library.

The set of questions used for the interviews was guided by the research questions. By the end of the first two interviews however, these questions were expanded (Appendix V-Form II) to allow for the dynamic level of involvement that was emerging on the part of participants. Nevertheless, the core questions were maintained throughout all interviews. Questions which were added emerged from the responses of the students and provided further clarification to the phenomenon. These new questions were not meant to replace the core questions. The decision to ask for further clarification was based on the belief, stated earlier, in the nature and existence of multiple realities in human experience. Each participant brought his or her own reality to the interview. At times I was surprised at how willing informants were to share their experiences and capitalized on any new information in order to gain a deeper understanding of what was taking place between the informant and the teacher.

3.3.1. First Interview

During the first Interview phase, a set of structured questions (Appendix III) was used to collect a demographic profile of informants. In addition, two other structured measures were used to provide additional information concerning the informants' overall trust (Appendix IV) and their degree of trust in specific others (Appendix VI). The information gleaned from these activities provided further understanding of the informants' constructions of what they meant by trust in the teacher-student relationship.

The period of time during which the first round of interviews was conducted began in October 1996 and ended in mid-March 1997. A set of semi-structured questions (Appendix V - Forms 1 and II) guided the conduct of this interview. Analysis began from the first interview and guided the sampling of concepts in successive interviews.

3.3.2. The Follow-Up Interview

The second round of interviews began in mid-February and continued until the end of March. Since the follow-up interviews required less time and since only clarification and the conduct of one additional measure was needed, it took a much shorter time to complete these interviews. Throughout the collection and transcription of the data, sampling of concepts and preliminary analysis took place.
3.3.2.1. Checking Credibility and Confidentiality

The follow-up interview provided informants with the opportunity to check the reliability of their responses. Responses were summarized and read back to informants. Names of informants were deleted and codes were used. Copies were made so that informants could follow. Clarification, wherever needed, was requested either by the informant or the researcher and informants were given the opportunity to either add to or delete their responses. The follow-up interview was also useful in that informants who were not as forthcoming in the previous interview, were now more willing to share their experiences. A few informants changed their views between the first and second interviews. The time between the first and second interviews ranged from two weeks to six months.

Opportunity was also given during the interview for informants to check issues of confidentiality. The length of the follow-up interview was approximately forty-five minutes to one and one quarter hours.

3.3.2.2. Determining Responsibility for Becoming More Trusting

In addition, during the second interview, another measure (Appendix VIII) was used to determine two things,

(a) the degree of responsibility students feel towards becoming more trusting of others,
(b) whose responsibility they perceived it to be, for them to become more trusting.

This measure was used only after preliminary findings from structured measures (Appendices IV and VI) revealed a polarization of trust in non-institutional as opposed to mistrust in institutional others.

This measure (Appendix VIII) asked students first of all to indicate whether it was important for them to become more trusting and if so, to what degree it was important to do so. All students completed the first question, but only those who responded in the affirmative were asked the questions which followed. The measure of responsibility was introduced to determine whether the informants, once they believed that it was important to become more trusting, saw it as their responsibility, or the responsibility of others, for them to become more trusting. The guiding concern was whether informants perceived institutional or non-institutional others, and/or themselves as contributing to their trust or mistrust of others.
3.3.3. Focus Group

3.3.3.1. Composition of the Groups

The third stage of the research process involved focus group interviews. All twenty-four (24) informants were invited to participate and meetings were initially arranged for three groups of eight informants. However, because of scheduling problems on the part of informants, five groups were eventually conducted. The size of the groups ranged from two to seven. The group discussions were conducted regardless of the numbers in attendance. In order to conduct the focus groups, a summary analysis was completed after all individual interviews were conducted. Major themes and findings that emerged from this analysis were shared with participants. Each participant was provided with a copy of the summary and questions or comments were invited.

Group participants were initially selected to represent a fair distribution based on gender, age, length of time living in Canada and the geographic area in which they were presently living. Unfortunately, due to scheduling problems this distribution was not always possible. Most males were able to come on Sundays, not Saturdays, which meant that there was an over-representation of males in the Sunday groups and of females in the Saturday groups. Two of the Saturday groups consisted of all females. The most productive discussion was generated when there was a balanced gender distribution.

3.3.3.2. Checking Credibility: Data and Researcher

The purpose of the focus groups was twofold:

(a) to provide another opportunity to check trustworthiness of the data

(b) to invite feedback on the conduct of the investigation and the trustworthiness of the researcher.

Informants were asked to state whether they thought the themes and patterns that emerged from the data reflected their views and the views of black students. The differences between males and females were also pointed out and discussion was invited on these findings.

In addition to getting feedback with respect to the trustworthiness of the data, informants were also asked to provide feedback on the conduct of the investigation and the trustworthiness of the researcher (Appendix VII). This measure was also used during the first stage of the research process. It was given to students at the end of the first interview, and they were asked to complete
these forms anonymously and return them by mail. A self-addressed stamped envelope was provided. Only nine (9) of the forms were returned. At the end of the focus group discussion, informants were again asked to complete this form anonymously. The researcher left the room in order for this activity to be carried out in a confidential manner. Completed forms were placed in a folder, so that the researcher had no way of identifying the informant.

Feedback on the conduct of the investigation and the trustworthiness of the researcher was another way of ensuring credibility to the entire investigation.

3.4. Data Analysis

Analysis of themes and categories was guided by the research questions and the views of the theorists discussed earlier, including principles of grounded theory. A paradigm model (Fig.1) was used to examine the data and look at the process of action-interaction as well as the antecedents (causes, context and intervening conditions) and the consequences of such action - interaction. As data were examined, this process was noted and emerging themes were coded. The frequency and intensity of these themes were derived initially by using index cards and then later by using The Ethnograph.

The themes and categories that emerged represented the range of behaviours used by black students as they arrive at the meaning of trust in their relationships with their teachers. They reflected the actions of students and of teachers as they interact with each other. These themes and categories also reflect the internal-external processing that occurs as they form these meanings.

3.4.1. First Stage: Transcription and Preliminary Coding

As previously stated, analysis of data began from the first interviews. As questions were asked and concepts were shared, the researcher saw it necessary to elaborate on those concepts. This led to the development of a second questionnaire, (Appendix V-Form II) specifically for researcher use. Although the core questions, remained the focus of the study, it became increasingly clear at an early stage of the interviewing process that the phenomenon of trust from the point of view of the participants was a complex one. As data were being transcribed, concepts were written on index cards. This was a way of beginning the process of coding. The procedure of writing down concepts on index cards was used when transcribing all interviews. Once all the interviews were transcribed
there was already a set of red flags indicating key themes and concepts. Nevertheless, the researcher put these tentative conclusions aside, in order to continue the search for deeper meaning in emerging themes. During this stage, data from the structured measures (Appendices IV and VI) were also tabulated and analysed. Statistical testing was conducted using chi-square and in some cases a t-test to determine significance.

3.4.2. Second Stage: Looking at Process

The second stage of analysis involved reading each individual transcript while looking for any key words or themes, moreover, looking at the process of interaction taking place between teachers and students and in some cases other students. The research questions and the discursive framework were used as a guide to examine and categorize the data. The Paradigm Model (Figure 3-1) suggested by Strauss and Corbin 1990, was also used to understand the process that was taking place. It was necessary to look for conditions, for example, Context (present and past) and Dimensions (frequency and intensity) and link them to Consequences of action/interaction. This helped to deepen understanding of what participants meant when they spoke about trusting (or mistrusting) teachers. This stage of analysis was a very lengthy one and necessitated going back and forth constantly making comparisons within one transcript and among transcripts. What resulted was a very intricate set of relationships operating under various conditions. These relationships indicated points of divergence and convergence. Some cases were unique to individual participants, others were common among participants.

3.4.3. Third Stage: Verifying Hypotheses and Developing Major Categories

Once the second stage was completed and themes related to the phenomenon emerged (Teacher's Behaviours - Verbal and non-Verbal - and Students' Thoughts, Feelings and Actions), codes were entered on The Ethnograph to facilitate sorting and searching for frequency and intensity of themes within the data. Entering these codes provided another opportunity to go over the transcripts, all the while considering the adequacy of the codes used, making comparisons and developing hypotheses. As hypotheses were developed, verification was sought from the data.
Figure 3-1
The Paradigm Model

(A) CAUSAL CONDITIONS -> (B) PHENOMENON -> (C) CONTEXT -> (D) INTERVENING CONDITIONS -> (E) ACTION/INTERACTION STRATEGIES -> (F) CONSEQUENCES

An ongoing part of the process of analysis, even from the first interview, involved memoing. As new ideas for rephrasing or deleting questions emerged, notes were taken. Any semblance of relationships between themes and categories was noted, questioned and verified.

Great attention was paid throughout, towards generating rich description by sampling concepts and always seeking to get a deeper understanding of these concepts. The use of Grounded Theory allowed for this. Questions were continuously asked throughout the analysis. Questions pertaining to interaction - What are they (informants or teachers) doing or saying; questions pertaining to context - What is it all about? Questions pertaining to dimension - how often are they doing or saying it? And to what degree are they doing or saying? These were some of the questions being constantly asked by the researcher to facilitate thick description? In addition, the clarification requested during the follow up interview and the focus group discussions allowed not only a deeper understanding of concepts to emerge, but provided verification of concepts which had already emerged from the data. The reason for continually making comparisons and validating meanings was twofold. It helped me to break through any personal assumptions that may still have been present and it also helped me to be purposefully sensitive to variation in movement and intensity among themes and categories.

Memoing continued throughout this stage of analysis and illustrations were constructed to represent possible linkages and patterns in the data.

3.4.4. Fourth Stage: Searching for the Core Category

This analytic stage required the researcher to look again at the themes that emerged from the data and to check the frequency and intensity with which they occurred. The use of the focus group discussions also brought out what seemed to be the central or core category that best reflected the action-interaction taking place between the informant and the teacher in the process of constructing interpersonal trust. Questions were asked in these discussions with respect to the core category. Given the list of themes related to trusting teachers, students were asked to prioritize these themes. What emerged from these discussions was a category reflecting mutual respect between the student and the teacher. This category was similar to the one that emerged from the researcher's analysis of the data.
Once the core category was highlighted an illustration was used to show the transactional nature of the interaction taking place between students and their teachers as it relates to the issue of trust. A matrix (Figure 3-2) was used to illustrate linkages between the internal world of the informant and various aspects (some more immediate than others) of his or her external world. This matrix which will be discussed in a later section demonstrates that the core category - Negotiating Mutual Respect involved not only students' perceptions, interpretations and behaviours, but also teachers' behaviours, the behaviours of others such as friends and family members and the wider structural context including aspects of the learning environment, role expectations, race and culture.

3.5. Establishing Trustworthiness

Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that the criteria required for trustworthiness in naturalistic inquiry is "inconsistent with the conventional trustworthiness criteria of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity" (p.42). Throughout the research process the aim was to ensure that the multiple realities of the informants emerge and define the focus of the study. In order to achieve this goal, it was not only necessary to deal with my trustworthiness as a researcher, but it also necessitated dealing with a number of key issues involving credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. These trustworthiness criteria are best suited to naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.43) and were maintained throughout the study.

3.5.1. Researcher Trustworthiness

In order to address this issue, it was necessary to recognize and suspend any preconceptions on my part and to ensure that I was modelling the phenomenon under investigation.

Aware of the biases that I brought into the study, I made a conscious decision to recognize them first of all, and then to suspend them. The decision to place myself in the role of learner, facilitated this transition. I consistently reminded myself that I really did not know the whole picture, that although I may have some idea, I may be wrong. Whenever the occasion arose to reflect back to the students what I thought they said, I always reminded them that they were the experts and that I did not want 'to put words in their mouths.'

As a researcher, it was my responsibility to ensure that I had provided informants with a climate that would allow them the privacy and the psychological space to talk about a sensitive topic.
**Figure 3-2**

The Conditional Matrix

Part of that space was inevitably the space which I occupied in the interaction. It was important that I get from informants feedback about that space which I occupied. I had to know whether informants trusted me enough to share their views on trusting teachers. Only in this way could I know whether what they shared with me, accurately represented their reality.

Measures of the researcher's trustworthiness were taken at several points throughout the research process. When informants were asked to indicate their degree of trust in specific others (Appendix VI) they were also asked to indicate to what degree they trusted me (Appendix VI-Ques.8). Findings revealed that the researcher ranked among those persons who were highly trusted by informants (Table 4-7).

At the end of the first interview, informants were given another measure (Appendix VII). They were asked to return their responses anonymously. Only nine (9) of the twenty-four (24) informants returned these forms. Feedback from this questionnaire showed that by the end of the first interview these respondents considered the researcher to be open and honest with them and that they did not feel that they could not share anything.

Another opportunity was given to informants to provide feedback on this same measure (Appendix VII). This measure was conducted again at the end of the focus group discussions. Findings revealed that of the nineteen (19) informants who responded to the questionnaire (Appendix VII), all indicated that I was open and honest with them. Sixteen (16) of these informants stated that they felt that they could share anything with me. Of the three (3) remaining informants one female respondent did not respond and another stated that she felt tension towards her, only in the discussion. One male respondent felt that students should have been allowed to read on their own and then ask questions if needed, rather than the researcher reading aloud the emerging themes. This suggestion was taken into account at the next focus group discussion and proved to be very productive.

3.5.2. Data Trustworthiness

3.5.2.1. Credibility: Internal Checks

Other measures taken to ensure data trustworthiness included a number of internal validity checks within the research process. A number of questions were built into the questionnaire to ensure that the responses of the informants were accurate.
(a) Informants were asked to give a hypothetical situation that best reflected what it meant to trust a teacher (Appendix V, Form I, Ques. 8).

(b) They were also asked to indicate to what extent their views were representative of the views of other black students (Appendix V, Form I, Ques. 11 & 12).

Follow-up interviews also allowed for credibility checks in informants' responses.

3.5.2.2. Confirmability: Focus Groups, Inter Rater Reliability

The focus group interviews provided a means of confirming the major themes that emerged. In addition, independent investigators provided an interrater reliability check in order to confirm these findings. Two colleagues who are experts in the field of the experiences of black Caribbean youth were asked independently to provide their ratings on a small sample (9) of transcripts. Ratings were consistent with themes which were already discovered by the researcher and confirmed by the informants.

3.5.2.3. Dependability

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), demonstration of credibility is sufficient to establish dependability. Nevertheless, the methods used in the study provided the type of overlap needed to ensure dependability. Theoretical saturation of concepts from among informants who were selected from a wide cross-section of the target population was one way of ensuring that findings from the data were dependable. The internal checks used within the interview was yet another way in which findings could be found dependable. The use of the follow-up interview and the focus group discussions provided other opportunities for informants to check trustworthiness and thus provide dependability to the study.

3.5.2.4. Transferability

The present study set out to explore in depth, a specific phenomenon within a specific context at a specific point in time. The study sought to provide a detailed description of how trust is constructed within the teacher-student relationship from the perspective of the young black high school student of Caribbean background between the ages of fourteen to sixteen. It generated a set of concepts which reflect the comprehensive view of this particular group of students.
The issue of transferability is therefore not as relevant to this study as it is to future research. Later studies would have to undertake this challenge in order to determine whether this phenomenon will hold up in another context at another point in time.

3.5.2.5. Ensuring Confidentiality

In addition to researcher trustworthiness and checks for credibility and confirmability, the climate created to ensure trustworthiness was also taken into account in consideration of the overall trustworthiness of the study. Prior to selection, the letter of consent to informants' parents addressed issues of confidentiality and protection from psychological harm (Appendix II). This letter also outlined issues of informed consent so that, informants who needed additional information regarding the conduct and purpose of the investigation were provided with this information before they consented. A very open and straightforward approach was taken by the researcher from the point of negotiating entry and was maintained throughout the investigation.

Informants were assured of the confidentiality of information not only before consenting but a deliberate approach was used by the researcher throughout, to reassure informants of their privacy. This reassurance was not only verbalized, but was also demonstrated in the profiles used in the follow-up interview and the conduct of the focus-group discussions. It was essential for the researcher not to just say it but to show informants that their confidentiality was being respected.

Finally, when occasions arose in which informants shared potentially harmful experiences, the researcher ensured that the informant was in a position to continue with the investigation. In one instance, one informant shared a bad experience which she had in the past with one of her teachers. The nature of the disclosure led the researcher to inquire of the informant whether she had recovered from this experience. Only after getting a positive response did the researcher decide to proceed with the investigation.

3.6. Limitations and Problems Encountered

For the most part the research exercise was conducted smoothly. However, problems arose at various times. Most of these problems revolved around sample selection and scheduling. The initial plan to use community agencies did not prove to be as useful as expected. A number of agencies were contacted and face-to-face meetings were held with personnel representing these agencies. The
feedback regarding access to informants was not very productive and eventually other resources had to be utilized. Contact was made with individuals who were known to me, either personally or through contact with friends. The result was a large network of persons from within the Caribbean community, who provided me with the final sample.

Other problems centred around scheduling. Since most students were at school during the day, interviews had to be held late in the evenings or on weekends. In some cases, students were preparing for exams and these interviews had to be conducted during the school vacation. Thus, the time scheduled for completion of interviews took much longer than expected. Scheduling problems also impacted on the composition and conduct of the focus groups. The impact was most evident in the richness of the discussion that was generated when there was a balanced gender distribution among groups. The plan to have such a balance among all groups did not materialize since informants were not always able to attend on the scheduled date and time.

In spite of these setbacks, all twenty-four (24) informants participated in the first and second interviews. Only four (4) of these informants did not attend the focus groups. Nevertheless, discussions from these groups provided a clearer understanding of the phenomenon.
Chapter 4

4.0. Results

This section addresses the findings from the structured questionnaires and from the semi-structured in depth individual interviews held with the twenty-four respondents. It is divided into two major sections. Section I examines findings from the structured questionnaires - Student's Overall trust (Appendix IV) and their degree of trust in specific others (Appendix VI). This section only gives a preliminary understanding of trusting as a phenomenon and does not address what trust means to black students.

Section II examines findings from the semi-structured in-depth individual interviews. This section addresses students' meanings of trust within the teacher-student relationship and will, therefore take into consideration the findings gleaned from Appendix V, Forms I and II. Section II is subdivided into four subsections which highlight all aspects of the transactional nature of students' constructions. The first subsection examines the structural, psychological and demographic factors as they pertain to students' meanings of trust. The second subsection outlines the behaviours of teachers that informants take into consideration as engaging the trust of students. The third subsection outlines the behaviours of students as they search for, discover and encounter what they consider to be trustworthiness in teachers. The fourth sub-section examines the Core Category which emerged from students' constructions of trustworthiness in a teacher. The results of the focus group discussions which were used for verification and deeper understanding, are incorporated into the findings in the second and third subsections.

4.1. Section I: Overall Trust and Degree of Trust in Specific Persons

4.1.1. Overall trust in others

This measure (Appendix IV) was used to indicate students' overall trust in others. Students were given the opportunity to state which of the persons they would trust if they had to place their trust in someone. The persons identified were those with whom students had varying degrees of interaction. The label 'other' was used to identify any other significant person who may have been
omitted, but whom students would choose to trust. Findings reflect how trusting students were overall, as well as differences regarding gender, age and length of time in Canada.

4.1.1.1. Overall Trust (Total)

Findings revealed that, overall, students were more likely to trust non-institutional persons, such as parents, family members and friends more than institutional persons including school administrators, guidance counsellors and the police (Fig.4-3). Of the twenty-four (24) informants who responded twenty-two (22) stated that they would trust parents, seventeen (17) said they would trust friends and fifteen (15) stated that they would trust other family members. Seven (7) students indicated that they would trust guidance counsellors and four (4) students stated that they would trust school administrators. However, only one (1) student stated that she would trust the police. A chi-square test of significance was conducted on overall findings. This resulted in a chi-square of 49.34 and p<.001 indicating that there was a significant difference in trust between institutional and non-institutional persons.

4.1.1.2. Overall Trust (Gender)

Statistical testing produced means of 3.15 for females and 2.45 for males. (Table 4-2). Although it appears that males were less likely to trust, when a t-test was conducted on the total number of persons trusted by gender, no significant difference was found between males and females.

As it pertains to specific persons (Fig.4-4), males trusted parents more than any other group of persons including family members, friends, guidance counsellors, school administrators and the police. Ten out of eleven males indicated that they would trust their parents. Males also favoured family members and friends among those they would trust. Only two males indicated that they would trust guidance counsellors or school administrators. However, none of the males stated that they would trust the police.
With respect to trusting parents and other family members, females were similar to males, that is, they trusted these persons more than they trusted any other person. However, females were more likely to trust friends than were males. Unlike the males, friends were the second group most likely to be trusted by females, whereas the second group most likely to be trusted by males was other family members. Eleven (11) females stated that they would trust a friend, whereas only six (6) males indicated that they would trust friends. Also, more females than males trusted guidance counsellors. Five (5) out of 13 females stated that they would trust their counsellors. Only two (2) males indicated that they would trust counsellors. Males as well as females were not as willing to trust school administrators. Only two (2) males and two (2) females stated that they would trust school administrators.
Table 4-2

**Overall Trust (Gender)**

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<th>Female (n=13)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
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<tr>
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<table>
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<th>Females (n=13)</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator</td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
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<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>$\bar{x}=2.45$</td>
<td>$\bar{x}=3.15$</td>
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4.1.1.3. Overall Trust (Age)

When the means for each age group were calculated, these results produced means of 3.25 for fourteen-year-olds, 2.8 for fifteen-year-olds and 2.33 for sixteen-year-olds (Table 4-3). According to these results (Fig.4-5) it appears that there is a decrease in overall trust with age. However, when a $t$-test of significance was conducted, it was found that there was no significant difference across age groups with respect to overall trust in others.

The only major distinction that is made by informants, regardless of age, was the distinction between trusting persons not belonging to institutions (parents, friends and family members) and
those belonging to institutions (police, guidance counsellors and administrators). As Figure 4-5 shows, all age groups showed a preference for trusting the former group of persons.

There are some slight differences shown among the age groups, however nothing significant can be concluded. It has already been shown that the overall mean for fourteen-year-olds was higher than the means for either fifteen- or sixteen-year-olds. The question of whether fourteen-year-olds are more trusting than the older age groups is a matter for future research.

Other important differences were seen among age groups regarding their preferences for trusting members within a particular group of persons, institutional or non-institutional. For example, more fourteen and fifteen-year-olds indicated a preference for trusting guidance counsellors than sixteen-year-olds. Sixteen-year-olds showed a preference for trusting parents.

The age group difference must be considered as suggestive and not conclusive. However, the overall results with respect to age of informants show that if they had to place their trust in someone, they would choose parents, friends and family members over police officers, guidance counsellors and administrators.
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<th>16 yr ( n = 6)</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Family</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Means</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4-3
Overall Trust in Others (Age)
4.1.1.4. Overall Trust (Length of Time in Canada)

A similar pattern to what was found for gender and age ratings was also evident for the length of time students were living in Canada. Regardless of whether students were born here, had arrived more than two and a half years earlier, or had recently arrived, they continued to make a distinction between trusting institutional and non-institutional groups. All students stated that they would trust persons belonging to non-institutional groups more than they would trust persons belonging to institutional groups. (Fig. 4-6).
When means were calculated for each group of informants in this category, the overall means for those who trusted were 3.00 for those born in Canada, 3.00 for those who had arrived within the last two years, and 2.00 for informants who had arrived two and a half years earlier (Table 4-4). These numbers, however, are too small to determine significant differences across age groups.

Another important distinction was made by informants regardless of whether they were born in Canada or the Caribbean. They indicated that they were more likely to trust their parents than any other persons. Again, there were differences among informants regarding members within a particular group, institutional or non-institutional. For example, more students born in Canada indicated that they trusted their friends, whereas fewer informants born in the Caribbean indicated the same. The numbers of informants in each category are too small to determine significance. These findings are, therefore, not conclusive and would require further investigation to determine their significance.

In summary, the data regarding overall trust reveal one major finding which is consistent across gender, age and length of time living in Canada. Informants in this study showed a preference for trusting persons not belonging to institutions (parents, family members and friends) over persons belonging to institutions (police officers, guidance counsellors and school administrators). In other words, if they had to place their trust in someone, these are the persons in whom they would place their trust. Persons belonging to institutions were not highly considered as persons that they would trust.
Table 4-4
Overall Trust in Others (Length of Time in Canada)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Born in Canada</th>
<th>Not Born in Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n = 15)</td>
<td>&lt; 2.5 yrs (n = 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Institutional</td>
<td>YES 12</td>
<td>YES 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO 3</td>
<td>NO 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Family</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Born in Canada</th>
<th>Not Born in Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n = 15)</td>
<td>&lt; 2.5 yrs (n = 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>YES 1</td>
<td>YES 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO 14</td>
<td>NO 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guidance Counsellor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>$\bar{x} = 3.0$</td>
<td>$\bar{x} = 3.0$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another important finding which was consistent across gender, age and length of time living in Canada, shows that parents were the persons most likely to be trusted by informants.

Finally, although there were minor differences regarding preferences among members according to gender, age and length of time in Canada, these findings, though important, are not significant and are best left to future research to determine significance.

At this point, I wish to make a distinction between that which is important and that which is significant. The distinction is necessitated by the fact that the number of cases is too small for running tests of significance but this does not mean that important differences have not been brought to light through my investigation. The discussion that follows regarding the degree of trust would also show this distinction between what is significant and what is important.
4.1.2. Degree of Trust in Specific Persons

This measure (Appendix VI) was used to indicate to what extent the informants are themselves trusting and to what extent they are trusting of specific persons. More informants rated themselves moderately trusting than either low or high trusting. The degree of trust in others varied and this was most significant in the degree of trust placed in institutional others as distinct from non-institutional others. A chi-square test of significance was conducted and findings produced a chi-square of 38.62 with p<.001 indicating that there was a significant difference in the degree of trust between institutional and non-institutional persons. One other important difference was observed. The researcher (institutional person) was rated in a manner that was similar to that of non-institutional persons. (Fig.4-7).

Figure 4-7
Degree of Trust
4.1.2.1. Degree of Trust (Self-Rating)

Informants varied in their self-ratings. Of the twenty-four (24) informants, twelve (12) rated themselves as moderately trusting of others, eight (8) informants rated themselves as low trusting and four (4) rated themselves as highly trusting. Regardless of how trusting they consider themselves, informants continue to demonstrate a clear distinction between trusting non-institutional and institutional persons. Table 4-5 highlights findings for those students who rated themselves high or low trusting. Those findings reveal a pattern (Fig. 4-8) which demonstrates that even though students rate themselves as high or low trusting, they continue to indicate a preference for trusting parents, family members and friends over police officers, counsellors and administrators.

When this preference is considered within the context of the extent to which they trust non-institutional as opposed to institutional others, again findings reveal that they rated the former group of persons as more highly trusting than persons belonging to the latter group (Figs 4-9 and 4-10).

Table 4-6 indicates some important though non-significant differences between the responses of high trusting and low trusting informants. Informants whose self-ratings were low gave more low trusting responses to non-institutional persons than did those informants whose self-ratings were high. High trusting informants did not rate any of these persons low. High trusting informants gave more moderate responses to institutional persons whereas low trusting informants gave more low and moderate responses to this group of persons.

When examined together with findings from the previous measure (Appendix IV), the evidence shows that not only were the high and low trusting students more likely to trust parents, family members and friends, but they also stated that they trusted this group of people highly.
Table 4-5
Overall Trust (high and low trusting informants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Institutional</th>
<th>High Trusting</th>
<th>Low Trusting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Members</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>$\bar{x}=2.25$</td>
<td>$\bar{x}=1.88$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutional</th>
<th>High Trusting</th>
<th>Low Trusting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guidance Counsellor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>$\bar{x}=0.25$</td>
<td>$\bar{x}=0.625$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>$\bar{x}=2.5$</td>
<td>$\bar{x}=2.5$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4-8
Overall Trust (High and Low Trusting Informants)
Figure 4-9
Degree of Trust (High Trusting)
Figure 4-10

Degree of Trust (Low Trusting)
Table 4-6
Degree of Trust (high and low trusting informants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Trusting (n=4)</th>
<th>Low Trusting (n=8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Mod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-institutional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrators</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2.2. Degree of Trust (Overall)

Informants varied in their degree of trust in specific others. (Table 4-7). Of the 192 responses indicated by informants, seventy-five responses were categorized by informants as highly trusting. Sixty-two responses were categorized as moderate and fifty-five responses as low trusting. Informants' responses to this measure were similar to the previous one which indicated their overall trust. They made a clear distinction regarding the degree of trust they placed in non-institutional persons, (parents, family and friends) from those persons representing institutions (police, teachers, researchers and school administrators). They gave higher ratings of trust to persons belonging to the former group. Following is a summary of the patterns of degree of trust indicated by informants for each of these two categories of persons.
**Institutional Persons**

Informants indicated low ratings of trust in persons representing institutions. Of the twenty-four (24) informants, fifteen (15) gave low ratings of trust to the police. Nine (9) informants gave moderate ratings of trust and none of the informants indicated that they trusted the police highly. A similar pattern to that of the police was seen for school administrators; more informants rated school administrators in the low category than they rated them in either the moderate or high categories. Among the twenty-four (24) informants, twelve (12) gave a low rating of trust to school administrators. Nine (9) gave them a moderate rating of trust. However, unlike the police, who were not rated highly by any of the informants, three (3) informants indicated that they trusted school administrators highly.

More informants rated teachers moderately than they rated them either high or low. Of the twenty-four (24) informants, eleven (11) gave a moderate rating of trust to teachers whereas nine (9) informants rated them low. Only four (4) rated their teachers highly.

As indicated earlier, the researcher was rated differently from other persons belonging to institutions. Of the twenty-four (24) informants, fourteen (14) rated the researcher highly, eight (8) gave a moderate rating of trust to the researcher and two (2) informants rated the researcher low. The pattern of trust for institutional persons was broken in this case, since the researcher, an institutional person was rated in a similar manner to non-institutional persons whom informants indicated they trusted highly.

**Non-institutional Persons**

Of the twenty-four (24) informants, twenty-one (21) stated that they trusted their parents highly and eighteen (18) informants stated that they trusted other family members highly. There were few ratings of low or moderate trust in these persons.

Friends were also rated highly by informants. However, there was one surprising result; more informants gave high ratings to the researcher than they gave to friends. Eleven (11) informants rated friends highly, whereas fourteen (14) rated the researcher highly. Seven (7) informants gave their friends a moderate rating and six (6) gave them a low rating.
### Table 4-7
#### Degree of Trust (Overall)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(N=24)</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrators</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>(\bar{x}=1.58)</td>
<td>(\bar{x}=1.54)</td>
<td>(\bar{x}=0.875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-institutional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>(\bar{x}=0.375)</td>
<td>(\bar{x}=0.54)</td>
<td>(\bar{x}=2.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\bar{x}=2.29)</td>
<td>(\bar{x}=2.58)</td>
<td>(\bar{x}=3.13)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.1.2.3. Degree of Trust (Gender)

Overall, more males than females rated themselves low. Five (5) males rated themselves low trusting. Of the fifty-five (55) low responses, males accounted for thirty (30). Females gave more high responses than males. Of the seventy-five (75) high responses, females accounted for forty-one (41) (Table 4-8). Regardless of gender, however, students continued to make a distinction between the degree of trust they placed in non-institutional persons as opposed to institutional persons.
There were some important differences in gender with respect to how informants rated themselves. Half of the informants considered themselves moderately trusting. Eight (8) females and four (4) males rated themselves moderately trusting. However, five (5) males rated themselves as low trusting, whereas only three (3) females did the same. An equal number of males and females considered themselves high trusting; two (2) females and two (2) males gave themselves a high rating of trust.

**Non-institutional Persons**

Persons in this category were rated highly by males as well as females (Figs. 4-11a, b, c). Of the twenty-four (24) informants, eleven (11) females and ten (10) males indicated that they trusted their parents highly. Males gave as many high ratings to family members as they gave to parents. There was a slight difference in the ratings for family members by males compared to females. Males continued to demonstrate the same amount of trust for family members as they did for parents. Fewer females trusted family members highly than they trusted parents. Whereas eleven (11) females gave high ratings to parents, only eight (8) indicated that they trusted family members highly.

Friends were given higher ratings by females than males. Seven (7) females rated friends highly whereas only four (4) males indicated the same. Even though there appears to be a slight difference in degree of trust among persons in this category, informants continued to indicate more trust in persons of the non-institutional group than those belonging to institutional groups.

**Institutional Persons**

Apart from the researcher, other persons belonging to this category were rated in the low to moderate range by both males and females. (Fig. 4-11a, b, c). Police officers were rated low by seven (7) males and eight (8) females. A similar pattern was demonstrated by males for school administrators. They were rated low by seven (7) males. There was a slight difference in gender ratings. More females than males rated administrators moderately trusting. Six (6) females rated the administrator as moderately trusting whereas only three (3) males give them this rating.

Teachers were considered low trusting by more males than females. Six (6) males rated teachers as low trusting whereas only three (3) females did so. Seven (7) females considered teachers to be moderately trusting and four (4) males had a similar rating for teachers. More females than males rated teachers highly. Three (3) females and only one (1) male indicated this rating for teachers.
Overall, more females than males gave high ratings for persons in this group except in the case of police officers where neither males nor females indicated a high rating of trust.

Table 4-8
Degree of Trust (Gender)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(N=24)</th>
<th>Low M</th>
<th>Low F</th>
<th>Moderate M</th>
<th>Moderate F</th>
<th>High M</th>
<th>High F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrators</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-institutional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (gender)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (overall)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4-11:
Degree of Trust (Gender)
Figure 4-11b
Degree of Trust (Gender)

[Bar chart showing the degree of trust for different specific persons trusted by males and females. The chart includes categories such as Friends, Parents, Family, Police, Researcher, Teacher, and Administrator.]
4.1.2.4. Degree of Trust (Age)

Informants of the younger and older age groups rated themselves as moderately trusting more than they rated themselves as either high or low trusting (Table 4-9). Of the six (6) sixteen-year-olds, four (4) rated themselves moderately. Four (4) of the eight (8) fourteen-year-olds did the same, whereas only four (4) of the ten (10) fifteen-year-olds rated themselves as moderately trusting. Of the eight (8) low trusting informants, three (3) were fourteen-year-olds, four (4) were fifteen-year-olds and there was one (1) sixteen-year-old. Of the four (4) high trusting informants, two (2) were fifteen-year-olds and one informant belonged to each of the other two age groups. In spite of these differences, the pattern of the
difference in degree of trust for institutional and non-institutional persons was maintained. Regardless of age, more informants trusted the latter group of persons highly.

**Non-institutional Persons**

Parents, family members and friends continued to be the persons who were highly trusted (Fig.4-12, 12b, 12c). Twenty-one (21) informants across all age groups rated their parents highly. All of the six (6) sixteen-year-old informants did so. Nine (9) of the ten (10) fifteen-year-olds gave high ratings to parents and so too did six (6) of the eight (8) fourteen-year-olds.

There were differences across ages with regard to ratings of persons belonging to this group. These differences, however, do not detract from the major pattern that persists regarding the distinction in trust between non-institutional and institutional persons.

**Institutional Persons**

The pattern of trust for persons in this category was different from that of non-institutional persons. Informants gave low ratings to persons in this group than they gave to persons in the non-institutional group. (Fig.4-12, 12b, 12c). Half the number of informants in each age group gave a low rating for their trust in school administrators. Only one informant in each age group indicated that he/she trusted administrators highly.

Ratings for administrators were better than those for police officers. The findings show that informants either gave low or moderate ratings of trust to the police. Six (6) of eight (8) fourteen-year-olds and five (5) of six (6) sixteen-year-olds gave a low rating of trust to police officers. Six (6) of ten (10) fifteen-year-olds rated police officers moderately. None of the age groups trusted police officers highly.

Ratings for teachers were better than those for either police officers or school administrators. Eleven (11) informants across all age groups rated teachers moderately. Five (5) of eight (8) fourteen-year-olds, five (5) of ten (10) fifteen-year-olds and one (1) sixteen-year-old rated teachers moderately.

Four (4) informants rated teachers highly. Three (3) sixteen-year-olds rated teachers highly. None of the fourteen-year-olds rated their teachers highly and only one (1) fifteen-year-old gave this rating to teachers. Teachers were rated low by nine (9) informants across all age groups. Findings show that three (3) fourteen-year-olds, four (4) fifteen-year-olds and two (2) sixteen-year-olds gave low ratings to their teachers.
Ratings for the researcher indicate that more than half of the informants across all age groups rated the researcher highly. Fourteen (14) informants gave a high rating to the researcher. Of these fourteen informants, five (5) were fourteen-year-olds, six (6) were fifteen-year-olds and three (3) belonged to the sixteen-year age group. One (1) fifteen-year-old informant and another sixteen-year-old rated the researcher low.

In summary, informants across age groups made a clear distinction in the degree of trust they place in institutional as opposed to non-institutional others. Again, there were important differences indicated across age groups, however, the small numbers within each of these groups do not facilitate tests of significance and would therefore require future research to determine any significant differences between these age groups.
Table 4-9
Degree of Trust (Age)

(N=24)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Institutional

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrators</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-institutional

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>High</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4-12

Degree of Trust (Age)
Figure 4-12b
Degree of Trust (Age)
4.1.2.5. Degree of Trust (Length of Time in Canada)

Overall, findings show that informants across all categories gave more high responses of trust in others than either moderate or low responses. (Table 4-10). However, the major distinction continues to be made between the degree of trust they placed in non-institutional and institutional others. Again, non-institutional persons rather than institutional persons were more likely to be trusted highly by all informants regardless of country of birth and length of time living in Canada. (Fig.4-13a,13b,13c).

Ratings with regard to self do not indicate any major difference among informants with respect to the length of time living in Canada. However, one difference is noteworthy. When informants who
were born in the Caribbean rate themselves, more of them give a low rating. Of the nine (9) students born in the Caribbean, four (4) rated themselves low. On the other hand, these informants rate non-institutional persons highly, especially parents and family members. Parents were rated highly by all informants born in the Caribbean and family members were rated highly by six (6) of these informants. These distinctions across categories though important are not significant at this time and would require further research to determine significance.

Non-institutional Persons

A pattern similar to that indicated for gender and age was seen in students' ratings of persons in this category (Fig. 13a, 13b, 13c). As stated above, parents were highly trusted by all students born in the Caribbean. With respect to students born in Canada, twelve (12) of the fifteen (15) informants trusted their parents highly. Family members were also highly trusted by both categories of students. Of the fifteen (15) informants born in Canada, twelve (12) rated family members highly, so too did all (11) informants who have been living in Canada for more than two and a half years. Informants who had recently arrived, split their ratings for family members. Three (3) indicated that they trusted family members moderately and two (2) highly. Most informants born in Canada and most informants who had arrived within the past two and a half years indicated that they trusted their friends highly. Eight (8) of the fifteen (15) informants born in Canada and three (3) of the five (5) who had recently arrived stated that they trusted their friends highly. However, informants who have been living in Canada for more than two and a half years did not give high ratings to their friends and instead stated that they trusted their friends either a little or moderately. Two (2) of these informants indicated that they trusted their friends moderately and two (2) gave their friends a low rating. The significance of these intra-group differences with respect to the degree of trust in non-institutional persons needs to be investigated in future research.

Institutional Persons

The researcher, as an institutional person, was rated highly by more informants born in Canada or living here for more than two and a half years. (Fig. 13a, 13b, 13c). Ten (10) of the fifteen (15) informants born in Canada and two (2) of the four (4) informants who have been living here for more than two and a half years rated the researcher highly. Three (3) of the five (5) informants who had recently arrived stated that they trusted the researcher moderately. Two (2) gave a high rating to the researcher.
### Table 4-10

Degree of Trust (Length of Time in Canada)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Born in Canada (n=15)</th>
<th>Born in Caribbean (n=9)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Mod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrators</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-institutional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Parents</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4-13

Degree of Trust (Length of Time in Canada)
Figure 4-13b
Degree of Trust (Length of Time in Canada)
Figure 4-13c
Degree of Trust (Length of Time in Canada)

Fifteen (15) informants indicated that their trust in the police was low. Four (4) of five (5) recently arrived informants and three (3) of four (4) informants who had arrived more than two and a half years ago rated the police low. Eight (8) of the fifteen (15) informants, who were born in Canada, gave low ratings to the police.

Over half of the informants who were either born in Canada or living in Canada for more than two and a half years gave a low rating of trust in their administrators. Recently arrived informants rated school administrators in a similar manner to their ratings for teachers. Two (2) of the five (5) recently arrived informants indicated that their trust in administrators and teachers was either low or moderate. Only one
(1) of these informants rated administrators highly.

Teachers were given a moderate rating by eight (8) of the fifteen (15) informants born in Canada. They were rated highly by two (2) of the four (4) informants who have been in Canada for more than two and a half years and by one (1) of the five (5) recently arrived informants.

These intra-group findings regarding the degree of trust in others as indicated by students who were born in different regions and who have been in Canada for varying lengths of time, confirm the major findings found so far in this investigation. Informants, regardless of gender, age and length of time in Canada, trust parents, family members and friends more than they trust police officers, teachers and school administrators.

Summary

Two major findings were demonstrated from informants' responses across gender, age or length of time in Canada

(1) informants trust non-institutional persons more highly than they trust institutional persons.

(2) informants trust parents and family members more highly than they trust friends or institutional persons.

Other important responses were indicated by informants. These responses are categorized according to gender, age and length of time living in Canada. However, these findings are only suggestive but not conclusive and thereby require further investigation.

Gender

(1) more males than females gave low ratings of trust to institutional others.

(2) more females gave high ratings of trust to non-institutional others.

(3) friends were rated highly by more females than males

(4) family members were rated highly by more males than females.

Age

(1) half the number of informants across all age groups rated themselves moderately trusting. Four (4) informants from each age group rated themselves moderately trusting.

(2) friends were trusted highly by more fifteen-year-old informants than informants of the other age groups.
Length of time in Canada
(1) informants regardless of the length of time in Canada, gave more high responses overall than low or moderate responses.
(2) half the number of informants across all groups in this category, rated themselves moderately trusting.

Implications for Trusting Teachers
The preceding results show patterns regarding informants' overall trust (Appendix IV) and their degree of trust in specific others (Appendix VI). Major findings show that black high-school students of Caribbean background
(a) trust persons not belonging to institutions more than they trust persons who belong to institutions.
(b) trust non-institutional persons more highly than they trust institutional persons, that is, they gave higher ratings of trust to persons not belonging to institutions.
(c) rate parents more highly than any other specific person, non-institutional or institutional.

When teachers are considered with regard to students' trust in them, of the persons belonging to the institutional group, except for the researcher, they were the ones most trusted. However, the rating for teachers was lower than the rating for the researcher and all persons belonging to the non-institutional group. Teachers were rated in the low to moderate range.

Results for teachers also show that more males than females gave them a low rating of trust. These results also show that more students in the younger age groups (14-15 years) gave a low to moderate rating of their trust in teachers whereas more sixteen-year-old students gave a high rating. The low to moderate pattern of trust in teachers persists in informants' responses regardless of whether they were Canadian or Caribbean born and also according to the length of time they were living in Canada. This is more noticeable among the responses of informants who were either born in Canada or had recently arrived.

Informants' ratings of their trust in teachers provide a partial picture of their perceptions of trust as it relates to their teachers. These findings, however, do not specify what these informants mean by trust within the teacher-student relationship.

In order to gain a holistic understanding of how they construct what they mean by trust in this
relationship, the findings that follow in the next four sections will highlight the context, the teachers' characteristics considered trustworthy and the set of student strategies that may create these constructions.
4.2. Section II

4.2.1. The Context

This subsection provides the context for examining students’ meanings of trust. It examines the conditions that influence or are influenced by the actions of students in their interaction with their teachers. It is divided into four parts. (Fig. 4-14). The first three parts examine the findings related to the importance informants place on becoming more trusting, their perception of responsibility for becoming more trusting and the importance they place on trusting their teachers. The fourth part looks at the external and internal trusting environment, that is, the structural, psychological and demographic factors that add to informants’ meanings of trust.

Figure 4-14

The Context

Importance of Becoming More Trusting  Responsibility for Becoming More Trusting  Importance of Trusting Teachers

The Trusting Environment

Structural  Psychological  Demographic
4.2.1.1. Importance of Becoming More Trusting

This section addresses findings from Appendix VIII. As mentioned earlier, this measure was added only after findings from Appendices IV and VI indicated a trend towards polarization of trust in non-institutional persons and mistrust in institutional persons.

When asked whether they thought it was important for them to become more trusting, fourteen (14) informants stated that it was important. However, when asked to what degree they thought it was important, nine (9) informants stated that it was highly important.

4.2.1.2. Responsibility for Becoming More Trusting

For those students who thought that it was important for them to become more trusting, they indicated that the responsibility for them becoming more trusting should be shared. They believed that they had to examine and change some of their own behaviours and the extent to which these behaviours were contributing to their lack of trust in institutional others.

However, these informants felt that others, especially institutional others must also do the same if they (the informants) were to become more trusting of them.

With regard to whose responsibility it was for students to become more trusting, informants shared this responsibility with everyone. They believed that not only did they have a role to play but that others, even family members and friends, shared the responsibility.

Self

With regard to themselves, informants felt that they could be more open (05, 09, 10, 18) have less of a temper (01, 08) be more friendly and smile more (04) and not listen to what others say about teachers (06). They also stated that they would try not to think too much into the situation before deciding to trust (17), become more familiar with people before deciding on their personality (13, 21), listen more (16), be more patient (F08) and less stubborn (19).

Non-institutional Persons

With respect to family and friends, informants were less willing to change anything about them. Thirteen (13) informants stated that they would not make any changes to their families, fifteen (15) stated that they would not change their friends. Those who indicated that they would change some things about their families, referred to the need for more communication, particularly listening (04,
05, 11) and seeing others' points of view (13).

Females expressed these desires moreso than males. Males, on the other hand, spoke about having a more peaceful family (18) and wanting the family to observe how they act around them (22). One informant wanted one of her family members to become more trusting since this family member had an influence on her views of teachers (06).

Those female informants who wanted friends to become more trusting also wished that their friends would listen more (04, 05). Others wanted to make friends trust teachers as much as they can and keep an open mind (06). Other informants wanted friends to be honest, that is, to mean what they say (23).

Male informants on the other hand wanted their friends to change their attitude that is, to become less aggressive (07), to get more serious about their work (01) and to stop thinking negatively of others (09). One male informant wished that his friends would be more faithful and 'stand by you' (10).

**Institutional Persons**

With respect to institutional persons - those within the school system and police officers, informants proposed a number of changes. With regard to the school environment, fifty percent (50%) informants stated that they wanted to change teachers so that they could become more trusting of them. Among the changes suggested were more black teachers (10) and teachers of different cultural backgrounds (02), less stereotyping of black students (01, 06, 09, 13) and less putting down of students (20). Informants also suggested that teachers should liven up things in the classroom (13, 19) and show more patience (08). They wanted teachers to trust all students (17) and to be equally fair to all of them (17). Also, informants wanted teachers to be more sensitive (13), to make students feel they can turn to them (13), to listen some more (01) and to believe in students, that is, to believe that they can do well (20).

Some informants wanted administration to reward deserving students and not treat them like the others who make no contribution to the school (10). Other informants wanted administrators to be more sensitive to the need for students to protect their reputation among their peers, especially when they are asked to disclose information about them (18). Other students wanted administrators to enforce the rules with respect to smoking (14, 24).
Informants spoke about the need for less stereotyping of blacks on the part of the police (04, 05, 08, 14, 21, 01, 09). They also felt that police officers should treat everyone equally and should not discriminate on the basis of race (01, 22, 06). The need for changes to entry requirements, such as putting more black officers on the force (12) and a thorough check of officers before entry into the service (19) were also suggested. The need to set up a mentoring system between police and students in order to change the negative perceptions of police and blacks was also suggested (02, 13). For instance, it was suggested that officers should visit more schools and even take students on an outing occasionally. It is believed that police officers are perceived as punitive and in order to have a more humane perception of them, a mentoring system should be initiated.

Other institutions requiring change were the media, the government, the judicial system and religious institutions. The most frequently mentioned institution was the media. Informants wanted to see a more responsible media, one that is honest and has integrity, that is, would print or state the truth (13, 17) and would only make changes to an article after informing the writer of the article (17). An important aspect of the truth was the portrayal of accurate perceptions of all non-white people (01). To do so, it was felt that the media must attempt to 'base someone on their character and not from where they came.' (M01). It was also felt that the media should recognize the influence it has on the impressions and self-images of young people, for example, young girls, especially as it relates to their body image (F14).

Other informants spoke of their desire to make the government more honest (07) and the Judicial System less corrupt (06). Aspects of religious traditions were also seen as in need of change (13, 21).

4.2.1.3. Importance of Trusting Teachers

This section addresses findings from Form II - Sections K and C. To understand informants' constructions of trust which will be discussed later, it is necessary to examine the value that they place on trusting teachers. When asked whether it was important for them to trust their teachers, (Form II - Section K) thirteen (13) informants stated that it was important. Of these eight (8) were females. Less than half of the males stated that it was important to trust teachers. In one case, one male informant (16) stated that trusting teachers is important but that it depends on the class. He stated that it was
important to trust teachers in most classes, especially the 'really academic ones' but not like music or gym where students interact more with other students and less with the teachers. It is the perception of this student that "...you don't really need to talk to those teachers..." (M16, 214B, 02/12/96).

When asked to state why they thought trust was important, the majority of those who stated that it was important said, that being able to trust the teacher makes the learning environment a more relaxed and comfortable one. They also spoke about the importance of being more motivated and becoming successful. Some informants said that trusting teachers was more important to their schoolwork and less important for personal things. (M16, F14).

Those informants who did not think trusting a teacher was important, emphasized the key role of the teacher and the student. They believed that the teacher's job is to teach and the student's job is to learn (M03, M18). Other informants who felt that trust was not important emphasized the personal domain of trust and in this context indicated that there were other people that students can trust (F12). For instance, they stated that students are likely to trust their friends before trusting their teachers (F13). Other informants who did not think that trust was important indicated that trusting teachers depends on whether or not the student likes school. If the student likes school, then he or she would get involved in talking with the teacher (M01).

When asked to what degree they considered trusting teachers to be important (Form II - Section C), seven (7) informants stated that they thought it was moderately important to trust their teachers. Seven (7) informants thought it was of little importance. Nine (9) informants thought it was highly important to trust the teacher. For most males, it was of little importance. Most females stated that it was either moderately or highly important.

4.2.1.4. External and Internal Factors of the Trusting Environment

As they construct what are considered trusting behaviours within the teacher-student relationship, a number of external and internal factors are taken into account. Structural, psychological and demographic factors play a significant role in students' constructions.
Structural Factors

Informants' meanings are influenced by structural factors, such as school and non-school experiences, whether academic or personal, as well as experiences related to social roles, race and culture.

Academic and Personal Experiences

Some informants perceive trust in the teacher-student relationship to be only relevant to academic concerns. Others regard trust as relevant to the personal, yet others consider the issue of trust as one that overlaps both domains. Students who state that trusting the teacher is related to the academic, emphasize the importance of getting feedback about their grades or their schoolwork. They perceive a trustworthy teacher as one who is honest and fair where their grades are concerned and one who provides constructive feedback and encouragement to help them succeed. The academic domain was just as important for males as it was for females (01, 07, 09, 16, 20, 06, 13, 17, 02, 08). For some male informants, trusting teachers is about getting the right grade and a fair one and knowing that the teacher was being honest in giving it. One male informant states,

... because even if I do good or wrong, they'll give me ... the right grade.
And even though when I add it up and everything that I find out that I always get the right grade ... at least, they're not trying to like lie or ... bring it down or anything.
(M20, 007-047,20/12/96).

Trust ing teachers is also about the teacher believing in the student's academic ability. One informant states, "they didn't think that ... I couldn't get a good grade ...." (M20, 111, 20/12/96). Trusting teachers means that teachers pay attention to students and help them.

Female informants also considered the academic domain to be important for trusting but they indicated that the personal was just as important (04, 05, 11, 14, 15, 23) especially personal matters related to conflicts with other students. When they referred to the academic, females spoke about being able to ask for help and receiving it. One informant states that the teachers she trust "are willing to help you." (F02, 19/10/96). Another informant talks about getting extra encouragement from the teacher. She states, "everybody keeps pushing but sometimes you need a little more." (F23, 047,25/02/97).

Students talk about sharing their concerns about their progress with the teacher and the teacher in turn cooperating with students by giving them feedback that will help them improve. One
informant states, "... how I am doing in school ... my marks and the grades I'm getting ... and then how I can improve on that ... like what areas am I lacking ... how can we work together to improve ...." (F06, 031, 05/11/96).

The major issues within the personal domain centered around personal in-school matters related to conflicts with other students and to the teacher-student relationship not directly linked to issues of feedback or help with schoolwork. Confidentiality, familiarity, mutuality and respect were some of the themes discussed by students when referring to matters related to the personal. Below are some illustrations reflecting the emphasis on the personal content of these themes.

Some students felt that it was just as important for teachers to maintain confidentiality regarding students' academic concerns as it was for matters of a non-academic nature. The issue of trusting a teacher with whom one was familiar in a positive way, was important to all students. Informants spoke about removing teacher-student boundaries that is, the teacher should not only be a teacher but also a friend. One informant states,

... and they not only teach you but they try to talk to you as a friend and not just as a student .... (F04, 021-047,09/11/96).

Another states,

At the end of the class ... they can come up to you and just talk to you. It doesn't have to be like ... OK ... you're the student and I'm the teacher and that's it. (F05, 221,02/11/96).

For some students (02, 09, 07, 18) the teacher's familiarity with parents or family was just as important. These informants felt that if teachers know their parents or family that they would also know the students. The following quotation illustrates this perception.

They would have to know my parents ... because ... I feel more comfortable when someone knows my parents ... Like I would know where they're coming from and they know where I'm coming from. (M09, 053,-123,30/11/96)

When asked what came to mind when he thought of trusting teachers, one male informant stated, for them to know me and my family life to an extent ... because if they knew me and they could relate to what I'm saying, they would understand what I'm going through. It would be easier. (M18, 118,18/12/96).

Positive familiarity was not a one-sided affair. When informants referred to familiarity they
often referred to it in the context of mutuality. It was just as important for teachers to get to know students as it was for students to get to know their teachers. One informant states, "We'd have to know each other well and ... we could get along ... that's how I'll be able to trust them." (M09, 107, 30/11/96).

Mutuality was very important in a trusting student-teacher relationship, although it was perceived as the responsibility of the teacher to initiate trust. One informant states,

You can't just go to a school ... go to class and not expect to be friends with the teacher ... for the first couple of weeks ... I guess when you start trying to learn the teacher, the teacher starts to trust you and you trust the teacher. (M01, 102,19/10/96).

Not only were mutual trust and familiarity important but so too were mutual disclosure, mutual sharing of personal information and mutual respect. Informants also felt that both teachers and students benefit when teachers work with students to help rather than harm them.

Trust in the teacher-student relationship means that both teacher and student can mutually disclose; be open to each other. It was felt that such openness not only breeds familiarity and understanding but it also encourages students and gets them motivated. One informant states,

Well just ... talking to the teacher. Being more open about school, about life. Not just keeping to yourself ... if you keep to yourself, the teacher won't know anything and if the teacher comes in and just starts work, he doesn't care how you feel. He's just there. So, some days, he should come in and get us into the learning. (F13, 146-239,26/11/96).

When teachers and students share personal information with each other, the student becomes more motivated in class and is likely to approach the teacher at some time in the future. One informant states,

I find like with teachers like that I can go up to them and say like ... this weekend, I did this ... and they will tell me what they did on the weekend ... you want to go to the class because they're a good teacher. (F05, 114,02/11/96).

When there is mutual respect between teachers and students, a trusting relationship develops. According to one informant,
Respecting the teacher. Seeing that she does her job and she's there as a teacher to teach us ... and respecting the students and his or her values and ... their opinions and thoughts .... (F13, 418,26/11/96).

It was felt that when teachers give students constructive rather than destructive criticism, that the criticism can be mutually beneficial to both parties. One informant illustrates by comparing the advantages and disadvantages of each type of criticism. She states,

...to have a bond with my teacher in which the criticism is constructive rather than harmful ... because for some teachers and for some of my friends, they're not criticizing them in which they're helping them ... they're more bringing them down and humiliating them and I don't appreciate that at all. So it's better if it's constructive because then we both benefit from it. (F06, 134,05/11/96).

The personal domain was not perceived as totally distinct from the academic domain. There was overlap. When informants spoke about trusting teachers, they made reference to personal issues, whether they were related to school or in-class matters with teachers or other students, or related to out-of-school matters such as home and family. Some informants, both male and female, felt that the personal was just as important as the academic. One informant states, "Trusting teachers really mean that you could tell them any problems that you have in the school or sometimes out of school." (M22, 08/02/97).

Another states,

Like mostly if I'm having problems ... relating to other students ... with group activities ... if I'm having trouble relating to them or cooperating with them ... Also ... I guess if I'm having family problems that I am not able to turn to anyone else, I will tell the teacher. (F06, 003,05/11/96).

Role of the Teacher

Related to school experiences is the perceived role of the teacher. For all students, the major role can be summed up in the words of one student who states, "the teachers are there to teach and the students are there to learn." (M03, 30/11/96). Although all informants perceived this to be the major role of the teacher, they nevertheless felt that there were times when teachers should undertake other supporting roles. In other words, not only is the teacher there to teach, but he or she is also a role model for some students, (M18) a friend or a parent for others (F15) and even sometimes an
older sibling (M01).

The Cultural Context

A need for cultural understanding was seen as important to the trusting environment. Some informants felt that teachers who knew about their culture, were more likely to be aware of students' needs and behaviours and consequently would be more understanding (M18, F08, F14). Knowledge of cultures was perceived to breed positive familiarity. There was a sense among students that because of their culture, their experiences were different and, therefore, should be acknowledged by teachers (F14). For some informants, culture was equated with race rather than with country or region of origin. These students indicated that they wanted their teachers to teach about black history. Students perceived their culture as different from that of their teachers. They perceived students who trusted teachers as having cultural experiences similar to that of the teacher, for example, they play hockey and listen to rock and roll (M03).

The Context of Race

One of the defining contexts for this study dealt with the issue of race. It was believed that the experience of race would play a crucial part in students' constructions. Selection of informants was based on this assumption. When asked to identify their racial background all informants identified themselves as black. During the interviews, informants were asked to expand on what it meant to be a student as opposed to being a black student (Appendix V, Form II, Section B). When asked to state whether they perceived themselves as students or black students, fourteen (14) informants indicated that they perceived themselves as students. Only three (3) males and one (1) female stated that they perceived themselves as black students. Three (3) students, two (2) of whom were females, identified themselves as both and three (3) students, two (2) of whom were females stated that their perceptions depended on how the teacher treated them.

It would appear that within the context of the particular student-teacher interaction, students gave priority to their role rather than to their race. However, students did take their race into account when reflecting on their relationships with the teachers. For the most part, they believed that being a black student carried with it negative connotations. They believed that in the minds of teachers, being a black student is perceived as something negative. They indicated that teachers perceive black students as troublemakers (F12, M10), bossy (F15, F12, F13) and not as intelligent as students of
other races (M19, F06) especially in the academic areas (F23, F05). However, informants believed that teachers had a very positive perception of black students in areas such as music, and athletics. (F05)

It is within this context that informants shared their constructions of what trusting a teacher means to them as black students. Generally, when asked to indicate whether they believed students trusted teachers, (Appendix V, Form II, Section B) of the twenty-four (24) informants, eight (8) stated that overall, students did not trust teachers. Thirteen (13) informants stated that students trusted teachers somewhat and two (2) female students indicated that whether or not students trusted teachers depended on how teachers related to students. Only one female informant stated that students trusted teachers.

When asked specifically whether black students trusted teachers, three (3) informants said "Yes", seven (7) said "No", ten (10) stated that there was some trust between black students and teachers and as indicated by one of these informants, between black students and certain teachers. Three (3) informants, two of whom were female, stated that trust between black students and teachers depended on how teachers related to students. For example, one male informant stated that it depends on the student's history, He states, "... there are lots of kids that ... they're into the black-white ... I don't know how to explain it ... some blacks don't trust white teachers." (M09, 610-647, 30/11/96). One recently arrived informant stated that she was not aware of whether black students trusted teachers.

When asked to indicate whether non-black students trusted teachers, twenty (20) informants, including all eleven (11) males stated that non-black students trusted teachers. Two (2) female informants stated that trust between non-black students and teachers depended on the way teachers treated students. One (1) female stated that she was not sure whether non-black students trusted teachers and one stated that she did not know.

Students stated that there was a difference in the trusting relationship between non-black students and their teachers and between black students and their teachers. When asked to expand on why they think some students trust teachers, (Appendix V, Form II, Section B) informants stated that those students who trusted the teachers were succeeding academically (F06, F08, M20, M18, M10) and were interested in their schoolwork (M10, M09, F13, F02). Informants also stated that those
students who trusted were familiar with the teacher, that is, they either knew the teacher from before or they had older siblings who knew the teacher (M01, M03). They also stated that students who trusted teachers were more open with them (F06) and were able to communicate with them.

Overall, when asked why they thought black students do not trust teachers, some informants referred to the racial composition of teachers in the schools. They stated that there were more white teachers and not enough black teachers. These informants also referred to black students' perceptions of their own ability in the context of this uneven racial composition. One informant states,

... most of my school, like most of the teachers are white or of other races ... and so [black students] might think they are inferior to the other students in their class and so they might not trust them [the teachers]. (F06, 306, 05/11/96).

Informants also spoke about black students' negative perceptions of teachers' commitment to confidentiality, their dislike for teachers and their views of teachers as conspiring against them. One informant states,

... you tell them one thing maybe it could be really confidential and then all of a sudden, more people come to you in your face so, No ... I know a lot of black students who would not tell nothing to their teachers ... because most students think that teachers are all against them ... all my friends that they're all out to get them. (F12, 440-829, 17/12/96).

Overall, informants believe that teachers' perceptions of black students are negative, they believe that when teachers perceive them as students and not as black students, that they are more likely to be treated fairly, equally and with respect. Although students believe that black students trust teachers somewhat, they believe that non-black students are more trusting of their teachers.

In summary, students distinguish trusting a teacher in the academic context from trusting a teacher in a personal context. Although these two domains may appear to be distinct, when students refer to them, they do not perceive them as entirely independent of each other. Most informants expect teachers not only to teach them and give them fair and constructive feedback, but they also expect teachers to keep information about them confidential, regardless of whether that information concerns the academic or the personal.

Students' perceptions of the teacher's role, race and cultural understanding play a significant part in their constructions. Students' perceptions of themselves, whether as a student or a black
student, their own and other black students' experiences and their perceptions of the trusting relationship between teachers and other students, black or non-black provided added dimension to the context that framed their constructions.

**Psychological Factors**

**Values, Beliefs and Expectations**

Psychological factors also played a significant role in students' constructions. Informants took into account what they expect from their teachers as well as what they believe to be behaviours that are characteristic of students and teachers. Informants' expectations and beliefs were linked to those values which they considered important, and these values were linked to their perceptions of what they considered to be the role of the teacher.

When they defined what they considered important in a trusting relationship, informants differed in the degree of specificity they attached to these values. Some informants did not specify a set of generalized values but instead stated that these values were dependent on characteristics of persons and situations. They thought that what was considered trusting depended on what you have to say, the particular situation, the teacher or the student. One informant stated,

> It all depends on if you know the teacher really well,... if it's something really important and you feel you can trust the teacher, then you'll tell them ... Say if you're in a situation where this is the only teacher you can go to and you feel that you can trust them, then you will talk to them .... (F17, 015-130, 30/11/96).

Other informants were more specific as to what they considered important for a teacher to be considered trustworthy. Their values ranged from the abstract to the concrete. For instance, some informants stated that friendship, honesty, responsibility, maturity and loyalty were important to a trusting relationship. Others were more concrete and expressed their values in terms of what teachers should say or do. They also stated that it was important for the teacher to possess certain physical and cultural attributes. For example, informants stated that teachers should not disclose information that students did not want them to disclose. Others stated that they wanted the teacher to be of a similar race or cultural background because they believed that a teacher with these characteristics would understand their points of view.
Informants' beliefs included those related to the phenomenon of trust, their perceptions of the teacher and what they considered to be important among their peers. They believed that trust has to be earned. According to one informant,

You can't just go to a school ... go to class and expect to be friends with the teacher ... I guess when you start trying to learn the teacher, the teacher starts to trust you and you start to trust the teacher. (M01, 102, 19/10/96).

If trust is to be earned then both teacher and students must become familiar with each other.

Some informants believe that teachers do not care. According to one informant who stated that he mistrusted teachers, " ... I just think teachers, they don't care about ... students that well ...." (M10, 026, 15/12/96). If students are to trust teachers, then teachers are to show that they care.

Other informants believe that teachers always assume the worst. They make assumptions before even asking the student. One informant states,

I mean that if you do something wrong ... if you skip a class ... or ... if you come late ... they run and tell your parents ... they don't ask you ... they just automatically assume that you were doing something wrong ... that's why I don't really talk to teachers ... because they always assume the worst .... (F05, 016, 02/11/96).

Other informants believe that the teacher is an authority figure and therefore when correcting students they should not speak to them in a manner that makes them feel voiceless or 'put down',

... like ... if the class is joking around and laughing I mean Yes, use your authority and tell us to stop ... but you don't have to say it in a way that would make us feel like ... we're not to say anything in the class. Just tell us the right thing to do, but tell it in a way so that we'll listen to you .... (F05, 239, 02/11/96).

In the context of an authority figure the teacher is perceived as a perpetual critic. One informant states,

... most likely you'll think that since they're a teacher, they are in a position of authority ... I think ... they'd be like a critical eye and everything .... (F06, 104, 05/11/96).

The influence of socializing agents is evident in the formation of student's beliefs, values and expectations. One informant refers to an early experience with one of his teachers. He states,
... when I was in elementary school, ... well this teacher always telling me 'Teachers are not your friends, this is just our job, we’re here to teach you.' So I just got the impression, you know ... they don’t want to be here with you either .... (M09, 3102-3134,30/11/96).

Teachers need to recognize that what they say to students impacts on students' beliefs and expectations of them.

Beliefs about their own role among their peers also plays a part in the trusting relationship between student and teacher. Some students believe that teachers and principals should consider the reputation of the student when they ask them to disclose. According to one informant, "Reputation is such a big thing and how people look at you in high school." (M18, 1726,09/03/97)

Students' expectations are based on what they have come to believe. Expectations, like values and beliefs, also set the boundaries for informants' constructions. However, there are times, when these boundaries shift, and they appear to be very fluid. At one point in time, informants felt that there was a particular relationship which defined boundaries for teacher-student interaction. At other points in time, they expected to relate to teachers outside those boundaries. When joking around with students, teachers were not expected to go outside those boundaries, such as tell students things that their friends would normally tell them.

... like they are in conversation and they telling you things that your friends would tell you ... like ... Wow, this teacher is so rude. He talks to me like my friends because ... it's like a thing. Well, like you know, talk to you like a friend. It's like teachers are strict, it's like your parents sometimes .... (F15, 1826-1853 20/12/96)

Shifting boundaries reflect the dynamic relationship that exists between students and teachers and set the stage for constructions which are by no means unchanging.

Other key expectations which students used to define the trusting relationship were respect, fair and equal treatment. Informants expected teachers to treat them with respect and dignity, that is on the same level as everyone. According to one informant,

... I'd just expect them to just treat me as everybody else and ... I guess ... this is with respect and dignity .... (F06, 1439-1459,05/11/96).

Another informant expected teachers to perceive her positively; to see her as willing and
respecting the rules. She also expected that there would be mutual respect between teachers and students. This informant states,

I want them to see me as willing to learn, willing to hear what she has to say, listening to her, respecting her rules, she respecting what I want. We have respect for each other .... (F13, 2450, 26/11/96).

Informants' constructions and expectations change as they redefine their changing status and their relationship with the teacher. For example, some informants, expect teachers to respect them especially now that they are in high school. Respecting students does not only mean recognizing the positive and the changing status of the student. Some informants also expected the teachers to respect their opinions. According to one informant,

... I just expect the teacher to respect you, respect your rights, and like respect you as a person ... as a student like understand your opinion. I mean like sometimes you might not ... see something the same way a teacher does but they should still be able to be open and see it. (F21, 1659-1758, 08/02/97).

Male informants believed that respect should be mutual. The meaning of respect however differed among males. One informant equated respect with listening to one’s opinions and having a positive perception of one’s ability. He states,

Give me the same respect that I would give them. Respect. I want them to listen to my opinions and they’ll see that I have good values and I understand what I'm talking about ... even though I can't write it down on the paper whatever, ... I understand it. (M18, 1155-1400, 18/12/96).

Another informant believes that trust and respect belong in the same category. He states, "... actually respect, they come in both hands, respect and trust ... I think trust has to do a little bit with respect." (M19, 2056, 22/12/96). Another informant expected teachers to show their respect by having a positive perception of his ability. For this informant, respect meant that the teacher would

Look at me as a good student ... look at me as a person ... that this person can do it and they can get the work done and not slacking off or anything .... (M20, 1859, 20/12/96).

Another male informant stated that he expected the teacher to respect him by first coming to him with negative feedback before going to anyone else. He states,
They should have respect for you. Like go to you and telling you if you're doing something wrong.... They should come and tell you first instead of going to other teachers. And if they tell you first and you continue doing it then they have a right to go and tell other teachers. (M22, 1025, 08/02/96).

Lack of mutual respect was regarded by informants as interfering with the learning process. Lack of respect leads to disengagement. When asked how she felt when the teacher disrespected her, one student stated,

I felt like I would not want to respect them and stay away ... you won't want to like listen to them. So when they're like explaining something ... you'll not want to listen because you're gonna think of the way they disrespected you .... (F06, 2320-2412, 05/11/96).

Informants also expected teachers to treat them fairly and equally. Fair and equal treatment however was not the same for all informants. For some it meant being impartial when evaluating them, for others it meant not negatively stereotyping them and consequently treating them according to those stereotypes. Yet, for others it meant that the teacher should treat them just as how they would treat other students that they trust.

Teachers are expected to be impartial and give students the marks that they deserve. When teachers act in this way, it makes the learning environment easier. The student also does better in class and is more motivated. According to one informant,

I expect them to be impartial that they'd treat me fair ... with a critical eye so that I can improve ... it just makes the whole situation easier because if a teacher is not impartial or not treating you fairly ... you're just not going to do the work ... you're not going to live up to expectations maybe for yourself .... (F06, 1439-1531, 05/11/96).

Another female informant stated,

... if I try my best, you know, to give me a better mark ... but I do not like a picky person, like I just sometimes ... say well if you give me that mark then I guess I deserve that mark. (F14, 2842, 27/11/96).

This student expresses her willingness to give the teacher the benefit of the doubt when the teacher evaluates her. Instead of negotiating with the teacher about her mark, she accepts the mark as one she deserved.

Other students talk about negative stereotyping and the adverse impact it can have on the way
teachers relate to students or evaluate them. One female informant states,

I expect them ... to treat everyone equally ... instead of treating me different ... I want them to see ... everybody as a student, not seeing her as black, not seeing her as white, just seeing her ... if she were to see me as a black student ... she'll probably compare me to ... other black students and it wouldn't be fair in a way because it's a little of us ... 'Oh, I had him in my first period class and he was just a total, giving me trouble and now I have another one.' ... I don't want her to approach me like this ... that's bad ... but I want her to see well, hey I'm a student ... I'm here willing to learn ... she's a good student. (F13, 2450-2720,26/11/96).

Generally, when informants express their values, beliefs and expectations they express it in the context of the black high school student. There is the perception among students that this status brings with it a set of norms, values, beliefs and expectations.

The gender of the student must also be viewed as part of this context. For example, female informants stressed the value of confidentiality and friendship more than male informants focused on honesty and respect.

The age of students must also be considered when reflecting on students expressed values. Fourteen year old informants valued the personal aspect of the trusting relationship. They thought that sharing personal information making learning fun and keeping information confidential were more important than getting feedback. Fifteen and sixteen year olds however thought that honest and positive feedback was more important. Fifteen year olds also placed a high priority on getting encouragement from the teacher and familiarity between student and teacher.

Memories

This section (Appendix V - Form II - B2) addresses students' memories with respect to building trusting relationships. More specifically, it looks at the influence of students' past experiences. Both trust and mistrust are taken into account. All students had previously experienced either trust or mistrust of teachers. At times, these experiences were their own, at other times, they were the experiences of friends or family members. In constructing what they meant by trust within the teacher-student relationship, these informants did not only consider positive experiences but they used negative experiences to elaborate on what they meant by trust.

When asked whether they had ever experienced a trusting relationship with a teacher
nineteen (19) informants stated that they had previously trusted a teacher. All thirteen (13) female informants had this experience, however only six (6) males stated that they had experienced a trusting relationship with a teacher. Students who had experienced a trusting relationship with a teacher stated that they were able to communicate with the teacher and that they trusted these teachers because these teachers helped them and provided them with information and positive feedback. Female informants spoke about teachers who cared, kept information confidential and encouraged them. Most experiences shared by students occurred during their elementary and middle school years.

Some male informants stated that they trusted their teachers because they were in tune with what was going on and were down to earth. (M03, 1023,30/10/96). Others indicated that the teacher had something in common with them (M01, 358-419,19/10/96), that the teacher would joke with them (M01, 439,19/10/96) and give them constructive feedback (M01, 526,19/10/96) (M09). Other male informants stated that the teacher communicated with their parents (M07, M09) and that the teacher helped, guided, supported, and encouraged them (M09).

For some male informants, teachers whom they trusted were those teachers who gave them trustworthy responsibilities. For instance these teachers would ask students to get something from their car or would give them money to get them something in the cafeteria (M19, 825, 22/12/96). One informant saw this as demonstrating trustworthiness and emphasized how important such actions on the part of the teacher were especially in the high school environment.

One male student, who had recently arrived, spoke about a trusting relationship with his Counsellor since he did not trust the teachers. He states, "No teachers. My Guidance Counsellor ... he's kind of good. Like he tells you how you're doing in your work ... he comes and talks to you." (M22, 3150, 08/02/97). Although he trusted the counsellor, this student rated the Counsellor moderately. He states, "If I rate him out of five, I'll give him like three or two." (M22, 019B, 08/02/97).

Female informants spoke about the fact that the teacher communicated with their parents (F02, 1014) or that the teacher inquired about them both personally and academically (F02, 1027-1050, 19/10/96). These informants also stated that they were not afraid to approach the teacher and ask for help (F02). In some situations, teachers acted as mediators when students were in conflict.
with other students (F04, F13) or teachers (F12). Teachers who were trusted also respected students' need for privacy and confidentiality of information (F04, F13). For some female informants, getting the opportunity to show that they were responsible made them 'feel better'. Consequently, they trusted those teachers who trusted them with such responsibilities (F05). Informants who had previously experienced trusting a teacher, stated that they trusted those teachers who made them feel accepted (F06) and teachers who made them feel that they were genuinely interested in helping them to succeed (F06). They also trusted teachers who always complimented them and would share these compliments with their parents (F06).

Not all students' experiences with trusting teachers were within the formal school setting. In one instance, one informant referred to her dance teacher because she believed "she's ... the only person who really knows me." (F11). In addition, she stated that this teacher was very straightforward when giving feedback "... she'll be straight up, with me ... if it's bad, it's bad, if it's good, it's good, she's gonna tell it like it is." (F11, 452).

Teachers who listen (F12) and encourage students not to give up (F12) were also remembered by students as being trustworthy. So too were teachers who made students feel intelligent (F12) and respected their decisions (F13). Teachers with whom students can relate, for instance those who were of a similar race (M01, F14) were also trusted. Also, teachers who asked students their opinions rather than gave them advice (F13, F14) were considered trustworthy by female informants.

Trustworthy teachers do not put up barriers between themselves and the students but are just relaxed and friendly so that students and teachers can talk easily and get to know each other (F21, 533-559, 1st interview).

The past experiences of students with regard to trusting their teachers differ. Nevertheless most students had experienced what they considered to be a trusting relationship with a teacher.

When asked whether their past experiences had influenced their later trust in other teachers, (Appendix V - Form II - J1) eleven (11) informants indicated that these experiences had an impact on their ability to trust teachers. Male students did not elaborate on this influence but they stated that these teachers were serious but friendly (M01) that is, they joked with them (M07) and they made learning fun (M07, M01). They also stated that these teachers took an interest in them, encouraged
and helped them. Students were also treated equally by these teachers (M07, M01) and were able to communicate with them on anything (M19). Mostly, these teachers ‘picked on’ students, that is, they challenged (M01) them to reach for their potential (M01).

Seven (7) female students stated that they used past experiences with teachers, as benchmarks for judging the trustworthiness of other teachers. According to one female,

... she was very enthusiastic about my work and what I was doing ... and so that's basically what I look for especially in English teachers because she was my English teacher and she was my French teacher so I look for it in most teachers actually. (F06, 3041, 05/11/96).

Another female informant uses her past experiences as a standard for any future trust in teachers and specifically refers to teacher authenticity, her own ability to communicate with them and the teacher's ability to maintain confidentiality. However, she also recognizes that each teacher is different and, therefore, must be taken on his or her own merit.

No, every teacher is different, ... well, sometimes with the fake stuff like sometimes ... is this teacher fake? Yes, so sometimes it can be just Yes/No, sometimes it's like you wonder .... (F14, 2229-2306, 27/11/96).

The fact that teachers were familiar with the experiences of their students was also a behaviour on the part of teachers that earned the trust of their students. For instance, one informant refers to the fact that her teacher, although she was white, understood her because this teacher had black foster children (F08).

One recently arrived student stated that she did not have too many experiences with teachers, but that so far, teachers had not showed her any 'ignorance' that is, she could approach the teachers at any time and their responses would be positive (F13). Other informants also spoke about the fact that they were able to talk to the teachers (F14). Some informants stated that their trust in the teacher had to do with the teacher's positive perception of them, that is, these teachers did not think of the student as a black student, that is, someone who is bossy, or wants to come to class whenever he or she wants (F15). Other informants stated that the teacher they trusted were not only 'nice' to them but to other students as well (F02, F07).

Some informants state that trust is a matter of meeting unmet needs. In other words, trust only becomes an issue when there is a need to trust. Without that need, there is no reason for trusting. One female informant elaborates,
From Grade 1 to the beginning of Grade 9 ... there's never been really any need to trust the teacher that much ... You trusted them but there was no really particular reason why you trusted them, because they were always nice, kind friendly, so you trusted them ... trust a teacher for help would have been more to the end of Grade 9, since I did miss a bit of school, I was able to trust the teachers so that they would help me and just help me to understand and if I didn't understand something they'll help me to figure out what I wasn't understanding. (F17, 151,30/11/96).

With respect to mistrust, (Appendix V - Form II - B3) fourteen (14) informants stated that they had mistrusted a teacher at some time in the past. In this instance, male informants outnumbered female informants. Nine (9) out of eleven (11) male informants stated that they had previously mistrusted teachers. All fifteen and sixteen year old male informants stated this. However only two (2) fourteen-year-old male informants stated that they had not mistrusted a teacher in the past. One of these two informants had recently arrived in the country.

Females differed in their experiences of mistrust. Five (5) female informants, all of whom were either fifteen or sixteen years old, indicated that they had previously experienced mistrusting their teachers. Five (5) others stated that they had never experienced a mistrusting relationship with a teacher and three (3) females indicated that they did not really have such an experience. Two of the three recently arrived females had experienced a mistrusting relationship with a teacher in Canada.

Males who had experienced a mistrusting relationship with a teacher referred to cases where the teacher disclosed confidential information (M03, M18, M22), (M09, 30/11/96). These experiences included not only the student's own experiences but also the experiences of their friends or other students (M03, M10). One male informant states, "... like if you tell them something they'll tell the Principal and try to get you in trouble ...." (M03, 1454, 30/10/96). This informant also recalls, "... it happened to two other people ...." (M03, 1725, 1st interview).

Whereas some students experiences of mistrust related to specific teachers, other students spoke about a general mistrust of teachers (M10, 528). One informant referred to the issue of disclosure by teachers, but discussed it in the context of other students experiences, not his own. He states,
... teachers talk about other students to other teachers and the other teacher that they told would say it to some students in this other classroom ... that's just what I have seen from what happened to other students. (M10, 535-607, 15/12/96).

Another male informant talks about a personal experience with a teacher regarding disclosure of confidential information.

I don’t know why she went back and tell ... because she said it was just between me and you and she end up going and tell the Principal about this problem that she was supposed not to tell. (M22, 414,08/02/97).

Apart from disclosure of confidential information, male informants also referred to their past experiences of mistrust in terms of teacher dishonesty and incongruence (M09, M20, M07) differential and biased treatment by teachers (M09, M20).

Teachers who broke their promises and did not give deserving marks to students were not trusted. Two male informants (M09, M20) refer to their own experiences regarding such lack of trustworthiness on the part of the teacher. One informant stated,

Last year my keyboarding teacher, she said something about me getting bonus marks ... and I did the thing and ... I never got them ... and she said I didn’t do it ... I know I did it, because I had it saved on a disk ... And she’s like "Oh it’s too late because like it was ... next term .... (M20, 924-951, 20/12/96).

Teacher incongruence was reflected in teachers who told students not to do something and then in turn did the same thing (M07).

Other male informants refer to the issue of biased or differential treatment on the teacher's part. One informant refers to the effects of teacher stereotyping on treatment of students. He states,

I guess if ... because like some students ... get in trouble on a regular basis ... they get in trouble with that teacher but when they go outside the classroom, they’re getting in trouble constantly because that teacher knows like how they are ... they go to this classroom and they’re constantly getting in trouble for like no reason, they’re getting picked on ... so ... they get that reputation ... like ... another student would ... do the same thing ... they would not get yelled at. (M10, 714-822, 15/12/96).

Other male informants refer to the disrespect shown by teachers when they physically 'rough them up' or yell at them. One informant refers to his experience in his early elementary school years on his recent arrival in Canada. He states,
Whenever I didn't hand in my homework or did something wrong, the teacher would rough me up a bit, like say ... 'listen up you little punk' ... like grab my shirt ... like he actually cursed me but ... for someone at that age, it was kind of shocking for a teacher to do something like that. (M01, 610-719 19/10/96).

Females who had experienced mistrust in the past with their teachers also spoke about issues related to lack of confidentiality, differential treatment and disrespect from their teachers.

Those who spoke about lack of confidentiality stated that the teachers would 'run back and tell' parents (F05) or that they would talk about other students in front of students assuming that the latter did not understand what they were talking about (F02, F08). One informant states, "... they would run back and tell my parents. They'd act like ... little tattle-tales like they couldn't come up and ask me." (F05, 1237, 02/11/96). Another informant stated, "they told all the staff what happened to my friend." (F08, 806, 13/11/96). Although this was not this informant's personal experience nevertheless she did not trust teachers because she believes, "all of them are like that." (F08, 827). Another informant stated that teachers would talk to students about other students in their other classes whether these students are doing good or bad (F02, 920-939, 22/03/97).

With respect to differential treatment, one female informant recalled a particular teacher she mistrusted who went to the smarter students and spent more time with them (F02, 22/03/97).

Another informant also recalls her experience of differential treatment by one of her teachers,

Like last year that's how I was with this class. I hated it ... I remember I would ask questions and he would just be like "What don't you understand about it? And then he would just go and the thing is nobody else in the class would say anything so he just figured everybody else understood and then when you got out the class you found out they didn't either ... but I was the only person who would actually ask him questions ... like if I tried to answer a question I would never get called to answer the question, it would always be somebody else ... so you feel this teacher doesn't like me so you tend to mistrust them more. (F21, 753-909, 08/02/97).

Other female informants talk about the disrespect that teachers show that cause them to mistrust those teachers. One informant talks about her early elementary school experience with a male teacher. She states,
He treated me ... like a piece of dirt ... he'd tell me all I do is fool around ... to shut up and sit at the front of the class ... he'd put his foot on my desk ... he'd ... slam his hands on my desk whenever he got mad .... (F11, 601-652, 24/11/96).

Another informant refers to a teacher who used to swear at the class. According to this informant he was like somebody who was like a nice teacher at times but that [swearing] was just you know, wrong ... and that's how he didn't really give me good vibes even though people would say that he is nice .... (F14, 1105, 27/11/96).

This informant expresses what she thinks is appropriate behaviour for a teacher and based on this perception, decides whether she should trust the teacher.

Informants also refer to the fact that teachers they mistrusted, were teachers who perhaps themselves, mistrusted students. One informant states, "... I don't like that about my school. They don't ask the kids anything ... disrespect maybe? mistrust?" (F05, 1349-1437, 02/11/96).

For some informants, these past experiences did have an influence on their later decisions to trust teachers (Appendix V - Form II - J1). Twelve (12) informants stated that their past experiences influenced their later mistrust of teachers. In some cases, informants decided never again to trust a teacher (M03, M22, M10). In other cases, informants became more selective with respect to whom they trusted (F12). One informant states,

the teacher knew ... they may not have known most of it but I knew there was a problem and I didn't like people knowing this ... I would still [share information] but just I wouldn't tell everybody ... I would not tell some of my teachers. (F12, 1440-1459, 17/12/96).

Some informants continue to be vigilant about teachers because of their own personal experiences of racism with these teachers or in some cases, counsellors (F05). They also take into account past experiences related to the general climate of the school and teachers' perceptions of and attitudes towards black students.

There was a lot of prejudice at the school before ... teachers look down on, not just me but a lot of the black students at our school. They just feel that we're not going to go to class and we're not going to do anything right or that we have nothing good going for ourselves. (F05, 1507, 02/11/96).

Informants become selective not only in terms of who they told but also in terms of what they told...
teachers. Students also encounter experiences with other school personnel such as counsellors that cause them to be mistrustful of them. One informant recalls,

> I know that when I went to my Guidance Counsellor and said, 'I want to go to College', she's like, 'Well, General stream' that was grade nine. It was easier for me, but now it's like, OK, if I try taking an advanced course I'm going to be behind ... I felt like if I hadn't gone to her that day that I probably would have had more choices now, because Grade Nine, I'm not really thinking, I'm thinking, 'Yeah, easy work for me.' ... she put me down ... in a lower stream ... because ... maybe not just because I'm black ... but I think so, but she would never say no ... she did that to a lot of other students. (F05, 1507-1640, 02/11/96).

Other informants refer to the fact that the past has had a bearing on the present. One informant states that he continues 'holding a grudge' for teachers because they called his parents (M18).

Other informants refer to their own personal experience with racism in the school and how it was unfairly handled by the teacher. One student reports his observation of a teacher who pretended that a racial remark was not made when in fact he knew that the teacher heard the remark. He states,

> I went to elementary school with a lot of white people and I was constantly called the n____ word ... by some of the white students ... and one time a teacher heard what the person said to me and when I was in elementary school I didn't take that from no one ... And I beat up the person in the class and when I went down to the office ... they asked the teacher what happened? ... The teacher said she didn't hear any of that ... and yet other students heard it... (M10, 247-400, 15/12/96).

The fact that some students indicated that they have never experienced mistrust of a teacher however, does not mean that the teacher has not betrayed their trust. On the contrary, it indicates that the student never gave the teacher the opportunity to betray his or her trust. In fact, some informants indicated that they never opened up to the teacher. There are indications that these informants were being cautious with respect to placing their trust in the teacher. One informant states that it would take longer for her to trust a teacher. She remarks<

> ...because you have to think ... if you can trust this person ... because ... if you just tell someone then you don't know what they really ... want to hear what you have to say, if they really care, so you probably have to ... see how the teacher acts for a while and then see if you can trust them. (F04, 2652-2659, 09/11/96).

Sixteen (16) informants stated that others, whether friends, classmates, or family, did not have
any influence on their trust in teachers (Appendix V - Form II - J2). With respect to trusting teachers, these students indicated that they rely on their own experience. Unless the student has experienced it for himself or herself, the student would not know, for certain, whether the teacher can be trusted. Although some female informants (F17) and some male informants (M03) refer to the experiences of others in trusting teachers, knowledge of whether or not the teacher was trustworthy, was only meaningful to the extent that it was consistent with the experience of the informant. For instance, one male informant stated, "... friends, they trust him too." (M03, 30/10/96). One female informant stated, that she looked at the way teachers interacted with other students and how they in turn interacted with the teacher and used that experience to decide whether or not she should trust the teacher (F17).

For the most part, informants indicated that since others' experiences were different, they could not rely on those experiences to determine whether or not to trust the teacher (M01, M07, F17). One informant states, "but after like some people say that this teacher is bad, but I've got to know him and he's not bad, like he's the best teacher." (M07, 2752, 10/11/96). Another male informant stated that his decision to trust teachers was entirely up to him. He states, "It's my opinion ... it's like they could trust but I wouldn't." (M22, 059-104, 08/02/97).

One female informant stated that her friends' experiences did not influence her decision to trust or mistrust teachers. She states, "... because some teachers that my friends would trust, I probably wouldn't ... because the way the teachers acted towards my friends, it wouldn't necessarily mean that they would act the same way towards me." (F17, 410, 1st interview).

Students who were influenced by others' experiences recalled having heard a tape of teachers lying. Others spoke about parents who had warned them about racism and told them to look out for racist teachers. Another informant recalled what his friends told him about their teachers. He says,

... because I have like mostly black friends ... and it's like so many teachers that don't like them ... just because they're black ... like they can't do this and everything ... because they like do good in their class ... they don't get like the good marks they're supposed to be getting. (M20, 354-419, 20/12/96).

Some female informants recalled the experiences of teachers who treated female students differently from males. One female informant states, "we had a gym teacher who was not equal and treated the boys better than ... the girls." (F06, 3135, 05/11/96). Apart from looking to see if the
teacher is showing favouritism and bias, this informant also states that she looks out for teachers who set standards for students based on their own prejudices and as a result limit students' experiences. She claims,

... each of them have already set their mind up about ... what kind of mark a student is going to get ... the kind of intelligence they have ... and so ... they are being judgmental and prejudiced and so ... I also look for that as well because some teachers already just set that standard and so they already expect it of you. (F06, 001,05/11/96).

Female informants recall the experiences of their friends who were treated differently because of their race. One informant states, "Like if one of my white friends really get in trouble with the teacher, they ... and a black friend too, they wouldn't suspend the white one but they'll suspend the black one ...." (F11, 2546, 24/11/96).

In summary, informants who have experienced a trusting or a mistrusting relationship with a teacher believe that these past experiences have influenced to some extent their later decision to trust teachers. Even though they use these experiences to help them decide which teachers are trusting or not trusting, most informants believe that each teacher and each situation is different and therefore the trustworthiness of the teacher should be determined according to that situation and that teacher. Some informants however, remain firm in their decisions not to trust teachers.

The experiences of others do play a part in students' constructions. Informants refer to the experiences of their friends regarding trust or mistrust of teachers. The experiences of others are not as influential with regard to trusting teachers. Sixteen (16) informants said that others' experiences had no influence on their decision to trust teachers. Although they may examine the fit between their experience and that of others, for the most part, informants believe that the experience of other black students are different. They believe that others think differently and therefore their experiences are different. Only eight (8) informants stated that others, whether friends or family had some influence on their decision to trust teachers.

The picture presented above is one of a student who takes into account his or her own and others' past experiences in forming their constructions of trust, however, these students give more weight to their own experiences in making the final decision to trust the teacher.
Expressed Needs

Students' needs (Appendix V - Form II - E) were also part of the psychological context for students' constructions. Informants expressed their needs in relation to academic and personal concerns. By far, the most expressed academic need was the need for help from teachers so that they can understand. One informant spoke about needing help from the teacher so she could understand and be able to get her credits. Another informant states, "I guess if you want to learn what's going on in the particular course you would need the teachers to teach and to help you so that you can do good in the end." (F17, 1419, 30/11/96). The academic needs of students were not only related to immediate goals, but also to long-term goals. One male informant states "Teach me the lesson that I need to get to University." (M10, 15/10/96). Another informant stated that even though he may not like the teacher, that he needed the teacher’s help to get his credits in order to graduate.

The personal needs of students ranged from what Maslow (1954) refers to as the lower order needs for safety to the higher order needs for self-actualization. Though not independent of the academic needs, the personal needs of students included concerns related to physical safety, psychological safety (self-esteem) and self-actualization, that is, issues that dealt with achievement of one's full potential.

Some informants wanted the teachers to look after them if they got hurt in the gym or protect them if they were being taken advantage of in a fight. Safety, however, was not only a physical issue. It was also a psychological issue, related to self-esteem and acceptance by one's peers. Some informants expressed concern about threats to their reputation. The need to be accepted among one's peers and therefore maintain one's reputation was expressed by one informant. He states, I think Principals and staff when they're dealing with situations like fights and arguments to change students, they have to be like aware of reputation, because they don't really look out for your reputation kind of thing. Like, they don't understand how hard it is, like if you're in a confrontation to come and tell them about it. They make it sound like it's no big deal, when it is ... and if it was my friend and I have to go and tell the Principal, I wouldn't feel safe telling him because I feel like a rat ... like a snitch or something ... they do keep it confidential but I still don't feel good about doing it ... because if anyone found out about me doing this I would look like a loser ... because reputation is such a big thing and how other people look at you in high school. Well, to me it is .... (M18, 1517-1726,09/03/97).
Students' demands for reassurance and encouragement from teachers are indicative of a need to feel safe and secure. Needs for self-esteem were frequently mentioned by students. They needed to feel good about themselves.

When students do not trust teachers they are distracted by negative thoughts about the teacher. This observation is noteworthy in understanding the importance of trust to a positive student-teacher relationship and consequently learning. One informant states,

...you just want to feel good that you can trust your teacher and ... go to school on a regular basis ... because like if you're trying to do your work but you're always thinking of something bad, you can't do your work because you know that you don't trust your teacher ... (F14, 27/11/96).

Students also expressed the need to feel special, not put down, respected, valued, and confident about their abilities. They needed to be treated equally and fairly and not differently just because they were black. They also expressed the need to be treated as an individual and not like everybody else.

Generally, needs of students differ and for black students, because of their own histories and racial identities, they often express some of their needs in relation to these histories and identities. The need to be treated equally and fairly like all students was frequently expressed by informants. Knowledge of other black students who have experienced unequal treatment because of racial stereotyping and prejudice on the part of teachers and other school personnel was mentioned by many informants.

Needs for self-actualization were expressed when informants referred to teachers who limit the full potential of students.

Some informants also indicated that there were students who needed to trust more than others. Informants refer to students who may have no one else to turn to and therefore turn to their teachers, or others who are getting academic scholarships and for this reason, need to trust their teachers.

There are also subjects when a need for trust in teachers is required and other subjects where this need is not as essential. Academic subjects such as French, Science and English were seen as requiring trust in teachers. Non-academic subjects such as Music and Gym, were not seen as requiring trust in teachers because, according to one informant (M16), they do not involve much student-
teacher interaction.

There are also occasions when students need someone other than their parents to give them advice, share personal things with, discuss their future career plans, guide them and also have more confidence in them. One informant stated that although parents were there for them, there are times when students need to confide in teachers, during the hours they are at school.

Perceived Risks

It has been said that 'learning is more apt to take place when the learner has a deep and fundamental trust in the situation and that students need this feeling of trust, of security to offset the threat of what is new.' (Raths, 1972, p.123). Raths (1972) also states that 'whatever is being taught at the moment, if it is indeed new, it has an element of risk from the perception of the children.' (p.123). He suggests that 'All of us who teach should reflect now and again on how much of a threat a new learning situation (in the presence of a group) presents to a child.' (Raths, p.122).

Whereas all informants stated that taking a risk involves doing something of which you are not sure what the outcome is going to be, what they considered risky however, differed from individual to individual. For some informants, the risk might be as easy as slipping out of the class without permission to use the washroom, for other informants, it might be doing something that will likely get you suspended, like being rude to the teacher.

Regardless of the nature of the classroom risk, the common element involves a perceived threat of direct or indirect negative reaction from others whether teachers or peers. It is the uncertainty of others, for example, teachers' responses that creates a feeling of insecurity and lack of trust among informants.

Some of the risks that informants indicated they took are, voicing their opinions. For some students, this is like 'going out on a limb'. For some students, this is not a problem. The threat of being ridiculed or criticized is real especially when dealing with topics like religion or gender differences. One informant states,

... there's a lot of teachers that have strong beliefs in like religion and if you were to go out on a limb and you had their class, you get criticized ... sometimes in English ... they have discussions ... about sex, like different sexes ... how men and women are treated in job areas and stuff like that so, students go out on a limb and some don't .... (M10, 1244-1301, 15/12/96).
With respect to voicing their opinions in the classroom, some informants believe that black males are less likely to take risks than black females. One informant states, "... especially black guys ... I don't think they go out on a limb at all ... I think the black girls would ... because girls have like a more stronger mind ... like they're not afraid ...." (M10, 1319-1332, 15/12/96).

Not only are the teachers' reactions considered when taking risks such as voicing one's opinions, but so too are the reactions of one's peers. When asked whether students find it easy or hard to take such risks like voicing one's opinions, one informant states,

... they find it kind of hard because of their peers. They don't know if they're gonna laugh at them ... I think that students ... like they kind of care more about what their peers have to say and what they do .... (F04, 1217-1247, 09/11/96).

Other informants talk about taking risks in terms of having to profess their faith or do improvisations in front of the class. Again the issue of what everyone else would say is important. One informant states, "with my faith and being a Christian ... especially when I want to stand up for the Lord, I feel like I'm taking a risk, like everyone else would be watching me ...." (F06, 1012, 05/11/96).

This informant also refers to the role the teachers play in helping to reduce the sense of insecurity students feel when they are about to do or say something that they perceive to be risky. When asked whether other students find it easy or hard to take risks, this informant stated,

I guess they do, depending on the teacher. Some students they wouldn't want to ask a question because they might make them look stupid, but other students, they don't mind taking risks ... they know that the teacher understands that they don't mind taking risks with standing up in front of the class .... (F06, 1214, 05/11/96).

Another informant also refers to the role the teacher plays in reducing the threat of insecurity. She states, "And also it depends on the teacher. Sometimes if the teacher expects you to have the right answer all the time, they'll [other students] still take the risk to try and see if the answer they think is right ...." (F16, 1138, 30/11/96). However, when the teacher does not expect the right answer all the time "... there wouldn't be taking a risk, it would just be answering the question .... So that I know, even if I don't get it right, it would be OK with the teacher." (F17, 1213, 30/11/96).

The perceived risks of students are taken into consideration in their meanings of trust as they
relate to the teacher-student relationship. The uncertainty of the teachers' reactions is an indication of a feeling of mistrust among informants. When informants do not know what the reactions of the teacher would be, they are less likely to indicate their trust in the teacher.

**Demographic Factors**

Together with the preceding factors, characteristics of students such as age, gender and length of time living in Canada were integral to their meanings of trust. These characteristics must therefore be considered as an important part of the context which provided a holistic picture of the phenomenon under investigation.
4.2.2. Teachers' Actions/Interactions - Engaging Respect

This section addresses the verbal and non-verbal aspects, including body language and paralinguistics, of the teachers' trustworthy behaviours. Incorporated are findings from individual interviews and focus group discussions. Table 4-11 outlines and prioritizes the major themes that informants indicated were necessary behaviours for trustworthy teachers. Prioritization was based on the number of students who indicated that these were important characteristics. Table 4-12 categorizes these themes according to academic and non-academic domains as well as verbal and non-verbal behaviours.

Table 4-11
Subcategory: Engaging Students' Respect

Major Themes:

1. Paying keen attention to student.
2. Providing constructive and honest feedback.
3. Having a sense of humour, fun and adventure.
4. Inviting academic and personal questions.
5. Sharing personal information with students.
6. Keeping academic and personal information confidential.
7. Showing enthusiasm and gentleness when speaking to students.
8. Becoming truly familiar with student.
10. Expressing and building confidence in students.
11. Inquiring about academic and personal well-being.
12. Treating all students fairly and equally.
### Table 4-12

**Engaging Students' Respect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Academic</th>
<th>Academic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbal</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- shares personal</td>
<td>- inquires about academic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- inquires about personal</td>
<td>- invites academic questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- invites personal questions</td>
<td>- expresses confidence in students' academic ability by:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- expresses confidence in sense of trustworthiness and responsibility by:-</td>
<td>- encouraging improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- reassuring</td>
<td>- reassuring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- complimenting</td>
<td>- complimenting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- speaks softly and with enthusiasm</td>
<td>- 'pushing' (motivating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- is humourous and fun</td>
<td>- gives constructive feedback by:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- complimenting</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- suggesting ways to improve</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- being honest</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- respecting privacy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- being patient (i.e. explaining again and again)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- speaks softly and enthusiastically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- is humourous and fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Verbal</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- gets to know the student by:-</td>
<td>- pays attention to student by:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- being friendly</td>
<td>- making eye contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- being approachable</td>
<td>- listening without prejudice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- becoming familiar</td>
<td>- acknowledging students' responses and opinions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- keeps students' personal information confidential</td>
<td>- keeps students' academic information confidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- expresses confidence in students' sense of trustworthiness and responsibility by:-</td>
<td>- treats equally and fairly by:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- giving students responsibilities (i.e. assigning them tasks)</td>
<td>- giving marks that they deserve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- helping everybody in the same way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- giving everybody a chance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- noticing everybody (i.e. pays equal attention)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- not abusing power and authority</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- is helpful by:-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- guiding and supporting with academic matters</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- giving all information and not holding back</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- showing students the work they do not understand</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- gives constructive feedback by:-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- displaying students' work</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- using stickers to compliment</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Teachers who demonstrated these behaviours earned the trust of their students. They were able to relate to students who in turn respected and trusted them. Consequently, students were able to approach the teachers either just to talk or for help with personal and/or academic matters. The actions of teachers were relevant to both academic and personal domains.

4.2.2.1. Verbal

For the most part, the verbal behaviours of trusted teachers were discussed within the academic domain. Informants also stated that teachers who they trusted were inclined, among other things to share the personal and also thought that a teacher's trustworthiness is determined not only by what they say but by how it is said.

Informants indicated that trustworthy teachers inquired about both the academic and personal welfare of their students, as well as encouraged them to do better. They also gave students constructive feedback. Trustworthy teachers expressed confidence in their students' ability, were honest and showed patience by explaining again if a student still did not understand. Finally, the use of humour by teachers was seen by informants as another way of engaging their respect and earning their trust.

**Sharing Personal Information with Students**

Sharing the personal meant that teachers were inclined to engage in talking about more than school things. It implies an occasional change now and again from the teacher-student relationship, to more of a 'friend-friend' relationship. It involved 'just talks' or 'petty talks' about non-school things like sharing common human experiences. It is important to note that what appears as 'petty talks' is suggestive of much deeper meaning. It is a strategy used by students and teachers as they try to establish meaningful contact and positive familiarity with each other rather than a means of engaging in meaningless interaction with each other.

Teachers who share personal information with their students are inclined to talk about their family or things that are happening to them, or even experiences to which students can relate. One informant states

... Sometimes the way you can tell, you can trust a teacher, is like, sometimes like stuff that are happening to them...they will tell their class or whatever... (F14, 1019-1025, 27/11/96)
Another informant states,

Maybe if they talk of an experience in their life that maybe you can relate to, kind of ... So you get to see an inside of the teacher outside of the classroom, because some teachers you just know them as a teacher. So, you know, you tend to know them as a normal person and not just somebody who is trying to make your life terrible. (F21, 901-911, 08/02/97).

When teachers engage in these discussions with students, students have the opportunity to see them not only as a teacher but as a 'normal' person with feelings.

The ability to 'just talk' to students as if they're talking to a friend was a characteristic that most informants regardless of their age, gender, or country of birth, felt was important for a trusting relationship between teachers and students. One informant states,

"they not only like teach you but they try to talk to you as a friend and not just as a student." (F04, 021, 09/11/96).

Just being able to talk to the student without discussing schoolwork creates positive familiarity with the student. Apart from creating familiarity, 'just talking' to the student about non-school things, means that both the teacher and the student can engage in 'petty talks' with each other. Not only can the teacher greet the student but so too can the student. One informant states,

Like you can talk to them with petty talks first. Like you say 'Hi Miss, how are you? How was your weekend? Petty talks ... you get to know them ... otherwise from being a teacher, you get to know them as a person .... (F15, 645-657, 20/12/96).

These petty talks and sometimes the use of fun-filled activities can also capture the attention of students and get them into the mood for learning. One informant states,

just talking ... as I come in ... my teacher is there to greet me. He's like Hi, what's up ... Instead of coming in with schoolwork and everything, it's good to come aside with a topic ... for instance. It may be soaps ... whatever ... something to amuse us, something like to get their attention besides schoolwork ... because sometimes ... you're not having a good day. What if you're not having a good day ... you just get the mood ... you forget about what was on your mind. You get into Science .... (F13, 1346-1419, 26/11/96).

Sometimes, even though informants may disclose to a teacher, they may not trust the teacher until he or she either initiates or reciprocates by disclosing personal information. According to one informant,
I told her things that were bothering me ... about the school that bothered me ... She gave me like some information ... And ... she like wanted to talk to me ... Like there was something that was bothering her. She wanted to tell me ... That's when I knew like obviously I can trust her because it was like a vice-versa kind of thing. (M19, 1418-1443, 22/12/96).

Related to the sharing of personal information was the issue of familiarity with the student. Both themes demonstrated the importance of making meaningful connection in order to facilitate trust.

**Becoming Truly Familiar With the Student**

Teachers who are trustworthy are those who get to know their students. They have more than just a teacher-student relationship with their students. Although, informants think it is important for teachers to relate to them in an academic sense, for example, by paying attention to them when they need help and by treating them equally and fairly, they also believe that it is just as important for teachers to be friendly approachable and familiar with them, not just as students but as human beings.

Trustworthy teachers are friendly. They can relate to students on their level but still be perceived as a teacher. One informant states,

Not thinking like a grown-up ... you're in charge of the class but try to relate and understand what's going on ... it's like they might be talking about something ... it might not be about the work that might be important, so you got to just be like one of us like join the group but still lead the group .... (M10, 556,10/03/97).

These teachers are more open and friendly. They make conversation with students about things that are not just school related. One informant states,

"it would be nice like if they can come in the class and they'd ask you how you're doing and try to make conversation sometimes ... on anything. Like the basketball game or something." (M18, 3051-3103,18/12/96).

Teachers who engage in this type of interaction with their students allow students to get to know them. They show respect for students by 'opening the door'. For one informant, trusting teachers is,

Like interacting with the teachers. And if they respect you, like become friends, like not teacher-student but like friend to friend ... Once you have that, I think you can have trust. (M19, 2312, 22/12/96).

Bringing the relationship outside of the classroom was not only important in a figurative sense but also in a literal sense. Trustworthy teachers also acknowledged and greeted students outside the
classroom. "They would talk to you outside of class." (F02, 711, 22/03/97). Again, this aspect of teachers' behaviours was mentioned by all age groups, both sexes and by students, whether or not they were born in Canada. Greeting students in the halls and even in the malls was perceived as important for establishing a trustworthy relationship. Such openness and friendliness outside the classroom walls builds trust between teachers and students One informant states,

> I'm sure if you just go to a student, like you see a student walking in the hallway and you stop a student, just start talking to them, after you'd be like ... 'why is she talking to me?' ... like you'd be wondering why she'd spend her time just to talk to you. And you'd probably say Hi to her ... that kind of builds into trust ... like ... if you happen to be in her class next year ... and you remember ... just like talking to students .... (M19, 1629, 22/12/96).

A teacher who is approachable is one who is not only friendly but 'easy to talk to'. Informants feel that they can go to these teachers and just talk to them or ask them anything whether it is academic or personal. Some informants talk about the fact that they do not feel afraid to talk to these teachers. "Like [you don't feel] afraid to talk to them about anything ... like you can approach them sometimes with personal questions or problems that you're having ...." (F11, 1205, 18/04/97). Students feel confident that they can approach these teachers for help. According to one informant, "... whether he's helping me too, so then I'll decide OK., well, he's here to help me too, so I'll be able to go up to him." (F13, 044, 26/11/96).

Teachers who are approachable are also perceived as available. They always have an 'open door' for students and students do not feel forced to talk to them. One male informant states, "Anything ... you could just go and talk to him. You could go home and come back after school and he'll still be there ... you don't feel forced, you just go." (M03, 1344-1419, 1st interview). The knowledge that there was someone there that can be approached at anytime was important to the student. Teachers who make it easy for students to come up to them and talk also use positive body language. They smile a lot and do not look angry and mad all the time. One informant states,

> ... like there are some teachers who will ... talk to their students, or like ... if you look at them, they'll smile back or you know stuff like that ... not just like give you a cold look .... (F14, 136, 27/11/96).

The consequences of a happy and smiling teacher are positive for the student. Students feel comfortable when the teacher is in a good mood and the revers when he or she is in a bad mood. One
informant states, "...because when the teacher's in a bad mood, you're not very comfortable." (M16, 620-623, 02/12/96).

For some students, familiarity breeds trust. The idea of becoming familiar with students could be as elementary as remembering students' names. One informant states, "They would talk to you outside class and they would remember your name." (F02, 172-174, 22/03/97). For many informants, becoming familiar with students meant being knowledgeable about their racial and cultural experiences.

Trustworthy teachers understand students’ experiences and therefore know and understand their various perspectives. These experiences may be either relevant to school experiences that students and teachers share in common, or cultural experiences that they either share in common or of which teachers have an understanding. One informant states, "The reason why I trust her is because ... she has black foster kids so, she understands them ... so she'd probably understand us." (F08, 1367-1373, 13/11/96). Teachers who are sensitive to the differences between races and cultures were seen as more trustworthy, since they are perceived as having a 'multicultural' understanding. One informant states, "She's multicultural ... she understands a lot of cultures." (M18, 1367-1372, 1st interview). Another informant says,

... could talk about my hair, like braids and stuff ... like how the braids get done ... let me know that they understand ... probably about me ... they will take an interest in my culture. (F08, 1436, 13/11/96).

Informants believe that when teachers have this kind of understanding, whether it is because of a similar racial or cultural background or because of their own exposure to these experiences, they tend to relate better to students. One male informant expresses the feeling of connection he experiences when the teacher can relate to what he is talking about. He states,

There are not a lot of black teachers ... So, if there's a black teacher in the class, especially one, maybe or maybe not, may have past experiences like yours ... may know where you're coming from, or maybe from the same country as you. You may feel kind of connected with the teacher ... you know ... like if you're talking to the teacher, you may be talking about back home ... And he/she knows what you're talking about .... (M01, 1351, 19/10/96).

This informant later suggests that the teacher should "be of a similar race, in order to find some
common ground." (MO1, 19/10/96).

Although informants felt that there was need for more black teachers, they also felt that some non-black teachers are capable of being sensitive to the experiences of black students. One informant refers to her observation of one non-black teacher who demonstrated such sensitivity towards another student. She states,

And you just trust this teacher more ... the discussions we had in class, she'd always try to see it the way somebody else saw it ... so you tend to see "Oh, this teacher is understanding .... (F21, 995-1007, 08/02/97).

Although race and culture were important in facilitating such communication, students also referred to other areas of interest such as sports (mostly males) as channels for establishing a connection - a sense of being similar - between teachers and students. One student indicated, "The teacher has something in common ... we're both interested in sports, so obviously I can talk to him about sports ... he's like me." (MO1, 134-150, 19/10/96).

Other informants refer to finding that common ground in similar experiences, childhood or otherwise. They believe that having things in common with each other and using examples in class that the student can relate to, not only builds understanding but gains trust. One informant highlights the importance of sharing common experiences. He states,

If some of their experiences are the same as mine and they could understand ... because they talk about it in class ... they use an example...usually was childhood things and Oh how when they were this age, they tried to do this to their teacher too and they know what you're trying to do .... (M18, 744-748, 1st interview).

Teachers who are trustworthy, know what is going on with the student. Their familiarity with the concerns of students can sometimes take the burden off students when all is not well with them. The teacher who knows his or her student would not have to bother the student at a time when he or she is vulnerable. According to one informant,

At the beginning of the class when we first met her, she started off by telling us that she could be trusted and she made me write ... these letters about personal things she should know about, so ...she could be aware of it and not ... be...on our backs all the time when we have a problem ... I thought it was good because she was being considerate towards our feelings and thinking about us ... like teachers aren't the only ones to be frustrated and tired sometimes. (M18, 511-531,09/03/97).

Another informant states,
"... so then the teacher knows well ... if she's not into her work ... he knows I have a headache and he wouldn't bother with me that much ...." (F13, 1482-1494, 26/11/96).

Sometimes, becoming familiar with the student, requires the student to share some information with the teacher. In the above cases, both students shared information about themselves with their teachers which allowed the teacher to be considerate towards them.

The consequences of teachers becoming familiar with the student are numerous. Students not only get to know the teacher as a teacher but as a person outside of the classroom. When teachers and students become familiar with one another, understanding and trust are likely to follow.

Familiarity precedes understanding and trust. One informant explains this hierarchy as she compares one teacher that she trusts and another that she mistrusts. This comparison was made in the context of 'feeling put down' when those teachers use sarcasm. She states,

... like you don't feel put down when they [trustworthy teachers] say it. But I think that comes after trust instead of before trust. Before you get to know the teacher, you wouldn't be able to tell that they're just being sarcastic or they're just being rude ... you understand the teacher more .... (F21, 948-962, 08/02/97).

Focus Groups

The role that sharing personal information and becoming familiar with the student played in removing boundaries was discussed in focus group sessions. As stated earlier, the purpose of these discussion groups was to verify findings and expand on major themes gleaned from the individual interviews. In these discussions gender differences were highlighted.

Removing Boundaries

When informants referred to this theme, they spoke about seeing the teacher not only as a teacher, but as someone they can talk to about now-school things. Someone who is more like a friend. There were gender differences however with regard to the extent to which these boundaries should be removed. One male thought that it depended on the teacher and that it was not that important "because they [teachers] want to get up in all your business" (M22). Females however believed that students were more likely to trust teachers if boundaries were removed. One female informant states, "I can't trust the teacher if the only thing I think of her is the teacher and I am going to stay away from her because she is the teacher but if I think of the teacher as my friend then" ...(F21)
Inquiring About Academic and Personal Well-Being

Matters related to opening doors and observing the body language are demonstrated in teachers' actions when they inquire about the well-being of the student, whether academic or personal. The predominant theme however centres around the role of the teacher as the initiator in this process. As the initiator, there is a sense that the teacher cares enough to inquire about the well-being of the student.

Informants indicated that when teachers ask them about themselves whether academic or personal, they felt that they could trust the teacher. Whether they are asking 'petty' things like 'How are you today?' or about the facial expression of a student, teachers who make these inquiries show that they care about students. One informant states,

... like some teachers, they ask you like at the end of the class, 'how come you look so down today? ... So that shows that they care. (M09, 1123-1128,30/11/96).

Most informants stated that the teacher who inquires about them personally, 'opens the door' for the student to interact with him or her and that in turn they can do the same. Usually, teachers initiate the inquiry. Once the door is open, students feel they can approach the teacher and talk about anything, not just problems.

With regard to academic matters, teachers would approach students and ask if they need help. "She wouldn't be like asking you too many questions but if you're having trouble in class, if there's a reason you're having trouble, any trouble in class ...." (M16, 629-638, 1st interview). Also, teachers who are considered trustworthy would not wait for the student to put up his or her hand, but would look at the expressions on students' faces, recognize that they need help and approach the student.

Inviting Academic and Personal Questions

The issue of caring is also shown when teachers invite students to ask them questions. Not only does the trustworthy teacher invite questions but he or she provides a suitable space and a safe atmosphere for these inquiries. Trustworthy teachers encourage students who are either shy, afraid or embarrassed to ask questions, personal or academic, to come and talk to them. These teachers show that they care about students when they encourage them to come and ask questions privately if they're too embarrassed to ask them in front of the class. As one informant stated, "She shows that
she cares for the students ... She tells them that if they're too embarrassed to ask questions in class, they could see her after school." (F02, 150-159, 19/10/96).

These teachers reduce whatever fear students may have, by encouraging them to approach them to discuss whatever is bothering them. They also reassure students by repeating these invitations throughout the school year.

**Expressing and Building Confidence in Students**

Trustworthy teachers encourage students to push themselves and to do better. They reassure students of their ability. They build their self-confidence. When teachers encourage students, it shows that they care. By encouraging students, they make school life easier for them. Those students who are already doing well continue to do well.

Trustworthy teachers encourage students not to give up when confronted with obstacles. They will ease the tension for the student by reassuring them or telling them not to worry. They express their confidence in the student's ability. According to one informant,

… like if you do bad on your test and you think it was so bad, they'll tell you 'don't worry, you can ... they will tell you ... "Well, you have to improve ... and you'll get better marks. So, like if you fail a test ... they'll say little petty talks, like you can try or ... just push yourself ...." (F15, 895, 908, 1st interview).

Another informant states that by encouraging students, these teachers help to 'bring the students through the school easy.' According to this informant, when teachers encourage students like this, the answer "just comes out of you in a way." (F13, 1499-1534, 26/11/96). Another informant refers to the 'good words' that a teacher uses to express confidence in the student. He states,

They'd say like ... I could do the stuff or whatever ... the work ... This is a good student ... he tries hard. He's a good worker. He's paying attention ... Those good words. (M20, 965-1023, 20/12/96).

Teachers not only express confidence in students' ability, but they also express confidence in students' trustworthiness and their sense of responsibility. They tell students that they are depending on them to carry out a responsible task. One informant states,
[They say] ... we're depending on you ... we were looking for you ... Just by them saying that they're looking for you ... that they needed you to help them with something ... Just by them saying that ... If they ask you to do a little something for them that you wouldn't mind doing it or because they feel that you can do the job for them as well as they can do it ... They believe in what you can do. (F05, 1394-1433, 02/11/96).

Teachers also express confidence in students' trustworthiness by assigning them trustworthy tasks such as getting something for them from their cars or by complimenting them.

When teachers have negative expectations of students' ability or a lack of confidence in their ability, they tend to treat students unfairly. They compliment them less than other students even though they [the students] have made improvements.

One informant refers to the negative effects on students of teachers' negative expectations and their differential treatment of students. She states,

Because some teachers think that the person who does more, they probably don't expect that from that person, but they would from the other person ... they would think you're copying off somewhere, that's what I find ... it's like ... a bad head student just turns around and starts doing their work ... they'll still jump on the person and still make them want to go back to the way they were. Because that happened to my friend ... [the teacher] would give the other person more compliments than him. (F12, 1346-1381, 17/12/96).

The consequences of unfair treatment are that students may disengage from the teacher and/or the task or even get into trouble. One informant talks about the trouble that other students get into because of the negative preconceptions of students that are passed from one teacher to another. He states,

I guess if ... they were to do something ... and they are friends with the other teacher that you did something wrong to ... they would treat you less than the other students ... from what I see ... like some students ... get in trouble on a regular basis. They ... get in trouble with that teacher but when they go outside the classroom, they're constantly getting in trouble because the teacher knows like how they are. (M10, 313-328, 15/12/96).

Focus Groups

The consequences of negative stereotyping and unfair treatment were also verified and expanded on in these discussions. Informants indicated that for teachers to be considered trustworthy they must get rid of negative assumptions of black students and treat them equally.
Getting Rid of Teachers’ Negative Stereotypes and Assumptions

Students indicated that teachers often judge black students unfairly. They stated that they sometimes act surprised when these students perform well. Following are some of the comments raised among students in four of the five groups regarding these teachers' behaviours. These comments were endorsed by all students regardless of gender. One female informant states, "...not all the time but just they [teachers] should know if they [students] know or not. Don't assume that they know or they don't know. Just ask them and then see." (F13). Another female informant states:

"Like I remember I just did this test and she says like you did good on the test" You know, it's like how could that happen you're black. That kind of way she said it like you know. I studied and...I studied like crazy. I mean it's not surprising for a black student to be good." (F21)

Other informants stated that the assumptions and stereotypes of teachers are more readily noticeable in some subjects more than others. One female informant states, "Well, I guess in our school, computers basically. It's mainly Asians in our schools who are in these classes...and so they assume they know it..."(F06).

One female informant expressed gratitude for the contribution that she was able to make to this study and also stated that black students were usually denied the opportunity to express their views because it is assumed that they do not know. She states,

"I think it was a good topic. Not all the time black students get to express their views on school and stuff, because a lot of teachers seem to think because you're black, you don't know how to do things in school. All you want to do is hang out, skip school and smoke weed." (F11).

Treating Students Equally

Informants stated that teachers' stereotyping of black students contributed to unequal treatment of these students. One female informant stated that it was usually the black students who do not get the attention that they deserve from the teacher. She states,

It's the one who knows more, that's the one she goes more with them...She's supposed to go with the ones who want to do it and the ones who don't really need it get help. Usually, black students get cut off." (F23)
Providing Constructive Feedback

Constructive feedback helps rather than hinders the student's learning. It involves both positive and negative feedback. Most of all, feedback is honest and given early so that students can know their academic standing. The feedback given, provides students with explanations and does not leave out anything that will help the student to improve. According to one informant,

They [the teachers] say how good I am progressing. How my progress is going. If it’s good or if it’s bad. They show me. If it’s bad, they’ll show me, they’ll tell me why, they’ll give me an explanation. They won’t just leave it as bad and then … because you’re not doing your work or bad because you’re not answering the right answers. They will show me and that’s how I could tell too. (F12, 1270-1281, 17/12/96).

Positive feedback includes verbal as well as non-verbal compliments such as displaying student's work. Negative feedback that is not followed by words of encouragement or suggestions for improvement, does not help the student. Feedback that is open and honest is also used by trustworthy teachers.

Generally, when referring to feedback, informants referred to it within the academic domain. Some informants stated that it was also important to get feedback in the personal domain. Informants indicated that, when giving feedback on their progress, trustworthy teachers would always emphasize the positive. Even if they have to say something negative about their progress, these teachers will always say something positive first and then say the negative along with suggestions for improvement.

The importance of stating the positive first when giving feedback was mentioned by one informant.

I guess … if they're criticizing you that they're saying things like, 'Yes, this part of your work is extremely well, you can just improve on this, so it will make your work even better than it already is. So they're already establishing that it is good. (F06, 774-783, 05/11/96).

Sometimes, when students answer a question wrong, the trustworthy teacher will not respond in a manner to 'put down' the student but would acknowledge the attempt made by the student. According to one informant, "when I give them an answer, even if it's wrong, they still give me a positive response … it could be a really wrong answer but they'll say 'Nice try'' (F12, 1113-1118, 17/12/96).

Compliments in the form of verbal remarks or stickers or a display of students' work were also seen as ways by which trustworthy teachers give students positive feedback on their progress. As stated by one informant, "... when you give her something good, she's like, "Wow, this is good ... You
know, compliment people, give a compliment or something." (F23, 729-738, 25/02/97).

Giving positive feedback also indicates to the student that the teacher has a positive perception of his or her ability. As stated by one informant, "They'd say like ... I could do the stuff ...." (M20, 965-966, 20/12/96).

Honesty and openness when giving feedback are highly regarded by students as characteristics of trustworthy teachers. Informants want teachers who will tell them the truth about their progress.

Being open ... honest things ... If you're not doing good in the class, I expect the teacher to tell me if I'm doing good or bad. Tell me .... (F11, 569-573, 24/11/96).

Being honest about the kind of feedback the teacher gives the student means that the trustworthy teacher is not afraid to give negative feedback. They will tell students if they are doing badly and encourage them to do better.

Informants also indicated that trustworthy teachers would give students feedback privately, especially if the feedback, for example, marks on a test, was negative. As one informant states,

If you did bad on a test and they want to talk to you after, about what happened on the test and they ... were honest with you about what you did ... I guess just them coming away ... taking you away from class to talk to you about what happened on the test ... Would make you want to trust them ... because that shows that they care about me and my grades .... (M10, 1081-1099, 15/12/96).

If privacy is requested when giving feedback, the trustworthy teacher would respect the student's request.

Trustworthy teachers show respect for students when giving them negative feedback. These teachers do not single out students when they give a wrong answer. They do not make students feel incompetent and respect the students' right to be the first to know about any weaknesses they may have. According to one informant, "Don't make it look like I'm the only one wrong, just be like OK, let's go over this again ... everybody together, so you don't feel bad that you get it wrong." (F11, 554-559, 24/11/96). These teachers do not make the student feel incompetent. Instead, they reason with the student. One male informant states,
At least ... reason ... if you get it wrong, just like tell me or something, like you don't just go like you don't think I could do anything .... (M20,919 - 924,20/12/96).

Informants indicated that it was important for the teacher, especially when giving negative feedback, to give it to the student first before giving it to others. Teachers who do this demonstrate respect for the student. According to one informant,

Show respect. Like you just like talk to me ... like if I'm doing really bad in my work, you come to tell me and ... before you tell others. (M22, 749-755,08/02/96).

Informants indicated that when giving feedback, trustworthy teachers are patient, that is, if the student still does not understand after the teacher has explained, he or she would be willing to explain again and take their time doing so. According to the following informant,

... I know ... some teachers are in a rush ... and other teachers would sit down and show you step by step. So that's what I like. (F12, 1153-1172, 1st interview).

Furthermore, the teachers will not get upset when the student asks for another explanation. One informant states,

... you can ask them questions without them getting upset. Like ... you keep asking them questions and if you don't understand every step that they do ... you ask them and ... they will tell you well, 'after I'm finished doing it on the board, I'll come to you and talk to you. (F15, 618-630, 20/12/96).

Another informant states,

... the first thing, patience ... I'm not too good at Math and the person who is teaching me has to really have a lot of patience ... Like if I ask questions, they wouldn't answer. 'You know something, you come back to me with this same question again and just answer it than to say ' ... I'm tired of answering you that question.' So, it's patience. (F23, 589-624, 25/02/97).

Sometimes patient teachers would even offer to stay after school and help the student.

**Focus Groups**

The issue of constructive feedback was verified by informants during these discussions. They emphasized the importance of hearing both positive and negative feedback.
Giving Honest not just Positive Feedback

Informants stated that the teachers should give honest feedback especially where marks are concerned. It was felt that positive feedback was insufficient and that students needed to know what their weaknesses were as early as possible so that they can improve. They felt that sometimes teachers waited until students were already failing before they gave them this feedback. It was also felt that a balance between positive and negative feedback is more reflective of the real world. One female informant states, "The real world does not only consist of positive. "You're saying you only want to hear the positive. That's not how the world is, not just positive because you have to hear the negative." (F05).

One male informant also spoke about honesty in terms of being straightforward, especially where marks are concerned. He states, "...you don't want a teacher to lie to you about your marks and then you go off feeling like "Oh, I'm doing well..."(M22). This informant's comments were validated by a female informant who referred to the experience of one of her friends who was not aware that she was failing, until it was too late. When asked by another informant what the teacher had said to her friend, she stated, "I don't know, but she wasn't saying "You're not doing well."" (F21).

It has already been stated that informants regard trustworthy teachers as being honest and open, especially when giving feedback about their progress. Sometimes, the authenticity of the teacher goes beyond just giving feedback to students on their progress, and is perceived as a characteristic that permeates all domains within which the relationship exists. The teacher's honesty or authenticity is also associated with being a good role model for their students. Students expect teachers to be authentic not only as a teacher but also as a human being. Informants expect teachers not to lie to students, especially about their marks. Although, informants acknowledge that teachers are fallible and therefore may lie, they draw the line, when it involves the teacher-student relationship. One informant states, "... lying is a part of being human, but ... just try to ... be a good role model to your students." (F14, 1158-1170,27/11/96). Authentic teachers do not withhold information from their students, are straightforward and keep their word. Students can tell whether a teacher is authentic by observing their body language.

Teachers who give all information and do not hold back anything are perceived by informants as honest and therefore trustworthy. One informant states, "Whether he's open, that is, he answers
questions fully ... Instead of leaving out details ...." (F13, 1186-1197, 26/11/96). Another informant states, "if you need help ... he comes to tell you, you need this and this ... like a good friendly teacher and like he tells you everything ...." (M22, 1448, 08/02/97).

Similarly teachers who give their honest opinion, tell the truth and 'don't beat around the bush,' are considered to be authentic and are preferred by informants. One informant remarks,

Someone who is open and honest with me ... not beat around the bush ... because if a teacher beats around the bush, you don't know if they like telling you the truth or not. Personally, I like straightforward people, like you'll tell me straight. (M10, 27-44, 15/12/96).

Teachers who keep their word are also perceived as being trustworthy. These are teachers who make promises to students and follow-up on that promise. One informant stated that although she had some bad experiences with the teacher, she trusted that teacher, "... because if she says she would do something for me, she does it." (F23, 780-782, 25/02/97). Taken in context, this informant indicates that she is uncertain about trusting the teacher overall, but that given a specific situation where a request is made of the teacher, the teacher is perceived as trustworthy since she makes a promise and follows up on it. Another student who had the opposite experience where the teacher did not keep her word, stated that he mistrusted this teacher because, "She said something about me getting bonus marks ... and I did the thing ... and I never got them." (M20, 415-424, 20/12/96).

Focus Groups

In these discussions, informants again referred to the importance of authenticity as a characteristic for trustworthiness.

Being Authentic

Informants stated that teachers who were not pretentious, and did not patronize students were more trustworthy. One female informant states, "Pretend...this teacher says...I like all my students...just pretends."(F23). Other informants stated that sometimes white teachers try too hard to "get in" with the black students in order to make them feel comfortable. They regarded these actions on the teachers' part as annoying, especially when they "try to be funny but are not." One
female informant says,

"I think some teachers who are serious are okay, but some are trying to be too close to you, instead of trying to teach. You find that a lot among the white teachers who try to be funny and act like 'I don't hold it against you because you are black' and it does not work." (F21)

Not only can informants tell if a teacher is authentic by what they say, but the teacher's body language is perceived as a powerful medium for determining authenticity. Informants know whether a teacher is being authentic just by the 'way it comes out'. Sometimes, teachers smile, but the smile is fake. According to one informant,

... sometimes ... some teachers are fake ... you can think that you can trust them but then it comes out to be that you can't ... sometimes ... they'll be nice and ... give you a smile or say nice things to you ... but ... they know it's not true. (F14, 1247-1281, 27/11/96).

Teachers also use language and gestures to engage students' trust but these behaviours are not always perceived as authentic.

Having a Sense of Humour, Fun and Adventure

The use of humour by teachers was perceived by informants as effective when it makes learning lively, easy and interesting. Trustworthy teachers use humour to relate to students so that they can help them learn. One informant discusses an experience that one of her friends had with her teachers.

... Not humour in a mean way to criticize or tease but humour in a way that they can relate to you ... Like my friend's teacher is funny ... she helps you to learn. Like even though we have games, we learn to the games and it really works .... (F06, 550-622, 05/11/96).

A sense of liveliness and adventure were characteristics of trustworthy teachers. Teachers who engage in this type of behaviour also know when to draw the line. The following examples illustrate the sense of fun and adventure that informants believe are characteristic of trustworthy teachers.

"she's the type like she likes new things ... she's not boring ... she'd just like let us do stuff that we would never do in Grade Nine." (F08, 1057-1079, 13/11/96).

Another informant states,

"... he/she knows where to draw the line ... but he/she's playful with the job ... everybody has pressure right ... but ... take it in stride ... very relaxed with it ... and you don't take it out on the students." (M01, 1038-1075, 19/10/96).
When teachers use humour, it can sometimes take the pressure off students with their schoolwork. It provides respite for the students and engages them by creating an atmosphere which puts them in a better mood for learning.

**Keeping Academic and Personal Information Confidential**

Teachers who do not disclose information that a student considers to be private, are seen as trustworthy. Both males and females, believed that keeping information confidential was a necessary quality for a trustworthy teacher. Whether the information is personal or academic, informants stated that teachers should not disclose this information to anyone, especially other teachers. Informants believe that when teachers share information with other teachers about the student, they establish stereotypes of the student which in most cases can be used against the student.

When I know they don't talk a lot ... about other students ... I know some teachers who say stuff about other students ... to another teacher ... and I couldn't trust them. Not at all .... (F12, 1234-1252, 17/12/96).

Not only is it important for teachers not to disclose information to other teachers but also, informants indicated that if they were to trust a teacher, the teacher would not share private information about them or others with other students. They stated that they should be able to disclose information to a teacher without the whole school knowing. One informant states that trusting a teacher means, "... being able to go to the teacher and ... the whole school wouldn't know." (F13, 32-35, 26/11/96).

Trustworthy teachers do not talk behind a student's back or talk about a student to other students believing that these students do not know to whom they are referring.

... he wouldn't talk behind their backs ... like he wouldn't say ... oh man, this girl is giving me a headache or something." He would tell her in private .... (M07, 749-760, 10/11/96).

Trustworthy teachers take students away when they want to discuss something that the student considers personal and private. One informant states, "... she took me into another room and she talked to me personally ... I guess she thought that I trusted her, instead of everybody hearing." (F04,
Another informant states,

not the teachers yelling out one thing and the student yelling back ... but taking the student outside ... not talking to them in front of the class. Some people don't really like that ... some student can't deal with problems ... so they don't wish to talk to the teacher in front of the class .... (F12, 17/12/96)

Some informants indicated that they had experienced personal betrayal by the teacher. Others referred to the experiences of friends whose confidence had been betrayed by teachers. One informant who still remains puzzled by a personal experience of betrayal, decided not to trust that teacher. He states,

I don't know why she went back and tell ... because she said it was just between me and you and she end up going and tell the Principal about this problem ... I'll never trust her. (M22, 199-212,08/02/97).

Another informant talks about the experience of her friend whose confidence was betrayed, and the impact it had on her own decision not to disclose to teachers. She states,

Not that I haven't really not trusted ... it's just you don't want to tell because sometimes they seem too nosy ... and gossip in the staffroom ... because it happened to my friend ... they told all the staff what happened to my friend. (F08, 262-295, 13/11/96).

Unlike the previous informant who made a decision never to trust that specific teacher, this informant makes a generalized statement of her perception of teachers. Regarding the behaviour of teachers as nosy and gossiping, she believes that "all of them are like that ...." (F08, 313-314, 1st interview).

**Showing Enthusiasm and Gentleness When Speaking**

The teacher's tone of voice was considered an important channel for determining trustworthiness. This was indicated by both males and females. Teachers who speak in a soft, gentle, enthusiastic and friendly tone of voice were considered trustworthy, especially when giving negative feedback or correcting students' behaviours. Informants indicated that the teacher would not use a harsh tone of voice when giving negative feedback or even when trying to help students.

Those teachers who were always yelling, and sarcastic were not regarded as trustworthy because, according to informants they make them feel stupid and voiceless. According to one informant,

...some teachers are too sarcastic sometimes. Like you're trying to be serious with them and they're trying to be sarcastic ... making you look stupid. (F21, 08/02/97).
Another informant states that even though it is appropriate for teacher to use their authority and tell students to stop when they are joking around, that they should just tell students what the appropriate behaviour is, rather than yell at them and make them feel 'voiceless'. She states,

... if the class is joking around and laughing I mean, yes, use your authority and tell us to stop ... But you don't have to say it in a way that would make us feel like ... we're not to say anything in the class. Just tell us the right thing to do, but tell it in a way so that we'll listen to you. Because, if you're going to just come up to us and just yell at us, we're not going to listen to you ... It's the way you say things. (F05, 101-118, 02/11/96).

Informants state that when students do something wrong, trustworthy teachers reason with the students and tell them what they did wrong but do not yell at them.

The enthusiasm shown in the teacher's voice, is another indicator of trustworthiness. Teachers must sound interested so that students can tell they enjoy the job.

Informants' expectations of trustworthy teachers as adults and teachers who do not speak in a manner to put down students, are guided by their values and beliefs about what is appropriate behaviour for a teacher. According to one informant, "... it's like for a teacher, for a grown-up to tell you a student to shut up, is just not ... I think it's not right ...." (M10, 1044-1057, 15/12/96). Their expectations are also guided by what they consider to be the appropriate behaviour of a teacher within a specific context, for example, high school. Trustworthy teachers are calm especially with students who are now in high school. They sit and talk with students of this age group, rather than yell at them. As one informant states,

... like some teachers, they don't really yell a lot, they'll try to just sit down and talk to the student ... especially when they're at ... high school, like those ages ... it's better to just talk to them. (F14, 1845-1855, 1st interview).

4.2.2.2. Non-Verbal

Teachers' non-verbal behaviours can be classified under two categories. Informants stated that they trust teachers when they pay more attention to the student and treat the student fairly and equally.
Paying Keen Attention to Student

One informant (F06) suggested that teachers should 'pay more attention' to black students. It was felt that the needs of black students were greater and therefore teachers needed to pay more attention to them.

When teachers pay attention to students, they notice them, that is they observe their behaviours and they listen intently to what they are saying. Listening intently means not only that the body language of the teacher must be 'tuned into' the student but it also means that teachers must suspend their biases, assumptions and preconceptions so that they can really hear what the student had to say.

Teachers who pay attention to students observe their facial expressions to see if students understand what they are explaining. One informant states,

... walking around to see ... well everybody is here, everybody understands. Making sure ... you look at the expressions on the faces of the students to make sure that they understand. (F13, 306, 26/11/96).

Sometimes, informants do not want to approach the teacher but prefer the teacher to take notice of their body language and inquire. As previously stated, when teachers do this it sometimes makes it easier for the student to disclose. These actions on the teachers' part do not only apply to the academic but also to the personal. Teachers who are trusted tend to observe their students and would approach them to offer help. One informant states,

... they help you ... like if you're thinking and they come over instead of you putting up your hand ... Come over and help you ... they should look around the class and see if anybody is having problems. (M07, 1424, 10/11/96).

Paying attention to the student also means that the teacher knows that the student is there, that he or she is aware of the student's presence. The following quotation illustrates the importance placed on the teacher's awareness of the student's presence. One informant states,

... they're paying attention to me when I'm putting up my hand ... if they're noticing that I'm in the classroom and I'm ready to learn ... just basically noticing me .... (F11, 1502, 24/11/96).

Noticing the student also meant, for this student, that he or she was being treated equally, that is, that he or she was "in the classroom too just as well as everybody else." (F11, 1502, 24/11/96).
Other informants refer to the importance of eye contact in establishing that connection between the teacher and the student. When teachers make eye contact with students, it provides information to the student that lets him or her know that the teacher is aware of his or her presence. It also lets the student know that the teacher is aware of whether or not the student understands. One informant interprets the use of eye contact by the teacher as showing respect. She states,

I guess when they show eye contact, they're saying ... I guess, they're showing that ... they know you're there, like your presence is there and they respect that, they respect you and ... they want to know that you're interested and that you're understanding and that it's clear to you as well. (F06, 2217,12/02/97).

The use of eye contact by the teacher, indicates to the student that the teacher is listening to what he or she is saying. Students can also tell whether the teacher is listening by the way they nod their heads. One informant states, "You feel ... that they're listening to you, they'll look at you right in your face ...." (F05, 1233-1236,02/11/96).

The use of eye contact is again mentioned by students as a way in which teachers show that they are really listening to what students have to say.

the way they act ... they seem willing to listen to what you have to say ... they're actually listening instead of doing other things ... they'd be just sitting there listening to what you have to say instead of marking a test or doing other things ... they would be looking at you and you would have their attention instead of them worrying about other students. (F17, 1938-2014, 30/11/96).

Apart from eye contact, informants also considered the use of physical contact such as touching, for example, a pat on the back, or shaking students' hands to be trustworthy teacher behaviours. These behaviours were also seen as important for establishing a connection with the teacher. One informant states,

... if they make eye-contact, I guess that is more with trust ... so you can see the connection there. And also if there's a pat on the back or something. (F06, 676-687,05/11/96).

Teachers also show that they are listening by giving verbal feedback to students. One informant states,
Or, if you're reading and the teacher just says, 'Well, yeah, you're going OK,' ... showing that you're following. Showing that you're paying attention. Showing that you're there too. That's what it shows. (F13, 204, 1st interview).

Listening to students also meant that teachers hear what the students have to say and do not jump to conclusions. In other words, teachers put their assumptions, biases and preconceptions. When asked what he would like to change about teachers so that he could become more trusting of them, one informant indicated,

I'd say make the teachers at least listen some more. I think because, some teachers just rush in, think they know what you're saying and just rush into it. And they don't actually know what you're saying. (M01, 2213, 22/02/97).

Another informant stated that she expected her teachers "to listen to us, not jump to conclusions. I don't like when people jump to conclusions." (F12, 2358, 17/12/96). One informant stated that a teacher who is trustworthy is one who respects her and "would like listen to me ..." (F08, 2828-2903, 13/11/96).

When teachers listen without prejudging, it makes it easier for the student to disclose. The student is confident that the teacher would listen regardless of how insignificant the content may seem. According to one informant,

"... if I was at my desk and he wanted to know what was wrong, I could say, "OK, fine and I'll tell you ... they might think it's something small and I think it's big, they're going to still listen." (F05, 837, 02/11/96)

Students feel better around teachers who are willing to hear what they have to say and will ignore teachers who are not willing to listen. "... it makes me feel better around them if I know that they'll listen to me ... and if they can't listen to me, I won't listen to them." (F12, 2420, 1st interview).

**Treating Students Equally and Fairly**

Another way by which teachers demonstrate their trustworthiness is by giving students equal and fair treatment. Informants expressed the importance of this characteristic for a trusting relationship especially as it relates to the help and attention that teachers give their students. Informants stated that trustworthy teachers would treat all students equally, regardless of their race.
or even their gender. One informant states, "She was like equal to black and white." (F08, 2549, 13/11/96). The issue of race as it relates to unequal treatment also emerges in students' discourses regarding self-identity. When asked to identify whether they thought of themselves as students or black students, most informants stated that they perceived themselves as students. Some stated that they perceived themselves as black students as well as just students. However, when asked to distinguish what it means to be a student as opposed to being a black student, the majority of informants associated being a black student with being treated differently, that is, unequally and unfairly. According to one informant,

Because if you're just a student, that means that they just treat you like everybody, equally. And if you're more specific, it probably means that they treat you differently according to black or white. (M16, 1901, 24/03/97).

Here this student makes a clear distinction between treatment based on role and treatment based on race. He highlights the potential for students to be treated differently rather than equally when race is taken into account.

For informants, equal treatment means that the teacher helps everybody in the same way. As one informant states, "... help me in the same way that they help other students." (F06, 2748, 12/02/97). Another informant perceived equal treatment as equal opportunity. She states, "she treats everybody in the class the same ... because she gives everybody a chance." (F02, 1646-1654, 19/10/96).

Most of all, treating everyone equally means that the teacher pays equal attention to all students. One informant states, "... like to give their attention to me as much as they give to other students ...." (F06, 2748, 12/02/97). According to one male informant, "They'd treat me equal ... they wouldn't like give one kid more attention than the other ... ... It's like say two people put up their hands and they pick the other person all the time." (M09, 2859-2929, 30/11/96).

Teachers who are fair to students, do not abuse their power and authority. One informant states,

... just being fair because the teachers ... use their power to like tell you things to do, when you should just ... Use your authority when you need to not when it's not just because it's just there. (F05, 3020, 02/11/96).
Informants believe that teachers whom they trust show that they care by helping them. According to one informant, "The ones you could trust are the ones that care and they'll say 'OK, come after school and I'll help you and stuff.'" (M03, 612, 30/10/96). If a student is not performing well in class, these teachers would approach the student and offer to help them after class or outside of normal school hours. Another informant states,

... at the end of the class, they'll say they are willing to help me out ... and even if I don't understand, they're willing to come after school and show me more .... (F12, 2943-3114, 17/12/96).

Other informants refer to support and guidance from the teacher in the context of personal conflicts with other students. One informant states, "Maybe you're having problems with another student, they can find a way to help you in that situation. Like move you away from them." (M18, 042,09/03/97). Another male informant also refers to the actions of trustworthy teachers in terms of protection from negative peer influences. He states,

"... they would try to steer me the right way ... they'd sort of tell me like ... don't hang with this crowd and don't hang with that crowd because they're bad news ... they just watch out for me." (M09, 338-350, 30/11/96).

Being there for the student was an important requirement of trustworthy teachers. It demonstrates support on the part of the teacher. One informant states, "... I had trouble in some subjects and they helped me ... and they just ... they were there for me ... so I just trust them." (M09, 319-323, 30/11/96).

Once informants know they can rely on teachers for help, they believe that they can also trust the decisions that these teachers make on their behalf. One informant states,

But if the teacher is there all the time and helping you and willing to give you the extra help that you do need and to explain what was taught if you don't catch on to it the first time, then you should be able to trust the teacher and also maybe the decisions that they make in helping you. (F17, 510, 2nd interview).

The preceding discussion has focused on the characteristics of teachers' behaviours considered trustworthy by students. These behaviours include the verbal as well as the non-verbal aspects of teachers' behaviours and show how they overlap both the academic and non-academic domains.
Findings from this section also highlight the difficulty in isolating the various themes. In reality, verbal and non-verbal are not independent of each other but are deeply intertwined. The same applies to the academic and non-academic domains.

The following discussion places the focus on the behaviours of students as they decide whether or not a teacher is trustworthy. Emphasis will therefore be placed on how students arrive at these characteristics of trustworthiness in their teachers. The discussion will highlight the cognitions, affects and behaviours that students employ during this process.
4.2.3. Students' Actions/Interactions

Searching For, Discovering and Encountering

The process undertaken by informants as they try to construct trust in their relationship with their teachers is outlined in Table 4-13. Informants search for, discover and encounter a number of teacher behaviours that they consider to be trustworthy. During the search and discovery process, they select and attend to behaviours of their teachers, themselves and others. These behaviours are then interpreted and evaluated. Memories of their own past experiences as well as others' past experiences as they relate to trusting or mistrusting teachers, are taken into account in arriving at an evaluation. At the same time, students expectations and beliefs are considered. Once they have encountered trustworthiness in the teacher, that is, they know they can trust the teacher and they feel secure, a decision is made to trust on the basis of this awareness. However, knowledge alone does not always result in trust. Some students continue to search for information by adopting a 'wait and see' approach. Table 4-14 outlines the process that takes place as students search for, discover and encounter trust in their relationship with their teachers. The findings that follow, provide a detailed account of this process.
Table 4-13
Informants' Behaviours

Subcategory: Searching For and Discovering Respect

Major Themes:

Cognitions
1. Selecting and attending to behaviours of teachers, self and others
2. Taking account of memories, values, beliefs
3. Weighing and evaluating behaviours of teachers, self and others
4. Becoming aware and regulating behaviour

Affects
5. Selecting and attending to bodily-felt experiences
6. Weighing and evaluating feelings towards teachers

Subcategory: Encountering Respect

Major Themes:

Cognitions
7. Knowing with confidence that the teacher is trustworthy

Affects
8. Experiencing Feelings of Security or Insecurity

Behaviours
9. Approaching the teacher and the task
Table 4-14

Students' Actions/Interactions: Searching, Discovering and Encountering

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEARCHING AND DISCOVERING</th>
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|                     |                     | EXPERIENCING | SECURE FEELINGS | APPROACHING |
|                     |                     | - EXPERIENCING | - SECURE FEELINGS | - APPROACHING |
|                     |                     | - comfortable |               | - talked more |
|                     |                     | - relieved    |               | - participated |
|                     |                     | - relaxed     |               | - disclosed   |
Searching for, Discovering and Encountering Respect

4.2.3.1. Cognitions

Selecting and Attending

Informants not only observed what teachers did but also listened to what they said. They selected and attended to information not only in the context of their interaction with the teacher but also in the context of the interaction of other students with the teacher. They observed how teachers interacted with students and also how students interacted with the teacher. They also listened to what teacher said to other students as well as what other students said to or about the teacher.

Observing

A very important aspect of informants' perceptual experience related to the selection and attention to teachers' non-verbal behaviours - body language. In some cases this was a very detailed process. Informants notice when teachers make eye contact with other students or themselves. A teacher who is trusted is one who, when he/she is teaching "always looks at the student" (F02, 393-396, 19/10/96). Informants felt that by making eye contact, a teacher can recognize what is going on with the student and can help the student; they can "look at the expressions in the faces of the students to make sure they understand." (F13, 1283-1292, 26/11/96). Eye contact with the student eliminates the need for the student to put up his/her hand to request help. The teacher would notice the expression on the student's face, realize that he or she is thinking and approach the student.

Like the way they look at you. They'll look at you in a way ... like if you're thinking and they come over instead of you putting up your hand .... (M07, 511-519,10/11/96).

Informants also observe the facial expressions of teachers, such as the 'look' the teacher gives when interacting with the student. One male informant notes, "...They just look at you and at lunch time you'll see them talking to other teachers still looking at you." (M03, 30/10/96). This 'look' was also described as being 'funny', 'uncomfortable', and 'down' by other informants.

Smiling was also a focus for students' attention. A teacher who smiled was considered to be one who shows interest.
If you're trying to tell them something good that happened to you and they're just giving you a straight face ... meaning not smiling ... it just shows that they have no interest in what you're saying. (F05, 1211-1226,02/11/96).

The perception of authenticity in the smile was even more important to the student than just the smile alone. One informant states, "Like you can tell... give you a plastic smile ... she would smile ... and then her face goes back sour ... like you can just tell she's being fake ...." (F14, 1270-1282,27/11/96). The image of a teacher who is always smiling or always angry however, is not what informants were trying to project. Their expectations of the teachers' behaviours were quite realistic. They understood that sometimes teachers would have bad days.

Sometimes, informants pay attention to the general expression on the face, rather than to any specific part of the face. When asked what it was about the teacher that made her want to trust, one informant said,

"... the person's personality ... the way they teach ... the way they talk to a student. You just see it in the teacher ... and even their facial expression." (F21, 696-710, 08/02/97).

Not only is the teachers' involvement with other students noted but so too is their interaction with informants' parents. When asked what made him trust the teacher, one informant stated,

... I trust most of my teachers because ... my Mom, she has a relationship with most of my teachers ... she talks to them. (M09, 235-240, Nov. 30, 1996).

Informants also observe the body language of other students as they interact with the teacher. They use these cues to decide whether the teacher can be trusted. When asked how she could tell that the teacher is trustworthy one informant stated,

I guess you could say, the way they act around other students ... if you see that the student talking to them and they feel comfortable, they look like they feel comfortable and not nervous and uptight talking to them, then you can say that they probably feel comfortable with that teacher so that you should be able to trust them. (F17, 550-575,30/11/96).
Listening

Nuances in the teacher's voice are taken into consideration in determining the trustworthiness of the teacher. Informants listen not only to what is said, but to the way teachers talk to students. They pay attention to the discrepancies that are transmitted between what is said and how it is said.

Sometimes, they'll lie about somebody's mark ... like you can tell ... if a teacher is joking or if ... they're lying and then they say they are joking ... because just the way how it comes out .... (F14, 1181-1189, 1st interview).

Sometimes informants pay more attention to what mistrusted teachers say than to what trusted teachers say. The issue of paying more attention to everything that is said by a mistrusted teacher was mentioned by another informant who stated that she would listen 'all the time' to everything mistrusted teachers said.

Like ... you know they're saying something bad so ... it's like you just want to hear what they have to say ... You will listen to them every time they say something. (F15, 1746, 1st interview).

Informants also listen to the kind of feedback and encouragement that teachers give. Regardless of whether the feedback is directed at them or other students, they notice differences in the kind of feedback given. One informant states,

... Like if somebody is doing good in the class, 'Well, you can do it.' She doesn't push the rest. Like if this person is doing good, she goes to that person. If that one is not doing too good, she leaves that person and push the next one who's doing well. (F23, 694-711, 1st interview).

Teachers sometimes make statements that show that they care and informants take note of these statements.

You could tell she likes what she's doing ... she shows that she cares for the students ... She tells them if they're too embarrassed to ask questions in class, they could see her after school. (F02, 141-159, 1st interview).

Taking Account

Memories, expectations, beliefs and values were an important part of the search and discovery process. Along with teachers' behaviours and their own reactions and feelings, informants accounted for these internal factors in their constructions of trust within the teacher-student relationship.
Not only did informants remember their own experiences regarding how teachers acted towards them and other students, but they also considered the experiences of their friends. A number of informants recalled their experiences, especially those in elementary school and compared these experiences with the present experience as they assessed the trustworthiness of the teacher.

... I never like trust a teacher ... in my elementary school. So it was like, in a way ... exciting that I can actually talk to a teacher about something that’s bothering me. (M19, 1324-1330,20/12/96).

Informants sometimes use their past experiences to assess the trustworthiness of the teacher, but these experiences do not influence their overall decision. One informant states,

... sometimes, like with the fake stuff like sometimes ... is this teacher fake? ... so sometimes it can be just Yes and No, sometimes it’s like you wonder ... but like overall, it hasn’t really influenced my decision." (F14, 2306, 27/11/96).

Other informants remember previous actions of teachers towards other students, friends and themselves.

It goes back again to the things ...the way they act toward other students ... and just things you remember about the way they act in class, if they were friendly or if they were willing to listen, and you had any problem ... like you know if you could trust them. (F17, 767-785,30/11/96).

Informants recalled school experiences such as prejudice and racism that influenced their decision to trust or mistrust teachers. It has been pointed out earlier that teachers' and counsellors' beliefs about black students and their attitudes towards them, especially negative stereotypes were taken into consideration by students as they determined the overall trustworthiness of teachers. These beliefs, attitudes and practices of teachers and counsellors in past situations are used by informants in later decisions to trust or mistrust teachers. One informant stated that because of the way a previous teacher had shown enthusiasm about her work that she would look for a similar behaviour in other teachers. She states, ‘... she was very enthusiastic about my work and what I was doing ... that's why I look for that in other teachers ....’ (F06, 3041,05/11/96).
As they assessed their teachers' trustworthiness, informants relied, not only on memories of their own and others' past experiences but also on their own values, beliefs and expectations of teachers.

Informants expected teachers to be mature and act like 'grown-ups.' One informant said,

I know some teachers that go, "Are you stupid?" .... Or a teacher goes ...
"Shut up" ... it's not like they'd be putting them down it's like ... for a teacher, for a grown up to tell ... you a student to shut up, is just not ...
I think it's not right. (M10 15/12/96).

Another male informant believed that teachers are adults and mature so they would not let students down. He said,

Like you usually trust the teacher because they are adults and some of them are mature. They're mature and they maybe won't let you down unless they hate you or something. (M07, 368-376, 10/11/96).

Informants believe that it is wrong for teachers to swear at students or discuss the business of other teachers, with the students. They believe that certain attitudes are normal for teachers and base these beliefs on the way they were socialized. For example, one informant states,

Well, it's just in you because, you don't normally find a teacher ... talk to you like a friend. It's like teachers are strict, it's like your parents sometimes. (F15, 726-731, 20/12/96).

The way students relate to teachers depends on how they perceive the role of the teacher. One male informant indicated that teachers are not persons to whom you disclose personal problems. He states, "It's your teacher. You don't talk to your teacher like that ...." (M18, 598-600, 18/12/96).

Realistically Appraising

In spite of their perceptions of teachers and their past experiences with them, informants recognized that each teacher is an individual. They were not always influenced by these past experiences especially with regard to trusting teachers. One informant states, "Every teacher is different ...." (F14, 2229, 27/11/96). Another indicates, "... it just all matters on the teacher ...." (F04, 2622, 09/11/96). Informants also realistically examine their expectations of teachers. One informant states,

Well, you don't expect each teacher to have ... Well some students expect each teacher to have the same personality the same way ... like I don't expect like they be here just for me. (F15, 786-818, 20/12/96).
Interpreting

Weighing and Evaluating

Information collected at the perceptual level is then interpreted. Informants do so by comparing, assessing, making associations, interpreting and evaluating that information. Memories, expectations, beliefs and values of informants continue to be considered.

Comparing Behaviours

Informants compare the behaviours of trusted teachers with mistrusted teachers and their own experiences with others' experiences. They consider teachers who use their power and authority to hold back privileges, as mistrusting and those who are sensitive and flexible, as trusting. The male teacher is perceived as the one who uses his power and authority more, especially with black males. Female teachers are regarded as sensitive and flexible. One informant states,

... You find that with the women teachers, you say yeah, you're not feeling well, they'll let you go but the male teachers, they just use their authority more ... especially ... with the black males at school. (F05, 1137-1151,02/11/96).

Informants associated trusted teachers with those who acted like a friend as well as a teacher and compared them with mistrusted teachers who they perceived as 'just a teacher'. The concept of the teacher as a friend and not just a teacher was associated with behaviours characteristic of friends, such as being able to talk to them about anything, not just school things. One informant states,

... if they respect you, like become friends, like not teacher-student but like ... friend to friend kind of. Once you have that, I think you can have trust ... Because friends can like talk about things out of school, ... but just teacher-student is like ... education. (M19, 1011-1026,22/12/96).

Teachers who respect students are considered trustworthy. Informants compare the behaviours of trusted teachers with the behaviours of mistrusted teachers and focus on the respect or lack of respect that is shown towards the student. The meaning of respect differs among informants. For this particular informant, respect means that the teacher has a positive perception of his ability. He states,

... like the drama teacher ... respects me or something but the keyboarding teacher, she doesn't really ... think like I could do anything .... (M20, 1217-1230, 1st interview).
The body language of the teacher was also considered when comparing trusted with mistrusted teachers. Trusted teachers are more relaxed whereas mistrusted teachers are tense. One informant stated that she knew when she could trust the teacher by observing how relaxed the teacher was. On the other hand, she felt that she could not trust the teacher who is always tense. When asked what aspects of the teacher's body language she paid attention to, in order to determine the trustworthiness of the teacher, this informant said, "... they're really relaxed, they would sit on the desk or some are always like so tense you just see it ...." (F21, 735-739, 08/02/97)

Informants compare the behaviours of teachers towards them with their behaviour towards other students. For example, they compare the various ways in which teachers treat students differently.

Like if he treats other kids and like treats you rough. That's what you look at ... and like talk to you more often when you're not doing much things ... And if another kid does that he wouldn't like do nothing about it. (M22, 693-712, 08/02/97).

Informants also compare their own behaviours with different teachers. They state that they were either more attentive towards some teachers or ignored other teachers. One informant discusses how she relates to two teachers, one trusted, the other mistrusted. She states, "I listened to her when she's teaching. When the other teacher was teaching I would ignore her ...." (F02, 705-709, 22/03/97). Other informants referred to the differences in their own reactions when trusting or mistrusting teachers. They chose to either approach or avoid teachers depending on whether the teacher could be trusted or not. Approaching the teacher meant that it was easier to go up to the teacher and talk about anything or ask a question. Avoiding the teacher meant a number of things, some of which included, withdrawing physically, by hiding, or psychologically by 'ignoring' or 'forgetting about' the teacher.

Assessing

Whenever students indicate uncertainty and continuing observation of the teacher, these events are considered as part of an ongoing assessment. Words such as seem, guess, not sure, wonder, indicate ongoing assessment. Also, wherever students continue to ask themselves questions
about the trustworthiness of the teacher, these behaviours are considered to be part of a continuing process of assessment. The assessment process was both an active and a somewhat cautious one.

Some informants took an active part in getting information about the teacher's trustworthiness. They used various ways to collect this information. Some tested the teacher’s trustworthiness by disclosing information and then waiting to see if anyone would come back and tell them what they heard. One informant stated,

I guess I put them through a little test ... If I say something to them and ... I'd see if they'd go back and tell my parents. If my parents heard them they'll obviously come back and ask me anything then that would be just fine ... Or if I tell them something and another teacher went and asked them a question about me that they didn't say anything then I know that they are a good teacher. (F05, 1464-1470, 02/11/96).

Other informants would also check with other teachers by asking them the same question they asked the other teacher. If there was a discrepancy, then the informant would know that the teacher could not be trusted.

Informants also pay attention to discrepancies in teachers' communication with them. They check the feedback that the teachers give them against their own self-evaluations. One male informant states, "To yourself, if you know you're behaving bad and they're telling you, you're behaving good, you know they're lying to you ...." (M22, 809-831, 08/02/97).

Informants also believe that students should check teachers' perceptions of them with the teacher himself or herself. One female informant suggests,

Find out how the teacher feels about you as a student in a class and find out ... the agreement that you guys had in the beginning - and see if it's still going to happen. (F13, 2609, 26/11/96).

Other informants played a less active role in assessing the teachers' trustworthiness. Rather than actively testing the teacher, they cautiously remained aloof and assessed the teacher. They assessed teachers' behaviours and body language as well as their own behaviours. As they gathered information about the teacher, some of these behaviours appeared trusting to the informant. In other words, these informants were uncertain as to whether the behaviours of these teachers were indeed trusting. One informant states, "She seems like she knows the problems that I would have ... she
seemed like she cared about the whole class." (M16, 728-738, 02/12/96).

Another informant expresses uncertainty about the teacher when she states that sometimes teachers seem not to want to establish a connection with the student when he/she makes a joke. According to this informant:

"... really serious ... and then if you make a joke or something, it seems like you know ... they're really serious and they want to get down to work ...." (F04, 537-542,09/11/96).

Some informants also question themselves about the teacher's authenticity, that is, his or her claim to authority of experience. They believe that sometimes persons including teachers, cannot be easily trusted since they appear to lack such authority. One informant questions whether what the teacher is saying is true. She questions the appropriateness of the teacher's guidance and claim to authority of experience and wonders if she should act on this guidance. She states,

Well, first like the stuff that he tell me to do, I would try first you know to ... what he's saying to me, is it true? ... because sometimes you just can't go out and trust a person, you have to like think of stuff ... sometimes just ask yourself questions ... like about fake teachers ... Is she really ... like fake or is she? .... (F14, 1912,27/11/96).

Informants question the teachers' motives and how much they really care about the opinions of students regardless of their race. These informants also question their own readiness to trust in such situations.

You think about if they really care because it seems like, ... there are so many other students and they are all white, you just seem like, 'do they really care what you have to say? Do you really want to open up to them? ... Why would they just care about or why would they want to listen to this one black student, if there are so many others? They are probably all having problems too. (F04, 09/11/96).

Other informants exercise caution and wait to see how the teacher would act in such situations before deciding to trust.

... if you just tell someone then you don't know whether they really ... want to hear what you have to say, if they really care. So, you probably have to wait and see how the teacher acts for awhile and then see if you can trust them. (F04, 2659, 09/11/96).

Informants also look at their own past behaviours to determine whether they can really trust
the teacher. When they encounter what seems to be an experience of trust, some informants question their experience and their ability to trust. They try to integrate their experience with their own self concept as it relates to trusting. One informant wonders if he could really trust the teacher, that is, tell the teacher things he wanted to tell her. He links his uncertainty to the fact that he has not had any previous experience with trusting a teacher and that it was not an everyday occurrence. He states,

... not everyday you can trust a teacher, so I was like, I wasn't sure, if I can trust. Like I knew I can trust her but I didn't know if I should tell her things that I wanted to tell her, because I never trust a teacher in my elementary school .... (M19, 1318-1326, 22/12/96).

Other informants observe their own experience and question their ability to trust. They try to integrate their previous self-concept regarding trust with their present self-concept. In doing so, one informant reflects,

... How come I'm ... actually like trusting this person ... I usually don't trust people ... anyone at all, and for me to actually open up myself to someone is like ... really strange because like I never give anybody the time or the chance or the day to trust them. (F11, 591-598, 24/11/96).

Whenever they encountered difficulty in labelling or expressing their interpretations of the teachers' behaviours or their own feelings, informants would either use metaphors, or make references to bodily felt experiences. One informant stated that she felt "as if a burden had been lifted off ... " (F06, 05/11/96) once she knew that she could trust the teacher.

References were also made to weighing the teachers' behaviours as students spoke about how they went about determining trustworthiness in a teacher. One informant stated, "... Got to weigh what the teacher is saying because you know that you don't trust them." (M10, 043, 15/12/96). Metaphors of lightening up - 'light-headed' - which were associated with trusting the teacher and of heaviness - 'burden' - which were associated with mistrusting the teacher were commonly used by informants to express their assessments of the teachers' trustworthiness or untrustworthiness.

Reference was also made to the tension or heaviness that is felt when assessing the teacher about whose trustworthiness one is uncertain. When students assess a teacher about whom they are certain and believe they can trust, they express feelings of relaxation or relief. One informant actually demonstrated these feelings during the interview by letting out a sigh of relief.
Realistically Appraising

Informants continue to appraise the teachers' behaviours in a realistic manner. They try to 'figure out' the motives for the teachers' actions before determining their trustworthiness. While doing so, they remain open to other possible explanations for these actions. One informant states, I guess I'll try to have to sort of figure that out ... whether it's coming ... which point of view are they doing this from ... if they're trying to be mean or if it's just their own ... human nature. (F06, 695-702,05/11/96).

Overall, informants used a variety of external and internal information to assess teachers. They assessed not only the teacher's body language, such as eye-contact and smiling, but also the teacher's behaviours as they relate to their kindness, helpfulness and willingness to listen. Behaviours are assessed in order to determine whether a connection can be established between the teacher and the student.

Informants assess their own ability to trust. They reflect on their past as these experiences relate to trusting teachers and weigh these past experiences against what they are experiencing in the present. They assess and compare their present self-concept as it relates to trusting others and compare this self-concept with the previous self-concept.

Making Associations

This approach which was used by informants, was meant to link the present experience, feeling or behaviour, to a similar feeling or behaviour that has already been experienced. When they attempted to describe what they considered trustworthy about the teacher, informants would describe the behaviour by making an association with a friend, a parent, or family. According to one informant, a trusted teacher is one who treats the student as they would treat "their own son or daughter" (M03 30/10/96). These teachers would, treat students 'like family.' Another informant, stated that talking to a teacher he trusted was "like say I am talking to my parents or something" (M19, 22/12/96). Informants associated the trusted teacher with someone who was more 'like a friend' than a teacher. One male informant states, "I felt as if I was talking to my friend" (M24, 2010, 14/03/97). Associating the teacher with a friend meant that for these students, the teacher was someone they could say anything to and with whom they could be open and relaxed.
Hypothesizing

Informants interpret the behaviours of teachers by suggesting that teachers’ behaviours are guided by beliefs that teachers have about students. They believe that these beliefs are then manifested in teachers’ actions towards the student. One informant stated what she believed was the reason why teachers do not give students negative feedback.

It’s just that they think that the student would blame the teacher so they cannot tell them that they’re not doing well, because they don’t want the students to start reacting in the wrong way. (F02, 495-503, 19/10/96).

Evaluating

Informants evaluate teachers’ behaviours towards themselves and other students. They also evaluate their own feelings. At this stage of the search and discovery process, students have made a final decision about the teacher’s trustworthiness or lack of trustworthiness. They are more certain about these characteristics and can tell whether the teacher is genuine or fake, humorous or always serious, non-empathic or empathic. Moreover, informants can now capture their feelings about the teacher by labelling those feelings.

Once a decision to trust or mistrust the teacher was made, informants gave a confident, as opposed to uncertain, description of the teachers’ behaviours. Evaluations of teachers were clearly positive or negative. One informant states,

... I had a teacher who was fake ... I could tell there were other people in the class that trusted her but I can tell when somebody is being fake ... and she was fake ... and I didn’t trust her. (F14, 27/11/96)

Regulating Behaviour

In spite of what appears to be conclusive evaluations of the teachers’ trustworthiness, informants do not always act on these evaluations. In some cases, informants remain tentative. The process of arriving at the point of acting on one’s evaluation varies from informant to informant.

In some cases, there was a tendency to be tentative. For the most part, those who expressed such tentativeness, stated that they knew they could trust the teacher but were still questioning whether they should tell the teacher things that they wanted to disclose. One informant indicated that his hesitation was because he had no previous experience with trusting teachers.
Other informants also stated that they felt they could trust the teacher, however, not all of these informants acted on this evaluation of the teacher's trustworthiness. According to one informant, "I don't think I ever talked to her about any problems though. I knew I could trust her but I didn't talk to her about anything." (M18, 620, 09/03/97).

In other cases, there was a desire to trust the teacher but within a defined boundary. In these instances, informants actually approached the teacher but their decision to act was only in the context of the academic. Males, more than females used this context to define the trusting teacher-student relationship. One informant states, "I would not be like completely friendly ... not confide in the teacher with stuff I consider personal ... but I would be able to trust the teacher." (M01, 2440-2539, 19/10/96).

Encountering Respect

Becoming Aware and Confident

Some informants make a decision to trust the teacher and act on this decision once they have encountered the behaviours of teachers that they consider to be trustworthy. For instance, when the teacher is helpful, makes jokes, gives constructive feedback, is not racist and treats everyone equally, these informants know that they could approach the teacher without fear and worry. The realization that the teacher was engaging the student's trust rather than blocking it, was a relief for the student since he/she did not have to worry about the teacher's reaction. According to one informant,

... this teacher helped me out ... would kind of joke around with me ... what I'm supposed to do to help me out ... I learnt how to trust him ... I could go to him and ask him a question without actually worrying about his reaction. (M01, 2309-2440, 19/10/96).

The decision to trust the teacher is sometimes made by linking one's actions towards the teacher with similar actions towards one's parents, other family members or friends. One informant expressed his relief when he finally knew he could trust the teacher. This informant states,

...actually talk to a teacher about something that's bothering me ... it was like ... finally ... I can like talk to, like say I'm talking to parents or something, something like that .... (M19, 3116-3141, 22/12/96).

Once the teacher has proved his/her trustworthiness, the informant is more confident in his
or her knowledge that the teacher is trustworthy and can open up and even joke around, like he/she would with a friend or a parent. One informant states,

then I know that ... they are a good teacher ... like ... finally ... someone other than a friend or my Dad ... there's someone like another nice person out there that you can just talk to ... an older friend. (F05, 806-905, 02/11/96).

In some cases, the reciprocal sharing of information was the final indicator of trustworthiness. It triggered a confident decision to trust on the part of the student. One informant states,

... she ... like wanted to talk to me about something that was bothering her. She started to tell me things ... That's when I know like obviously I can trust her, because it was like a vice-versa kind of thing. (M19, 202-231, 22/12/96).

Knowing that one can trust the teacher is not all that is required to trust. Informants also expressed their feelings about this awareness. Other informants stated how they felt about disclosing once they knew they could trust. One informant states, "... it feels good for me ... to know that I can trust him and I can tell him something is not going right." (F14, 1257, 27/11/96). The role that feelings play in informants' meanings of trust is elaborated on, in the next section. Like the previous section, the affects of informants reveal a process that takes place from the moment of perception until experience of feelings has been encountered.

4.2.3.2. Affects

As they construct what they mean by trusting a teacher students pay attention to their bodily felt experiences. In their discourses, students also compare feelings in trusting situations with their feelings in mistrusting situations and they compare feelings before and after trusting the teacher. They evaluate those feelings as either positive or negative as they become either confident or uncertain about the teacher's trustworthiness. This awareness of either confidence or uncertainty results in feelings of either security or insecurity.

Searching and Discovering

Perceiving Feelings

Bodily-felt experiences provide informants with relevant information about the teacher's
trustworthiness. In some cases, informants indicated reservation about a teacher's trustworthiness based on the feelings they experienced. One informant states,

... I could feel the vibrations ... I mean like, she come outside and her whole mood of the face and the changes of the face like ... I could feel the vibrations. (F23, 328-339, 25/02/97).

Not only were negative, mistrusting feelings about the teacher experienced as bodily-felt experiences, but so too were the positive, trusting feelings. Informants indicated that they experienced feelings of relaxation and relief when they trusted the teacher. One informant states, "... relaxed ... calm ... a little more energetic ... there's life there ... happy, relieved, all those things ... a burden has been lifted off your shoulder." (F06, 853-859, 05/11/96).

On some occasions, informants had difficulty expressing what it was about the teacher that they found trusting. On these occasions, they referred to the bodily felt experience. One informant states "I know when I trust a teacher, you just get like that feeling that you can trust them but I can't really explain it. It's hard to explain." (M19, 1132-1136, 22/12/96). Another stated that it was 'just a sense that you get' (M03, 1197-1198, 30/10/96). The experience of 'having a sense' or 'just getting that feeling' about the teacher’s trustworthiness, indicates that informants were paying attention to their bodily felt experiences. Changes in the body as a result of differences in their evaluation of teachers' trustworthiness were evident. One informant states, "... it is not just tense and scared ... like sit tense when you don't trust but ... you just relax." (F21, 1070-1092, 08/02/96).

Interpreting Feelings

Comparing

Informants indicated that there was a difference in the way they felt with trusted teachers as opposed to mistrusted teachers. The theme that best describes students' interpretations of their feelings of trust in the teacher is positive. Comparisons made regarding informants' feelings about teachers, included either frustration or relief, less than or equal; relaxed or tense.

The relief that students experience when they trust a teacher was compared with the frustration that they feel when they do not trust a teacher. These opposing feelings are captured in the words of one informant,
... you feel relaxed ... I guess a little more energetic ... relieved, all these things ... a burden has been lifted off your shoulder ... you feel frustrated and ... I guess you're very impatient like you don't want to be there ... you get mad easily ... when you mistrust a teacher .... (F06, 852-883,05/11/96).

Informants also compared how they felt if they were treated fairly or unfairly. Mistrusted teachers made students feel less than, but with trusted teachers informants stated that they felt equal. One informant stated,

Sometimes, if a teacher would go up to another student and say something good to them and then come back and say something bad to me ... I wouldn't trust them because I'd feel not equal ... that's bad, or if I'm doing equal ... the same amount as that other student but the other student got a lot better than me or if I'm doing better than them it bothers me. (F12, 1296-1308,17/12/96).

Feelings of openness were common among students who felt they could trust the teacher. Associated with feelings of openness were feelings of relaxation and comfort. Cautious and uneasy feelings were associated with mistrust. One informant states,

When I don't trust a teacher, I feel ... I just don't like to be around them ... I wouldn't want to say anything that could get me in trouble. I'd feel very uneasy. But with a teacher I could trust, I could say anything, I could joke around, and they won't ... some teachers jump to conclusions when you joke around, some don't and that's what I like. (F12, 1449, 17/12/96).

Feelings of nervousness and being uptight were also expressed by students when they mistrusted the teacher. These feelings were compared with feelings of relaxation and calmness which were experienced in trusting relationships. One informant states,

... more relaxed and more calm towards the teachers that you can trust ... But if you're with a teacher that you can't really trust, you'd probably feel more uptight and nervous and not really trusting of that teacher. (F17, 818-831,30/11/96).

Some students not only expressed their feelings of relaxation or of tension when they trusted or mistrusted teachers, but they linked these feelings to the consequences for their behaviours within the classroom. One informant states,
I felt more comfortable in the class ... I wouldn't feel as tense as like a teacher who I didn't trust or I think doesn't like me ... I'd be kind of tense and scared that they call me to answer a question or something like that. But in that teacher, you'd feel ... more relaxed ... so it just helps you to be better. (F21, 1055-1065, 08/02/97).

Informants compare their feelings before and after certain behaviours are demonstrated by the teacher. After a remark was made by the teacher, encouraging students to tell her anything whenever they needed, one informant stated,

... before she said all those things ... I didn't really know what she was like ... I wasn't feeling comfortable, but as soon as she said that, I was feeling more comfortable, relaxed .... (M16, 797-807, 02/12/96).

Informants associated what they felt with those feelings they experience when talking to a friend or a parent. One informant stated, "It felt like she was my friend. It was almost like telling a friend if I told her problems." (M16, 780-784, 02/12/96). Another informant expressed his feeling of relief about disclosing to the teacher by associating it with how he felt when talking to his parents. He states, '... like I never had this feeling before ... I'm like finally ... I can ... talk to, like say I'm talking to my parents or something ....' (M19, 1337-1342, 22/12/96).

Evaluating Feelings

Positive feelings were common among students who felt they could trust the teacher. These, feelings were evaluated as 'nice', 'different', 'better', 'good'. Informants stated that they 'just felt good' or 'better,' that there was someone in the school that they could talk to, someone other than a parent or a friend. One informant states, "It was a nice one, it was different because finally ... someone other than a friend or my Dad." (F05, 1478-1481, 02/11/96).

For some students feeling better meant that you could 'just talk' to the teacher like if you were talking to an older friend. One informant stated that she felt better about being able to disclose almost anything because she was confident that help would be offered and that she would not have to solve the problem alone. She states,
I felt better. I felt like I could tell them anything. Well, not really anything but a lot of stuff and they could help me solve it. It's like, it's just not me solving something .... (F12, 1417-1423, 17/12/96).

Another informant talks about feeling good in the context of being able to joke around with the teacher without rebuke from him or her. She stated,

It's just like ... Good, I can tell this teacher about whatever. You can even joke around with them about other teachers, they won't say nothing. It's good. (F05, 1520-1530, 02/11/96).

Feeling good was also linked to feeling self-confident knowing that the teacher helped to build that self-confidence. Other informants felt good about having someone in the school that you can go to and talk whether you have problems or not, knowing that they will probably get help and understanding. According to one informant, "I felt good ... that there's somebody in the school that I could talk to ... I just felt good." (F14, 1417-1427, 27/11/96). When asked to relate a hypothetical situation of trust and to express how he would feel in such a situation, one informant stated,

I would probably feel good because you know if you have problems with schoolwork or anything ... you can go to the teacher and tell them ... They'll be able to understand how you're feeling and maybe do something to help. (F17, 749-801, 30/11/96).

Encountering Respect

Experiencing Feelings

This category examines the feelings informants experience when they were either positive or not positive about the teachers' trustworthiness. The term 'secure' best expresses the feelings experienced when students were positive about the teacher's trustworthiness. Once they are confident and feel positive that they have encountered those behaviours in teachers that they consider to be trustworthy informants felt relieved, comfortable, relaxed and confident. On the other hand when informants were not confident and positive about the teachers' trustworthiness, they experienced feelings of insecurity.

Informants who expressed relief about being able to trust the teacher, indicated that they no longer had to worry or be afraid of telling the teacher a problem, asking for help or asking a question they did not understand. One informant stated that she was 'not afraid' to ask the teacher for help.
Another stated that she was 'feeling relieved in a way' because she was confident that the teacher was going to help her get through a difficult time. Another female informant spoke about 'the worry' that had been 'lifted off' after realizing that she could talk to the teacher about something that was bothering her.

Feelings of relaxation were also linked to being able to 'talk about whatever'. One informant captures this feeling. She states, ‘... It's just like ... Good, I can tell this teacher about whatever. ... It's good ... just relaxed.’ (F05, 1525-1538,02/11/96).

Some informants felt more comfortable and not as tense in those classes where the teachers were trustworthy. One informant states,

I felt more comfortable in the class ... I wouldn’t feel as tense as like a teacher who I don’t trust .... (F21, 1055-1065,08/02/97).

Students who experienced insecurity, felt 'put down', 'insignificant', 'powerless', voiceless and 'not equal'. One informant referred to the use of sarcasm by teachers that make students feel 'put down'. Others spoke about the use of negative feedback which 'puts down' rather than helps the student. In another instance, one informant refers to the feeling of inequality that she would experience if she did not trust the teacher. She remarks, "... I wouldn't trust them I'd feel not equal or something." (F12, 1301-1302,17/12/96).

Feelings of frustration, impatience and a desire to get away from the teacher were also experienced by students who mistrusted their teachers. Some informants stated that when they experienced these feelings, they did not want to be in the same classroom with the teacher.

4.2.3.3. Behaviours

The actions of informants can be classified as either approach or avoidance. Those informants who stated that they trust teachers were inclined to approach, whereas those who indicated a mistrust of teachers were inclined to avoid the teacher and sometimes the schoolwork (the task). Some mistrusting informants avoided both the teacher and the task.
Informants were more likely to approach the teacher or the task once they encountered respect. They stated that they wanted to talk, ask for clarification, make jokes and listen to the teachers whom they considered to be trustworthy. With respect to the task, informants stated that they were more motivated and involved and that they were more interested in their work. In some instances, informants did not actually proceed with an action, but it was clear that if the occasion arose for them to place trust in the teacher, they would do so.

Informants’ willingness to disclose and ask for clarification were the key behaviours indicated when they were asked what they did or were likely to do when they knew that they trusted the teacher. One informant states, "... you can just ... tell them about stuff ...." (F14, 1460-1462, 27/11/96). Another informant stated that if she were to trust a teacher, she would be

"More willing to talk ... to say how you're feeling ... you'd be more open and you'd be willing to tell them what's going on without having to ask you over and over again what's going on ...." (F17, 846-860, 30/11/96).

Once the informant is confident about the teacher's trustworthiness, he/she can then share personal problems with the teacher or even ask for advice. One informant states,

I told her things that were bothering me ... I asked her like the different clubs you can join for those kinds of things. She gave me like some information and stuff .... (M19, 202B, 22/12/96).

A key area of the trusting relationship centres around the academic concerns of students. Informants stated that when they knew they could trust a teacher, it was easier for them to approach the teacher and ask for clarification. When asked what she would do if she were to trust the teacher, one informant stated, "... I could probably tell her some other stuff, like I can tell her if I don't understand something ...." (F08, 2114, 20/02/97). Another informant stated,

It's good to know that you could call the teacher and say, "Well Sir, you're explaining that up there and I didn't understand ... it's good to know that I could tell him that. (F13, 1316-1324, 26/11/96).

Not only does trusting the teacher mean that the teacher will respond when the informant asks a question, but it also means that if the teacher cannot give the answer for any reason, that he/she would suggest an alternative means of getting clarification. One informant states, "I could go and ask
her this question, she gives you the answer or she'll tell you that you can go in the library." (F23, 997-1001, 25/02/97).

Asking questions without having to worry about the teacher's reaction or expecting competition from the teacher were behaviours which, according to students, demonstrated that they could trust the teacher. According to one informant,

... I could go to ask him a question without actually worrying about his reaction ... You'll be able to trust the teacher ... You'll be able to hold your ground with the teacher without exactly expecting a competition. (M01, 882-903, 29/10/96).

The use of humour with teachers was another behaviour which students used to demonstrate their trust in the teacher. Both males and females indicated that they were able to use humour with teachers they trusted.

Another behaviour frequently mentioned by informants with respect to trusting the teacher, was that of being open and being able to talk freely to the teacher. One informant stated, "I talked to her more often. I was friendlier with her ...." (F04, 733-734, 09/11/96). Not only are informants more likely to talk to the teacher but they are also willing to maintain confidence in the teacher's trustworthiness regardless of what friends say about the teacher. One informant states, "you are more likely to talk ... to them ... and even if your friend say ... this teacher is bad, you'll say, No!" (F15, 20/12/96).

As mentioned earlier, the ability to 'just talk' to the teacher was a key characteristic of informants' behaviours in a trusting relationship with a teacher. It was not necessary to have a problem in order to talk to a trusted teacher. One female informant states, "... and you could be able to ... talk to them even if it's not really dealing with a problem, but just in class ...." (F17, 604-608, 30/11/96). Being able to communicate with the teacher meant that the student could initiate 'petty talks' in order to establish a connection with the teacher. One male informant stated, "You actually ... start talking to the teacher, it's like Hi ... Miss or Hi Sir ... What are we doing today?" (M01 19/10/96). Another behaviour commonly expressed by informants with respect to trusting the teacher was that of being able to greet the teacher. These greetings however were more meaningful to a
the trusting relationship when they occurred outside the classroom. The hallways and even the malls were seen as sites where trusting relationships could be established.

An attitude of openness and relaxation was characteristic of informants who were confident about the teachers' trustworthiness. When asked what he would do if he were to trust the teacher, one informant stated, "Anything, you could just go and talk to him ...." (M03, 1365-1368,30/10/96). A relaxed atmosphere, especially in the way informants express their body language was also evident in the trusting relationship. One informant states, "... you sit down and you get a chair you put your feet in the chair ...." (M03, 1387-1395,30/10/96). Another male informant states, "When I trust a teacher ... I just like sit back ... and talk to her ... sit up whatever." (M19, 1366-1375,22/12/96).

The desire to please the teacher was another behaviour demonstrated by students when they trusted the teacher. One informant stated that she wanted to 'do all of it ... for her ...." (F05, 1566, 1st interview). Another states, "... you don't want to disappoint them in a way ... you just continue to do your work." (F13, 1701-1709, 1st interview).

Informants who trusted the teacher stated that they either listened or paid more attention to that teacher. One female informant stated, "I listened to her when she's teaching." (F02,19/10/96). Another male informant, when asked what he would do, if he knew he could trust the teacher stated, "I think I would have been more respectable to her, by showing her more attention when she teaches ...." (M18, 642,09/03/97).

Listening however, was not always used as a way of engaging the teacher's trust. Together with obeying the teacher, it was also used as a way of coping with a mistrusted teacher. One female informant stated that although she was unsure of the teacher's trustworthiness and only trusted her a little, she would, "... listen to everything she tells me. Do everything she tells me to." (F23, 355-357,25/02/97). This informant is indicating the use of a particular coping strategy whereby she remains partially connected rather than totally disengaged from the teacher.

For students, especially those not born in Canada, it was important that clearly defined boundaries exist in the trusting relationship. One male informant states, "... You could be open, but
not too open." (MO1, 1294-1295, 19/10/96).

Generally, informants' attitude towards a trusted teacher were positive and upbeat. They were more likely to approach the teacher for help and clarification on matters related to either the academic or the personal. The opportunity to 'just talk' to the teacher, to be open and free and not have to think of potentially negative repercussions from the teacher was a key motivating factor in the trusting relationship between the student and the teacher. However, being able to approach the teacher was not the only consequence of encountering trustworthiness in the teacher. The student's approach to their work was also positive as a result of being confident and feeling secure about the teacher's trustworthiness. Informants stated that they were more motivated, involved and interested in their work. In some cases, they also stated that their work improved and that they were successful in those classes in which they considered the teacher to be trustworthy.

Students who spoke about the teacher's trustworthiness in terms of their ability to make the class fun, also referred to the effect this had on their mood and desire to participate. One informant states,

... you just get the mood into it ... you forget about what was in your mind. You get into Science ... starting off by doing some good activity ... it keeps us there ... We need interesting stuff ... besides the classwork. (F13, 1406-1441, 26/11/96).

Not only does the student's mood improve, but so too does their level of productivity. One informant stated,

[I] worked harder. Well, I would work anyway because I want to pass the class, but, it's motivation kind of ... you just ... you're able to concentrate on your work ... That was my best class for the semester. (F21, 1136-1155, 08/02/97).

Other informants stated that they feel alert and positive towards schoolwork when they know they can trust the teacher. In some instances these feelings were demonstrated in a desire to be involved in the class. Some students stated that their academic performance actually improved and that they were more willing to take academic risks. One informant states, "...you won't sleep...you at least try to work in the class ... Have some kind of positive attitude." (MO1, 965-968, 19/10/96).
This informant also states, "... you don't sleep in class ... makes you want to ... stay up and actually watch what's going on ... make you participate." (M01, 1114-1118, 19/10/96). Another male informant stated that he, "[wanted] to do better in that class and I did." (M09, 1322-1323, 30/11/96). Another states, "It was easier to do my work. It was easier to put up my hand and answer questions ... It was like I was being a better student." (M03, 852-860, 30/10/96).

The informants' positive approach to their schoolwork in this case, was related to their positive relationship with the teacher. However, as stated previously, informants can ignore the mistrusted teacher and continue to be involved in their schoolwork. Some informants have indicated that they 'forget' about the teacher and continue to focus on their schoolwork.

The preceding argument has shown that in a trusting teacher-student relationship, students tend to have a more positive approach to the teacher and to the task. Informants are more willing to disclose, are more open, talk freely, use humour and ask for clarification with teachers they trust. With regards to their schoolwork, informants within classrooms where the teacher is perceived as trustworthy, are more motivated and involved. They participate more, and are more likely to improve and be successful. Needless to say when informants encounter disrespect, their behaviours can be self-defeating.

**Encountering Disrespect**

The following findings indicate what students do in situations where the teacher is perceived as mistrusting. The major themes emerging from students' discourse about mistrusted teachers are generally negative and focus on issues of avoidance, disengagement, disrespect, withdrawal and mistrust.

A strategy commonly used by informants to cope with mistrusted teachers is that of blocking or ignoring the teacher. One informant states, "I blocked my mind from her. When she started to ramble, I would just ignore her." (F02, 674-679, 22/03/97). Another informant states,

> When you don't trust ... you just forget about the teacher, you just sit there and just talk because you know you don't care. Or maybe ... you just forget about his trust. Who needs his trust or who needs her trust ... because you have others to trust ... you just forget about it sometimes ... just to get through the class. (F13, 1662-1684, 26/11/96).
The most frequently stated behaviour mentioned by informants with regard to mistrust of teachers was that of disengaging from the teacher, from the schoolwork or even from both. With respect to disengagement, female informants were more likely to disengage from the teacher but not from the schoolwork. They would remain in the classroom and continue with their work. One informant states, "I just sit there ... or sometimes ... I have really bad things to talk back ...." (F12, 1459-1472, 17/12/96). This same informant states, "When I don't trust, ... I wouldn't want to be around them ...." (F12, 1435-1443, 17/12/96). Another informant states, "if you're with a teacher, you didn't trust, you'd be a lot more quiet ... You'd just be quiet and to yourself." (F17, 848-854, 30/11/96).

Male informants on the other hand were more likely to leave or want to leave the classroom. One male informant states,

... make me want to ... get up from the class and leave the classroom and
I don't care if he sends me down to detention and get me suspended ... I
just want to get out of that class. (M01, 1178-1183, 19/10/96).

Another male informant, refers to his body language when he mistrusts the teacher. He states, "... slouchy, ... head on the table and stuff ...." (M03, 1404-1405, 30/10/96). Another states, "I felt like I would leave that class or something like that." (M20, 1228-1229, 20/12/96).

Students' actions were demonstrated in two ways, either physically removing from the presence of the teacher or being withdrawn by either not participating , that is, "to yourself" or demonstrating their mistrust of the teacher through their body language "slouchy".

Informants who mistrusted the teachers also stated that they did not want to disclose anything or to make jokes for fear of negative repercussions. One informant states, "... I wouldn't want to be around them, I wouldn't want to say anything that could get me in trouble ...." (F12, 1435-1443, 17/12/96). Another states, "... teachers that you feel that you can't trust ... you can't really make jokes with them because you don't really feel like being funny with them at all." (F14, 1463-1467, 27/11/96).

Disrespecting the teacher was another common behaviour mentioned by students when they did not trust the teacher. One informant states,
... I have really bad things to talk back to them but not at the expense of getting me sent down to the office or suspended. It's just if they act that way, if they're really rude to me ... if a teacher doesn't give me respect, I wouldn't give them back, because I don't think that it's fair that it's one way respect. (F21, 1459-1472,17/12/96).

This same informant states that with a mistrusted teacher, she "[does] nothing ... or I'll be rude ... not really listening to them or giving them a smart answer." (F12, 1500-1515,17/12/96). One male informant stated that when he mistrusted a teacher, his reaction would be two things, "... just leave them alone ... then to get out of the class first of all ... or ... to actually get mad at the teacher and swear back at them." (M01, 1216-1222, 19/10/96).

The preceding discussion regarding mistrust (encountering disrespect) has shown that actions of students in mistrusting situations are part of the dynamic interaction which involves teachers pushing away students and students pulling away from these teachers. Like the section on trust (encountering respect) it shows that students are not passively responding to teachers' actions but on the contrary, they are involved in selecting, assessing and responding to these actions.

**Focus Groups**

The results of these discussions confirm findings from individual interviews. As they discussed the themes that emerged, informants took into account their beliefs, values, expectations and memories surrounding the trustworthy behaviours of teachers.

Often, students referred to their own and others' experiences regarding the trustworthiness of the teacher. They also expressed their beliefs on many aspects of the teacher's role and the teacher-student relationship. Some of these beliefs were already expressed with regard to the relationship however, students also had negative beliefs relating to the actions of teachers. Some felt that teachers did not really like their job and were only there for the money. They referred to the actions of those teachers who were in the habit of "looking at the clock." Others felt that teachers did not trust students, that is, they treated them like children. Students also expressed their expectations of teachers. Mainly, they expected them to teach. However, they also expected teachers to give students time to think and not to rush them.

The internal-external approach to arriving at meaning was evident in the discourses of
informants. The influence of these internal factors was coloured by other factors such as gender.

There were gender differences with regard to agreement on some issues. This was more evident in the two groups which consisted of an equal number of males and females. In one of the all female groups, reference was also made to some differences in the responses between males and females.

Major gender differences centred around the perception that males did not share as much as females and did not acknowledge certain issues which were discussed by females, because of what they perceived to be the need to protect the male ego. For example, one female informant stated, "I guess the males wouldn't acknowledge these things." (F13). She is referring to the fact that the males indicated that others did not have an influence on their decisions to trust teachers. In another group, another female indicated, "You guys are more open when there's no females around, right! But females don't care. They can open up anywhere. You guys even if, there's something wrong, you don't want to admit that something's wrong. You guys are kind of male...you don't talk enough." (F21). This apparent reticence on the part of males was noted by another female in another group. She states, "I think the girls had more to say than the guys. I think they opened up to you more than the guys did." (F04).

Generally, findings from focus group discussions indicated that students were in agreement with what was discussed in the individual interviews. No new information was added with respect to the major themes. Informants agreed that the content of what they shared in the individual interviews was indeed captured in these major themes. However, they pointed out gender differences with respect to the quantity of information shared. Females referred to the apparent reticence on the part of males, a characteristic they attributed to being 'kind of male.' One male informant criticized the females for their verbosity.

Overall, this section has shown that students go through a complex process of selecting, interpreting and responding to information from their internal and external environment. This complexity indicates that whereas they may use the same approach to selecting and interpreting
information, they differ in what they consider necessary for their attention. The process is guided by their own memories, expectations, beliefs and values about what they consider to be trustworthiness in their teachers. This process is also guided by their experiences of being male or female, Caribbean or non-Caribbean born and also by the experiences of being an adolescent in the early years of high school.

The final subsection will examine the Core Category which emerged from among the various subcategories and themes discussed in the three previous subsections (4.2.1; 4.2.2; 4.2.3).
4.2.4. The Core Category

Negotiating Mutual Respect

The core category reflects the transactional nature of the interaction that takes place between the teacher and the student. It shows what black high school students of Caribbean background between the ages of fourteen to sixteen do as they construct what they mean by trust in their interactions with their teachers. It emerged from the various action-interaction strategies evident in the relationship between the informant and the teacher, as demonstrated in the previous sections (4.2.1, 4.2.2, and 4.2.3). Given the nature of this transaction, not only is the interaction between student and teacher taken into account, but so too is the interaction present or past with others. In other words, in constructing the meaning of trust, informants also take into account the experiences of others, friends or family members. They extract relevant information from their own memories, expectations, beliefs and values. To illustrate the nature of these transactions a matrix is used (Fig.4-15).

The matrix shows that conditions at all levels of negotiation have relevance to the actions of informants as they interact with their teachers. Not only is the immediate interaction, Searching-Discovering-Encountering-Engaging important to understanding the negotiations that informants make, but so too are the experiences of others, family or friends as well as informants' memories, expectations, cultural and racial experiences. In addition, the environment of the classroom and of the school, play an important part in these negotiations.

The core category also shows that involved in these negotiations are behaviours that are considered to be mutually advantageous to both parties in a relationship. These behaviours which are considered trustworthy behaviours are characterized chiefly by respect for each other. As Table 4-15 shows, students search for, discover and encounter respect when they select and attend to behaviours of their teachers, weigh these behaviours and know with confidence that these behaviours are trustworthy. At the same time they become aware of the teachers’ trustworthiness, they also experience positive feelings towards the teacher and a feeling of security which makes it easier for students to approach the teacher and the task. As students go through this process, they observe the verbal and non-verbal behaviours of the teachers they trust. They notice that these teachers pay attention to students, have a positive perception of them, empathise and show concern for them.
They also observe that these teachers, among other things, keep information confidential, treat them fairly, provide constructive feedback, encourage them and also share personal information with them.

The following discussion examines the nature of the core category. It focuses on the process involved in informants’ transactions. First of all, it examines the negotiating process by looking at it from the point of view of the internal-external dialogue of the informant and the behaviours they use in this process. Next, the issue of the mutual nature of these negotiations is discussed. This discussion highlights the role of cognitions, affects and behaviours of informants, as they encounter respect and teachers, as they engage such respect. The negotiation process also focuses on the behaviours of teachers and students that demonstrate such respect.
Figure 4-15
NEGOTIATING MUTUAL RESPECT
A TRANSACTIONAL PROCESS

EXTERNAL

School
Classroom
Others
Teachers
Students
NEGOTIATING
.searching
.discovering
.encountering
INTERNAL
Engaging
Immediate and past experiences
Academic and Personal
Roles, expectations, practices
EXTERNAL
Table 4-15
CORE CATEGORY: NEGOTIATING MUTUAL RESPECT

Subcategories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students’ Behaviours</th>
<th>Teachers’ Behaviours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*searching</td>
<td>*engaging respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*discovering</td>
<td>*verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*encountering</td>
<td>*non-verbal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitions</th>
<th>Cognitions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*selecting and attending</td>
<td>*has confidence in students’ ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*taking account of</td>
<td>*has positive perception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*weighing and evaluating</td>
<td>*pays attention to students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*becoming aware and regulating</td>
<td>*has no preconceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*knowing with confidence</td>
<td>*does not assume the worst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affects</th>
<th>Affects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*experiencing positive feelings</td>
<td>*empathizes (shows understanding)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towards the teacher</td>
<td>*is sensitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*experiencing feelings of security</td>
<td>*shows care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*is fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*is friendly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*is humourous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*is approachable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behaviours</th>
<th>Behaviours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*approaching the teacher and the task</td>
<td>*keeps confidentiality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*treats fairly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*provides constructive feedback</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*inquires about personal and academic well-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>being of student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*encourages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*shares the personal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.4.1. Negotiating

The process of negotiating involves consulting or conferring with others in order to reach a compromise or agreement. It involves a dialectical relationship between the internal world of the informant and his or her external world (Fig. 4-16) - one constantly affecting the other. The negotiating process involves not only taking account of their own behaviours, thoughts and feelings but also the behaviours of the teachers as well as the context, past and present, internal and external. (Fig. 4-17)

Informants take account of the following:

External Factors
(a) the behaviours of teachers (whether towards themselves or others).
(b) the classroom environment whether academic or personal
(c) the racial climate of the school
(d) the cultural context of the school (roles, expectations and practices)
(e) the non-classroom environment home, family, friends, community
(f) other students' behaviours towards, and statements about the teacher

Internal Factors
(a) their own actions and reactions (thoughts and feelings) towards the teacher
(b) memories of their own and others' experiences
(c) their values, beliefs, expectations and needs

Demographic Factors
Factors such as age, gender and length of time living in Canada, influence the process of searching for, discovering and encountering trustworthiness in teachers.

As they arrive at a decision regarding the trustworthiness of a teacher, these students take into account their own thoughts, feelings and behaviours about trust between themselves and their teachers. They also consider the verbal and non-verbal behaviours of the teachers whom they believe are trustworthy and they consider the wide array of structural and psychological factors which provide the context for the trusting relationship. Age, gender and length of time living in Canada also play an important part in these negotiations.
NEGOTIATING MUTUAL RESPECT

INTERNAL ↔ EXTERNAL

Students ↔ Teachers
Searching ↓ Engaging
Discovering ↓

* cognitions (perceive)
* affects (feel positive)
* behaviours (regulate)

Encountering
* cognitions (know with confidence)
* affects (feel secure)
* behaviours (approach)

Context
* psychological
* demographic

Verbal    Nonverbal
Figure 4-17
NEGOTIATING MUTUAL RESPECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers Behaviours</th>
<th>Students' Behaviours</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engaging</td>
<td>Searching</td>
<td>Structural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>Discovering</td>
<td>Psychological</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonverbal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Demographic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enountering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.confident</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.secure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.approach</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Students' behaviours

Numerous references were made by informants to their negotiating behaviour. References to checking, testing, observing, listening, sensing, feeling, attending, interpreting and deciding were evident throughout their discourses. For example, as they assess the teachers' behaviours, informants stated "you got to weigh ...." (M10,15/12/96) or that they "put the teacher through a little test" (F05,02/12/96) or even that they "check with other teachers" (M03, 30/10/96).

To establish a connection based on shared or mutual respect whereby they trust the teacher and the teacher trusts them, informants do a variety of things, some of which require them to seek information overtly by asking questions of the teacher or of others or covertly by observing, listening to them and testing them. Informants also seek information inwardly by taking into account their own memories, values, beliefs and expectations. The negotiating process involves perceiving, that is, selecting and paying attention to internal and external behaviours of self and others. It also involves interpreting those behaviours and regulating them, that is, acting in response to those interpretations.
Perceiving
Informants observe and listen to what teachers and others do and say. They also pay attention to their 'gut' feelings when deciding whether to trust a teacher.

Interpreting
Informants compare, assess, interpret, associate and evaluate the information and at the same time draw on their own as well as others' past experiences. As they try to make sense of the information they also rely on their values, beliefs and expectations of trustworthiness in a teacher.

Regulating
Informants regulate their behaviours. They decide how best to respond to their evaluations. For some informants, more information may be necessary and therefore a tentative decision to trust is made. They adopt a 'wait and see' attitude as they continue to test the teacher. For those informants who are confident about their evaluation, a decision is made to act if the situation arises. These informants will approach the teacher without hesitation.

4.2.4.2. Mutualism
This doctrine states that mutual dependence is necessary to social well-being. The process of negotiating trust involves behaving in ways that are mutually beneficial to two parties. It involves a symbiosis whereby what one does to the other within a relationship is mutually advantageous to both persons. When teachers engage in trusting relationships with students, and students encounter trustworthiness in teachers, they trust each other. However, because of the perceived status of the teacher as an authority figure, informants see the teacher's role as the initiator in this negotiating process.

Informants' discourses suggest that trust is a mutual experience. When they refer to trusting teachers, they not only expect teachers to demonstrate behaviours that they consider to be trustworthy, and which they believe will be mutually advantageous to them as well as the teachers, but they also believe that they should do the same.

Table 4-16 illustrates the cognitions, affects and behaviours which teachers use to engage the trust of students and through which students encounter trustworthiness in the teachers.
Cognitions and Affects
Informants believe that teachers’ beliefs about them play an important part in how they feel and respond towards them. Teachers who have confidence in students’ abilities, who pay attention to them, who do not have preconceptions of them and who do not assume the worst of them because of their race, are more likely to be sensitive, show concern and be approachable. These teachers are more likely to engage the respect of students by, among other things, listening to them, complimenting them, providing constructive feedback and treating them equally and fairly. In turn, when they encounter respect, students are more likely to be confident about the teacher and to believe that they can approach the teacher. Students’ confidence in the teacher generates a feeling of security which facilitates trusting behaviours such as, asking for clarity, disclosing feelings, voicing opinions freely and participating in class.

Behaviours
Teachers engage the respect of students not only by what they say but by what they do and these verbal and non-verbal behaviours are linked to their positive beliefs, feelings and attitudes. At the same time, students encounter respect from teachers when they make a positive evaluation, feel secure and consequently can approach both the teacher and the task. For instance, it has been pointed out by some informants that when they do not trust the teacher, they ignore him or her and concentrate only on the task. For those students who trust their teachers, they stated that not only did they have a good relationship with the teacher whereby they could approach him or her at any time but that they also had a good attitude towards the subject that the teacher taught. Thus, when teachers encourage, share, inquire, explain, reassure, joke with and compliment students in a pleasant tone of voice, students also share, inquire, talk freely with their teachers as well as enjoy their work and coming to school.
### Table 4-16

**Trust: The Relationship Between Students' and Teachers' Behaviours**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers' Behaviours</th>
<th>Students' Behaviours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Engaging Respect</strong></td>
<td><strong>Encountering Respect</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitions</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Has confidence in student's ability</td>
<td>- was confident (knew)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Has positive perception</td>
<td>- decided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Pays attention to students</td>
<td>- wanted to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Has no preconceptions</td>
<td>- could or can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Do not assume the worst</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affects</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Friendly</td>
<td>- Calm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Fun</td>
<td>- Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Humour</td>
<td>- Secure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Approachable</td>
<td>- More open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cared, shows care</td>
<td>- More comfortable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Empathizes (shows understanding) (e.g. has multicultural knowledge)</td>
<td>- More relaxed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Sensitive</td>
<td>- Cared for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Valued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Alert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Worry free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Not afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Energetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Excited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Lighthearted</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behaviours</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Compliments</td>
<td>- Asks for clarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Keeps confidentiality</td>
<td>- Wants to please</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Treats fairly and equally</td>
<td>- Jokes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Provides constructive feedback</td>
<td>- Becomes involved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Is positive</td>
<td>- Smiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Helps</td>
<td>- Is motivated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Enquires about the academic and the personal</td>
<td>- Shows interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Encourages</td>
<td>- Shares personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Is familiar</td>
<td>- Discloses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Listens</td>
<td>- Talks freely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Patient</td>
<td>- Enquires about the personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Shares the personal</td>
<td>- Friendly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Respects</td>
<td>- Discloses feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Listens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Talks more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Remains involved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Greets in the hall
- Voices opinions freely
- Has a positive attitude
- Attends class
- Participates
- Relaxes
- Improves
- Succeeds
- Respects
- Is focussed
To understand this mutually dependent relationship, one only has to consider what would occur if the opposite were the case. As Table 4-17 shows, a relationship that is not mutually trusting would reflect cognitions, affects and behaviours that instead of trying to engage the other, are aimed at pushing away or avoiding the other. For example, when teachers have negative preconceptions of students, lack understanding of their experiences and use sarcasm to put students down, students are unsure of the teacher, are tense and uptight and as a result, are either rude and sarcastic towards the teacher or ignore the teacher. The result is a relationship that is not mutually advantageous. Teachers push students away from them and students disengage from the teacher and sometimes from the task.

4.2.4.3. Respect

This theme was chosen as the one that encompasses all other themes that relate to the trustworthiness of the teacher and consequently the trusting relationship between the student and the teacher. To arrive at this category, all themes were examined and their frequencies and intensities were noted on index cards and as well as through use of the Ethnograph, software for qualitative analysis. In addition, themes categorized under mistrust were also examined and their frequencies and intensities noted. Based on these frequencies and intensities, respect/disrespect emerged as the most frequently mentioned themes as they relate to students' meanings of trust and mistrust of teachers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitions</th>
<th>Students' Behaviours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• stereotypes</td>
<td>• was not confident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• does not believe students are capable</td>
<td>• waiting to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• put down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• as though you don't belong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• unequal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• on guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• proper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• helpless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• powerless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• insignificant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• uses harsh language</td>
<td>• tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• abuses power</td>
<td>• worried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• treats unfairly and differentially</td>
<td>• burdened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ignores</td>
<td>• nervous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• shows disinterest</td>
<td>• uptight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• jumps to conclusions</td>
<td>• frustrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• discloses confidential information</td>
<td>• impatient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• pretends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• physical abuse (grabs shirt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaviours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• puts down</td>
<td>• afraid to talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• uses sarcasm</td>
<td>• ignores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• watches student funny (cut eye)</td>
<td>• skips off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• rolls eye</td>
<td>• disengages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• yells</td>
<td>• withdraws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• turns back to student</td>
<td>• confronts angrily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no smiling</td>
<td>• dismisses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• smirks</td>
<td>• tests teachers' credibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• flares up (cocky)</td>
<td>• blocks mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• keeps distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• talks back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• disrespects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• is sarcastic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• uses coping strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• not involved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4-17
Mistrust

Teachers' Behaviours
Engaging Disrespect

Students' Behaviours
Encountering Disrespect
This category was verified by informants during the focus group sessions when they were given the list of themes that emerged and which they were asked to prioritize. Further verification of this theme was also found by independent investigators. When students speak of trust within the relationship, they associate it with the respect shown by the teacher towards them in domains of the verbal and the non-verbal as well as in the academic and personal contexts. A student's trust in the teacher is influenced by whether what teachers say and do, demonstrate respect for students. In addition, the context in which these behaviours occur, is taken into consideration.

Verbal and Non-verbal Trustworthy Behaviours of Teachers

Verbal Behaviours

Teachers show respect when they keep information about students confidential. Teachers also share and inquire about academic and personal concerns of students. They encourage students to improve by expressing confidence in them, reassuring them and complimenting them. Teachers also provide constructive feedback to students. They first of all, state the positive either verbally or non-verbally and if applicable, they offer suggestions for improvement. When teachers provide constructive feedback, they do so privately and honestly. Teachers also show patience by explaining again and again something that student does not understand. When speaking to students, teachers speak softly and enthusiastically. Finally, teachers use humour to make the class interesting and lively.

Non-Verbal Behaviours

Teachers who are trusted show that they respect students by paying attention to them, that is, by really listening to them and not prejudging them or by not jumping to conclusions. These teachers notice students and acknowledge them. They treat students equally and fairly and do not abuse their power and authority. They are helpful towards students in both their academic and non-academic life and they get to know their students. They approach them and are friendly towards them; they sometimes show this by engaging in 'petty talks' with students.

Students' Trusting Behaviours

Similarly, students who trust teachers demonstrate respect for them in a number of ways.
They know when to draw the line (M01), for example, the student can joke around with the teacher 'like an older brother' but would know not to cross the line (M01). One informant states, "If I'm joking around, nobody knows where to draw the line but I know where to draw the line ... if it was a woman [teacher] well I'll be joking around but ... I will not be offending her." (M01, 743-750, 19/10/96). Students show respect for teachers by paying attention to them, that is listening to them (M18).

Trust that is mutual involves "being respectful both ways ... Like ... you respect them and they respect you ...." (F05, 1085-1094, 02/11/96). It also involves not abusing one's power and authority to treat others unfairly. According to one informant, "... just being fair because the teachers like now, they use their power to like tell you things to do when you should just .... Use your authority when you need to not when it's just there." (F05, 1085-1095, 02/11/96).

4.2.4.4. The Context

Structural Factors
Apart from the relationship between themselves and their teachers, informants also took account of other factors. One of these factors was the racial and cultural climate of the school. Informants look for practices used in the school that include or exclude their experiences as black students. For example, the lack of acknowledgement and validation of their cultural and racial experiences was seen as a factor inhibiting the development of trust. Teachers who consider the racial and cultural experiences of students were more likely to be seen as engaging their trust.

Psychological Factors
Informants also take into account their needs, values, beliefs and expectations. Some of these needs, values, beliefs and expectations are related directly to the teacher's role. For example some informants believed that the teacher was an authority figure and expected the teacher to use that authority. However there was also an expectation that this authority would not be indiscriminately used.

The memories of others' experiences such as friends, family members, parents and other students played an important part in students' negotiations. For example, informants stated that
they had observed the way in which the teacher acted towards other students and would take account of this experience in their decision to trust the teacher.

Demographic Factors

The process of negotiation also involves students taking into account their unique experiences as they relate to age, gender, race and length of time in Canada. As they decide whether or not a teacher is trustworthy, these factors provide a context for this decision.

Age

Informants' discourses suggest that trusting a teacher is considered within the context of one's age, since at different ages, students have different expectations of teachers (M02, F14). For example, fourteen-year-old informants stressed the importance of personal contact whereas older students placed emphasis on receiving constructive feedback.

Gender

The discourses of informants suggest that gender plays an important role in the trusting relationship. Information gleaned from individual interviews and focus group discussions show that there were differences between males and females with respect to some of the teachers' behaviours that were considered important for trusting. Whereas males considered respect and honesty to be more important in their relationships with their teachers, females, although they considered these characteristics important, wanted disclosure and friendship as well.

Race

Race played a major role in informants' meanings. They believe that there is a negative connection between black students and teachers based on the fact that among other things, teachers have a negative perception of the academic ability of black students, that teachers are not familiar with the cultural experiences of these students and therefore do not have much in common with them. Based on the perception that informants consider characteristics such as familiarity and having a positive perception of students' ability to be necessary, though not sufficient, for establishing a trusting relationship, it is inevitable that the behaviour of teachers and the perceptions of students as they relate to racial understanding would be taken into consideration in informants' meanings.
Length of Time in Canada

The length of time living in Canada also had an important influence on students' constructions. In some cases, informants who had recently arrived indicated that they were not familiar with the experiences of black students and stated that they could not give an accurate account of other students' experiences. For the most part, however, the strategies that they used were similar to those of other informants. However, they were more likely to make tentative decisions with regard to trusting the teacher. The behaviours of teachers that they indicated as trustworthy behaviours were similar to those of students who were in Canada for more than two and a half years or were born here.

Finally, it was shown that with regard to overall trust in others and degree of trust in specific others, ratings of students who had recently arrived, indicated a similar pattern to those living in Canada for more than two and a half years or those informants who were born here. The recently arrived students stated that they trusted parents, family members and friends more than they trusted police, teachers counsellors and administrators. These students also indicated that they trusted the former group of persons highly. As was stated earlier, these findings must be considered as part of the history that these informants bring to their meanings.

In summary, the core category reflects negotiations taking place at various levels. Negotiations occur at the level of interaction between student and teacher. Negotiations also take place internally when the actions and experiences of others are observed, heard or remembered and are taken into account. Negotiations take place when informants select from their needs, values, beliefs, expectations and past experiences to construct or make sense of the present experience. Trust, as it exists in the relationship between black high school students of Caribbean background and their teachers, reflects students' confidence in a mutually shared experience that is characterized chiefly by behaviours that demonstrate respect for the other person. Moreover, students' meanings of trust must be understood within a particular context, structural, psychological and demographic.
Chapter 5

5.0. Discussion

This study set out to investigate how black high school students of Caribbean background between the ages of 14-16 years, arrive at what they mean by trust in their relationships with their teachers. The data show that these students, in arriving at the meaning of trust go through a process of searching for, discovering and encountering information from their internal and external world. This process involves not only taking into account the behaviours of their teachers, but also their own and others' behaviours as well as their own thoughts and feelings.

Following is the set of questions which guided the investigation:

1. Are there behaviours of teachers that influence students' perceptions of trust in their teachers?
2. If so, what are these behaviours?
3. Are there behaviours of students that influence their trusting of their teachers?
4. If so, what are they?
5. Are there differences in the way students behave with teachers they trust and teachers they do not trust?
6. If so, what are these differences?
7. How do students feel when they begin to realize that they can trust their teacher?
8. How do students feel when they begin to realize that they cannot trust their teacher?
9. What are some of their past experiences, their own and others, that have influenced what they look for in their teachers' behaviours?
10. What role do factors such as gender, age, and length of time in Canada, play in students' perceptions and meanings of trusting teacher-student relationships?

The discussion begins with the major findings regarding informants' overall trust and degree of trust in specific others. These findings show that there are major and significant differences in informants' trust in non-institutional persons. Informants not only trust the persons belonging to the
former group more than they trust persons of the latter group, but they also gave higher ratings of trust to those persons, especially parents. It was also found that there were some important though non-significant differences within different groups according to gender, age and length of time living in Canada. These differences, however, must be interpreted cautiously due to the small size of the sample used in this study. Nevertheless, some possible patterns in the results emerged suggesting the need for future research to determine their significance.

The discussion also shows how findings from these measures together with structural, psychological and demographic factors provide part of the context for making sense of the strategies used by students to determine teachers' trustworthiness.

This discussion focuses on the transactional nature of teacher-student relationships that are considered trusting. As discussed earlier in Section 4.2.4, the nature of this transaction which involves negotiating mutual trust reflects an ongoing action-interaction between the teacher and the student. This action-interaction is influenced by aspects of both the internal and external world of the student. Although each aspect of this transaction is discussed separately, it must be understood that each aspect on its own plays a key role yet interrelates with all other aspects of the transaction, so that instead of being a separate entity, all aspects fuse together to form a holistic picture. (Fig.4-15). Significant findings related to students' negotiations that is, the strategies used by them to search for, discover and encounter information relevant to the trustworthiness of the teacher will be taken into consideration. The discussion examines:

(1) The emerging themes related to the trustworthy actions of teachers and how these themes give meaning to the relationship of trust between these students and their teachers.

(2) Students' strategies as they relate to the process of constructing meaning.

(3) The core category which subsumes all the preceding aspects of these negotiations.

(4) The link between the internal and external world of the informants. This link reflects a dialectical approach to constructing meaning.

(5) The suitability of the methodological tools used in this study.
5.1. The Context: Self-reports on Overall and Degree of Trust and Structural, Psychological and Demographic Factors

This study investigated the experience of young black high school students of Caribbean background and found patterns that were similar to those identified by other researchers. Triandis 1976; Watkins, Terrell and Miller, 1989; Thompson, Neville, Weathers, Poston and Atkinson 1990; Terrell and Barrett, 1979 have shown that blacks are mistrusting of persons representing establishment roles, such as the police, college counsellors and college professors. In this study, students' overall trust and degree of trust in others reflect a pattern whereby, although more of them consider themselves moderately trusting (Table 4-7), nevertheless they regard with suspicion those persons representing institutions, such as the police, and school personnel. (Table 4-7). It is interesting that while students in this study come from a geographical and cultural background that is different from the backgrounds of students in the earlier studies, similarities based on race are demonstrated.

With regard to gender, the evidence from the present study contradicts earlier findings (Triandis 1976; Terrell and Barrett 1979) which have shown that males were more trusting than females. Triandis 1976, refers to the experiences of black males whom he found to be more trusting of women than black females. Terrell and Barrett 1979, found that black males tended to be more trusting than black females. In the other hand, the results of this study show that black male high school students were less trusting than black female high school students (Table 4-2). Males trusted fewer persons than females. More males than females rated themselves as low trusting. More males than females also rated other persons, except parents and family members, as persons they would have difficulty trusting (low trusting).

Apart from the distinction made between non-institutional and institutional persons, no other significant effects were seen among age groups. Again, there were some differences but due to the small sample size, these results remain suggestive. For example, the observation that fifteen-year-olds trusted their friends highly, more than any other age group, (Table 4-9) is an important difference which can be investigated in future research.

With regard to the length of time living in Canada, students' ratings of their own degree of trustworthiness differed. Although there was a pattern across all age groups towards rating themselves in the low and moderate categories, there were more low trusting responses from among informants not born in Canada and more moderate responses from among those who were born in
Canada. What accounts for this difference between these two groups is a question that future research needs to examine. It is not clear whether those informants not born in Canada were taking into consideration a particular context, or environment, when they gave their responses. If they were referring to their new environment, then, one can speculate that lack of familiarity with this new environment may be a contributing factor.

Feedback from the interviews with the informants in this study highlights familiarity (in this case, lack of it) as a key factor in trustworthiness. Informants regarded familiarity as one of the major themes that they considered important for trustworthiness. Regardless of the length of time living in Canada, all informants indicated that it was important for the teacher to be more of a friend than a teacher and that it was important for the teacher to get to know them, their family and their culture. Thus, the idea of getting to know each other was considered a key ingredient in a trusting relationship. One can speculate that those students who were not born in Canada perceive themselves as having experiences that are not familiar to persons working in mainstream institutions and which are only familiar to their friends, family and parents. The evidence in Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 show that all informants spoke about the importance of removing teacher-student boundaries so that the teacher becomes more of a friend, someone they can talk to and who in turn talks to them as more than a student. Students who experienced this kind of interaction with the teacher, stated that they trusted the teacher more.

The idea of familiarity was also considered by students in the context of the teacher’s interaction with members of their family. Some students stated that they would be more comfortable with the teacher and would trust him or her if he or she knew their parents. They believed that the outcome of such contact would be mutual understanding between themselves and their teachers. The results regarding the degree of trust in specific persons (Fig.4-7) show that all informants trusted their parents, family members and friends more highly than they trusted their teachers or other institutional persons. The fact that family members and friends were trusted more, can be attributed to the idea of familiarity which informants discussed as being an important factor in trustworthiness. Given the fact that they wanted their teachers to be more of a friend or, in some cases, a parent or a family member, suggests that they are associating trustworthy teachers with persons that they are familiar with and whom they normally regard as highly trustworthy. In addition, these are persons to whom they are more likely to disclose, that is, open up to and share personal information.

The evidence also shows that all informants regardless of age, gender and length of time living
in Canada felt that disclosure or being able to open up and share personal information with each other was a way by which they get to know one another. This type of disclosure is regarded by students as important for creating familiarity and consequently building trustworthiness. The question regarding the extent to which disclosure creates familiarity and builds trustworthiness was not answered in this study and is, therefore, a question that needs to be investigated in future research.

As indicated in Fig.4-7, the ratings for the researcher as an institutional figure differed from ratings for other institutional figures. The researcher was considered highly trustworthy by a larger number of informants whereas teachers, administrators and police were rated highly by fewer informants. Whether the race, cultural background and gender of the researcher may have contributed towards the perceived trustworthiness of the researcher is not answered in this study. One can speculate, however, that these characteristics (race, cultural background and in some instances, gender) that were similar to those of informants, may have been perceived as indicators of familiarity and consequently trustworthiness. One can speculate further that the high rating of the researcher's trustworthiness may also be attributed to the amount of time spent by the researcher in establishing familiarity with the informants. It was not the intention of this study to explore the possibility of such a relationship. It is, therefore, left to future research to undertake such an investigation.

Another area of investigation that needs to be discussed at this time centres around the issue of familiarity as it relates to students' perceptions of whether or not non-black students trust teachers (Section 4.2.1.4). Informants perceived their non-black counterparts as more trusting of their teachers. They believe that these students were more familiar with the teacher, could communicate with the teacher, had things in common with the teacher and were more open to the teacher.

The accuracy of students' perceptions was not a question for this study. The important point in discussing this issue has to do with the fact that informants pay attention to behaviours of teachers as they interact with other students who are not of the same racial background and they perceive differences in this interaction which highlight for them the distinction between themselves and non-black students. This distinction may have implications for trusting relationships with their teachers.

Also, the fact that informants perceive others as more trusting of teachers because of factors which they believe facilitate that trust, is an issue that must be taken into account if we are to understand the reasons why informants do not trust their teachers. An understanding of this nature can facilitate discussion in order to promote methods for improving trusting relationships between black students and their teachers and between them and other establishment figures. It has been
pointed out that blacks do not trust establishment roles. Triandis et al (1976) found that whites are more trusting of establishment roles than blacks.

One of the major issues that informants refer to in terms of why non-black students trust their teachers is the issue of familiarity. This issue has already been discussed as a reason for speculating about the distinction students make between trusting non-institutional and not trusting institutional persons. Familiarity needs to be considered in building trusting relationships between teachers and black students. The important role that familiarity plays in building trusting relationships has been discussed by Niklas Luhmann (1988). He states, "Familiarity is an unavoidable fact of life; trust is a solution for specific problems of risk. But trust has to be achieved within a familiar world, and changes may occur in the familiar features of the world which will have an impact on the possibility of developing trust in human relations. Hence, we cannot neglect the conditions of familiarity and its limits when we set out to explore the conditions of trust." (p.95)

The preceding discussion provides a context for understanding the dynamics of informants' constructions. Moreover, the complexity of these early results on which this discussion is based, leads to a greater understanding and identification of phenomena like familiarity. In spite of its importance to the relationship, the role that familiarity plays in building trustworthiness does not provide us with a complete picture of the trusting teacher-student relationship. What emerges in later discussion is a more complete picture of that relationship. This holistic picture combines some of the key components of these early results, one of which is familiarity, with components of what are considered important trustworthy characteristics of teachers and the individual strategies employed by informants as they encounter trustworthiness in their relationship with their teachers.

Finally, it must be pointed out that individual negotiations do not operate independently of the social environment. Structural, psychological and demographic factors are taken into account by informants in their constructions. They refer to issues of race, cultural aspects of the school environment and role expectations of teachers throughout their discourses. They also take into consideration their own and others' experiences that have influenced their personal history to some extent and have helped to shape their identity. These identities and personal histories become a significant part of the conditions that influence and are influenced by the action-interaction in the trusting student-teacher relationship. They are reflected in the beliefs, values, expectations and memories that students articulate. Later discussion will continue to focus on demographic factors as they pertain to the process of perceiving trustworthiness in teachers.
5.2. Teachers' Trustworthiness - Engaging Respect /Trust of Students

Students' constructions, that is the way they arrive at the meaning of teachers' trustworthy behaviours are categorized according to what they say (verbal) and what they do (non-verbal). Included in these categories are the paralinguistic and body language behaviours of teachers. This section will show how these behaviours are related to the subcategory - Engaging Respect- and are included in the negotiations that informants make in constructing trust in their relationship with their teachers. As stated earlier by Erickson (1953), what people consider necessary and workable in a trusting relationship depends on their different cultural backgrounds and experiences. The behaviours of teachers regarded by students as trustworthy, to a large extent represent what they have come to expect of the role of the teacher and the values, beliefs and memories they attach to that role. Many of the behaviours considered trustworthy by the informants in this study have been identified by other researchers (Brookfield 1990, Holt 1982, Raths 1972). However, when placed within the context of black high school students of Caribbean background, the present discussion highlights respect, which is characterized by confidentiality, fairness and constructive feedback, as the crucial teacher characteristic in the trusting relationship between these students and their teachers. Without respect, there cannot be trust. These teacher characteristics, considered trustworthy, provide points of reference or normative standards for constructing the meaning of trust in these informants' relationships with their teachers. In their negotiations, they refer to these self-constructed boundaries to determine whether or not a teacher is trusting.

Differences in gender however occur with respect to the emphasis placed on these categories. Whereas both males and females considered confidentiality, constructive feedback and becoming familiar as important for trusting their teachers, they placed different emphasis on the type of context in which such behaviour occurs. For females, it seemed more important for them to share personal information related to concerns with family or friends, with the teacher. Males on the other hand, especially fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds, referred to the importance of familiarity from the standpoint of sharing jokes or engaging in humour with the teacher and also from the standpoint of having other things in common with the teacher such as sports, culture and early school experiences.

With respect to the age of informants, younger students placed more emphasis on the personal aspects of trust. Although they thought that the academic domain was important in considering a relationship of trust with a teacher, more fourteen-year-old informants referred to the importance of
the personal in this relationship. For this group of informants, sharing the personal and inquiring about the personal were important characteristics of a trustworthy teacher.

Realistic appraisal

It is important to note that in their constructions of what they considered trustworthy in a teacher, informants were quite realistic in their appraisals. Sometimes, they perceive the behaviours of teachers in a generalized sense (F08). Yet at other times, they deal with each situation as a unique one (F23, M22). Sometimes, students perceive differences in the needs of students, or even in individual teachers, and take these into consideration in their evaluation of the teacher. They make references to the unrealistic expectations of others regarding the teachers' behaviour (F08).

The trustworthy characteristics of teachers are not to be seen as causal events in the relationship but rather they influence and are influenced by other factors. In other words, depending on factors such as the situation, the student, the time, age, and gender, these characteristics can be considered either important or unimportant.

5.3. Students' Behaviours: Searching For, Discovering and Encountering Teacher Trustworthiness

Students' behaviours are categorized under perceptual, interpretive and regulatory categories. Although these categories may seem to suggest that the process is only an internal one, by no means is this so. Using the Christensen and Pass (1983) theory of Social Interactionism, as well as Bandura's (1978) Social Learning Theory, this section will look at the process of negotiation as it takes place from the point of view of the behaviours of the student. The search for meaning involves an external-internal process involving cognitions, affects and behaviours. It shows a relationship between the internal world of the student and his or her external world. Again, it does not show a causal relationship between these two worlds. Instead, what is suggested is a constant interaction without a clear beginning or end. Each aspect of this dynamic interaction is dealt with separately, below.

Cognitions

In the process of searching, discovering and encountering, students collect information selectively and deliberately. The action on the part of students shows that instead of something that is just happening to the student, he or she is taking an active part in making meaning. Bandura 1978, refers to this reciprocal relationship between the individual and his or her external world. Once
information is selected, it is then synthesized with information which is already in memory. Students' expectations, beliefs and values are also considered at this stage of the process of synthesizing. Ongoing assessment continues until an evaluation is made. Based on this evaluation a decision is made and this decision may be either tentative or firm.

Affects

The feelings of students are considered at three levels. At the level of attention and selection, at the level of interpretation and at the level of evaluation. At the level of attention and selection students listen to their instincts, at the level of interpretation, the feeling is positive if the teacher demonstrates those behaviours that students consider trustworthy. If the feeling is interpreted as negative, it means that the teacher's behaviour does not match those characteristics that the student has defined as trustworthy. As a result, the student continues to search for information. Sometimes, however, the feeling is positive, but the student has decided to wait and see. In other words, he/she is looking for more information in order to make the final decision to trust. The nature of any new information, depends on the particular student. Once this final decision is reached, the student experiences security and comfort and can then act in ways that demonstrate this security.

Behaviours

It is at the point of encountering respect from their teachers that students experience such security which allows them to engage in behaviours that resemble the trustworthy behaviours of their teachers. The consequence of this symbiosis is mutual trust and respect.

When they encounter respect from their teachers, informants make confident decisions about trusting them. They begin to disclose personal information, ask questions, make jokes with the teacher and generally approach the teacher for help or just to talk (Table 4-15).

The importance of encountering respect in the trusting student-teacher relationship is a value that is shared by all informants. However, what this value means to informants differs among them. For some informants, respect means being open, honest and straightforward, for others it means that the teachers should have confidence in the students' ability, yet others believe that when the teachers treat everyone equally, they are showing respect (Table 4-11).

Not only do meanings vary, but so too does the experience of encountering respect. For some informants they know that they have encountered it, when they feel less fear and worry about the actions of the teacher. They no longer have to be on guard. For others, it is not as much about reducing uncomfortable emotions as it is about making a connection between the actions of the
teacher and of those persons who are trusted. Thus, when the teacher begins to be more like a parent, family members, or a friend, students know that they have encountered respect and can, therefore, trust the teacher. They can begin to act in ways that they would usually act with these trusted persons.

The preceding discussion not only illustrates the importance to these informants, of encountering respect in the trusting student-teacher relationship, but it also shows how important a feeling of confidence is to students in deciding to trust their teachers. So, that when informants indicate that they 'know' they can trust the teacher they are indicating what Govier (1997) refers to as "a firm expectation that things would go well" (p.120) that is, they will be treated equally or they can be open to the teacher without the fear of a breach of confidentiality; behaviours which they believe, demonstrate respect (Table 4-11).

Age and Gender Differences

Within the context of the verbal/non-verbal domain, informants paid equal attention to what teachers do and what they say. They also paid attention to the covert behaviours of teachers such as their body language and tone of voice. There were differences, however, among informants. Males were more likely to pay attention to the tone of voice than females. More males referred to the fact that they trusted teachers who did not yell. This finding is consistent with the findings of Rotenberg (1991) who found that there were age and gender differences in children's identification of cues for lying or telling the truth. In his study of children's cue use and strategies for detecting deception, Rotenberg 1991, notes,

"For the specific questions, no appreciable age differences were demonstrated in boys' identification of visual-facial cues, although the identification of vocal-paralinguistic cues increased with age." (p.54).

In other studies Rosenthal and DePaulo (1979a, 1979b) in Rotenberg (1991) found that whereas females show superiority over males in decoding communication from very controllable channels (e.g. facial cues) that this superiority decreased as the channels of communication became less controllable (e.g. body or tone of voice). These researchers hypothesize that 'females refrain from identifying the less controllable and leaky cues for deception because they are socialized to be polite.' (p.55).

The findings from the present study also reveal that with respect to body language and paralinguistic cues, students referred to such non-verbal behaviours as body movements, for example gestures and nods as well as eye movements and pitch (no yelling). Again these findings are consistent
with the findings of Blanck and Rosenthal (1982) in Rotenberg (1991) that "children frequently identified as cues for deception, body movements, eye movements and pitch ..." (p.55).

The attempt by students to tell whether the teacher is trustworthy for example, by testing them or checking with other teachers, is also confirmed by Rotenberg's (1991) findings which show that young children attempt "to construct situations that would trip up persons into revealing their true feelings ... (p.55).

5.4. The Core Category

This section pulls together all the preceding components of the Negotiation Process by examining what appears to be a very fluid and dynamic set of relationships. In looking at the main focus for analysis that is, students' constructions, it is inevitable that the students' focus for arriving at meaning has to be taken into consideration. This focus is not only external but internal and reflects a constant looking in and out at different points of reference at different points in time. It is these different points of reference occurring at different points in time of informants' experience that make this experience a unique one for each informant.

Whereas this experience is unique, in a sense it captures the meanings of a particular sample that was used to investigate the phenomenon. In no way does it reflect the experience of all black students and in no way should it be generalized to the experiences of all minority students within a teacher-student relationship. Rather, it is an attempt to provide a framework for understanding what occurs when a particular set of students arrive at meanings of a particular construct within a particular relationship. Nevertheless, any attempts at generalization can only be made after undertaking further investigation.

Negotiating Mutual Respect

As informants search for, discover and encounter trust, a number of theories come to mind. The views of social learning theorists such as Bandura and Mischel, the views of emotion theorists such as Greenberg and Safran and the views of critical anti-racist theorists, such as Dei, are considered. However, these views must be considered in the light of those particular theories and do not fully explain the process from the point of view of the informants in the present study.

Bandura's theory of Reciprocal Determinism (1978) states that "people create and activate environments as well as rebut them" (p.344). In the present study, the informants' role was clearly an active one. They did not wait for information to be discovered. Instead, they actually searched for
cues, bearing in mind their own notions of what they consider to be trustworthy. The process of attending to and selecting information not only from teachers' and others' verbal and non-verbal behaviours but also from their own gut feelings and reactions to teachers' behaviours, shows informants who are active rather than reactive or passive towards what their teachers or even significant others do and say. The fact that they select from the external world what makes sense to their experience reflects an individual process of constructing meaning. According to Bandura (1978) "Cognitive factors partly determine which external influences will be observed, how they will be perceived, whether they have any lasting effects, what valence and efficacy they have, and how the information they convey will be organized for future use." (p.345).

In their negotiations, informants look inward to their values, beliefs and expectations which they use to help make decisions regarding trustworthiness in their teachers. However, the manner in which they assign importance to those behaviours that they consider trustworthy, reflects an approach that addresses their multiple realities rather than a common reality. For, example, not all informants were very specific in terms of what they considered trustworthy behaviours of teachers. The ones who chose not to be specific stated that what was considered trustworthy was dependent on factors such as the persons, the situation and what is said in that situation. This approach suggests that some informants do not generalize the behaviours of teachers and are more likely to look at different aspects of the context before deciding on what they consider to be trustworthiness in teachers. So that, even though the context (teacher-student) was specified by the researcher, some informants indirectly indicated that within that specified context, there are other contexts which must be considered on their own terms.

Other varying approaches to determining what were the important trustworthy characteristics of teachers were seen even among informants who chose to be more specific in assigning values. Some chose to refer to these values in an abstract manner. For example, some informants regarded, honesty as an important trustworthy behaviour in a teacher. Others referred to the actions of teachers when they spoke about what was important. They would therefore state that a trustworthy teacher was one who treated all students fairly.

When one looks at the internal processes of black students as they consider what is important to them, one can see that the manner in which they process information regarding what is important does not indicate a common approach. Instead, informants use different approaches to arriving at what they consider important trustworthy behaviours of teachers.
Internal processes play an important part in informants' constructions. These processes however, are not in isolation from the environment. As they attend to and select important information, informants match this information with experiences already in memory. Their past experiences of trust, and others' past experiences of trust become part of the internal influence on their constructions. They take account of them as they interpret and evaluate all the information.

It must be pointed out however that even though students take into account the past experiences of others, because of their multiple realities, they tend to rely on their own experiences when it comes to trusting but especially mistrusting their teachers. In their discussions, students acknowledged that not all their experiences were the same and that others may see things differently from them. Although they referred to the past experiences of friends or relatives, when the decision to trust or not to trust was to be made, some stated that they did not use these experiences. However, a few female informants stated that they look for behaviours similar to those teachers they have trusted in the past.

The decisions of students reflect experiences that are unique to each of them. However, the process of arriving at the decision is a common one whereby informants rely on their own experiences and not on the experiences of others when a decision to trust teachers is to be made.

The notion of reciprocity has so far been discussed in terms of the relationship between the internal and the external. In the discussion that follows, reciprocity is considered in terms of trustworthy actions of teacher and student. It is a notion that is regarded by all informants as important to the trusting relationship. Informants believe that they also have a responsibility to behave in trusting ways towards the teacher. However, they felt that the teacher as authority figure should initiate the process.

This notion suggests that if trusting relationships are to be encouraged between black students and their teachers, then opportunities need to be provided to both parties in order to foster the characteristics necessary for trust. The importance of reciprocity in trusting relationships is emphasized by Govier (1997) who states "For honest and open dialogue to occur, you and I must trust each other to speak truthfully and listen genuinely." (p.8). For the relationship to be truly productive for the student, reciprocity is inevitable. Without it, there would not be a relationship of trust and consequently little productivity in the classroom.

The negotiation process is ongoing and continuous, and also takes into account the emotions

These theories of emotion agree that emotions give meaning and direction to social relationships. Greenberg (1995) emphasizes the co-constructive nature of emotion. Others refer to the boundaries of the body as a point of symbolic reference (Doi 1976, Rosaldo 1984, Lutz 1988). In their discourses, informants refer to their bodily felt experiences in terms such as burdens being lifted off their shoulders, feelings of light-headedness or having a sense, or ‘feeling the vibrations’, or even their ‘spirit taking’ the teacher. All these references to the body indicate that informants do pay attention to what they experience physiologically as they try to determine trustworthiness in their teachers.

In fact, informants take these felt experiences into account in making sense of the relationship with the teacher. The fact that they try to change these felt experiences by resorting to strategies that allow them to cope with these feelings, also show that informants are actively manipulating their felt experiences and at the same time, their interactions with their teachers. The point being made here is that the experience of trust is an emotionally felt one which occurs within a social context which, although manipulated from the outside by what others say and do is also manipulated from the inside by what the informant thinks and feels.

Critical anti-racism theory regards the role that race plays in the lived experiences of black students as important to their discourses. According to Dei et al (1995), race is both a source and a site of difference and it must be explored if we are to understand these students' discourses. When these informants make negotiations with respect to whether teachers are trustworthy or not, these negotiations must be considered within the context of their experiences, a central part of which is race.

The experiences of race used by students in the present study in the negotiations, are similar to those shared in earlier studies (Dei 1993, 1994, Dei et al; 1995). These earlier studies raised a number of issues that affect the learning outcomes and retention of students in the educational system. Students' discourses in the present study indicate that some of these experiences such as unequal treatment, the lack of encouragement from teachers and lack of familiarity with their racial and cultural history, contribute to lack of trust in their teachers. One wonders therefore, in terms of the relationship between trust and learning, to what extent lack of trust is also a factor in negative
learning outcomes, such as disengagement and eventual dropout, as identified by Dei in his earlier studies. Although, it was not the intention of this study to explore such a relationship, from the discourses of students in this study, they strongly suggest that there is a relationship. Students state that when they trust, they are motivated, more eager to learn, more willing to approach the teacher to ask for help. In other words they are indeed referring to the types of behaviours that learning theorists have indicated as important for successful learning.

The process of negotiating at the level of teacher-student interaction is not intended to convey clear lines of demarcation between the various approaches used by students in their interactions with teachers. In fact, what is demonstrated in their varying approaches, resembles more of a fluid and dynamic overlap and interrelation among the various approaches. Informants select, attend and interpret but then resume the selection and attention process all over again, choosing information from another domain for example, feelings. Similarly, when comparing behaviours, informants simultaneously make associations. In other words they link the behaviours that they are looking for, to behaviours of persons with whom they are familiar and whom they trust. For example, when an informant perceives a teacher as a friend as distinct from being "just a teacher", this perception of teacher as friend is associated with characteristics of friends who are trustworthy.

Although so far we have only referred to the social context, in terms of a dialectical relationship between the teacher and the informant, by no means are the social practices within this relationship the only ones guiding students' constructions. It is clear from their discourses that this relationship between teacher and student exists within a much wider context which to some extent shapes these practices and are shaped by them.

The appraisals of informants do not operate independently of the social environment. We have already examined the role that teachers' verbal and non-verbal behaviours play in being part of that environment. However, when students construct meaning in the environment, they look at those behaviours within the context of expected roles and role behaviours. Influencing these expectations are the values, beliefs and experiences that have become part of the history and identity of the informant. The informants draw on this identity and history, both psychological as well as structural.

A major factor that contributes to identity development involves race. Even though informants considered their major role in this context to be that of student, it was evident from their discourses that a central part of their experience within that role was one of being a black student. Students made reference to this experience in more negative than positive terms. In every discussion, they referred
to situations where they experienced powerlessness, voicelessness, differential treatment, and
patronization, generally, what they refer to as lack of respect. These were situations in which students
felt that they did not trust the teacher.

On the other hand, students felt that when they were treated with respect, they were treated
like "just a student". In other words, there was no evidence of behaviour on the part of the teacher
that reflected his or her negative perceptions of blacks. However, being treated as "just a student" did
not mean that students wanted to negate their racial and cultural experiences. Far from it, students
wanted teachers to become more familiar with these experiences which they felt would enable a
trusting relationship between them and their teachers. They also considered trustworthy teachers as
those who value and validate their opinions regarding these experiences.

The central role that race plays in students' constructions in the present study cannot be
underestimated. Along with gender, age and length of time in Canada, race played an important part
in the meanings students gave to the trusting relationship between themselves and their teachers.
Earlier studies dealing with this issue (Barrett 1984, Dei 1995*, Dei et al 1995b, Dei 1996) have
referred to the importance that race plays in understanding the histories and identities of blacks in
general and black students in particular. Barrett (1984) refers to the role of accumulated life
experiences, of racial prejudices and biases in determining levels of trust among blacks. Dei (1996)
not only recognizes the role of race in the school experiences of black students, but suggests that
educators pay more attention to "how students' racial, class, gender, disabilities and sexual identities
affect and are affected by the schooling process" (p. 31).

When considered from the standpoint of the present study, it is important to look at how
students accounted for their racial, gender, age and geographical experiences and how these
experiences intersected with one another in a dynamic way to form their constructions. To ignore any
part of those experiences would be to erase some of the essence of students' identity and history and
by doing so, would not give a complete picture of what students mean when they talk about
trustworthy or untrustworthy teachers. When students say that they want to be perceived as "just a
student" they are asking teachers to consider the multiple identities they bring to that role. According
to Dei 1996, "The identity of the self involves more than the individual and it is important for
educators to understand how issues of individual and group cultural identities intersect." (p.31).
5.5. The Link Between the Internal and External

Many theorists refer to the role of the external world and its relationship with the internal world in creating culture and a sense of self. Some of these theorists focus specifically on the emotions experienced by individuals as they create a sense of self. (Lutz 1988, Kityama and Markus 1994). The theme that emerges consistently regarding the emergence of the self is one of a socially-constructed experience rather than an individual experience. The role that different aspects of the social environment play in helping to create such an experience is highlighted by these theorists. Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990), refer to the role of the social, political and historical environment in determining emotional experience. Dei et al. 1995b, also refer to the role of political and historical aspects of the environment in shaping the history and identity as well as the lived realities of people. Triandis 1976, mentions the influence of political, social and economic factors in shaping cultural experience.

The fact that so many factors influence a person's experience must be considered in trying to understand students' constructions. What emerges is certainly not one experience shared by all, but a number of experiences sometimes shared, but in most cases, unique to the individual. Each informant's experience is not the same because of the influence of a context that is for the most part, a dynamic one. For instance, some students may view the role of the teacher in a similar light, namely, to teach. However, they may diverge with respect to how this is done and these points of divergence may be due to differences in age, gender and length of time in Canada. For example, it was noted that boys trust more in the context of the academic, whereas girls were also likely to include the personal in their meanings of trust.

It must be pointed out that the study set out to explore a phenomenon within the confines of certain values. However, those values that were not overtly expressed by individuals but that may indeed shape informants' constructions need to be considered as part of the context shaping their constructions. For instance, values of achievement and socio-economic status may indeed play a significant role, however, they were not considered in the present study.

The structural experiences of informants are very much a part of their lived experiences. When informants refer to their experiences within a mistrusting relationship with their teachers as those in which they feel 'unequal' or 'voiceless' they are in essence also referring to what they perceive to be a social structure that treats them unequally and alienates them. Also, when they make reference to such feelings from the point of view of race, they are making reference to a social structure that
they perceive to be based on racial inequality and domination. The inner experience of control (feeling voiceless or powerless) and therefore mistrust, does not only reflect an inner reality but one that has a dialectical relationship with the external social, cultural and political world. Even though the outcomes of their experiences are unique, the process that influences and shapes these outcomes, is common to all students. In other words, students use their reality both external and internal to form their constructions. Some of this reality may be new, but some of it is already in memory. The fact that students frequently use metaphors to explain their reality, shows that some of the information they draw on is already experienced.

5.6. Contribution of Focus Groups

The final part of the discussion focuses on the value of the methodological tools used in this study. In particular, it draws attention to the focus group discussions that were used to verify findings from individual interviews. The focus group sessions proved to be not only an important tool for verification but also for giving added depth to the study. The gender differences which emerged from the results of the individual interviews were highlighted in these discussions. For example, the females attributed the perceived reticence displayed by the male informants in the individual interviews to the ‘male ego.’

These sessions also provided the opportunity for feedback for informants as well as researcher. Informants had the opportunity to have their views confirmed during these discussions. In some instances when their views were challenged, they were able to look at another's perspective. The ideas shared during these discussions added to the pool of information which informants already had. It also provided 'thick description' to the study.

The feedback for the researcher related to both the content and the process of the group discussions. Information gleaned from earlier group discussions was brought forward to later discussions. Whenever participants put forward new concepts, these concepts were raised by the researcher in the next session. For example, in the case of one informant who provided feedback on the conduct of the group, this suggestion was taken into account in later sessions and proved to be productive. The conduct of these sessions also provided information which can be taken into consideration in future groups of this nature. It was observed that groups in which there was a balance of males and females generated the largest amount of discussion. It was also observed that females spoke more than males. One wonders, therefore, if the gender of the researcher/facilitator
may have contributed to this apparent reticence on the part of males. It is speculated that with facilitators of each gender, males may have contributed more to the discussion. However, it should be pointed out that the gender of the facilitator did not have the same effect during the individual interviews. Males were just as forthcoming as females during these interviews. One can also speculate that since there were no all-male groups that a group composed of all males may have proved to be more productive.

In the last group discussion, the researcher also had the opportunity to share the emerging theory (Section 4.2.4) with the group. By that time, data from previous groups had been analyzed, so that the core category was clearer to the researcher. This exercise proved to be useful. It assured me, based on the positive feedback from these informants, that I had indeed captured the essence of what they meant when they spoke about trustworthiness between themselves and their teachers.

In summary, although the individual interviews were semi-structured and provided flexibility that allowed for in-depth probing, the focus group discussions gave an added dimension to the phenomenon under investigation. These groups highlighted differences that had been previously discovered, provided added meaning to concepts previously raised and provided useful feedback for informants as well as researcher. Finally, these groups generated a number of ideas that can be used in future research focus groups.

5.7. Limitations of the Study

5.7.1. Transferability

The present study set out to explore the process whereby students construct the meaning of trust in the student-teacher relationship. The study is limited to the discourses of a particular set of participants at a particular point in time within a particular context. In no way does it reflect the experience of all black students within a teacher-student relationship. What this study attempts to do, is to provide an understanding of what occurs when a particular set of students arrive at meaning, in this case the meaning of trust within the teacher-student relationship.

It is therefore not the intention of this study to generalize what was found, to other similar groups. Future research needs to be undertaken to examine the potential for transferability.

5.7.2. Time and Resources

Also, given limitations of time and resources, the study employed one specific procedure in order to examine the phenomenon. It was felt that by using in-depth semi-structured interviews, and
focus groups for verification, a rich database would result in a theory that could withstand scrutiny because of the rigorous analytical procedures that were applied. The focus on students' constructions emphasized the subjective experiences of these students. Future research can undertake an investigation of this phenomenon using other methodological approaches such as observation or even experiments.

5.7.3 Effects of Bias

Although, much rigour was incorporated in order to reduce the effects of bias, nevertheless, this limitation must be taken into account. The findings and major themes presented reflect the biases of the researcher, although they may at times confirm findings of some theorists. The fact that the study dealt with a particular group of informants should be taken into consideration in any attempt to glean understanding of the core category and subcategories. The information presented reflects the values of these informants and of the researcher.

5.8. Implications For Future Research

The implications for future research are based on the preceding limitations and also on limitations in determining significance due to a small sample. In order to determine transferability, future research must be undertaken. In addition, other approaches can be used to explore the phenomenon in more detail. Studies can be conducted looking at comparison groups with respect to different ages, races, class and cultural backgrounds. It was not the intention of this study to go into such detail. Findings gleaned with respect to these issues from the present study reflect more of a pattern of results than an actual statement of fact where these issues are concerned. Tests of significance as they relate to overall and degree of trust according to gender, age and length of time in Canada, can be conducted using larger samples.

Future research can also undertake correlational studies which will examine the relationship between race and trust, learning and trust, class and trust. Independent measures of trust and learning can be conducted to determine whether students who trust more learn more. Although students' discourses indicated a likelihood that there is a possible link, independent measures might reveal a correlation between trust and learning.

Although such quantitative findings may prove to be useful, when details regarding the meaning that students attribute to a trusting relationship between themselves and their teachers are to be considered, a qualitative approach is more suitable. This approach will allow for more in-
depth, holistic understanding of students' experiences which quantitative measures cannot facilitate.

Future research therefore needs to look at the qualitative approach as the most productive means of arriving at what students mean by trust in their relationships. As a methodological tool, in-depth individual interviews and focus groups can only add further intrigue and understanding of the phenomenon.

5.9. Recommendations

Recommendations are presented in keeping with a holistic developmental approach. Findings from this study point to a number of areas relevant to education and counselling that can benefit from this study.

Overall, the relationship between black students and teachers can be enhanced with knowledge from this study. The following areas can be considered.

5.9.1. Teacher Training and Development

Students' recommendations suggest a number of areas that teachers and teacher trainers can consider in their efforts to understand the experiences of the black student of Caribbean background. The training of teachers who are familiar with and understand the experiences and needs of these students is important. Exploring and changing stereotypes, attitudes, body language and paralinguistic behaviours can be considered an important aspect of teacher training experiences.

The same applies to the ongoing development of practising teachers. It is important that these teachers become aware of the practices that inhibit trusting relationships between themselves and black students and that they are exposed to those practices that facilitate such a relationship. Not only is it important to understand the role of trust in establishing positive communication but it is also necessary to look at pedagogic and instructional practices that may inhibit trust.

When black students state that they are not encouraged by their teachers, these teachers need to have an understanding of what lack of encouragement means to these students and also of ways in which they can encourage their students. When students state that their experiences as black students are not validated by their teachers, it is important that teachers become familiar with these experiences and acknowledge and validate them. Acknowledgement and validation of students' experiences raise the question of relevance of curriculum content and to what extent it allows for the expression of the experiences of black students. The need to make the curriculum inclusive of students' experiences means not just setting aside a portion of the school year to devote to these
experiences. It means that the experiences of black students should be recognized as an ongoing reality which permeates their day to day existence as they become involved in the learning process.

5.9.2. Counsellor Training and Development

Practising counsellors and counsellors-in-training can also benefit from this experience as they try to explore the meanings black students bring to counselling situations. A healthy exploration of these meanings with students can help counsellors to use strategies that can help improve not only their relationship with the students but also the relationship between students and their teachers as they become involved with each other in the learning process.

5.9.3. Student Development

Students can be encouraged to explore their interpretations and feelings about teachers' behaviours and to explore the influence these factors and their responses to them, can have on positive and negative learning experiences.

5.9.4. Structural Factors

There are obviously a number of structural factors that have to be considered as part of the change process. In addressing the responsibility for becoming more trusting, informants referred to the fact that it was a responsibility shared by all. Whereas they were willing to take responsibility for their actions, informants also believed that there were elements within the social structure that needed to be addressed if trust was to be nurtured.

The study recognizes the inevitable role of these structural factors and their influence on the more immediate environment as it relates to the teacher-student interaction. The school and the administrators must be considered in any recommendations to build a more trusting relationship between teachers and black students. Curriculum issues such as the inclusion of more racially and culturally sensitive content into the learning experiences of black students need to be considered. Administrator familiarity with and sensitivity to the issues and concerns of black students must also be addressed.

Recommendations for police training, similar to that for teachers and counsellors, must be made for trustworthiness to develop. Media personnel also need to be sensitized to the role that they play in this matter. So too, are those representing the judicial system and even religious institutions.

5.10. Conclusion

Students' discourses and earlier studies (Spector and Gibson 1991, Brookfield 1990) have
shown that trust is an important ingredient in the teacher-student relationship and that it enhances the learning experience for the student. This study set out to explore black high school students' constructions of what trust means within the teacher-student relationship. By using, first of all, a quantitative method involving structured questionaries in order to provide a preliminary understanding of the phenomenon, it was found that these informants have a low to moderate degree of trust in their teachers. However, when a qualitative approach involving semi-structured, in-depth interviews and focus groups was used, these findings produced a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon and added to its complexity.

The study has indicated that in constructing what they mean by trust in their teachers, students select information from internal and external sources, and interpret this information to form an evaluation of the teacher's trustworthiness. What emerged from these findings is that information is not only cognitively but also affectively experienced. In other words students select information from their bodily-felt experiences ('gut-feelings' or 'instinct') and incorporate this information with other information selected from what they see, hear and remember. Students' evaluations are sometimes tentative and other times firm. When a final positive evaluation is made it is because students are confident about the teacher's trustworthiness and feel secure. The behaviour that follows from this new awareness and felt experience is one whereby the student approaches both the teacher and the task in a more positive manner, one which facilitates his or her learning experience.

The study therefore, highlights the important role that a trusting relationship plays in the learning experiences of these informants. Moreover, it focuses on the process of constructing the meaning of this relationship to the individual student, in this case, the black high school student of Caribbean background between the ages of fourteen to sixteen.

It is hoped that an understanding of what occurs in this process will shed new light that can be used to make the teacher-student relationship and consequently the learning experiences of similar if not all students, more positive.
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Appendix I

Request for assistance in distribution of letters to parents or guardians of potential informants.

Dear __________

I am a doctoral student at the Ontario Institute of Education, at the University of Toronto and am seeking your assistance in distributing these letters to black parents or guardians of Caribbean background.

Attached is a letter to parents which outlines the nature and purpose of my research.

I appreciate your cooperation and am willing to answer any questions.

Please contact me at ________ for any further information.

Sincerely,

Claire Sham Choy.
Appendix II

Request to parents/guardians for informed consent.

Dear ___________

I am a student at Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and I am seeking your permission to interview your son/daughter as part of my doctoral research.

The study examines the issue of trust in the relationship between black high school students and their teachers and focuses on what it means to these students.

I will be interviewing students between the ages of fourteen to sixteen. There will be three interviews and the first one will last about one hour. The second interview will be necessary for review and clarification and will last about half hour. The final interview will be in the form of a small group discussion and will last for about one hour. This interview/discussion is necessary for further clarification.

Safeguards will be taken to protect the identity and confidentiality of your son/daughter. With your permission interviews will be taped and all tapes and transcripts will be kept safely in a locked filing cabinet. Numerical codes rather than names will be used in completing the questionnaire and in the reporting of the data.

Your son/daughter’s participation in this exercise is voluntary and if he/she wishes, he/she is free to withdraw at any time.

I must stress that under no condition will any information shared by your son/daughter be divulged in a manner that will expose his or her identity. However, the findings from the study will be shared with you and your children. In no way will the information shared by your son or daughter be used to evaluate him or her.

I would appreciate if you can complete and return the attached consent form. Enclosed is a self-addressed stamped envelope. If you have any questions, please contact me at ________.

Thanks for your cooperation

Sincerely,

Claire Sham Choy.
Letter of Consent

I have read and understood the nature and purpose of the study as well as the nature and extent of my son/daughter's participation in it.

_____ I consent to my son/daughter's participation

_____ I do not consent to my son/daughter's participation

Sincerely,

Signature of Parent/Guardian

Date ______________________________________
Appendix III

Background Data

Name: ____________________________________________
Age: ______ 14 ______ 15 ______ 16

Gender: ______ Male
________ Female

Birth Place - Canada:
____ Yes ______ No ______ Where

Length of Time Living in Canada:
____ Less than two years
____ Two years or more

Where do you live? __________________________________________

With whom do you live? _________________________________________
____ Both parents
____ One parent
____ Guardian/Foster parent
____ Other (state)
Appendix IV
Overall Trust

Following is a list of persons with whom we are familiar. If you had to trust any of them, who would you trust?

Note: You can tick more than one.

(a) _____ friend.

(b) _____ parent/guardian (mother, father)

(c) _____ other family member (sister, brother, aunt, uncle, cousin, grandparent)

(d) _____ police officer.

(e) _____ guidance counsellor.

(f) _____ school administrator (principal, vice-principal).

(g) _____ other/s (please state).

(1) ____________________________________________

(2) ____________________________________________

(3) ____________________________________________

(4) ____________________________________________
Appendix V

Form I - Interview Guide

1. Brainstorming Activity.

This interview is about trusting, more specifically, trusting teachers. I would like you to think about this for a moment and tell me whatever comes to mind as you think about trusting teachers.

2. Have you ever trusted any of your teachers?

3. What does trusting a teacher mean to you?

4. What do you think is involved when you decide you can trust a teacher?

5. What are some verbal/non-verbal behaviours of teachers you think are trusting?

6. What about your reactions? What are some of your own reactions that tell you that you can trust a teacher?

7. What are some of the feelings you experience as you begin to trust a teacher?

8. Think of a scenario. How would you describe the ideal situation where you can trust a teacher? What sorts of things would that teacher do and say? What would be your reactions, your feelings in such an ideal situation?

9. If you had to make some suggestions to teachers as to what they can do so that more students can trust them, what suggestions would you offer them?

10. Tell me, do you think that what you consider important for trusting a teacher is the same as what other students consider to be important?

11. If no, what are some of the differences?
Appendix V
Form II - Interview Guide

A. Brainstorming Activity (use index cards)
This interview is about trusting but more specifically, what it means to you as a black student. I would like you to take a moment and write down (tell me) whatever comes to mind as you think about trusting your teacher.

Discuss with student what she or he has written.

B. Trust between students (black) and teachers (general)
- Do you think of yourself as a student or do you think of yourself as a black student.
- Do you think that students trust teachers.
- Do you think that black students trust teachers.
- Do you think that some students trust teachers.
- What kinds of students are you referring to when you say "some" students? Tell me about them.

B. Trust between you (the informant) and your teachers.
- Have you ever trusted any of your teachers?......Yes No
- What made you trust these/this teacher?
- What sorts of things would this/these teacher(s) say to you?
- What sorts of things/behaviours would this teacher do/show?

B. Mistrust of Teachers (specific):
- Have you ever mistrusted any of your teachers?......Yes No
- What made you mistrust this/these teachers?
- What sorts of things would they say?
- What sorts of things would they do?

C. Importance of trusting to you (as a student)
- How important is it for you to trust your teacher?
  (1) not at all (2) a little (3) moderately (4) highly (5) very highly
  Meaning of trust to you (as a student):
- What does trusting a teacher mean to you?
- In other words you can do what?
- As a student does trusting your teacher make your role easier or more difficult?
- In what way? What are some of the things that are easier for you to do?
D. **You and other students**

Taking risks in the classroom.

- You stated earlier that it was easier for you to take risks. What are some of these risks?
- Do you think that other students find it easy or hard to take risks with their teachers?
- Do you think that what these students see as risks are the same things/behaviours that you consider to be risky?
- If not, how do these students differ from you with respect to risk-taking with teachers?
- In other words, list some things/behaviours that they would consider risky that you would not.

E. **Needs and Expectations**

- When you think of yourself as a student, what do you want (look for) from your teachers? What do you expect them to do for you?
- Why is it important for you to look for these specific behaviours/attitudes from your teachers?
- Do you think that if you got these things (what you are looking for/want) from your teachers that you would be a better student?
- How is this so?

F. **Teacher's Behaviours (Non-Verbal)**

- Returning to the issue of trust, what sorts of teacher-behaviours do you consider before you trust him or her?
- In other words, what do teachers do that make you feel that you can trust them?
- Do you at any time pay attention to what we call the little things (e.g. smile, eye contact) before you decide to trust your teacher?...........Yes  No
- If so, what are some of these little things?
- With respect to what you expect teachers to do? (i.e. how you expect them to behave towards you as a teacher)?
- What would you consider to be appropriate teacher-behaviours that you would describe as trusting?

G. **Teachers' Behaviours (Verbal)**

- What kinds of things do teachers say that make you feel that you can trust them?
- In other words, what would you consider to be some appropriate remarks or comments that a teacher you trust would make?
- What sort of things or statements would you expect of a teacher you can trust.
H. Students' Reactions: Thoughts, Feelings and Behaviours

Thoughts:
- Think of a teacher you have learnt to trust. Tell me what were you thinking to yourself, when you realized that you can trust this teacher.
- Were you saying things to yourself?
- What was going on in your mind?

Feelings:
- How did you feel when you finally realized that you could trust this particular teacher?
- What was happening to your body?
- Did you notice any changes? Or, was it the same as if you did not trust that teacher?
- In other words, is there a different feeling in your body when you trust your teacher from that when you do not trust your teacher? Think about this before answering.
- Now tell me, what were those feelings like?

Behaviours:
- When you had those feelings, what did you do in that particular situation?

I. Think of a Scenario

- How would you describe the ideal situation in which you can trust a teacher?

Teacher Behaviour:
- What would that teacher be saying to you?
- What would that teacher be doing?
- How would he/she be acting towards you?

Students Behaviour:
- What would you be saying to yourself?
- What would you be thinking?
- What would be going on in your mind?

Feeling:
- How would you be feeling?
- How would your body be reacting/acting in that situation?

J1. Past Experiences (Your Own)

- Have your past experiences influenced your decision to trust your teachers......Yes  No
- What are some of your own past experiences as a black student that you think about (reflect on) and use in deciding to trust your teachers?

J2. Past Experiences (Others')

- Have the past experiences of others (friends, family etc.) influenced your decision to trust your teachers?.................Yes  No
- What are some of the past experiences of others (friends, family etc.) that have influenced your decision to trust your teachers?
J. Students' Suggestions to Teachers for Black Students to Trust Them
   - If you had to make some (a list of) suggestions to teachers, regarding what they say or do, so that more black students can trust them, what would be some of these suggestions?

K. Importance of Trusting a Teacher (Student's Perception)
   - Do you think that it is important for you to trust your teacher?.......Yes  No
   - Why do you think this is so?

L. Teacher Characteristics Considered Important for Trusting: Teachers- Student Relationship (Student's Perception)
   - What are some teacher characteristics you consider to be important for establishing a trusting relationship with you?
   - Do you think that what you have stated as important characteristics for a trusting relationship between a black student and a teacher is the same as what other black students would consider to be important?..........Yes  No
   - If no, what are some of the differences among black students?
   - Why do you think that these differences exist?
## Appendix VI

### Degree of Trust

Please indicate your response to the following questions by circling only one number:

1. **How trusting are you of others:**
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>not at all</th>
<th>a little</th>
<th>moderately</th>
<th>highly</th>
<th>very highly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Do you trust police officers?**
   
   | 1      | 2         | 3          | 4      | 5            |

3. **Do you trust your friends?**
   
   | 1      | 2         | 3          | 4      | 5            |

4. **Do you trust your teachers?**
   
   | 1      | 2         | 3          | 4      | 5            |

5. **Do you trust your school administrators?**
   
   | 1      | 2         | 3          | 4      | 5            |

6. **Do you trust your parents?**
   
   | 1      | 2         | 3          | 4      | 5            |

7. **Do you trust family members?**
   
   | 1      | 2         | 3          | 4      | 5            |

8. **Do you trust the researcher?**
   
   | 1      | 2         | 3          | 4      | 5            |
Appendix VII

Interview Guide
Trustworthiness of the Researcher

1. Was I open and honest?
2. Did I provide the opportunity for you to say what you really wanted?
3. Did you at any time want to say more, but felt that you could not?
4. Do you think that I was really listening to what you were saying?
5. Were my questions very clear?
6. If you needed clarification, did you feel that you could have asked for it?
7. Was there any time when you felt that you could not share something with me?
8. Name that occasion. What? and When?
9. Was there anything about my behaviour (verbal or non-verbal) that made you feel that you could not easily disclose to me? State them.
Appendix VIII

Responsibility for becoming more trusting

1. Do you think it is important for you to become more trusting?  Yes__  No__

2. How important is it for you to become more trusting?

   1  2  3  4  5

3. If you could change anything about yourself, what sorts of things would you change in order to become more trusting?

4. If you could change anything about your family what sorts of things would you change in order to become more trusting?

5. If you could change anything about your friends what sorts of things would you change in order to become more trusting?

6. If you could change anything about your school what sorts of things would you change in order to become more trusting.
   - teachers
   - school administrators
   - anything else?

7. If you could change anything about the police service what sorts of things would you change in order to become more trusting?

8. Are there any other institutions that you would like to change some things about, so that you can become more trusting?  Yes__  No__

9. If yes, a) what are these institutions b) what would you like to change about them so that you can become more trusting?