

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

CLASSROOM COMMUNICATION AND SCHOOLING:
A CASE-STUDY OF TEACHING AND LEARNING
IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL IN SOWETO

A dissertation
presented in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
(Specialising in Language Education)

by

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SEPTEMBER 1986

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy (Specialising in Language Education) at the University of Cape Town. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Signed

RONNIE SIMONS

15th day of September 1986

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of people have contributed towards this study. The following, however, deserve special mention: the students, teachers and principal who made this research possible; Karl Muller, a friend, colleague and fellow Masters student, who shared his insights and reading materials with me in many discussions - I have not been able to offer him much in return; Norman Blight and Rosemary Lennard, senior lecturers in Communication Studies and Applied Linguistics at the University of the Witwatersrand, with whom I had fruitful discussions in the initial stages of my research; my father, for his financial assistance; Lindy Solomon, who gave me emotional and domestic support and provided useful comments on drafts; the members of our 'Masters support group' - Carohn Cornell, Angela Schaffer and Lesley Miles - for their encouragement and support in times of depression and optimism; Liz Lewis, who has spent months at the word-processor and to whom I am deeply grateful for the printed product and Professor Douglas Young, my supervisor, who gave me the time, space and guidance to explore so many avenues of thought.

DEFINITION OF THE SUBJECTS

The names of the school, teachers and students have been changed to obviate personal identification and to protect the subjects from any possible form of victimisation.

The system of Apartheid operative in South African society unfortunately makes 'classification' of 'population groups' a necessity. While the term 'black' in progressive circles includes Africans, so-called coloureds and Indians; in this dissertation the term refers specifically to Africans. This usage is employed for two reasons:

- (i) this is how the subjects refer to, and label, themselves; and
- (ii) the study concentrates on the training and schooling of black (African) teachers and students in a racially segregated system of education.

Although this usage may appear to ignore the role that so-called coloured and Indian teachers and students have played in attempting to transform the education system and society, this is not intended.

ABSTRACT

This qualitative case-study: (a) investigates the ways in which classroom practices in a secondary school in Soweto are influenced by an underlying set of assumptions, attitudes and values inculcated by black teacher training and schooling, along with the material conditions of the pedagogical workplace; and, (b) analyses how these practices, as manifest in patterns of power and authority in classroom communication, affect learning and understanding.

While these practices and patterns are viewed as being shaped and constrained by the teachers' and students' personal biographies, training and schooling; they are also seen as an outcome of wider structural determinants.

From this perspective the study concludes with some proposals for teacher training and classroom practice which could transform - albeit in limited ways - forms of pedagogical relationships and communicative interaction which prevent teachers and students from engaging in a more meaningful and educative pedagogical process.

Based primarily on lessons recorded and observed in three classrooms and on interviews conducted with teachers and students, the study employs a broad 'ethnographic' approach to classroom research and uses 'symbolic-interpretive' models of social science as a guiding theoretical framework.

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INTRODUCTION

It might seem absurd to write of classroom communication and interactions when thousands of black students have been, and in some schools are still, boycotting classes and school; when the existing South African social order and black education system is facing a crisis of unprecedented proportions. An examination of classroom practice, however, may illustrate some of the problems which black students and teachers face when their schools are 'operating' under 'normal' conditions¹; problems which they may continue to face - even when a new social order is realized - if those practices which constrain and oppress them in their concrete, daily encounters are not transformed.

Having taught in a high school-cum-teacher training college in Bophuthatswana for two years and for three years thereafter at the Soweto Teacher Training College, it became apparent that the medium of instruction - which is not the mother-tongue of black teachers and

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1. The main fieldwork for this research was carried out during the second term of the 1984 school year, ie. from 15 March - 13 June, in a secondary school in Soweto. At that time schools in Soweto were still 'operating' under 'normal' conditions. It was only towards the end of this period, when approximately 6 000 students began boycotting school in the Attrigeville-Saulsville (Pretoria) area. Of course, these boycotts spread throughout the country during the latter half of 1984, after the 'Vaal uprisings' and continued virtually unabated throughout the following year. These nation-wide boycotts coupled with the brutal response of the state and the economic crisis has undoubtedly politicised black students on a national scale. The extent of this politicisation during these subsequent events on the subjects concerned in this study, unfortunately is not included. Further research in the field was not carried out, and contact with the school, teachers and students concerned was not maintained. This has emerged as a severe limitation in this study.

students - constituted a problem in black education and that the methodology courses did not address the realities of the black classroom situation.

The seed which gave birth to this study - which has grown into a mammoth tree with branches extended in many directions - was the intention to investigate the linguistic demands that were made on black students entering secondary school and whether practising teachers used a 'subject register'² which was possibly beyond the linguistic and communicative repertoires of their students³. This interest informs much of this study. However, like most research proposals, this interest and focus shifted and changed. After I had completed a period of field work in which I observed and recorded Standard 6 history lessons in a school in Soweto and had begun analysing the data collected, I began to gain a sense of the possibility that the ways in which teachers communicate and interact with their students may pose a more fundamental pedagogical problem than the language in which they

2. See Edwards (1978) for a thorough discussion of the 'subject-register' of history.

3. This research interest was influenced by: Barnes, Britton & Rosen's (1971) studies of the linguistic demands made on British students; the findings of the Bullock Report (1975); Marland's (1971) study of language across the curriculum; the fact that black students had demonstrated their preference for English as the medium of instruction during the 1976 student uprisings and my own teaching experience. See Lennard (1984) and (1985) for research in progress in this area on the local scene.

have to communicate.⁴ In other words, my interest shifted to 'the process of classroom interaction as the matrix in which learning takes place' (Ellis, 1984: 62).

Thus the central question which this study addresses is how the ways in which teachers and students communicate and interact in classrooms affects learning and understanding. The answer/s to this question will, hopefully:

- i) make student-teachers and practising teachers more aware of those self-imposed and external constraints which prevent students from thinking and using the medium of instruction creatively and meaningfully on the one hand; and
- ii) inform classroom practice about forms of communicative interaction which enable learning and understanding to take place, on the other.

This shift in focus pointed to the necessity to examine language and classroom interactions within its 'social context': something which any sociolinguist and most sociologists would have pointed out at the outset. But studying communicative interaction within its social context poses an enormous problem: how far does this 'context' extend? For some, context may extend to a community or social system, while

4. This 'sense', gained through analysis, was subsequently strengthened by my readings of sociolinguistic studies into language variation which have rejected the idea that children of various 'ethnic', cultural, race or social class groups are culturally and linguistically deprived and that such 'deprivation' accounts for scholastic failure (eg. Keddie, 1971; Labov, 1973; Bernstein, 1972a).

others focus on the interpersonal setting and conveniently shut out the school and society by closing the classroom door.

At the outset I focussed primarily on micro-classroom processes and the interpersonal setting in order to come to grips with how the particular social structures, power-relations and forms of communicative interaction operative in the classrooms under investigation affected what students could say, do and mean. This focus will be evident as it informs the major bulk of this study in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

The classroom door, however, has not remained closed. The more I sifted through and analysed the data collected and the more I continued to write at a time when the 'struggle' in black schools and in the country as a whole exploded into the highest state of crisis that this country has witnessed, the more I realized that my research was severely limited: it was (and still remains) fundamentally descriptive and contained no level of causality.

How to conceive of and relate micro-processes to the process of schooling and society is an extremely complicated sociological issue which has not been resolved to anyone's satisfaction. I do not resolve it in this study. However, I have attempted to locate and contextualize the school, teachers and students involved in this research within the broader parameters of black education and to point to how the educational institutions in which the teachers and students have been schooled and trained have influenced and shaped their classroom practices. Thus a secondary but related question which this study

addresses is how these educational institutions on an ideological and 'cultural' level have inculcated teachers and students with a set of taken-for-granted assumptions, ideologies and perspectives, which guide and shape their practices. This level of analysis, although admittedly greatly under-developed in this study, has pointed to the necessity to view classroom practices, dialectically within the broader education system and society: it has pointed to the necessity to examine classroom communication within a wider context.

Thus the theoretical 'framework' - as I outline in Chapter 2 - was not pre-conceived or predetermined; it grew out of the research process itself. In other words, I did not begin by working out or adopting a water-tight framework into which the study was conveniently slotted. I have not adopted any 'master' theories within which this study is definitively located. I have attempted, rather, to enter into a dialogue with various theories and thereby, through a process of selection and synthesis 'arrive at' a theoretical position which has enabled me to begin to piece together a problematic puzzle. Many of these fragments do not fit together logically and cohesively. Some fit; others overlap, juxtapose and contradict each other. Classrooms and schools cannot be conveniently squashed into a theoretical box which captures and explains it all. Our personal biographies, the areas demarcated as a topic of research and the questions posed, limit our explanations from the outset. The research act, if approached sincerely and honestly, is the work of a life-time. Enquiry and learning continue indefinitely: there is no point at which the enquirer can say: "I have arrived, I know, I understand". The moment we claim such an

understanding we lose our capacity to learn about the world and ourselves.

The framework is exploratory and inter-disciplinary and contains strains and tensions, not only of various theoretical perspectives, but also personal ones. The reader will clearly discern shifts in my writing style which fluctuates between an 'academic' and highly personal tone. I make no excuses for this; it reflects the strains and tensions between 'common-sense' and theoretical knowledge and different stages of emotion and thought which developed through the research act which has been a reflexive process.

Some Assumptions and Limitations

An assumption informing this work is that people, both produce the world and are products of a world which is not entirely of their own making: there is a dialectical interaction between human agency and structural forces which are historically rooted. Human beings are conscious, reflexive creators of meaning and yet are constrained by social structures and their personal biographies. Human intentionality and subjective meanings are thus treated as a valid starting point for the reconstruction of knowledge. This perspective, derived from Symbolic Interactionism, Social Phenomenology and strands of Marxism, recognises that human consciousness is a vital force which constitutes a part of, and interacts dialectically with, the social world. This assumption rejects traditional scientific approaches which presupposes a passive and deterministic view of human beings and that problems are 'technical'

a-political and solvable by 'experts'. The rejection of this positivist approach will be evident throughout this study, as will my faith in teachers and students rather than educational policy makers and planners.

All meaning, however, cannot be reduced simply to subjective intentions and constructions: wider social structures, dominant ideologies and material conditions are seen as influencing, shaping and constraining these meanings. I do not propose an idealist view that a mere change in consciousness and human thinking alone can change the circumstances and conditions of human actors. I do believe, however, that a change in the ways in which teachers and students perceive each other, their roles and knowledge can cause a limited transformation of their pedagogical practices: it can equip them with the conceptual and methodological tools to act differently, albeit in limited ways.

The severe limitation in this study is that the research procedures adopted did not, ultimately, enable such a transformation to take place through the research process. This has illustrated the necessity for 'action-orientated' research which addresses and attempts to solve the problems that teachers and students face in their classrooms.

I have deliberately presented interview and classroom data, which has been transcribed verbatim, in an 'unedited' form in order to show that although black teachers and students do not always speak fluent 'standard' English; they are nevertheless able to convey powerful and meaningful messages in their own form of non-standard English. This

will, hopefully, provide the reader with the opportunity to suspend his/her judgement about what English should/not sound or look like and to 'seep into' a form of English with which s/he may be unfamiliar.

The task for the reader is a long one. I hope that this study will be captivating enough to keep your attention, with rests and stops, along a way that is paved only with words and that it will transport you both within and without three classrooms in a school in Soweto.

PART I : LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 1A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF CLASSROOM STUDIES

The study and analysis of classroom interactions and practice has been carried out from various theoretical directions and has been explored extensively overseas, but has received very little attention in South African educational research. Within this body of research I shall distinguish, broadly, between two research traditions which have focussed on the importance of classroom interactions and communication in the process of education: the 'traditional-positivist' and the 'symbolic-interpretive'. These categories are by no means water-tight, but they do provide a basis for exploring the weaknesses and strengths in each and how these approaches have been sifted through to provide a theoretical and methodological framework for this study.

THE 'TRADITIONAL-POSITIVIST' TRADITION

In the USA this approach gave rise to what some writers call 'interaction analysis' (Delamont & Hamilton, 1976) 'systematic observation' (Edwards & Furlong, 1978) or simply 'classroom observation' (Hammersley, 1981).

In systematic observation, researchers typically pre-code and quantify categories of classroom talk as independent variables which are seen as affecting learning outcomes. Flanders' (1970) system, for instance, pre-codes classroom talk into two broad categories of 'response' and

'initiation', within which seven are listed for teacher talk and two for pupil talk. Flanders' main concern, not unlike my own, is with who controls the topic and how often student contributions are utilised by the teacher. The pre-coding and categorization of these features, however, pose some definite problems.

Although systematic observation has demonstrated the teacher's communicative dominance by measuring the ratio of teacher-talk to student-talk, and the unbalanced proportion of teacher-initiated talk to student-talk - which is neatly summarised in Flanders' 'rule of two-thirds' and which illustrates that many classrooms are 'affectional deserts' - these categorisation schemes cannot capture the sequential structuring and flow of classroom interactions and the complexities of, for instance, question-answer exchange sequences where students need to invoke 'interpretive procedures' (Garfinkel, 1967; Cicourel, 1973) and bring their 'cultural resources' (Hammersley, 1977) to bear on questions that teachers ask in order to answer them. The teacher's verbal behaviour is seen as determining what occurs. This obscures the students' contributions to the interaction and lesson and does not offer any explanation as to why students respond in certain ways. The system also cannot accurately capture what a particular utterance or stretch of talk means or does in the interaction, as meaning is often 'cultural' and therefore known only to the participants (cf. Walker & Adleman, 1976). That researchers/observers using the coding scheme can immediately recognise what a particular utterance means or signifies is very questionable. Thus the multiple functions and meanings of language cannot be described when quantification schemes are employed as the

relationship of behaviour and the context of the situation, be it social, temporal or historical is glossed over and obscured. Systematic observation systems are thus highly selective; they concentrate on overt, observable behaviour at the expense of accounting for how differing intentions, motives and perspectives, and the material conditions and social structures within which classroom interactions occur, may affect the meaning of that behaviour. The observer/coder has to impute such intentions and makes no attempt to 'discover the actor's actual or self-perceived intention...only the observer's interpretation is considered relevant' (Delamont & Hamilton, 1976: 8).

Underlying this research tradition is a behaviouristic and positivistic model; criteria of 'objectivity' and 'validity' are claimed by defining the position of the observer as independent and outside of the observed phenomenon, which is defined by the observer's preconceived categories. In seeking to formulate general and universal laws which are context independent and free of specific constraints of any particular context the observer mysteriously vanishes as an influential reality constructor. As Mishler (1979) argues, positivism's key feature is 'context stripping': subjects are removed from their natural settings and placed under laboratory conditions in order to control variables and test the generality of hypotheses. The irony, of course, is that the scientist creates a specific context by adopting such procedures. The scientist does not examine how the created context and the researcher's role in sustaining and controlling this context affects the subject: the context of the situation remains 'hidden' (Todd, 1981). Positivism turns the subject into an 'object' (Willis, 1980): it presupposes an

analytical and conceptual framework that is independent of the life world of interacting individuals (Denzin, 1983). Positivism thus assumes that reality exists unproblematically and that the classroom social order is 'natural' and not the result of conflicting interests. The stress on 'scientific' methods and statistical measurements separates 'facts' from 'values'; 'knowledge' from 'interests'. As Popkewitz (1984: 37) notes: 'By eliminating contextual aspects, theory is only to describe the relationship of the 'facts''. This creates a hierarchy between those who possess knowledge - the 'experts' - and those who lack it. Problems are defined essentially as technical; removed from political debate. That positivism is, or can be, used for purposes of social control will be outlined in detail in the following chapter when the educational theory taught at black teacher training colleges is critiqued.

THE 'SYMBOLIC-INTERPRETIVE' TRADITION

Symbolic-interpretive research in contrast to traditional-positivist, is non-behaviourist. The central concern here is to discover the assumptions, rules and strategies which underlie and produce classroom interaction. Researchers in this tradition often focus on the linguistic details of classroom interaction by working from transcriptions of audio and/or video recordings and/or detailed field notes.

Qualitative classroom research has brought a convergence of interests from various disciplines such as linguistics, sociolinguistics,

psychology, ethnomethodology, anthropology and sociology. I shall not offer an extensive review of this enormous body of research as detailed reviews are to be found in, for instance, Cazden (in press) and Edwards & Furlong (1978). I shall, however, point out some divergencies within this tradition and discuss why certain elements and approaches have been rejected.

1. COMPETENCE AND INTERACTIONIST MODELS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

Hammersley (1981) has insightfully distinguished between 'action' (or interactionist) and 'competence' models of social interaction. He describes the latter thus:

In the competence approach, particular instances or recurring patterns of human activity are treated as competent displays of culture membership, and the discovery of the rules or procedures by which that activity was, or could have been, produced is taken as the exclusive goal. (op cit: 47-48)

This approach is clearly discernible in the works of linguists (e.g. Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Coulthard & Montgomery, 1981; Sinclair & Brazil, 1982) and ethnomethodologists (e.g. Cicourel et al, 1974; Payne, 1976; McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979; Davies, 1983). In these studies, classroom discourse and interactional features are presented as the product of classroom-members' co-operative and collaborative 'work' and as evidence of the 'implicit rules' regulating and defining social interaction. The strength of this approach is that it describes HOW social structures are accomplished and organised and how participants have to use their 'interpretive abilities' in order to participate in, accomplish and co-ordinate social interaction. The ethnomethodological

notion that social life needs to be continuously interpreted by invoking 'interpretive procedures' and engaging in ongoing 'work' (Garfinkel, 1967; Cicourel, 1973) in order to accomplish structure and co-ordinate action, is a notion which informs much of this study. In other words, I examine how human actors actively interpret what they hear and do in specific contexts in order to make sense of what is said and done.

However, a major problem in competence approaches is that they do not take account of participants' overlapping or conflicting interests; social interaction is viewed as a consensual product, produced by participants' shared interpretations of the 'rules'. Classroom participation structures i.e. the communicative rights and obligations of teachers and students, are treated as normative and ideal.¹ In the work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Mehan (1979), for instance, there is often ambiguity between how participants are orientated to social interaction and what all participants should be oriented to as a condition for their recognition as 'competent' lesson participants. 'Appropriate' behaviour is usually defined in terms of the analyst's and teacher's definition of the situation. The danger in such an approach, as Hammersley (1981) points out, is that non-conformity - which is not even envisaged - may be explained away easily as 'incompetence' rather

1. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), for instance, view teacher-student relationships as sufficiently well defined to be 'evident in the text' (i.e. in transcripts of talk). In their terms the 'rights' and 'obligations' of teachers and students are merely 'part of the general teaching situation and do not need to be invoked for the interpretation of a particular utterance' (op cit: 33 - emphasis added). Students are seen as merely responding to and confirming to the teacher's definition of the situation without challenging it (overtly or covertly) or exploiting the ambiguities inherent in utterances.

than a strategic, rational, decision-making process in which the teacher's definition of the situation is challenged and power relations are worked out.² In these terms competence approaches amount to a kind of normative or 'cognitive functionalism' (ibid: 49), an 'ideal-typical model of underlying discourse competence' (Stubbs, 1981: 29) and a 'polite consensus-collaborative model' (Burton, 1981: 64). Furthermore, competence models do not: account for how social, historical and material contexts affect the nature and structure of classroom discourse; or, question whether the forms of social interaction under examination are educatively beneficial or desirable.³ The mere identification of interactional patterns and descriptions of how communicative interaction is accomplished may obscure the fact that learning and understanding may not be taking place at all.⁴ This over-emphasis of the rule-governed nature of life overlooks the fact that 'order' also comes through power and restraint; it overlooks the structural settings of power, status and domination in which any

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2. In Mehan's (1979) study 'interactional competence' is defined as the student's ability to unite socially appropriate behaviour with topically relevant initiations or responses, i.e. correct academic content. Mehan argues that any disjunctions between these social and cognitive levels, which are forms of interactional incompetence, result in the students' contributions being ignored, blocked or reformulated by the teacher. What Mehan's study shows, in fact, is not so much that the students are 'incompetent', but that the teacher in a position of power and domination, defines what is in/appropriate in her own terms.
 3. Both Mehan's (1979) and Sinclair & Coulthard's (1975) studies are limited to a descriptive level; they show how social order is accomplished, but they do not question whether that order (which in both their studies describe highly teacher-centered forms of pedagogy) is most suited to students' learning outcomes.
 4. Lundgren's (1977) analysis of teacher-student exchange patterns, for instance, revealed that the language used 'establishes a pattern of communication which gives the illusion that learning is taking place' (p 202).

interaction has its actual, practical and situated meaning. It explains social order at the expense of detecting and accounting for patterns of social control. Sociolinguists such as Labov & Fanshell (1977) thus found the coherence of discourse may be established by social-psychological speech acts such as 'challenges', 'defences' and 'retreats' which relate to the authority/power relations and statuses of the participants and their changing relationships in terms of social organization. Their examination of 'propositions', i.e. recurrent communicative themes which related to the participants' personal biographies, revealed an underlying web of rights and obligations which were based on the participants' perceptions of their roles and positions. Labov & Franshell (1977: 58) express the need to discover such perceptions and examine communicative interaction within a fuller context when they write:

...only a detailed examination of the before and after, and all possible surrounding circumstances will make up for the fundamental difference between the outside analyst and the participant speaker. The analyst is not engaged in the interaction: he must make up for this limitation by reconstructing the event until he has knowledge almost equal to the participants.

'Ethnographic' researchers, obviously aware of the 'cultural' gap between observer and observed, deliberately spend long, intensive periods in the field in order to discover the tacit knowledge and meanings which operate in social interaction.

Participant observation and interviewing - which are important methodological departures from most competence approaches - are characteristic of interactionist or 'ethnographic' approaches to the

study of social interaction. In this tradition, the intentions and motives, which underlie any particular action, are related to the subject's or actor's perspective and definition of the situation. Interactionist theory which draws on Anthropology, Symbolic Interactionism and Social Phenomenology, has arisen out of a rejection of positivism and structural functionalism and the traditional scientific methods associated with it. The central methodological injunctions which have arisen from this perspective are to: use and accept members' categories and explanations as valid ways of making sense of and explaining the phenomena observed; examine critically the 'taken-for-granted' assumptions and meanings which order and construct members' worlds; treat knowledge or what counts as knowledge as socially constructed in inter-subjectively; and, to study how and why these determining categories persist.⁵ The value of the actor's viewpoint is asserted as the notion of a social system as a self-contained mechanism in which individuals merely serve as mechanical parts is rejected. Social life is seen as created and sustained through symbolic interactions in 'intersubjectivity': reality is seen as 'socially constructed' (eg. Schutz, 1970; Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1930; Berger & Luckman: 1967). Interactionist theory thus stresses that human actors are active, conscious and reflexive constructors of meaning. The actor, however, is not treated as completely autonomous and able to assert his/her individual free will as claimed by critics of action approaches and the 'new' sociology of education (e.g. Sarup, 1978; Sharp & Green,

5. See Sarup (1978: 13-23) for a fuller outline and discussion of these injunctions.

1975). The situations that actors face are assigned a considerable role in shaping their perspectives and actions⁶

In this view classroom life assumes a far more dynamic character than in competence approaches as it is recognised that not all teacher-student relationships are of a kind and that students play a considerable role in shaping and influencing what occurs in classrooms. Classroom patterns are seen as subject to 'negotiation' and 'bargaining' and the working out of power relations through 'strategic' action, which may lead to a 'negotiated settlement' (Hargreaves, 1975), or a 'working consensus' or 'truce' in which teachers and students recognise the coping necessities of each other (Pollard, 1984; 1985). Thus initial teacher-student encounters may be crucial in determining what can/cannot occur in classrooms as they may draw certain boundaries of social behaviour and academic work standards (Ball, 1980). Setting the boundaries of behaviour may lead to institutionalised and recurrent patterns of behaviour: certain negotiations may have been completed and sealed, leading to a fairly binding 'contract'. However, the teacher, by virtue of the power structure of the school system, is recognised as being in a far more powerful bargaining position (Delamont, 1976b). In this regard, student strategies are often seen as 'counter-strategies' (Denscombe, 1980). The teacher's power, nevertheless, may be circumscribed if s/he uses her/his power unfairly: students may develop strategies which break down the working consensus in an attempt to reinstate the conditions of the classroom contract. Students may become offensive or defensive and increase the 'survival threat' experienced by

6. See Hargreaves (1980: 189-193) and Hammersley (1980: 199-200).

the teacher (cf. Denscombe, 1980; Philips, 1972; Dumont, 1972)⁷. Thus classroom participants may have conflicting interests and pedagogical relationships, likewise, may be antagonistic.

Interactionist approaches, which inform much of this study, have clearly demonstrated that classrooms are complex social settings and that meanings and identities are constructed and negotiated through social interaction. They point to the vital necessity to examine the specific context of the situation in which communicative interaction takes place and how such contexts create specific meanings, interactional patterns and pedagogical relationships. Thus intensive observation, supplemented with interviews are necessary in order to understand how particular meanings and actions are tied to the social identities, statuses and orientations of particular participants and how such factors sustain, constitute and change the definition of the situation. A severe limitation in most of these studies, however, is that they support a vague pluralistic view of society and overlook wider structural similarities and constraints operative in classrooms. They tend to

7. Philips' and Dumont's studies both show how Sioux and Cherokee students, receiving instruction from traditional-type American teachers, rejected and resisted the teachers' conventional ways of exercising authority and teaching through sustained, student-controlled silence. Silence served as a strategy in a network of student defences which they used to deal with the conflict resulting from cultural differences. Both studies illustrate how the differences between community and classroom participation structures result in student non-participation in the classroom on the one hand, and how students would participate in lessons if these structures and lesson content paralleled those of their communities, on the other.

The differences between participation structures and language use at home and school on the local scene has received attention in Chick & Claude's (1985) work, but unfortunately is way beyond the scope of my research.

ignore the wider structural parameters which constrain and influence what is/is not 'negotiated' in the classroom: they overlook the role that schools and society play in constraining, shaping and influencing actors' viewpoints, perspectives and practices⁸.

2. 'NEW' SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Although educational theorists such as Young (1971), Bernstein (1971, 1977) and Bourdieu (1976a, 1976b) share similar theoretical views to interactionist theories in that reality and knowledge are seen as social constructs sustained through symbolic and interpretive patterns of interaction, they examine how schools, on an ideological-cultural level, reproduce social inequalities (or class relations) through the overt and hidden curriculum. In other words, they pay close attention to how educational institutions contribute to aspects of socialization and social control, which can be seen as attempts to shape students in terms of cultural, cognitive and moral ideals and values appropriate to the various positions in the occupational and authority hierarchy, through interactional and symbolic processes. Teachers and students may be inculcated with distinctive ways of perceiving and acting in the world. These patterns may become a deeply embedded habit-forming force; they may become a 'habitus', which constitutes part of their 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1976b).

8. See Hargreaves (1980: 172-173) who admits this as a limitation in interactionist studies.

In this view, the taken-for-granted assumptions and perspectives which guide teachers' and students' practices are not merely explicated, they are problematised and critiqued in order to trace the socio-historical origins and consequences of knowledge.⁹ Knowledge is treated as a specific social act with specific underlying social relationships. In these terms the question of power as control over reality definition and communication is central to the social organisation of knowledge (Esland, 1971). Educational opportunity is partly seen as conditional on the assumptions that teachers have about their teaching 'subjects', about pedagogy, the intellectual status of their students and about what constitutes thinking, which form part of the teacher's teaching ideology (Esland, op cit). Different views of knowledge embody and give rise to different pedagogical relationships and practices. These psychological pedagogical models are seen as largely self-fulfilling. The ways in which schools and teachers classify, stream and 'label' students according to 'ability', intelligence, class, gender and so on, may give rise to differential treatments in the ways in which teachers distribute and define what counts as knowledge and interact and communicate with their students (cf. Keddie, 1971). These classifications and labels

9. This is an important feature which distinguishes the 'new' sociology of education paradigm and methodology from ethnomethodological studies which are too loosely lumped under the former category by certain writers (eg. Sharp & Green, 1975). While both approaches examine the taken-for-granted assumptions; interpretive processes and intentions which guide human behaviour, ethnomethodologists tease out these features in order to describe or explicate the 'practical, everyday-reasoning and interpretive rules' which accomplish action ie. they show the 'common-sense/reasoning' which enables social interaction to take place. Writers in the 'new' sociology of education paradigm do not only examine this 'common-sense'; they challenge it and show its political dimensions.

select and process people and knowledge for an unequal and stratified hierarchical society.

Bernstein (1971) has argued further that it is crucial how what is taught is 'classified' and 'framed' as it affects the degree of control that teachers and students possess over the selection, pacing and organization of knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship. The ways in which teachers and students conceptualize the knowledge that they are transmitting and receiving and the ways in which that knowledge itself is classified in terms of the curriculum, affects pedagogical relationships and practices: there is an intermeshing of the overt and hidden curriculum. Differentiation of knowledge within and between subjects arises out of an ever intensifying division of labour. How and what values and attitudes are transmitted through the overt and hidden curriculum and whether these values and attitudes serve to sustain or resist existing social relations of the existing social system are crucial to the process of schooling. How schools, teachers and students structure and define what counts as 'useful' or 'desirable' knowledge may serve to uphold existing social relations and dominant values by producing, for instance, divisions between manual and mental labour in capitalist societies. If knowledge is bound into tight, separate 'subject' areas and viewed as discrete, 'objective' bodies of knowledge which contain 'facts' to be learned, it is likely that there will be very little, if any, negotiation or reconstruction of knowledge: transmission forms of pedagogy are likely to prevail. On the other hand, if the socio-historical relativity of knowledge is recognised, then knowledge - in the very manner that it is classified and

transmitted and exchanged - is open to reconstruction. Relativising knowledge contains the radical potential to transform knowledge structures and social relations. As Esland (1971: 97) notes:

Relativism strikes at the roots of taken for granted reality and is usually resisted, not only because it may lead to an existential vacuum, but because it also relativises authority and institutionally-convenient divisions of labour. (emphasis added)

Learning a subject, for instance, involves learning its language. But how teachers mediate between the everyday language of their students and the language teachers consider necessary to their subjects, may either reify and alienate knowledge or dereify it within the conceptual frameworks of their students so that those very frameworks may become a source for critical reflection and enquiry. Here the division of labour and social stratification in the wider society may be reflected in the ways in which teachers display their social (class) identities and subject 'territories' and allegiances by marking these boundaries by demanding 'specialist' vocabularies and registers as demonstrated by Barnes, Britton & Rosen (1971), Rosen (1972) and Edwards (1978). Thus relativising knowledge provides a powerful point of departure for examining whose interests knowledge serves and for reconstructing knowledge so that its historically contingent and political nature may be traced, and thereby, contesting knowledge and truth claims debated and discussed. Through such a process teachers and students could begin to examine how knowledge may be manipulated and distorted in the interests of the ruling class and dominant ideologies. As Giroux (1980: 237) - commenting on the validity of 'new' sociology of education paradigm - notes, these studies demonstrate that:

...knowledge is a social construction, and in so doing it lays the theoretical groundwork for understanding that the relationship between power and knowledge is not necessarily one that automatically guarantees hegemony or domination.

What these studies point to is that it is necessary to examine how human agents ie. teachers and students, involved in the schooling process, either serve to sustain or resist dominant ideologies and social relations through the ways in which they view and transmit knowledge through the overt and hidden curriculum. Human agents, produce meanings and cultural forms which may reproduce hegemonic structures, social relations and ideologies; but they may also seek to transform them through a reflective and 'creative use of discourses, meanings, materials and practices and group processes to explore, understand and creatively occupy particular positions, relations and sets of material possibilities' (Willis, 1983: 114). Schooling, however, cannot be analysed apart from the socio-economic context in which it is situated. It is necessary to consider how the distribution of wealth and power in a given society affects the 'relative autonomy' of schools and how these structural dynamics limit what is/not possible for teachers and students to achieve in their concrete work place. The 'relative autonomy' of schools (and therefore the relative autonomy of teachers and students) depends not only on how aware teachers and students are of possible alternatives and the degree to which they have developed a critical, political consciousness which clearly perceives that schools are tied to the interests of dominant ideologies and the ruling class, but also on the material conditions existent at schools, which are a direct outcome of wider structural determinants. Here it is vital to consider how factors such as class size, the non/availability of material resources,

together with the personal biographies of classroom participants place limitations on what teachers and students can achieve practically in schools and classrooms. If teachers and students simply do not have materials and resources which enable different viewpoints, ideas and methodologies to be explored, the task of using 'discourses' and meanings creatively and in a critical light will be all the more difficult. School settings generate pressure and limits on what teachers and students can achieve. Furthermore, the degree to which the state controls the education system via syllabuses, examination systems, the hiring and firing of teachers, and the allocation of financial resources to schools, undoubtedly places further limits on the 'autonomy' of schools, teachers and students. Thus it is vital to examine how human agents interact dialectically with wider structural forces and how dominant ideologies, social practices and material conditions influence and shape classroom practices. In this way we can begin to explore what is/is not possible for teachers and students to do in order to transform their practices. We need to examine whether teachers and students are in a position to create pedagogical situations and practices - within the given material conditions of their work place - which enable them to think critically and creatively about the world in which they live so that they may take greater control of it.

The structural, linguistic and material constraints operative on teachers and students in black schools are outlined in Chapter 4 when the school, teachers and students are situated within the broader context of black education discussed in Chapter 3. In the chapter which

follows I shall outline the theoretical and practical problems which contributed to the research procedures employed.

CHAPTER 2RESEARCH METHODOLOGYINTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter it was argued that participant observation and interviewing are necessary in order to overcome the limitations of 'systematic observation' and 'competence' approaches. In this chapter I outline the practical and theoretical problems, interests and methods which shaped the 'ethnographic' procedures finally adopted. The problems inherent in participant observation and interviewing - which are key features of qualitative ethnographic classroom research - are discussed in a detailed reflexive light. Rejecting traditional research methods and claims of 'objectivity', the chapter argues throughout that the researcher has an impact on the world of the subjects and that the 'validity' of qualitative research depends, ultimately, on the kind of social relationship/s that the researcher establishes with the subject/s.

The ethnographic or 'anthropological' approach to classroom research is a well established element in the U.K., represented by various collections and studies (eg. Stubbs & Delamont, 1976; Woods & Hammersley, 1977; Woods, 1979a, 1980a). Most of this work in this tradition is founded upon - to a greater or lesser extent - a

theoretical perspective derived from Symbolic Interactionism and Social Phenomenology and also includes strands of Marxism, as in the work of Sharp & Green (1975) and Willis (1977).

Methodologically, the ethnographic researcher uses participant observation, field notes, field recordings and interviews over long periods of time in the field in order to immerse him/herself in the 'culture' and world of the subjects observed and to notice the emergence of 'salient issues' (Delamont & Hamilton, 1976). The data and research strategy is not preconceived and pre-categorised which allows for a flexible open-endedness which becomes progressively more focussed. Thus no standard format for collecting observations exists for different situations and purposes. Qualitative case-studies are used in order to discover the context-dependency of particular forms of behaviour, which may share similar patterns in other contexts. This procedure enables the researcher to make 'generalizable' statements about classroom situations and behaviour which have shown to concur over a variety of settings.

As this study was not carried out with a pre-defined theoretical framework into which the research process conveniently slotted, I shall outline certain processes and issues which contributed to the methodology finally adopted.

INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS

A vital factor which proved to be very influential in the nature of this research was that this study arose out of my own interest and not upon invitation from the school, teachers and students concerned. This meant that I had to seek permission to conduct the study as opposed to being invited to do so. This research context places the researcher and the subjects observed on a certain footing (this shall be elaborated upon) and makes the research DESCRIPTIVE AND INTERVENTIONIST in nature, rather than 'action'-oriented. This study, thus, does not follow an action research approach, which deliberately seeks, not only to contribute to the practical concerns of people in a problematic situation within a mutually agreed upon ethical framework, but also to find solutions to and ways of overcoming the problems that the subjects experience and face.¹

THE SCHOOL

As I was not invited by any particular school at which to conduct research, I simply had to choose one. Two basic criteria were used to decide upon a school:

1. See Susman (1983); Adleman (1981b) and Eliot & Adleman (1973) 'Unit 2: Research Method' in the FORD TEACHING PROJECT, amongst others, for comments and descriptions on action research programmes.

- (i) the teaching staff was to be composed only of black (African) teachers
- (ii) the school was to be one with which I had had some previous contact when supervising student-teachers on their teaching practices in secondary schools in Soweto.

These criteria were considered important for the following reasons:

- (a) secondary schools in Soweto which have a 'multi-racial' staff and which are headed by white Afrikaans-speaking principals were felt to be tension-ridden and less open to the idea of research.²
- (b) the study was to be of teachers and students from the same 'speech community' (cf Hymes, 1972b: xxxvii) rather than a study of the problems involved in cross-cultural communication³ and teaching.
- (c) As I did not seek official permission from the DET authorities to conduct my research, it was vital to secure permission from a headmaster with whom I had had an open relationship in the past;

2. This was borne out in practice when I approached a white headmaster - with whom I had had some previous contact - to conduct research at his school. The idea was met with suspicion and reluctance, both by him and the teacher - who coincidentally happened to be a white, English-speaking middle-aged man - whose lessons I wanted to observe and record. Rosemary Lennard has had similar experiences with white teachers in her research (personal communication).

3. Problems in cross-cultural communication between minority Asiatic groups and Londoners communicating in English have been insightfully examined by Gumperz, Jupp & Roberts (1979). Chick (1983), who has analysed inter-cultural communication between Zulu-speaking students and a white South African English-speaking tutor at Maritzburg University, illuminates on the local scene how different interpretative 'schemata' and 'contextualisation cues' used by these speakers communicatively and interactionally enact and accomplish racial stereotyping and discrimination.

and be at a school where at least certain staff-members knew me so that I was not viewed as a total stranger.

- (d) The findings of the research are aimed, primarily, at black teacher training. As the majority of black teachers are trained in separate institutions, this training is seen as an important contributory factor towards the ways in which black teachers conceptualise and enact their classroom practices.

As Mkhize Secondary School in Soweto satisfied these criteria, it was chosen as a suitable school.

THE FIRST FIELD WORK STINT

As mentioned in the introduction, in the initial stages of my research I was interested in discovering what linguistic demands were made on black students entering secondary school and whether the teachers used a 'subject register' which was possibly beyond the linguistic and communicative repertoires of their students. The study was limited to two Standard 6 History classes as it was felt that examining the linguistic demands across the curriculum would have proved too much to handle.

After I had observed and recorded lessons and conducted a few interviews with some students about the constraints that they experienced in having to communicate in English in the classroom; and transcribed and analysed most of the data collected, I realized that the field work conducted and the research procedures adopted were inadequate to answer questions

which the analyses of the data had evoked. I simply could not determine whether the teachers and students really understood the words or concepts that they were using. I found that there were instances of 'miscommunication'; but I could not work out definitely, for instance, whether the 'wrong' answers that students gave were simply 'wrong' because they did not understand their teachers' questions; or because the teachers did not realize the possible answers which were embedded in the 'semantic networks' of their questions. In terms of the latter, my analyses clearly demonstrated that the students' answers did have validity, relevance and logic.⁴

I also could not determine whether the teachers and students really 'understood' what they were saying when there appeared to be no 'communication problem'.⁵

I also could not explain whether students structured their answers in certain ways and used certain terminology because they thought it the most accurate and meaningful, or because there were certain non-

4. Hammersley (1977) has pointed out that most of the students answers in the lesson he analysed could be demonstrated to contain these features. He warns, however, that attempting to demonstrate this leads the analyst on a 'wild goose chase' as what counts as 'correct' knowledge is usually decided by the teacher in terms of his/her frame of reference.

5. This latter point is particularly important in terms of Karl Muller's findings that classroom discourse may appear well structured and unproblematic, but that the discourse structure may obscure the 'sham practice' and 'meaningless interchanges' which underlie the discourse. See Muller, K (1985).

It is also worth noting that Sinclair & Coulthard, who did a linguistic analysis of classroom discourse, admit that they could not determine whether students really understood what was being taught. See Sinclair & Coulthard (1975 : 113).

linguistic constraints which determined what they said and how they said it. Furthermore, I could not determine why the teachers interacted with specific students in specific ways. In short, I could not account for how the social structure of the classroom affected what the students could do, say and mean on a social and cognitive level.⁶ I could not account for the intentions, motives and strategies behind this 'hard' linguistic data.⁷ I simply had not seeped deeply enough into the culture of the classroom and had not conducted enough interviews on the issues or categories which the data analyses had raised. I had to return to the field in order to answer some of the questions which had been raised and problematised.

TEACHERS AND STUDENTS : THE SECOND FIELD WORK

The following year, I 'followed' the students rather than the teachers, ie. I went to observe, record and interview some of the same students at Standard 7 level. I also decided to carry out a 'peripheral' study of a matric History class as I felt that some 'rich' data could be collected

6. Barnes & Todd arrived at a similar position when they analysed student group communication. They emphasised that in order to understand how communication and learning are interrelated it is necessary to analyse the 'strategies' that are used rather than the linguistic forms or discourse structures. See Barnes & Todd (1981 : 74).

7. Stubbs' (1981) injunction that linguistic data should be inspected 'systemically' in order to determine how the linguistic system enables and constrains communication, proved useful but limited. Although one can account for the predictive and constraining values of discourse items, one cannot be sure that communicative interactional sequences occur purely because of these values or because of some other (hidden) strategic reasons. In order to determine this a systemic analysis needs to be supplemented with participants' accounts of such interactions.

at this level, ie. I anticipated that matric students would be able to give articulate accounts of what they meant when they did and said things in the classroom. It was also felt that a 'comparative' study of these levels would illuminate the ways in which the extended linguistic and communicative repertoires of matric students solved or compounded the communicative difficulties experienced at the Standard 6 and Standard 7 level. While extending the target group to include a matric class, I also limited the study to ONE Standard 7 class interacting with their social studies (History and Geography) teacher and English teacher. English lessons were included in order to examine whether this area of school 'knowledge' and learning provided the students with more opportunities to learn to communicate in the medium of instruction than in History. Furthermore, I felt it important to investigate: (a) whether different teachers caused a significant change on; the pedagogical and social structure of the classroom, the quality of communicative interaction, and the distribution of knowledge; and (b) how these relations related to and were influenced by the 'ideologies' and perspectives underlying the teachers' and students' classroom practices and their material working conditions.

My second period of field work which was conducted virtually a year after the first (ie. 16/4/84-8/6/84) thus entailed observing, recording and interviewing three new teachers, a new class (Standard 10) and one Standard 7 class which was composed of students with whom I had previously spent an entire term. This sample and field work formed the basis of this study.

THE CLASSES AND TEACHERS

The classes chosen were Standard 7a and Standard 10b as they had the least degree of overlap on the school time-table. It must be stressed that I was not aware at that time that these classes represented the 'best ability' groups according to the school's streaming process or that these classes had lower than average teacher-student ratios. Most of the students in these classes were 'of age' for their respective standards. The average ages in Standard 7a and Standard 10b were 14 and 18 respectively. There were 22 female and 9 male students in Standard 7a, and 10 male and 5 female students in Standard 10b⁸ (ie. the teacher-student ratios in Standard 7a and Standard 10b were 1:31 and 1:15 respectively).

The teachers, likewise, were simply 'chosen' because they happened to teach these classes. Certainly there was an element of 'design' as regards the level and classes to be observed : the actual classes and teachers, however, were not chosen for any other theoretical reasons than those mentioned above. For instance, it was pure coincidence that the three teachers were male and Zulu-speaking. A 'scientific' researcher would want to isolate and control such variables: I had no such intentions: I merely took what came and considered whether these variables were salient and influential during my fieldwork and in later analyses.

8. The Standard 10b teacher-student ratio was small due to the fact that history was a 'specialization' subject and therefore did not include the full complement of the Standard 10b class.

GAINING ENTRANCE TO CLASSROOMS

At the outset of both periods of field work I had to gain permission from the headmaster and teachers concerned to conduct my research. The headmaster willingly gave his consent and was supportive of research being conducted at his school. After having gained the headmaster's permission for the second period of field work, I approached the three teachers concerned and outlined the purposes of my research as wanting to examine whether the medium of instruction posed any communicative difficulties in the classroom, as they and their students were at a 'linguistic disadvantage' compared with their white counterparts. I also mentioned, however, that this 'problem' might not be as serious as our common-sense knowledge may lead us to believe as they (ie. the teachers and students) were from the same speech community and that this, in itself, would not pose the sorts of problems involved in cross cultural communication. I also argued that if 'Black South African English' was to be exposed to the sorts of analyses that Labov (1973) had carried out into urban ghetto Negro English that it could be demonstrated to have a logical structure of its own. I also mentioned that I was willing to discuss or even jointly plan any lessons and resource materials for lessons with them if they thought this desirable. Furthermore, I made it quite clear that I was not examining or evaluating their personal competence and that they were to carry on with their lessons as normal.

Now obviously I presented my purposes and services in rather paternalistic terms. This was done both to outline an aspect of my

research and to conceal some of my other purposes. I felt that if the teachers would have known my exact purposes at the outset, they would have 'watched out' for these things in their classroom practices: I felt that the field might be 'disturbed'.⁹

The teachers, interestingly, never co-opted me into discussing their lessons (Mr Nhlapo, the Standard 10b History teacher, however, made use of some materials that he asked me for). Mr Nhlapo, who I knew as a student-teacher at the Soweto Teacher Training College was open to the idea of my research. Mr Mazibuko, the Standard 7 English teacher was somewhat hesitant and mentioned that he was doing some revision work, but gave his consent. Mr Ntuli, the Standard 7a Social Studies teacher, also gave his consent, but quite justifiably wanted to know what the research was going to 'prove' and how it would help what was going on in their classrooms. I had to admit that I did not know and that I could only answer such questions once the research had been completed. On this somewhat 'imperialistic' footing I gained entrance to their classrooms.¹⁰

9. Sharp & Green adopted a similar strategy in their field work procedures. See Sharp & Green (1975 : 23). This, in light of Willis' (1980) paper illustrates a covert positivist assumption. The naivety of this assumption is discussed later.

10. I have realized, upon reflection, that it is far more ethical and desirable to (a) conduct research upon invitation and (b) to examine areas which are defined as problematic by the subjects themselves, ie. to engage in action-research.

Wilson (1983) has pointed out that even in phenomenological-type research, researcher and subject/s do not interact as equals. Researchers usually presume caretaking roles and thereby reflect and reproduce the broader bureaucratic/meritocratic structures of an advanced industrial society and the wider social division of labour. My 'imperialistic' description is made in the light of this justified criticism.

In my first meetings with the students I outlined my research purposes in the same terms as I had to the teachers. After this 'introduction' the students were given the floor to raise any questions which they had. Needless to say, they asked many pointed questions. I shall briefly outline these questions in order to illustrate the nature of the questions asked; I shall not include all my answers in detail as this would take too much space. I shall also include the questions raised during my first field work 'introduction' to the Standard 6 students in order to briefly illustrate the shifting concerns of some of these students and the nature of the relationship established after this first field work.

In my first contact with the Standard 6 and Standard 10b students, the questions raised revolved, mainly, around my research. Some of the Standards 6 questions were: "Why did you come to this school? Why are you observing at Standard 6 level and not at other levels? Why are you only interested in History lessons? What do you do with your tape-recordings? Are you a student or a teacher? How long will you be here?" etc. I answered their questions in terms of my purposes outlined above.

In our first meeting the following year (ie. 1984) the Standard 7a students asked questions of a very different nature; such as: "Why do most whites hate blacks and only a few whites like blacks? Why are the ANC freedom fighters being imprisoned all the time? Why did Mocambique sign the Nkomati accord?", and so on. These questions might have been posed to 'test' my political position; but more fundamentally they were

asked from a point of genuine concern and from an awareness of current events.¹¹ That such questions were publicly posed should partially illustrate the degree of 'openness' that had already been established through our previous encounters. Furthermore, it should illustrate that some of these students were politically concerned and aware. (This is a fairly important point which, besides being examined in greater detail later on, needs to be borne in mind when the Standard 7 Social Studies teacher's perspectives of his students are outlined.)

The Standard 10b students wanted to know, amongst other things, if I was working for the government, what my research would demonstrate and what recommendations I thought would come out the study. Of course I made it quite clear that I was a student from the University of Cape Town (UCT) and was in no way attached to the government; but I could not outline what my research would 'prove'. The students also made it quite clear during this meeting that it was imperative that English be retained as a medium of instruction and that it was vital that they should be proficient in using this linguistic tool.

The strategy of encouraging students to pose questions, undoubtedly, opened up rapport and created a fairly sound basis for conducting interviews and being present in the classroom. Both these activities, however, had a definite impact on the subjects.

11. Maree comments that certain students posed questions to 'test' her during her field work and that the questions asked came from 'a high degree of awareness of current events'. See Maree (1984 : 155).

THE POSITIVIST ASSUMPTION IN PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Willis (1980) has pointed out that qualitative research which employs participant observation, may covertly share positivist assumptions. He argues that the methods used and the attitude adopted in qualitative research places too much emphasis on preserving the 'objective' characteristics of the subject. There is an attempt to avoid 'disturbing the field', by allowing substantive concepts and hypotheses to emerge on their own¹² and by establishing a one-to-one relationship with the subject. These procedures are adopted so that the ethnographer's final account mirrors the real concerns and world of the subject, rather than the 'patterns of received theory' (p 89).¹³ This concern emphasises the PASSIVITY of the participant observer and 'depends on a belief that the subject of the research is really an object' (ibid).

If we are interested in conveying the subjective meanings, orientations and cultures of others through qualitative methods, our own role as researchers in conveying and constructing such meanings must be made explicit. We must demonstrate the researcher's INTERVENTIONIST role

12. The research procedures adopted by Glaser & Strauss (1967) which attempt to discover 'grounded theory' are a good example of this approach. I did not manage to 'saturate' all the categories which arose during my field work. Furthermore, my theoretical position is not derived purely from empirical evidence. See Sharp & Green (1975 : 233) who make a similar observation.

13. See Schutz (1970 : 271) who has argued that the ordering and cohesion of society must be sought in the orientations of individuals guided by their spheres of life which are relevant to their own existence so that the 'fictitious' world of the scientific researcher/observer is avoided.

which inevitably takes place. Raw-data cannot merely speak for itself. The researcher will inevitably select and categorise slices of the subjects' life world which are of interest to the researcher and which appear important and problematic to the subjects observed. This 'world' cannot be viewed as neutral and objective. Received data is filtered through the mental framework of the researcher/observer. As Mehan & Wood (1983 : 70) put it:

One reality cannot investigate another without running it through its own knowledge and reasoning system.

In this sense, theories, descriptions and explanations do ultimately demonstrate their own assumptions and the conceptual constructs of the researcher. On one level the perspective of the observer is intertwined with those of the subjects observed: no objective characteristics can be said to exist independent of the observer's perspectives and methods. On another level, the researcher needs to investigate which characteristics and patterns are recurrent, established and institutionalised and not directly influenced by the participant observer. The researcher needs to account for the multiple meanings and perspectives which are inherent in any social situation and how the researcher/observer has influenced the subjects' situation.

Of course, the subjective meanings and culture of the individuals observed may be contradictory, ambiguous and inconsistent: they may contradict the meanings and inner world of the researcher. This is inevitable as social life, on the one hand, is emergent, novel and in flux; on another, it does contain and reveal patterns which have a degree of 'regularity'. Human actors are conscious, reflexive and

intentional creators of meaning and structure; yet they are situated and located in historically pre-existing and emergent social, political, moral and economic structures. Interacting individuals approach their life worlds with historically typified stocks of knowledge which draw on structures of experience crystallised in linguistic, economic, political and social practices that are both taken-for-granted and made problematic. These practices and structures provide frames of references against which individuals approach and make sense of their world. In other words, self-reflexive and intentional individuals interact dialectically with socially and materially constraining and enabling structures which, together, produce social relations that manifest themselves as recurring structural forms (Denzin, 1983). The inner logic and contradictions of these meanings can only be discovered by participating in the world and culture of interacting individuals.

I have suggested that the participant observer inevitably intervenes in and influences the world of the subjects observed and that while social situations are continuously created and new, they also contain regular patterns. I would now like to consider these features in greater detail as regards the role of the participant observer and the impact that the researcher has on the subjects observed.

THE IMPACT OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION?

Although I had 'concealed' some of my research interests, my very presence and 'purpose' in the classroom undoubtedly caused a 'shift' in some of the teachers' and students' behavioural patterns. In some

interviews when I explicitly asked the teachers and students if they had noticed any changes in their own and each others' behaviours and whether my presence caused any effects; the students invariably remarked that both they and their teachers were acting quite normally: the teachers, however, remarked that there were changes. Mr Ntuli (the Standard 7 Geography/History teacher) admitted that he was initially suspicious of me and that he went to consult a member of the staff whom I had taught as a student-teacher at the Soweto Training College. He also remarked that he felt that the students were also initially 'sceptical', but that after a period of 'settling in' things carried on 'normally'.¹⁴ I include an excerpt from an interview in which Mr Ntuli made this observation.

Your presence in the classroom at first created some scepticism - you see - about what is the tape-recorder for and all that. Until such time I even went to ask Mr - . No he explained everything and then I was becoming freer. You know, with our way of life these days, you see a person with a tape-recorder, especially in an educational set-up and you think 'Oh gosh' - you expect a knock at the door in the early hours of the morning.

Mr Mazibuko (the Standard 7 English teacher) undoubtedly felt a certain discomfort, but responded in an interview that he felt 'all right' about my presence and that he enjoyed my stay at the school. Mr Nhlapo (the Standard 10 History teacher) remarked that he prepared his lessons more thoroughly than usual but that he did not experience any undue discomfort. Both these teachers commented that their students were more

14. A number of researchers who have used 'participant observation' methods have remarked that their presence had only a minimal effect on classroom behaviour and that the participants carry on as normal after a settling in period. See, for instance, Lemke (1982 : 45) and Bellack et al (1966 : 11).

talkative and participatory in class. A common observation from them was that the presence of recording equipment stimulated rather than inhibited student talk.¹⁵ Mr Mazibuko, in particular, said his students were more 'responsive' because they 'wanted to appear on the tape'. Mr Nhlapo said his students were more 'active' in class because he thought that they tried to 'impress me'.

What stands out from these observations is that a participant observer undoubtedly has an impact on what occurs inside a classroom. The field IS 'disturbed' to some degree: the observer enters into a social relationship with the subjects and affects their situation.

Mr Nhlapo's words below, elicited during an interview, describe this changing situation clearly.

I think the presence of a stranger creates a new situation and not the one that exists. But it depends on the kind of stranger who is in the class; had it been an inspector, the situation would have been tense; but since you put your motives clearly to the class, they were very open and they were comfortable.

Furthermore, the fact that issues of talking in class and asking teachers questions were raised in interviews, may also have caused shifts in behavioural patterns. (This issue is addressed in greater detail in the section on interviewing.)

15. cf. Boggs (1982) who found that the tape-recorder to Hawaaiian children represented 'receptivity' and that they would often volubly volunteer information and observations into the recorder.

It is doubtful, however, that the field is RADICALLY disturbed over long periods of observation: unless the researcher deliberately attempts to do so, or if the researcher and subjects are working within a mutually agreed upon framework towards change. (The latter would be the basis for action - research which has the potential to bring about change through the actual research process.) Obviously new patterns and situations are created and emerge, as I have outlined; but the older, habitual and entrenched patterns which pre-exist the observer's arrival continue and are discernable. Interacting individuals establish patterns of 'doing' interactions in localised practices which are constrained by the individuals' personal biographies, socialization and material and social structures. Established and institutionalised patterns exist and persist through the continued use of the same schemes of interpretation which are maintained, on one level, through their continued confirmation by the defining acts of others (cf Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969; Schutz, 1970); and by the distribution of power and material resources in the wider society, on another. These historically typified stocks of knowledge are undoubtedly deeply embedded; they become crystallised structures. They cannot simply be 'removed', in toto, overnight. Denzin (1983 :13)) is instructive here when he notes that:

These crystallized structures assume taken-for-granted meanings, yet they constrain and control the individual and shape, as well the ensembles of social relationships that the person inhabits.

These taken-for-granted assumptions and symbolic meanings which underlie our actions, provide us with ways and means of accomplishing

interactions and of making sense of the world.¹⁶ It is on this deeper level that the observing participant needs to account for and make problematic those underlying meanings which guide and orient individuals in specific, localised and constitutive practices. Furthermore, the observer needs to account for how wider social structures and dominant ideologies interpenetrate, influence and socially control these practices.

INTERVIEWING AND CONTEXTS OF TALK

I have argued that an analysis of data alone is insufficient, if we are interested in accounting for the intentions, motives and meanings which underlie spoken texts. Data or texts are DISPLAYS of intent: they cannot fully capture or guarantee the participants' orientations to communicative interaction. To 'validate' such meanings, the observer/analyst needs to gain participants' accounts on the data.¹⁷ In other words, one needs to collect and compare different perspectives on the same situation; the analyst's account needs to be cross-checked with a number of participants' accounts. This 'triangulation' procedure, at least partially, provides a means of validating the analyst's interpretation. Furthermore, the researcher needs to gain participants' accounts on a variety of situations in order to compare how

16. Garfinkel's (1967) experiments in 'breaching' these assumptions and norms clearly demonstrate how individuals' sense of the world and their social roles may be thrown into complete disarray when these assumptions are deliberately ignored.

17. See Hammersley (1981) who clearly and forcefully makes this point in his criticisms of purely linguistic analyses of communicative interaction.

participants' behaviours change within and across contexts, so that a 'coherent' picture of the consistencies and contradictions within and across these contexts is obtained.

THE INTERVIEWS

All interviews with the Standard 7 students were conducted inside their classroom at random opportunities, such as during their free and study periods, during breaks and when teachers were absent for their periods. Students were usually interviewed in their 'friendship' and 'academic' groups in order to put the students at their ease.¹⁸ Students from different groups were interviewed together very infrequently as these interviews were conflict-ridden. Although these emerging conflicts proved useful in that I gained different students' perspectives on one another's behaviours and orientations, this social dynamic was largely avoided because students in less supportive and powerful positions were inhibited from talking.¹⁹ As reference will be made to these groups throughout this dissertation, I shall briefly outline them. Of course, it must be borne in mind that these groupings are not always watertight and static; individuals from certain groups may enter different 'interaction sets' (Furlong, 1976). Fairly stable group identification and behaviour, such as in girls or boys peer groups, across contexts,

18. Woods used the same interviewing procedures for the same reason. See Woods (1981).

19. The reader may wonder why I did not intervene in such cases and create opportunities for the less vociferous students to talk: the fact is that the vocal and vociferous students would often 'ignore' me when they were involved in heated debates or arguments.

particularly in relation to their orientation towards school, other students and social interests, are, however, discernable.²⁰

A 'boys' group consisting of Ivan, Gordon, Campton, Thabo, Eric and William who was a monitor, sat in the one corner at the back of the classroom. They were on average, 15 years old and therefore older than most students. This 'boys group' undoubtedly comprised the most politicised and politically orientated members of the class.

A highly visible 'girls group' consisting of Johanna, Caroline, Noktula and Franscina (who were 14 years on average) formed the most vocal group inside the classroom. Although this group was not as socially cohesive as the boys group, it will be shown that they acted in solidarity with one another as they had similar orientations towards school and learning.

Another 'girls group' consisting of Franscina 2, - the female monitor - Violet, Ruth and Zanela, formed a cohesive social/academic group in much the same way as did the boys.

The younger male students, Aaron, Alpha and Simon, who maintained a low and quiet profile, formed another cohesive group.

Beyond these 'visible' groups it appeared that some students, such as Cynthia (the 'weakest' student in the class) and Lorraine (a quiet but

20. See Meyenn, 1980; Delamont, 1976b and Willis, 1977 amongst other studies which demonstrate this.

high academic achiever) tended to remain apart from the students and had friends from other classes. The remaining students' 'groupings' were difficult to determine as I was not doing a sociogrammatic study of the class. They appeared, however, to be very fluid and loose.

The friendship/academic groups in the 10b class were very difficult to determine simply because I did not spend as much time with these students and also because the History class did not consist of all the Standard 10b students. Contrary to the Standard 7 interviews, the matric students were usually interviewed outside their classroom whenever they were available. This proved to be seldom, as the students were comparatively very busy and pressurised with work. (During my field work, I realized that detailed ethnographic research is probably best conducted at lower standards.) While I often moved around the Standard 7 class, watching students work, converse and play; this activity was not possible with the matrices.

Being present in the Standard 7 class afforded me opportunities to interview students in their groups and also enabled students to approach me and initiate topics of conversation. At times I would pick up the 'thread' of students' conversations that I overheard and join 'in' in the discussion or ask open-ended questions such as 'Do you want to comment on anything that is happening in your classroom?' 'Do you want to comment on anything that happened in today's/yesterday's lesson', etc. These informal and unstructured 'interviews', which became progressively more focussed, allowed me to notice issues which appeared problematic or important to the students and filled me in on the

'history' of the class - which I had not previously shared - and gave me insights into the students orientations towards school, social issues, their teachers, subjects, etc.²¹

Fairly 'structured'²² interviews were also used to gain the students' and teachers' comments on communicative interactional sequences which I pre-selected and presented to the participants in the form of transcripts²³ and/or tape-recordings. These 'review' sessions were conducted for the following reasons:

- (i) to gain students' accounts of what they meant (cognitively) and did (socially) when they said things in response to teachers' elicitations, or when they initiated exchange sequences, ie. the students were asked to 'explicate' the tacit knowledge or frames of references that they were using to attribute meaning to the knowledge or information exchanged and the interpersonal relationships established in

21. Mehan & Wood (1983) have argued that unstructured interviews do not yield 'relevant' data. I strongly contest this: very useful and 'relevant' data often arises from the subjects themselves and not through the researcher's 'control' of selecting topics for discussion and investigation.

22. 'Structured' implies that a 'topic' and slice of data had been pre-selected; the questions in the interviews were not preformulated.

23. I usually transcribed student-teacher exchange sequences on the same day that the lessons were recorded. This proved exhausting but very valuable. All the lessons were transcribed in full after I had left the field.

interactional sequences.²⁴ These accounts revealed how the students understood the knowledge exchanged and why it was exchanged in specific ways in terms of the social and power structure of the classroom.

- (ii) to gain the teachers' accounts of what criteria or frames of reference they were using to evaluate, validate or authorize knowledge. This entailed asking the teachers what they understood their students as saying (cognitively or/and socially) when the students responded to their elicitations or when the students initiated elicitations.
- (iii) to compare these accounts with each other and my own interpretations, in order to examine whether they were consistent or contradictory and whether the teachers and students used similar frames of reference to assign meaning to what was going on in the classroom.

24. This level of analysis is similar to Barnes & Todd's examination of the CONTENT and INTERACTION FRAMES that pupils use in group communication. 'Content Frames' refer to bodies of knowledge of how the world is; whereas 'interaction frames', refer to views about who the participants are and what they are doing. See Barnes & Todd (1981: 72-75). This level of analysis is a common thread which runs through: Austin's work on 'performatives' and 'connotatives'; Searle's work on indirect speech acts; Habermas's examination of 'the 'double structure' of speech', Lemke's analysis of 'activity' and 'thematic' structures in classroom discourse and Labov & Fanshell's analysis of 'what is said and what is done'. See Austin (1962), Searle (1975), Habermas (1979), Lemke (1982) and Labov & Fanshell (1977).

Intensive, structured, interviews²⁵ were conducted with the teachers towards the end of my field work to elicit their perspectives on their subjects, teaching aims, and students in order to give an account of the ideologies and assumptions which underlie their practices. A definite weakness which emerged once I had left the field was that I had simply not conducted enough interviews with the teachers. This has undoubtedly led to disproportionate student accounts at the expense of the teachers'.

ON INTERVIEWING AND TRIANGULATION PROCEDURES

The meanings elucidated in interviews are multiple and indeterminate; they are 'reflective' rather than the intended or 'operational' meanings which participants construct implicitly in the course of the ongoing interaction (Barnes & Todd, 1981) ie. they are interpreted retrospectively within the context of the lesson reviewed, preceding and prospective lessons²⁶ and within the context of the ongoing interview itself. Barnes & Todd (1981 : 75) put it this way:

... there is no point in the flow of conversation at which the investigator can stop and say 'That's what they really meant'. The frame of reference from which we interpret utterances itself changes during conversation: it is only in retrospect that participant or observer can attribute a more stable meaning to an exchange (though this attributed meaning can itself change).

25. These were the only interviews in which pre-drafted questions were used to structure the interviews.

26. It was not always possible to interview students and teachers immediately after the lesson had been observed. Subsequent and preceding lessons obviously provide the participants with tacit knowledge which is brought to bear on the intended meaning in the interactional sequences under review.

Meaning is ongoingly constructed in situations of talk and the researcher supplies the context. As Mehan & Wood (1983 : 60) point out; 'by creating such contexts researchers structure respondents' talk. This is an unavoidable consequence of talking'. The interviewer's role in co-constructing participant's meanings which are 'indexical', illustrates the 'reflexivity' of these accounts. Participants' meanings do not exist independent of the researcher's methods of describing them. This inevitably entails some degree of 'distortion' in the accounts received.

In unstructured interviews, similar problems arise. Here, the researcher allows members' categories and descriptions, which appear salient and problematic to the participants, to arise. In progressively focussing on such categories and concerns, the ethnographer calls members' attention to questions which are not usually or necessarily problematised or talked about by the members themselves in their daily routines and practices. Moerman (1974 : 67) describes this situation as follows:

I do not believe that the ethnographic stranger can make people use category systems which are unavailable to them. But he can, and does, and in principle can never be sure that he has not altered the local priorities among the native category sets which it is his task to describe.

The ethnographic researcher INTERVENES in the subjects'/informants' life world. This intervention, however, is not necessarily negative if the researcher and subjects examine the assumptions and practices which constrain and oppress their world and if the subjects are led to examining their own practices in a different light. Here the

differences and contradictions between participants' and researchers' meanings and frames of reference are brought into focus: it constitutes a form of learning for both parties. The 'validity' of this form of research lies in the form of social relationships that the researcher and subjects establish and engage in: significant data, as Willis (1980 : 93) notes

... are collected not through the purity or scientificism of its methods, but through the status of the method as a social relationship, and specifically through the moments of crisis in that relationship and its to-be-discovered pattern of what is what is not shared: the contradictions within and between things.

Triangulation procedures were used in order to compare and cross-check participants' accounts and to compare them with my own interpretations. These procedures allow SOME degree of cross validation in terms of the consistencies and contradictions in the participants' and researchers' accounts; but they also cause some problems.

In the FORD TEACHING PROJECT, for instance, Adleman & Elliot used a triangulation process in order to move the teacher away from 'descriptive' to 'reflective' accounts. These accounts were elicited through the interviewer's reporting or playing back recorded data to the teacher and were then presented to the students, who gave their own 'reflective' accounts on the teacher's account. These accounts were, in turn, feedback to the teacher in order to elicit a 'reflective' teacher account. Of course, these procedures may carry on indefinitely as these

procedures can be subjected to the same sorts of analysis ad infinitum.²⁷

Triangulation thus does not treat the speech act as a self-contained action as it is 'incomplete, needing reciprocal interpretations to complete its meaning in a social context' (Adleman, 1981b : 80).

In my own use of 'triangulation', teachers' and students' accounts were not feed back to each other. I simply gained the participants' accounts in order to compare them to each other and to my own and to discover how the teachers and students oriented themselves to and perceived the same situation. These accounts were kept separate for the following reasons:

- (a) to avoid confrontation between teachers and students,²⁸ and
- (b) to protect the students from any possible teacher victimization.²⁹

A major limitation in the interviews was that it was not possible to elicit all the students' accounts on the same situation. Certain students became 'key informants' and were interviewed more frequently

27. See Cicourel (1973 : 124) who describes the problem of 'indefinite triangulation'.

28. Adleman, for instance, remarks that the playback of students' accounts to teachers was taken as a 'confrontation'. See Adleman (1981b). See also Cicourel (1974) who reports a similar situation.

29. There was no ethically agreed upon framework within which to 'conscientize' the participants as to how their un/intended actions had positive or negative consequences for one another. This was not a goal of the research: it SHOULD have become a logical extension of it; but unfortunately did not.

than others.³⁰ Many less 'articulate' and vocal students were interviewed on comparatively fewer occasions.³¹ This undoubtedly leads to a degree of bias and distortion. Questionnaires could have widened the sample, but they do not have the advantage of the interview situation where misunderstandings may be sorted out and unforeseen but vital information may, and does frequently, arise. This bias and leaning towards the more talkative students posed a problem which was very difficult to overcome.

Problems of 'validity', however, essentially become 'problems of ontology' (Mehan & Wood, 1983 : 64). If the observer/researcher recognises that s/he is a co-constructor of meaning, should s/he not explicate how s/he has influenced the meanings constructed? One way to attempt to deal with this is treat situations of talk (and the distortions which arise) itself as a phenomenon to be studied. This, however, will also give rise to 'reflexive' accounts and to the problem of infinite regress. Furthermore, to examine all the interviews in this light would require a dissertation in itself. Thus I have not always problematised and illustrated my role as interviewer in constructing meanings: I have often fallen into the trap of the 'three tricks' which

30. cf. Woods (1981) who also drew on 'Key informants' to identify and comment on other pupils talk and behaviour.

31. Some Standard 7 students were too shy to talk. The reasons for this are difficult to describe definitely. That some of these students had never spoken to a white person in such a 'personal' context before and that they possibly did not feel totally comfortable in speaking English in this context, may have contributed to this state of affairs. Simons (1981) reports the same problem, ie. how to get quieter students to talk, in her own research, which involved students who, contrastingly, were English-mother-tongue speakers.

make up an ideological representation of what people think, when presenting interview data.³²

The reflective meanings received and presented, nevertheless, remain assertions about some THING. These assertions have been cross-checked with other participants' accounts in order to determine whether a 'reciprocity of perspectives'³³ existed and whether the participants' accounts matched or contradicted their enacted practises, ie. accounts received in interviews were compared with the data received in lessons recorded and observed.

My own interpretations and commentaries on these accounts simply present another perspective (at times similar to those of the participants: at others, in conflict). While I have attempted to portray the subjective intentions, orientations and meanings of the participants (which constitute their life world according to them); these accounts are also examined in terms of the ideologies which influence and inform those meanings and practices that the subjects produce. Human intentionality is a valid STARTING point for reconstructing knowledge: all meaning, however, cannot be reduced to subjective intentions: the meanings and knowledge that human actors produce are influenced by wider structural

32. See Smith (1974: 41-42) for a discussion of these 'tricks'.

33. A 'reciprocity of perspectives' implies that participants can take on each others' roles and describe those roles, because they use the same symbolic meanings to accomplish social interaction and joint actions. This notion is central to phenomenology, symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology. See, for instance, Schutz, 1970; Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969; and Cicourel, 1973. See also Eliot & Adleman (1973, , Unit 2: 18-19) who use a similar rationale and procedure to check falsifications, inconsistencies and discrepancies in participants' accounts.

forces in society of which individuals are a part. The knowledge and meanings of human actors need to be analysed within a perspective that reveals the extent to which actors' meanings coincide or depart from dominant views of knowledge and existing social relations in society. On this level one may examine the ways in which dominant systems of thought and modes of reasoning have crystallised within individuals and how the dominant ideology is upheld, perpetuated or resisted by human actors.

In this and the previous chapter I discussed the theoretical and methodological problems which shaped this study; in the chapter which follows I: (a) contextualize black education and teacher training in terms of the state's recent attempts to 'upgrade' black education; and, (b) outline the implications that teacher-training has for classroom practice.

PART II : BEYOND CLASSROOM WALLS

CHAPTER 3THE CONTEXT OF BLACK EDUCATION AND TEACHER TRAINING

It is common knowledge that the education of black South Africans is inferior to that of all other 'population groups' and that black teachers and students are at a greater disadvantage than their white, 'coloured' or Indian counterparts in virtually every conceivable sense. A history of unequal financial provision for black education where, for instance, the per capita expenditure for blacks in 1982 was R176,20 as compared with R1 021,00 for whites (Muller, 1983: 5) - even although the state has increased expenditure on black education by some 600% over the past decade (Cape Times, 7/5/86) - has created very detrimental material conditions in black schools and has produced a teaching body which is, generally, hopelessly underqualified. Virtually to date, there is a shortage of 5 799 classrooms to meet present needs, while less than 30%,¹ of the black teachers currently employed by the Department of Education and Training (D.E.T.) have a matriculation (Cape Times, 17/4/1985). The overwhelming majority of black schools are not electrified, are overcrowded² and have a shortage of teaching aids, resource materials and books. These detrimental material conditions, coupled with the linguistic 'disadvantage' of having to use English -

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1. If one includes black teachers in the 'Homelands' this figures drops easily to 15%. See Danaher (1984: 169).
 2. The average teacher-student ratio in a 'homeland' such as Kwazulu is 56:1, whereas the average for white schools is 18:1. See Danaher (1984: 168).

which is not the mother-tongue of black teachers and students - as the medium of instruction from Standard 3 upwards, IRONICALLY forces black teachers to rely more on their VERBAL SKILLS than their white counterparts. Furthermore, that black schools are forced to follow a curriculum which is generally Eurocentric³ and imposed by the white minority ruling class, reflects further educational inequalities and discrimination which compounds the existing material and linguistic problems in black education.

These disadvantages and inequalities obviously arise out of and reflect the inequalities in our racial-capitalist society where blacks are voteless, propertyless and have few legal rights in (white) 'South Africa' and where the majority of blacks, historically, have been schooled to fulfil the needs of the unskilled, semi-skilled and more recently skilled labour market.⁴

Of course these inequalities, linked as they are to shifting historical and economic conditions, have not gone unnoticed by a substantial majority of black students.

3. Consider the fact that, for instance, the prescribed English setwork books for Standard 7 and 9 students in D.E.T. schools have included Shakespeare's Julius Caesar (Kennet version) and Thomas Hardy's Far From the Madding Crowd respectively. Although there have been recent attempts to prescribe local South African short stories at Standard 10 level, the curriculum in D.E.T. schools leaves much to be desired.
4. See the following papers in Kallaway (1984) which deal with this issue: Christie & Collins, Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology and Labour Production; Hartwig & Sharp, The State and the Reproduction of Labour Power in South Africa; and Chisolm, Redefining Skills: Black Education in SA in the 1980s.

Since 1976 to this time of writing (with but brief intervals in between) black students have 'mounted a sustained attack on Bantu Education, on Apartheid and more explicitly in and since 1980 on capitalism' (Chisolm, 1984: 391). The more recent student organisations such as the Congress of South African Students (COSAS)⁵, the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) and the Azanian Students Movement (AZASM) undoubtedly have a more 'socialist' outlook as compared with their Black-Consciousness predecessors banned in 1977.

The demands of these student organisations are both long and short term. The long-term demand for a non-racial, democratic and relevant system of education, which entails free, compulsory and equal education, reflects the long-term demand for a unitary, non-racial, liberated and democratic South Africa, ie. a changed system of education in a changed society.

The short term aims in 1984 - when the field work for this study was conducted - however, focussed very clearly on the running and structuring of the schools. There was then and is still now, a renewed focus on: the question of student representation in the form of democratically elected, organised and run Student Representative Councils (SRCS); the abolishment of corporal punishment; age restrictions which 'disqualify' students from formal schools; the unconditional release of teachers, students, political leaders and activists detained; the reinstatement of teachers dismissed or fired; the reduction of school fees; and, the qualification and competence of teachers. These demands, on the one hand, point to the aims of

5. COSAS was banned on the 28 August, 1985.

achieving student participation in the decision-making process and running of the schools with a view towards improving the quality of education/teaching received; on the other, they reflect the aim of achieving democratic, majority rule in South Africa:

Lack of genuine representation at school and the existence of an unpopular prefect system should be seen as part of the undemocratic minority dominating over the majority of our people in our country (COSAS Activist, Africa Perspective, No. 24, 1984: 80).

That these and other demands will be met by the D.E.T. and state authorities seems, at present, unlikely. Increased repressive and brutal responses from the state such as the detaining, imprisoning and killing of student and community leaders and activists, the increased presence of the police and South African Defence Force in the townships and threats to close down schools and transfer and dismiss teachers; serves only to increase the current crisis and unrest. Sustained and prolonged student protests, through school boycotts, has not, in the main, succeeded in winning most of the students' demands.⁶

The strength of the student movement, linked as it is to wider community and worker-based organisations, to force concessions from the authorities and dictate some measure of change during times of crisis, however, should not be underestimated. Indeed, at a very costly price, the 1976 student uprisings managed to reverse the state's educational

6. Boycott action has undoubtedly politicised students on a mass scale and has enabled some students and teachers to jointly implement alternative education programmes and more 'democratic' procedures of learning. These 'gains' are at least a temporary realization of the democratic structures which progressive teachers and students are seeking to implement permanently.

policy of implementing Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. That black teachers and students are now 'officially permitted' to use English as a medium of instruction and communication from Standard 3 upwards fulfills not only an educational need but also a socio-political one to have a Lingua Franca in a society that is segregated along ethnic, racial, class and lingual lines.

The ongoing unrest in many black schools and townships coupled with the economic crisis has forced the state to embark on 'reformist' policies in order to reduce tensions and unrest.⁷

Since the Education and Training Act of 1979 and the Wiehan, Riekert and de Lange Commission Reports, there has been a definite 'commitment' on behalf of the state and capital to improve and upgrade black education through: increased spending on black education from both the public and private sectors; teacher in-service and upgrading programmes run by the D.E.T, the Department of In-Service Training, and various companies; donations of TV sets and accompanying maths and science video programmes by companies such as IBM; extensions to school buildings and the building of new schools through joint ventures of the D.E.T. with the Urban Foundation or multinational companies such as Anglo-American; increases in black teachers' salaries so as to reach parity with their white counterparts; standardization of curricula and examinations; financial assistance from the US government, the US Chamber of Commerce

7. See Davies (1984); Kallaway (1984: 14-35); Hartwig & Sharp (1984: 326-335) and Chisolm (1984) who discuss the causes for the state's reforms in detail.

in SA, and the AFL-CIO to provide educational programmes such as the Project for the Advancement of Community Education (PACE)⁸, etc.

The 'upgrading' of black education reflects the state's commitment to implementing its 1983 White Paper on education which proposes to bring about 'equal education' and 'equal education opportunities for all'. Although education is to be 'equal', it nevertheless is to remain separate and segregated. The state's refusal to establish a single educational ministry and its creation of 'Own' and 'General Affairs' under the new constitution and its refusal to review or reconsider the Group Areas and the Population Registration Acts, serves to re-entrench apartheid divisions and greater control in schools (cf. Gardiner, 1984). Thus, the government's rejection of the key recommendations of the de Lange Report emphasises its determination to retain the racial and ethnic divisions of the current school system. The government has reaffirmed its support for the principles of Christian National Education. (These principles are outlined in greater detail later.) Furthermore, the White Paper misleadingly upholds white education as the desirable model to be attained. This completely overlooks the fact that the white education system is not fundamentally different to the black; similar curricula, examination systems, hierarchical and authority and power structures, which are a source of grievance in black schools, exist in both. As I shall outline later, the 'upgrading' of black teacher-training, although making certain 'structural' changes to these

8. See Danaher (1984) for a breakdown of US involvement in black education in SA under the Reagan administration.

institutions, is seeking to maintain and gain legitimacy for existing practices and inequalities in society.

The greatest outpouring of financial and educational aid, thus, has been mostly towards black urban schools and more specifically towards technical and vocational education.⁹ This emphasis on technical and vocational training, which divides schooling into formal (academic) and non-formal (vocational/technical) spheres is, undoubtedly, related to the demands for specific types of manpower relevant to the needs of historically shifting modes of production and is in keeping with some of the reforms tabled by the Wiehan, Riekert & de Lange Reports into industry and education respectively.¹⁰ The attempt to propel the majority of black students into vocational and technical schooling, through streaming processes, while providing the opportunity of academic schooling to a few, represents

...a part of the strategy adopted by the state in conjunction with monopoly capital to 'deracialize' aspects of the industrial process and state structures through co-optation of a small black middle class and increasing controls over the working class (Chisolm 1984: 390).

These 'reformist' policies thus have the ostensible aim of modifying and improving existing structures of inequality in order to gain some legitimacy for these structures.

9. See Kallaway (1984: 26-32), Chisolm (1984: 395-399) and also Danaher (1984).

10. See Kallaway (1984: 20-35).

In the section which follows, I briefly examine some recent attempts to upgrade black teacher training colleges. It is felt necessary to pay greater attention to this sphere of black education as the majority of black teachers, including the teachers involved in this study, are trained in these institutions which have an impact on their classroom practices. Teachers' teaching ideologies can be seen to be influenced, to a greater or lesser extent, by the quality and content of their educational (theory) and methodology courses. I shall firstly outline certain structural changes which have taken place in these institutions since 1979 and thereafter examine the ideology underlying the educational philosophy taught at these colleges and how this ideology filters through to the methodology courses. In this latter section I shall attempt to show that these courses do not provide student-teachers with the conceptual tools they need to view knowledge as a problematic, historically conditioned and socially constructed phenomenon. In other words, I shall argue that the educational philosophy is informed by a positivist view of knowledge and social science and is used as means for social control and for legitimising existing inequalities in South African society.

TEACHER-TRAINING COLLEGES OR COLLEGES OF EDUCATION? : POST 1979 REFORMS

Since the passing of the Education and Training Act of 1979, the state and private sector have made serious attempts to improve the quality of teachers produced in teacher-training colleges and to 'upgrade' the status and level of teacher-training.

Previous to the Act, colleges admitted students with a Junior Certificate (Standard 8) and offered only two-year courses in Primary and Secondary school training, which certificated students with a Primary Teachers Certificate (PTC), a Junior Secondary Teachers Certificate (JSTC) or a Secondary Teachers Certificate (STC). After 1979, training colleges began to admit only students who had matriculated. The old PTC, JSTC and STC courses have been extended into three-year courses and have been broken down into 'specialised' courses to handle differentiated levels of primary and secondary schooling. Courses have been designed by the DET for Junior Primary (ie. Sub A - Standard 3), Senior Primary (Standard 4 - 5), Junior Secondary (Standard 6 - Standard 8) and Senior Secondary (Standard 9 - 10) levels, which certificate students with JPTCs, SPTCs, JSTCs and SSTCs respectively. A further level of specialization has been introduced into the training of secondary school teachers by including UNISA courses for all SSTC students and certain JSTC students who have a matric exemption (JSTC without degree courses is still offered at most colleges). Those students who undergo a SSTC or JSTC with degree courses may complete two but not more than 4 UNISA courses in the two teaching subjects in which they specialise.¹¹

Now given the fact that of the 600 000 black students who began school in 1968 only 5% completed matric in 1980 (Gordon, 1983: 5) the number of students eligible for a JSTC with degree courses or an SSTC is

11. These courses are offered only at certain training colleges in South Africa and the Homelands where the majority of black teachers are trained. Four colleges offer SSTC courses, 11 JSTC courses, 29 PTC courses, while only two offer JPTC and SPTC courses. See Mathiva (1981: 138-144).

negligible, especially if one considers that of these matriculants a certain percentage will either go to university or enter more 'lucrative' jobs in industry and commerce. A more localised and concrete example may illustrate this further: At the Soweto Teacher Training College there were only 12 SSTC graduates - three of whom specialised in Senior Secondary English teaching - in 1980, while eleven students were in SSTC II and 58 in SSTC I (cf Mathiva 1981 : 173). Thus, although there might be an increase in the numbers enrolling, the amount of graduates in these courses is very low. The number of students undergoing PTC and JSTC courses in the same year at the college was 248 and 32 respectively (ibid).

The upshot of this all is that the majority of teachers currently entering secondary schools are those who have JSTCs and variants of the upgraded PTC courses. Many of these teachers are thus still 'underqualified' to teach at this level and consequently end up teaching subjects for which they have not received any training. In fact the majority of secondary school teachers who were already teaching before these courses were introduced have either two year PTCs, JSTCs or STCs (Cape Times, 16/4/1986).

Obviously aware of inadequacies in the qualification and training of teachers, the DET, in conjunction with its In-Service Training Centre in Pretoria, launched a desperate two year In-Service upgrading programme for teachers employed by the DET in 1981¹² and also, for instance,

12. This programme was subsequently handed over to VISTA University the following year.

entered into joint ventures with the University of the Witwatersrand, in the Soweto English Language Project for Secondary Schools (SELP), and the STAR newspaper, in order to upgrade the level of the teaching of English. These upgrading schemes have been launched not only to improve the quality of the teachers but also to gain legitimacy for their professed aim of achieving 'parity' with white education, and of providing 'equal education' to all racial groups.¹³ Thus, although the DET has professed its intention to provide 'equal education', this is not being realized in practice. Furthermore, as stated previously, the state's rejection of the de Lange Report's recommendation to place education under a single ministry and its refusal to reconsider the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act serves to entrench the Apartheid system of education: the idea of 'separate, but equal' education for different population groups, besides its inherent contradictions, is not being met in practice.

The status of black teacher training colleges, however, has been upgraded to a 'tertiary' level by renaming them 'Colleges of Education' and by admitting only degreed graduates and teachers onto the staff. Staff posts have been restructured to include rectors, vice-rectors, departmental heads, senior lecturers and lecturers. It is interesting to note that many whites hold posts at the colleges and that the majority of these staff-members are Afrikaans-speaking. This staff composition can be accounted for by the fact that there are simply not enough black graduates to fill such posts on the one hand, and that

13. See 'Education for Blacks in South Africa'; A supplementary Newsletter issued in EDUCAMUS, October, 1980.

those English-speaking graduates who could fill such posts do not apply for such jobs out of antipathy.¹⁴ Furthermore, it is very often the Afrikaans-speaking staff who are the departmental heads, senior lecturers and vice-rectors. Many of these Afrikaans staff-members - probably unable to find work in more competitive white colleges, universities and schools - are undoubtedly in a position to perpetuate the dominant ideology of CNE through their teaching.¹⁵ Accompanying this upgraded status has been an enormous outpouring of money into these institutions from the public and private sectors in order to build and equip 'Colleges of Education'.¹⁶

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14. This was seen to be the case from my personal experience at the Soweto Teacher Training College which, since 1981, has had a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking staff. When the college was 'upgraded' a number of black staff-members were transferred to schools and mainly Afrikaans staff members filled vacant and newly created posts. Furthermore, most of the English-speaking staff-members, who were undoubtedly more 'liberal', left the institution because of increasing bureaucratic control.
15. This state of affairs, furthermore, is developing in many secondary schools in Soweto and elsewhere. After 1976 the DET built 'modern' schools in certain areas (usually developing middle class areas) in Soweto, which are usually headed by white Afrikaans-speaking men and which have a large proportion of Afrikaans-speaking staff. The significance of this state of affairs has not gone unnoticed by the students in these colleges and schools: sporadic boycotts with the aim of having white staff-members removed have occurred over the last five-odd years! Whether this response stems from a Black Consciousness point of view or specifically to the entrenchment or perpetuation of ruling class ideology by certain staff members is slightly unclear. The boycott action in any event reflects a dissatisfaction with the power structures in such institutions.
16. This is also true for training colleges in the 'homelands'. The incongruity of these modern structures erected in the impoverished rural homeland communities is a remarkable feature that cannot escape visitors to such institutions. The colleges in Makapanstad and Pudimoe, both in Bophuthatswana, are good examples of this.

The Soweto 'College of Education', in this regard, is the 'show-piece' of this policy in black urban areas. Built and equipped by Anglo-American at a cost of nearly R2 million and handed over to the DET to staff and run, it is incredibly well equipped (by black education standards) with; a chemistry and physics laboratory; a well-stocked library, which receives liberal funding and donations from various book and private companies; a language laboratory; a teaching demonstration room; teaching 'technology' such as video-cameras, video machines and TV sets donated by IBM, used for 'micro-teaching' purposes and educational video-packages for maths and science training and teaching; film and slide projectors; over-head projectors; a hall; photostating and roneo machines; a computer centre; etc. and fairly spacious classrooms to accommodate the increasing student-body (the DET extended the buildings to a third level to cope with increasing enrolment).

The irony of these institutions, however, is that much of the sophisticated technology does not, ultimately, have much effect on what teachers can do in the schools, most of which are not electrified!

The majority of colleges, however, are obviously not as well-equipped or 'upgraded' as this. The Sebokeng Teachers Training College in the Southern Transvaal, for instance, offers neither a SSTC nor a JSTC (with degree courses) as most of the students at the college do not have matric exemption and because not all the 'lecturers' are degreed. The College, by contrast, is only equipped with rudimentary teaching aids and 'technology'.

The metaphorical shift in renaming these training institutions 'Colleges of Education' would seem to imply that the colleges have reached full tertiary status and have begun to place more emphasis on educating than training student-teachers. This 'naming-game', however, may mystify rather than reflect the nature of 'education' that takes place in these institutions.

If the emphasis is on education rather than training, we should expect a shift away from teaching as an applied science towards a more critical evaluation of various philosophies and theories that underlie the practice of teaching. As Tom (1980) notes:

Those who adhere to the applied science metaphor are insensitive to the moral dimension of teaching because their primary focus is on increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of teaching. (p 316).

What needs to be added is that neither the practice of teaching nor the institutions in which 'teaching is taught' are divorced from the wider socio-political environment in which they operate. To view teaching or education purely as a 'science' directs our attention away from the political nature of education. As will be shown, teacher education is inextricably linked to notions of power, culture, ideology and hegemony (Giroux, 1981).

The distinction between 'training' and 'educating', however, is a problematic one which enters the contested field as to what constitutes 'teaching' and whether people can be trained or taught how to teach. On the one end of the spectrum 'teaching' may be seen as a unique personal activity, an 'art', about which no useful generalizations can

be made; on the other, it may be viewed as the practical application of the knowledge and skills that govern the practice of teaching which the trainee may be trained to use. If we view teaching from the former perspective - which accepts that teachers somehow have knowledge in their work, but which cannot be accounted for explicitly through research - we must admit that we do not know what the knowledge is that teachers use. This position leads teacher education or training into two possible directions:

- i) teacher education is unnecessary and futile as we can neither teach nor articulate that knowledge which teachers seem to use in their practices anyway, or:
- ii) we should attempt to educate student-teachers as broadly and deeply as possible so that the students can follow their own interests (cf Diorio, 1983).

If we view 'teaching' as the outcome of training or practice, which refers to the repeated exercise of a skill aimed towards improvement and the regular involvement in a circumscribed range of activities; then we must admit that there is a range of skills and a body of 'useful knowledge' - which supposedly governs the practice and which contributes to the formulation of criteria by which we can evaluate the practice - which is worthwhile transmitting. This view as Elbaz & Elbaz (1983 : 154) suggest, however, reflects an impetus towards professionalism in industrial societies and is 'faithful to the hegemonic conception of the knowledge/practice relationship': the human agent is a victim of

professional-technicist modes of rationality and knowledge, which is related to the 'culture of positivism'.¹⁷

The tension between these views can only be resolved if knowledge (theory) and practice are dialectically and interactively related. What this means is that student-teachers must be able to reflect critically on and evaluate the interactive styles, patterns of communication; theories, ideologies and assumptions which underlie the 'skills' and methods which they use in practice. Furthermore, they should be able to evaluate how their forms of teaching relate to wider social relations and formations in society. This level of awareness should enable the student/teacher to identify those constraints which are self-imposed or are imposed from sources other than themselves.¹⁸ This situated and reflective awareness should equip teachers to transform their own practices, albeit in limited ways. If student-teachers are NOT educated in such programmes they may uncritically and unconsciously reproduce the dominant social relations in society and inculcate their own students with views of knowledge, attitudes and values which sustain and perpetuate hegemonic structures. This brings me to the point where the relationship between teacher education and the ideology of social control needs to be briefly outlined.

17. See Giroux (1981: 37-62) for a thorough discussion of this view of knowledge.

18. This form of 'consciousness-raising' was central to the FORD TEACHING PROJECT. See Eliot & Adleman (1973) Unit 3 : Hypotheses - The Innovation Process in the classroom.

TEACHER TRAINING AND THE IDEOLOGY OF SOCIAL CONTROL

At the outset it needs to be emphasised that any educational institution cannot be viewed apart from the wider constellation of economic and socio-political institutions which makes it part of the existing power structure. In Althusserian terms they form part of the 'Ideological State Apparatuses'. The state, however, would have its citizens, educators and students believe that these institutions are politically and ideologically 'neutral'. This seeks to divert our attention away from the underlying contradictions and political nature of these institutions which operate within a social structure that disproportionately serves ruling interests.

Giroux, Bernstein, Bourdieu and others have pointed out that inequalities in capitalist societies are reproduced not only economically but also culturally. Here 'culture' is not used in the normative sense, which defines 'culture' simply as a people's total way of life and the goods and services produced by human beings; such normative notions as Giroux (1981) points out depoliticizes the notion of culture. 'Culture', rather, refers to different layers of meanings and practices which are mediated by the unequal distribution of wealth and power. In this sense, Giroux (op cit) argues that:

... one cannot speak of one culture or a multiplicity of cultures; it is more accurate to speak of a dominant culture (with its own contradictions, of course), and of the existence of minority cultures, all mediated by considerations of power and control. (p 148)

The dominant society seeks to reproduce and transmit beliefs and value systems to gain legitimacy and consent for its policies and practices.¹⁹ These beliefs and value systems cannot gain legitimacy by being merely imposed over the dominated culture: they are institutionalised by the state so that they saturate the social practices and everyday routines of human beings. Mere imposition cannot ensure that the dominant ideology is internalised: such a view reduces human agents to puppets and passive bearers of culture and ideology and cannot account for the possibility that the dominant ideology may be resisted and challenged by those who prize the contradictions and tensions of this ideology open from their own perspectives and world views. Ideologies become hegemonic, however, when they are institutionalised by the dominant society, and when they gain legitimacy for existing or changing social arrangements and practices by purporting to be acting in the interests of other (dominated) cultures. (The ideology, of course, is not static; it undergoes changes to meet shifting historical and socio-political conditions and to counter opposing ideologies which arise to struggle against the dominant ideology.) This use of institutionalised ideology and power, however, may induce the subordinated to lower or entirely give up their interests to others and thereby gain legitimacy for existing social relations and power structures, as these relations and structures will be presented as being 'natural' and in accordance

19. In the South African context, Alexander (1985) eloquently argues that the very concepts of 'race' and 'ethnicity' have been created to suit the National Party's ideology and ruling class interests in order to "divide and rule" South African society such that racial-capitalist structures and interests are maintained.

See Alexander (1985: 126-153).

with 'common sense' knowledge and 'universal truths'. Duke (1976) comments on this use of power as a form of social control as follows:

Since legitimation is the most effective way in which power may be hidden, the most important single aspect of both adult and child socialization is to teach the subject to accept the power structure as legitimate. (p 245)

Now educational institutions, and schools specifically, as Bernstein (1977) has argued, are primary agents of ideological and social control; they attempt to socialize people into accepting the social order as legitimate.

In the South African context the state seeks to reproduce the dominant ideology of CNE. As will be shown, this ideology, which underlies the educational theory taught in black teacher-training colleges, has gained a 'stranglehold' in these institutions. Furthermore, it will be pointed out that this ideology stresses the existing order in South Africa as based on consensus and that by purporting to be 'value-free' and in the interests of other 'cultures' (which are defined in a normative sense), and by not making its own assumptions problematic, it obscures the political nature of its own enterprise.

The educational theory taught in Black Teacher Training Colleges is based upon 'Pedagogics': an educational philosophy which shares a very close relationship with the educational policy of Christian National Education (CNE) formulated by the ruling Nationalist Party in 1948.

Through this relationship Pedagogics and Fundamental Pedagogics²⁰ can be seen as an educational philosophy which seeks to justify, perpetuate and reproduce the dominant, ruling ideology of CNE (cf Enslin 1984).²¹ To illustrate this relationship it is worthwhile to quote the authors of this philosophy of education themselves.

Pedagogics, which is also an autonomous science, likewise aims at establishing universally valid results. It endeavours to be valid for all people and for all ages. It strives towards universality and validity, transcending time and space. In this way pedagogics lays the foundation of various systems of teaching and education endorsing different views of life. For this reason pedagogics is indispensable for devising the basis of, inter alia, an accountable and sound Christian National educational system. But it also provides the opportunity for people holding different philosophies of life to establish their educational systems on the truths revealed. (Viljoen, 1971 : 94)

'Pedagogicians' thus claim that their 'science' can account for universality and relativity: the 'universally valid' and 'true' lays the foundation for and encompasses all relativist viewpoints, philosophies and educational systems, including CNE. The Pedagogician, it is claimed, is able to penetrate the 'essence' and 'reality' of the phenomenon of education by scientifically or radically 'reflecting' on the 'appearances' of the phenomenon of education which throw themselves up to the 'pre-scientific' observer, and by adopting a 'viewless view' (Viljoen 1971). Thus the scientific reflector, free of value

20. Fundamental Pedagogics, as a part-discipline of Pedagogics, is the standard prescribed theory for black Teacher Training Colleges. The quotation above is from the prescribed book used in the colleges. Fundamental Pedagogics has also gained a stronghold in many black universities, Afrikaans universities (eg. Pretoria, OFS) and UNISA.

21. See also Mbere (1979) who found that Bantu Education per se is governed by the ideology of CNE, which is designed to perpetuate racist ideology and industrial state capitalism.

judgements, ideology and subjectivity, can then proceed to 'categorise' and describe the essence of the phenomenon and make this 'dis-covered' knowledge (which is universally valid and true) available for use in everyday, educational practice.

There are a number of interesting points and problems that arise from this perspective. Firstly, although Pedagogics shares certain similarities with a phenomenological approach (indeed pedagogicians claim that their approach IS phenomenological) it distorts the phenomenological perspective where the observer is NOT a detached scientist/observer, who can control the phenomena observed: the observer establishes a relationship with the observed and thereby influences and is influenced by the phenomenon; the perspective of the observer is intertwined with the phenomenon which does not have objective characteristics independent of the observer's perspectives and methods. Thus phenomenology recognises that knowledge and 'reality' is essentially socially constructed in intersubjectivity (eg. Schutz 1970). Pedagogics in fact shares a deeper relationship with positivism, where the position of the observer is defined as outside and independent of the observed phenomenon, which is defined in terms of the observer's categories and which are arrived at through the application of systematic methods of inquiry in order to discover the 'objective' characteristics of the phenomenon.²² In this respect Pedagogicians

22. This positivist approach is neatly revealed in Pienaar and Viljoen (1971: 75-77) and pp 92-97.

attempt to unite the irreconcilable perspectives of phenomenology and positivism.²³

In so far as Pedagogicians do follow a 'phenomenological' approach they face problems of relativism. This problem can be briefly stated thus: if pedagogy recognises the 'truths' and 'validities' of different philosophies of life and endorses different 'views of life' how can Pedagogicians claim to know what the 'truth' of that philosophy of life is as Pedagogicians themselves view these philosophies from their own relativist view point? If all accounts are valid there can be no basis to arrive at that which is universally 'valid' or 'true': relativism leads to nihilism (cf. Sarup, 1978). Pedagogy can thus be criticised and indeed is open to attack from any other perspective or point of view.

Furthermore 'philosophies of life' and educational systems change: how can the Pedagogician know the 'truth' or that form of life if it has overlapping traditions, cultures and social relations and is undergoing change? In this respect Pedagogy strips philosophies and systems of education from their socio-political and historical contexts and overlooks the fact that views of life, theories and philosophies are themselves produced and rooted in such contexts. Pedagogy does not explain or seek to explain HOW and WHY certain 'educational systems' or cultures are established or transformed: it overlooks, indeed

23. See Fouche (1978) who also rejects the claim that Pedagogy follows a phenomenological approach and aim and Sharp (1981) who argues that Pedagogicians have made use of a contentious line of phenomenological thought in order to justify a traditionalist and doctrinaire perspective on education.

deliberately obscures, the fact that certain cultures may have extremely unequal technological and political power because of the wider system of domination in which that culture operates!

Pedagogicians, however, claim that their science and philosophy is in the 'interests' of other communities and groups and serves such communities. Viljoen (1971: 95) continues:

Considering education in the life-world, it is evident that the educator does not educate in a vacuum. Education is a particular occurrence in accordance with accepted values and norms of the educator and eventually also of the group to which he belongs. He is engaged in accompanying the child on the way to self-realization, but this realization must be in accordance with the demands of the community and in compliance with the philosophy of life of the group to which he belongs. In this way the South African child has to be educated according to Christian National principles. But as such, this does not concern the scientist. He endeavours to disclose the true nature of the education situation, relationships and finally the phenomenon education, as it appears in South Africa as well as in all parts of the world. He aims at carrying out a scientifically grounded and grounding investigation of its essential nature.

Now, although the scientist is not 'concerned' about the fact that the South African child 'HAS TO BE EDUCATED ACCORDING TO CHRISTIAN NATIONAL PRINCIPLES' - because a distinction is made between the theory and practice of education - the scientist, nevertheless, somehow knows what the demands and interests of various communities are. This reveals another contradiction. The scientist or theorist is not concerned about values: yet the knowledge s/he arrives at, and which is to be implemented, is somehow in accordance with the values of particular

communities and cultures.²⁴ How this contradictory link between the theory and practice of education is made remains vague and unexplicated. Values are assumed 'given' and not to be questioned. Here in all its vagueness Pedagogics as theory seeks to legitimize the practice of CNE in South African schools. Communities, societies and the 'values' of these groups are assumed to be consensually, unproblematically, and normatively defined. The possibility that 'cultures' or societies are fields of contesting and conflicting interests is ignored; 'interests' and 'values' are conveniently defined within the terms of the ruling class. That the child must be socialized into such values obviously may require a form of subordinate consciousness which will allow the dominant ideology and educational system to be upheld. Thus Fundamental Pedagogics, purporting to be free of ideology and value judgements, is a philosophy which seeks to justify CNE and thereby distorts the real relations of domination and exploitation of the white ruling class over the subordinate and exploited black 'culture' (Enslin 1984).

This educational philosophy filters through all the educational theory courses such as Psycho-Pedagogics, Socio-pedagogics, Didactics, History of Education, etc., which are taught in the training colleges. No

24. It is significant to note that Luthuli, a black educationist at the University of Zululand, has argued in favour of Fundamental Pedagogics as it justifies 'Africanising' the curriculum in black schools i.e. that the curriculum should be relevant to African 'culture' and not Eurocentric. While there is something to be commended in this view; it, nevertheless, reinforces Apartheid ideology and structures by viewing 'African culture' as separate and distinct from South African culture and therefore legitimises definitions of culture purely in terms of race and ethnicity. See Luthuli, 1982.

courses on the sociology of education, which would include Phenomenological, Marxist, Liberal, etc. theories of education, are offered. Pedagogics, and its children, reigns supreme and does not enter into critical discourse with other viewpoints and philosophies.²⁵ In black teacher training colleges there is very little room and indeed time for debate.²⁶

I would now like to briefly illustrate how the principles of CNE penetrate into 'Didactics' ie. the theory of the practice and methodology of teaching, with specific reference to the guiding concepts which underlie the pedagogical relationship and process.

The key concept that governs the pedagogical relationship is that of 'accompaniment': the child is accompanied by the educator on the road to self-realization and maturity (cf Pienaar 1971 : 95), and is guided by the educator along this journey. Duminy (1969 : 7) expresses it thus:

A class consists of a small group or society of immature, developing human beings. The group is knit together by a common pedagogical-didactical goal, while it is the teacher, as the mature developed partner, who is responsible for the guidance and the 'direction of travel' of the group. (emphasis added)

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25. Pedagogicians themselves do not enter into discourse with other theories: doing so, I presume, would be a distraction from the 'essence' of the phenomenon of education; besides which other educationists are 'pseudo-educationists' (Viljoen 1971 : 95).
26. First year students, for instance, are overburdened with over 13 compulsory courses which they have to pass in order to proceed to their second year of study. The level of 'debate' in the classroom would require some observation and research; judging, from educational theory examination papers set externally and internally the finally required 'knowledge' is on the whole uncritical.

This formulation upholds a 'deficit' view of the child and takes it for granted that the teacher-pupil relationship is 'naturally' and unquestioningly asymmetrical.²⁷ The pedagogical relationship is one where the power of the student is diminished while that of the educator is increased such that she/he may transmit and inculcate the 'appropriate' values and attitudes to the child.

The teacher, on the other hand, has an essentially religious (Christian) function to fulfil.

Being a teacher means nothing less than practicing a vocation, a calling. To anyone of religious faith, the one who calls is God. The Christian teacher, who sees his vocation in this light, experiences an extra, deeper dimension in his work. (Duminy, 1969: 10)

Now it may be the case that the religious person - whether Muslim, Hindu, Christian, Jew or Buddhist - experiences another dimension to his/her work; but to define the teacher's role fundamentally in these

27. I maintain that this deficit view is upheld DESPITE the fact that Pienaar (1971) argues that this is not the case. Although Pienaar describes childhood as a complete mode of human existence; he nevertheless, repeatedly asserts the necessity for children to be socialized into the norms and values of the adult world, as the child is en-route to adulthood. This entails a 'conscious and purposeful attempt to bring a change about in the child with a view to improvement or reformation' (p 205). Thus the child, needing guidance from the adult 'naturally' stands as the subordinate in the relationship. The relationship between adults and adults or adults and old people, on the other hand, Pienaar asserts is 'naturally' symmetrical. This overlooks the fact that asymmetrical adult relationships exist between doctors and patients or policeman and detainees and that social relationships are largely determined by the distribution of power in society and institutions. Furthermore it does not examine the possibility that the maturity or 'expertise' of the adult or educator in itself is a socially constructed and institutionalized role which may be determined by the dominant (and not necessarily NATURAL!) social relations in a society. See Gluckman (1981) who demonstrates that this deficit view of the child is evident in all Pedagogicians' writings and that it is derived largely from a Calvinistic view of life.

terms illustrates the essentially (Calvinistic) 'Christian' character of CNE. Where the child's duty is to obey (unquestioningly) the teacher's 'authority' which is derived from a superior Being and the system of values of the society which the teacher is supposed to represent. This pedagogical relationship, as Muir (1981) has argued, is 'closed' and prescribes that the worth and integrity of the child can only apply if he obeys his teachers.

Parker (1981) encapsulates the socio-political and educational implications of this pedagogical relationship and philosophy of education succinctly when he writes:

Fundamental pedagogics embodies an authoritarian conception of education in which the child must be moulded and inculcated into an attitude of obedience and submission towards the figures and instruments of authority. This fits closely with the prevailing conception of government in which the State is seen as having virtually unlimited powers of coercion over the individual...it provides a justification for an authoritarian conception of both education and government which makes the coercive actions of both the teachers and the State correct and right by definition. (p 27)

This aspect of teaching reverberates through many of the prescribed and recommended books in blackteacher training colleges: it filters down even into books recommended for second language teaching.²⁸

Although Duminy (1969) explores various methods of teaching such as the 'telling method', 'the question and answer method' and the 'discussion'

28. See Askes (first edition) Second Language Teaching Today p 3, where the first characteristic of a 'good teacher' is defined in virtually the same terms.

and 'problem-solving' method, and stresses the last two as the most preferable which allows the child to engage in independent thinking and activity, rather than rote-learning, the emphasis is placed on 'abstract' knowledge over and above 'concrete' knowledge and the 'unknown' above the 'known'.²⁹ Abstract knowledge is elevated above concrete experience and the adult/teacher as the morally sound and educated 'expert' is accorded a status which 'naturally' justifies social relations of dominance and subordination. Furthermore, even the advocated methods of 'discussion' and 'problem-solving' (which obviously imply a pedagogical relationship very different to that envisaged by Freire who also advocates 'problem-solving') are not generally implemented by either the lecturers in their own practice or the student-teachers when on teaching-practice.³⁰

Thus transmitter-type teaching or the 'banking' concept of education (Freire, 1981), which has strong epistemological roots in Fundamental Pedagogics and its various disciplines, is a form of teaching which is normatively upheld and goes unquestioned. The ideology which implicitly or explicitly informs and underlies this practice is NOT

29. See Duminy (1969: 35-53) and (1968).

30. This is evident to anyone who has worked in these institutions and who has witnessed well over HUNDREDS of lessons presented by various student-teachers in different subjects over a number of years. This, of course, does not mean that exceptions do not occur.

usually examined in the colleges.³¹ How forms and methods of teaching create certain power relations and social structures and how such structures relate to and are influenced by wider macro-structures are likewise usually left unexamined.

Furthermore the types of methodologies taught and the books prescribed for specific teaching subjects usually do not include 'up-dated' approaches. In Askes's book, which is recommended for the teaching of English as a 'second language' to primary school pupils, the 'Audio-lingual' approach is emphasised as the most suitable³² no mention is made of a 'functional' or 'communicative' approach. Although an audio-lingual approach has its use and place; the student-teachers often remain uninformed about alternatives and new innovations. This state

31. The work currently carried out by Ellis (1984) at the Kwa-Zulu Training College, forms a researched and reported exception. The research in progress of Lennard (1984, 1985), Chick and Claude (1985), who are investigating alternative interactive styles in classrooms in Soweto and the Valley (Pietermaritzburg area) respectively are also noteworthy. On the South African scene these projects have just begun.

32. This approach, which recommends the development of listening, speaking, reading and writing skills - in that order-, follows a 'structural' method where drills, substitution tables, dialogues, and controlled compositions are used to reinforce the structures taught and is based on behaviourist psychology which reduces language learning to a mechanical process of habit formation.

of affairs also often exists for the teaching of English at the Senior Secondary level.³³

In subjects such as History and Geography the methodology courses are geared towards upgrading the students' knowledge of the content of the syllabi of these subjects on the one hand, and teaching approaches which are suitable for the teaching of that content on the other. Although this approach is a 'realistic' one which should equip the student-teachers to cope with the syllabi in schools, it undoubtedly limits discussion and understanding of the subjects to primary or secondary school level.³⁴ The emphasis in these courses is usually on the content of the subject rather than on the conceptual frameworks and ideologies which underlie the subjects themselves.³⁵ How the History or Geography taught in schools perpetuates and upholds the dominant, ruling ideology is not questioned. Critical debates as to whether History is the product of conflicting interests in society and changing

33. The recommended books by the DET for this level have been, for instance, Bright & McGregor (1970) Teaching English as a Second Language and Tiffen (1969) A Language in common. Although these are undoubtedly good and useful books they also do not discuss communicative approaches in any detail. There have, however, been recent innovations and a growing awareness of the inadequacies of these language methodologies. See Webb (1986), for instance, who argues the necessity for communicative approaches in the colleges.

34. This is perhaps not true for JSTC and SSTC students who also do UNISA courses in the teaching subjects in which they specialise. This cannot be taken as definitive as footnote 35 indicates.

35. See the DET: Syllabus for Subject content and Didactics: History Junior Secondary Teacher's course (with Degree courses) 1980, which allocates ten periods out of a total of 113 METHOD periods, for discussion on highly contentious issues such as what history is and why it is taught. 252 periods, on the other hand, are allocated for CONTENT which deals with the Standard 6, 7 and Standard 8 history syllabi.

modes of production or the product of 'great men' who merely shape and influence the world, etc., are not entered into. Critical examination and discussion, on the whole, is usually absent in black teacher training colleges.³⁶

Given this brief and necessarily simplistic overview of black education and teacher training (mainly in black urban areas) which presents the skeleton structures and 'official' curricula and methodologies at these colleges, but which does not present empirical evidence of the intervening role of human agents who fill out these structures; it remains to be seen whether teacher training has made any significant impact on what graduates from these institutions do in their classroom practices. This is a matter which will be addressed after I have contextualised the school, teachers and students within the broader parameters of black education outlined in this chapter and when I present the teachers' perspectives on their teaching, subjects and students.

36. This, of course, does not mean that certain students do not critically examine issues amongst themselves or even with certain lecturers. The frequency and level of such debate (if it exists) is difficult to determine: this is an area which requires research. Judging from the examinations set by most lecturers and the DET, critical examination and discussion is certainly off the 'official' agenda. Furthermore, from discussions with many staff members and students, I gained the general impression that such debates and discussion do not occur.

CHAPTER 4THE SCHOOL, TEACHERS & STUDENT ORIENTATIONSTOWARDS SCHOOL AND HISTORYINTRODUCTION

This chapter: (a) briefly contextualizes the school in terms of its power structure and material conditions in order to outline some of the constraints within which the teachers and students have to work; and, (b) investigates the ways in which the school's streaming process has influenced the students' orientations towards school and their subjects. These conditions and orientations are outlined as they are felt to have a definite impact on classroom practice.

THE SCHOOL

Mkhize secondary school is in an established 'middle-class' zone in Soweto from which most of the students attending the school come.

Judging from the zones in which the students lived and from information elicited in interviews about some of their parents' occupational and social positions, it was apparent that the majority of the students come

from black 'middle-class' homes;¹ whereas a minority were from working-class families.

The school buildings are, in many senses, a testimony to the outpouring of money from the state and public and private sectors attempting to 'upgrade' black urban schools, especially in middle-class zones. Significant extensions had been made by the DET in conjunction with the Urban Foundation between 1981 and 1982. A new double-storey administration block, library, staff-room, a third single-storey and an additional double-storey classroom block had been built.

The library, although fairly well-stocked, lacked appropriate and stimulating resources and materials. Most of the books on the shelves were old school textbooks. There was no shortage of textbooks as these were provided freely. The textbooks provided and prescribed, however, posed some problems. The Standard 7 English 'Grammar' book, for instance, had only exercises and questions and contained virtually no explanations or clear working examples for the exercises. The lack of library resources for subjects such as Social Studies and History, on the other hand, made the prescribed textbooks 'standard'. There was also a very definite shortage of teaching aids for most subjects.

The school had no electricity but was equipped with a generator to operate the TV and video set donated by IBM. The video set, however,

1. A 'middle-class' black in many senses does not fit the same definition for middle-class whites in South Africa: whereas all whites have the right to vote and own property, no such rights exist for blacks - be they 'middle-class' or not - within white 'South Africa's' borders.

was donated principally for the purposes of running maths and science video programmes devised and donated by the DET.

The classrooms themselves usually presented a fairly 'barren' room in which 35-odd wooden desks, arranged in columns of 5 or 6, faced the black-board. The odd Biology, Geography, Science, etc. posters were the only 'educational' materials decorating the walls. There were no soft-boards lining these walls onto which topically relevant or interesting material could be pinned. The most immediately available resources, on the whole, thus were chalk and blackboards.

The significance of the general lack of material resources, coupled with the linguistic 'disadvantage' of having to communicate in a language which is not the mother-tongue of the teachers and students cannot be under-estimated. At this point I would like to quote the Standard 7 Social Studies teacher who vividly captures the constraining power of having to use an 'additional' language, in which the teacher is not proficient, as a medium of instruction.

It was worse when Afrikaans was enforced - you see - when it was compulsory. Now that left a teacher with a problem because most of the teachers were not efficient in Afrikaans, especially as a medium of instruction. I remember when this was implemented in the year 1972. I was teaching Standard 6 social studies and I had to do it in Afrikaans -phew - it was hell. IT WAS A QUESTION OF A TEACHER HAVING TO READ WITH THE CHILDREN - NOT KNOWING - I hate doing that - THE TERMINOLOGY OF GEOGRAPHY. When it comes to Afrikaans it's very difficult. For instance a globe is a 'aardebal'² - you see such things - such problems. It was really terrible. (emphasis added)

2. It will be seen later on in this dissertation that this teacher's words prove to be somewhat ironical and that factors other than a lack of proficiency in the medium of instruction may CHAIN teachers to the textbooks in even more profound ways.

That black teachers are now officially permitted to use English as a medium of instruction undoubtedly has made their task easier (especially for blacks who live in near proximity to white-English speaking communities).

STREAMING

Given these lack of material resources, the school was nevertheless classified as an 'academic' (formal) school. A fairly elaborate streaming process categorised students from Standard 7 upwards into grades and 'ability groups'. The 'A' streams usually represented the best-ability groups in all these standards. Standard 8 students, after having undergone psychometric tests devised by the DET, were streamed further into specialised subject groups, which were divided roughly into the 'arts' and 'sciences'. Here, from Standard 8, students - depending on the outcome of their school results and their performance in the psychometric tests - could 'choose' whether they wanted to specialize in History,³ Geography, Accountancy, Science or Biology. Any two of these subjects had to be taken in order to make up the required 6 subjects for their matriculation. The absence of Woodwork, commercial subjects (except Accountancy) and technical subjects reflects the academic/vocational school division; the division between mental and manual labour in these schools.

3. It is interesting to note that History, which is a contentious subject in black schools, is being eliminated from the curriculum of vocational and even some 'academic' schools.

The school undoubtedly received more funding for science subjects than it did for the 'arts' and 'humanities' and placed a greater emphasis on the Sciences. This emphasis, together with the schools' streaming process, and the content of the History syllabus, had a very definite effect on the Standard 7's attitude towards History as opposed to the Sciences. Even at this level, the attempt to propel the 'selected few' into the professional, managerial and entrepreneurial levels of the work force was evident. History was viewed, by the majority of Standard 7 students, as a subject which would not enable them to 'earn' money. The matrics, having 'chosen' History as a 'specialised' subject on the other hand, viewed History as a means through which they could understand forces operating in society and ways in which society could possibly be 'transformed'. (The student's attitudes towards History - ie. as a school subject - and history - ie. history without the bounds of the school curriculum - are explored in greater detail later.)

The school's curriculum, streaming process and subject specialization, reflected 'strong classification' (Bernstein 1971) ie. a strong boundary maintenance between subject contents, and a strong division of labour of educational knowledge. Strong classification as Bernstein points out may create a strong sense of membership in a particular class and so a specific identity.

This 'COLLECTION type curriculum' (Bernstein, op cit) arises out of the systematic ordering and grading of subjects through the examination system and the hierarchical structure of the education system and the hierarchical nature of the authority relationships within that system.

This hierarchially imposed and controlled curriculum and examination system undoubtedly diminishes the 'relative autonomy' of the school and the teacher as regards what may count as 'knowledge' within the classroom:⁴ it reduces the control and power that all parties working within this system may have over the selection and organisation of knowledge. It controls the pedagogical process within the school and classroom.

The relative autonomy of teachers in black schools is reduced further by: threats of transfer, dismissal or even detention if the education authorities deem them 'subversive';⁵ visits by inspectors and subject advisors, who ensure that the syllabus is adhered to;⁶ the lack of material resources; the level of teacher training and qualification and the power structure of the school.

Teacher training and the 'cultural capital' of teachers and students can be seen as crucial in determining how the syllabus is conceptualized and presented (Morris, 1984). University trained teachers, generally, would

4. Standardization and control of the curriculum is evident in the increasing number of standardized exams at most levels of secondary schooling as opposed to the 'older' practice of standardized external exams at only Standard 8 and Standard 10 levels.

5. The passing of the Education and Training Act of 1979 places stringent restrictions on 'misconduct' of teachers and students, which includes doing, or causing to be done, or conniving at 'any act which is prejudicial to the administration, discipline or efficiency of a school department, office or institution of the government' (Section 522(b)) and 'publicly, otherwise than at a meeting convened by an association of teachers recognised in terms of Section 30, criticising derogatively the administration of the department' (Section 522(f)) - (Africa Perspective, 1984: 59).

6. No such visits occurred during my research.

be able to offer alternative perspectives and 'critiques' of their subjects which, as I outlined in Chapter 3, are not generally encouraged or developed in black teacher training colleges. (This does not imply that black teachers cannot and do not conceptualise the syllabus in different ways: it merely implies that this possibility is reduced through the training and 'education' that the teachers receive. As will be outlined later the views, orientations and expectations that students bring with them to school and the classroom also exert an influence on the pedagogical process.)

THE TEACHERS

Although all three teachers had matric, there were some significant differences in their professional training and qualifications.

Mr Nhlapo, the Standard 10 (matric) History teacher, had specialized in History teaching and had completed the University of South Africa (UNISA) History I course while undergoing his three-year SSTC course from 1981 to 1983 at the Soweto 'College of Education' and was in his first year of teaching.

Mr Ntuli, the Standard 7 Social Studies teacher, had obtained a two-year STC and was studying Geography at Vista University which was offering in-service teacher-upgrading programmes. He had been teaching Geography/Social Studies for well over eight years at junior secondary level and was a departmental head.

Mr Mazibuko, the Standard 7 English teacher, obtained a two-year JSTC at the Sebokeng Teacher Training College and had specialized in Library Science. He had not received any specialized training in the teaching of English as a 'second' language and had previously taught English for two years at Standard 8 level. Thus Mr Nhlapo and Mr Mazibuko were relatively young and inexperienced teachers (they were between 25 and 27 years old) while Mr Ntuli was 'experienced' and in his later thirties.

SCHOOL POWER STRUCTURES

The structural organisation of Mkhize is based upon a hierarchical division of labour and a differential and unequal distribution of power. As is typical in the majority of all state-controlled schools in South Africa, power is unequally distributed from the headmaster at the apex of the pyramid down to the students at the base. These established structures of authority make each position at the lower end of the pyramid 'accountable' to the positions immediately and remotely above them.

The students' 'power', likewise was hierarchically arranged through the prefect-system which was still enforced by the educational authorities and the school. No democratically elected and run SRC existed. Each class had a male and female monitor in the lower standards and prefects in the matric classes. The essential functions of the monitors and prefects were to help staff with administrative duties and to 'monitor' any misconduct and deviant student behaviour in their respective

classes. This undoubtedly caused strong divisions between monitors and students, especially in the lower standards.⁷

Given the backdrop of the nation-wide student movement of an organisation such as COSAS, there did not appear to be a high level of student organisation at the school. This, however, is an opinion which cannot be taken as definitive. Even although I shared an 'open' relationship with the students - especially the Standard 7a students - there was undoubtedly a cautious and defensive attitude about revealing the exact nature of student involvement in organizations such as COSAS in interviews.

Many Standard 7 students, however, remarked that their school was not as 'politically' or 'radically'-minded as Orlando High or Ibhongo. Thus there was some evidence that there was a genuine lack of student

7. This became very evident in interviews with Standard 6 students. Many students accused the monitors of 'abusing' their power by illegitimately writing down their names for e.g. talking in class and submitting the 'culprits' names to class teachers. The students would then face punitive measures, usually corporal punishment, for such reported behaviour. These strong divisions did not manifest the following year when these students were in Standard 7. Corporal punishment was rife in the lower standards - especially at Standard 6 level. I personally witnessed many 'thrashings' administered by male, but especially female teachers to male and female Standard 6 students. These 'thrashings' were administered with a cane onto the students' hands with considerable force. This form of corporal punishment is undoubtedly common practice in most black schools throughout the country (ie. including the 'homelands') (personal observations and reports from teachers and observers). It is significant to note that none of the teachers involved in my research EVER caned their students in my presence: nor did I hear or witness reports of canings of the students involved in the research during my stay at the school. (The students reported many stories of canings prior to my arrival.) The only 'minor' incident witnessed was when the Standard 7 English teacher wielded a cane to keep 'order' of students entering their classrooms after a lunch-break.

organisation at the school. The reason for this lack of political awareness and orientation according to a 'political informant' in Standard 7 was because most of the students came from 'middle-class' families. His analysis which emerged in the interview when the subject of student involvement in organisations was raised, was as follows:

- S: Some schools are schools for - for working people (ie. working classes) and the government train(s) people in different ways - others to be - eh- tools for whites tomorrow ... Here we are mixed: but we are full of middle classes. People are living in Extension in big houses.
- RS: And do you think because they are predominantly middle-class - they are not politically minded?
- S: Yes - the reason that they are not politically minded is - that - because they don't feel what other people feel ... the child always sleeps with bread - there's not a day where he (does) sleeps hungry - he always eats bread. He doesn't feel the pain - the pain of oppression. That's why these - eh - middle-classes - they won't get into politics - yes, because they don't feel the pains.

Simple, and perhaps misleading, as this analysis may sound it points to some important issues. Firstly it illustrates the possible effects of the state's strategy in creating a stable 'buffer' black middle-class, especially in a more 'prosperous' township such as Soweto. Secondly, it might provide an answer, albeit a crude one, to the question as to why this school and even Soweto in general was 'quiet' in 1984 while neighbouring townships on the East Rand were going up in flames and when literally tens of thousands of students were boycotting schools in these areas and in the Attridgeville - Saulsville and Eastern Cape Areas, which have very high levels of unemployment. This background, however, is undoubtedly SOMEHOW linked to the 'lack' of student organisation and activity at the school during my period of research. What did

contribute towards this state of affairs, however, were the students' orientations towards school; a matter to which I now turn.

ORIENTATIONS TOWARDS SCHOOL

'Education' was undoubtedly viewed by many students, especially the Standard 7 students, as a means towards social mobility: it would secure them jobs and prevent the hardships and sufferings of poverty and unemployment. This view emerged most clearly when members of the 'boys group' initiated a discussion on the 'importance' of school. I present two students' comments from this discussion below which epitomise this orientation.

William: Why we say school is a better place to start is because there are many criminals or outlaws because they were not educated; so lack of education will also lead to a lack of employment.

Thabo: I realize that most people who did not learn - they're suffering you see - because they don't get jobs and to work - they have to work digging holes and doing so () () That's why I say school is better ... actually it's good for us to learn you see so that we can be educated tomorrow so that you can know how to - how to make our future - ya. It mustn't - we don't want to be - we don't want to suffer you see.

In another interview, William, Ivan and Eric remarked that they wanted to be lawyers, while Thabo wanted to do a BA degree as he wanted to follow the 'footsteps' of his father, who had a Masters degree in History. William similarly remarked that his grandfather, who was a lawyer in Swaziland, wanted him to study law.

When these students were asked if they thought that their aspirations were realistic and attainable, given the difficulties that many blacks experience in securing such occupations, they all said that they were. For William, for instance, it boiled down to self-will and determination; for Ivan it depended on material benefits (he had an Anglo-American scholarship to study at a college in Alabama in the USA the following year).

While some Standard 7 students did not know what they wanted to do once they left school, others wanted to be social workers, nurses and to enter commerce and industry. Although I did not formally interview Standard 10 History students about their future intentions, similar aspirations emerged in an informal conversation with Nandi and Sedie who wanted to study social work and radiography respectively.

From this admittedly 'thin' evidence it was clear that many students had high aspirations and upheld 'middle class' values by distinguishing between mental and manual labour and aspiring to professional and technical/commercial occupations. Their aspirations reflect a clear perception of the status and social mobility of the occupation structure of an industrial-capitalist society. The fact that many of their parents occupied such positions themselves undoubtedly would transmit a certain cultural capital and influence these aspirations. That the school was programmed as an 'academic' one and had a fairly elaborate streaming process obviously reinforced these values. In view of these processes it stands to reason that the students involved in the research - who represented the best ability groups - would have a greater sense

of achievement and ability to realize their aspirations. This sense of 'ability' and achievement was very strongly reinforced by the streaming process. Many Standard 7a students often commented that their class had the best academic achievers and that their class was very serious about learning. These attitudes were undoubtedly reinforced by the teachers (this shall be discussed later). Furthermore the students viewed their school on the whole as maintaining high standards and producing 'good results'. According to Lawrence & Roodt (1983), the level of aspiration increases as students climb the hierarchical educational ladder.⁸

That the students, generally, did not have a 'radical' political orientation when this research was conducted, however, was also discernible from their perspectives on History.

8. The high aspirations of many of the students to continue with post-matriculation studies and to enter the professional, medical and technical work sectors correlates with Lawrence and Roodt's (1983) study into the aspirations of black students in the Mafikeng area in Bophuthatswana, where the students from Mmabatho High, which draws students from fairly high socio-economic status backgrounds, had higher aspirations and saw these aspirations as realistic and attainable, compared with students from lower socio-economic families in Stadt and the Ramatlabama Resettlement area. A further point worth mentioning that arises from their study is that the students from the school in the Ramatlabama area showed a clear adjustment between their ideals and what they KNEW they could realistically attain because of the harsh realities that many of them had experienced through resettlement and the apartheid system. This point begs the following question: if the students in my research had high ideals, would they not at this present moment be feeling all the more FRUSTRATED and even possibly militant ie. would they not have radically altered their perceptions of the possibilities of social mobility, given the economic and education crisis which has led to a state of emergency in Soweto and elsewhere? Whether such altered perceptions have occurred is beyond the scope of this research; but the possibility that they have, is certainly not discountable.

In the section which follows I examine these perspectives in order to roughly illustrate the relationship between the students 'political' and 'historical' consciousness. I have deliberately omitted the Standard 7's views and attitudes towards English and Geography because the vast majority of the students did not perceive these subjects in a 'political' or ideological light (this, of course, in itself, reflects their political consciousness).⁹ Furthermore these subjects, according to the students, did not pose any major difficulties or problems. The majority of the students said that they enjoyed these subjects and could readily follow and understand them. (The actual problems that these subjects did pose shall emerge in later analyses). The students argued that very few of them, found English difficult and that they always passed their English tests and exams. A similar attitude was expressed about Geography.

STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORY

It was mentioned earlier that whereas the Standard 10 students had a fairly high motivation towards History, the majority of Standard 7 students did not. The reasons for these differing attitudes are manifold. An obvious contributory factor is that History, which formed half of the Standard 7 Social Studies syllabus, was compulsory for Standard 7s: for the matrices it was a 'specialization' subject. It was

9. The more 'politicised' members of the boys group, however, did suggest that English should deal with current political events: they perceived newspaper articles as important resource material for oral discussions and comprehension work. One student went so far as to argue that the curriculum should include 'political subjects' such as the study of current South African political events.

remarkable that only 6 students in Standard 7a (ie. Ivan, William, Gordon, Thabo, Campton and Franscina) were interested in the subject: the rest preferred Geography, and Science. Most of the Standard 7 students felt that the History syllabus was irrelevant, meaningless and alienating. Most of them could not relate it to their lives.

The following comments from a Standard 7 student epitomise this sense of alienation.

Johanna: Things of the past are many years back - you find many years there and they are useless because they are of the past and you don't know these people like Woodrow Wilson, Da Vinci and so on.

RS: Do you feel the same way about South African History?

Johanna: Yes.

RS: If you were learning about - um - Shaka, or Moshoeshoe or if you were learning about Albert Lutuli or Nelson Mandela would you feel the same way?

Johanna: Yes - I would feel the same because I don't know them, I didn't see things which were happening at that time. If I would see things which were happening at that time it was going to be better. For example in Physics you do something which you are observing and it is not possible to forget something which you have observed - yes ... They don't tell us about today's history - they are going to tell the new generation - other generations - they are not telling us. If they were telling us about today's history it would be something better. (emphasis added)

What emerges clearly from this perspective is that both the content and nature of history itself is 'abstract'; it is not empirically observable. This, of course, is the case. History is not concerned with observable evidence; it cannot always be created concretely and

experienced directly. But there again the assumptions and contesting and conflicting theories informing science and scientific practice are also 'abstract' constructs which are not empirically evident. 'Science' may and does undergo changes within shifting 'paradigms' and world views which are historically rooted (cf. KUHN, 1962). We no longer think that the earth is flat and the centre around which the universe revolves. Science itself is not fully cumulative, nor does it proceed along an unproblematic and uncontested line of enquiry; it is largely driven by 'conceptual revolutions that cause groups of scientists to reorganize and reconceptualize the models by which they attempt to understand and manipulate the world' (Apple, 1979; 89). This student (as did other students) pins understanding and meaning to a form of 'objectivism', where 'facts' become the foundation of all forms of knowledge. This objectivism as Giroux (1981) notes:

... is the cornerstone of the culture of positivism in public education. Adulating 'facts' and empirically based discourse, positivist rationality provides no basis for acknowledging its own historically contingent character. (p 51)

This form of rationality views knowledge as objectively 'out there': knowledge is something to be grasped and retained, rather than examined and constructed.

Some matric students echoed a similar sentiment when they stressed the importance of 'facts' in understanding history. The students remarked that their History textbook was 'like a summary'. They felt it necessary to consult additional texts as they were not sure which

textbook and facts the examiners would base their questions and answers on.¹⁰

As shall be outlined below, however, some matric students and a few Standard 7 students who were interested in History, were clearly aware that historical facts were interpreted by the authors of their textbooks and were not necessarily objective or true. Thus, it would not be accurate to say that all the students viewed history with a pure positivist rationality.

Most Standard 7 students, however, repeatedly expressed a sense of alienation from History and especially European History. Echoing Johanna's views above, many Standard 7 students emphasised that they wanted to learn about contemporary African and South African History which they found more meaningful and relevant. The following comments from two students illustrate this orientation:

Franscina 2: South African History is easier for us because we know Gatsha Buthulezi and Lennox Sebe - like those people - because we can see them on the TV.

William: Here at school we don't study or read about the history of our own people - I mean black people - we always read about European History - yes ... We can find History boring - of reading about people that - eh - had nothing to do about - I mean - the history of our own people. There's not much to read about. You find that the units for the European History - eh - it's too long. You find that African History is merely 3, 4 up to 5 pages ... if you find

10. The same attitude prevailed amongst the students in Maree's study. See Maree (1984: 151).

somebody; an old man who can tell you history, African history and you compare that with the book - you see - that you've read - you find that it's not equal with what you have been told.

William's observation points to an acute awareness of bias in their History syllabus and also points to an awareness of the fact that history (ie. history in general as opposed to 'History' as a school subject) is not only to be found in books. Ivan similarly reiterated this view of history:

I can say that you cannot only find history only at school - you can find history even in our grandparents. Because when the Second World War came our grandmothers were there - you can even ask them what was happening; they can tell us and what were their mothers experiencing in those days.

Some matric students also commented on bias in History when they were asked from what perspective they thought their textbook was written:

Brian: Well I think answering that one - particularly on this argument on South African History - we'll have to gain some insight on South African History. Well if ever one has to look at how some of the facts are stated by the authors, who are mainly whites - I don't know of any black historian - I believe that most of the facts - or some of the facts are one-sided.

When a group of Standard 7 students were asked in the interview from which the last two Standard 7 excerpts are drawn why they thought that this bias existed, Ivan responded, as follows:

I can say propaganda is somehow taking place in that History. Before this thing can be published - they're first - eh - going to make it a little bit different. Because we don't have one education department - we have different education - the education which comes to the blacks - they must first - you know - make it to be propaganda.

Sibusiso, a matric student, responded in fairly similar, but less direct, terms to the same question in a different interview:

To me it is because they didn't want to let the people know what was happening - who was wrong, who was right - what did happen, and to a certain extent they hide from us - it seems they hide from us the truth - I think so - you're not supposed to know.

A devastating effect of the sense of alienation that many Standard 7 students felt about History was that they did not even attempt to understand or make sense of it. Caroline's observation below lucidly captures this attitude and orientation.

We just read History for the sake of reading, we don't read for the sake of understanding. What will we benefit to know Woodrow Wilson? - you won't get a cent - at least if you cover up in English - you know that you're going to get a pass mark.

For those Standard 7 students who were interested in History a vague sense of relevance existed. Most of those students, however, could not articulate this 'relevance' in terms other than that they were 'somehow interesting' and that they wanted 'to know what was happening long ago, because in past years people were not living in the same situation where (they) were now living'. The connection between the past and their present situations and how the present could be seen as a product of the past was absent in most of their comments.

For Ivan, however, the study of History, in a sense, revealed the ways in which the ruling class and powerful leaders manipulated the masses for their own interests on the one hand, or worked for the interests and rights of the masses on the other.

I can say history it's something like a conspiracy - or an aristocratic plot. I can see these conspiracies in the people who shaped the world and the people who influenced - eh - millions of people - eh - by getting their human rights - like Vladimir Lenin and Hitler and Woodrow Wilson too - yeah - those people.

While Ivan's understanding of the historical process vaguely suggests and implies that society is the product of conflicting class interests; it primarily upholds the view that history is the product of 'great men', who 'shape and influence the world'. That he, and other students interviewed, upheld this view was not surprising as it was the view repeatedly perpetuated in their History textbooks and, as shall be seen, a view partially perpetuated by their teacher.

Most of the matric students, however, repeatedly commented that history was the study of the present in relation to the past and that it enabled them to understand how past events gave rise to present conditions. The words of Brian below encapsulates this predominant view fairly lucidly:

History gives us an understanding of why we are having some other systems in other countries - why we are having communism in Russia; why we are having democracy in the USA - it gives us a sort of insight - if you look carefully - some other countries which were colonised by the European countries turned to communism - in a way it makes us to understand that they turned to communism because they were able to get better friends - they thought that the Western countries were for gain and other things. That's how I understand it presently.

For some students history meant the study of past mistakes so that a better future could be constructed.

Years back many people were making many wars - in wars they were making mistakes; so we are trying to solve that so that there must be no more wars - such things - there must always be peace ... so as to lead mostly to a good life. (Stan: 10b)

Exactly HOW society could be transformed and what sorts of action would need to be taken in order to create a new society and what type of society this would be, however, was never explicated - but then the students were not asked to elaborate. On the whole, a 'socialist' outlook, which has characterised recent student organizations, did not emerge.¹¹ The view that history is the product of conflicting class interests and changing modes of production was not elucidated. Precisely how their own positions in society are historically influenced and determined by such processes was never clearly defined.

On one level this may reflect a certain lack of 'political and 'historical' consciousness; on another, it clearly reflects the omission of certain questions in these interviews which may have elicited more detailed perspectives and conceptualizations. On a third level, as will be shown, it reflects the way in which History is presented in their textbooks and the ways in which History is taught and conceptualised by the teachers.

11. Maree's (1975) study of the impact of Bantu Education policies and ideology on the systems of thought of black students, mainly in Sowetan schools, reflects similar findings. Interestingly, her study reveals that a fairly strong Black Consciousness outlook, which characterised student organizations before and during the 1976 uprisings, prevailed. See Maree (1984)

CONCLUSION

In summarising the interrelationship between the schools curriculum structure, streaming process and the students' orientations towards school and their perspectives of history, a number of ambiguities and inconsistencies arise. On the one hand, the knowledge defined as 'useful' by the education system and the curriculum, which is reinforced by the streaming process, is 'legitimised' by most students; on the other, History is viewed as alienating and useless by most Standard 7 students. This ambiguity reflects the ascendancy of a positivist view of knowledge and the power of the socialization and selection process in the school; where 'selection' allocates students to categories receiving differential treatment (in the same school class or by means of distributing students to different classes and schools) and results in 'differential life chances via the award of credentials which determine school-leavers positions on the labour market'; and where 'socialization' systematically shapes students' values, ideals, and attitudes, according to, and as 'regarded as appropriate to the different categories of pupils produced by selection' (HAMMERSLEY: 1977 : 57).

As Apple (1979) points out, schools do not only 'process' people; they 'process' knowledge as well. They enhance and give legitimacy to particular types of cultural resources which are related to unequal economic forms. The increasing emphasis on the Sciences, as opposed to the Arts and Humanities, results in a stratification of knowledge which

accords the Sciences a 'high status knowledge'.¹² This processing of knowledge has undoubtedly affected the Standard 7a's classification of 'useful' knowledge.

History is a highly contentious subject in black schools and as we have seen, those students who are keen on the subject are acutely aware of the distorted and propagandised nature of History (especially South African History) and that it denies them that knowledge which gives them an understanding of their own histories and position in society. In a very real sense, they are conscious of forms of ideological and social control perpetuated through their History syllabus. Of course, as we have seen the students' level of political and historical consciousness is not necessarily uniform. To view it as such leads to the romantic notion that all students in a school, or all students throughout the country have reached the same level of 'politicisation'. This is clearly not the case. As Morris (1984) has argued different schools convey, and different students bring with them, a different cultural capital, which influences the pedagogical process.

Having contextualised the school and presented a general overview of the students' predominant attitudes towards school and History (and history) I shall turn to a brief examination, in the chapter which follows, of the tacit expectations that the students had about the way knowledge is to be transmitted and exchanged.

12. 'High status' knowledge is by definition scarce, and its scarcity is inextricably linked to its instrumentality (Apple, 1979).

CHAPTER 5STUDENTS' VIEWS ON TEACHING AND LEARNING

Learning the role of a student is undoubtedly a complex activity which takes time and continual interaction with institutional expectations (Apple, 1979). Through this interaction students come to internalize certain 'rules' which guide their classroom orientations and behaviour. The students' definitions, assumptions and expectations about their own and teachers' roles are largely transmitted through the 'hidden curriculum', that is, the norms and values that are implicitly, but effectively, taught in schools and which are not usually talked about in teachers' statements of goals. These interactional patterns are influenced and largely determined by the structural setting within which teachers and students interact.

Mkize's hierarchical school structure distributes power differentially and unequally amongst social roles; it forms and upholds distinctive teacher/student boundaries. These established structures of authority and power invest teachers with a positional authority which is legitimated by the school structure and the education department. The authority of the teacher is thus a property of the school social and power structure. Students are undoubtedly 'taught', through the hidden curriculum, how to deal with and relate to such structures of authority. The teacher's authority, however, may be upheld or challenged by those over whom teachers exercise their authority. If it is upheld by students, then the teacher's authority is legitimate. 'Authority' in

this relational sense, is associated with social positions or roles and is based upon a legitimate relation. Authority, here, is a type of superiority which involves the legitimate right and/or obligation to control the action of others in a social relationship system (Martin, 1977). (This does not imply that authoritarianism is legitimated.) Authority, like power, is derived from imbalances in dependence relations and is usually part of a system of domination and subordination.

In communicative interaction, a socially co-operative division of labour may produce socially legitimate and perhaps necessary communicative inequalities where the teacher as 'expert' may know more than a student, but here social relations may nevertheless be oppression-free because such inequalities may have been legitimated by all affected. This consent may be founded on a number of implicit or explicit bases, which may be rational, legal, economic, traditional, normative, etc.

Roles are thus expected and internalised patterns of behaviour associated with specific social positions. This means that when students define their own and teachers' positions in certain ways, they have broad expectations as to how they and their teachers should behave in classrooms. These definitions may concur with those of their teachers; they may share a constellation of learned meanings which enables them to enter into persistent, consistent and recognised forms of interaction with each other (Bernstein, 1972b). Such shared meanings and 'working assumptions' may allow interactions to proceed smoothly and unproblematically as the tacit 'rules' informing the teachers' and

students' classroom practices are held in common and 'serve to organize and legitimate the activity of the many individuals whose interaction makes up a social order' (Apple, 1979 : 86). These definitions, assumptions and expectations, however, may also conflict. As Hargreaves (1980 : 176) notes:

Schools reproduce conflict as well as conformity even if these are only different ways of working out an otherwise unchanged set of class relations based upon dominance and subordination.

Whether these conflicts are worked out through a process of 'negotiation' and 'bargaining' which may lead to an 'unspoken bargain' (Geer, 1977), a 'negotiated settlement' (Hargreaves, 1975) or a 'working consensus' (Pollard, 1984) in the classroom, is something which shall be examined later.

In this chapter I shall focus primarily on the students' perceptions of their own and their teachers' pedagogical roles. In other words, I shall outline the taken-for-granted 'rules' that the students formulate for their teachers. Of course these 'rules' are not static and cannot be fully explicated. 'Rules', like 'roles' are contextually tied and occur in a web of practical circumstances. Even formal rules and roles are not complete in themselves as they do not include background features. Rules always have what Garfinkel (1967) calls an 'et cetera aspect'. Roles and rules shift within shifting practical, moral and political concerns. 'Roles' and 'rules' thus prescribe certain ways of behaving and of enacting social relations, but they also allow for an amount of creative interpretation.

In examining the students' basic 'rules' and expectations about 'teaching' and 'learning' we should be able to gain a sense of how the hidden curriculum has posited a set of assumptions which set out the legitimated boundaries of their own and their teachers' activities and roles. Furthermore we should gain a sense of; which teaching styles and learning procedures the students view as the most effective and desirable, and how they expect knowledge to be transmitted and exchanged. This set of tacit expectations should give us an indication of how the students define their own and their teachers' respective rights, duties and obligations.

STUDENTS' TACIT EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THE WAY KNOWLEDGE IS TO BE COMMUNICATED

In the 'instructional context' the most outstanding criteria which made a teacher 'good', according to the students, was that the teacher should be able to convey and explain information comprehensibly in his/her own words. This indicated that the teacher had an understanding of the subject-matter dealt with: it indicated a certain 'mastery' of the subject. Teachers who merely read information from a book were seen as failing to explain the information transmitted: it indicated a lack of understanding on the teacher's behalf.

In an interview, Thabo, a Standard 7 student, remarked that their science teacher was an 'expert' because 'he never teaches from the book' and because 'he explains the way he knows about what he did learn'. A matric student, similarly commented that a teacher 'must be clear about

what he teaches: he must know his subject - he doesn't have to be a master of the subject - but he must be clear'.¹ The same student described a 'good teacher' as one 'who can treat a section and make you realize that it is very much simple'.

Students also frequently expressed the idea that 'good' teaching and learning involved students asking teachers questions; not only because it gives students the opportunity to clarify things that they do not follow, but because the asking of questions in itself requires and reflects a certain level of attention and understanding. A Standard 7 student expressed this proposition in the following way:

If you are a teacher - to show that the students they do understand - you must see them asking you questions.

Of course students SHOULD have the right to ask teachers questions. This is a very fundamental right in any communicative situation which is free from domination and manipulation and in which participants are oriented towards reaching understanding. As Muller (1984) notes,

1. What constitutes 'clear' and 'good' teaching is very difficult to define. As Cruickshank, Kennedy, Bush and Meyers (1979) point out, there is no universally acceptable definition of what 'teacher clarity' is. They thus argue that learners are in the best position to describe what clear teaching is. While this has validity, especially within the learners' own contexts; learners' definitions cannot be taken as the sole criteria. Learners may have been exposed only to certain forms of teaching/learning which are not necessarily the 'best' or 'clearest'. Learners' definitions are relative to their socialization, class positions, material conditions, etc., and may uphold models of teaching which do not necessarily serve their interests. Relying SOLELY on learners' definitions, discounts the possibility of their 'false consciousness'. Cruickshank et al's study provides valuable insights into students' preferred teaching styles. These criteria, however, are located within a model of transmitter-type teaching which unquestioningly assumes that 'learning' is a result of 'teaching'.

students have the right to ask teachers questions in order to learn 'as it is contractually determined that students are in the communicative situation to increase their knowledge' (p 3) (emphasis added). Muller states this as a fundamental feature of the 'classroom contract'. Muller goes further to point out that:-

... if secondary knowers (ie. students) are somehow, directly or indirectly prevented from asking questions, or even if they do not feel free to ask questions, then their rights are infringed and the contract is being broken. (ibid)

Certain Standard 7 students, especially the vociferous 'girls group' (ie. Johanna, Caroline, Franscina and Noktula) vehemently and repeatedly argued, in interviews, that it was their right to ask teachers questions and that teachers were obliged to answer their questions. If teachers did not uphold these respective rights and obligations, they should leave the school.

Franscina: If teachers don't want us to ask questions they must go away.

Johanna: Yes, yes they must go away.

Franscina: Because they are here to teach us and we are here to learn. So if they don't want to tell us answers ...

Johanna: They get paid salaries

Franscina: ... if we ask them questions - they get paid here at school - so if they don't want us to know something, they must go away (ss: giggle) and teach where they don't want to (lose?).

The teacher's obligation to clarify and explain information and the students' right to ask questions was based on a pedagogical and 'economic' contractual basis. Teachers were 'paid', they received salaries in order to carry out these duties and obligations. Students'

parents, on the other hand, paid their school fees which contractually empowered the students to exercise their communicative rights. These contractual rights and obligations are all the more pertinent in the black schooling context, where students, on the whole, are NOT conscripted into schools. Black education has never been, and still is basically neither free nor compulsory.² This significantly increases the 'contractual' nature of the teacher-student relationship and of the students' rights in particular.

The vociferous and vocal students thus repeatedly argued that students who did not ask questions failed to exercise their rights because they did not understand what was going on and because they did not 'use their common sense': they viewed them as 'passive' learners who failed to increase their knowledge and understanding through discussion and debate.

In some Standard 7 interviews the less 'vociferous' students remarked that certain students domineered lessons because they asked too many questions, which were unnecessary. The 'vociferous' students, however, always emphasised that asking questions was a necessary prerequisite in

2. Although 'compulsory' education began to be 'phased in' from 1979/1980 for urban blacks, this measure has not been strictly adhered to by the DET and had affected little more than 2% of black schools and students by 1981 (Muller, 1984). Furthermore, at the time of its introduction, this measure was resisted by a number of Sowetan students and parents, who viewed it as an attempt to suppress the students' resistance to Bantu Education by keeping them off the streets. The DET attempted to coerce the parents into 'controlling' their children by threatening to fine them if their children were not in school and attending classes. This threat, however, has never been strictly applied.

order to learn and understand what was going on. The following excerpt from an interview epitomises this orientation.

Franscina 2: She (ie. Johanna) asks more - she asks more - more - more

Caroline: Yes, she's right - she has paid school fees.

Franscina 1: She wants to try to UNDERSTAND what's happening - not to sit like a dumb reed.

Caroline: A rotten pumpkin.

The 'vocal' students repeatedly viewed their behaviour as a justified enactment of their rights in terms of the classroom 'contract'.

Most of the Standard 10 students likewise expressed the importance of asking teachers questions and said that they did this in order to gain additional information and clarification from the teacher. One student's comment lucidly captures this predominant strategy which occurred frequently in the Standard 10 History class.

I ask questions in class because it is the best thing to ask the teacher ... if I'm not satisfied with the information I've got then I always ask the teacher.

The 'best' Standard 10 History students commented that they also asked questions in order to gain confirmation about 'their way of thinking'. Brian, the 'top' History student, expressed this strategy in these words:

The other reason I believe (that we ask questions) is that - it's not a matter of maybe not understanding - but if ever you have an idea concerning something, you ask the teacher - maybe knowing the answer to that thing. You sort of want the teacher to confirm that - and if ever the teacher thinks on the same lines with you, at least you are a bit happy that 'I am correct'. That's how I find I always do it. I tend to ask questions which I know (the answer to) - not because I want to - eh - test the teacher's knowledge but if ever the teacher confirms with my way of thinking I am pleased.

Both the Standard 7 and matric students expected teachers to continually assess and evaluate their understanding by way of asking students questions and also by setting periodic tests. 'Ideally', students believed that teachers should ensure that the whole class understands what is taught.

A good teacher makes sure you all understand. Most times after the lesson he asks questions - he won't try an answer from a person who's raising his arm - he's going to find out from the whole class. And after writing a test he will ask those who fail what their problem is and he will try to help them.

(THABO - Standard 7)

Vuka responded in similar vein, when a group of matric students were asked what they thought an 'ideal teacher' was.

An ideal teacher? - after doing a section we must also write a test in order to understand whether we have understood what he taught us.

In the same interview students remarked that "the teacher must have patience and he must treat you equally and attend to your problems" and that teachers should be 'active', "he mustn't make you feel when he comes to class that you feel that you are going to have a boring lesson again". Standard 7 students, similarly said they wanted 'active' and 'flexible' teachers ie. teachers who showed an interest in the subject

and presented it in a lively manner by walking around the class and varying their tone and pitch. Students also expected teachers to help them find references from other books and direct them to additional sources of information. A more ideal learning situation even for Standard 7's was one in which students could "consult many books".

A further, predominant and recurrent 'theme' which emerged from these interviews was that corporal punishment was seen as an illegitimate action, especially if applied for pedagogical purposes. The interesting thing to note here is that both Standard 10 and Standard 7 students remarked almost immediately about this aspect of teacher 'coercion', in response to the question of what the students thought an 'ideal', learning situation or teacher was.

RS: Have you ever thought of the ideal situation in which to learn and what should happen in a classroom in order to learn?

Elias: Corporal punishment must be abolished.

Sedie: It's really unnecessary because most of the time when this corporal punishment is used, it is used in a wrong way, for things like - we get beaten up for not answering a question. It's not because you don't want to answer the question, but maybe you are stuck, or you don't know how to express it and then you find that they (ie. the teachers) say you are wrong and you get beaten up just for that. Aai - I tell you it's out - corporal punishment - I really think it should be abolished.

(Standard 10 interview)

- RS: What can you see that a teacher is doing in the classroom which makes him or her a good teacher?
- Franscina: No cruelty - stop thrashing students.
- RS: You think that good teachers don't thrash students?
- Thabo: Ya because, you see, the minute he thrashes the children - immediately I think of - maybe he (ie. the student) starts running away from school - not attending periods - because whenever he comes to class he thrashes the students. So children don't get used to you even if you try to explain something - you're just thinking of (Caroline: the cane) maybe punishment - you're going to punish them ... some teachers just come to thrash 'bah, bah, bah' - the minute they get in class you're thinking of punishment. I'll never listen to him, because you'll keep quiet as if you're listening, but nobody is listening.
(Standard 7a interview)

Corporal punishment in such situations was viewed as illegitimate and 'distractive': it engendered fear and restricted communication flow in the classroom. Students did not willingly consent to relationships founded upon this use of power. The emphasis added to Thabo's last sentence, concisely captures how 'compliance' is based on coercion, rather than legitimated authority, where the student is more likely to give the teacher the full attention that such authority may warrant.

Certain Standard 7 male students, however, condoned the use of corporal punishment for deviant, disruptive and destructive social behaviour, which was clearly detrimental to the class. Certain members of the 'boys group' strongly argued that students required the teacher's 'guidance' in such cases; because of this dependency, teachers had the

right to administer punitive measures because the student may perceive their actions incorrectly because of their misjudgement.

[The student] will not see that I'm right or wrong - he'll just see everything just right - whilst he's wrong.

(Ivan : Std 7a)

Teachers thus had the right to 'stop you' from engaging in certain behaviour and acts.

On the whole, however, students differentiated very clearly between corporal punishment administered for disruptive 'social' actions and for pedagogical purposes.

Many Standard 7 students said they respected 'strict' teachers, ie. teachers who were serious about their teaching and the students' work. They saw it as part of the teacher's duty, through 'strictness', to ensure that students did their work and studied for tests and exams. Teachers who mucked about and joked in class and who did not demand

'hard work' conversely were not 'respected';³ students would 'laugh at' teachers who would accept excuses from students for not handing in homework and not doing their work properly.

He (ie. not a strict teacher) tells you 'I am not writing, you are writing, I'm through with school and you are still coming through the school'. Well we can't enjoy a teacher who tells us like that - who tells us 'if you have not done that job (ie. work) - it's up to you.'

(Gordon - Standard 7a)

Students, on the other hand, would do their work conscientiously and properly for strict teachers who expected a high standard of work.

The good thing about strict teachers is we respect them and do our work. Those who crack jokes and who become friends to the students - then the students crack jokes in their books; so they write just anything. They don't care what they write. But with strict teachers the student becomes careful when he writes and writes good things on the book and makes sure that work is good for that teacher.

(Ivan, Standard 7a)

From these student expectations and perspectives it can be clearly discerned that students basically upheld the presupposition that

3. A number of studies in Britain (eg. Furlong, 1976; Walker & Adleman, 1976; and Nash, 1976) have shown that many students 'respect' 'strict' teachers as they are usually consistent in their behaviour and give a sense of structure and 'purpose' to the learning process. On the local scene there are very few studies which have examined black students' attitudes towards their teachers. Duminy (1968) carried out both qualitative and quantitative studies into the attitudes of 1,024 Standard 9 and Standard 10 students to their respective teachers in nine schools in the Transkei, Ciskei and in one school in Soweto. His findings are very illuminating. Although 'strictness' does not appear as a top priority, 'helpful with school work' emerged as the major criteria. High priority was also given to student questions, discussion, consistent teacher behaviour and 'justified punishment', which largely excluded the use of corporal punishment. Duminy's study clearly dispels the often held belief that black students (especially in the rural areas) are somehow 'passive' learners. See Duminy (1968: 106-136).

'learning' is a result of 'teaching':⁴ teachers were generally viewed as transmitters and resources of 'knowledge'. Teachers were expected to have a certain 'expertise' which would enable them to convey, evaluate and authorise knowledge. Furthermore, it should be evident that the students viewed their right to elicit information from the teacher as fundamental. These respective rights and obligations implicitly 'bind' teachers and students into a 'contractual' relationship. Although unequal communicative rights are largely legitimated - as the teacher's authority is founded on a dependence relation - this relation also entailed the legitimate enactment of student's talking rights. Thus, although the students' expectations and orientations enables a transmitter-type model of teaching to be upheld, their role within this model was not viewed as a purely PASSIVE one.

Some students, especially the matrices, commented that teachers spent too much time transmitting knowledge: the students wanted to use some of their class periods for 'study' purposes, ie. in order to read their texts and discuss what they had read with one another. The students felt that they could then use the knowledge that they had 'gained' as a basis to discuss any questions that they had with the teacher. This they believed would give them a sound basis to enter into dialogue with the teacher and one other.

4. Walters cites a number of British and American studies over the last five years that clearly demonstrate that the students' expectations were that 'teachers should teach', and that students value lucid explanations, clear statements of problems and guidance to their solutions and that personal qualities of kindness, sympathy and patience were found to be secondary. See Walters (1981: p 26).
It is instructive to compare Duminy's (1968) findings which reiterate these expectations and values on the local scene.

Some matric students also suggested that they 'should offer lessons to the class' so that other students 'can ask that student questions' or so that the student offering the lesson 'may ask students questions' ie. students should, at times, adopt the teacher's role.

The students (and this applies to both Standard 7 and Standard 10 students) did NOT view themselves as empty vessels that had to be pumped with information in order to learn. What emerged, on the contrary, was that many students believed that they had an active and contributory role to play in the teaching/learning process.

At the expense of foreshadowing things to come I shall include excerpts from a Standard 10 and Standard 7 interview which very pointedly reflect the 'active' role that the students believed in. The Standard 10 excerpt is less 'generalised' and abstracted as the student's comment is directly grounded and situated in what was actually occurring in the classroom. This excerpt is 'unusual' in that it is drawn from an interview which occurred after a fairly extensive period of classroom observation. In this interview a group of students were simply asked to report or comment on anything that was happening in their classroom. I include the comments of Brian, who responded immediately to the questions posed.

RS: Is there anything you want to say about what's happening in your History class?

Brian: Well, I think that the learning is not actually as active as I would like it to be. There should be more interchanging of ideas between the students. Presently we find that all the time we have information from the teacher - the teacher tells us something and writes it on the board. I believe that History is a kind of a subject where there should be more discussion between students and the teacher; where you'll find that students will be playing a major role in discussing and other things; where eventually it will lead to arguments of some other kind. I don't find that happening - I don't know why.⁵

When Brian was asked why he thought that this was an important thing to do in the classroom he responded as follows:

Well I think it makes learning to be much more easy for us and also it helps some other people who are not actually involved in class in a way. But if there's a discussion between the students themselves, some other students who are not active will at least have an opportunity of interchanging some ideas (which will) make understanding much more better, maybe with the teacher and so on.

Some Standard 7 students made similar remarks when they were asked what they thought the best way to learn was. Some students' responses to this question were as follows:

5. The significance of this observation will be elaborated on later when I attempt to explain this and the Standard 7's student observation below.

- Johanna: To ask questions or to sit together and discuss.
- RS: And you Gordon?
- Gordon: I prefer asking questions.
- Johanna: You see?
- Campton: Yeah Johanna's right - to sit and discuss and then ask questions.
- Gordon: But they (ie. teachers) don't allow us to discuss - I don't know why - but others they do.

From these excerpts it can already be seen that certain conflicts existed between what students EXPECTED to occur and what was actually occurring in their classrooms. The reasons for this state of affairs shall become apparent when we examine aspects of the teacher's classroom practices in the following chapters. Before we embark on these investigations I shall conclude this section by outlining further evidence of the importance that students laid on discussions and 'collective learning'.

As we have seen, many students did NOT view their teachers as the only resources of knowledge: the students recognised each other as important resources in the learning process. This became patently obvious from my observations of students during their study and 'free' periods. Both the Standard 7 and matric students would form study/discussion groups in order to unravel things that they did not clearly understand in their lessons. If teachers gave 'unclear' or unsatisfactory explanations the students formed groups in order to hear different viewpoints and explanations from one another so that they could, as one matric student

put it, 'put their ideas together'. When the teacher's 'expertise' and communicative abilities 'failed', students would use each other as resources to share ideas and collectively construct 'knowledge' and understanding.⁶ Vuka, a Standard 10 student, rationalised this learning process in the following terms:

When a teacher teaches, sometimes you don't understand; but if you share ideas with some of your colleagues, you understand more.

Some Standard 7 students mentioned in particular that they could not always follow and understand their teachers because they used 'long and difficult sentences' to explain things which 'confused' them. The solution to this communication problem was simply to form a discussion group because

... students will explain that better than the teacher - the teacher will take a long time to explain, but students can even explain in only a few words - then we understand it.

(Ruth, Standard 7a)

It needs to be added that these students often explained things to each other in their mother tongues, although they often used English.⁷

6. This is a common phenomenon which I have observed in secondary schools in Soweto and in rural schools in Bophuthatswana.

7. This is a particularly interesting phenomenon in black urban secondary schools where students are ethnically integrated (by necessity and not design as there are neither enough schools nor students to keep secondary school students ethnically segregated as are primary school pupils!). Students of different languages would communicate in their respective languages. They would also resort to English when the linguistic composition of the group was too diverse to use their respective mother tongues. (Although the majority of Sowetans are Zulu and Sotho speaking, many of them cannot always communicate in or understand Tsonga for instance).

Students also sought help from their parents, brothers, sisters, neighbours and other teachers if they did not understand their teachers (cf. Muller, 1984). The knowledge gained from these sources would then be distributed. This sharing of knowledge, which enables collective learning, was outlined by Sibusiso, a matric student, as follows:

Maybe sometimes when I come to class, I come with some new ideas and help other students. By that in fact - by asking the neighbour (ie. Sibusiso's next-door-neighbour) - I don't mean that it is for my own benefit, but for the other students' benefit, so that they must also know. Because it's not only you who's in the confusion, but also other students. So in that way it helps - some other students grabs in that way (ie. they understand through this process).

Sibusiso's words point strongly to a sense of learning as a socially co-operative activity and give some indication of the absence of individual competitiveness and self-interest and gain: knowledge is not viewed as a commodity for private consumption; rather, it is something to be equally distributed.

CONCLUSION

I have presented, through the above excerpts from interviews, the major, recurrent, expectations and views that both the Standard 10 and 7 students had of 'teaching' and 'learning'. That different students have different orientations and expectations is undoubted. The views presented, however, are fairly representative of the major themes running through the variations.

What becomes apparent from these accounts is that, on the one hand, they uphold - to a large extent - a traditional transmitter-type model of

teaching; they do not offer, in most instances, any explicit 'radical' pedagogical critiques: on the other, they offer certain 'innovatory' classroom practices and methods which could transform a rigid transmitter model (ie. group work and discussions based on collective learning): they contain the potential for 'radicalising' classroom practice.⁸

Clearly there are also some ambiguities that emerge in these accounts. For instance, most students believe that teachers should be efficient transmitters of information and evaluators and authorisers of knowledge; they are there to help students increase their knowledge and to facilitate student learning and understanding: they legitimise communicative inequalities and 'uphold' pedagogical roles which are based on 'dependency' relations of subordination and domination. Yet many students strongly suggest that they are capable of teaching one another and learning effectively in a collective way even without the help of a teacher. As we shall see, this ambiguity raises the CRUCIAL question of who should AUTHORISE knowledge in the classroom and how such 'authority' is defined and worked out. Furthermore, it raises the even more crucial question as to what counts as 'knowledge' and how the

8. The recent boycotts and the implementation of alternative education programmes in schools in Soweto and elsewhere may very well have realized this potential in practice. High school students in Soweto, since the boycotts, have said that they will have 'nothing to do with the "Bantu Education" curriculum and will return to classes next year (ie. 1986) to participate in 'alternative education' programmes. (Cape Times, 11 December, 1985). A change in curriculum may entail different social formations and pedagogical and power relations. What is crucial is how 'knowledge' is viewed and classified. As Bernstein has argued - an 'integrated' curriculum where subject boundaries are broken may entail a shift and transformation of social and power relations. See Bernstein (1971).

students' expectations influence their own and their teachers' classroom practices.

To answer some of these questions we need to examine the teachers' perspectives on their teaching approaches, their subjects and their students. This examination, which follows in the next chapter, shall be necessarily brief by design as more detailed accounts of the teachers' perspectives on their actual classroom practices are presented in later chapters when we investigate aspects of their pedagogical relationships and the ways in which knowledge is controlled. There we shall examine how communicative interaction is determined and influenced by structures 'extraneous' to the classroom and by social and power relations inside the classroom.

CHAPTER 6TEACHING PERSPECTIVES AND IDEOLOGIES

In this chapter I shall briefly outline the teaching perspectives and ideologies which guide and underlie the teachers' classroom practices. There is undoubtedly a complex set of social and institutional forces which act upon the teachers- and which influence their teaching perspectives and ideologies. In addition they bring their own personal biographies, sets of values, motivations and abilities to bear on the situations in which they have to operate. These interrelated factors will not be examined in all their complexities: rather, an attempt shall be made to characterise their perspectives on their teaching aims, subjects and students. These three areas, it is felt, form interlocking components which largely shape the teachers' methodologies and interactive styles and aspects of their ideologies, which form part of their perspectives. While these 'perspectives' can be seen as fairly

ordered sets of beliefs and orientations within which, or by reference to which situations are defined and constructed by teachers... (Delamont, 1976b: 52)

and which emerge when 'social actors in an organisation confront specific problems in their situation' (Sharp & Green, 1975: 69); they cannot be seen as totally static and deterministic. The application of these beliefs may change depending on contingent factors and the concrete conditions of their classroom situations; they operate within the concrete and problematic situations that teachers face. Teaching

'ideologies', on the other hand, operate at a more abstract level.

Sharp & Green (ibid: 68) define a 'teaching ideology' as follows:

... A connected set of systematically related beliefs and ideas about what are felt to be the essential features of teaching. A teaching ideology involves both cognitive and evaluative aspects, it will include general ideas and assumptions about the nature of knowledge and of human nature - the latter entailing beliefs about motivation, learning and educability. It will include some characterization of society and the role and functions of education in the wider social context. There will also be assumptions about the nature of the tasks teachers have to perform, the specific skills and techniques required together with ideas about how these might be acquired and developed. Finally, the ideology will include criteria to assess adequate performance, both of the material on whom teachers 'work', i.e. pupils, and for self-evaluation or the evaluation of others involved in educating.

Sharp and Green go further to point out that this teaching ideology is shaped largely by the teacher's own socialization experiences i.e. the teacher's own schooling, teacher education, the practical exigencies of teaching and broader socio-political networks and experiences which shape the teacher's world-view and orientation.

Thus teaching perspectives and ideologies interact dialectically with each other and may cause shifts at each level. While it is not possible to explicate all the tacit knowledge which underlies the teachers' perspectives and practices, an attempt is made to present those perspectives which characterise some of the teachers' background knowledge and assumptions which have a direct bearing on their classroom praxis.

MR NTULI'S GENERAL TEACHING PERSPECTIVE

The primary aim in Mr Ntuli's teaching was to get his students through their examinations. He openly cited this as his fundamental obligation towards his students in an interview, from which I quote at length as regards this orientation.

At most times you find our teaching is examination orientated. Because when I start teaching I always have a foresight of how will the question appear in the exam - I'm also, you know - throwing my focus now on the question itself which will come hereafter, because we are writing examinations: whilst he or she understands this side, I'm also again gearing him or her to the type of questions that he must expect maybe concerning that issue ... because at this juncture they are not yet specialists in the subjects - some will fall off, some will take other subjects. But now those who specialise will get deeper into the whole thing itself ... but now at a stage where we are now sort of orientating - we normally base our teaching on the type of examination that they should expect at the end of the year - or whatever question that can come up.

When Mr Ntuli was asked what sort of effects he thought this orientation and approach had for the teacher and the students, he replied as follows:

Uh - I think the effect there is - in fact they get to know actually what's taking place generally. But now again at the same time to prepare them for the examinations as I said. Well, sometimes you find that a lesson interests them so much that they even want you to go deeper than even the syllabus prescribes - go deeper than you have prepared - you see - because of the interest ... now it interests him more so that now he asks more - you know - questions that will actually maybe sometimes throw you off-balance because you have prepared to teach this to a child of this class for certain reasons that are prescribed by the syllabus and the education itself. That is why I say you can interest them when somebody really feels now to take up this field as a geologist and so on - where she has to go deeper ... they get interested in these things. That is why you find them now probing - eh - probing the teacher with questions - not to say that they're being out of order - but it's - that's the nature - ya.

Mr Ntuli clearly follows an examination-orientated approach in order to 'equip' his students to pass their exams. He argues, however, that not all the students will ultimately pass; they will be streamed and selected into specialising subjects. His task is to propel as many students as possible through the school's sorting and selecting machinery so that they can continue with those subjects in which they are most interested and capable. The material conditions within which he and his students have to work were cited by Mr Ntuli as largely determining his examination-orientated approach. When I asked him how he thought this approach affected the students' understanding of the subject matter dealt with, he responded as follows:

The understanding part of it is quite a problem Ronnie because with Geography for instance - this is where now we should have lots and lots of aids you see - and - eh - we try mostly with sketches on the board which are not very effective. So OK - if now a child does not understand - cannot actually you know - get the whole thing as it is in reality (RS: Mm) which can be done through the means of aids - that we now lack in our schools - you see - now the only thing that we can do or the only thing that is left for (us?) is to make her pass in that particular subject: let not the lack of aids deprive (her) of passing in that particular class - let her satisfy the examination needs and let her pass you see. Hence as I say - as the time goes on when the interest of the child grows in that particular lesson or subject - you'll find a child now trying to seek information on his own - getting to advanced laboratories and so on. Now he's keen - you know (RS: the interest has been awakened) - that's right. But in a school situation like this one, really, you find it very difficult, especially with the communication problem to start with and the lack of aids ... because each and every lesson in Geography needs some aids.

A number of points which emerge from these lengthy excerpts, are worth noting and summarising. The first thing that clearly stands out is that what can count as knowledge in this teacher's classroom is the knowledge prescribed by the syllabus and examination system: the tight

classification and binding of subject areas make certain areas of inquiry beyond and 'out of' bounds; students are expected to 'suspend' their curiosity and lines of enquiry until they become 'specialists'. This view of knowledge, reinforced by the grading and classification of the school curriculum and examination system, reflects the 'culture of positivism' (cf Giroux 1981) which characterises most (western) schools and societies. The teacher's aim and function is to maintain these boundaries so that the 'initiate' can climb the hierarchical ladder of increasing specialisation.

This view of the learner, as Esland (1971) points out, relates to psychometric models and represents the child essentially as an object. The model endows the child with an 'intelligence', a capacity of given power within which his/her thinking develops. The students are to be initiated into objective 'useful' knowledge once they have proven their capacity to be initiated. The pedagogy which is based on such a view or epistemology, is an agency of alienation. Esland (op cit) puts it succinctly:

A view which sees education as a one-dimensional progressivism, and which regards the properties of knowledge as inert 'things to be mastered', sees the child's advancement in terms of a growing rationality and a result of prior intelligence. This pedagogical perspective is likely to predispose the teacher to limit the range of possible solutions to questions and to be preoccupied with right answers and the 'right way' (p 89; emphasis added)

But this view reflects, perhaps, another fundamental motive; it allows the teacher to defend his vulnerability against a possible 'onslaught' of questions that may be beyond HIS bounds of knowledge and 'expertise';

some questions may simply throw the teacher 'off-balance'.¹ While adhering strictly to the knowledge prescribed may prepare students for their exams on the one hand; it is a strategy which ensures the teacher's SURVIVAL in the classroom on the other.

The second significant thing that emerges is that the teacher quite correctly points out that knowledge cannot be completely specified in language alone; explanations often require 'realia' or material aids to assist and fully explicate such explanations. Thirdly, the teacher sees the lack of material resources, coupled with the 'communication problem' as DRASTICALLY reducing understanding in the classroom: the material conditions and the school system in which he finds himself results in a form of teaching which is geared towards examination requirements rather than an understanding of the knowledge transmitted and exchanged. Both teaching and learning are reduced, fundamentally, to strategies of survival. While this IS a realistic description of the constraints operating on the teacher; it nevertheless removes any degree of 'autonomy' and responsibility from the teacher: the system is blamed for this state of affairs. For the moment it is suffice to say that this teacher, paradoxically, reflects a view which is

1. Many white teachers who are more highly qualified and trained and who are working within the school system face similar problems. I illustrate this with an example of a highly qualified and competent History of Art teacher working in one of the most academic schools in Cape Town. When this teacher was covering Roman and Gothic architecture with her Standard 7 students she was bombarded with questions which required a knowledge of engineering eg. 'How did they build their arches? How did they manage to support such huge domes at the top?' etc. This teacher was very off-balance and 'silenced' this 'engineering' curiosity by explaining that architecture and engineering were different areas of knowledge and that they were primarily concerned with questions of design; not structural problems in building.

simultaneously full of realistic determination and resigned defeatism: he is determined to get his students through the examinations given the constraints in which he operates and at the same time he sees these constraints as so determining that there is NOTHING ELSE that HE can do. The dialectical interplay between human agency and structural constraints that shape his classroom practice, however, remains yet to be more fully examined.

MR NTULI'S CONCEPTUALISATION OF, AND METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATIONS TOWARDS, SOCIAL STUDIES

In an interview from which the extracts above were drawn, Mr Ntuli was asked to comment on how he perceived the aims and purposes of teaching History and Geography and how he hoped to realize these aims in teaching these subjects. He replied as follows:

My basic approach especially at this level is to tell them about events and how these events affected the life of a person - you see. After that I tell them about important people who cause these events and how they changed - all over the years - the life style and so on through their way of doing things. And then ... places where now these people are from or where these events took place - that's where I based my History in so far as they're concerned with History. We are concerned with these events - which events occur daily. I can even quote the latest (events). For instance I even quoted the Angolan situation - just around us ... so history is just events, important people and places. Now, these important people - why are they important? Because they cause certain events to take place, which shaped the world to be what it is; to be how you see it today. I mean people like Cavour, Bismarck and so on. The contribution that they made - you know - they made in Europe to change certain things, or shaped Europe as such. Now this is where I based all my lessons when I am about to introduce - eh - a new chapter - I always go back there to events, important people and places ... so already I'm - you know - sort of laying some foundation for them so that when they are in other classes - higher classes - it is now easy for them to - to get into the

whole thing. Because what is actually happening here is to lay a foundation for things to come later ... because each and every chapter (ie. in the textbook) has this basis. They are divided into these three (ie. events, important people and places).

What stands out about Mr Ntuli's conceptualization of History is that it fundamentally follows the view presented in the textbook, which perpetuates the idea that history is caused, essentially, by 'great' and important people. The authors of the prescribed textbook introduce UNIT I, the section on European History, in the following way:

We are living in very interesting times. From our radios and newspapers we learn about interesting people, places and events. What is all this going on around us? It is history in the making. One day, in the future, students will read and study the history of today. This year we are going to look at history from a different angle. We are going to learn about great men who shaped the history of the Western world. We are going to see how they changed the course of history. (Schoeman, van Rensburg, Oosthuizen & Saks, 1st Edition, 4th Impression, p 2.)

There is, however, a suggestion that he attempts to relate History to more immediate experiences such as the 'Angolan situation' and events that happen daily. This approach emerged more clearly when he outlined the reasons for dealing with European History before South African History (which coincidentally is the order presented in the textbook), when he was asked whether this framework enabled the students to understand the historical process.

It has proved that really this has helped them to actually look at history really positively - as not - you know - history is not a fiction - it is real: or it is things that really take place today, or things that took place yesterday or even 10 years ago - which are important you see ... But now since we were still dealing with European History - I wanted them to understand why do we go out of the way to discuss about those people and all that when we could be doing something with ourselves. My point here is what we are today is because of the events in Europe - that sort of changed our way of life - you know - such things - education and all that, by way of Western Civilization. That's why I am moving them in that fashion... when we do South African History I'll have to add on culture - so as to see history as far as a nation is concerned - it's sort of - part and parcel of culture - it's very important to know.

Whether Mr Ntuli conceptualizes the black man's position in South Africa as a result of colonialism and the domination and oppression of black culture by the ruling white minority class and, therefore, 'culture' in class rather than ethnic terms remains inexplicit in his account. In other words, it is unclear whether he upholds the idea that the African 'way of life' changed 'naturally' through the influence of 'Western civilization' or whether this shift is a result of changing modes of production and class (cultural) conflicts.

Mr Ntuli, however, commented that the way in which the History syllabus is arranged does not allow for an understanding of the historical process as a 'chain of events': historical events were presented in an isolated and unrelated manner.

In summarising Mr Ntuli's framework and perspective on history, certain ambiguities arise. History is viewed in various ways. His conceptualisation ranges from the perspective that history is the

product of 'great' men, who shape the world; to a 'chain of events' and to the view that historical processes are related to the lives of people. Whether these views can be holistically and comprehensively reconciled or whether they are presented in a piece-meal fashion, depending on what section of History is dealt with, remains unclear. This ambiguity reflects the possibility of a disjunction in attempting to understand and present History within a clear and unified theoretical framework which would illustrate that dis/similar processes which operate in South African history are in/applicable to Europe. This ambiguity and disjunction, I would suggest, is a strong factor which contributed to his students' sense of alienation from History and especially European History. Mr Ntuli, however, DID attempt to relate certain aspects of European history to the South African situation; but the way in which he did this, as will be shown, did not allow his students to engage in a line of enquiry and discussion which would have enabled them to make such links from THEIR PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND UNDERSTANDINGS. The reasons for this are partly to be found in the constraints that an examination-orientated approach poses on the one hand, and his views of his students on the other.

MR NTULI'S VIEWS OF HIS STUDENTS

Mr Ntuli saw the Standard 7a class as bright and attentive: they were, in his terms, 'quite a wake-up group'. He differentiated between the Standard 7 classes and remarked that the 7as were so 'fast' in understanding and comprehending what was taught that he did not have to spend a whole period on a certain lesson with them as he did with the

other classes where he had to 'come down a bit and almost kneel down to their level'. Consequently he would pose different sorts of questions to them. The streaming process and the teacher's views of different 'ability groups' results in a hierarchical differentiation and categorisation of knowledge and ability because teachers differentiate in selection of content and in pedagogy between students perceived as of high or low ability (Keddie, 1971).

Mr Ntuli's perception of their 'abilities', however, was limited (this ties up with the psychometric model commented upon earlier). He argued, for instance, that they disliked working on their own without the help of the teacher: they 'like sections where the teacher will give the details and everything'. He believed that the best way for the students to understand their Geography and History was through setting questions which would make them work through their textbooks as it 'correlated with comprehension exercises in English'; but such 'independent' work had to be firstly supplemented by the teacher's explanations and inputs as he felt the students would not consult their dictionaries or go to the library if they came across words and definitions that were new and unknown to them. He felt that it is 'very difficult to motivate (the) students - so far as finding out on their own is concerned'. Mr Ntuli thus always began his lessons by explaining key concepts and definitions which were central to that particular lesson (every unit in the textbook began with definitions of 'key' concepts), so as to clarify words used in the text. He argued that this was essential as he felt that the students could not link these concepts taught in school to their concrete experiences.

Now they do hear these words from radios, television and all that - they do - but now they normally don't link them with what actually they're doing at school. They always think of what is being spoken there as a separate - you know - area. They're still very, very immature to correlate you know; because history is actually events that are taking place every (day), you see. So they know the words - they've heard these words, but now the words just come in and pass; coming and going, coming and going. Because these historical terms - really they are in the newspapers - everywhere we come across them. But now we are living in an age where now children don't really bother to read newspapers; if they do read newspapers it's about sports, soccer and all that, but politics they don't.

From these excerpts we find a major contradiction. Mr Ntuli sees his students as highly intelligent and quick to grasp subject matter: yet he does NOT believe that they have the motivation, ability or a 'stock of everyday knowledge' (Schutz 1970) that enables them to make sense of what is taught in school. The reasons for this 'inability' are to be found simply in the 'fact' that they have not yet reached a level of maturity which would enable them to make sense of what they hear or read in the media and to link what they hear, read or experience with school knowledge. Furthermore, he argues that politics does not constitute a part of their everyday world. While all this has some plausability, especially as regards the fact that school knowledge as constituted by the curriculum and educational planners IS so divorced from the immediate and material existence of students (and teachers) which leads to alienated knowledge and dehumanising processes (cf. Sarup, 1978; Illich 1977) and as regards the fact that not ALL students are necessarily politicised or even interested in politics; it nevertheless conveys a certain deficit view of the students and upholds the idea that the teacher must compensate for this 'deficit' by transmitting and depositing certain areas of 'knowledge' that the teacher assumes the

students do not possess. This argument legitimates a transmitter-type-model of teaching (which obviously fulfills some of the students' expectations about teaching/learning) and justifies the teacher's role as the transmitting pedagogue. That some students were very interested in and concerned about politics, does not enter his realms of possibility.

Mr Ntuli's orientation towards his teaching, subject and students contains tensions and ambiguities which raise questions as to how a teacher, who attempts to fulfill the requirements of the syllabus and exams, teaches alienated knowledge in a 'relevant' manner and how a teacher, who views his students as bright and intelligent and yet lacking in analytical ability, maturity and experience, interacts and communicates with his students. His teaching perspective and ideology - constrained as it is by the lack of material resources at the school - has far-reaching implications for his actual classroom practice which shall be examined in detail in the chapters which follow. Before we embark on this investigation, I shall briefly outline Mr Nhlapo's and Mr Mazibuko's teaching perspectives and ideologies.

MR NHLAPO'S TEACHING PERSPECTIVE

Mr Nhlapo's main teaching aim, like Mr Ntuli's, was to fulfill the examination requirements. His teaching aims emerged clearly in the interview exchange below:

RS: Is there anything you can say about the aim and purpose of teaching History and how you hope to realize your purpose and aim in the teaching of History?

Mr Nhlapo: Well -uh - the first aim is to get them through the exam - to pass; because really we are measured according to the results that we are producing. So the first aim, the basic aim is to get them to pass the exam. And to see to it that they do pass I give them a lot of written work, to prepare them for the exam. Well -eh - the next aim is to understand the situation that prevails in the world that we are living in. They must be able to know how America came to be what it is today, Japan how it came to be what it is - they must know why there are clashes between - competition between - America and Russia. They must understand their situation in the world that they are living in; and they must also understand - why in fact - what led to the present situation in South Africa whereby blacks seems to be less fortunate than whites.

The meritocratic system operative in the hierarchical school structure clearly determines Mr Nhlapo's concern to 'deliver the goods' as a Standard 10 teacher. In achieving this requirement his status and position as a teacher within the school system is assured. It must be added, however, that Mr Nhlapo's aim also stems from a concern for his students in much the same way as it did for Mr Ntuli. If his students failed, it not only reflected on his teaching, but was seen as a disservice to the students.

Mr Nhlapo expresses a view of history which echoes that of his students (see Brian's comments, for instance, in Chapter 5): History is studied in order to understand present situations and conditions in relation to the past. Rather than explaining history as the product of great men, there is an implied emphasis on antagonistic forces and interests in the world and in South Africa. These conflicting interests in South Africa are described in somewhat mitigating and indirect terms, but the implication that history is largely the product of conflicting interests and power struggles is nevertheless there. These conflicts, however, were not elucidated in terms of (social) class conflicts: a 'class analysis' of society and history was absent from his comments. In fact, when Mr Nhlapo was asked within what theoretical framework he located historical explanations, he could not elucidate the sociological theories or assumptions which underlay his view of history or society. The underlying assumptions, as I have indicated, were there; but he did not consciously explicate them or perhaps even consciously realize that he did operate from certain assumptions.

I would argue very strongly that the lack of a conscious articulation of both the teachers' views and frameworks of History (and history) has much to do with the training and 'education' that black teachers receive in their own schooling and in training colleges. The possibility of different views filtering through is probably related more to the experiences and education that some teachers and students gain OUTSIDE such educational institutions, such as in political organizations and even from concrete experiences of relations of domination and subordination which characterises our apartheid society. This

possibility is implicit (but ambiguous) in the views of history that Mr Nhlapo expresses, but one which re-emerged in the same interview when he was asked how he thought the students should understand the past in order to understand the present and how such an understanding could be achieved. Mr Nhlapo commented that the students had to 'dig deep into the past', which entailed extra reading, listening to the news, reading the latest publications and newspapers so that 'they must see how events are occurring now'. He illustrated this procedure with the following example:

As you know, there are a lot of strikes at the present moment - they must know how these people go about this - with their strikes, and they must take what happens now and compare it with what happened in the early twenties and in that way they will come up with something concrete.

This approach contrasts strongly with that adopted by Mr Ntuli who viewed his students 'incapable' of and unmotivated in independent library/research work. Furthermore, it implies that Mr Nhlapo views his students' abilities and intelligence in a different light: This is a matter to which I shall now turn.

MR NHLAPO'S VIEWS OF HIS STUDENTS

Mr Nhlapo saw the 10bs as 'more curious' than his other matric students. He viewed them as studious, highly motivated and 'lively' and very enquiring. This class attitude kept him very much on his toes and forced HIM to keep abreast with the high level of enquiry which he saw as characterising the class.

There is more feedback on their side, and they read a lot. I can hear the way they answer questions and the questions that they ask are questions that are - you know - searching questions ... they ask questions that show some insight. And their lessons are very lively; and if you go to them you must prepare yourself thoroughly because you may find yourself disappointed, they ask so many questions.

Because he viewed them as studious and capable of reading on their own and formulating their own ideas; he did not view his function as having to transmit all the knowledge. He trusted their insights to the extent where he believed they could 'come up with something concrete' through independent work and communicative interaction in the classroom.

With the 10bs - in fact as a class that is challenging and so on - I don't give everything to them as with the other classes, where I stress every detail. As a hard working class - studious pupils - I just give them the frame of the chapter and I know that they're going to fill up everything and in that way I am somehow challenging them. I know that they are going to pose more questions; then we are going to go deeper into the matter. With the other classes I treat everything in detail and I try to ask as many questions as possible; but with the 10bs I receive more questions from them than questions I ask, so I treat them somehow as mature students. (emphasis added).

Now given the fact that Mr Nhlapo was teaching matriculants - which obviously may contribute towards and greatly influence his attitude towards his students, who are the 'elite' at the apex of the school's grading system and who were almost of his own 'generation' - the attitude conveyed is virtually diametrically opposed to that of Mr Ntuli. Although our 'common sense' knowledge may endorse these divergent views, (we would 'expect' matriculants to be more mature and adept in their abilities to synthesise or analyse knowledge than Standard 7s) it is a misleading assumption, which is reinforced by the school system and by societies which uphold technocratic and

meritocratic views of 'knowledge', 'expertise' and 'abilities'. It is a view which is largely socially constructed and one which is used to legitimate hierarchical statuses and positions of inequality.

Rather than 'suspending' knowledge until students become 'experts', Mr Nhlapo professes to encourage a level of enquiry which will allow the students to penetrate the subject matter concerned. Furthermore he does not see himself solely as a transmitting pedagogue; this role is supplemented by the view that he is also a resource for knowledge that can be tapped upon request. What we gain sense of here is that the students are allowed some measure of 'control' in dictating or influencing the pacing and selection of knowledge transmitted and exchanged (obviously within the bounds of the topic concerned). A degree of communicative interaction, rather than constructing questions and answers solely for the purposes of examinations, is suggested.

If they know we are going to treat something, they don't mind to spend the whole period discussing - discussing that particular chapter ... they won't let me to go maybe a quarter of a lesson without having posed questions: and at times we spend the whole period arguing.

Mr Nhlapo remarked, however, that this level of discussion was not always possible as there simply was not enough time to get through the syllabus.

At times I discourage discussions because of time - time is the most effective opponent as far as that is concerned - 'cause I go into class hoping to cover a certain portion and if they want to go deeper and deeper - at such times I just step in one way or another - ya - seeing that no we won't cover much.

From the views and excerpts presented we may anticipate that Mr Nhlapo's interactive style and classroom practice may prove to be somewhat different to that of Mr Ntuli's. This, however, remains yet to be examined.

MR MAZIBUKO'S TEACHING PERSPECTIVE

Although Mr Mazibuko said he felt confident about and enjoyed teaching English to the Standard 7s, he remarked that he definitely would not like to teach English at the senior secondary school level. However, the most significant thing that emerged from interviews with him was that he simply could not clearly define what 'approach' he was using in his teaching. This was, undoubtedly, related to the fact that he had not been exposed to various approaches or 'methods'² in the teaching of English as a second language. The only 'aim' that he formulated was that language should be practised and used.

What we really want is the child to understand and to put (English) into practice ... it means they must think, not cram; because language you cannot cram like content. They must try to use it.

2. A language teaching 'approach' relates to a teaching ideology in the sense that it is informed by theoretical knowledge and assumptions about learning and language acquisition. This would include philosophical, socio/linguistic and psychological theories which deal with second language acquisition. An 'audio-lingual' approach, for instance, is largely informed and influenced by behaviourist psychology. A teaching 'method', on the other hand, is a specific strategy or sets of procedures which are informed and determined by an approach. 'Drilling' formal sentence structures, for instance, is a method advocated and determined by an audio-lingual approach.

Mr Mazibuko, however, pointed out that this was very difficult to achieve as the school and Sowetan community was not English-speaking. Students only used English inside the classroom and did not get much opportunity to use English outside of the artificial language environment of the classroom.³ He argued that the students' proficiency in English would vastly improve if they were taught by native speakers of English and if schools were racially integrated because,

...he is going to practise English outside the classroom - if he speaks the mother tongue outside no one will hear him; so in order to understand and have friends he must also speak the language' (ie. English).

In this brief account, there is the implied suggestion that second language acquisition and learning cannot be reduced simply to a mechanical process of habit formation and the application and learning of grammatical rules and formal structures; language is to be used within its social and communicative context, for communicative purposes. This would imply that Mr Mazibuko favours (unconsciously) a 'functional' or 'communicative' approach to language teaching over and above a 'traditional-grammatical' one.⁴ Thus, he seems to suggest that it is more important to focus on the communicative and social messages that speakers convey than on the (grammatical) form of the message. This, in

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3. From my observations of students and teachers communicating outside the classroom this was definitely seen to be the case. Furthermore, students who were asked if they spoke any English at home invariably responded that they did not.
4. See, amongst others, Bell, 1981; Widdowson, 1979; and Wilkins, 1979, who discuss these approaches. Bell & Wilkins also outline the differences between 'functional' and 'notional' approaches which stress the semantic implications of language.

turn, would imply that Mr Mazibuko encourages students to 'extend' their linguistic and communicative repertoires through unhibited practice (i.e. which is not restricted and determined by the circumscribing rules of grammar and pre-determined syntactical structures and forms). Whether all this is in fact the case, however, remains ambiguous and unclear from his account.

An important point which does emerge is that Mr Mazibuko upholds 'standard' English (i.e. the English spoken by English-speaking South Africans - native speakers of English) as the desirable model to be obtained. This, in the face of a racially segregated education system where the majority of black students are taught English by non-native speakers of English, as Mr Mazibuko argues, poses some problems.

Black students are required to produce and use 'standard English' as proof of their 'proficiency' and 'competence' in the language. Deviations from the standard are usually penalised in examinations and may result in failure. Does the language teacher or examiner penalise regardless, or does s/he accept that non-standard English is appropriate within shifting social and socio-linguistic contexts and different modes and styles of communication be they written or spoken? (Consider dialogues, for instance, where non-standard forms of English could be effectively used to portray the social identities of the speakers). Blacks have unanimously accepted English as the most desirable medium of instruction and is seen as 'an international language, an access language and gateway to world reality' (Young, D; 1983 : 4). Thus, if English is seen as a desirable LINGUA FRANCA, exactly what 'form' of

English is accessible to the vast majority of South Africans? The peculiar problems that the approach and methods that Mr Mazibuko uses to teach English and the form of English accessible to black students learning English from a non-native speaker of English pose will be examined in Chapters 7 and 9.

MR MAZIBUKO'S VIEWS OF HIS STUDENTS

Mr Mazibuko saw the Standard 7a class as comprising the best Standard 7 students. He also remarked that they participated a lot in his lessons and often asked questions and even argued in class. This mode of communicative interaction was viewed as beneficial, on the one hand, as it gave rise to more understanding; but also as distractive, on the other, if the arguments went off the lesson topic. Mr Mazibuko put it this way:

Sometimes they argue with something that is not concerned to the lesson and you find that - maybe - they go out of point: but sometimes when we argue in the lesson I think that is something that is constructive.

He pointed out further that students tended to ask questions and argue in class because they acted from a sense of 'superiority'. Such behaviour was viewed as disruptive and not in the collective interests of the class.

Sometimes you find that if a student asks questions, or answers questions, sometimes he feels proud and sometimes you find that he disregard the others - always when he asks questions he disregard the others - he go to the extent of doing something that is funny, that is out of the way, just because of his participation in class... (they participate and ask questions and argue) because they feel proud - they think that they know more than others in class. That's why maybe they ask questions - they do that.

Mr Mazibuko emphasised, however, that it was important for students to ask questions and participate in class as it had quite a significant impact on learning outcomes, as reflected in their tests and examinations.

Presently there's someone here - I don't think that he had yet once asked a question and I find that when I was marking his script - maybe you thought that person was really understanding, but you find that that person - when you come to the marks - there are some parts that he have not understood; but he have never asked the questions... those who participate usually do quite well.

Mr Mazibuko's account clearly reveals the tension between useful communicative interaction and classroom control. Whereas asking questions, participating and even arguing are seen as constructive modes of interaction which enable students to raise questions about things that they do not understand or agree with, they also pose the possibility that certain students may dominate the lessons, or divert the lesson agenda and, thereby, make 'classroom control' problematic for the teacher. This of course is a real problem for any teacher who faces decisions in having to discipline certain individuals in the interests of the collective group, and yet still recognise and uphold the rights and claims of individuals. These types of decisions are perhaps even

more pertinent in a group learning environment (i.e. in classrooms where students are treated as one collective body) as opposed to a child-centered and individualistic approach, which is clearly NOT operative in most black secondary schools in South Africa. That these are very real problems facing Mr Mazibuko shall become more evident when we examine how he interacts with his students in the classroom.

Having contextualised the school, and outlined the students' and teachers' orientations towards their subjects and their perspectives on learning and teaching in this and previous chapters, I now turn to an examination of the ways in the teachers and students enacted their social relations and worked out power relations in terms of the organisation of turn-taking in their respective classrooms.

PART III : INSIDE THE CLASSROOM

CHAPTER 7THE ORGANISATION OF TURN-TAKING AND THE WORKING OUT OF POWER RELATIONS

In chapter 5 I outlined the students' perceptions of their own and teachers' pedagogical roles. It was shown that these expectations implicitly 'bind' teachers and students into a 'contractual' relationship. The students' expectation that teachers should transmit, evaluate and authorise knowledge clearly, reinforces distinctive teacher-student boundaries which the hierarchical authority school structure forms and upholds: it reinforces an unequal and differential distribution of power. The students clearly legitimise the teacher's authority: the teacher's right and/or obligation, to 'control' the action of others in a social relationship system. The students, on the other hand, lay great importance on their fundamental contractual right to ask questions ie. a legitimate pedagogical relationship for the students is one where the teacher uses his/her authority and power as a resource to facilitate learning and understanding. The exercising of this right, coupled with the expectations that there should be no corporal punishment and opportunities for 'discussions', implies a free flow of communication and an absence of manipulation and coercion. The degree to which students exercise their talking rights depends very largely on the nature of the teacher-student relationship, the nature of the communication system and the ways in which knowledge is exchanged and power relations worked out in terms of the organisation of turn-taking.

It is pertinent now to outline the implications of this fundamental student communicative right in terms of the 'claims' that may be raised in communicative interaction.

COMMUNICATIVE INTERACTION AND THE RAISING OF VALIDITY CLAIMS

Habermas (1979) has argued that in an 'ideal speech situation', which is free from domination and in which participants are oriented towards reaching understanding, listeners may raise 'validity claims'. As communicative interaction involves both establishing interpersonal relationships and communicating something about the world, these validity claims may be raised on an 'interpersonal' or/and and 'ideational' level.¹ On the interpersonal level claims of 'rightness' and 'truthfulness' may be raised: on the ideational, 'truth' and 'comprehensibility'. When these claims are ordinarily accepted they produce pragmatic effects. The acceptance of a truth claim shapes the listener's beliefs; legitimacy gains the listener's consent and sincerity, and comprehensibility claims shape the listener's trust and attention (Forester, 1983).² Speakers and listener's ordinarily presume that the validity claims made can, in principle, be checked. If participants are oriented towards reaching understanding, participants may assume that understanding and agreement can be reached without coercion and manipulation. If the power relations between participants

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1. These are Halliday's (1978) descriptions of the functions of language, which relate directly to Habermas's description of the 'double structure' of speech.
 2. See also Grice's (1975) 'Co-operative Principles of conversation' and Searle's (1975) 'rules' for indirect speech acts.

and the structural setting within which participants interact are such that they have no recourse to checking these validity claims they may be manipulated and coerced: they may be rendered powerless. Under such conditions 'manipulative' and 'systematically distorted' discourse are likely to arise (Habermas, 1979).

In classrooms, talk is primarily organised for the controlled transmission and exchange of knowledge, but also functions to control social behaviour. The exchange is the unit which negotiates the transmission of knowledge and also the unit within which turn-taking is predictable (Berry, 1981). Knowledge can only be verbally exchanged when both teacher and students take turns at talk. Students need to have turns at talk in order to exercise their talking rights and to participate in the production and negotiation of knowledge. The opening up of an exchange, however, 'sets up an expectation that turns will be taken UNTIL THE INFORMATION HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY TRANSMITTED' (Berry, 1981 : 131 - emphasis added). The most important and obligatory slot in information exchange sequences is when some agreement or understanding has been reached. This slot in an exchange sequence confers authorisation on the information exchanged and usually 'terminates' the sequence: such exchanges may reduce ambiguity and confusion.

In traditional-type classrooms in which knowledge is 'deposited' in students, it is usually the teacher who stamps his/her authority on the knowledge that students display in response to teachers' elicitation: teachers comment upon and evaluate the validity and 'correctness' of

these displays. As the initiating 'expert' teachers usually ask students questions to which teachers already have the answers, which allows the questioner to retain the initiative by evaluating the response. In so doing teachers claim a certain authority: they claim superior interactional rights and enforce an asymmetrical relationship (Hammersley, 1977). These teacher authorisations usually occur immediately after a student's knowledge display resulting in a typical initiation-response - evaluation/feedback (IRE/F) exchange sequence;³ or after 'extended sequences' where the authorisation is tied 'reflexively' to the initiation which opened up the sequence.⁴ In the latter sequence knowledge may be negotiated and opened up to discussion and debate. Of course teachers cannot always ensure that confusion is reduced and that understanding has been reached. Certain areas of knowledge may very well be beyond the teacher's 'expertise'. Under certain circumstances teachers might have to authorise 'incomplete' explanations because a full and clear explanation may require certain background knowledge which the students do not yet possess or because it may require additional aids or references that may not be present. In such cases listeners may have to 'suspend' their expectations and claims and apply 'retrospective-prospective interpretive procedures' to the discourse (Cicourel, 1973; Garfinkel, 1967). Participants may need to wait for something later in order to see what was meant before. In such cases

3. This is THE most typical type of exchange sequence which has been recurrently identified by researchers who have examined the structure and organisation of classroom discourse in 'teacher-centered' classrooms. See Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), Mehan (1979), Lemke (1982), Bellack et al (1966) amongst others.

4. See Mehan (1979), Stubbs (1983) and Jefferson (1972, 1973) amongst others for an analysis of such sequences.

the communicative contract may be strained but not broken, as neither 'manipulative' nor 'systematically distorted' discourse can be said to occur.

From the point of view of the communicative contract abrogation only occurs when authorisation itself malfunctions, in other words, in cases where K1 (ie. conferrals of authority on knowledge displays) is either OVERAUTHORISED or UNDERAUTHORISED. In the first case, the rights of secondary knowers are infringed; in the second case, the obligation to reduce ambiguity is not fulfilled. (Muller, 1984 : 3)

How teachers authorise knowledge and deal with such situations may be highly revealing of the teacher's 'ideology' and the ways in which participants work out power relations in interactional sequences.

The crucial question is HOW the exchange and transmission of knowledge is achieved. Do participants allow the raising of validity claims so that some agreement and consensus may be reached about the knowledge communicated? To what extent do teachers RESTRICT communication flow in the classroom? An analysis of systematic violations of ordinary claims of communicative interaction points to an important use of power in social organisation (Forester, 1983).

CONSENSUAL-COLLABORATIVE AND COMPETENT MODELS OF TURN-TAKING: THE TEACHER RULES OK?

How turns at talk are managed and organised in ordinary conversation has been investigated most extensively by ethnomethodologists who show how participants with equal status negotiate the topic of conversation and locally manage and take turns according to the rule that only one

speaker speaks at a time (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). The most systematic investigation into the organisation of turn-taking in 'formal' classrooms within the ethnomethodological tradition is perhaps McHoul's (1978) paper. McHoul, who modifies Sacks et al's rules for ordinary conversation, argues and demonstrates that the organisation of turn-taking in formal classrooms, by contrast with ordinary conversation: maximises the potential for gap and pause, minimizes the potential for overlap and minimizes the permutability of turn-taking. These features arise through the teacher's almost exclusive access to 'current-speaker-selects-next-speaker' techniques. Where the current speaker is a student, the next speaker will usually be either the teacher or someone whose bid the teacher accepts. In each case the upcoming turn is usually ratified by the teacher, ie. students usually have to seek permission for the right to speak. Through this turn-allocation mechanism teachers are empowered to tell which students are to speak, when they are to speak and how much they should speak, as teachers usually decide what counts as a sufficient answer. The teacher's contributions on the other hand can be prolonged at his/her own discretion. (Both McHoul (1978) and Hammersley (1977) make this point). This last feature contrasts strongly with ordinary conversation where a speaker

'...is vulnerable at every sentence completion whether he selects the next speaker or action or not, and even if he gets past one sentence completion he is equally vulnerable at the end of the next sentence' (Coulthard, 1977 : 55).

McHoul's 'summary rule' is that 'only teachers can direct speaker-ship in any creative way' (McHoul, 1978 : 188).

McHoul's description (amongst others) accounts for how teachers in formal classrooms are able to maintain a 'centralised communication system' and 'orchestrated encounters' in which the teacher conducts the event (Atkinson, 1981: 107).

In formal classrooms most student talk must be 'publicly on-record'⁵ and directed to the teacher who occupies one end of the floor. The teacher's access to current-speaker-selects-next-speaker' techniques empowers the teacher to maintain order and uphold the one-at-a-time rule when faced with large numbers of potential speakers. This turn-allocation mechanism obviously creates and sustains unequal participation and communicative rights, and allows the teacher to exercise his/her 'authority' and maintain his/her status. The teacher's authority, however, can only be upheld if the students act as though the teacher is an 'expert' and if they address the teacher as though s/he is indeed in charge: if they do not, a power struggle may ensue which will be visible in the organisation of turn-taking. It is this possibility that McHoul's paper overlooks: it is a description of 'well-ordered' classroom in which participants interact in a consensual and collaborative manner and in which students merely conform to the teacher's definition of the situation.

5. This description is drawn from Edelsky (1981). Edelsky makes the important point that only talk which is publicly-on-record' counts as a turn. 'Asides', within a centralized communication system, strictly speaking are not turns. See this paper for a thorough discussion on the distinction between 'holding the floor' and 'taking a turn'.

The possibility of students self-selecting and locally managing turns and intercepting or interrupting the teacher's (or each other's) turns, when students challenge or confront the teacher's authority and definition of the situation (ie. when they raise validity claims) is not taken into account.⁶

That such SEIZING of turns is a case of 'mishearing' or mistiming and talking off topic or being 'unnewsworthy', and a breakdown of turn-taking mechanisms which need to be 'repaired', is something which needs to be demonstrated in a sense other than that such behaviour stems essentially from 'interactional incompetence',⁷ and is merely a result of not following or applying the 'rules'. That students do not follow or use the normatively expected rule does not mean that such actions are not carried out for strategic and rational reasons. Although much of classroom interaction is a 'collaborative product',⁸ and amounts to participants using rules⁹ (rather than merely following or applying

6. Although McHoul has demonstrated that teachers have access to prevalent intra-turn pauses and are the only parties to classroom talk that can creatively distribute turns, he incorrectly interprets this as evidence that teachers 'need not be concerned with having their turns cut off at any possible completion point by any other parties' p 192.

7. This is Mehan's (1979) definition of interactional incompetence and relates to Sacks et al's (1974) view that overlaps or seizing of turns indicate a breakdown of turn-taking mechanisms. See Mehan (1979: 133-134) and footnote 12.

8. See Atkinson (1981), Cicourel et al (1974), Mehan (1979), Payne (1976) and Davies (1983) as examples of ethnomethodological analyses which view classroom interaction in these terms.

9. Classroom rules as Mehan (1979) has shown are largely 'implicit' and have to be interpreted within changing contexts by participants.

rules) behaving 'inappropriately' may in itself require a great deal of competence. As Forester (1983 : 235) points out:

Only because human beings share a repertoire of skills of communicative interaction ... can they make sense together. Whether they then cooperate or fight with, care for or objectify, nurture or exploit one another.

The students' perceptions of their teachers as to whether they are strict or soft, competent or incompetent, fair or unfair etc. can be seen to have a definite impact on the enactment of social and power relations and on the social and learning structure of the classroom (Nash, 1976). Power relations, thus, ultimately have to be worked out and established. Obviously, as outlined above, such classroom negotiations are not between equal partners: teachers and students come to the classroom in very different bargaining positions, which are determined, influenced and constrained by the social and power structure of the school and classroom, the participants' personal biographies (including their 'cultural capital') and the material conditions in which they interact. Forms of social relationships and social identities will thus be signalled, reproduced, modified or challenged in the act of speaking (Edwards, 1979). The working out of power relations may be discerned from socio-psychological speech acts, such as 'challenges', 'defences' and 'retreats' which 'relate to the status of the participants, their rights and obligations and their changing relationship in terms of social organization' (Labov and Fanshell, 1977 : 51). Furthermore, certain initiating acts in an exchange set up expectations for certain responding moves. Here one can account for how topic or knowledge is supported and challenged by a next speaker.

Discourse 'moves' on this level can be seen as items which define the positions and orientations of the participants' utterances in relation to each other in a round of talk (Burton, 1981): one can account for how knowledge is manipulated and controlled or negotiated and how power relations 'display shifting contours of dominance and submission and...reveal underlying hierarchies of prestige, status and authority' (Denzin, 1983: 140).

In the section which follows the organisation of turn-taking in the three classrooms observed is compared and contrasted. Different turn-taking and turn-allocation techniques are identified and discussed in terms of the enactment of social relationships and the working out of power relations. A central thread running through the analysis is a discussion of the ways in which the three teachers' interactive styles and teaching ideologies constrain or create the possibilities for communication and learning and how the classroom 'contract' is either upheld or broken in each classroom.

The analysis is severely limited by the fact that turn-allocation procedures in teacher-initiated-question-exchanges are not fully examined. The ways in which teachers allocate turns to students are obviously highly revealing of the various ways in which teachers exert control over the organisation of turn-taking. The analysis concentrates on student initiated exchanges and primarily considers the ways in which students take turns-at-talk in order to exercise their communicative rights. This selection was made to limit the length of the chapter and

time supports this observation. In this instance the absence of a student taking a turn ratifies the teacher to continue with the lesson and his turn-at-talk, on the basis that the students do understand.

If a student does self-select as a potential speaker by indicating verbally or non-verbally that s/he has a question, then the teacher is in the obligatory position to grant the student a turn at talk and to respond to the student's initiation.

10H2: (The teacher has just spoken about the Russo-Japanese War)

T: Who has something to ask -
any questions? (opens floor/offers turn)
(7 sec) (waiting time)

EVA: (raises hand) (signals)

T: Yeah (acknowledges/ratifies)

EVA: Excuse me sir, was there no
treaty signed by Russia and
Japan after the war - the
Russo-Japanese War? (initiates question)

T: There was - there was - but
where was it - the Russo-
Japanese treaty or what? ...
I think it was the Russo-
Japanese treaty.¹¹ (responds)

11. It is interesting to note that as the teacher was not sure of the answer to the student's question, both he and the students consulted their textbooks and other resources to reduce the ambiguity of this 'authorisation'. As the immediately available references contained no information on this question Mr Nhlapo promised to find out and furnish the required information. He did just that the next day. This points out how strong the obligation to reduce ambiguity may be and that claims raised may have to be suspended if there is mutual trust.

2. SUMMONSING

The most frequent way in which IOH students exercised their rights to talk and initiate questions was through 'summonsing', ie. by attracting the teacher's attention through signalling. Here a student self-selects as a potential speaker and summonses to have a turn at talk which is ratified by the teacher.

IOH3: (The teacher arrives at the end of a sub-topic on the rise of modern Japan)

T: ... so Japanese education improved and Europeans were imported to come and teach in Japan.

DISHES: (raises hand) (summonses)

T: Yes (ratifies/acknowledges)

DISHES: Sorry sir - I'd like to know - um before the Japanese imported the experts from countries like Britain and exported - eh - some of the students from Japan to Britain for studies - didn't they have their own way of education themselves? (initiates question)

T: Well there was some form of education in Japan, but it was far inferior compared to the Western way, it was far inferior. And so to improve it they had to adopt the Western system of education. (responds)

DISHES: Thanks. (accepts explanation)

T: An improvement was seen in the fields of science and technology ... (continuing)

Dishes indicates that the teacher's explanation is 'adequate' and sanctions him to continue with his exposition.

It is interesting to note that all the summonses examined in this classroom occurred at 'transition-relevance places', (Sacks et al, 1974) and were topically coherent and relevant and therefore reflected 'interactional competence' in Mehan's terms.¹² A further point worth emphasising is that summoning was THE most frequent way in which exchanges were initiated. What this means is that the students asked the teacher more questions than did the teacher the students. (This dynamic confirms Mr Nhlapo's description of the mode of communicative interaction in the Standard 10b classroom. See Chapter 6.)

To ask a question is to claim a right since in asking it one is claiming a certain identity (Hammersley, 1977 : 76). Questions initiate or continue an interaction and enforce a relationship which, however fleeting, reflects on the identity status and character of those involved (ibid). Mr Nhlapo is 'forced' to treat his students as 'mature' participants. (See Chapter 6.)

12. Mehan defines interactional competence as the ability to display topically relevant and socially appropriate behaviour, which includes the generation of effective initiation acts. See Mehan (1979: 169-170). See also Cicourel's (1974: 301) description of interactional competence as cognitive processes integral to the development of a sense of social structure.

3. 'TAKING' TURNS

10H students less frequently would TAKE turns without any 'formal ratification' in order to initiate questions. The initiation would be prefaced with a verbal summons.

10H4: (The teacher is explaining the causes of the 1922 strikes)

T: ... They would replace the whites with the blacks because they were going to pay the blacks meagre salaries and (in the) (opposite) the whites made a lot of money =

ANN: = Eh ... they wanted - did they replace white skilled labour by the blacks?

T: Yeah - that was done.

ANN: Did they cut down on the white skilled labourers?

T: Ya - on the white skilled labourers ...
(continues explanation).

This excerpt illustrates how students continue taking turns without formal ratification when a duologue develops, which can continue into long S-T-S-T-S ... patterns.

The duologue approximates the infinite potential of question-answering pairing in ordinary conversation. The student as the initiator and questioner, who in the above excerpt raises a validity claim of 'truth', retains the 'right' to speak after each teacher response.

This reverses the usual role of the teacher as initiator in the classroom. The duologue also parallels conversation in

that the teacher as 'evaluator' is temporarily suspended, which is noticeable in the absence of the 'evaluation act' in the usual IRE sequence, and gives rise to a 'negotiation' of knowledge and 'side sequences' within the on-going sequence (cf. Jefferson, 1972). The teacher, ultimately, retains and regains the initiative once the dialogue or side sequence is completed and when some degree of clarification and understanding has been reached.

An initial observation about the organization of turn-taking in the IOH classroom is that a certain amount of freedom exists here, which affords the students the opportunity to elicit information from the teacher and which allows them to exercise their rights in terms of the classroom contract. Opening the floor, and exercising the right to summons and even take turns, reflects an openness in the social relationships and the ways in which knowledge may be exchanged and 'negotiated'. Although an asymmetrical relationship still exists, in that there is a centralised communication system and students usually seek permission for the right to speak, this relationship is often consensually and politely defined. This is evident in the ways in which most students preface their questions and address the teacher. These prefaces vary, however, according to the positional strength and statuses of the students.

It was usually the 'weaker' students who, in a sense, viewed their initiations and summonses as 'interrupting' the teacher's turn. The 'better' history students would not always preface their summonses and initiations in the same apologetic terms (see 10H4, 10H5, 10H1A). There is, however, clear evidence of mutual respect. The students uphold the positional authority of the teacher, where 'authority' implies 'some measure of agreement, a recognition by those acceding to it of the legitimacy of the control being exercised over them' (my emphasis, Edwards and Furlong, 1978: 151).

In an interview the teacher remarked as follows about his relationship with the class:

"the relationship is a very - you - know - we are so close to each other - students and teacher - that students feel very free - even to discuss some personal issues with me ... they must not be afraid of me - ya - because if they are afraid of me they are going to stay far away from me".

In an interview some students commented on what constitutes a good student-teacher relationship:

ELIAS: The teacher must be the friend of the students - not that he must just turn to be an enemy - when he comes to class you feel like going out - he must not have a cruel heart to the students.

RS: Why do you think teachers regard students as enemies in a sense?

DISHES: Others they do that because they are boasting because they are teachers - you see. They're boasting about their occupations. Sometimes you happen to ask a teacher a question and he says: "Stop, stop asking that question - that question's (failing?)". And not actually that the question that you asked it was vague - you see. The problem is that some teachers are impatient - you see - and boastful.

The teacher is able to maintain this type of relationship not only because he is patient and does not 'boast' and allows the students to exercise their right to ask questions, but also because he operates from a certain 'ideological' position which does not always reinforce the presupposition that he is an expert and that the students are ignorant.

4. TEACHER 'IDEOLOGY' AND STRATEGY

4.1 Admitting ignorance: the teacher is not always an expert

When faced with student-questions to which the teacher did not have answers the teacher would admit ignorance. This is absolutely CRUCIAL in terms of the classroom contract. To attempt to mislead students for the sake of not losing face breaches the contract in a very dangerous way. This is so because student questions are usually

'real' questions (except when they test the teacher) which raise strong validity claims.

10H5: (The teacher has just spoken about Japan's entry into the 2nd World War and the bombing of Pearl Harbour.)

T: ... by 1944 Japan controlled the whole area. By the way (Brian summonses) when Japan invaded China ...

BRIAN: I'd like to know - eh - since Pearl Harbour was bombed in 1941 what made America to take so long to retaliate?

T: What made America to take so long to retaliate (spoken slowly and softly). That's a very good question - um - Brian - eh - Brian Raselepe - thank you very much (spoken slowly and softly) but I doubt that I have reasons why America retaliated that late. I never thought of () () why America retaliated that late (spoken softly and slowly).
So sorry.

The teacher in this exchange is decidedly off-balance and is embarrassed and loses face. The admission of ignorance is spoken in very mitigating and apologetic terms. The teacher personalises the student who asks the question and recognises his full identity. His repetitive use of 'I' is a full admission of his positional weakness.

4.2 Redirecting student questions: The students are not ignorant

The teacher would often redirect a student's question to the class in order to gain their participation and for them (rather than himself) to display knowledge. The teacher's obligation in these exchanges is to evaluate the students displays of knowledge and to ensure that the original question is answered.

In the interactional sequence 10H1A appended Brian reopens the floor through a summons in order to initiate a question about the League of Nations' reaction to Japan's invasion into Manchuria. The teacher, after having acknowledged his question redirects the question and opens the floor to the class. Given this participation right some students respond to the question and give their contributions. Ann, on the other hand - having bided simultaneously with Stan - is afforded the opportunity to initiate a question and enter into a short duologue with the teacher after these contributions have been acknowledged and evaluated. The teacher then 'terminates' the sequence with a lengthy explanation which is in direct response to Brian's original question. Thus having elicited displays of knowledge, which allows the teacher to assess the students' relative positions of strength and weakness and their states of knowledge, the

teacher proceeds from a position of strength and authority and elaborately gives his contribution to Brian's question.¹³ This strategy is strongly related to his 'ideological' position.

This ideology is perhaps best revealed in the teacher's own words when he commented as follows in an interview about his redirecting of student questions to the class:

If there's a discussion, a lot of questions and so on - one pupil may put a point clearer than I would and the fellow class mates will understand better than (when?) (I explain?). At times if I ask them a question - or if someone asks a question and I refer it to the class I find that one of the pupils will come up with a more efficient answer than I would give - and that makes me very glad. That's why most of the time if one asks a question I refer it to the class - Ya. (RS: I see you do that) If they ask a question I refer it to the class and in that way we benefit - I also gain.

The teacher realizes that the students are able to 'assist' him in his pedagogical role.

Of course, Mr Nhlapo's positional power and authority is very evident in this lengthy interaction appended. He ratifies the students' right to speak; he selects speakers and allocates turns at talk; he comments on, reformulates and evaluates students' questions and answers and ultimately gives the 'final' version of the

13. The teacher's contribution/explanation has been omitted from the data as it would take too much space to include.

answer to the students' initiated question. The students, on the other hand, do not exercise this range of communicative acts: the teacher and students have unequal communicative and participation rights and obligations. The teacher's control and the students' 'compliance' is evident in the text. Mr Nhlapo's authority as the 'guardian' of school knowledge is largely the basis from which so many features of the discourse are generated, features which themselves serve to reproduce the conditions of their own production (Edwards, 1981).

Given the limitations of his transmitter-type teaching, which centralises the communication system and enables him to firmly control the organisation of turn-taking, the freedom created for the students to initiate questions is very significant. Not only are opportunities created for students to exercise their rights in terms of the classroom contract but some measure of understanding is apparent. Students can only ask a question or request clarification if they have some inkling of what is going on: they have to understand what it is that they do not understand in order to ask a question.¹⁴ Furthermore students will only request the teacher to repeat a whole explanation if the students know that such a request

14. cf. Meno's Paradox that Muller (1984: 13) illustrates in his paper. There the students did not understand what they did not understand and were not in a position to issue any clarification requests.

does not have negative consequences as regards their intelligence and ability.

B. TEACHER CONTROL AND STUDENT CAPITULATION

I shall now briefly examine some features of certain modes of 'communication' which characterised the Standard 7 Geography/History classroom. In this examination I consider some teacher initiated exchange sequences, as the students, throughout the entire term, initiated questions only on ONE informal occasion and therefore was in no way typical. The dynamics in these student-teacher interactions in many senses represent the diametric opposite of those in 10H.

1. CLOSING DOWN 'OPENINGS'

1.1 Confirmation-seeking questions

The Standard 7 Geography/History (7G/H) teacher would frequently end his statements or explanations with a confirmation-seeking question.

- 7G1: (The teacher has been speaking about lines of latitude and longitude while referring to a sketch of these lines on the board)
- T: Now - we find that the latitudes decrease in length as we move towards the poles. All right?
- SS: Yes.
- T: They decrease in length as we move towards the poles.

Here the teacher 'checks' whether the students followed his explanation. The question, however, does not offer a turn to initiate a question as is the case in 10H; rather it elicits a 'back-channel response'¹⁵ and serves a 'phatic' function (cf Stubbs, 1983). The significant thing about back-channel responses is that they sanction the teacher to continue with his turn at talk, and that those making the response are cast into the role of listeners even as they speak.¹⁶ The use of a back-channel response in fact enables the auditors to avoid taking a turn (Duncan, 1972).

From the students' response it would appear that the sanctioning indicates that they do follow and understand. From interviews with the students it was obvious that they merely sanctioned the teacher to continue with the

15. See Edelsky (1981: 398-399) for a discussion and definition of the term.

16. See Goffman, (1981) who points this out as regards 'quips', 'asides' etc. made by participants in ordinary conversation.

lesson so that it could end. One student, in an interview, remarked that the students respond in this way "so that he (ie. the teacher) can just go out".

Of course it could be possible for a student to initiate a clarification request if a student felt the freedom and need to do so as the teacher's question provides a transition relevance place at which to signal for a turn or even take a turn.

1.2 Tags

An even more forceful and powerful way in which to seek confirmation and elicit back-channel responses is to end a statement or explanation with a tag question.

7G2: (The teacher is explaining solar and lunar eclipses while referring to a sketch on the board)

T: Now we look at the position of these bodies - at some stages we are going to see that - for instance if we look at the moon in this position and the earth at this position - exactly at this position (pointing to diagram) we almost find it in a straight line like that (pointing) - isn't it?

S: Yes (very softly)

T: Am I right or wrong?

SS: Right.

T: The sun, the moon and the earth appear to be on the same level ... (continuing)

In this interesting interaction the absence of a cohort back-channel response and confirmation of the teacher's statement is taken up by the teacher as a possible challenge. To not respond to a tag question, or negate the assertion which the tag carries, amounts to a challenge. The teacher clearly 'baits' the students to see whether a challenge has in fact taken place, and forces confirmation from the class. He very clearly asserts his authority and power. He makes the question emphatic and even aggressive and personalises the possibility of the challenge.

The teacher obviously also engages in a 'repair strategy' as 'agreement tokens' are characteristically non-delayed in relation to the prior turn and are matched to the turn being agreed with. In dis/agreement sequences participants, especially those in subordinate positions within a system of domination, show a preference for agreement (cf. Wooton, 1981 : 104).¹⁷ Furthermore, that the teacher forces confirmation about something which is

17. In the Ford Teaching Project, Eliot & Adleman found that confirmation-seeking questions or 'Do you all agree?' type questions usually prevent the expression and discussion of divergent views, because students interpret such 'questions' as 'invitations to agree with the teacher'. The students interviewed in the project, expressed the view that it was a waste of time to disagree with the teacher because the teacher would ultimately elicit agreement. The students expressed 'agreement' to 'keep him quiet' and 'happy'. See Eliot & Adleman (1973: Unit 3,22-23).

physically obvious, somehow doubts the intelligence of the students.¹⁸

2. COHORT PRODUCTIONS AND RESPONSES

In cohort productions, the students take a turn in order to respond simultaneously in 'unison'. Here the teacher as current speaker is heard by the students as potentially selecting the class as next speaker as the question asked is so easy and obvious to both the teacher and students that no bidding and selection is necessary to elicit the required response. These cohort productions and responses are ordered enough to be heard as upholding the rule that only one speaker speaks at a time. The knowledge sought is so 'weak' that the chorus response acts more as a back-channel response than an 'answer' to a question which seeks to elicit a real knowledge display from students: they serve a 'phatic' function and ensure that the students are 'attending' (cf. confirmation seeking questions).

18. There is much evidence from other data examined and from interviews with the teacher that he upheld a deficit view of his students. See Chapter 6 and 'cohort productions and responses'.

7G5:

T: Fine I have here a map of the world, with certain features. Which colour here is dominant - which colour here is dominant? (pointing to map) Or which colour is more here? (o.5 sec) Huh?

SS: Blue.

T: Blue. Fine.

This passive student role in the 7G/H classroom and the teacher's initiating role becomes even more evident in 'cohort slot-filling responses'. Here the teacher elicits cohort responses through the use of rising intonation. The teacher creates a slot before a sentence completion. In this 'chorusing' technique the students fill the slot and complete the teacher's sentence within the teacher's ongoing monologue.

7G6:

T: The moon revolves around the /...

SS: earth

T: The earth. It revolves around the /...

SS: earth

Whether such slot-fillers display any real student knowledge is very doubtful. What it does illustrate, however, is the way in which the teacher conducts and controls cohort

responses which merely sanction the continuance of the teacher's monologue and turn.¹⁹

3. INTERRUPTING TURNS

Mr Ntuli at times would not afford the students the opportunity to complete their turns.

- 7H1: (The teacher is reading from the history text book and stops the reading to ask students the meanings of words in the text.)
- T: What is the meaning of disillusioned - when one becomes disillusioned?
(Initiates)
- MBUSO: (raises hand) (signals)
- T: Ya, - Mbuso (ratifies)
- MBUSO: Hopeless in life (responds/answers)
- T: Feel - a state of feeling hopeless
(repeats/reforms)
Yes. (evaluate/accepts)
- FRAN: (raises hand) (signals)
- T: Yeah (ratifies)

19. Chick and Claude (1985) have witnessed this chorusing in a Standard 5 class in Kwa-Zulu and have remarked, similarly, that this procedure is of dubious academic value but that it serves an important social function in that it reduces face-threat and loss. They argue that this chorusing is a 'culture-specific interactional style' ie. specific to conventional Zulu interactional styles. I would contest the 'cultural' specificity of their hypothesis on the grounds that chorusing is a common phenomenon in white pre-primary schools (personal observations and communication with pre-primary school teachers). A crucial element which seems to determine these types of interactions, at least partly, is the intellectual status accorded the students! Chorusing is thus noticeably absent in the 10H classroom which is conducted by a Zulu-speaking teacher.

FRAN:	Lost faith and]..	(responds)
T:	= apparently]Lost faith =	(repeats)
			(begins move/expl)
FRAN:	(raises hand)		(summonses)
T:	Ya		(acknowledges/ratifies)
FRAN:	And belief		(completes prop./turn)
T:	Uh?		(calls for repeat)
FRAN:	And belief		(repeats)
T:	Lost faith and belief =		(repeats)
	= apparently being a teacher he could ...		
			(continues explaining text)

Franscina has to summons in order to complete her turn and answer. As Edwards notes, 'interruptions are clear expressions of dominance', (1979: 242). That the teacher merely repeats the student's response and carries on with his explanation, reflects an impartial treatment of the student's contribution. The absence of gap between the repeat and the teacher's explanation, shows how eagerly the teacher continues with his monologue. The 'repeats' do not act as 'accepts', rather they terminate the student's turns and enable the teacher to begin (in the first case) and then to carry on with his next 'move'.

I have presented some data on Mr Ntuli's particular teaching style to briefly point out his positional power and authority. Furthermore, I have attempted to show how the possibilities for communication and student initiations are fore-closed and closed down.

It was remarked earlier that the students NEVER (except on one occasion) signalled, summonsed or took turns to initiate questions. This in itself is highly revealing of the nature of the social relationships and the restrictive way in which knowledge is transmitted and exchanged. Furthermore, it suggests that the students' rights have been infringed and that the classroom contract is being broken. That students did not feel free to ask this teacher questions was patently obvious from interviews with the students. The remarks of some students below illustrate this state of affairs clearly.

CAROLINE: They are afraid of him (JOHANNA: yes) and even if you don't understand - you - you are afraid of asking the teacher.

WILLIAM: ... The way that Mr Ntuli - is - sometimes I'm afraid of asking a question maybe thinking that he'll say maybe we are - eh - testing him - trying to see whether he knows what we're asking him. Yes.

JOHANNA: And he don't want you to argue with him.

Some students remarked that they respected the teacher: this 'respect', however, was governed largely by fear and the threat of corporal punishment.

In an interview Ivan remarked that Mr Ntuli would 'solve the students' before he 'solved' any problems that the students might have in Geography/History. I asked him what he meant by 'solve the students'. He replied as follows:

It - eh - means - eh - he will just make them afraid that 'I will thrash you next time'. He'll make them afraid that 'I will thrash you next time - if you don't understand - even if you fail my test I will thrash you'. Yes - that's how I - I - mean he will solve the students.²⁰

I conclude this section with an excerpt from an interview on the teacher's perspective on his relationship with the class, which speaks for itself.

RS: Can you comment in any way on the behaviour of the students in that class - when you teach them - about their behaviour generally?

T: Yaa - you know behaviour here - I'm not really a person who likes to be - you know - strict during lessons. I want - you know - children to display - a sense of - you know - freedom because I believe if you are too hard then you cannot really get the ... your lessons become - they - always - become tense and you don't know whether you are going or coming (I: mm)(21) And I - I like pupils who ask questions you see.

20. Threats or applications of corporal punishment were NEVER witnessed by me in the three classrooms observed. Mr Ntuli, however, was viewed as a 'strict' teacher: he was also viewed as a disciplinarian by students who he did not teach.

21. In this interview Mr Nhlapo remarked that he found that some of the other Standard 7 classes that he taught often seemed 'tense'. He argued that this might have been a result of the students' encounters with the teacher/s preceding his lesson/s. This was undoubtedly an attempt to obscure the discrepancy between his account of his relationship with his students and the relationship that existed.

C. NON-COLLABORATION AND CONFRONTATION

I now finally present some data which characterises the 'breakdown' of the 'normative' organisation of turn-taking in formal classrooms which recurred at certain stages in Standard 7A English lessons. In these situations the students exercised their rights to talk and initiate questions for very different reasons from those which we have been in IOH. Here, turns were regularly taken and SEIZED.

The reasons for this organisation of turn-taking should be clear from both the appendaged transcript 7E1A (which I have attempted to present in the most accurate manner possible) and the commentary and analysis which follows.

The pedagogical task which contextualised this interaction was as follows: The class was going over work on tenses which the students had completed for homework. The exercises involved choosing the correct form of the verbs in brackets and thereafter adding tags to sentences. Mr Mazibuko, typically, repeated answers that students read out so as to stamp his approval and authority on them. This task had been proceeding fairly smoothly until Mr Mazibuko authorised two different answers to the same question, given by two students. This led to disagreement amongst certain students and the teacher. Mr Mazibuko, however, deferred resolving this confusion until after the remaining corrections had been completed. The interaction appendaged begins at the point at which the teacher returned to the unresolved example.

In this lengthy 'transaction' (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) no students signal for the right to speak. All turns are self-selected and are locally managed. While most talk is still directed to the teacher, the rigid centralised communication system fragments, which is noticeable in the number of 'asides' and arguments that develop amongst the students. In a sense, these asides begin to resemble 'schisms' in multi-party conversation. In these way the organization of turn-taking begins to approximate ordinary conversation. The usual turn-taking patterns of T-S-T-S-T-S ... are broken down, leading to more 'permutable' patterns such as T-S1-S2-S3-S4 (see Turns 18-22). The potential for gap and pause is ABSOLUTELY reduced, resulting in overlaps, but more often in rapid trades of turns which occur at the end of each turn and the end of each sentence. These rapid trades of turns at the end of sentences parallel the length of turns in ordinary conversation: where speaker change usually takes place at the end of sentences (Goffman, 1981; Sacks et al, 1974).

In a turn-by-turn allocation system there are strong pressures from other participants wanting to speak, and the turn is typically one sentence long. (Coulthard, 1977 : 57)

Some precise timing is thus evident in the ways in which turns are taken at 'transition-relevance places' and in terms of: how certain utterances are simultaneously spoken by more than one participant (Turns, 3, 6, 12); how a previous speaker's utterance is simultaneously completed by a next speaker (Turns 3,12) and how a previous speaker's statement is extended by a next speaker (Turns

16 extends Turn 13) (cf. Jefferson, 1973). These synchronisations allow the participants to act in solidarity relative to the positions that they maintain during the transaction. These are strategies for what Sacks calls 'joint sentence production' and for ratifying and supporting participants (Speier, 1972). Obviously there are moments of a-synchrony evident in overlaps. These, however, I would argue do not stem from 'interactional incompetence' but are rather due to the mode of communication and the working out of power relations. What stands out here (and in other interactions that occur in this classroom) is just how much power - where 'power' is force or inter-personal dominance actualised in human relationships through the manipulation and control of knowledge - the 'girls group' wields in the classroom. Control over the organisation of turn-taking IS control over knowledge.

Survival strategies and the broken contract

The interaction presented is comprised of the teacher offering terms for negotiation which are repeatedly rejected by the 'girls group' but upheld by other students. The transaction becomes a confrontation and power struggle between; the teacher and a few students who side with the teacher, and a group of students who act in solidarity in their bid to seal the negotiation in their terms (Caroline perhaps achieves this - see turn 27).

Caroline draws the battle divisions very firmly by addressing and challenging the teacher in his personal capacity ('you') and by emphasising that he is facing a group 'we' which does not agree with his definition of the situation (Turn 19). Johanna expresses the students' rights and the teacher's obligation to fulfill them (Turn 20). The students who confront the teacher's definition of the situation reject Mr Mazibuko's authorisations and his attempts to legitimise them by raising validity claims. On an ideational level truth and comprehensibility claims are raised; on the interpersonal, claims of 'legitimacy'; the students doubt his authority and sincerity. Mr Mazibuko does not gain their consent and willingness to be manipulated and 'controlled'. Because the teacher cannot meet the students' challenges and cannot authorise knowledge he RETREATS by seizing a turn in order to issue an exchange terminating signal (which is also a call for order) and defers his obligation to some later stage. In attempting to save face the teacher employs survival strategies (avoidances, deferments, retreats) which breach the contract and result in his losing face.²²

22. The confusion over this example was never resolved in the lesson! It is highly significant to note that; (i) Mr Mazibuko acknowledged that his answer was 'wrong' when interviewed a week or two after the lesson, and that (ii) while both Mr Nhlapo and Mr Ntuli at times drew me into their lessons, Mr Mazibuko NEVER did: He never asked for my opinion when arguments of the above nature occurred in his lessons. This was undoubtedly related to the amount of face-threat and vulnerability which he faced in encounters with his students. My 'intervention' in such situations may have diffused, or, more likely, intensified these antagonistic encounters.

Students at times directly resisted the teacher's strategies and commented upon this breach.

7E1A: (Another question is unresolved in a different lesson)

T: Uh - Let's complete this one first.

CAROLINE: Nooo teacher

FRANSCINA: Teacher if we continue - you'll be running away (students laugh)

Some students employed 'exposing strategies' by asking 'Socratic questions',²³ instead of directly challenging and confronting the teacher (Turn 21 in 7E1A).

The students who regularly confronted and challenged the teacher saw the teacher as refusing to admit ignorance in order to maintain status and retain face. This perspective emerges very clearly in the following comments from an interview:

WILLIAM: And you know some teachers if you ask them - eh - a question or a thing they don't understand - let's say a difficult word - if they don't know it they won't tell you straight that they don't know it.

CAMPTON: Why he or she cannot tell you just straight 'I don't know that' - ...

WILLIAM: 'I don't know what you're asking.'

NOKTULA: Aai - he's afraid because I'm a student and I know maybe that word - I know it better than him - that's why.

23. See Labov and Fanshell (1977: 102) for their 'Rule of Socratic Questions'.

Some students viewed the vociferous and vocal students as 'making themselves better' ie. acting from a sense of pride and disrespect. The vociferous students, however, viewed their behaviour as an enactment of their rights in terms of the classroom contract (See Chapter 5.)

Of course what makes it possible for these students to feel so adamant about exercising their talking rights is not only that they act from a position of power and 'knowledge', but also because the teacher is not strict. This is evident in the ways in which he calls and appeals for order. In an interview Johanna and Caroline remarked that they could behave as they did 'because he (ie. the teacher) won't punish us', and because 'he's forever smiling'. (Cf. their attitude towards the 7G/H teacher).

The teacher's inability to clearly authorise knowledge in certain situations allows the vocal and domineering students to momentarily break down the asymmetrical teacher-student relationship, which is based so often on the presupposition that teachers are 'experts' and that students are 'ignorant'. The teacher's inability and refusal to relinquish this 'ideological' position often leads to confrontation. The teacher often does not admit that he does not know because he gets confused and because he does not learn 'lessons' from some students. The exposing strategies of the students are in a real sense attempts to teach the teacher through exemplification. Within the climate of confrontation, however, the teacher allows himself to be exposed rather than taught. The

teacher's attempts to maintain status and retain face very often lead to the erosion of that very status.

What is also immediately noticeable from the interaction presented above is that the students generate a range of communicative acts which are absent in the 10H and 7G/H classroom: a change in social and power relations leads to and entails the use of different sorts of communicative acts of social and cognitive value within changing social organisations and contexts. These acts undoubtedly have strategic and rational intentions and motives. The implications that this has for communication and learning in classrooms will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter.

CONCLUSION

In all the data presented and examined it is clear that the teachers have ultimate control over the 'speech-exchange system'. This control undoubtedly empowers the teacher to check students' attention and participation in lessons. In this regard various turn-allocation mechanisms may be seen as 'coping strategies' which occur within changing pedagogical and practical circumstances (cf. Mehan, 1979). The speech exchange system, however, is a clear expression of a social structure which maintains unequal communicative and participation rights within a system of domination: it upholds the unequal and differential distribution of power derived from the hierarchical school structure. The teachers' personal biographies, their students and the material

conditions within which they operate, however, constrain and enable communication in different ways.

The 10H teacher, within limits, is able to meet certain tacit expectations about the ways in which knowledge is to be transmitted and exchanged. The participants' rights and obligations inherent in a transmitter type model of teaching are largely met: he upholds the classroom 'contract'. That this teacher is able to do so rests on a number of factors. His academic qualifications and specialized training in his subject undoubtedly equip him to carry out his pedagogical role with a certain degree of competence and authoritativeness. Opening the floor and offering turns requires a certain positional strength as it increases the possibilities of teacher vulnerability and face threat. His ideological position and admissions of ignorance, furthermore, lessen the possibilities of being open to attack and losing face. The fact that there is a comparatively small teacher-student ratio and that the students are matrices should also be taken into consideration. These factors and strategies allow him to open up the communication channels within a restrictive and centralised communication system.

The 7 G/H and 7E teachers, on the other hand, break the classroom contract in different ways. The 7 G/H teacher perhaps unconsciously prevents the Standard 7A students from exercising their rights to ask questions, while the 7E teacher cannot always fulfill his obligations to authorize knowledge unambiguously and clearly.

The 7 G/H breach is directly related to the teacher's authoritarian teaching style and social identity and his deficit view of his students. As the students are not given the freedom or opportunity to express their meanings, or to initiate questions, there is no real communication. Asking questions may result in negative consequences such as threats of punishment and evaluations about the students' intelligence and ability.

The teacher's strictness and interpersonal dominance (ie. his power) forces the students to behave and communicate in ways which many students do NOT believe in. They play the game because of power relations that are definitively worked out. In a sense, here, there is not a breaching of the classroom contract: there is no contract. The students are prevented from exercising their talking rights.

The lack of teaching aids, resource materials and the comparatively large teacher-student ratio, however, constrain and lessen the teacher's possibilities to open up the channels of communication.

The Standard 7E teacher faces difficulties and cannot always fulfill his side of the contract because of his lack of qualifications and training. He is simply, in many instances, underqualified to do so. The teacher's inability to authorize knowledge and his refusal to relinquish or suspend his position as the transmitting 'expert' results in confrontations and challenges, which increase his survival threat and which erode his positional authority. The working out of power relations and the positional strength of the students is clearly evident

in the lack of 'ritual' enacted when the students take and seize turns when they challenge and confront the teacher's definition of the situation. The breakdown in the normative organization of turn-taking in formal classrooms reflects a breakdown in the usual asymmetrical teacher-student relationship.

The implications that these modes of communication and interactive styles have for learning and understanding shall be explicated in the chapters which follow. In the next chapter we shall examine how the 7E and 7G/H teachers control the meanings and knowledge that students exchange and how this affects understanding and communication within the social and power structures of the classrooms outlined above.

CHAPTER 8STUDENT STRATEGIES IN ANSWERING TEACHERS' QUESTIONS
AND TEACHERS' 'MANAGEMENT' OF STUDENTS' ANSWERS

It should be clear from the previous chapter that the three classrooms under examination have 'distinctive' social structures: the ways in which the teachers interact and communicate with their respective classes sustain and create different pedagogical and social relationships. These relationships, as I have outlined, change within and across contexts and are determined largely by the ways in which power relations are worked out.

Although these interactive styles and modes of communication are different, there are, nevertheless, structural similarities: the teachers, to a greater or lesser extent, sustain a centralised communication system and maintain positions and patterns of dominance within an asymmetrical teacher-student social relationship system. In this chapter I shall examine how the social and power structures of the 7 G/H classroom and Mr Ntuli's teaching ideology and perspectives affect and control what students can MEAN when they answer his questions. This entails examining how and why students adopt certain strategies in answering their teacher's questions and how teachers MANAGE their students' answers, i.e. how teachers control, or attempt to control, what counts as 'knowledge' in the classroom.

ASKING AND ANSWERING QUESTIONS

Asking and answering questions is a central interactional form in classrooms and has peculiar characteristics depending on whether a teacher or student initiates a question. Students' questions are usually 'real' or genuine; they seek to elicit information in order to clarify understanding and increase the questioner's knowledge. Teachers, on the other hand, very rarely ask questions in order to learn; they usually ask questions in order to evaluate and test the state of their students' knowledge. This teacher-asks-a-question-student-answers function presupposes that the teacher already knows the answer and that the student's answer or the meaning and message of the answer needs to be shaped within the teacher's frame of reference. As Edwards (1979; 1981) has repeatedly pointed out such interactional sequences are based on the assumption that teachers 'know' and that students are 'ignorant'. In so far as teachers and students uphold this presupposition certain problems in producing and managing the 'correct' or 'appropriate' answer vis-a-vis the students and the teacher arise in classrooms. As Hammersley (1977) has clearly demonstrated, students have to bring considerable 'cultural resources' to bear on the questions that teachers ask in order to 'work out' what answer it is that the teacher is seeking. The teacher, on the other hand, has to decide how many and what type of clues to provide students with in order to 'manage' the required answer.

Students, of course, very often produce the appropriate or 'correct' answer immediately after a teacher's initiated question which results in

an initiation-response - evaluation or feedback (IRE/F) exchange sequence with a positive teacher-evaluation or 'follow-up' (cf. Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1979; Lemke, 1982). That students are capable of such a feat depends on the type of question asked (closed / factual and 'easy' questions typically produce IRE sequences which allows the teacher to continue with his/her exposition or to initiate another question) and what the students have learnt from their particular teachers as to what counts as 'correct' knowledge. However, if students fail to produce the required answer, teachers usually engage in 'repair work' in order to elicit appropriate answers. French and MacLure (1979) identify 'preformulators' and 'reformulators' as the predominant interactive strategies that teachers used in an infant classroom. The former orients the child to the relevant area of experience upon which the child must draw in order to produce an appropriate answer; while the latter 'repairs breakdowns' by narrowing the semantic options from which the child may choose in supplying an answer. French and MacLure (op cit: 15-20) identify five reformulator types in terms of their interactive and pedagogical values. The most valued is type 1 which makes the question more specific, but still allows the child a range of options from which to choose the appropriate answer. At the extreme end of the scale, type 5 reformulators (i.e. tag-questions) merely seek confirmation and do not contain any options. Thus teachers typically reformulate questions till the 'right' answer is arrived at. Classroom exchange sequences in these terms illustrate the nature of the 'guessing

game' which characterises the pedagogical process in most classrooms.¹ The 'follow-up' or evaluation move in IRF exchanges is a situational necessity as the student who answers cannot always be sure that his/her answer is 'right' and therefore requires confirmation or evaluation of the answer given.² One paradox of classroom question-answer sequences is that student answers are essential for the progress of the lesson, and yet the answer expected by the teacher is rarely obvious. To produce appropriate answers students require not only the 'correct' academic knowledge; they need to engage in 'contextualised, interpretive work' (French & MacLure, 1981 : 39). The instructions, preformulators (French & MacLure, 1979) or 'methods' (Hammersley, 1977) that teachers use in order to orient the students to the relevant areas of knowledge or experience are NEVER totally explicit, complete or sufficient. Teacher instructions, as Mehan (1974) has clearly demonstrated, are 'indexical'; they do not provide students with all the information they need to follow the instructions. The student must look elsewhere for assistance in interpreting verbal instructions, commands and questions. The student must rely on contextual features such as the materials s/he is working with, other students' activities, the teacher's gestures and body movements and voice intonations, her/his previous classroom experiences, the topic of the lesson, etc., in order to negotiate

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1. Hammersley's insightful and thorough analysis of a teacher's question which took up a whole lesson, provides a powerful example of how a teacher may allow students' answers to stand as 'possibilities' until the teacher decides a close-enough-answer to the question has been managed by the teacher. See Hammersley, 1977.
 2. Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) description of 'follow up' moves as optional in IR(F) sequences under-emphasises the degree of obligation in these sequences. In their own terms such a move is withheld for 'some strategic purpose'.

teaching-learning situations. Instructions, activities and questions become routinised, institutionalised and 'culturally' located and directed. In other words, students are socialised, to a greater or lesser extent, into working assumptions of the operative 'culture' and the conceptual framework and meaning system of the teacher. Concretely, however, teachers and students are each others' resources. As MacKay (1974 : 221) notes:

When the social organisation of teaching and learning are considered, the teacher is recognised as an integral part of the child's competence and the child an integral part of the teacher's.

It is only in light of on-going diagnoses of students' in/competencies as social members that the teacher is able to introduce new forms of knowledge and activities which contain processes and procedures for the introduction and creation of new skills and competencies. MacKay (op cit), however, has insightfully pinpointed a central contradiction in this process and in adult-child interactions per se. Attacking the normative sociological view of socialization, which essentially sees the child as an incomplete, immature, irrational and incompetent being who has to be socialized into the 'competent' adult world, MacKay points out and demonstrates that all interaction is based upon underlying interpretive competence. In overlooking this fact, the teacher, on the one hand;

...relies on the child's interpretive competencies to understand the lesson but, on the other, treats him throughout as incompetent (i.e. she creates or gives the 'correct' answers). The child is treated as deficient as he is under the normative sociological view of children: (1974: 190).

The crucial question which arises is how Mr Ntuli's teaching aims and perspectives, his perceptions of his students and the social and power structure of his classroom - as outlined in previous chapters - control what students can mean when they exchange knowledge and how these views and processes affect learning and understanding. Before we can answer this question it is necessary to digress and consider briefly how meaning and understanding are interrelated.

MEANING AND UNDERSTANDING

A major preoccupation of a teacher is to transmit, exchange and evaluate knowledge in such a way that students come to learn and understand the knowledge being dealt with. Students, on the other hand, periodically have to demonstrate in both speech and writing that they have 'understood' and learnt what their teachers have taught; students are ultimately judged in/competent according to their performances in examinations. But that performance depends at least partially on how the teacher has brought about an 'understanding' of school knowledge dealt with throughout the year. In the classroom, the process of acquisition of knowledge and demonstration of knowledge are very often collapsed into the single act of answering questions (Philips, 1972). Answering a question may require a simple one word answer or a lengthy explanation, depending on the type of question asked and the criteria that the teacher uses to judge an answer 'appropriate' or 'sufficient'. Giving 'appropriate' or 'sufficient' answers alone, however, cannot ensure that the answerer understands the knowledge dealt with. A student may mouth a totally correct answer which s/he has learnt off by

heart, without necessarily really UNDERSTANDING what s/he is saying. Giving even a complete explanation is only a criterion of understanding, but not a totally sufficient condition of understanding. A student may give a full explanation of something and yet misapply the definition in a related, yet different, context. In such a case the student will not have bridged the gap between explanation and application. For instance, a student may be able to explain what a noun or a verb is; but it does not necessarily follow that the student will be able to either identify nouns and verbs in a text or use nouns and verbs correctly in a sentence. In his Philosophical Investigations Wittgenstein points out that the concept of understanding is related to meaning and explanation. A speaker using an expression needs to know the shared, public meaning used by a speech community. This implies that the speaker uses expressions in accordance with general practice and that s/he gives correct explanations of meaning. Thus, as Baker & Hacker (1980: 84) commenting on the Investigations note:

Though correct use and correct explanation (the two criteria of understanding) are thus connected, they are nevertheless independent. It does not follow from the fact that someone has used 'X' correctly in a given sentence that he will, on demand, explain it correctly. He may explain it incorrectly, thus casting doubt upon his understanding of 'X'. Yet, normally, if he in general uses 'X' correctly in various typical contexts, he will also give a correct explanation of 'X'.

Speaker/hearers need to judge correctness of use according to the standards created and established by the explanations and uses of meanings as applied and used by a speech community or practitioners in a discipline. In this respect it is vital to which standard and speech

community participants appeal in order to establish the meanings and explanations of expressions and concepts.

'Correct' explanations and uses of expressions depend on the contexts in which they are used. A 'standard', 'correct' explanation and its use must be applicable not only in general, but in particular contexts and in specific ways. Explanations and meanings are diverse; their 'truth' and 'use' value may be explained and used in a variety of ways and contexts (e.g. through demonstration, exemplification, contrast, comparison, etc.). Thus different explanations for one and the same term according to different disciplines are valid. It depends whether the participants are engaged in, and consensually share and agree upon, a certain practice. Understanding thus involves both grasping the relation between particulars and generalisations and applying such knowledge and principles in order to construct hypotheses and solve given problems. Bigge (1982) makes a useful distinction between 'Explanatory Understanding' and 'Exploratory Understanding'. While both lead to 'understanding' as outlined above; the latter entails a 'reflective' and critical thinking process in which there is 'more student participation, more criticism of conventional thinking, and more imagination and creativeness' (p 297).³ Schutz (1970) has similarly noted that speech contains 'embedded' meanings. Dictionaries give us only the 'kernel' of the meanings of words, which are surrounded by 'fringe' meanings, which are related to the context of speech in which the word or expression is used, the situation in which speech occurs,

3. See Bigge (1982: 293-341) for a discussion on these different approaches and transcribed data which illustrates how reflective teaching/learning proceed in the classroom.

purpose of communication and the problem at hand to be solved. Understanding, as MacKay (1974 : 185) notes, 'rests upon an ongoing reflexive, constructed, convergence of schemata of interpretation'. Teachers and students can only construct such a schemata and practice if participants are free to raise 'validity claims' so that some level of understanding may be reached. Such a free flow of communication, however, depends on how teachers (and students) view knowledge, which embodies and gives rise to specific social relations. Giroux (1981 :155) is instructive here when he notes:

Knowledge is not just content; its use also suggests specific kinds of classroom social relationships. When knowledge is seen as objective and 'out there', it is usually accompanied by top-to-bottom forms of pedagogy in which there is little dialogue or interaction.

If teachers and students uphold positivist views of knowledge which classifies and frames knowledge into tight, separate boundaries and gives rise to closed, authoritarian relationships, the range of semantic options is likely to be reduced and less open to discussion and debate. The range of communicative options open to students is inseparable from the range of semantic options (Edwards & Furlong, 1978). The more restricted these options are the more likely it is that understanding is reduced.

In the previous chapter it was shown that the opening or closing of communication channels has a bearing on learning and understanding and that the range of communicative options is directly related to the social and power structure of the classroom. In the section which follows, I shall examine how these structures, views of knowledge and

pedagogical and social relationships affect and control what participants can mean when they transmit and exchange knowledge and how the teacher's teaching style and methods restrict the students' answering strategies and semantic options.

MR NTULI'S LESSONS

Mr Ntuli's main teaching strategy was exposition interrupted by questions, i.e. he would give an authoritative version of the facts and develop his exposition by asking questions. Mr Ntuli, however, mostly used the textbook in order to expound the facts and content of his lessons, i.e. he would literally read, or make his students read, from the prescribed Standard 7 Geography and History textbook (see 7 GlA and 7 H1A as typical examples). Less often he would present his expositions without directly referring to or reading from the text. These expositions, or readings, would be halted by him at certain points in order to explain certain words, terms or concepts which he thought warranted explanation. Less frequently, he would ask students to explain the meanings of words or terms used in the textbook. The students were thus neither given the opportunity nor the freedom to raise questions which THEY thought warranted explanation or examination. This lack of freedom to initiate questions is related to the power and social structure of his classroom (as I attempted to demonstrate in the previous chapter) and his 'text book method'.

The crucial question is how this method enabled or restricted understanding of the subject matter dealt with and how it related to Mr

Ntuli's teaching 'ideology' and his views of his students. In trying to see these relations and connections it is necessary to examine what view of knowledge predominates by investigating how 'knowledge' is defined and classified in its actual transmission and exchange.

In 7G1A appendaged, Mr Ntuli suggests that the students should be able to answer the question 'what is latitude?' by scanning their memory of the work covered in Geography the previous year (line 8). The students have to remember a pertinent or 'correct' definition of the term. After re-initiating the question (line 9), Mr Ntuli reformulates it in order to 'clarify' that the question is asking for a 'description' of what 'latitude' is (line 10). The reformulated question is somewhat different to the first in that it asks for a student's description and becomes slightly 'person-centred' (cf Eliot & Adleman, 1973 : 7-8). This reformulation, if taken seriously, implies that the students are 'permitted' to give their understanding of the term. This is undoubtedly what Franscina and Ivan attempt to do (lines 15 and 19). The difficulty facing Ivan and Franscina is that the teacher does not tell Franscina why her answer is 'not bad' (line 16) or whether Ivan's answer is plausible, correct or incorrect. There is something 'not bad' about Franscina's answer; but neither she nor the class can possibly know WHAT is either 'good' or 'bad' about the answer. Ivan,

essentially, substitutes 'horizontal' for 'parallel'⁴ (perhaps, 'parallel' was the 'bad' part of Franscina's answer?). By an absence of feedback, however, Mr Ntuli rejects his answer,⁵ and reinitiates his original question (line 20). It has not been answered to his satisfaction. The students still don't know why their answers are 'wrong'. Ruth tries a different route, by attempting to reword the definition given in their textbook (line 24). Mr Ntuli then seems to comment that Ruth is giving a textbook answer (line 25). This comment seems to imply that Mr Ntuli does not approve of 'textbook answers' and prefers the students to answer according to their own understanding (or memories). This 'meaning', however, does not seem to apply as the correct answer (definition) is the one which Mr Ntuli instructs Johanna and then the whole class to read from their textbooks (lines 27-30). That, according to Mr Ntuli, is what 'latitude is'.⁶ Mr Ntuli, however, does tell Franscina and Ivan why their answers are 'wrong' or

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4. Ivan can be seen to be using a 'categorization device' (Sacks, 1974 : 218) in that horizontal lines, which do not meet, are a sub-category of parallel lines. Ivan, in this sense, is using a very similar interpretative schemata to Franscina. This is a common answering strategy which has been identified by MacLure & French, McHoul & Watson and myself. MacLure & French identify this answering strategy as a combination of categorisation operations and the retrieval of a past answer from other pupils. This strategy and others identified by MacLure & French have been similarly identified in my own analysis. See MacLure & French (1980), McHoul & Watson (1984) and Simons (1984).
 5. In all the data examined an absence of feedback invariably implied a wrong answer which was rejected.
 6. This definition was allowed to stand without any further explanation or enquiry. Whether the students understood this definition was not considered. The textbook gives an explanation of the definition given, but this explanation was never examined or discussed in this or subsequent lessons. See Podesta et al (: 23-24) for their explanation of the definition.

insufficient (line 26); they spoke of latitudes in 'real' rather than conceptual, cartographical, terms. Their answers might have been 'correct' if they were located within this framework.

Further on this lesson we witness the same procedure and 'guessing game' when Mr Ntuli asks 'What are the main duties or functions of these latitudes' (lines 32, 33). This question implies that there is more than one 'function' or 'duty' or that there are 'important' things about latitudes. The students have to produce an answer from the sense of the question and other resources within their reach. Now, obviously there are many important things that can be said about lines of latitude. They can help us work out the location of a place on a map; they can tell us how many degrees north or south of the equator a certain place on earth lies; we can determine or predict climatic conditions according to the degree of latitude, etc. In short, there are many valid comments that can be made about the importance or function of these cartographical lines. Somehow the students must work out what the main duties or functions are from the teacher's question and, as Mr Ntuli suggests, from their previous Standard 6 work (line 41). Franscina's answer is interesting but, perhaps, ambiguous (line 36). Certainly latitudes tell us something about degrees; how and in what way remains unclear. Ironically, Mr Ntuli seems to know what Franscina means by evaluating her answer as 'not exactly' correct (line 37). By saying her answer is not 'exact enough' Mr Ntuli implies that there is sense in her answer but that it needs to be elaborated upon. What exactly is inexact about her answer neither Franscina nor the class can surely know. According to Mr Ntuli the students have failed to remember their

Standard 6 work. He reinitiates, repeats and reformulates his question in order to elicit a response (lines 42, 43). S comes up with a different answer (line 46). Again, by an absence of feedback to S's answer, the student(s) is not told why his answer is wrong.⁷ The astounding thing is that Mr Ntuli eventually accepts Eric's incorrect answer (line 52) and carries on with his exposition without telling the students why their answers are correct or incorrect. Towards the end of the lesson, while Mr Ntuli is reading the differences between lines of longitude and latitude, he remarks that 'someone' gave an incorrect answer (lines 60). Mr Ntuli has the power to accept incorrect answers as correct and overlook the fact that it is he, as evaluator and authoriser of knowledge, who defines what counts as 'correct' or 'incorrect' knowledge.

From my comments on these excerpts a number of things stand out. Firstly, knowledge is viewed by Mr Ntuli as 'static' and 'out there' and contained in memory. Knowledge is something merely to be recalled and not constructed in communicative interaction. Secondly, we do not find the progressive narrowing of semantic options as demonstrated in French & MacLure's analysis. The teacher's questions remain indeterminate and require students to bring considerable 'resources' to bear on the questions asked in order to 'appropriate' knowledge. The students' answers thus, likewise, remain vague and indeterminate. Doyle (1983) has pointed out that several studies of language use in classrooms have

7. Mr Ntuli's 'Ya' (line 47) is NOT in response to S's answer; it is part of his nomination. This has been determined by close listening and relistening. There is no pause between 'ya' and 'that boy ... there'.

shown that student talk is constricted and vague. Doyle argues that students are 'cautious'; they restrict the amount of output they give to the teacher to minimise the risk of exposing a mistake and that restricted output can elicit assistance from others in a classroom. Furthermore, by restricting their output, students may get the teacher to eventually provide the answer him or herself. They can elicit what Lundgren (1977) calls 'piloting' i.e. an exchange sequence in which a teacher gradually increases the amount of information and clues useful for answering until an answer is virtually given to the student. This process, however, is almost invariably absent in Mr Ntuli's classroom. Questions are, at times, reformulated; but additional information and clues are not provided, and the narrowing of semantic options does not occur. The students, in a very real and troublesome, sense are left guessing; there is very little 'assistance' from the teacher. The students have to rely on their own resources. Knowledge is not, in the true sense, 'co-produced'. There is an absence of resourceful 'feedbacks' and 'evaluations' to assist the students to produce 'appropriate' answers. Thus the 'typical' IRF sequence found in most classrooms observed and researched overseas, takes on a slightly different character: there is often an absence of the 'feedback' move. This characteristic has been noted in Ellis's (1984) research into classroom communication in Kwazulu schools, and in Muller's (1984) analysis of classroom discourse in a Sowetan high school science classroom. Ellis notes that the students' task to 'interpret' whether the teacher's 'silence' designates that a correct response has been provided or not, 'may or may not add to the difficulty the student faces in discovering the content of the lesson' (p 66). I contend very

strongly that it undoubtedly adds to their difficulties. Muller (1984) demonstrates this and more. He shows that by 'under-authorising' knowledge the students do not know whether their answers are right or wrong and that even when they know that their answers are wrong they don't know why or what the real answer is! The students in Mr Ntuli's class often face a similar problem; they do not know why their answers are wrong because their contributions are treated impartially or ignored. Some students, who were clearly aware of this, expressed a sense of disillusionment with this procedure. William put it this way:

If Mr Ntuli asks a question and you answered it wrongly, he won't tell you are wrong, or tell you the correct answer; he'll leave you as you are and ask someone else.

The difficulties facing the students in Mr Ntuli's classroom illustrates MacKay's (1974) description of the 'paradoxical' nature of adult-child interaction of which he writes:

The teacher not only has the power to ignore reasonable answers but also assumes more competence of the child than of an adult, i.e. that he can figure out both that and why his answer was wrong and the other answer correct (p 188).

Although the students face difficulties in answering Mr Ntuli's questions and have to bring considerable resources and contextual interpretive procedures to bear on the questions asked, they nevertheless, had a very concrete and definite resource to aid them in their task: the textbook itself! During Mr Ntuli's lessons the students would usually have their books open and in front of them. This resource was not only legitimated by Mr Ntuli; it was 'instructed' to be used. Both the teacher and the students relied on this resource and

method which was the most immediate world-within-reach. It is this resource, as we have seen, which Ruth (7G1A: line 24) attempts to use when all else seems to be failing. Mr Ntuli would often instruct students to consult their textbooks and/or the glossary section in their books when difficult words appeared.

This procedure, which occurred very frequently in Mr Ntuli's lessons, obviously cuts out the 'guessing game'; but the answers and knowledge sought is closed, and not open to negotiation or construction. Instead of Mr Ntuli merely providing the information himself, he 'activates' the class to provide the answers by consulting their textbooks. This, at least, 'breaks' the monotony of the completely passive, listening role of the students: They at least have to apply their skills in finding and reading definitions from the text or glossary. Mr Ntuli then either elaborates upon and 'explains' the textbook definitions or slots textbook answers into his preceding exposition: a technique not unlike what Edwards & Furlong (1978) refer to as 'the recitation'.⁸

Whether this procedure ensured student understanding of the subject matter dealt with and how these procedures institutionalised a certain view of knowledge which is related to Mr Ntuli's views of his students, the power structure of the classroom and the material conditions in which the participants interact is an issue to which I now turn.

8. See Edwards and Furlong (1978) who describe this procedure in terms of how teachers channel students' answers in the 'right' direction so that 'right' answers, which are 'tidied up' and summarised by the teacher, are arrived at.

PARTICIPANTS' ACCOUNTS: THE VIEW FROM 'BELOW'

We have seen that Mr Ntuli very rarely offers 'feedback' on his students' answers and that, consequently, the students often do not know why or what is wrong with their answers: they might know what the 'correct' answer is; but very little connection or sense is made of their answers in relation to that answer. This, in itself, reflects an impartial treatment of the students' 'knowledge' and meanings. We have also seen in previous chapters that the students are simply too afraid to raise or initiate questions in Mr Ntuli's classroom.

Now if a student does not know why or what is wrong with their answers, the answer authorised as 'correct' HAS to be taken at face value. This means that the students have to step into the teacher's or the textbook's frame of reference, without necessarily understanding how that frame of reference relates to their own. This is a very dangerous situation for both the teacher and the students, as it overlooks the possible confusions and misunderstandings embedded in the 'knowledge' transmitted and exchanged. By not problematising or examining or questioning the knowledge exchanged, neither the students nor the teacher are in a position to sort out any misunderstanding or confusions which possibly exist.

In 7 GlA, for instance, Franscina's and Ivan's answers, are evaluated as 'incorrect' because they defined lines of latitudes in 'real' rather than imaginary or cartographical terms. This may imply that everything else in their answers is correct and that they have exhibited a level of

understanding. This is exactly the sense of their answers that the students retained after the lesson. In an interview with a group of students the next day, Franscina was asked to elaborate on the answers that she gave in the lesson. I asked her to explain what she meant when she gave her first answer (i.e. 'latitude are lines that goes around the earth longwards'). She explained that she was attempting to convey the idea that they were lines that went 'downwards' and indicated with hand motions, VERTICAL, rather than horizontal lines. She added that her answer was "right but not really the good answer". She explained that "the portion that was not right is the lines going around the earth" because she should have said that they are lines "which are drawn" (i.e. on a map). "That", she added, "was the right answer". When I then asked her what she meant by her second answer, she replied: "I was meaning the same answer but changing the words" (i.e. 'parallel' for 'longwards'). When I asked her what she meant by parallel, she said: "westwards" or "eastwards", or "east to west" or "north to South". I then asked Franscina to draw parallel lines. She drew two horizontal lines which were parallel. However, when I drew vertical and diagonal parallel lines and asked her whether those lines were parallel, she replied that she was not sure because her maths teacher always drew parallel lines horizontally. Franscina was obviously confused about the words that she was using and it was very difficult to gain a clear sense in which sense she was using 'parallel' in her answer. This confusion was never sorted out in the lesson; it was reinforced not only by an absence of clarifying feedback to her answer, but also towards the end of the lesson when Mr Ntuli took it for granted that the class knew what

parallel meant and pointed to lines of latitude as an example of parallel lines! (See 7 GlA lines 54-58).

Ivan commented in the interview that Franscina's answer was "partly right", because "parallel it goes horizontally". Now this is the answer that Ivan gave in the lesson, but it received no feedback and implicitly was rejected. Ivan's answer 'clarifies' the fact that lines of latitude are HORIZONTAL,⁹ rather than vertical or diagonal. He added further that those lines "parallely meet - those lines from the east to the west ... that are drawn, goes around the earth, which they parallely meet". In non-standard English Ivan seems to convey the rider that the lines are not two-dimensional; they form circles. Other students in the interview remarked that these answers made sense to them, but that they should have said that they were lines drawn on a map.

When Ruth was asked to elaborate on how she understood the answer she gave i.e. "latitude is the angle of the distance north and south..." She said that the "angles are the same from north to south - they are equal". Clearly neither the reworded textbook definition, nor the textbook definition itself was clearly understood by Ruth or other students.

The most illuminating accounts on this lesson emerged when I asked the students how they interpreted the meaning of Mr Ntuli's 'follow-up' or comment on Ruth's answer (line 25). I shall include a lengthy excerpt

9. When Ivan and the other students were asked to explain what they meant by 'horizontal', they explained the term as a line running from east to west.

from this part of the interview as it illuminates how the student's oriented themselves to this comment and its full contextual implications.

RS: Why did Mr Ntuli say 'you have that in your books?' If a teacher says to you 'you have that in your books'; what's he actually saying to you?

Franscina: You must look at the book; you must look at the book where you are going to get the answer.

Ivan: I can say in fact the way he knows the answer, he wants us to answer him the way he knows the answer.

RS: Now that's very interesting. How does a student know what answer the teacher wants?

Ivan: It's by going and reading the book of the subjects which he teaches, yes. And he must answer the way the book is - eh - the way the book is written - eh - he don't want - (you) to go and put your own opinion.

William similarly expressed how independent thinking was restricted in the classroom because 'correct' knowledge was equated with textbook answers.

Further on into the interview, after Eric had confirmed William's point above, Ivan commented that Mr Ntuli wanted the students to speak and use the terminology of the textbook.

Ivan: Now if the book ... have difficult terms - now when we simplify those terms; the teacher wants those difficult terms (and for us) to put them clear ... in fact he says that thing's easy; whilst we don't know. He says that things easy in your books, whilst on the books we find it difficult; then he'll not solve this thing on your book; he'll go and solve the students.¹⁰

The students are in a catch 22 situation. They know that 'correct' answers are in the textbook and that these are the answers that the teacher wants; but many of them also know that they do not fully understand the difficult textbook terms or explanations that they give. The students are fearful to give their own answers because they face the possibilities of threats of corporal punishment or negative consequences as regards their intelligence or ability. Consequently, the students embarked on one of two strategies:

- a) reading the text and rewording the text according to how they understand the text, or
- b) giving a verbatim textbook answer.

In Mr Ntuli's classroom, however, neither of these strategies ensures understanding. If the students embark on (a) they often do not know what is wrong with their answers because of a lack of feedback and also because the misunderstandings or misuses expressed are not clarified or examined; if they embark on (b) they often mouth things that they

10. See chapter 6, where the full implications of this last statement are spelled out.

simply do not understand, but which they know are 'correct'. They go down the all-too-familiar route of rote-learning.

A very clear example of (b) as an answering strategy occurred in a history lesson when Mr Ntuli was reading from the textbook and halted the reading to ask the class the meaning of the word 'obsessed' in the text. Alpha consulted his glossary and gave the textbook definition ie. 'to become possessed by fixed ideas' as the answer, which was accepted unconditionally by the teacher.

After this lesson a group of students were interviewed about 'textbook' and glossary answers. When Alpha was asked why he consulted his glossary, he replied that he knew that that was the answer and that he was 'telling the class the answer'. He admitted, however, that he did not understand what the definition itself actually meant! When the students were asked why they did this, Franscina commented that the students "want to tell the teacher a right answer". Thus the students' main concern is to give 'right' answers often at the expense of not understanding the answers that they are giving. Another point worth noting that emerged from this interview is that the students said that they used the textbook rather than their 'common sense' because if they did not give correct textbook answers other students would 'laugh at' their (wrong) self-constructed answers: giving 'right' answers thus saves the student's face, satisfies the teacher's purposes and allows the lesson to continue without any immediate negative consequences. The students know EXACTLY how and what game it is best to play in Mr Ntuli's classroom!

There is overwhelming evidence, however, that a large proportion of students did not view these procedures as either desirable or beneficial. They did not agree with 'cramming' information; but they also realized that expressing knowledge in their own words and according to their understanding did not really 'help' them. The safest route was the shortest 'textbook' route. In this same interview William expressed a deep sense of disillusionment and powerlessness in trying to embark on alternative strategies:

It will be useless for you to answer and then find that the answer is wrong, and he won't attend to you; so it's better to look up in the glossary than answer what you really know.

Franscina, similarly, remarked that if the students give their own answers, Mr Ntuli would 'explain again' what the meaning of the word is. In other words, their answers would be viewed as incomplete, inexact or wrong and the teacher would ultimately give his own answer, which is the correct answer.

Mr Ntuli's lack of feedback and explanation of student answers lead to apathy: many students gave this as one of the reasons why they did not initiate questions in Mr Ntuli's classroom:

Caroline: I don't ask the teacher because he's going to tell me the very same thing which he was saying, which I don't understand; that's why (I don't ask him questions).

Teachers were seen as evading their responsibilities if they merely referred students to textbooks - which they did not always understand - to find the answers.

Franscina: I don't understand the book; I understand the teacher.

Caroline: The teacher is talking and the book is not talking.

Because of the social and power structures of the classroom, the students not only KNOW that they HAVE TO step into the teacher's and the textbook's frame of reference; they, most of the time, do just that, against their better judgement and will.

In History Mr Ntuli used a textbook method even more rigidly (See 7H2A in the appendix). Here, at least four-fifths of the lesson would involve reading the text, supplemented by explanations of words and commentaries by the teacher.¹¹

It is remarkable how the teacher does not attempt to gain students' contributions or explanations on words such as 'radical', 'dictatorship' and 'fascism' but instead reads the textbook definitions and/or expounds on these concepts himself. Some of these concepts may be without the reach of most students; but this CANNOT be taken for granted. In Chapter 4 we saw that 'radical' was very much part of certain students' vocabularies. It is also not unlikely that the students may very well use terms such as 'dictatorial' or 'fascist' to describe the government which has oppressed them and their people. Of course Mr Ntuli contextualises and clarifies these concepts very well in terms of the

11. Young, D. (1983, 1986) has pointed out that most lessons which he has observed in South African classrooms do not even comply to Flander's 'rule' of two-thirds'. He notes that 'teachers seem predisposed to talk for at least two-thirds of the time and more than two-thirds of that talk is "teacher talk" (Young, 1986 : 3).

South African political scene: but the students are not given the opportunity to reflect on and construct these concepts within their own frames of reference. The teacher tells and the students, as receivers of news, listen (cf Edwards, 1979).

In interviews students expressed strong disapproval of a textbook method. This was argued especially in relation to History. Many students remarked that most of the class failed History, but that Mr Ntuli carried on with this method of teaching unaware of this consequence.¹²

Franscina: The teacher cannot see that we are failing History. He will go on and on and on, maar (i.e. but) not asking us what is...

Johanna: Yes, just read as if - eh - she's just reading a bible: Jesus came and said so and so and so and so. No explanations - just read and close (i.e. the book) and write some notes.

Caroline: Just fill the book and throw it away.

Johanna: Those notes it is better for yourself - to do it for yourself - to write them for yourself; because you'll read and you are going to write what you understand, yes.

The metaphors that these students use, describe and capture the teaching/learning process in Mr Ntuli's classroom in very powerful and exact terms. The teacher is ultimately a preacher. The sermon transmits the unquestionable 'truth'; the congregation listen passively and record the sermon in written form so as to commit the 'objective'

12. These comments above arose out of an open-ended discussion; I did not ask the students to comment on how they viewed Mr Ntuli's method of teaching.

and 'self-evident' knowledge to memory. Education and knowledge is reified: it is seen as a power over and above the students; beyond change. The student has no control over what s/he is to receive and reproduce. Knowledge, beyond the control of those who have the capacity and desire to produce and construct knowledge according to their understanding and processes, becomes an alienated product: a commodity to be consumed and dispensed with. Ultimately its 'uselessness' is rejected.

According to some students, all the teachers that had taught them history used this method. Generalising from this experience, Ivan - to whom I leave the final word in this section - commented:

Our History teachers are not trained good; they are only trained to come and (tell) us what they read from the book - they always read from the book.

THE VIEW FROM 'ABOVE'

In a lesson 'review' interview with Mr Ntuli, it emerged very clearly that he used a very different frame of reference to the students in attaching meaning to the words and answers that they spoke. Franscina's 'longwards' was interpreted as 'emphasising parallelism'¹³ whereas Ivan's answer ('lines that go horizontally') was seen as referring to 'a specific line'. Mr Ntuli commented as follows about his answer:

13. Mr Ntuli realized that this was not a standard English word and interpreted it as a translation from Zulu meaning 'length' or lengthwise.

I was against this 'horizontally': it throws the whole thing off ... horizontally does not accommodate the other lines. One line can be horizontal ... when you say 'parallel' then it is easily accommodating these other lines ... lines of latitude as such. But once you say 'horizontally' - I think he was too specific there, referring to a particular line ... any line can be horizontal but not a latitude you see.

Mr Ntuli takes it for granted that both he and Franscina understood 'parallel' in the exact same terms, which they did not, and overlooks Ivan's explanation emphasises that the lines run from east to west. The absurdity of these 'hidden' meanings is that they were never made known publicly in the classroom. Mr Ntuli assumes that he knows what his students words mean and that his students understand how he understands their 'meanings'. This reveals how teachers and students may attach different meanings to the same words and make sense out of 'non-sense' and non-sense out of 'sense'!

Mr Ntuli then commented that Ruth's answer was correct but incorrectly phrased. When I asked him what he meant by saying 'you have that in your books' he commented that his aim was to

...lead them (i.e. the students) towards opening their books and finding out the correct thing - not me doing it for them ... it sort of brings back the memory, because they are quite forgetful.

Mr Ntuli also remarked, however, that Ruth re-phrased the textbook answer in order to conceal the fact that she had gained the answer from her book and commented that he did not normally encourage this sort of

practice. This was somewhat ambiguous as it seemed to imply one of two things:

- a) he did not encourage them to use their books, or
- b) he preferred the students to give textbook answers without concealing the fact that this was what they were doing.

This ambiguity is disambiguated by: his 'instruction' to the students to consult their books, and the convergent meaning that both he and his students attach to his words. In other words the triangulation procedures and the classroom practice confirm the comments that I made earlier on about this interactional sequence.

Further on into this interview it also emerged very clearly that Mr Ntuli only considered those answers which he wanted as ultimately relevant and correct. His criteria for validating knowledge or appropriate answers was firmly and restrictively located within his own (hidden) frame of reference. When reviewing the students' answers to his question, 'What are the main duties and functions of these latitudes?' Mr Ntuli reflected on Franscina's answer and remarked that she might have thought lines of latitude are named by degrees and added: "Actually that was not important - what I wanted here was the fact that the lines of latitude have a bearing on our climate". Reflecting on the other student's answer (i.e. 'To study maps') Mr Ntuli commented the following:

Well - I didn't accept this one although it is also correct ... because in studying maps really we do consider latitudes, ya a place is situated at such and such a latitude; that's right. I think that was a good idea, although I did not acknowledge it.

The absurdity here, is that in the actual lesson the student may have gained the impression that what was, in fact, 'a good idea', was INTERACTIONALLY a bad enough idea not to warrant any feedback, comment or discussion.

The other contradiction that emerged was that Mr Ntuli considered the language of the textbook too difficult for the students to follow clearly, yet he advocates the textbook as the ultimate resource and fountain of knowledge. His rationale underlying this method, as we saw in Chapter 6 was that it is a form of 'comprehension exercise'. Exactly how students can comprehend texts which they often find difficult and incomprehensible is largely an incomprehensible situation. This merely illuminates how 'understanding' is equated with correct answers which are often not understood by the students.

The restrictive classification of knowledge is evidently applied by Mr Ntuli as part of his teaching methodology and aims. Mr Ntuli would plan his lessons (mentally) such that his questions and answers were

preformulated and pre-conceived.¹⁴ His main aim was to get through the lesson without being deviated or distracted by irrelevant student contributions. Transmitting a predefined body of knowledge is seen as more important than communicating and negotiating meaning. In Mr Ntuli's class there is no negotiation of meaning because it is seen, essentially, as distractive. Mr Ntuli describes this process vividly in his own words.

... once you have certain aims, obviously you have expectations of some kind and then somewhere along the line you find now pupils deviating you know. But that deviation does not mean it's a bad thing altogether: it shows also that they are very much active. But now it interferes, now, with one's aim. I want to deal with this and you find ... somebody having gone out of the lesson itself - what you were intending teaching that day - you find that it's been (deflected) by the answers that you shall have to follow. The next thing you'll have left the actual aim of the lesson.¹⁵

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14. In an interview, Mr Ntuli outlined how he was going to proceed with a certain lesson and gave examples of the questions he intended asking in order to unfold the lesson. This preparation was not written but mentally pre-conceived. It was fascinating to observe how this lesson (which I observed the next day) proceeded almost EXACTLY along the lines he had prepared and included questions almost verbatim as outlined in the interview. Mr Ntuli's lessons WERE very well prepared and structured.
15. The lack of 'improvisation' is a noticeable phenomena in black student-teacher's lessons. It never ceased to amaze me how student-teachers have it drummed into their heads by most lecturers in the training colleges that a 'successful' lesson is following a written lesson plan. Deviations from the plan were judged 'bad' teaching. When I used to point out to students that they had to throw their plans through the classroom window if what they planned was inappropriate for what a particular class did/not know or understand they would invariably complain that their methodology lecturers always marked them down for deviating from their plans.

I would speculate, from this (5 year) experience that many practising teachers view 'successful' teaching in this light.

On one level Mr Ntuli expresses the teacher's right to keep the students' talk 'on topic' so that contributions are topically relevant. This, however, was not a necessary control that Mr Ntuli needed to exert in his classroom as the students NEVER even DARED to initiate questions or give answers which were not immediately concerned with the lesson. This would have entailed a direct challenge to his authority, which the students, clearly, were too afraid to even attempt. On a more applicable level Mr Ntuli explicates how students HAVE to locate their answers and contributions within his and the textbook's frame of reference. He knows exactly which answers will enable him to continue with his expositions. 'Wrong' answers 'interrupt' what, ideally, should be a teacher monologue which is given sanctioned continuance by students' 'right' answers. The negotiation of meaning, which enables some misunderstandings to be sorted out so that a level of understanding is reached flies in the face of this procedure. Teacher and student do not really know what each is really attempting to say and mean.

When Mr Ntuli was asked how he thought his students were in a position to know what answers he expected, he replied that it was a question of correct recall of previous work dealt with. Knowledge is equated with regurgitation.

'Understanding' the knowledge transmitted and exchanged IS 'quite a problem' because of the 'lack of aids' and the 'communication problem'. (Please refer back to Chapter 6 where Mr Ntuli describes how the lack of aids inhibits understanding.) A lack of aids undoubtedly makes the teacher's task very difficult; but the way in which 'knowledge' is

transmitted and exchanged undoubtedly compounds this problem. The 'communication problem' is not purely that the participants are using an additional language with which to communicate, but more fundamentally HOW they are 'communicating'. If there is no real communication how can the teacher or the student KNOW what problems they face in the act of communication?

Another point worth examining is how Mr Ntuli viewed the fact that he 'advocated' students giving textbook and glossary answers. His rationale here was that if either he or the students gave their own explanations of words used (and defined) in the book, they might misinterpret the meaning of the text. In other words, they may overlook the meanings intended to be conveyed. To understand the text meant understanding the way in which the authors were using their words. As Mr Ntuli put it:

The glossary of this book will always clarify the way this book has been written.

Now obviously this makes sense: if one wants to comprehend the (intended) message and meanings which a speaker is attempting to convey we need to understand in what sense the words used are meant. This, however, does not ensure that the definitions given by authors are understood by the reader(s). Furthermore, accepting an author's meaning as THE meaning of a concept or term does not allow the reader to critique those meanings in any way: the reader(s) is chained to the books frame of reference and ideology. (This latter point will be elaborated upon.)

Indeed it appeared that Mr Ntuli un/wittingly imprisoned meaning. He did not WANT his students to express their own meanings because they would 'distort' the book's message. When commenting on the importance of understanding the textbook according to the author's meanings, Mr Ntuli commented that at the Standard 7 level he could not...

'...expect much from the children' (as they) 'get many, many other meanings from other sources' (which would) 'sort of take them away from the real stuff of that particular book that they're using in class'.

He added further that because they had only one book that had to rely on that book entirely.

This rationale treats students' knowledge or meanings as irrelevant and ultimately meaningless in terms of 'school knowledge' and the textbook's frame of reference. The teacher must deposit the official meaning and initiate them into school 'knowledge' which will transform their own meanings and frames of references. This rationale, Mr Ntuli argued, justified his method of introducing 'new' historical (or geographical) concepts at the beginning and during the lesson, even although many of these terms and concepts constituted - by his own admission - part of their everyday world. It is worthwhile to re-quote Mr Ntuli's description of this procedure in this light:

It is normally very essential to introduce words that you feel are new to them, 'cause some of these words are very important in making sense of the whole chapter. So that is why you find me always getting these words which I feel they're new: especially with history. Now they do know these words from radios, television and all that; they do; but now normally they don't link them with what actually they're taught at school. They always think of what is being spoken there as a separate - you know - area. They're still very, very immature to correlate you know; because history is actually events that are taking place every day, you see.

The irony, of course, is that the words and concepts which are 'familiar' to the students are very seldom given vent in the classroom. Paradoxically Mr Ntuli describes 'new' historical knowledge as 'familiar' everyday knowledge. Mr Ntuli's practice contradicts the very problem which he identifies: It is not the students who do not link school knowledge with everyday knowledge; but the TEACHER. By not allowing their meanings and understandings to be expressed how can these and 'historical' meanings be linked? Mr Ntuli reinforces one of the most common problems in the schooling process: he alienates and reifies knowledge. That most of the Standard 7 students felt so alienated from history, is not in the least surprising!

In reviewing and comparing 'glossary' definitions with the students' self-formulated definitions given in lessons, I asked Mr Ntuli whether he did not think that the students had some ability to make sense of the words and concepts which appeared in their textbooks and lessons and whether he did not think it plausible that the students should be given more opportunities to formulate ideas on their own. Posed with this reflection and question Mr Ntuli responded:

Ya I think you're correct there - that's now independent thought... A person who's at school of course has to exercise - you know - that feeling of independence as far as his or her thoughts are concerned; that's actually what is important in the learning situation.

Mr Ntuli acknowledges (through my persuasive question in this reflective interview) that 'independent thinking' is important; but, in practice, he hardly allows this to be exercised. Mr Ntuli's deficit view of his students, amongst other factors, prevents such thought being exercised.

The last point worthwhile considering very briefly about a textbook method is how the ideology underlying the text may be perpetuated and reproduced because the message of the text is not viewed in a critical light. This is especially relevant to history which cannot be seen simply as a body of 'factual' and 'objective' information.

In 7 H1A, Mr Ntuli reads the differences between 'democracy' and 'autocracy' and directs the students' attention to a picture depicting people sitting around a round table participating in the decision making process in contrast with a king seated on a throne. After commenting that a democracy implies that all people participate in the decision making process in contrast with an autocracy where the King's word is final, Mr Ntuli carries on commenting that 'people were already used to despotism ... it would be difficult for them to change from that to democracy' (line 18). He then reads from the book which poses the question 'Were the people able to cope?' which is answered in the text in the following paragraph:

History has taught us that a too rapid change leads to panic. People were not used to self-government and they did not know how to handle it. They were not ready for change. Furthermore, most of the newly created states in Europe were MULTINATIONAL. Who would rule who? (Schoeman, et al, 1st ed: 20)

Mr Ntuli read this out, interspersed with the odd elaborating comment (lines 19-21). Again Mr Ntuli contextualises the text and the concept of multi-national states in terms of the South African situation, by commenting that different race (white and black) and ethnic groups (Zulu, Sotho) form different nations and that these different 'nations' do not want to be ruled or dominated by other 'nations'.

There are a number of points worth commenting on here briefly. Firstly, although 'rapid' or radical change may lead to 'panic'; it cannot be assumed, in my opinion, that all people would panic! Those most likely to panic are the ruling class/es, as they would resist radical change and the possible loss of power that accompanies such change. Thus the values and interests tied to various conflicting power groups, and classes are ignored. The text, however, assumes that the masses do not know how to handle self-government; they are ignorant and unable to take responsibility for and control of their own actions. Powerful leaders are thus able to sway, persuade and lead the unthinking, puppet-like masses. This implies that change is brought about by powerful leaders and not people. History, somehow, is made behind the backs of people, not by them.

The text, in the South African context (which is how Mr Ntuli applies it) perpetuates the idea that complete and radical change is neither

desirable nor attainable by any other than 'evolutionary' means controlled and dictated by the ruling class. The status quo must not be upset. Mr Ntuli, himself, perhaps unconsciously, reproduces the dominant ideology of Apartheid by endorsing ethnic and racial divisions as the fundamental conflicting interest groups in South Africa.¹⁶ Such divisions may exist; but to take them as given and as the divisions perpetuates the dominant, ruling, world-view. Whereas 'whites' are seen as a 'nation'; blacks are divided into ethnic 'nations'. This, of course, is precisely how the government defines various race and ethnic groups where whites, as a nation are accommodated as citizens of (White) South Africa: and various ethnic groups are citizens of their 'homelands'.

These are vital and fundamental issues which require close examination and discussion within the South African context. The students, however, are not given the opportunity to examine these issues critically. They receive the 'news' from the textbook and teacher. This does not put them in a position to critique the ideology perpetuated or to construct views of knowledge which could transform the social relations (in the classroom itself) or in the wider society which flow from the way in which knowledge is viewed and transmitted and exchanged.

16. Mr Ntuli, on the other hand, may have consciously presented the 'official' textbook version and ideology in order to allay my suspicions on a controversial and politically-loaded subject. A close examination of the appendaged transcript, which reveals some degree of hesitation when Mr Ntuli remarked that it is not a 'crime' to be right or left-wing and that these political beliefs must be 'tolerated', indicates this as a very likely possibility. For his students' and his own sake such a manipulation would be justified and understandable. I would be heartened to believe that this was in fact the case!

Having outlined how knowledge, meaning and understanding is restricted and controlled in Mr Ntuli's classroom and how this relates to his teaching perspectives and methods, his views of his students and the social structure of his classroom, I shall turn to an examination of the peculiar problems which Mr Mazibuko and his students face.

CHAPTER 9COMMUNICATING TO LEARN: THE 'MISMANAGEMENT'
OF STUDENTS' ANSWERS

In the previous chapter I outlined how Mr Ntuli's teaching style and teaching methods restricted what students could mean in the classroom. In this chapter I shall examine how the social and power structure of Mr Mazibuko's classroom and the methods that he uses to teach English generate meanings and answering strategies which are very different from those witnessed in Mr Ntuli's classroom.

In Chapter 7 it was seen that the students at times challenged Mr Mazibuko's authorizations of knowledge and entered into arguments with him. That the students felt free to do this is undoubtedly related to the fact that the students did not view him as 'strict' and also because they, often, doubt his 'authority' i.e. his ability to authorise knowledge clearly and unambiguously. Of course the difference in subject matter may give rise to different social formations and modes of communication. Content subjects such as History and Geography, if transmitted and viewed as a body of 'objective' and factual information, restrict semantic options and modes of communication. Semantic options are largely restricted by the nature of questions that teachers ask in

content subjects.¹ In 7 EIA, however, we saw how a 'closed' question which - according to standard English - has one, correct, answer may give rise to considerable talk and 'debate' if the answer is not unambiguously authorised. These 'underauthorised' answers generate a very different mode of communication and pose Mr Mazibuko with considerable classroom 'management problems'. Controlling knowledge, or what students can or cannot mean, is directly related to forms of social control: the interpersonal and ideational levels of communication are interrelated. A crucial issue which arises in Mr Mazibuko's classroom is how knowledge is authorised and WHO should authorise knowledge. If the teacher, adopting the role of 'expert' and 'authoriser' of knowledge, cannot always authorise what counts as a 'correct' answer clearly and unambiguously, WHO then CAN authorise knowledge and how can some level of understanding be reached if a degree of 'confusion' prevails? Is it possible that the students, or at least some students, are capable of 'teaching' their teachers? Is it possible that the teacher may 'learn' from his students? Even more importantly, is it possible for the teacher and students, to LEARN together in such a way that some semblance of order and understanding may arise out of 'chaos' and 'confusion'?

In the sections which follow, I shall outline the peculiar difficulties which Mr Mazibuko and his students face in the teaching/learning of English as a second language and how these difficulties relate to (i)

1. There is overwhelming evidence that teachers tend to ask more 'closed, factual-type questions, in content subjects than in language lessons. See Bellack et al (1966), Smith and Meux (1970) and Barnes (1979) amongst others.

the problem teachers and students face in having to learn a second language from a non-native speaker of English, (ii) the social and power structure of the classroom and, (iii) the methods and approaches used to teach English as a second language. In examining these interrelated issues, I shall investigate the 'pedagogical potential' in the problematic situation in which Mr Mazibuko and his students find themselves.

THE LANGUAGE LESSONS

Most of the lessons which I observed involved sentence productions: the students had to produce correct, English sentences, which complied to specific grammatical forms. Mr Mazibuko's method usually entailed eliciting the desired forms of sentences, followed by an explanation of the rules which govern the sentences. This form of language teaching obviously concentrates on what Widdowson (1978) calls 'usage' as opposed to 'use'. 'Usage', i.e. the production of correct sentences, relies on the speaker's ability to manifest his/her 'knowledge of the language system of English' (op cit: 3); whereas 'use' is 'the way the system is realized for normal communicative purposes' (p 18).

In this approach different parts of language are taught separately, step-by-step in ascending 'difficulty' so that the learner gradually acquires different parts of the linguistic system until the 'whole' structure of the language has been built up. The learner, thus, is deliberately exposed to only a limited sample of language and then

proceeds to another brick in the language wall once certain linguistic forms have been 'mastered'.²

Concentrating on 'usage' has its place and purpose: language learners require the ability to use their knowledge of a linguistic system in order to produce grammatically correct sentences; but it does not necessarily teach the 'discourse value' of utterances or sentences produced in splendid isolation: It does not teach the communicative value of such sentences, i.e. which sentences or parts of sentences are appropriate in a particular context and which enable meaningful communicative interaction to take place.

This approach emphasises 'linguistic competence' over and above 'communicative competence'; where 'linguistic competence' in Chomsky's (1965) sense refers to the skills and abilities a speaker-hearer in an ideal homogenous speech community must have in order to produce and understand phonologically, grammatically and semantically correct sentences.

Hymes (1972a) and other sociolinguists (e.g. Gumperz, 1972b; Labov, 1973; Stubbs, 1983) have pointed out the limitations of this notion of competence as it does not account for the occasions such sentences are to be used: the person would not know when or when not to speak, what to say, with whom, in what way, when and where. 'Communicative competence' on the other hand, involves the production of socially appropriate

2. See Wilkins (1979) who discusses the limitations of this 'synthetic' approach.

speech, which includes, but is not limited to, the production of grammatically correct sentences: the speaker-hearer requires the ability to interpret and communicate intentions and use language effectively and strategically in order to communicate and accomplish tasks within socially constraining situations.

Learning a language inside a classroom requires both levels of competence. While the participants are engaged in acquiring linguistic competence in terms of the actual aim and structure of the lesson 'content' (i.e. in lessons which focus on accuracy and grammatical rules); the participants (especially the teacher) have to structure the lesson through and in talk. In other words, the participants have to make sense of what is said, instructed and done during the course of the lesson largely through language: they have to make sense of 'what is going on' within the 'language game' played within a social and pedagogical space. In this regard the participants, especially the teacher, require a certain level of competence in using and communicating in and about the target language; they require a certain communicative competence in order to structure and follow the aim of a lesson and a knowledge of the linguistic system if the aim of the lesson is focussed on accuracy.

SITUATIONAL PRESENTATIONS

Mr Mazibuko would attempt to ground his language lessons within events or situations enacted in the classroom. This 'situational presentation', where the teacher attempts to 'demonstrate meaning by

reference to objects or events actually present or enacted in the classroom' (Widdowson, 1978 : 7), was a typical procedure followed by Mr Mazibuko and which, as shall now be shown, caused innumerable problems as a language teaching method.

A typical example of this method occurred in a lesson when Mr Mazibuko introduced the present perfect tense by instructing students to perform actions and then to report on their actions by responding to the teacher's questions which were formulated in the present perfect tense.

7 E3:

- T: All right. Now what I'm going to do; I'm going to ask some of you to act - and you're going to tell us what that person has done. Right?
- ss: Yes.
- T: Campton - close that window.
- Campton: (closes window)
- T: What have you done?
- Campton: (no response)
- T: Campton what have you done?
- Campton: I was closing the window.
- T: What HAVE you done?
- Campton: I've closed the window.
- T: What has he done? (nominating S2)
- S2: He has closed the window.
- T: He has closed the window.
He has closed the window.

This example and procedure illustrates how usage is emphasised over and above use. The aim of this method is to elicit correct sentences which are formulated in the present perfect tense. (Mr Mazibuko did not tell the class that they were dealing with this tense aspect). The important thing to note in this example is that the student has to produce a correct response which, ultimately, is 'governed' by the form of the teacher's question. It is this 'clue' which Mr Mazibuko emphasises, after Campton produces an inappropriate sentence, which enables Campton to produce a sentence which contains the desired tense form. If the teacher had phrased his question in the simple past tense, i.e. 'What did you do?' (which would be plausible), the student would, likewise, have to respond using the simple past tense form, i.e. 'I closed the window'. What Campton, and the students, must realize is that an appropriate response is one which conforms to the tense in which the question is phrased. This, they work out using their own resources and the 'clues' provided by the enacted situation and the teacher's question

formulation.³ Having worked out the 'language game' in operation, the students, subsequently, produced sentences in the present perfect tense.

The question asked by the teacher in terms of the enacted situation is a very strange one. It is not usual for someone to instruct somebody else to perform an action and to report on the action which is visible to all who witness it ... unless that action was performed incorrectly, or if the questioner is eliciting information which s/he does not genuinely possess or if the questioner is testing whether somebody was mentally absent when the action was performed. In other words the question asked

3. This knowledge of the constraining and predictive value of a question formulation emerged very explicitly in another lesson when Mr Mazibuko tried to explain to Johanna that she should have used the past continuous tense, rather than the simple past tense, in a certain sentence. Mr Mazibuko explained why she should have used the past continuous tense with reference to the following situation:

T: Let me say it is 10 o'clock now, ne? (Johanna: Yes). What are we doing now? We are correcting.

Johanna: We are correcting - ya.

T: Now tomorrow - I'm going to ask you 'Johanna, what were we doing at 10 o'clock yesterday?'

Johanna: 'What were we doing - DOING -' - you see your sentence is in the continuous tense.

T: Johanna, answer this question =

Johanna: (very quickly and angrily spoken) = It is in the continuous tense and therefore your answer will be in the continuous tense... your questions are in continuous tense, therefore we will answer you in - our answers will be in continuous tense.

(Johanna was very cross that the teacher was MANIPULATING answers to justify his evaluation of Johanna's answer as incorrect; which it was not.)

within the context of the situation is, in fact, inappropriate. It has no real discourse or communicative value: it serves no communicative purpose.⁴

After a number of students had produced sentences in the desired form and various groups had been 'drilled' in repeating these sentences, Mr Mazibuko initiated the following question - after a student had produced the sentence 'We have gone to town':

7 E4:

- T: When have we gone to town?
When have we gone to town?
- Caroline: Yesterday.
- T: No.
- Noktula: This morning.
- T: Noktula, close that window.
- Noktula: (closes the window)
- T: When have you closed that window?
- Noktula: Now.
- T: Now.
Now I've said 'I've gone to town' when have I
gone to town?
- Noktula: Now.
- T: I've gone to town now.

The aim of Mr Mazibuko's question, presumably, is to elicit a response which will illustrate that the present perfect tense form is related to

4. See Widdowson (1978 : 4-10) for similar comments on the value of the type of questions asked by teachers in situational representation exercises.

actions completed in the present. The way in which he phrases his questions, are obviously incorrect. The way in which he SHOULD have phrased his questions is how Caroline and Noktula hear them.⁵ Mr Mazibuko 'manages' Noktula's second answer by drawing a 'parallel' case between two incomparable situations.⁶ He gets Noktula to produce the required answer; while she, on the other hand, has worked out which answer the teacher is seeking.⁷ Through their interpretive abilities and contextualising 'work' the students make 'sense' out of nonsense: they provide the teacher with the expected answer.

The problem facing Mr Mazibuko and the students is not only to manage and produce required answers respectively, but also to ensure that the procedures and language used ensure that correct usage, (i.e. standard English) in terms of the aim of the lessons, is acquired and learnt. This was a particularly difficult task given that the participants are non-native speakers of English and that the students doubted the

5. In an interview Caroline reported the following about her exchange with the teacher:

"I thought the teacher's sentence was in the past tense. He was asking the time we went to town. Then he refused my answer: he said my answer was wrong; but he didn't say he wanted his answer in any tense or plural or singular."

6. Mr Mazibuko would often draw incomparable comparisons in order to 'manage' required answers. This was the strategy that he embarked on in the interaction with Johanna cited in footnote 3. There, Johanna is clearly aware of the required answer, but she does not accept the answer manipulated as applicable to the sentence under contention. (This example is examined later.)
7. In the same interview with Caroline, Noktula said she was 'confused' initially, but that she 'understood what the teacher was trying to say' from (his) next question'. She remained adamant, however, that her first answer was right.

teacher's 'expertise' and competence to achieve this aim. The power structure of the classroom is such that the most strongly asserted answer would often be the one which would be 'accepted' and 'evaluated' as correct and incorporated into the discourse. This led to a situation where correct usage would be incorporated into the discourse on the 'off-chance', depending on whether the teacher felt sure enough to authorise the correct answer authoritatively and unambiguously. Two contrasting interactions below serve as illustrations of this situation.

7 E5: (The class is revising an exercise which involved using the present perfect tense in order to supply the correct form of verbs in sentences given in the textbook. After having completed a number of examples the teacher read out the next sentence which gave rise to the following interaction.)

T: 'We (to come) to visit you'

Joyce: We have come to visit you.

ss: CAME.

Teacher: We have come to visit you.

ss: CAME

T: Came is in the past tense and in the participle it will change to the present tense like 'become, became, become.

ss: (continue muttering)

T: 'One of my friends (to give) me a kitten'
(continues with next example)

Here Mr Mazibuko manages to assert the correct answer in terms of the aim of the exercise, and explains why it is correct by applying a grammatical 'rule' which underlies the present perfect tense. Having asserted the answer and his explanation he continues with the next example.

The pressure of a majority group, however, may influence the lesson in such a way that mistakes are incorporated into the discourse, if the teacher does not authorise which answer is correct (cf 7 1A).

7 E6:

- T: Now we can form question by using 'who'. Let's form question by using 'who'.
- Johanna: Who has gone to town.
- T: Who has gone to town.
- ss: WHO HAVE, WHO HAVE
- T: Who have gone to town
- Caroline: Who has gone to town (softly)
- T: The answer is going to be ...
'I have gone to town' ...
Now let's use 'who' to form question on the second sentence.
- Franscina: Who have never seen a ghost.
- T: Who have never seen a ghost.

Because Mr Mazibuko is not SURE which auxilliary should be used, the majority of students (excluding Johanna and Caroline for instance) FORCE their answer into the discourse. The teacher's 'uptake' - his incorporation of the majority answer into subsequent teacher questions and student answers (cf Collins, 1983) - results in 'MIS-takes'. Learning Standard English in this classroom is undoubtedly a risky business.

Another difficulty facing the students in providing required answers was that the teacher would not always use consistent procedures and criteria to manage and evaluate the answers that he required.

In the transformational exercises, for instance, the students were expected to transform statements, which were written on the board, into interrogatives. The interrogatives, in turn, had to yield the original statement as an answer to the interrogative formed, i.e.

1. She has gone to town (statement on board)
2. Who has gone to town (interrogative)
3. She has gone to town (answer)

In the interaction 7 E2A appended, the teacher's inconsistent procedures and practice gives rise to contesting definitions of the situation in which the student exposes the contradictions inherent in the teacher's procedures.

In this lengthy 'debate' (cf Lemke, 1982) (which incidentally continued and was also unresolved), Johanna contests the teacher's expected answer on the grounds that he has 'violated' standing procedures (i.e. that the answer to the interrogative is the statement written on the board). The confusion created by this 'violation' is interesting in a number of ways. Firstly two statements are written on the board; the first person reporting on her own action and the witnesses report on the performed action. According to the 'rules' of the language game in operation, the students have to choose WHICH statement is appropriate as

an answer to the interrogative. Obviously the second one is according to the enacted situation. Secondly, Johanna supplies the required or expected answer after the teacher's absence of feedback to her (and the students') first answer: she realises that this silence designates a 'wrong' answer and then supplies an alternative. Thirdly, Johanna usurps the usual teacher function of commenting on and formulating what is going on in a lesson⁸ and FORCES the teacher to legitimate his authorisation and explain why he has authorised the one answer and not the other (cf 7 E1A where this strategy also emerges very clearly). The teacher's criteria of 'evaluation' and procedures reveals two things:

- a) how students must guess or work out what answer the teacher expects (which Johanna accomplishes) and,
- b) that an inconsistent procedure in the language game causes confusion.

In interviews students remarked on how these discrepancies in the teachers procedures and blackboard work confused them:

Thabo: Let's say he teaches something on the board.
 Then he tries to explain it ... we are not
 going to get the same thing as what he writes
 on the board... it seems when he writes on the
 board, we realize that it is not the same as
 what he says - because he confuses us.

- - - - -

8. See Stubbs (1976a) for a breakdown of the type of language functions or communicative acts that teachers use in this regard.

Johanna: He talks something else and he writes something else ... if he writes something on the board, he doesn't tell us what he wrote on the board ... when he's explaining something you can't really understand what he's trying to say.

From a 'communicative' point of view the contested answer in 7 E2A is in itself absurd. To say that 'she' is incorrect negates the indexical nature of the pronoun: the witnesses to the enacted action know that 'she' is Cynthia ... unless they were mentally absent when the teacher issued his instruction and when Cynthia performed the action.

There are also a number of other significant points worth noting. Firstly, how the class corrects the teacher's use of pronoun. Secondly, how the teacher uses an incorrect auxilliary in his fourth question (i.e. 'who have closed the window) and in the interrogative he forms from a statement, when he explains how to form an interrogative from a statement (i.e. 'who have gone to town). Thirdly, that Johanna rephrases the teacher's question as it should have been. (This phenomenon is NOT an isolated case: it recurred in Mr Mazibuko's lessons.) Fourthly, that the teacher's explanation of how to form the interrogative REINFORCES or creates the possibility of using an incorrect auxilliary as the explanation overlooks concord and allows the auxilliary used in the original statement to determine the auxilliary in the interrogative. In other words incorrect or incomplete explanations result in incorrect usage. (The teacher's explanation for using 'was' or 'were' in 7 E1A is another clear illustration of this.)

The teacher's inconsistent 'answer-managing-procedures' and evaluation criteria emerged in another lesson when the class was revising homework from their English language textbook. The exercises involved producing the correct form of verbs given in various sentences. Mr Mazibuko, however, had instructed the class to use the past continuous tense to work out the correct form of the verb. Johanna, however, did not follow these 'instructions' as she could not understand why such an instruction had to be followed in 'contradiction' to the requirement of the exercise given in their textbook i.e. 'give the correct form of the verb in brackets'. Throughout the lesson she gave answers which were grammatically correct, but which were evaluated as incorrect in terms of the teacher's instruction, i.e. she gave answers, for instance, which were in the simple past tense rather than the past continuous tense. With her usual persistence and determination, Johanna wanted to know why her answers were wrong if she was following the book's instructions. Johanna, clearly, 'ignored' the teacher's definition of the situation and argued that her definition was valid as she did not understand why the past continuous tense was the correct form over and above any other tense, because she "wrote what (she) saw in the textbook and what (she) understood".

These conflicting definitions of the situation gave rise to recurring teacher-student 'debates' between Mr Mazibuko and Johanna; the rest of the class supporting the teacher's definition of the situation by telling Johanna that her answers were not in the past continuous tense. The important point here, is that although Johanna produced correct grammatical sentences according to her understanding, no credit was

given for this (hence her continuous arguments); her answers were 'wrong', not because she was producing incorrect, standard English sentences, but because she failed to comply to the teacher's instruction. Now although this may be viewed as 'disobedience' or lack of understanding what the past continuous tense is; the teacher's circumscription of what counts as 'correct' RESTRICTS Johanna, and the class, in generating or producing correct, and valid, standard English sentences. The emphasis on correct grammatical usage - gains precedence over generating language.

The problem that emerged in this lesson, however, was that Mr Mazibuko could not uphold his circumscribing instruction, because the past continuous tense was not the only valid tense form for certain sentences. This contradiction emerged in a number of sentences. The appendaged 7 E3A example serves as an illustrative example (please refer to the appendix).

What emerges clearly from these exchanges is that certain students, especially Caroline and Franscina, notice the contradictions in the

teacher's criteria of evaluation:⁹ the criterion that he uses to evaluate Johanna's answer as wrong should - according to his instructions - apply to all the examples. The teacher is inconsistent in explaining why some answers can have mixed tenses and not others, and why some answers are wrong if they use only the past continuous tense. The students (not unlike the teacher) become confused; they cannot understand which answers are 'correct' and why certain answers are incorrect. Mr Mazibuko, eventually argued that 'the past continuous tense, followed the past tense' in certain examples. Johanna was quick to interject with the following comment after the teacher's explanation:

But at the time of writing you didn't tell us that!

This comment illuminates the absurdity of the exercise which was pointed out earlier, viz:

9. Certain students would, with relentless persistence, 'expose' and point out the contradictions in the teacher's procedures and evaluations. These 'exposing strategies' on one level gave students a means by which to show up the teacher's 'incompetence'; on another level they illustrate how the students would attempt to make sense of what was taught, by using the 'Monitor' (Krashen, 1981). The teacher, typically would counter the students 'exposing' strategy with a 'deferral' or 'avoidance' strategy, in order to side-step the contradictions raised (see 7 E1A and 7 E3A). Some students described this strategy in the following terms in an interview:

Franscina: Sometimes we ask him and he stops us (talking)

RS: Why do you think he stops you from asking him?

Franscina: Because he don't know some of the questions.

Johanna: He wants to continue with the work, with the new work.

- (i) the teacher expects the students to follow his 'instruction' to use the past continuous tense, but that when this answer-managing-and-producing procedure does not yield an appropriate answer, the students are expected to
- ii) deviate from the 'rule' and work out which other 'rule' to apply when the first one is inapplicable (this implicit rule, as Johanna points out was never explicated) in order to supply the correct answer.

In other words the students, ultimately have to rely on their understanding and resources to work out appropriate answers, which is precisely what Johanna does; but she is denied her 'interpretive ability' in doing this. The other absurdity is that in attempting to apply grammatical rules to yield 'correct' answers, the limitations and inapplicability of those 'rules' become apparent: the limitations of a 'structural' and 'grammatical' approach to teaching language become very clear. The 'point' which both the teacher and students miss in all this, are the different MEANINGS which lie behind the sentences. They are so concerned with what is 'right' and 'wrong' that they fail to examine what different answers MEAN and how these answers 'describe' different situations. The debate about 'correctness' in relation to 'explanations' (i.e. grammatical rules) distorts how understanding is related to MEANING and explanation.

When interviewed after this lesson (i.e. 7 E3A appendaged), Johanna was asked if she understood the difference in meaning between her sentence

and the answer the teacher asserted as correct. Although she said there was a difference, she could not explain what it was. Caroline, on the other hand, explained the difference in meaning very precisely. "When the manager arrived, the men waited for him" she explained, meant that "before the manager arrived the men were doing something else; when they saw him arrive they then started waiting for him". The other sentence (i.e. when the manager arrived the men were waiting for him) she explained meant that "the men were already waiting before the manager arrived - they weren't doing something different". The other students present in this interview understood the different meanings of these sentences after Caroline had given her explanation. Thandi, on the other hand, argued that 'when the manager was arriving the men were waiting for him' was 'wrong' because "it doesn't give sense". 'When the manager arrived the men were waiting for him' she asserted was 'correct'. The interesting thing that stands out is that as non-native speakers of English the students often knew INTUITIVELY rather than 'grammatically' (i.e. according to their conscious knowledge of the rules underlying sentences) that certain sentences were wrong or right. When the students conscious 'monitoring' methods could not be consciously applied, they corrected inaccurate productions intuitively (cf. 7 E1A where this intuition also operates).

The students, however, would OFTEN question the sense and value of the required answers once they had worked out what the required answer was. In so doing the students would move beyond the mechanical procedures of merely producing what was required and question the communicative value

and the referential meaning (i.e. the propositional content) of the sentences produced.

At one point in a lesson when Mr Mazibuko asked the students to transform statements given into interrogatives by using 'where' and a student had transformed the statement 'I have gone to town' into the interrogative 'where have I gone'; Thabo interjected with the following question:

7 E7:

Thabo: Can a person ask yourself that - 'where have I gone to?' =

Caroline: = Yes.

Thabo: Can a person ask yourself - 'Where have I gone'? =

Caroline: = Yes - LISTEN - "where have I gone to?"

Ha Kiri? (i.e. you see?)

ss: [pack up laughing]

T: OK, OK.

Thabo questions the communicative value of the interrogative formed: he questions whether it is possible or sensible for a person to address such a question (aloud and in public) to himself. (One can imagine a person thinking such a thought). Caroline deliberately interprets his question in a literal sense; she concentrates on the grammatical form 'can you ...', rather than on illocutionary force of his question. With this play on the 'mismatch' between grammatical form and discourse value, Caroline demonstrates, literally, that it is possible to ask oneself such a question by doing just that. The play on MEANING here

is clear to the class; they follow the 'joke' and laugh. The students MAKE MEANING of the (communicatively) meaningless sentences generated in the lesson.¹⁰

At another point in this lesson, Mr Mazibuko said that they could not transform certain sentences into an interrogative using 'where'. He assumed that the students would implicitly recognise that the answer to the interrogative would not be the original statement. (Consider the statement: 'She has closed the window'). The students previously, however, had formed interrogatives using 'why' which did not yield the original statement as an answer and which were accepted as valid by the teacher. The students, forgetting the restrictions of the implicit rule of this language game, argued that it was possible. Johanna then proposed the interrogative 'Where has she opened the door' and supplied the answer 'In the toilet'. The teacher then entered into the transaction below:

10. In a 'lesson-review' interview with Mr Mazibuko, Mr Mazibuko remarked that the interrogative formed had no real 'communicative' value, unless it was used by the teacher to elicit a response as to the whereabouts of the teacher's changing location within the classroom. (This in itself, from a communicative point of view, would be an 'odd' type of question.)

7 E8:

T: Oh it means you mean a room (Thabo: yes, sir) -
if you were in different rooms

(Thabo: Yes sir)

'Where has she opened the door?'

Franscina: (softly) Has she opened the door at the
toilet?

T: Or 'Where has she opened the window?'. But for
the second sentence 'I have never seen a
ghost'.

William: You can.

ss: Where have I never seen a ghost?

Franscina: At Orlando.

ss: (laugh)

T: OK - where have I never seen a ghost?

ss: In the world - all over (giggles)

T: In our sentence should we say in the world or
at JHB or...

Caroline: It's silly to say you've never seen a ghost at
JHB, it means you have seen a ghost here at
Orlando (ss: laugh); it means the whole world
except JHB has a ghost.

ss: (all laugh)

By moving without the bounds of the language game the students generate more meaning than is possible within the restrictions of the transformational exercise. Sentences, as the teacher comments in his follow up to Johanna's answer, take on meaning within certain contexts. Caroline, on the other hand, with her quick wit, plays on the meaning of the propositional content of the proposed answer to the second interrogative formed and, as she often does, makes the class laugh.

The lesson continued in this 'meaning making' way for some time: the students arguing that certain questions were appropriate in terms of the context in which the questions were asked. The students' desire to mean and make meaning was very strong: the students break the restrictions on what can be said and meant and rationalise why certain interrogatives are appropriate in an imagined context. In a lesson review interview, Mr Mazibuko remarked that the students:

...were in front, they were just going forward where we were still busy with the sentences. They formed questions (to which) we could not find the answers (i.e. which did not yield the original statements on the board); but they were correct, their answers were still correct.

A very clear example of this meaning making emerged in another lesson when the teacher asked the class to use 'what' in order to form an interrogative after a student had complied to the teacher's instruction to close a window. Johanna offered the interrogative 'what has she closed', whereas, Noktula offered 'What has she done'. Caroline then asked the teacher what the difference between the two sentences was as both interrogatives would yield the answer 'She has closed the window'. The ensuing attempts to make sense of these interrogatives within the context of the enacted situation revealed the absurdity of the situational presentation. The appended excerpts (7 E4A) from a debate between Johanna and Mr Mazibuko during this lesson illustrate the importance of including an appropriate context in which certain sentences may take on an appropriate, communicative meaning.

The important point about these excerpts is how the participants attempt to make sense of sentences which are non-sensical in terms of the enacted situation. The 'sense-making' debate illustrates how Johanna and Mr Mazibuko initially, talk at cross-purposes as Johanna tries to make sense of the appropriate sentence in terms of the actual enacted situation, whereas the teacher, quite correctly, makes sense of the sentences in terms of an imagined situation. It is only when both the teacher and the students SITUATE these sentences in contexts other than the actual, enacted one, that they begin to make sense of the possible communicative value and effect that these sentences may have.

The other highly significant thing is that this 'meaning making' arises because the students feel free enough to raise validity claims and question the teacher's authorisations: In so doing, both the teacher and students gain some opportunity to CONSTRUCT meaning of what is said on an ideational level (i.e. in terms of the actual lesson content) and of 'what is going on' in the lesson itself. In this regard, some students - usually the 'vociferous' students - gain invaluable practice in using language to communicate their definition of the situation and their sense of 'what is going on'. In other words, they utilize a range of meta-communicative acts - i.e. acts which communicate about communication - which students do not normally utilize in most classrooms. On this level they use language and generate meaning in a very purposeful way. This in itself must allow for a development in their communicative competence.

Paradoxically in Mr Mazibuko's often 'confused' classroom, both he and his students create some semblance of meaning and order out of what is very often a chaotic and meaningless situation. Here is the potential for teacher and students to 'learn together': by raising claims the participants are free to explicate what they mean and why they see one meaning or use as more favourable than another. This at least affords the participants some freedom and manoeuvrability to reach some degree of shared meaning and understanding.

The unfortunate aspect to this situation is that it is usually only the outspoken students who participate in the lesson and who consequently gain more practice in using English than the rest of the class. (From the data presented for instance it is clearly visible that certain students participated a lot more than others: this is NOT a reflection of my SELECTION of data, but a representation of what occurred in the classroom). This level of interaction and participation was directly related to the different orientations that students had in Mr Mazibuko's classroom and to Mr Mazibuko's inability to 'control' the vocal students and allow other students opportunities to talk. In this regard the more outspoken students often domineered the English lessons and frequently challenged the teacher's authorisations, which resulted in long dialogue-debates between the teacher and certain students. These debates occurred most frequently with Johanna, who had a particularly 'questioning' and challenging orientation in Mr Mazibuko's classroom. The other vocal students adopted a similar, but less 'militant' attitude. These varying orientations are described best in the students own words when they commented on their own and other students' behaviour

in Mr Mazibuko's class in an interview when I asked a group of students if they thought Mr Mazibuko was disciplined enough with the class and whether they argued as much in other lessons as they did in English. The student's responses to this question clearly reflects their individual orientations:

- Thabo: If you see a thing is wrong =
- Johanna: = We'll fight
- Franscina: We'll ask - we don't fight - we ask
- Caroline: We'll 'aai' (i.e. disagree)
- Johanna: If you think your answer is correct you must fight and find out why does the teacher say your answer is wrong.

These words capture the orientations that members of the 'girls' group' adopt and enact in Mr Mazibuko's classroom. Johanna and Caroline as the most challenging and enquiring students contest the teacher's authorisations of knowledge more vehemently and frequently than the other members of the class.

In another interview, for instance, Thabo remarked that many students 'no longer bother themselves' to find out and understand what Mr Mazibuko taught if they felt confused because they knew that after he has left the class they discuss what is not understood'. Johanna, however, interjected that '(they) do bother themselves while he's teaching'. These different orientations reveal a remarkable discrepancy in attitude towards the teacher as a resource/transmitter of knowledge. Clearly many students, such as Thabo, were disillusioned with Mr Mazibuko ; they doubted his authority and his ability to authorise

knowledge and, therefore, often did not 'bother' to participate in his lessons. Thabo remarked further that:

It's not that we want to (ignore?) this teacher - we still need him as our teacher but there are problems when he's teaching us - it's not as though we hate him - but there are just problems.

Johanna, similarly remarked in interviews that 'he (Mr Mazibuko) doesn't teach properly'. She, and other members of the girls' group, however, 'bothered' themselves and the teacher very much in the classroom.

These different attitudes reveal the problematic situation in Mr Mazibuko's classroom and the different coping and learning strategies that the students embark on. Whereas most of the students do not view the teacher as totally competent; some refrain from engaging in communication and active participation in the lesson in the belief that they can sort out misunderstandings amongst themselves, while others attempt to reach some degree of clarity and understanding via the teacher. In the latter case the students often expose the teacher's inadequacies and contradictory practices in order to reveal that they at times understand as much, if not more, than the teacher. Whereas some of the less outspoken students take the trust in their own knowledge outside the classroom arena; the vocal students ASSERT their 'knowledge' within the classroom.

The 'problematic' that these different views raise was neatly captured in the following exchanges in an interview:

- RS: What happens if you ask the teacher a question and he can't give you the answer or the correct answer - how do you feel about that?
- Johanna: No he MUST, he MUST.
- Ivan: I'd ask the teacher the question because I don't know the answer; and how will I feel (i.e. know whether) this teacher is giving me a wrong or the right answer?
- Johanna: Noo, some students will know - maybe someone who knows the answer will tell you the correct one.

These views illustrate the problem that the students face in Mr Mazibuko's classroom in somewhat paradoxical terms. Ivan insightfully points out that if a student asks a genuine question (i.e. a question which seeks to elicit information which the student does not possess), the student him or herself will not be able to judge or ascertain whether the answer that the teacher gives will, in fact, be correct. Johanna, on the other hand, paradoxically, expects the teacher to provide (correct) answers, but asserts that students can provide correct answers if the teacher fails to deliver the goods. When the teacher's expected 'expertise' fails, some student(s) as we have seen will, and do, reveal and assert their knowledge.

Mr Mazibuko's inability to 'control' the outspoken students, at times, enabled them to dominate lessons in ways which were not beneficial to the class (see Mr Mazibuko's comments on this in Chapter 6). Caroline and Johanna, for instance, would be deliberately argumentative purely for the sake of arguing and in order to fool around. These situations, however, did NOT occur often. In all the lessons which I observed

Caroline asked a totally irrelevant and distractive question ONCE, which the teacher ignored; while Caroline in cahoots with Johanna, on two occasions, refused to compromise with the teacher on issues which they KNEW they were unjustified to argue about and disagree with.

In one of these interactions, Johanna argued that the term 'boyfriend' or 'girlfriend' merely referred to the sex of the friend and did not necessarily indicate a 'relationship' with the opposite sex. The term, however, was used in the context of a mutual attraction which existed between two characters in their setwork book.

In a lesson review interview with a group of students about the different meanings Johanna and the teacher attached to the words 'boyfriend' and 'girlfriend', Noktula made the clear observation that Johanna was not speaking honestly in the lesson. I shall include a lengthy excerpt from this interview as it illustrates the ways in which the students arrived at shared and understood meanings through 'discussion' - a phenomenon which characterised MANY interviews.

RS: Do you think what the students were saying was right and what Mr Mazibuko was saying was wrong?

Johanna: What the students were saying was right and what Mr Mazibuko was saying was also right.

RS: Was also right?

Johanna: Yes.

RS: So if you're both right then should one still argue - if you're both right?

Johanna: Noo - Mr Mazibuko was the one who argued. We told him you can say someone is your

boyfriend, because he is a boy. Yes, we were right and he said...

Noktula: (laughs) Now because they were arguing at the two words, it may happen that these things (are) divided. A boyfriend - maybe as my classmate at school ne? (i.e. right?) But sometimes (she and Johanna laugh) - but sometimes a boyfriend is someone who - you love him; like Jonty and Julie. Jonty wanted Julie to be his girlfriend - not as a classmate.

Ivan: But the term 'girlfriend' you always consider it on love affairs. If you are a boy and you have a friend who is a girl, you won't say it's your 'girlfriend' - she's just your friend; But if - eh - you're in love, you say she's your girlfriend.

Johanna: No.

Noktula: Yaa - you are right.

Johanna: I can say you are my girlfriend because you are a girl.

Noktula: No, Johanna is my friend.

Johanna: Is my girlfriend - is my ...

Ivan: No, you have to put friend; If it's a boy you are now talking of love affairs.

Noktula: (laughing) Ya - you are right.

RS: Yaa - you see that's the problem with language, but if you're clear why that word means that to you...

Noktula: No - you know what - why were they arguing (RS: huh?) is because maybe these students don't want to speak the truth, because now... (Johanna and Noktula burst out laughing)

RS: They don't want to?

Noktula: To speak the truth, they want this word of 'girlfriend' - wa bon (i.e. you see) -to describe or explain (it) in another way; not straightforward, but - you know - slanting like that.

When Noktula begins to make her pointed observation, Johanna burst out laughing in recognition and admission of the distracting game that she had played with Mr Mazibuko in the lesson. Because the teacher is not 'strict' and does not apply or threaten to apply punitive measures, the outspoken students do and say things which are not always in the collective interests of the class: they prevent other students from participating more fully and sometimes manipulate and distort the discourse towards their own ends. They wield so much power and influence that the teacher cannot 'control' and utilize their knowledge in a more cooperative and constructive manner.

It was not surprising in this regard that some students and the teacher viewed their behaviour as 'disrespectful' and 'disobedient' and as stemming from a sense of superiority and pride (see Mr Mazibuko's comments on this in Chapter 6). While these perceptions are valid, the students are not entirely to blame for their behaviour. The teacher usually reacts to their claims and questions as antagonistic challenges to his authority and expertise and attempts to cling to his authority. In so doing he perpetuates a situation of conflict and confrontation, and, more often than not, gets bashed on his head.

The vital point is HOW and in what spirit teachers and students 'construct' knowledge in order to arrive at some level of understanding and agreement. If both the teacher and the students fail to recognise and acknowledge one another's 'expertise' and inadequacies, a competitive and contesting climate of confrontation prevails in which one form of knowledge, meaning or understanding is asserted over and

above another: it becomes a contest and clash of wills, where 'knowledge' of the answer is asserted rather than co-operatively constructed. If teachers, in obvious moments of inadequacies and uncertainty, do not admit the limitations of their own understanding, they are bound to be confronted, challenged and even belittled by students who perceive those limitations very clearly and who do not view themselves as ignorant, empty vessels. This is of course precisely what happens RECURRENTLY in Mr Mazibuko's classroom when certain students, especially members of the girls' group, raise validity claims. It is also a situation which could be utilised very CONSTRUCTIVELY if teachers and students entered into a symmetrical relationship and really engaged in a collective learning process. In lesson review sessions Mr Mazibuko would openly but embarrassingly realize and admit that the students' answers were often right and that he was wrong. This, given a change in social relations and contexts, revealed that Mr Mazibuko, like anyone, has the capacity to 'reconstruct' knowledge reflectively with understanding. In other words, he CAN engage in a collective learning process if the conditions are favourable.

Campton described how this process could be conducted in a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect when I asked a group of students if they felt that they learnt through arguing.

- RS: Do you think - like in English you argue - do you think you learn through arguing - when you argue like that in the English lesson, do you feel that you are learning?
- ss: Yes.
- Johanna: If you think your answer is correct you must argue with the teacher until you can find the answer out.
- Campton: Yes - because it's not to say that when you're a teacher you know all the things, sometimes you don't know; and then we, the students, must help him; and then you - eh teachers - must give that thing that you know, yes.

From the classroom interactions presented and appended it should be clear that some students (especially Caroline, Johanna, Noktula and others) DO have the ability to 'teach' i.e. they have a level of linguistic and communicative competence which enables them to make sense of what is dealt with in the classroom. It should be clear that these students often know which answer is correct, when the teacher does not. In certain respects these students are more 'fluent' in English than their teacher.¹¹ This, of course, does not imply that they always speak fluent STANDARD English.

From the reams of interview data which has been transcribed and presented verbatim, it is obvious that the students (and the teachers) do not; they often mix their pronouns, overlook concord, and so on. However, it should also be clear that many students have linguistic

11. I do not believe that this is an isolated case, although it certainly may be a 'glaring' one. Tutors involved in the primary school SELP (Soweto English Language Project) have reported that some PRIMARY school pupils speak 'better' English than their teachers (Personal communication).

repertoires which enable them to convey what they mean. The range of these repertoires, in many senses, are more evident from the interview data than from the amount of language generated in their language lessons. (This is a point which I would strongly assert as an interviewer, having spent HOURS communicating with the students. There were VERY FEW 'communication breakdowns' and misunderstandings!)

It should also be apparent that Mr Mazibuko also has an ability to 'teach'; he often runs into grave difficulties, but, he too, through discussing and exploring the meaning of answers can make sense of what sentences mean and in which context sentences have 'appropriate' communicative value (7 E4A appendaged is a good example of this.)

The irony of Mr Mazibuko's classroom situation is that because the students often challenge his authorisations, he is FORCED to give feedback, explicate his criteria of evaluation and give explanations: he is FORCED to 'teach' and engage in communicative interaction. The vocal students do not allow their 'knowledge' or answers to be treated impartially or ignored. Of course, as we have seen, Mr Mazibuko cannot always clearly authorise which or why answers are wrong or right: some students, on the other hand, demonstrate that they can.

This UNDOUBTEDLY can constitute a real and beneficial form of learning for the participants, where the contradictions and meanings embedded in the knowledge transmitted and exchanged is held up for examination and enquiry. Within a climate of conflict and confrontation, however, the teacher faces enormous face threat and is not in a real position to

learn from and with his students. The major problem facing Mr Mazibuko and his students is to work out who should authorise knowledge and how knowledge should be authorised and constructed within changing contexts which arise. In other words they need to work out more favourable modes of communication and learning which can utilize the pedagogical potential which emerges in a climate of confrontation and conflict.

Mr Mazibuko, however, generally-speaking viewed these 'arguments' as a beneficial learning process which ensured participation and some level of understanding (see chapter 6). The paradox in Mr Mazibuko's classroom is that some 'bad' teaching gives rise to some highly beneficial and 'good' learning procedures. It was not surprising in this regard that the majority of students preferred Mr Mazibuko's lessons to Mr Ntuli's even although they did not view Mr Mazibuko as a good teacher.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have attempted to show that the peculiar problems which Mr Mazibuko and his students face are related to the ways in which English as a second language are taught and to the social structure of the classroom. These problems are undoubtedly compounded by the fact that the participants are non-native speakers of English. I have also attempted to demonstrate that some students have a linguistic and communicative competence which could be utilized more constructively. In this regard the methods used to teach English RESTRICT the linguistic repertoires that many students UNDOUBTEDLY have: many of these students

are simply way beyond the 'level' of language taught in these language lessons. This, of course, does not mean that there is no room for improvement as regards the speaking of standard English even through 'grammatical' and 'structural' approaches. This, however, needs to be urgently supplemented by communicative approaches which will allow them to use language in a far more meaningful and purposeful way. .

In the chapter which follows, I shall re-locate the problems that I have outlined in this and previous chapters in their broader educational and social contexts.

CHAPTER 10SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

It is important to reassert that this study is essentially descriptive and exploratory in nature and that it does not seek to present an 'objective' and 'universal' account of the subjects' world. Furthermore, it does not seek to explain in absolutely logical and holistic terms how the micro-structures and processes which I have examined 'fit into' the wider macro-structures operative in our racial-capitalist society. However, I shall now attempt to give a reappraisal of some issues which emerge in this study in order to assess how wider structural features have influenced and constrained the subjects' personal practices.

PEDAGOGY IN BLACK SCHOOLS: THE STATE OF THE ART?

This study, on one level, reveals the quality of teaching that takes place when D.E.T. schools are 'operating'. It reveals a tiny tip of the problematic black education ice-berg. Although I cannot claim that this limited case-study represents the quality of teaching in black schools per se, I would claim that it represents a situation which is not unusual. Of course, my investigation is a very limited one; I have not examined, for instance, the quality of the students' written work, the quality of tests or examinations which the teachers set, the intricacies of the staffroom structure and politics or staff relationships, the headmaster's policy and perspective on the school and so on.

Furthermore a definite limitation which arises in this study is that the teachers were not interviewed on how they perceived their roles within the broader Bantu Education system, even although the teachers did make limited references to this.

The quality of teaching, however, can be traced directly to the system in which the teachers themselves have been schooled, trained and in which they have to operate. The apartheid system of education constrains the teachers and students enormously. Unequal government expenditure on schools which have been racially segregated has created very detrimental material conditions in the majority of black schools. Mkhize Secondary, as an urban black 'academic' school, is probably by comparison slightly 'better off' than most schools in rural areas and the 'Homelands'. The lack of resources, aids, books, electricity, work-sheets, photostat machines etc, however, force the teachers, to a very large extent, to rely on their textbooks and on 'chalk and talk'. This unequal distribution of wealth limits the power and resources and skills of the participants working within the system.

These material conditions reflect the broader socio-political and economic inequalities in our racial-capitalist society, where blacks are voteless, propertyless and have fewer legal rights within 'White South Africa' than whites. These 'provisions' place physical limits on what teachers can and cannot achieve in their work place. For instance, even in Soweto, which is the 'richest' black township, there are no adequate libraries that serve the community. Teachers and students have to travel to the Johannesburg City Library in order to gain additional

resources and books. This is costly and time-consuming for people who earn little. Overcrowding in classrooms parallels the drastic housing shortage where overcrowded living conditions and a lack of electricity makes it difficult for students and teachers to work at home. Voteless 'citizens' have no legal, political power to change and transform the existing education system which is part of the socio-political structure imposed and controlled by the ruling white minority.

Furthermore, the closed classification and framing of knowledge of the curriculum, streaming process and examination system, which is imposed from above and which defines what counts as 'useful' knowledge and 'able' students shapes and constrains the ways in which the teachers and students perceive and exchange knowledge. The hierarchical division of labour gives rise to alienated knowledge over which the teachers and students, ultimately, have little control when ritual certification and the desire to appropriate knowledge as a means towards social mobility govern the practices of teachers and students. Students are categorised in terms of the characteristics that 'ideal' students should possess: 'discipline', 'ability', 'intelligence'. Students and teachers are constrained by marks, grades, examinations and qualifications. Knowledge is outside, above and beyond both teacher and student; it is a commodity to be sold, bought and consumed. In this process students, likewise, are transformed into products, commodities to be graded, sorted and sold on the labour market. Schools are mechanisms of social and ideological control which attempt to socialise students into accepting existing hierarchical relations of subordination and domination as legitimate.

In Chapters 4 and 5 it was outlined that the hidden curriculum had inculcated many students with a set of values and assumptions which perceive schooling or 'education' as a means towards social mobility and that teachers were viewed (with contradictions and tensions) as the transmitters of the 'goods' which would secure them a place on the labour market. In Chapter 6 it was also apparent that the teachers' main concern was to propel their students through the system and that they 'collaborated' with the students in this process. Furthermore, it was pointed out that the school system, through the way it structures and classifies knowledge had produced in the students a preference for mental over and above manual labour and 'technical' knowledge over and above non-technical knowledge. These perceptions and values, I would tentatively suggest, suit the state's 'reformist' strategy in creating a 'buffer' black middle class in opposition to the working class majority. Many of the students' growing sense of the alienated nature of knowledge, coupled with the quality of teaching received, especially at the Standard 7 level, and a failing and deteriorating economy which has increased unemployment, however, may throw the contradictory nature of their schooling into such sharp relief and focus, that they very well may come to reject the school system and existing order as illegitimate and undesirable. They may very well have begun boycotting school, once I had conducted my research. History will prove the case either way.

The limited and rigid 35 minute periods within which knowledge has to be exchanged, obviously does not allow sufficient time for real open-ended discussions to take place. Time and the syllabus largely dictate the pacing and selection of knowledge. This is not unlike a capitalist mode

of production where the 'value' of products is determined not by its 'use value' but by its 'exchange value', which embodies labour-time; it corresponds to the amount of time the worker takes to produce products and NOT to the quality or usefulness of the product. For instance, in Mr Ntuli's classroom, as outlined in Chapters 7 and 8, this process takes place very visibly and powerfully, within a system of domination and subordination. There the students very clearly have NO control whatsoever over the pacing and selection of knowledge. The teacher, as a 'servant' of the textbook, likewise has no real control over the knowledge reproduced. The danger of this, as I pointed out, is that the ideology underlying the textbook may be reproduced and perpetuated; it may legitimise the existing social order.

The constraints that the school system, syllabus, examination system and the lack of material resources impose on the teachers cannot be underestimated. This, together with the linguistic disadvantage of having to communicate in a language which is not the mother-tongue of the teachers and students, determines both the content and methodology of their teaching to a great extent.

THE IMPACT OF TEACHER TRAINING?

A factor which does undoubtedly influence the teachers' teaching is their own schooling and teacher-training. Here it must be remembered that black teacher-training colleges are part and parcel of the Bantu Education system, which has sought to prepare blacks for subordinate positions in society.

In Chapter 3 I argued that the educational theory and methods taught at black teacher-training colleges do not equip student-teachers with the conceptual tools to view knowledge as a problematic, historically conditioned and socially constructed phenomenon. There I outlined that Fundamental Pedagogics and its various subdisciplines perpetuates the dominant ideology of CNE which serves ruling class interests. Furthermore, it was pointed out that Fundamental Pedagogics and Didactics upholds relations of domination and subordination by viewing such relations as 'natural'. This epistemology, based on a psychometric model of the child and positivist views of knowledge, reinforces a deficit view of the learner as a passive recipient of knowledge transmitted by the 'mature' and 'expert' pedagogue.

These views - to a greater or larger extent - have formed a 'habitus' in the teachers' perspectives and practices. (This is especially apparent in the Standard 7 teachers). It is not surprising in this regard that positivist views of knowledge pervade the teachers' and the majority of the students' consciousness and that transmitter-modes of teaching prevail.¹

I would posit, therefore, that the methods that the teachers use have been determined by an interplay of their own schooling, their training and the material conditions of their work place. In Chapter 3 I pointed

1. Positivist views of knowledge, of course, are not unique to black schools. They pervade most educational institutions in the (western) world and have come under increasing attack by a number of writers (eg. Giroux, 1981; Sharp & Green, 1975; Sarup, 1978; Young, 1971).

out that the methods and books prescribed for the methodology courses are in the main outdated and that these courses do not allow for an examination of how different methodologies and forms of knowledge are related to different interests and values in society.² On the whole, the education that black student-teachers and students receive deliberately obscures the historically contingent and political nature of education.³ This, in turn, does not equip teachers to INTERPRET the ideologically loaded syllabus which they have to teach. They are not placed in a position to critique views of knowledge and how different views of knowledge give rise to and embody different social relations in society and in the classroom.

On an even more fundamental level it goes without saying that the rotten system of Apartheid education has produced teachers who are simply underqualified to teach subjects for which they have received inadequate or even no training. This, coupled with the lack of alternative resource materials and books, predisposes teachers to rely on their textbooks. For instance, Mr Mazibuko's lack of exposure to second language teaching approaches and methods, disables him from using approaches and methods other than those set in the prescribed language textbook: his method and lesson content (not unlike the other teachers) is dictated by the textbook. This illustrates the total inadequacy of the books prescribed on the one hand; and his lack of training - which,

2. Webb (1986) has made reference of this in her paper on teacher education and training.

3. This of course is applicable, to varying degrees, to the schooling and education of all 'population groups' in South Africa.

if it were adequate, could put him in a position to interpret and use the book in different ways and towards different ends - on the other.

In the language lessons it is obvious that the acquisition and learning of 'standard English', through grammatical and transformational approaches, is the desired goal: 'accuracy' is emphasised in place of 'appropriacy'. Now although I would argue that it is vitally important for the students to become proficient in their use of standard English, so that they are empowered to unlock the knowledge written in English and so that they can wield a unifying linguistic tool within the socio-political structure which is deliberately divided along lingual, race, ethnic and class lines; it does not need to be viewed as the only form of English applicable and appropriate for all social contexts. English is an historically and socially developing phenomenon. It is neither pure nor static. Dominant 'standard' languages are usually tied to the interests and values ('culture') of the dominant, ruling classes in a society. Upholding 'standard English' as the only form of English may serve to entrench hegemonic values and attitudes; but may also serve as a liberating and unifying force within our divisive society. Whether English as spoken by white English-speaking South Africans or a more indigenous form of English incorporating the idioms, styles and variants of other linguistic groups will ultimately become the Lingua Franca of a non-racial and democratic South Africa, is difficult to predict; but it does point to the necessity for students and teachers to recognise that different registers within standard English itself and that 'non-standard' English are appropriate in and for different social contexts and modes of communication. For instance, if the students are asked to

write a dialogue between speakers from their own speech-community communicating in English within a local social context, the students should feel free to write the dialogue in the style or variant of that speech community. 'Black South African English' (BSE) is rich in expressive idioms and metaphors. They should feel free to incorporate expressions such as 'Let's foot it to town' (ie. let's walk to town) or 'Let's touch his/her place' (ie. Let's drop in at his/her house) in such dialogues. But they should also recognise that these forms of English may not be appropriate when writing a formal essay in History, for instance. Much of the tension and conflict which arises in the 7E classroom, I would suggest, is partly because the teacher and students view English as a static, objective product which does not allow for much imagination or linguistic creativity. Furthermore, it should not be the sole responsibility of the language teacher to be teaching language; each subject teacher is also ultimately teaching English through his/her subject. In this regard a language across the curriculum policy should be urgently and seriously considered as part of the curriculum. This, as Young, D (1986) has eloquently argued, would help demystify the language and registers used in different subjects and contexts. From data presented in this study it should be quite clear that some, if not many, subject teachers are, in fact, more proficient in English than the language teachers!

It is also clear from this study that each teacher has a distinctive interactive or teaching style. These styles, on one level, probably relate to their 'personalities'; on another, they reflect the type of

schooling and training they have received, which constrains their personal biographies and gives rise to certain strengths and weaknesses.

Mr Ntuli, similarly to Mr Mazibuko, falls outside of the realm of the 'upgraded' teachers training courses. In a sense, he belongs to the 'old school'. It is interesting to note in this regard that he is the most authoritarian-type teacher. His teaching style and methods reflect typical textbook and 'chalk and talk' pedagogy which have been and still are endemic in black classrooms. He, too, had not been exposed to alternative teaching methods (this emerged in interviews with him) and was probably taught through such methods himself.

Mr Nhlapo, on the other hand, is the most highly qualified and trained, but the least experienced teacher. He is also, in my opinion, the most competent teacher. It is not surprising in this regard that he was teaching the cream of the student crop. He represents the tiny top stratum of teachers in the black teaching profession (barring those who have undergone a university degree and training). His training and qualifications put him in a stronger position than his colleagues. Simply speaking he may feel more confident and equipped for his role and task within a meritocratic and hierarchical system which awards a higher salary, status and position to those who are most qualified. This may point to the possibility that the 'upgraded' teacher training courses are producing teachers of a higher quality. This, however, is an inference which cannot be made from such a limited sample. Some intensive research is required in order to establish whether teacher 'upgrading' is making any significant impact on the quality of teaching

in black schools and whether the 'new graduates' are being 'bought' into the system or whether they are entering the profession with a greater sense of commitment and purpose to change the system.

Finally it must be noted that Mr Nhlapo's classroom practice shares similar structural features to his colleagues: there is not a radical parting of pedagogical ways. He uses a transmitter-mode of teaching and bases the content of his lessons primarily, but not solely, on the textbook. (Mr Nhlapo often did extra reading and conveyed information which was not in the prescribed book.) It is interesting in this regard that even although there is a small teacher-student ratio of 1:15 in Mr Nhlapo's classroom, that group-work is non-existent. Thus even with a major change in an important and influential material condition, Mr Nhlapo follows a methodology not unlike his colleagues. It should be apparent nevertheless that smaller numbers allows for more teacher-student and student-student (in asides) communication and that his teaching DOES have some very significant qualitative differences.

In the section which follows I shall briefly reflect on those features of his classroom praxis which undoubtedly make a qualitative difference to teaching and which may be 'utilised' by teachers and student-teachers in existing schools and training colleges. Furthermore, I shall reflect on the skills and abilities of the teachers and students in order to argue some immediate short term strategies and pedagogical possibilities which are apparent to me. Here I do not intend presenting an idealist perspective which argues that a change in human consciousness simply leads to a change in social relations and material conditions. As I

have outlined above the hierarchical school system, curriculum and material conditions of the school which are controlled and maintained by the state and which reflect broader social structures and relations CONstrain the possibilities of human action. However, we need to guard ourselves against an overwhelmingly mechanistic view which does not afford human agents any manoeuvrability to act and transform their practices.

TRANSMITTER-TYPE TEACHING : POSSIBILITIES AND ALTERNATIVES

If it appears that I have been arguing against a transmitter-type model of teaching in this dissertation, then I have misled the reader. Certainly I have attempted to point out the assumptions and ideologies underlying this model and have pointed to some severe limitations within it. It must be clearly stated, however, that teachers will inevitably have to transmit and authorise knowledge at some stage of any lesson as long as institutionalised schooling, syllabuses and examination systems exist. The institutionalisation of students and knowledge undoubtedly leads to alienation and dehumanizing processes as de-schoolers and Marxists have shown (eg. Illich, 1977; Sarup, 1978): 'De-establishing' schools and allowing students to be responsible for their own education and demystification certainly allows the individual more freedom and may end the manipulation of the individual, but it will not necessarily transform the broader structures of society within which the individual has to act. In other words, de-schoolers rely too much on individual consciousness to bring about socio-political change. It seems on the whole as Sarup (1978) has argued, an idealistic and impractical solution

to the alienated practice of schooling within a capitalist society. Institutionalised, 'mass' schooling is a fairly recent development which grew largely out of industrialised modes of production but nevertheless is a form of social control which will undoubtedly persist for many years to come. Working from this assumption, 'teaching' inevitably implies SOME form of intervention and control; it implies that a large part of the teacher's responsibility is to authoritatively transmit forms of knowledge which the teacher 'possesses' to those who do not 'possess' this knowledge and to allow students to re/construct knowledge so that they may understand and transform their world. This is largely where the teacher's authority flows from. Of course this calls into question whether the school curriculum allows for such an understanding and whether teachers can utilize and conceptualise their syllabuses towards such an end. From this study it should be apparent that neither the curriculum nor the ways in which the teachers interact with their syllabuses is anywhere near achieving this. What I have taken time and effort to point out, however, is that the teacher's authority may, on the one hand, degenerate into a form of authoritarianism (as in Mr Ntuli's classroom); and that, on the other, it may be eroded because the teacher 'abuses' his/her authority in order to uphold a 'expert-client' pedagogical relationship when there is often no real justification for such a model (as in Mr Mazibuko's classroom). As Freire (1981) has noted, one of the characteristics of a 'banking' concept of education is that 'the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students' (p 140).

What emerges very clearly from the comparative analysis of the teachers' interactive styles is that TEACHERS REQUIRE A FLEXIBILITY IN THE WAYS IN WHICH THEY EXCHANGE KNOWLEDGE AND ENACT SOCIAL ROLES AND POSITIONS. As Sharp and Green (1980 : 165) point out:

It seems feasible to open up the relationships between teachers and taught, without simultaneously abrogating the authority of knowledge which the teacher possesses, and the responsibility that flows from that knowledge to pupils who lack it.

What needs to be added to their statement is that the authority of the knowledge which students possess, likewise **MUST NOT BE ABROGATED!** Teachers and students must learn to recognize each other's authority, expertise and inadequacies. If they do not a situation of conflict, where the teacher and students meet as antagonistic forces will be perpetuated either overtly (as in Mr Mazibuko's classroom) or covertly (as in Mr Ntuli's). Of course these conflicts are not merely interpersonal; the school system upholds distinctive teacher-student roles and definitions and reinforces a conflict model (cf Geer, 1977). However, these conflicts can be lessened if pedagogical relationships are 'opened up' and if teachers use their positional power and authority to be on the side of students rights and not against them. This is clearly what happens, within limitations, in Mr Nhlapo's classroom.

As we saw in Chapter 7, Mr Nhlapo uses a lot of 'waiting time', he admits ignorance, when he does not know things, redirects questions to the class and allows and encourages students to ask questions. What does this all mean? Simply speaking he has patience and humility which engenders a level of mutual respect between teacher and taught. He does

not uphold himself as the sole expert and his students as mere clients. This, of course, does not imply that his teaching was totally unproblematic and that his students understood everything taught⁴ and that they totally agreed with his classroom procedures. In Chapter 5 it was outlined that many of his students wanted more discussions and less transmitter-type teaching: they wanted more control over and participation in the learning process. But as a form of transmitter-type teaching Mr Nhlapo's praxis points to what is possible.

His use of waiting time, for instance, simply gives his students time to think and discuss questions raised in the classroom. Of course it also reflects that he considers the questions worthwhile thinking about. Now we may argue that he asks his students more 'difficult' and interpretive-type questions than the Standard 7 teachers do. On one level this is true, but on another it is very indicative of how teachers perceive their students and view knowledge. The question 'what is latitude?', for instance, may be answered in a number of ways and may require a great deal of thought, reflection and discussion, if the teacher does not preconceive the question as a closed or tutorial-type question and if the teacher trusts that the students have the ability and intelligence to construct a meaningful answer. In other words, the way in which knowledge is perceived gives rise to different sorts of communicative interaction and social relationships. If teachers are concerned SOLELY with closed examination type questions and answers,

4. This is an issue which I have not presented in great detail in this dissertation due to time and space constraints. There were problems, but they were nowhere near those existent in the Standard 7 classroom.

there is no hope that ANY negotiation of meaning - let alone understanding - or a change in social relationships is possible!

There is a growing body of research on 'waiting time' in the USA which provides evidence that waiting time increases students' cognitive abilities and their linguistic repertoires. Honea (1982), for instance, reports that it increases the length of student responses, increases the number of student responses and improves student-to-student interaction. The ways in which teachers elicit student responses can make an enormous difference to the level and quality of communication in the classroom: there is literally a world of power-relation and participation-right differences between initiations which merely seek confirmation of the teacher's explanations and way of thinking (eg. "All right? OK? Do you agree?"), and initiations followed by waiting time which give students the freedom and time to raise questions (eg "Do you have any questions? Any questions from the floor", etc). It allows students the freedom to dictate some measure of control over the pacing and selection of knowledge and to sort out any misunderstandings and problems that the students may be experiencing.

In classrooms where students and teachers have to communicate in an 'additional' language, it is absolutely vital and imperative that students are given opportunities to talk so that they can begin to come to grips with the subject content dealt with and in order to learn to COMMUNICATE that knowledge through the medium of instruction. I cannot see how students who are at a linguistic disadvantage can even begin to control, manage, and shape their thoughts coherently and clearly in

another language if they are not provided with the time or opportunity to speak their own minds in their own words. It seems absurd to me that while the research of the seventies in Britain (eg. The Bullock Report, 1975; Barnes, 1979; Barnes, Britton & Rosen, 1971) argued that the level of communicative and cognitive competence of English-speaking British students could be improved through 'exploratory talk', group-work and language across the curriculum programmes; that these findings are not experimented with and applied here.

Mr Nhlapo's use of waiting time, redirecting of questions, offering turns, and so on, are strategies which teachers and student-teachers may experiment with as part of their classroom practices. This is a beginning and certainly not an end in itself if students are to engage in learning processes which develop critical thinking, problem-solving and hypothesising. These strategies, however, pose some concrete practices which can transform the rigid type of transmitter-type teaching which is evident in Mr Ntuli's classroom where his praxis gives rise to a total 'banking' concept of education, which places students in a completely passive role and perpetuates a 'culture of silence' (Freire, 1981). These processes and his textbook methodology, as I outlined in Chapters 7 and 8, result in student contributions being treated impartially or simply ignored: they 'encourage' the guessing-game, rote-learning and drastically reduce understanding of the subject content. Of course, a greater teacher-student ratio as in the Standard 7 class, does make these strategies more difficult to implement and may point to the necessity to DECENTRALISE the communication system and allow for group-work. It is obvious that the greater the teacher-

student ratio is, the more difficult and time consuming it is for the teacher to elicit many student contributions and ideas within a centralised communication system. There is a widely held belief that the greater the teacher-student ratio, the more difficult it is to implement group work; the very opposite however can hold true. In the Standard 7 classroom, the 31 students were AMPLY and SPACIOUSLY accommodated: there was neither a shortage of SPACE nor classroom furniture, which consisted of light, single and movable, wooden desks and chairs! Arranging the furniture and students into groups in fact occupies LESS space than students spread out in linear rows! Group-work will allow for more student-student interaction and participation and can encourage collective learning and discussions. (This is a point to which I shall return later.)

Ellis (quoted in Young, 1986 : 8) has argued in the black teaching context that

... teachers, even when willing, are often unable to use English to generate the kind of classroom interaction in which learning can flourish. It is probable that the problem is not simply one of lack of classroom communication skills in English on the part of the teachers and students, but a more general one, to do with the attitudes teachers and students have regarding their classroom roles.
(emphasis added)

In the light of Ellis' comment above I would like to make a number of observations which are pertinent to my study. Firstly, I do not for one moment believe that either Mr Nhlapo or Mr Ntuli lack communication skills which could generate a more beneficial and open learning environment (I would even argue this for Mr Mazibuko with certain

reservations). Both teachers are remarkably proficient and articulate in their use of English. Consider, for instance, Mr Ntuli's lengthy monologue in 7H2A appendaged, where he teases out, contextualises and explains historical concepts in a very powerful, relevant and meaningful manner. Both teachers' command of English surely equip them with linguistic repertoires to facilitate different sorts of classroom activities (eg. to instruct, direct and co-ordinate group work and to comment upon and facilitate questions or answers which arise out of such activities). That they do not speak standard English all the time does not necessarily imply that they lack 'communication skills'. Such a claim requires demonstration. Secondly, as I have taken pains to illustrate, especially in Chapter 9, students even at the Standard 7 level DO have a communicative competence which enables them to make sense of what is dealt with and what is going on in the classroom. To negate these skills and abilities of the teachers and students is to uphold a deficit view of teachers and students alike! Certainly we (including mother-tongue speakers of English) may improve those communication skills which are necessary for changing roles and social contexts. Bernstein has repeatedly argued that 'language deprivation' does not stem from a linguistic deficit, but from the social roles and power (class) positions that people adopt and are placed in in social contexts. Labov's analysis of non-standard, Negro English correlates, rather than conflicts with Bernstein's argument. Thirdly, the problem as Ellis too tentatively suggests IS teachers' - to a greater extent than students' - attitudes towards their classroom roles. It should be clear from Chapter 5 that the students do not endorse a passive student role and that they believe in AND practice alternative pedagogical

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methods amongst themselves. From my research it is not simply the case that secondary students, who are keen to pass their examinations 'cannot' be easily convinced 'that exploratory discussion is the best way of achieving the results they crave' (Ellis, quoted in Young, ibid). This is EXACTLY what many students perceive as a highly beneficial and desirable learning process. It should be clear from this dissertation, however, that students will and can only communicate and interact in ways which they believe are more beneficial if the power relations 'enable' them to enact and adopt different roles and learning procedures. It should also be clear that it is not simply a matter of teacher attitudes which prevent teachers from adopting different roles; it is their training, the lack of resources and the education system and broader social structures.

The most concrete evidence that a change in pedagogical relationships is potentially possible and indeed desirable, to emerge from this study is from Mr Mazibuko's classroom situation. Here, there are visible signs of the necessity for PROBLEM-SOLVING, COLLECTIVE LEARNING and the type of pedagogical relationship advocated by Freire and other 'radical' educationists. Now although I cannot envisage this learning process as possible all the time in schools which have a predefined body of knowledge which students must come to 'know' in order to be certificated (this does not imply that I endorse such a system), it is a process which MUST become part of classroom practice. Freire (1981 : 139) has argued that

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Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers AND students.

In Chapter 9 I argued and attempted to demonstrate that some students are capable of 'teaching' their teacher and that the teacher and students can collectively construct knowledge. This reconciliation, however, cannot take place in a climate of confrontation, conflict and competition; it requires a suspension of the teacher's positional power and the disciplining of individuals in the interests of the collective group. In other words, a true collective learning experience can only take place if disciplined democratic procedures are followed in the classroom. (I shall elaborate on this point later.)

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER-TRAINING

What this all means is that teacher-training colleges must prepare student-teachers to be flexible in their methods and roles. Furthermore student-teachers (and practising teachers if possible) urgently need to critically examine the presuppositions and ideologies upon which they base their teaching by examining transcripts and/or video recordings of their lessons. The Soweto 'College of Education', for instance, has ample technology at its disposal to implement such programmes immediately. 'Micro-teaching' in this regard can become an invaluable tool for such an exercise. Here I would like to sound a word of caution. Micro-teaching is usually 'skills-orientated'. Student-teachers are 'trained' to utilize different questioning techniques, practise 'variations', in the way that they present themselves (tone,

gestures, body movements, etc.) and their materials (aids, pictures, blackboard word, etc.) and the ways in which they react to students' responses. Much of these micro-teaching techniques are very useful; but they usually focus solely on the teacher and code pre-defined categories as developed, for instance, by Flanders (1970) or Bellack et al (1966). In other words, they pre-define what a 'model' of teaching should/not be like and concentrate on pre-defined categories which support the model. Video and/or audio recordings should not be used solely to build a model of teaching and examine skills; rather the data should be used as a means for critical reflection and discussion between observers, student-teachers and students who were involved in the lesson, whether these students were from a school or student-teachers simulating lesson participants. In other words, the data should be used to unlock or create a 'discourse' about classroom practice.

If we concentrate solely on improving the skills of teachers we reinforce a 'professional-client' pedagogical model; we may merely equip teachers with ways in which to exercise power and control in more sophisticated and subtle ways. It becomes an exercise 'about boxing better' (Hull, 1985a : 1). Hull points out that the 'radical potential' for education can begin to be realized if teachers and students share a critical understanding of what they are doing in their constitutive classroom practices.

Instead of thinking up ways to enhance the professionalism of teachers we should perhaps be thinking about ways pupils can become professional learners. This in turn might help us understand what good teaching might be (ibid).

'Teaching practice' (ie. the period when student-teachers go out into the field in order to practise and be evaluated about teaching) reinforces a professional-client model. The evaluation forms are pre-defined and categorised: the student-teacher is evaluated on a 'point scale' by the observing lecturer. The student-teacher is a client of the lecturer and the students taught are voiceless clients of the student-teacher. The UCT evaluation form, for instance, provides some space for the student-teacher to self-evaluate his/her lesson, which is a welcome addition; but where is the space for the majority who are most affected by teachers' practices? Here the solution is not to merely allow students to evaluate the teacher, but to create a situation where students and teachers can engage in open critical discussion about what transpired: they need to share their perceptions about the 'same shared event'. Here teachers and students may create the possibility to NEGOTIATE THE VERY LEARNING PROCESS ITSELF. This is a fundamental point which I shall elaborate on later.

Teacher-training colleges should also seriously consider some short-term strategies which will equip teachers to operate more effectively within schools which lack material resources. Student-teachers must be encouraged, perhaps even compelled to build up resource files and materials for their subjects over their three year courses. Over such a period student-teachers undoubtedly could collect and collate a wide range of topically relevant and interesting materials which could combat the lack of resources in schools and the ideologically-loaded and biased nature of the prescribed school textbooks. The students should also be encouraged to collectively write their own materials and to share and

pool these resources. In the History Methodology courses, for instance, students could interview members of their community in order to write a short project on the historical origins and development of their townships or to write accounts of the Second World War as experienced by their parents, grandparents and other community members. If some Standard 7 students are clearly aware of the fact that history is to be found not only in books, but in people, then college lecturers and students should be even more aware of this and should act on this knowledge. In this regard all the technology which exists at the colleges must be made available to students, even if they have to pay minimal costs for using such equipment.⁵ This would enable students to prepare worksheets and material for future use. Furthermore they should be well-informed about where additional resources can be obtained within their vicinity (eg. the SACHED, ELTIC, CRIC and NEUSA resource centres in Johannesburg). Perhaps most important of all the colleges themselves need to establish well-equipped resource centres which serve both the college and the wider teaching community.

Serious attention obviously needs to be given to ways in which textbooks can be used more constructively and creatively (these books will inevitably remain a 'primary' resource in the classroom). Of course even more serious attention needs to be given to the types of books prescribed for schools in the first place. In the Standard 7 classroom, for instance, it is obvious that the English 'Grammar/language' book is

5. When I worked at the Soweto Training College, students had no access to roneo machines, photostat machines, film and slide projectors, etc. This technology was accessible only to the staff! Creating resource materials under these conditions proved difficult.

hopelessly outdated. Language books which encourage a communicative approach to language teaching which are, preferably, supplemented with a teacher's manual or guide, would greatly alleviate the type of problems experienced in Mr Mazibuko's classroom. The books prescribed for content subjects, as we have seen in 7G/H, are often too difficult for the students to follow clearly; there is an urgent need for alternative books which are appropriately written according to the language needs and level of students who have to read books in a language which is not their mother-tongue. These are obviously longer-term projects which are under way, for instance, at centres like SACHED or the Language Education Unit at UCT.

In the short-term, student-teachers need to explore ways of utilizing textbooks more creatively and effectively. For instance, Geography or History texts could be used for comprehension exercises which examine and isolate; the main ideas, prepositions and presuppositions in a text and the ways in which these prepositions are supported by 'secondary' ideas through the use of 'logical connectors', anaphoric references, tense aspects, and so on. These exercises could illustrate the ways in which language is used to develop 'logical' and coherent arguments, which are based upon presuppositions that relate to the author's ideology or world-view. An alternative exercise could entail isolating a main idea or statement in a text, which the students could reflect on and discuss in groups in order to tease out the presuppositions and implications underlying the statement. Consider a statement such as the following, which appears in the Standard 10 History textbook written by Joubert (1975):

A healthy economy is one in which people of all income groups share in their country's prosperity (p 54)

Students in groups could use this statement as a basis for a discussion on the implications that it has for a country's economic structure and policy. They could discuss what type of economy is suggested as 'healthy', why there are different 'income groups'; how these groups 'share' in their country's prosperity, how this 'prosperity' is generated and distributed and so on. After having used this statement as a basis for discussion the students could then read the statement within its wider context to see whether additional statements and ideas in the text contradict or confirm the ways in which the students understood the presuppositions underlying the statement discussed. This type of exercise could be carried out even at the Standard 7 level, where concepts such as 'radical', which appear in their books, could be discussed amongst students and compared and contrasted with the textbook definition of the term.

Textbook diagrams could also be used as a basis for written exercises, or written explanations as a basis for diagrammatic representations. For instance, Standard 7 students could be asked to transpose the diagrammatic information of the phases of the moon or eclipses into written form or vice versa. These exercises could constitute a form of what Widdowson (1979) calls 'gradual approximation' (cf. Widdowson, 1979:75-85). Furthermore, the 'register' of content subject textbooks could be demystified by asking students to communicate geographical or historical information in a personal style. For instance, students

could dramatise the rise of Fascism in Italy under Mussolini, or write letters to friends about a Fascist rally that they 'attended' one night and so on. Perhaps in these and in other ways the impersonal, alienating and removed tone and information contained in textbooks can be injected with some life and meaning and become a source for the development of language skills and ultimately put teachers and students in a position to critique their textbooks.

I have suggested that communicative language teaching approaches need to be taught urgently at teacher-training colleges and implemented in schools. The urgency of this is clearly visible from the data presented in Chapter 9. There it is apparent that the students 'know' standard English forms and usage, not through the application of formal grammatical rules but through intuition or through what Krashen (1981) calls a 'feeling for grammar'. This concurs with Krashen's findings that the teaching of grammar does not necessarily affect 'acquisition' and has only a limited effect on 'learning'. Acquisition, as Krashen (op cit: 1) notes,

...requires meaningful interaction in the target language - natural communication - in which speakers are concerned not with the form of utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding.

The use of explicit rules and the intuitive use of the learner's knowledge of the linguistic system may help learners to self-correct and improve their accuracy in the language: a process which Krashen calls the use of the 'monitor' and which clearly operates in the 7E classroom. 'Monitoring' may supplement a communicative approach, which will enable

the students to use the target language (T L) accurately in appropriate contexts for communicative purposes. In this sense formal 'grammar' would act as a meta-language to monitor usage; it would, and should, not be an end in itself.

This means that language teachers require a proficiency in the language and a knowledge of the 'rules' which can clarify and explain incorrect usage. Teacher-training must of necessity develop this competence.

Murray and Nuttal (1986) point to the 'hierarchical interdependence' of a language teacher's competence which includes

- a) the teacher's competence in the T L
- b) the teacher's knowledge about the T L
- and c) the teacher's knowledge of language teaching approaches and methodologies.

They give a practical illustration of how the student-teacher may develop strategies for teaching the progressive aspect of the present tense by allowing the students to reflect on how the use of this tense in various spoken and written texts across the curriculum and in different social contexts illustrate the 'rules' and communicative purposes for which the tense is used. This allows students to improve their competence on all three levels through an 'experimental and process approach'.⁶

A communicative approach to language teaching can be realized most effectively in peer group work and discussions as it provides an

6. See Murray & Nuttal (1986: 206-218) for a detailed outline of this approach which is insightful and highly commendable.

interactive and linguistic environment which allows students to practise and utilize a greater range of communicative acts and to exercise more control over the propositional content of the discussion than is possible within a centralised communication system. Indeed, as Ellis (1984), amongst others, has argued, peer group interaction is more beneficial not only for second language acquisition but for learning per se, across the curriculum, especially if the pedagogical task is 'open' and exploratory involving hypothesising and problem-solving. Where the task is 'closed', involving instruction and recall of factual information, transmitter-modes of teaching may be more appropriate. Student-teachers and teachers, thus need to recognise which forms of interaction are most suited to accomplish the pedagogical task at hand. Ellis adds the vitally important rider that it is useless for student-teachers to be 'trained' in such methods if the college lecturers do not implement these methods themselves. Methodology after all is praxis.

Earlier on I mentioned that only disciplined democratic procedures can ensure collective learning. I would now like to suggest, briefly, some procedures especially for group-work which could be experimented with in training colleges and schools.

The first step which should occur in classrooms is for teachers and students to explicitly negotiate learning procedures. In other words, students and teachers should openly discuss how they perceive their roles and what their expectations are and what 'rules' they think should be observed in the classroom. This could form the basis of an explicit contract, which although 'binding' by a majority decision, could be open

to re-negotiation if the contract is found wanting in certain respects. For instance, even within a 'centralised' communication system it may be decided that students have the right to nominate, or allocate turns to, other students. It may be decided also, for instance, that individual students are liable for disciplining by the class and not necessarily only by the teacher and that the disciplinary measures are not anti-educational and do not victimise, ostracise or belittle individuals. Conversely the contract could contain 'clauses' which uphold individual rights which prevent the victimisation of individuals by the group. For group-work, procedures may be worked out to ensure that there is maximum and equal participation of all group members (vocal students are liable to dominate group discussions which may take another form of 'transmitter-modes' of communication). It may be decided that each member has to take a turn to talk in turn: a pre-allocation system. This may constrain the SPONTANEITY of talk, but could prove useful if there are vocal and domineering students within the group. Locally-managed and spontaneous turn-taking, of course, would be the most desirable, but certain disciplines may have to be followed. For instance, individual group members - on a rotational basis for different group-discussion sessions - could adopt a role of 'chair-person', who would be empowered with the right to 'control' the discussion if certain individuals are clearly dominating and manipulating it. An invaluable exercise (especially with student-teachers) would be to allow students from the class to OBSERVE the dynamics of their peers' group-discussion, which could be videoed and/or recorded to form a basis for a discussion between group participants and observers about the strengths, weaknesses, conflicts and co-operation which were experienced and

observed. These feedback sessions and data could form a sound basis to experiment with and research group discussion procedures.

Group-work may also form a very powerful basis for the development of skills. For instance, members of groups may be allocated certain roles, such as chair-person, secretary and group spokesperson who would give a report back on the groups' discussion to the class. The secretary, for instance, would utilize his/her listening and note-taking skills of salient points which emerge in the discussion. When the 'secretary' participates in the discussion the note-pad could be passed to another member. The 'spokesperson' would utilize his/her reading skills (of notes taken) and speaking skills and so on. These are some procedures which may be experimented with. A final issue which also needs to be thrashed out amongst teachers and students is whether all groups discussion is to take place in English or if use of the mother-tongue would be appropriate for certain tasks.

A final point worth making is that the educational theory taught at teacher-training colleges must include educational philosophies other than just Pedagogics and its various sub-disciplines. Courses on the Philosophy and Sociology of Education which include a wide range of perspectives (eg. Liberal-Humanist, Phenomenological, Marxist, etc.) should be introduced into the curriculum so that the students are given a variety of conceptual tools with which to critique these philosophies and so that they can understand how educational theories relate to and influence classroom practices. Only then will these training colleges be worthy to be called Colleges of Education.

SOME FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is clear that the crisis in black education and in the country generally is ongoing and deep; there are no signs that the state is really prepared to dismantle apartheid or that the oppressed majority will cease to resist and challenge the subtle and blatantly coercive measures that the state adopts to maintain control and domination. The increasing number of progressive student, teacher and community organisations which have sprung up and the continuing school boycotts which characterised the latter half of 1984, virtually the whole of 1985 and into 1986 clearly points to the fact that the state is facing increasing and intensified opposition to its educational policies and to the existing social order. It also points to the fact that the black education system has failed to a very significant extent to produce students who willingly accept the status quo. That some schools like Mkhize showed no overt signs of resistance at the beginning of 1984 of course illustrates that not all schools had become intense 'sites of struggle' and that all students throughout the country had reached a uniform level of political consciousness. The intensifying level of protest and resistance (although fraught with divisions and conflicts) which has grown especially since the latter half of 1984, however, may prove this to be a mere spot in time which historically shifting conditions may have already overtaken and transformed.

The more recent 'return' to schools at the beginning of this year (ie. 1986) after the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) called for a conditional suspension of school boycotts has indicated the students'

determination to return to classes in order to participate in 'alternative' education programmes which realize 'people's education'.⁷ Thus there are signs that there is a change in strategy to take the 'struggle' to the classroom - where students and teachers can begin to transform the curriculum - and to the school where students will regroup to press forward with their demands for the unbanning of COSAS, the release of teachers and students from detention and the withdrawal of troops from the townships. According to a UDF and trade union official 'peoples education' is taking place alongside the official curriculum and has already taken root in most schools in the Eastern Cape and the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging areas (Sunday Times, 23/2/86). It is difficult to determine the truth of such a claim and the extent to which teachers are participating in such programmes and are uniting with students to help them realize their aims. Alternative programmes are more often than not controlled and run by Student Representative Councils (SRCS). This undoubtedly may cause divisions between teachers and students and may retard the aim to transform the education system and curriculum. Teachers, thus, ultimately will have to face the choice of either working together with their students or of sitting on the fence where they may avoid victimisation or dismissal from the DET, but may be ostracised by their students. This is a crucial choice as

7. Many school students who were dissatisfied with the NECC decision to return to school on the grounds that certain demands had not been met and that this decision was taken hastily under pressure, have resumed boycotting classes in certain schools. According to the TVL secretary of the NECC, Reverend Molefe, no serious teaching is taking place, although students in Soweto have returned to school (Weekly Mail, Vol 2, No 24, 1986). It is thus not unlikely that sporadic boycotts, which are in progress, may spread to other schools throughout the country and may lead to scenarios not unlike 1984/5.

alternative education programmes provide a unique opportunity for implementing alternative pedagogical practices. A true transformation can only take place in practice. In other words teachers and students need to enact relations that begin to realize democratic procedures and practices; democracy is a participatory process realised through PRAXIS. There is no sense in suspending such procedures until 'liberation' has been achieved. Furthermore a change in the curriculum, ie. the content of syllabuses, will not necessarily change pedagogical relationships. The most radical subject content may be taught through authoritarian-type procedures. To put this in another way, a change in the overt curriculum might not change the hidden curriculum!⁸

It should be clear from this dissertation that some students, even under more 'normal' schooling conditions, would welcome a change in the school curriculum, as for instance, that the History syllabus should include relevant African and South African history which would counteract the ideological bias of the syllabus. It should also be clear that the learning process itself is often a source of covert conflict in classrooms: students do not always agree with teachers' classroom procedures and methods. The fact that this conflict is not brought out into the open, implicitly 'binds' teachers and students into a 'contract' which does not necessarily serve the students' interests. Unless students bring their bargaining power to the fore in order to

8. A change in curriculum towards 'integrated-studies' as suggested by Bernstein (1971) and Esland (1971), for instance, undoubtedly may erode the positivist stranglehold in educational institutions and help to bring about a transformation of social relations. In the South African context curriculum changes are a long term project: in the short-term teachers need to reconceptualize existing syllabi within different theoretical and methodological frameworks.

truly negotiate the learning process, the emergence of a different and explicit classroom contract will not be possible. This requires an openness in pedagogical relationships which can begin to transform the divisions and conflicts which the school system engenders: it requires a change in power relations. Teachers face a choice here: either they cling to their 'professional' authority and power and perpetuate the conflicts and divisions of the existing social order and oppress their students; or they side with their students in working out roles and positions which will legitimise the teacher's authority and begin to transform those actions which they enact daily in their classrooms.

A Standard 7 student was obviously clearly aware that the school system pits teachers against students and strips students of their bargaining power when he made the following observation in an interview:

My suggestion is that eh - these teachers, the way they teach ... it's the way they feel - we won't control them how they must teach ... Here when you're going to tell them - eh - what kind of way they should teach - they see you as someone who rebels against education - yes - here in school. Because students once did that thing in school and then they say they rebel - they want to boycott the school.

If teachers view students, who seek a change in classroom practice as 'rebels', it is not unlikely that the students will 'rebel' against their teachers by boycotting their classes and by 'forcefully' overturning the existing hierarchical authority structure. This, as Molteno (1983) has chronicled was one of the most outstanding features of the 1980 boycotts in the Western Cape where

...the authority of principals and teachers was removed overnight as students began to boycott. The institutionalised hierarchies were swept aside and in most cases almost immediately replaced by more less democratically constituted student authorities' (p 36).

It is imperative that students press forward with their demands for and establish democratically elected and run SRCs in order to safeguard their interests against a system which oppresses and dominates them. SRCs can begin to democratise the school system and provide students with a power base which can exert some pressure against teachers and principals who violate their interests. An organised and united student body may then begin to exercise some degree of control over classroom practices.

It should be very clear to most South Africans that nothing less than the realization of a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa, which will include an equal, non-racial and democratic education system, will meet the aspirations of the majority. It should also be apparent to most that the 'reformist' policies of the state do not attempt to and cannot achieve such an aim. As Owen van der Berg has pointed out, the trends in education management since the De Lange Report 'have been increasing towards centralisation in the hands of Afrikaner ideologues and ever further away from the democratisation of educational decision-making' (Cape Times, 21/10/85). The 'technocratic-rationality' and a-political nature of the report incisively unmasked by Buckland (1984, 1985), illustrates how education policy-makers and planners ignore the aspirations of the majority and do not include them in the decision-

making process; instead they rely on an elite group of technocratic experts who define what the 'problems', 'goals' and 'solutions' are. It is thus highly improbable that an educational system modelled on the lines of the Report and imposed from above will meet the demands of the black majority. A democratic education system can only be achieved through a democratic process in which those who are most affected and concerned with educational policies - teachers, parents, community members and students - share and participate in the 'formulation' of such policies. That students are key members of the education community to be consulted and included in this process should be obvious: they are the majority who are directly affected by the process of schooling and, as I have attempted to demonstrate in this dissertation, the ones who often have a clear sense of what should/not occur in classrooms. It is time we recognised their 'expertise'. It is also time that teachers and students open up pedagogical relationships and engage in modes of communicative interaction which will legitimate the teacher's 'authority', uphold the students' rights and interests and enable teachers and students to engage in a collective learning experience which will begin to transform those practices which oppress them. In such a process as Freire (1981 : 144) has argued, 'authority must be ON THE SIDE OF freedom, not AGAINST it'. That the education system and broader social structures block and constrain such action is undoubted.

While teachers and students cannot transform these structures, and eliminate the values, ideals and attitudes which the hidden curriculum has inculcated and which have crystallized into recurring structural forms, overnight; they can begin to engage in pedagogical practices

which encourage COLLECTIVE reasoning behind answers, rather than stressing the production of 'correct' answers. Of course for such pedagogical relationships and practices to begin to be realized depends on the extent to which teachers and students have a clear understanding of the ideological underpinnings of this pedagogy and the extent to which students and teachers are united and committed to implementing practices which seek, ultimately, to bring about fundamental social change. Such teachers and students, and changing pedagogical practices are most likely to emerge in schools which have become 'sites of struggle' where politicised teachers and students have rejected the socio-political basis of the hidden curriculum and have translated that rejection into a praxis which goes to the existing social order and society as the root of the problem.

APPENDIX : CHAPTER 2OBSERVING AND RECORDING:

Virtually all the lessons which I observed were tape-recorded. A Wollensack, stereo, battery operated tape-recorder, which had recording-level adjustment facilities and two uni-directional microphones¹ were used. Each microphone was placed on top of a desk in the front corners of the classroom facing the students. I usually sat at the front of the classroom against a side-wall, next to the tape recorder. This location enabled me to keep check on recording levels and operate the recorder when necessary and also afforded me a clear view, at an oblique angle, of the whole class and the teacher. This location (as opposed to the back of the classroom) was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, I did not want the teacher to be under the 'spotlight'. Secondly, because I was not using a video recorder, I had to have a clear view of the class so that I could identify which students were speaking to the teacher or to each other in asides. Furthermore, I had to capture the level of student engagement and response to the teachers' elicitations and questions, ie. I made notes in a book as to which and how many students bided in order to respond to the teacher's elicitations, and whether the teachers nominated students, who had not bid to respond. I rigorously followed these procedures in order to determine how teachers and students took turns-at-talk and the level of student engagement and

1. Uni-directional as opposed to omni-directional microphones proved to be more effective: the latter type are too sensitive and pick up background noises, which impede the quality of participants' talk. My recordings are of a comparatively high quality.

participation during these lessons. Obviously video recordings would have captured these procedures and interactions more clearly and could have enhanced the quality of 'evidence'. There are, however, a number of problems involved in using such equipment. Firstly, it requires more than one person to operate such equipment. Secondly, video recordings are inevitably more 'partial' than audio in that the cameraman will pick up sections of interaction that are considered important at the time, which direct and focus the observer/analyst's attention to particular aspects of an interactional sequence. Thirdly, video equipment, by its sheer size and bulk, may affect the subjects to a greater degree than audio-equipment. Of course, audio-recordings separate talk and action and cannot capture how speech and body movements are integrated and convey communicative messages. Labov & Fanshell (1977), however, have argued that no satisfactory way of presenting and interpreting visual materials has yet been 'solved to anyone's satisfaction' (p 7). The use of audio-recordings, on the other hand, allow the participants and analyst to concentrate more fully on talk.² The greatest limitation of audio recordings and transcribed texts, however, is that they can overlook altogether the non-participating students and 'represent the discourse as if the class were a single entity making a collective response in reciprocal relation to the teacher' (Willes, 1981 : 74). This is a limitation which emerges in my own work; but one which has been partially overcome by supplementing transcribed data with different participants' accounts on the recordings. Furthermore, the inclusion of

2. Adleman & Eliot (1981b) also report a preference for audio-recordings for this reason.

asides, overlapping talk, etc., in the transcripts does not always represent the discourse in Willes' terms above.

TRANSCRIBING AND TRANSCRIPTS

All the data recorded (ie. lessons and interviews) was transcribed in full after I had left the field. I did not select 'interesting' sections. This proved to be an absolutely invaluable, although extremely time-consuming, exercise. It allowed me to seep very deeply into the data and to 'relive' the situation. It also awakened me to features of talk which usually go unnoticed: it forced me to look at 'messy' language and how hearer's interpret and make discourse coherent. This exercise allows the transcriber to make everyday life 'anthropologically strange' (Atkinson, 1981).³ Selection of data, however, is ultimately inevitable as the researcher selects data which illustrate his/her interests and theoretical concerns. These theoretical biases are noticeable in the transcripts themselves. No standard format exists for transcripts. Naturally occurring speech is IMPOSSIBLE to capture precisely on paper. Changing the aural to a visual medium inevitably distorts the exact nature of speech and can only capture those features which the transcriber sees as important and 'interesting'. Transcripts which attempt to convey fine-grained

3. I would strongly implore any participant observer to transcribe their own data themselves for these reasons. Assigning this task to a secretary/research team member, removes the participant observer from the situation that s/he has experienced and also results in MISTAKES in transcripts (See Stubbs (1983: 227) and Lemke (1982) who also make these suggestions.

features of talk, however, may bring our attention to aspects of speech which usually go unnoticed.

Researchers interested in para-linguistic features of speech such as; intonation patterns⁴ simultaneous and overlapping utterances, lengthened syllables, voice quality,⁵ pauses and 'gaps' between and within turns-at-talk,⁶ and those concerned with which speaker 'holds the floor' in a round of multi-party talk,⁷ etc., will include symbols and special formatting to denote those features. In my own transcripts I have included conventions for overlapping and simultaneous utterances, pauses and gaps, hesitations, unfinished sentences, and 'ungrammatical' sentences,⁸ ie. I have transcribed the speakers' words verbatim, but have not included para-linguistic features as my knowledge of black speakers' phonological system operative in English is severely limited. To have included such features probably would have distorted, rather than clarified the transcripts.

4. See Sinclair & Brazil (1982) as an example.

5. Most conversation analysts/ethnomethodologists include these features in great detail. See Sacks et al (1974) as an example.

6. See Mchoul (1978).

7. This is a very difficult feature to capture in a transcript. Edelsky (1981) provides a very insightful and thorough discussion on the theoretical and practical problems in conveying this feature of talk and on the problems of transcribing per se.

8. See the appendaged transcript conventions below.

TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS

...	'trailing off' utterance
=	no gap or pause
⌈	overlap
⌋	simultaneous utterances
[]	general student comments and asides
(?)	uncertain utterances
()	undecipherable
()	student asides directed at speaker/s holding the floor
I	placement of response to previous initiation
Indented speaker	taking/seizing turn: utterance publically on-record, but not holding floor
(sec)	time of pause between utterances and turns
('initiation/support' etc)	commentary on 'moves' in exchanges
/	rising intonation
BOLD PRINT	emphasis/stress

APPENDIX : CHAPTER 7

- 10H1A: (The teacher has spoken about Japan's invasion of Manchuria. The students frequently summonsed and asked questions before this point in the lesson.)
- T: Any more questions? (opens floor)
(6 sec) (waiting time)
Ya. So we shall meet Japan next week in a test - that's where you shall meet Japan (comments and closes floor)
- BRIAN: (raises hand) (summonses)
- T: Raselepe (ratifies)
- BRIAN: Yes - what I'd like to know is that - during the process of Japan's pursuing its imperialistic ideals - what were the other members of the League of Nations doing - because according to the policies of the League of Nations, countries which were aggressive - like Japan - an economic sanction was to be imposed on that country (initiates question)
- T: Hm - that's a very good question Raselepe (comments)
Who can try to answer that question? (redirects)
He'd like to know that - whilst Japan was spreading its wings into China - what were the members of the League of Nations doing about it because they said an aggressive country which threatens peace should be disciplined through sanctions and other mean (reformulates/reinitiates)
(7 sec) (waiting time)
- SIBUSISO: (raises hand) (signals)
- T: Yeah - Sibusiso (ratifies)
- SIBUSISO: Because Japan was a member of League of Nations - so they couldn't () () against Japan. And another thing Japan was - was a militarist government (responds)
- T: Ya - I appreciate that (comment)
You are right (evaluates/accepts)
- S & A: (raise hands) (bidding)
- T: Stan (selects/ratifies)

- STAN: I can say instead of enjoining the sanctions the League of Nations appointed the Lytton Commission to investigate (responds)
- T: Ya, - ya that's some of it (evaluates/accepts)
What did you want to say Ann? (selects/ratifies)
- ANN: When it says they appointed the Lytton - what? (Stan: Lytton Commission) - Lytton Commission - Ya - to investigate - now I'm asking what they did about that Lytton Commission - () that went to investigate the matter? (initiates question)
- T: Ya - the Lytton Commission investigated the matter and recommended that Japan should evacuate Manchuria (responds)
- ANN: Did that happen? (initiates question)
- T: No it didn't (responds)
You see Japan is taking Manchuria away. How can it evacuate - because it was carried away under its arm ()
() (explains)
Bra Sy⁽¹⁾ - we're coming to your question (comment)
Japan withdrew from the League of Nations and the member states of the League of Nations... (explains)

1. 'Bra Sy' is an 'endearing' reference to Brian who initiated the original question. "Bra" is slang for brother and is often used by black speakers when addressing each other as friends. 'Sy' is probably a nickname.

7E1A

1. T: Now we come to number eight (directs/returns)
(3 seconds)
What was you doing at that time = (states/ans.)
2. CA: = What WERE you doing at that time = (challenges)
3. J & C: = What WERE you doing
at that time (support/challenge)
4. T: How many are there? = (initiates question)
5. FR: = one = (responds/negotiate)
6. J & CA }
& CAM: } = We don't know (FR: one) we don't know
(FR. RUTH, WIL: one, one) (respond/reject)
(students mutter dissension)
7. T: So that's why I said 'you' is
also a singular and also for
plural = (legitimises)
8. SS: = yes (support)
9. CA: = Teacher but it doesn't give sense -
what was you doing = (reject)
10. FRAN: = it gives
sense teacher = (supports legit)
11. CA: } = what
12. JO: } WERE you doing (assert ans)

(students undercurrent discontent/asides)
13. T: It's what was you doing (it is?) this
14. WILL: NO (rejects)
one - that's why I say both of them
are correct = (legitimises)
15. WILL: = NO (rejects/challenges)
16. FR: = Because we don't know how many
were there = (supports legit)
17. CA: = The first one is wrong teacher (rejects)
(THANDI: is right) Why do you (aside)
say the first one is correct?
(rejects/call for new legit)

18. T: I don't say that the first one
is correct - but I say both
of them are correct = (reasserts/compro)
19. CA: = Yes teacher, both means BOTH -
why do you say the first one is
correct - whereas WE say the
first one is not correct?=
(reissues call for legit)
20. JO: = We've got to know (supports call/comments)
21. NOK: Sir can you say that 'what is
you doing there at that time'
(students laugh) 'What is you doing at
that time?' - can you say
that? = (initiates question/exposing strat.)
22. CA: = You can't] teacher (responds)
23. T:] NO (responds)
24. CA: = You can't say what WAS] ... (repeats/asserts)
what was]
25. JO:] what is
you doing - You can't say what IS
you doing (corrects/ asserts)
(SS: muttering/arguments/asides)
26. T: OK (1 sec) (calls for order/terminate)
27. CA: Teacher you can say 'What
were you doing] , I was not
doing anything'] (asserts/comments)
28. T:] Uh] all
right - all right (calls for order/terminates)
We'll come to number 8 (defers)
Let's go to question 2 (appeals/directs)

APPENDIX : CHAPTER 8

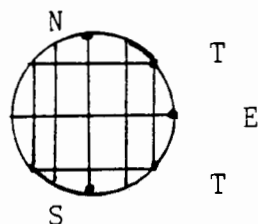
- 7 G1A: (Mr Ntuli has just walked into the classroom; the students stand up upon his entry)
- T: 1 Sit down. Thank you.
 2 Fine. Let us do some, some, some, geography.
 3 Uh - Unit 2, unit 2 in geography textbooks.
 (The students take out and open their textbooks and settle down)
 4 Now this is about longitude and latitude; latitude and longitude.
 5 You learnt about longitude last in form 1.
 6 All right?
- ss: 7 Yes.
- T: 8 Now, if you still remember - what is the latitude?
 9 What is latitude?
 10 How can you describe what latitude is?
- Franscina: 11 (raises hand.)
- T: 12 Yes.
- Franscina: 13 Latitude are lines that goes around the earth... eh - longwards.
- T: 14 Repeat again.
- Franscina: 15 Latitudes are those lines around the earth going parallel.
- T: 16 Not bad. It's a good try - it's a good attempt.
- Ivan: 17 (raises hand.)
- T: 18 Yes.
- Ivan: 19 Latitudes are the lines that goes horizontally.
- T: 20 What is a latitude?
- ss: 21 (raise hands.)
- T: 22 Ya - ya, ya, ya -
 23 yea bo (nominating Ruth)

- Ruth: 24 Eh ... latitude is the angle of the distance of north and south ...
- T: 25 You have that in your books - you have that in your books.
26 We don't speak of lines going around the earth, but we speak of lines DRAWN on A MAP; because we can't see them, they only appear when when we speak in terms of maps.
27 Yes (nominating Johanna) - just read it from your book there.
- Johanna: 28 "Latitude is - is the line - the angular distance north or south of the equator measured from the centre of the earth".
- T: 29 All of us please.
- ss: 30 "Latitude is the angular distance north or south of the equator measured from the centre of the earth".
- T: 31 That's right. That's what a latitude is. Now - when you get the latitude as they appear on our maps ... (continues exposition)
- - - - -
- 32 Now what is important with latitudes?
33 What are the main duties or functions of these latitudes?
- Frans: 34 (signals)
- T: 35 Ya.
- Frans: 36 They tell us about degrees.
- T: 37 No - not exactly.
38 What is the main function of latitudes? (2 sec)
39 Huh?
40 What is the main aim of latitudes - the main function of these latitudes?
41 You did this in Form 1 and I'm not going to repeat it in details again - you did this in Form 1 - in Form 1.
42 What are the main functions of latitudes -
43 What do we use the latitudes for?
- S1: 44 (Signals.)
- T: 45 (Nominates non-verbally)
- S1: 46 To study maps.

- T: 47 Ya = that boy over there (nominating Eric)
- Eric: 48 To get time.
- T: 49 Uh?
- Eric: 50 To get time.
- T: 51 To calculate time.
52 Correct.
53 Now we've got some latitudes here which are very, very important ... (continues) ...
-

(Later into the lesson the teacher directed the students to open their text books on page 24 and instructed them to read the text, which dealt with the comparisons between lines of latitude and longitude, aloud in unison. The teacher would halt their reading in order to explain words or concepts which he thought problematic such as 'semi-circular' and 'consecutive' (lines). The students would then carry on reading the text aloud. At one stage, however, the students 'stumbled' over a sentence and did not read clearly in unison. The teacher then began reading the text himself after telling the class that there were 'people unable to read'. The excerpt continues a few moments after the teacher had taken over the task of reading the text aloud.)

- T: 54 ..."lines of latitude are ALL parallel to one another".
55 We know what we mean by parallel isn't it?
56 Lines drawn in that manner (pointing to lines of latitude drawn on a diagram/sketch on board, which looked as follows:



representing the equator (E), Tropics of Capricorn and Cancer (T), the North and South poles (N, S) and various lines of longitude.)

- 56 We say those lines are.../
- ss: } Parallel

57 They are.../

ss: } parallel

58 Our lines of latitude are all parallel to one another.....

59 "Lines of latitude have a bearing on time.

Lines of latitude have a bearing on.../"
ss: } climate

60 Earlier on someone said lines of latitude help us to find time.

61 In the contrary, we find that lines of latitude have a bearing on the weather.

62 That is why we normally say the further you move away from the equator the colder.../

ss: } it becomes

63 Which means now - we are concerned with the latitude - moving away from the equator has some effects on our climate because the nearer you move towards the equator.../

ss: } the warmer it becomes

the warmer it becomes.

64 OK. You may go out for your break.

(Students rise and disperse.)

7 H1A:

(Mr Ntuli has introduced the History lesson by summarising their previous History 'unit' as dealing with the people 'who shaped the history of Europe' and brought about the unification of Italy and Germany. Cavour, Bismark, Gladstone and other 'great men' are mentioned. After asking the students which countries these men were from, Mr Ntuli introduced the main topic of the lesson.)

T:

- 1 Now we are coming to Unit 2, which is now a period up to 1942.
 - 2 It starts off with Benito Mussolini, Benito Mussolini (writes on board - W.O.B.)
 - 3 That is on page 19, Unit 2, page 19.
 - 4 Now there are terms you are going to be coming across on this section - Unit 2.
 - 5 First those terms that appear on that page - we have terms like radical (W.O.B.)
Dictatorship (W.O.B.) Fascism (W.O.B.)
Third Reich: but I only want us to look at those 3 terms which I think really, really dominate this chapter.
 - 6 Now let us look at 'radical' - what it means.
 - 7 "A person who wants to bring about political or social change by extreme or even violent (forceful) means" - (reading from textbook)
 - 8 Such a person is said to be.../

ss: } radical
- radical.
- 9 These are terms which you'll be seeing when you read newspapers today - terms you'll be listening to when you switch on the radio (Thabo: ya) or even on TV - you hear such terms being made mentioned of - because they are terms which are very, very common in the subject History.
 - 10 Now - if you sit down and think of such people - radicals - people or that particular person who wants to see change ... who does not want, who does not believe in a process you know where change takes place in a very, very slow pace - a person who wants things to happen now. All right?
Let's take for instance the issue of the 1976 riots where Afrikaans was forced right down the throats of black students as a medium of

instruction. The students rose up and opposed that policy. They did not want to wait till the end of the year and see how the results were and so on - but they wanted it to be renounced there and then. That's a very radical stance that they took. That is what they mean by a person who is radical - a person who wants a change socially or politically to happen on the spot. Fine.

12 We come to 'dictatorship'. What kind of a person is a dictatorship - is a dictator - a person who is a dictator. Right.

13 "absolute or despotic control of power..."

If you look at the old system of rule that exist(ed) during the ancient times - that is before democracy came to being - we find that people were being ruled by such people called dictators - people who held power - who had unlimited power - (over?) their subjects. Such people were used to be called dictators because they would not listen to what any other person would suggest or bring forward - their word was final. A person who - that is - a dictator is one whose word is final - things have to be done the way he wants them to be done. Right.

14 How do they explain (this) - "absolute or despotic control or power: a person or persons who will not allow anybody to oppose them or do anything which is not in keeping with their ideas". - (His) ideas is final - nobody's ideas is going to sway him.

15 Now another term that we are going to be seeing is 'Fascism' - "a system of government which is in favour of, or exercises a dictatorship of the extreme right". We speak of the extreme right and the extreme left, the liberals and so on. Now these are people who are said to be extreme left - those who are very, very liberal - those who accept change - those who believe change is necessary politically and socially - there's got to be change - things must be done according to its time. Now there are those who do not want to change from their original way of thought - we call them fascists, an extreme right (wing) people. We have such groups of people in South Africa. The Conservative Party is one of them but recently another organisation had been formed which is called the VOLKSWAG - that's the organisation which

stands for no change at all. Apartheid is apartheid, let it remain as it is, as pure as it is. Such people are termed the right-wingers. They are the extreme right. They do not want to accept any form of change whatsoever. We did have such people long ago and we still have them even today - that is what history is all about. We deal with such characters, liberal characters and very - eh - radical characters. It is not a crime to be radical: it is not a crime either to be - uh - right wing or conservative and so on, it is ones belief which must be - eh - tolerated.

- 16 Fascism is "a system of government which is in favour of, or exercises a dictatorship of the extreme right (i.e. very conservative and not at all liberal); it is also linked with an ideology (belief) and war-like nationalism." War-like nationalism - as I was telling you such like organisations are being formed and somehow they disappear and so on and so on. Now these are (the) sort of terms you are going to come across in this chapter and the people here that we are going to talk about are people who were trying to mould the history of their countries in one way or another.

(Mr Ntuli continues reading from the textbook and stops to elaborate on terms such as 'League of Nations', 'democracy', 'liberalism', during the reading. The text, essentially, is describing how the rise of nationalism, in Europe, replaced a system of autocratic rule with the establishment of 'democratic republics'.)

- T: 17 Right. Were the people able to cope with this new idea of democracy? We don't know - let us see whether they did.
- 18 People were already used now to despotism. They were used to being ruled by Kings, Monarchs, and so on and it will be difficult for them - to change from that to democracy.
- 19 Now - "history has taught us that a too rapid change" - a rapid change is a change that occurs you know - very fast, quick change. "... leads to panic" panic - fear - it leads to fear.
- 20 "People were not used to self-government and they did not know how to handle it." It was a new thing altogether - a new system altogether, whereby people would have the right to say - to

have a say in how they should be ruled or be governed - where people were able to elect people to govern them.

- 21 "They were not ready for change. Furthermore most of the newly created states in Europe were multi-national" - multi-national - we mean a state which is made up of many nations. South Africa is a typical example of that. Now in a situation like that you'll find that there is always friction where (we) are unable to say who must rule who - where a white does not want to be ruled by .../

ss: } a black

where a black does not want to be ruled by a.../

ss: } white

or maybe its Zulu, Sotho and so on - that's (means) multi-national countries. The same situation existed during this century...

"The years between the wars can be seen as a period of political reaction to a too rapidly changing world" - about changes - like we shall see with Mussolini.

"In this unit we are going to learn about the men who shaped history in the modern world of today."

APPENDIX : CHAPTER 9

- 7E2A (The students have been transforming sentences according to the procedures outlined in Chapter 9. After having completed a number of sentence transformations in this way, Mr Mazibuko instructed Cynthia to close a window)
- Cynthia: (closes the window)
- T: What have you done?
- Cynthia: I have closed the window.
- T: I have closed the window. Now, what has he
 ss: She
 what has she done?
- Zelda: She has closed the window.
- T: She has closed the window
 She has closed the window (writes on board)
 Cynthia, what have you done?
- Cynthia: I have closed the window.
- T: You said that 'I have closed the window' (W.O.B.)
 Now who have closed the window?
- ss: She
- T: Who have closed the window?
- Johanna: She has closed the window.
 (1.5 seconds)
 Cynthia has closed the window.
- T: Cynthia has closed the window.
- Johanna: Why not she ? (softly spoken)
- T: So in order to form question by using 'who' we remove the subject, we remove the subject. If we form question by using 'who' we remove the subject.
 'I have gone to town'
 'Who have gone to town'
 means that you have taken away the subject; so that this subject must be the answer to this question 'I have gone to town'.
- Johanna: You said: 'Who has closed the window' and I said: 'She has closed the window' and you said: 'No' and I said: 'Cynthia has closed the window'.

- T: Eh - repeat.
- Johanna: You said: 'Who has closed the window' and I said: 'She has closed the window' and you were not satisfied. And I said: 'Cynthia has closed the window', and you were satisfied =
- T: = So - first I said that: 'Cynthia close the window' - so I was expecting the name of that person. =
- Johanna: = you wrote 'She has closed the window'.
- T: That question I was not asking it from the board ... I was asking the class not from the board but
- Johanna: have closed the window' = } You WROTE 'I
- Gordon: = From the board sir - were you asking from the board sir?
- T: I never asked from the board (ss: laugh) This question was not asked from the board; it was a question that was direct(ed) to the task.

7E3A

- T: "When the manager (arrive) the men (wait) for him"
(reading from book)
- Zanele: When the manager arrived...]
- ss: [Haaai = (disagreeing)
- Zanele: = when the manager was arriving
the men were waiting for him.
- ss: was arriving, was arriving
- Johanna: When the manager arrived the men waited for him
- ss: [Arguments; pandemonium.]
- Caroline: (breaking through the noise) Teacher, when the manager
was arriving the men were waiting for him. Teacher,
which one is correct 'arrived' or 'waiting'?
- T: Noktula (help?) there. (nominating)
- Noktula : When the manager arrived the men were waiting for him.
- T: When the manager ARRIVED =
- ss: [Haa] (dissent and dissatisfaction)
- Carol: = Teacher they want the past continuous tense.
- ss: (dissent and noise continues)
- Teacher: Now we're coming to () the (verb) in brackets wanted is
'waiting' and also 'arrived'.
- ss: Yes/no (confusion)
- Johanna: Teacher, what about 'When the manager arrived the men
waited for him'?
- ss: [Yes teacher - no - past continuous tense, past continuous
tense]
- Johanna: When the manager arrived the men waited for him?
- ss: [When the manager arrived the men were waiting for him]
- T: Uh - listen Johanna.
When the manager arrived, ne? (i.e. right)
(Johanna: Yes) (present) tense, when he arrived. When he
arrived the men waited for him - or the men were waiting

for him. But if you say that 'when the manager arrived' - in the past tense - 'the men waited for him' in the past tense - it is wrong.

Johanna: Why?

ss: [Teacher, teacher]

Carol:

Teacher what is the meaning of past continuous tense?

T: What?

Carol: What is the meaning of past continuous tense?

T: The action that takes place in the past and in a continuous manner ()

Carol: (was) write in the past continuous tense - and what is 'arrived' past continuous tense or past tense? } teacher the instruction you gave

ss: past, past

T: Eh - which sentence.

Carol: Number 4 - 'arrived' is not continuous.

T: It's past, simple past tense =

Caroline: = Teacher it is not continuous. () ()

() (venacular comments)

T: Uh - please let's go to the next one.

ss: Uh - aaah - aaah (dissent and laughter).

(Mr Mazibuko returned to this example a few minutes later in order to assert the 'correct' answer.)

T: I said that 'when the manager arrived the men waited for him' () () and the correct answer is 'When the manager arrived the men were waiting for

ss: } him

for him' - and I said this is the correct one and you said } were waiting

Franscina:

Teacher you said you want past continuous tense and if you don't want past continuous tense it means that No 6 is 'waited' - 'worked' 'slept' - teacher. So now number 4 - 'arrived' is wrong teacher - 'arriving' teacher. It means it is not 'arrived' it's 'arriving' (Campton: Yeah) it means... (explains in vernacular).

7E4A:

T: A person who asks this question (i.e. 'what has she closed), he knew that she has closed something (Johanna: yes) and wanting to know what really she could have - she can close the door - she can close the window =

Johanna: = She closed the window - she told us that she closed the window - she told us that she closed the window. That's why I said 'What has she closed' - she told us.

T: Now if I don't know, if I was not here?

Johanna: = You were here teacher =

T: = If I was not here?

Johanna: () () You don't say =

Thabo: = 'What has she done' - 'What has she done?'
What

T: 'What have you done' -
it is still correct ... If you say that 'what has she closed' - you know a little bit that she has closed something.

Johanna: Yes, because she told us.

T: Now I want you to form question in which the answer is going to be 'she has closed the window'.

Johanna: Teacher, if I was outside and Noktula closed the window; you should have said: 'Johanna, Noktula has done something - what has she done?'
.....

T: If you were here (J: Yes) and somebody closed the window can you really ask him 'What have you done?' - when you were present?

ss: No, no.

If you were here and somebody closed the window, can you ask him again 'What have you closed?' can you say 'What have you closed' when you were here?

Johanna: Yes.

T: Unless you were sleeping; but if you were - your eyes were open =

Caroline: = Teacher, maybe you were outside and the window is this side.

T: Yes now?

Johanna: You are not sure if she has closed the cupboard or a]

Caroline: because you have () () here window

- - - - -

T: So if you are concentrating to something - right - and you never - have you heard the sound?

Johanna: Yes. I have heard the sound but I'm not sure of the sound =

T: = You heard the sound - you are not sure - maybe that sound was the closing of something (Johanna: Yes) or the talking of something. And if you say 'what have you closed' - it seems as if you were aware of it closing.

Johanna: Yes, yes.

- - - - -

(Some students were still not clear on the different contexts in which these sentences could be used. Franscina asked the teacher to explain the difference again)

T: Now we're coming to the difference between the two.

ss: YEEES. (approvingly)

T: The difference is that - eh - this question (i.e. 'What has she closed) ... can be asked by someone who is here - who was partly aware of what was happening (Johanna: Yes); but this one can also be asked by a person who comes from the outside

Johanna: That's better.

T: Right

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