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Talking democracy in Grade 7: a discourse analysis of SRC practice in a primary school

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fulfilment of the degree of Master of Education in
Applied Language Studies

by

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DECLARATION

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

Signature: 

Elspeth Proctor

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Abstract

My research set out to clarify to what extent democracy education is an identifiable and teachable concept in Curriculum 2005 and to find pedagogically useful ways of conceptualising and teaching active democratic participation. I chose a two-staged explorative qualitative research framework, informed by the New Literacy Studies and Critical Discourse Analysis, with Grade 7 learners in a primary school. I identified school Student Representative Councils (SRC's) as a potential site for 'democracy education-in-action'. My discourse analysis was based on a dialogue analysis of data collected in two SRC meetings in a primary school and interviews with SRC members eight months later.

I found that teachers dominated SRC practice through their asymmetrical power relations and discursive practice that often repressed and silenced learner voices. The SRC tended to be used as an official school voice to help staff with administration work, outreach projects and symbolic, ceremonial rituals rather than a forum for learner's voices or acquiring democratic practice. However, my data also shows that school SRC practice is a rich, but under-utilised resource with the potential to involve all learners in active participatory democratic practices and what I call the 'citizenship literacies'. I developed a tentative model of multidimensional citizenship and multiple literacies related to SRC practice in schools as well as notions around more appropriate teacher facilitation of SRC practice.

My data showed middle-class South African English discursive practices dominated the process and possibly silenced learners who spoke English as an additional language. I argue for further research in citizenship literacies, diverse SRC practices and the conscious development of appropriate models of SRC practice linked to democracy education in schools. Applied language studies has a crucial role to play in developing inter-intra culturally sensitive bi-culturalism in South Africa.

Contents

Chapter 1 Tomorrow's citizens: dimensions of belonging

> Nationality is a fiction. It is a story people tell themselves about who they are, where they live, and how they got there. As such it is a complicated and highly contested text … One's location in this narrative, one's ability to write oneself into the text of nationality, constitutes a form of literacy. It is an acquired language of belonging in space and time to an imaginary community … Opinions differ radically over both the form and the content of this language. Some argue that in an increasingly complex and multicultural society there is a need for a common literacy; others propose that we are moving toward a culture of many literacies. (Trend, 1994;238)

I begin my dissertation with David Trend's post-structuralist perspective on citizenship: not because it was the starting point of my research, but rather as an attempt at understanding citizenship, which I came to share through a discursive research process exploring the nature of 'democracy education' in South African schools. It nevertheless contains the rationale for my research, as a language educator, into 'democracy education', a subfield usually associated with the social sciences and history. As an English language teacher, I am committed to teaching language-across-the-curriculum, and, initially, I set out to explore the nature of this 'acquired language' and whether or not it constitutes a teachable set of citizenship discourse.

1.1 The background to my research

Democratic citizenship education forms a major goal of education in most established democracies as well as in young or emerging democracies. However, 'citizenship' is a widely contested concept, and 'citizenship education' remains a controversial discourse often associated with political and ideological control of state education systems.

Conceptions of what civics or democracy education may involve for a post-apartheid South Africa entering the 21st Century have, to date, clustered around a few specific education policy documents, tentative regional discussion documents and the interpretations of Curriculum 2005[1] (C2005) in classroom texts and materials. As yet, there is no official agreement on what to call such education, let alone on its composition. Documents tend to produce undefined and under-developed concepts (for example, what does it mean to 'participate as a responsible citizen', a 'generic outcome' in C2005 ?) or a learning programme that essentially boils down to a list of topics and content, contradicting the outcomes-based philosophy behind the recent curriculum (Gauteng Department of Education, 1997).

In a recent paper entitled 'Education for democracy', Leibowitz argues that 'democracy education' involves far more than concepts: she points out that if students are to become active participants in society, it implies that 'individuals have the means, technical, linguistic or knowledge related, to

[1] The Curriculum Policy document establishing what is hoped to be a radically alternative outcomes-based education for South African schools, originally to have been phased in and completely operational by the year 2005.

participate in society' (2000; 1). As Leibowitz indicates, we are not interested only in concepts, but in the actual means, knowledge and practices which constitute social activities involved in 'participating in society', a notion she links with 'democratic education'.

I fully endorse this view and believe that an explicit exploration of what these means are, especially their linguistic and knowledge-related features, would enable curriculum developers, materials writers, educators, learners, and the public to participate more effectively in the production and pedagogy of a democratic citizenship in South Africa.

As an educator experienced in English language and mathematics teaching, as well as being an educational materials developer and writer, I am committed to the teaching of language-across-the-curriculum. A wide body of theory and research, and curriculum documents, both local and international, foreground the role of language in learning, and the explicit teaching of language-across-the curriculum (Rothery, 1996;87; Burden & Williams (ed), 1998; Sylvester in Campbell & Little, 1989; Veel & Coffin, 1996; Langhan et al, 2000). The discourse, language structures and social practices of democracy or citizenship education have not been specifically described anywhere, let alone in South Africa. This could be because they do not fall within a traditional discipline, and are associated rather with a low-status hybrid sub-field, which until the mid 1990s was seen as a relic of outdated curricula internationally. So I felt, as a language educator, rather than as a content specialist, I had a particular contribution to make in exploring the linguistic features of what I believe to be an emerging democratic citizenship discourse in South Africa.

I chose to concentrate on the senior phase of the General Education and Training band (GET), encompassing Grade 7 (the final year of primary school, with learners of 12–13 years of age) to Grade 9 (the first two years of high school with learners of up to 15 or 16 years old) as this phase marks the final level of compulsory, and financially better-subsidised, formal schooling for many South Africans. It is therefore critical in producing the competent 'good citizen' for the future South Africa. This, then, begs the question: what does South Africa expect of its citizens?

To answer this, I turn first to the Preamble of The South African Constitution adopted in 1996, which provides the essential touchstone for later conceptualisations of the notion of 'citizenship'.

1.2 Creating tomorrow's South African Citizen

1.2.1 The constitutional vision: dimensions of belonging

The vision for a new South Africa is painted poetically in the Preamble to the Constitution of 1996, which, apart from being the supreme law in South Africa, is immensely important socially and symbolically as the outcome of negotiations between all the major political parties and the

liberation movements in South Africa. It is much celebrated as a blueprint for a participatory democracy, containing the vision and hopes for such a society, as well as the processes and laws with which to transform a country divided by years of civil war, with a three-hundred-year legacy of racism, colonialism and apartheid. As such, it also forms a key text for democracy education in C2005 and other framing documents, such as the *Report on Values and Democracy in Education* (May, 2000).

I quote and briefly analyse the Preamble to the Constitution below. A closer look at language usage illustrates the connection between language and ideology: the words we chose to narrate ourselves into a new nation, an imagined community.

> We, the people of South Africa
> Recognise the injustices of our past; …
> Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity …
> We therefore, through our freely elected representatives: …
> Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; …
> Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society …
> (The Preamble to The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996)

The symbolic significance of a democratic Constitution, reached through consensual negotiations, is captured in the language of the Preamble, which functions as a multi-purpose, richly intertextual example of a human rights 'citizenship discourse' for the new nation. Legal language steps back to allow the rather poetic flow of political human rights discourse to create the required notion of one people acting together in consensus.

The opening sentence, written in the simple present tense, in formal but everyday English, is arranged graphically more like a poem, an example of Rorty's 'poetry of social hope'(1998; 243), than the introduction to a legal document. The opening 'We' is a powerful pronoun of a solidarity discourse[2]. Strong declarative verbs ('Recognise', 'Believe', 'Heal, 'Lay'), given prominence through capitalisation and isolation from the subject, each on a new line, acquire the status of the compelling imperative to describe and mobilise the consensual process necessary for transformation.

The overall effect is a consensual political discourse around a shared notion of a future Utopian ideal in which each individual who identifies with being 'South African' must endorse the procedures and values described. In doing so, however, the language, somewhat implicitly, sets up a polarised dichotomy of opposites: just, unjust; past, present; united, divided; open, closed; we,

[2] Used for the same effect in the American Constitution (where it originally referred only to men of the white elite) and Pledge as well as the ANC's Freedom Charter adopted in 1955. A number of studies relate semantic items and pronoun usage to power and ideological use in discourse (cited in Fowler, 198:63).

them ('us' and the Other). This creates a tension that can work against the intended consensual, unifying nature of such discourse, but also provides a powerful coercion to identify with values and transformational processes for the Utopian ideal. Citizenship is a form of social solidarity, a sense of belonging in a political community. The declarative verbs ('Recognise past injustice', 'Believe in unity in diversity', 'heal the divisions' and 'lay the foundations') suggest the necessary 'action' required of citizens, the condition for 'belonging'. The language of the Preamble provides an emotive imperative to 'good citizenship'. The Preamble, together with the metaphor of the 'rainbow nation', captures the new narratives being told to mobilise a very diverse and divided South Africa to identify with the new democratic nationhood project.

For many postmodernists, such discourses are either outdated or dangerous. In the context of the USA, for example, Wexler argues that citizenship is an archaic term, 'not part of the language of everyday life' but a ' linguistic residue of the modern era that has passed' (1991;164). I agree that traditional modernist models of nationhood, based on homogenous notions of shared languages, cultures and history, are outdated. But in a country where the majority of people have only just become legal citizens, and the state still has to extend citizenship rights to all its people, I would argue that notions of citizenship and nationhood remain pertinent. Penny Enslin (1999), a South African theorist, cautions against using nationalistic sentiment to build a new sense of nationhood, arguing rather for an emphasis on building a liberal democratic state. Citizenship discourses should then focus on human rights, shared democratic values, processes and procedure, illustrated in the Preamble. In chapter 2, section 2.3, I look more closely at citizenship for the 21st Century.

1.2.2 The educational vision

The National Education Policy Act of 1996 employs more legally 'neutral' language, avoiding emotive and evocative words, to establish the dual function of the education system that is to 'contribute to the full personal development of each student, and to the moral, social, cultural, political and economic development of the nation at large, including the advancement of democracy, human rights and the peaceful resolution of disputes' (1996;6).

Education policy documents have established a new paradigm for education to transform South African society. The Curriculum policy documents shape the vision for curriculum developers, but use more loaded words, in the tradition of 'the poetry of social hope' expressed in the constitutional utopian vision: for example, 'A prosperous, truly united, democratic and internationally competitive country with literate, creative and critical citizens leading productive, self-fulfilled lives in a country free of violence, discrimination and prejudice.' (From *Lifelong Learning through a National Curriculum Frame* cited in Department of Education, 1997.)

It is a tall order for C2005 to transform a country with South Africa's racist and authoritarian history, high unemployment and massive illiteracy rates. Slick language seeks to paint a dream-world, in stark contrast to the past and present harsh South African reality. While the utopian discourse is understandable, one cannot but wonder whether such language, by setting up an idealised and unobtainable dream, is not shooting policy and its implementation in the foot. Policy documents should establish achievable, defined concepts rather than further turning controversial terms, such as 'democratic' and 'literate, creative and critical citizens' into rhetorical buzzwords or, to use Lankshear's term, 'magic-bullets', that loose their distinctive meaning through their close proximity with what must realistically remain the rhetorical use of 'social hope poetry' in notions of 'a prosperous, truly united country' and a 'country free of violence, discrimination and prejudice'.

A recent report, entitled *Report on the Values and Democracy in Education* (2001), sets out to clarify the relationship between democratic state and schooling, as well as to provide a specific working definition of a 'good citizen' for the future:

> A good citizen is an informed citizen, someone versed in the values and principles of the Constitution and Bill of Rights, the history of South Africa and what it means to exercise democratic freedom with the restraints of personal moral character. The well-rounded South African of the future is someone with a historical consciousness, an open and inquiring mind, is trilingual, and has a healthy respect for the obligations of citizenship.
>
> (*Report of Working Group on Values in Education*; 2000;31)

Thus far I have shown that curriculum documents produce a notion of a ' critical citizen' and specify what a 'good citizen' is in the context of a new democratic South Africa. Education, especially formal schooling, is seen as central to the creation of this new citizen and society. C2005 textbooks and papers such as Leibowitz's (2000) assume an identifiable social construct in South Africa, an identifiable 'thing', such as 'citizenship education' or 'civic education' associated with transforming people into 'responsible' and 'thinking citizens' and societies into democracies. Where and how such education is to take place is still in a state of flux, and its position changed radically half way through my research project. I explore what I call 'democracy education' and citizenship education in C2005 (as yet it is not consistently named in South African policy documents) in chapter 2, sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3.

This tentative approach to citizenship or democratic education is probably a strength. Such education is an interface of the nation's competing political and ideological discourses requiring careful planning and development. Trend points out that 'Opinions differ radically over both the form and the content of this language'(1994;238). There are tensions evident, for example, in the different semantic terms used to name the space for democratic citizenship education which I look

at in chapter 2, and debate as to where it should appear and how much space it should be allocated in the overcrowded curriculum is still very much alive. This is inevitable: it is the nature of citizenship, democracy and educational discourses. The lack of debate on the key concepts of 'democracy', values and models for South African citizenship and what this means in a country with South Africa's cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity, is more alarming.

But, for as long as the formulations on democratic citizenship education remain general, fuzzy and peppered with magic-bullet terms, where the specific knowledge, skills, values and the required language structures to participate in democratic civil life are not defined, democracy education probably will not happen. It is for this reason that I believe research into the discourse of democratic citizenship practice and education, and how it can be implemented in a society as complex and as diverse as South Africa, is essential to the democratic project in this country.

1.3 Working in discursive spaces: framing my research question

As indicated above, C2005 has created discursive space for generating a new understanding of democracy education in the context of the new South Africa. A discursive space is a very creative place within which to work. It is a place where new thoughts, concepts and metalanguages are being created (Bernstein, 1990;173).

I chose to explore the emerging discourse on democratic citizenship education in Grade 7, as it was the first year of the GET band to be implemented, for the first time in 2000. My initial project set out to describe some of the language features of democracy education emerging from the Human and Social Science textbooks published for C2005. However, my pilot study, together with changes to the nature and delivery of 'democracy education' in C2005 in July 2000, revealed that it was probably premature to isolate the linguistic features of texts or discourses before exploring the social practices that constituted them. I refocused my study to explore one site for 'democracy education-in-action', the school Student Representative Council (SRC)[3]. My research question is outlined in the box below.

To what extent is 'democracy education' an identifiable and teachable concept in Curriculum 2005? More specifically: (a) How do we characterise the discourses around democracy in a pedagogically useful way so that educational outcomes can be more precisely defined, taught and assessed? (b) Can a school Student Representative Council (SRC) facilitate democracy education-in-action?

[3] In terms of current practices SRCs are termed 'Learner Representative Councils' but, as this term is not yet in current use, I will use the wider and better-known term SRCs.

Chapter 2 A discursive path to democracy education

> Standing opposed to political authoritarianism is the influence of *democracy* – the favourite term of the moment, for who is not a democrat now? But what kind of democracy is at issue here? For at the very time when liberal democratic systems seem to be spreading everywhere, we find those systems under strain in their very societies of origin. (Giddens, 1994; 12)

My opening quotation in chapter 1 pointed to the linguistically constructed nature of citizenship and nationhood discourses. I showed how the Preamble of the South African Constitution created a consensual solidarity discourse around a shared notion of a future South Africa and how to achieve it. South African curriculum documents continue this vision and create a discursive space for a citizenship or democracy education. However, the concepts and specific practices involved in participatory democratic citizenship education remain undefined and underdeveloped.

I open this chapter with a quotation from Anthony Giddens, drawing our attention to the changing, and polarising, tendencies of discourses, and their ability to create our subjectivities or identity, in this case as 'democrats'. I therefore begin by establishing my understanding of the term 'discourse', and place the notion of 'democracy' in a South African context. I then touch on contemporary models of 'citizenship' and 'citizenship education', before examining how these notions are being developed by South African curriculum documents. In the final section, I report on my pilot study, used to orientate myself to teaching 'democracy education' in a Grade 7 classroom and identify Student Representative Councils as potential sites for democracy-education-in-action. I then establish an understanding of a Student Representative Council meeting as a social literacy practice and a multi-modal text, which becomes my research focus.

2.1 My use of the term 'discourse'

Discourse is a protean concept with a confusing and frustratingly varied use. I adopt a socio-cultural and historical understanding of discourse as opposed to an applied linguistics definition or a current mainstream understanding[1]. My use of 'discourse' follows from the critical discourse analysis framework (CDA) I use, originally developed by Fairclough (1992). However, following Pennycook (1994;126), Kress et al (2000) and Luke (1996a), I prefer a more Foucaultian perspective on discourse, especially at the macro-level, to avoid the reductionism and socio-economic determinism in neo-Marxist critical theory models of which Fairclough is fairly representative. I develop this criticism below.

[1] David Crystal defines discourse as 'a continuous stretch (especially spoken) of language longer than a sentence' and discourse analysis as 'The study of patterns of linguistic organisation in discourses' (1995;451).

For Michel Foucault (1971) 'discourses are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (cited in Parker, 1992;5). In this sense, discourses do more that simply describe the social world: they help construct its reality and position its human subjects. Discourse, in the Foucaultian sense, is much broader than a strictly linguistic sense or everyday sense of the word. It consists of rules of conduct, established texts and institutions.

Similarly, discourse for Fairclough is 'language use as a form of social practice ...'(1992;63). Language practice is seen as socially determined: language use is not individual cognitive social acts (as in mainstream linguistics where the language-user is a more-or-less autonomous actor), but is rather determined by larger social and ideological conditions in society. CDA always looks to social power, history and ideology to understand meaning. The understanding of 'context' is not merely speech events, text genres, speaker's intentions and so on (what Pennycook calls 'decontextualised context' of mainstream linguistics) but contexts based on an understanding of social, cultural and political difference. So far, critical theorists and Foucaultians can agree. But Pennycook (1994;126) suggests that Fairclough's and Kress's understanding of discourse, while supposedly Foucaultian, belongs to the Anglo-American critical theory tradition in which 'discourse' is seen as a socially embedded linguistic phenomenon, largely determined by ideology, and power is something held by one dominant group and not by others.

Pennycook explains his Foucaultian understanding of discourse as follows:

> Discourse, in this sense, does not refer to language or uses of language, but to ways of organizing meaning that are often, though not exclusively, realized through language. Discourses are about the creation and limitation of possibilities, they are systems of power/knowledge within which we take up subject positions (1993;130).

Foucault argued that power is embedded in institutions and the discourses that construct identities and form social life and not only in the controlling actors (dichotomies of the oppressed/oppressor; ruling class/under class), ideology or dominant groups. Power is not 'something' that people can own and that can be redistributed among social groups that challenge inequities (Carlson, 1992, cited in Popkewitz, 1995;144). This notion of 'power' is especially important when we look at the perennial problem of 'empowering' pedagogies to achieve more equitable and just societies (see section 2.5.3 later) as well as in analysing the asymmetrical relationship between teachers and learners in chapter 4 and 5.

Moreover, power for Foucault, underlined in Pennycook's quotation above, often has *creative* functions, not only repressive ones. The exact nature of the relationship between knowledge and power requires careful study; the two cannot simply be equated (Ransom, 1997;23–24). Discourses create, limit and establish our position and identities.

When David Trend (1994;238) argues that 'Nationality is a fiction … a story people tell themselves about who they are, where they live and how they got there', he is describing the power of discourse to construct our social world. When we talk about 'democracy education' or 'citizenship education' we are creating institutional discourses that help (or coerce) our learners into writing themselves into the narrative of being a new South African and belonging to an imagined community, the new democratic South Africa. For Trend, becoming a South African involves acquiring a discourse: 'an acquired language of belonging in space and time to an imaginary[2] community'. This can be a creative process of redefining and recreating ourselves, a process, I argue, that lies at the heart of democracy education in our schools, and not necessarily the imposition of a self-serving ruling class ideology that must necessarily be resisted by 'progressives'.

Discourses have many properties (see, for example, Parker, 1992, Fairclough,1992a; Van Dijk, 1997) on which I cannot elaborate here. However, one of the most significant properties of discourses and texts is their 'interdiscursivity' or 'intertextuality' (Bakhtin (1981) and Kristeva (1986) cited in Fairclough, 1992a;10). This relates to one discourse or text containing 'echoes' and traces of other discourses and texts within it. Complex constructs, such as 'democracy education', 'citizenship' and 'human rights', consist of hybridised and competing discourses, especially in a country as diverse as South Africa.

A related concept, especially nuanced for the educational context, is 'recontextualised discourse'. It refers to the process, especially marked in education, whereby discourses and texts are relocated from the intellectual disciplines and social practices that produce them (primary context) to educational institutions (secondary contexts) (Bernstein, 1990; Gee, 1990). In talking 'democracy education' I am working with a recontextualised, pedagogic discourse as well as recontextualising it myself. Texts and discourses are selected from political, legal, human rights, and civil society domains, and adapted and changed to suit educational purposes. For example, under modules related to 'democracy education' in the Human and Social Science textbooks I studied, legal texts (from the Constitution and Bill of Rights) and political texts (on elections and school governance as well as traditional 'civics'), were reproduced in various adapted forms, judged 'more suitable' for a Grade 7 learner, and organised into educational activities far removed from their original contexts in a court of law or political poster. This process can distort and create 'imaginary subjects' where the discourse practice reproduced is very different from that of the

[2] I prefer the word 'imagined': linguistic construction does not make them less real or necessarily reduce one to an idealist position of radical constructivism. In Chapter 3 I argue for a critical realist ontology at odds with Foucault.

in which it originates (Bernstein, 1990;208). It was precisely the *decontextualised and ideological repositioning* of texts in my pilot study which I found made much classroom work rather irrelevant, artificial and boring (see section 2.4 and the report on my pilot study Appendix 1). The SRC I studied was also involved in recontextualising discourse when its members made posters to illustrate the school's Code of Conduct or translated a discourse of social responsibility into a slogan 'Tuesday=Careday=Bread day' (see chapter 4, 4.4.3).

Returning to my earlier point that discourses can create, limit and establish our identities, it is particularly important that South Africa, as an emerging democracy with an authoritarian and racist past, confronts its political, cultural and pedagogical discourses and dialogues (Diamond, 1997; 31). These discourses 'map out' what can be said and thought about democracy, human rights, law and education, for example (Pennycook, 1994;130). We also need to 'problematise' and analyse the new emerging discourses of nationhood, democracy and citizenship: the relationships they construct between knowledge and power, the subject positions they create and allow us to take and the shape of the institutions they construct.

Such an undertaking is far beyond the scope of this study, but I highlight the problematic notion of 'democracy' in South Africa, where until recently, it was central to both the discourses of the liberation struggle and those of the apartheid regime. I do so through metanarratives about 'democracy' and rather polarised notions of Western versus African discursive practices, a questionable undertaking in post-structuralist terms (Cherryholmes, 1988;11). Nevertheless, such narratives, provided they are loosely construed and make no claim to an absolute truth or the only valid perspective, can serve to 'deconstruct' the old, and to rethink and re-envisage a new discourse-practice for democracy education.

2.2 Talking democracy in South Africa

In a contested history of 25 centuries in the West, attitudes to democracy have only recently undergone a complete reversal through which democracy is now almost universally held in high esteem. South Africa's successful negotiated transition to democracy in 1994 had a lot to do with everyone's ability to see themselves 'as democrats' (Du Toit, 1991). However, while most South Africans celebrate 'democracy', their notions of what 'democracy' means are often very different, even contradictory. The word 'democracy' was the central notion in the two antithetical discourses of the Freedom Struggle and of the apartheid state representing democratic civilization versus communism. The 20th Century democratic ideal, in the South African context, is evocatively captured in the credo of the Freedom Charter, 'The people shall govern', and the slogan 'Power to the People' or '*Amandla awethu*', ironically identified by the Apartheid state ideology as radical

and communist (everything that was the antithesis of 'democracy' and 'freedom') (Du Toit, 1991; 395). These slogans, with their powerful symbolic impact and polarising discourses, contain nothing but the essential meanings of the root term 'democracy'.

In Greek *demos* means 'the people' and *kratos* means 'rule' or 'power'. Thus democracy means 'popular rule' or 'rule by the people' as against monarchy (rule by one) or oligarchy, 'rule by a few'. The isiZulu translation of 'democracy' captures this meaning clearly: *intando yenngi* translates as 'the will of the majority', which may resonate with a traditional concept of '*Eluthu*' (translated as 'it is our will', discussed in relation to achieving consensus in section 2.2.2). Most other South African languages simply adopt the English word (for example, in isiXhosa the Constitutional Preamble uses '*edemokhrasi*') creating semantic space for a new concept of 'democracy' with new connotations. To further interrogate the notion, one needs to ask 'who are "the people"?'(Du Toit,1991). Under apartheid's exclusive notions of 'peoples', each with their own sphere and space, one gets a very different answer to that provided by the Freedom Charter's simplistic notions which could lead to the tyranny of the majority or the current policy documents' liberal, inclusive definitions that also protect minority rights.

Changes in the political conception of who the people are may also be reflected in semantic change. The usual word for 'the people' or 'the nation' in Afrikaans is '*die volk*', but the Preamble to the Constitution (in English written so poetically – see chapter 1) uses a rather lifeless term '*die bevolking*' ('the population'). '*Die volk*' has been, I believe, deliberately avoided because it now has connotations of an exclusive Afrikaner '*volk*': a deeply emotive word with associations of the exclusive Afrikaner nation that fought the frontier wars and the imperial British and went on to name and entrench apartheid.

Not all South African 'democrats' and 'progressives' necessarily identify with liberal, multi-party democracy however. As in many other culturally diverse countries with colonial histories, some groups (often traditional elites) reject 'democracy' as a 'Western' foreign ideology. The first generation of post-colonial African leaders, from Nyerere through to Mugabe, drew on a socialist tradition, and echoed Black Consciousness Movement sentiments to argue for the one-party state 'democracy' as the most inclusive form of government in ethnically diverse societies (Chipasula, 1991;339). However, since the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the recent demise of one-party states in Africa, multi-party democracy, with a strong civil society, has regained global popularity (Reitzes, 1997;15). But a range of voices, most notably the Africanists, still critique contemporary notions of liberal, multi-party democracies as an invisible form of western imperialism (Burman et al, 1997) and advocate an African Democracy (cited in Chipasula, 1991;

339 and Enslin, 1999). More recent talk of an 'African Renaissance' gave birth to emerging 'retraditionalisation' discourses of the 1990s seeking to recognise and incorporate indigenous knowledges and practices within a constitutional democracy (Oomen, 2000;42; Vale & Maseko, 1998; Myers, 1999).

A notion of 'African Democracy' is deeply problematic. It is developed within Western dichotomous thinking, assuming the Western 'norm' of a liberal, constitutional democracy, and creates the illusion of simplistic dichotomies with static, fixed essentialist representations (Barbe, 2000;90). Such debates usually take the form of 'colonial discourse' (Pennycook, 1998; Said, 1978) posing Western practice as the naturalised 'norm' and African or indigenous practice as the exotic 'Other'. As such it possibly reinforces a false 'two nation' discourse on South Africa's diversity, as well as potentially contributing to the hegemonic control of Western discourse, especially the hegemonic control of the English language, over the post-colonial and developing world (Pennycook, 1998; Marshall & Martin, 2000; Joseph & Ramani, 1998). I nevertheless explored the notion to destabilise the assumption that 'democratic process' is necessarily only a Western practice alien to African society as well as that of the romantic tendencies of many Africanists. I was also interested in research evidence of urban legends and stereotypes of our different discursive practices, and to gain some sense of how this could impact on learners' understanding of democracy, especially in terms of meeting procedure and understanding the SRC role in school governance.

It appears that notions of a traditional African democracy result from research that can be read as identifying elements in pre-colonial African politics (provided through Chief's/King's councils and customary discursive practices) that have a lot in common with the definitive features of liberal democracy (for example, some notions of free expression, deliberation, opposition, representation, participation and checks and balances) (Ayittey cited in Enslin, 1999;182). In a South African context, Mandew (1991;329) concludes:

> ... traditional African forms of decision-making display an exceptional sensitivity to what has today become known as the essential elements of the democratic ideal ... It is important to note that though we identified a sensitivity of African traditional forms of decision-making to what is presently known as the democratic ideal, the two are not identical. The major difference lies in the fact that whereas traditional African forms of government are based on the notion of well-being and consensus, the tradition of modern democracy is built on individualist concerns[3].

[3] This is a reductionist criticism of Western liberal democracy, which applies only to certain models. Contemporary understandings of liberal democracies challenge this classical conception with more social understanding.

A number of historians disagree, pointing to a tendency to romanticise the past and claim democratic practices that are just not there. 'Although the African traditional society has been portrayed as having been democratic,' argues Chipasula 'it is also known to have been not only oppressive but also exploitative' (1991;339). Similarly, Proctor and Phimister (1991;25) argue that the built-in limits of power of any chief and popular support for the lineage system (before colonialism interrupted it) do not mean that lineage societies, which concentrated power in the hands of elders or old men, were democratic.

Language represents the deepest manifestation of culture and people's value systems, although this does not mean it determines culture (the Sapir–Whorf Hypothesis). But the discoursal level of language is inseparable from cultural behaviour, and except in individuals with a high degree of bi-culturation and bilingualism, one's primary home language will determine a great deal of inter-lingual transfer as discourse (Clyne, 1994).

2.2.1 Contrasting notions of decision-making and meeting procedure

The Western method of liberal democracy relies on a concept of simple majority, achieved through voting. A meeting, for example, aims for agreement, but where there is not consensus, issues are often decided by the vote. Time and efficiency are at a premium so procedures to speed up the meeting (for example calling for concrete proposals or limiting participants' inputs) are seen as legitimately democratic. Targeted discourse behaviour within South African English culture is consistent with Gricean maxims, that is brief and to the point (Chick,1985;309). In contrast, Chick (1985;309), researching possible intra- and intercultural sociolinguistic practices between South African English speakers and isiZulu speakers, quotes a Zulu informant as explaining that what is highly valued in his culture is behaviour which proceeds at a steady, measured, dignified pace. A person who speaks fast or without appropriate greetings is perceived as rude. The Western concept of debate, expressing oppositional viewpoints, can be seen as 'provocative' and problematic from an African consensus tradition described below. Although the minority must abide by the majority decision, its oppositional position is noted, respected and tolerated. This allows for an individualism not present in strong collective consensual decision-making practices which does not create space for voices of resistance or difference, or a critical but loyal opposition, underlined by recent debates in parliament (see Holiday, 2001).

In contrast, there is a strong tradition of decision-by-consensus in many traditional African societies. This process is well documented in literature (Banana, 1991; Chipasula, 1991). Hector Tshabala, head of the Parliamentary Language Department, explained the process to me in an interview. Time, he argued, is the key to reaching consensus. Traditionally, Africans go into a

meeting in which decisions have to be made with no prior arrangements or appointments. The idea is that you take everyone along with you. Everyone can speak as much or as often as they like: ideally the pace of the meeting is conducted at that of the slowest person. Once a general majority view begins to emerge, which usually involves compromise, those who were in opposition will slowly begin retracting, rephrasing and repositioning themselves, until everyone can say '*Eluthu*' (isiZulu) – 'it is our will'(the culmination of consensus). Once the community has decided on that, one is expected not to go against it, or even register one's opposition. Group solidarity is very important.

Traditional meeting practices had intriguing discursive techniques and social practices for aiding the process. Special discursive practices for council meetings tried to allow councillors to speak freely, though with reserve, while the Chief would speak last, so no-one need contradict him. The King's council could act together to 'constrain the king' (Banana, 1991;328). Great importance was attached to wise and strong councillors who were ready to criticise the King. It was acknowledged that individuals 'with tongues like fly-whisks' (Tshabala used the simile to indicate analytical and persuasive speech) had more power in meetings. The chief might eventually ask those who diverted issues and growing consensus to 'please take my horse for watering'. Independent, impulsive and arbitrary action by the chief was considered unbecoming and unconstitutional. It would appear, then, that the basic principles of liberal democracy and *some* traditional forms of decision-making are neither incompatible nor mutually exclusive.

South Africa has begun a process of adapting, integrating and incorporating indigenous knowledge and practices within the context of a liberal constitutional democracy (for example, current legislation seeks to accommodate African traditions and leaders) but liberal constitutional democracy practice has clashed painfully on bread-and-butter issues with traditional African society (for example on property and inheritance rights of women). Recent political discourse described South Africa as 'two nations', referring to the gulf of socio-economic realities and constituting this in racial terms[4] (Mbeki's speech to Parliament in 2000). The 'rainbow' nation myth may have glossed over divisions, but it also pointed to the multiple diversity of 'views', languages and discourses. Our diversity is far broader and textured than the 'two nations' symbolism suggests.

A new government-sponsored discourse of '*saamtrek*' (a drawing or pulling together) is emerging to unite us under 'common values' and a 'new patriotism' of citizenship. The common values

[4] Intra-black inequality is now greater than the inequality between whites and blacks (February & Jacobs, *Mail & Guardian,* March 23–29, 2001).

articulated at the recent *Saamtrek: Values in Education Conference* aim at fostering common values in schools and a 'new patriotism' in our schools (February & Jacobs, *Mail & Guardian,* March 23–29, 2001). Such an enterprise requires new discourses and 'languages' of democracy and citizenship to enable all South Africans to locate themselves in a new 'text' of nationhood. I thus turn to notions of 'citizenship' for the 21st Century, and more specifically discourse around creating the new South African citizen.

2.3 Citizenship education for the 21st Century

> Of course political scientists and educators write about citizenship and citizenship education. Does citizenship have any meaning outside of such expert culture? Or, is citizenship a linguistic residue of the modern era that has passed? (Wexler, 1991;164)

Postmodernist perspectives have increasingly challenged educational policies based on coherence and unity of the conventional concept of citizenship (Wexler, 1991; Giroux, 1990; Luke & Luke, 1990; Arnot, 1997). But the concept of 'citizenship education' has survived since before Plato in Western thinking, and shows every sign of re-emerging in the 21st Century. Most new educational research has developed around the concept of citizenship and the political processes, languages and meanings attached to it in both in the UK (Arnot, 1997; Crick, 1999) and Australia (Phillips & Moroz, 1996;13; Dudley et al, 1999). In the UK 'Citizenship', as an explicit subject, will be taught for the first time in England in 2002, after its failure to make sufficient impact in an integrated, infused curriculum introduced in the 1990s (British Council, 2001). In South Africa, academics are again beginning to address the topic, with several related papers recently published after years of silence on a politically unpopular issue (for example, Diamond, 1997; Moller & Joubert, 1996; Leibowitz, 2000; Rensburg, 2000; Schoeman, 2000; Enslin, 1999). In this section, I touch on international notions of citizenship, before exploring an understanding of citizenship developed in South African curriculum documents to date.

2.3.1 International models of citizenship

Most contemporary discussions still map the concept of citizenship in dualistic dichotomies: a minimal/narrow and broad/active interpretation of the prerequisites for effective citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992; Arnot, 1997; Herbert, 1997;Gilbert, 1996). The narrow notion associated with a modernist/nationalist conception of citizenship assumes homogenous nation states with simple unitary identities (essentialist notions of citizenship, often ethnically constituted). These models produce a transmission style of uncritical 'civics' education, full of facts about institutions and constitutional platitudes. Research in both Britain (Crick, 1999) and South Africa (cited in Moller & Joubert, 1996) found it instilled only boredom and contempt in learners.

A maximal/broad or 'activist' notion of citizenship constitutes 'a citizen' in dynamic social, cultural and psychological terms. The learners actively learn about citizenship through uncovering ways in which institutions and structures function. Past discrimination is exposed, and learners explore ways to make institutional practice more democratic and inclusive (a critical/functional view of 'citizenship') (Herbert, 1997). Many believe that this notion is still insufficient to cope with a concept of multiple identities in a complex and diverse society, calling for a renewed, flexible notion (Hoerder, 1996; Herbert, 1997). I used a *multidimensional citizenship model,* adapted from an international Citizenship Education Study Project (Cogan, 1997)[5] to inform my analysis (see chapters 3 and 5, and appendix 12). I believe a model such as this would contribute substantially to curriculum policy documents enabling curriculum developers, materials writers and educators to interpret terms such as 'critical' and 'responsible' citizens used in C2005 outcomes. Berman argues that the notion of 'citizenship or civic education' is still too limiting a concept, and we need a concept such as educating for 'social responsibility' to focus on the nature of a person's relationship with others in larger social and political worlds (1997;12). Davidson, however, argues that in multicultural countries such as Australia and South Africa, a thin procedural notion of citizenship is best (cited in Dudley et al, 1999;147). My literature survey included a wide range of citizenship/civic education related reading, and I have included a further reading list on the topic for interested educators or researchers in appendix 12.

I now examine the dominant concepts constituting a notion of 'citizenship education' in the key educational policy documents in South African schools. I argue that they develop a notion of active, participatory citizenship.

2.3.2 Creating the new South African citizen

The policy documents for national education continue the constitutional Utopian vision of a new democratic South Africa, positing curriculum as a central transformational tool. C2005 was developed to put this policy into practice: 'In the past the curriculum has perpetuated race, class, gender and ethnic divisions and has emphasised separateness, rather than common citizenship and nationhood. It is therefore imperative that the curriculum be restructured to reflect the values and principles of our new democratic society' (Department of Education, 1997;1).

C2005, the post-1994 outcomes-based education project, envisaged a total paradigm shift, introducing a version of outcomes-based education (OBE), new, integrated, inter-disciplinary learning areas to replace traditional, disciplined-based, school subjects and a

[5] 182 policy experts from nine participating nations reached consensus on a vision for criteria and skills required for a person living in the 21st century (Cogan, 1997).

new language to talk about education and learning. The twelve critical outcomes framing this document were described as 'broad, generic cross curricular outcomes which underpin the Constitution …'. The concept of 'participating as a responsible citizen' is described as one of the intended outcomes that must underlie all learning programmes (Department of Education, 1997;14).

C2005 allocated a significant amount of discursive space to 'democracy education' as one of the three sub-fields or 'circles' constituting Human and Social Sciences (HSS), an aspect that has since been dropped from the revised C2005 project. All learning areas contributed some aspect to 'participatory citizenship'. An analysis of C2005 and HSS outcomes showed that C2005 was moving towards a procedural notion of 'active participatory citizenship' (currently advocated by 'cutting edge' democratic educators elsewhere in the world). C2005 itself did not present a coherent understanding of democracy education, but it did give a thin collection of ideas and suggestions.

'Active citizenship' can be construed as participating in processes (decision-making, reconciliation, conflict resolution and voting) in the context of democratic organisations and processes (classrooms, clubs or schools). It recognises that to do so requires knowledge about the democratic concepts (such as representivity, accountability, mandates and consultation), features and rules of democratic processes. Performance indicators involved participating in democratic processes in classrooms, clubs or schools. The ability to access constitutional structures (that is legal institutions such as courts, the Human Rights Commission etc.) was to be 'demonstrated' through writing letters, petitioning, and lobbying (that is by the appropriate genre). Finally, it also allows for a critical dimension: learners need to reflect upon and evaluate the process. They need to be able to investigate social practices 'to establish needs in relation to developing democratic practices' (Department of Education, HSS-17, 1997).

Further documents and regional working papers (for example from Gauteng and the Western Cape) listed what amounted to content strands for 'Civic and Participatory democracy' which, together with C2005, provided the basis for a number of official departmental guides and commercially published textbooks with modules on 'democracy education' to enter the schools in 2000, several of which informed my pilot study.

However in June 2000 the 'democracy education' environment changed radically with the publication of the *Report of the Ministerial Review Committee C2005*, commissioned in response to growing criticism of C2005. I am going to deal only with possible implications for democracy education in the report.

The Review Committee rationalised the learning areas, justified by overcrowding of the curriculum in the GET band (Grades 7–9), and HSS became Social Sciences (History and Geography) and 'citizenship/civics' was 'dropped' from this learning area. Thus there is no space allocated specifically to 'citizenship/civics' (2000;92). Instead 'human rights education and education for civic responsibility', which pays special attention to anti-discriminatory, anti-racist, anti-sexist and special needs issues, is to be 'infused' throughout the curriculum. The *Report* argued that, by breaking down the subject boundaries in the 1997 C2005 document, ' some aspects essential to transformation have been lost. Subjects like history and geography, crucial to an individual and social sense of citizenship, are gone …' (2000;17). Ironically it was precisely this process which allocated citizenship/democracy education its own learning area space and discourse.

To understand this comment, perhaps it is necessary to refer back to Trend's notion of locating oneself in the narrative of nationality, which is 'an acquired language of belonging in time and space to an imaginary community' (1991;238). Although HSS set out to define itself in the discourses of 'time' and 'space', the Review Committee obviously found such notions did not work as effectively as the traditional, discipline-based school subjects in which the languages and literacies of such subjects are well-described (Veel & Coffin, 1996; Hasan & Williams (eds) 1996). But in the South African context, what 'social sense of citizenship' was contained in these subjects that has now gone? In the context of past and current understanding of 'civic' education in such traditional subjects, does this not endanger our return to a narrow concept of nationalist, transmission-style 'civics' critiqued in 2.3 above? We also need to note Britain's experience, in which an infused, integrated approach failed at the equivalent of the GET level, and Britain's introduction of citizenship education as a separate subject from 2002 (see 2.3 above).

A separate ministerial working group published the *Report on 'Values, Education and Democracy'* just prior to the *Review* report. This report places much emphasis on strengthening history teaching in the schools with the argument that this is the best place and discipline designed to teach openness, tolerance and human rights, core values in citizenship. While there is certainly merit in this, if we are interested in teaching 'active participatory citizenship', we have to go much further than moral education regarding concepts and values. The report also argues for fostering multi-lingualism ('a good South Africa citizen' is trilingual, preferably). The relationship between multilingualism, human rights education and democracy education is crucial, and without a specific focus on a new understanding of 'citizenship and democracy education' I believe these

links and relationships will remain obscure and underdeveloped in an already pressurised time-table.

The later curriculum report, *Streamlining C2005: Implementation Plan*, by Linda Chisholm, notes that the C2005 project must be conceptualised in a new framework to incorporate the recommendations of the Review Committee. HSS becomes Social Science, reintroducing the discipline names of History and Geography while dropping specific reference to citizenship/democracy education. A 'roving' working group (corresponding to learning area working groups) will be established for 'human rights, civic responsibility and inclusivity' that will interact in a ongoing process with all other groups (2000;3). In addition the panel of historians and that of *Values and Democracy in Education* will 'inform' and 'articulate' with the other groups on an ongoing basis (2000;6).

2.3.3 Naming new routes and spaces

While curriculum documents have opened new spaces and routes to explore various citizenship, human rights and democracy education discursive practices, little applied research and concept analysis appears to have informed the routes. A failure to name consistently a pedagogical space further undermines the status, development and implementation of civic or democracy education.

The Review Committee's use of the term 'education for civic responsibility' ideologically suggests a different type of 'democracy education' (either a narrow 'civic education' or a broader inclusive concept like Berman's 'social responsibility') than that envisaged by C2005. The Chisholm report introduces an intriguing 'politically correct' discourse of 'inclusivity'. Are the words 'democratic' and 'citizenship' archaic now or ideologically too 'hot'?

The vision of South Africa's Constitution and that of C2005 is a democratic society and those of us who choose to name it 'democracy education' wish the name to reflect being a 'democratic citizen' in an education about 'democratic practice and process'. However, democratic practices and processes are not neutral, but socio-culturally specific (see chapter 3 for an elaboration on this). Rather than vague notions of 'inclusivity', we need appropriate and inclusive procedural definitions of democracy and citizenship.

We must be careful not to be caught up in exclusively postmodernist conceptions of state and 'citizenship education' which uncritically celebrate change and novelty and undermine a sense of community of common interest and shared identity needed to achieve our vision of 'unity in diversity'. The nation state will still be with us for the foreseeable future and we must create a balance of common South African identity and loyalty, while not ignoring the persistence of

language, ethnic and traditional ties. Moreover, the majority of South Africans may still need to benefit from the liberal democratic freedoms of modernism, before chasing nebulous 'postmodernism'.

The following quotation provides an apt summary:

> Citizenship education ... is no longer a lower level task of instructing the young in the factual intricacies of government ... the task has become one of elaboration of a model of citizenship education which is likely to be able to form a citizenry respectful of multiple identities, sharing a common sense of belonging and having full parity of rights and obligations, duties and responsibilities. (Herbert, 1997)

With such weighty responsibility upon my shoulders, I entered a Grade 7 classroom to orientate myself to 'democracy education', explicitly introduced for the first time that year (2000) through C2005. Although I have not included data from my pilot study (in School A) in my data analysis (chapter 4), it was central to highlighting aspects of democracy education in the classroom and focussing my research.

2.4 Talking democracy in a Grade 7 classroom

I spent a week doing a participant action research project around 'democracy and human rights' with a Grade 7 class in a culturally and linguistically diverse, historically white, English-medium school. (See Appendix 1 for narrative account in School A.) The pilot study, together with the changing context of democracy education in June 2000 (see 2.3.2 above) refocussed my research. My conclusions are context specific, based more on the intuitive, but informed, impressions I reached in informal discussion with the two other participant observers, the classroom teacher and a student teacher.

2.4.1 My conclusions from the pilot study (in School A)

- Decontextualised textbook activities were of limited value. Concepts appeared remote and irrelevant. Learners battled with language and vocabulary from a range of texts and discourses (for example vocabulary required for a 'street law' understanding in the Bill of Rights). Exercises, for example mock elections, remained artificial, with little real learning taking place (see Appendix 1).
- For my research purposes at Grade 7 level, the most interesting discourse was in the spoken mode. Learners verbal and visual literacy often reflected interesting, sophisticated and mature understanding not reflected at all in their written responses, which appeared brief and restricted in vocabulary, expressive style and powers of explanation. Written work was still laboriously slow for most of the learners and the data I collected told me more about

learners' formal written language skills than their conceptual understanding, ideas and thoughts on an issue.

- An incidental School Student Representative Council (SRC) report-back led me to reconceptualise democracy education as a range of procedural–social citizenship practices or 'literacy practices' (see Appendix 1 for narrative account).
- The SRC report-back also suggested that SRCs may be potentially powerful sites for providing 'democracy education-in-action' and contexts for developing a range of citizenship 'literacies' and genres (for example debate, discussion and report-backs).
- Successful 'democracy education' as 'practice and process' requires a democratic ethos in the school that not only tolerates, but encourages questions and controversial discussion.

Reflecting on my pilot study, I reconceptualised my research in terms of acquiring 'democratic literacy practices' and planned to research Student Representative Councils in other primary schools. In the following section I develop a meta-language for my research project.

2.5 Becoming citizens: acquiring a 'literacy' of democratic citizenship

Davidson's quotation below refines my growing understanding of democracy and citizenship as 'social practices':

> It is practice that constitutes democracy – democracy is a creation not a condition, hence similarly citizenship is a practice rather than a status. Participation, deliberation, debate, decision-making and engaging with other citizens are in themselves educative practices. Thus, it is participation – in civil society, in the political domain, with the practice of citizenship – that reflexively engenders the 'belonging', the social solidarity that constitutes citizenship. (Dudley et al, citing Davidson, 1999; 430)

Notions of 'active participation', and procedural definitions of democracy, central to contemporary citizenship and outlined in many C2005 outcomes (see sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2), are best thought of as 'practices' embedded in a particular ethos[6] or culture of debate, discussion, tolerance, decision-making and interaction with others. A related idea, particularly fruitful in education, is David Trend's argument that 'one's ability to write oneself into the text of nationality constitutes a form of literacy'. The role of education and schools then becomes one of helping learners acquire the 'social practices', discourses and literacy/literacies to participate in society as active, democratic citizens. With this in mind, a school SRC (now a compulsory school governance stakeholder in high schools) should be an appropriate site to acquire democratic practices as well as being a site of contested discourses and power struggles. The intention behind

[6] See 'Ethos' in Glossary, appendix 3.

a school SRC, as opposed to the traditional prefect bodies (many schools run parallel systems which may have certain advantages), is to move from autocratic social practices to a more democratic school ethos, giving learners exposure to democratic governance and procedure.

In reconceptualising my research in terms of 'democratic literacy practices', I narrowed my critical discourse analysis orientation to that of the *New Literacy Studies* (NLS) and genre approach to language to frame my research (Hasan & Williams, 1996; Christie & Mission, 1998; Kress, 1989 & 2000; Street 1993 & 1995; Barton, Hamilton & Ivanic, 2000). However, after experimenting in my actual analysis, I used Fairclough's CDA model together with a NLS model of literacy acquisition (see Chapter 3, section 3.4.2). Both models are compatible, basing their text analysis on Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SF Linguistics).

2.5.1 A meta-language for researching social practice and literacy

The NLS provide a rich meta-language to explore social practices, especially as 'literacy practices' and events (Street, 1993 & 1995; Gee,1990; Baynham, 1995). A socially situated literacy and genre approach bridges the 'literacy' and practice notions of a macro-discursive understanding of democracy and citizenship (captured for example in Trend's and Davidson's quotations) and the micro-level practice of C2005 on a classroom level (see outcomes referred to under 'active citizenship' in chapter 2, section 2.3.2). It provides tools to describe 'democracy education' as a pedagogical practice in terms of its key features and genres (see Hasan & Williams, 1996) that complement the epistemological and pedagogical framing of C2005 and the research recommendations in working documents (for example LLACSIG report, 1996). The models I use, based on Halliday's Systemic Functional linguistics (SF linguistics), have been widely used in education research in the United Kingdom and especially Australia, and provided interesting departure points for my study, although I have not found any research related directly to my field of democracy education or student representative councils.

2.5.2 Defining a literacy practice

Barton and Hamilton define literacy as a 'set of social practices … observable in events which are mediated by written texts' (2000;chap 1). Practices are invisible, involving internal shared values, ideology and identity as well as social processes and relationships. They are shaped by social rules that govern use, distribution and access to the texts and practices. A school SRC's literacy practice, while being context specific to that school and particular SRC, is also shaped by a range of broader community, pedagogic, socio-cultural discourse and institutional practices. These in turn are shaped by many macro-level institutional discourses (see section 2.2 and 2.3). This

suggests that there will be very different understandings about democratic SRC practice within South African schools: an issue my study does not address.

While my research focus was on spoken discourse (transcripts of SRC meetings and interviews), this was mediated by written texts, that is the meeting agenda, the minutes and reports. But the term 'literacy' is often used in a metaphoric sense, dissociated from reading, writing and written language. In this sense it refers to 'effective participation of any kind in social processes'(Halliday, 1994;340), a usage that Halliday does not make himself, but that I use. Literacies are multiple and involve visual literacy, computer literacy, cultural literacy[7], political literacy, and Lankshear's proposal for a 'critical social literacy for the classroom' (Lankshear, 1997; 40; Kellner, 1998).

A 'citizenship literacy' would then consist of a complex relationship of social practices which enable people to function effectively in the democratic civil society. It would be linked to procedural notions of democracy and active citizenship (sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2), which are culturally constructed and culturally specific. It would mediate to bridge the school context and the wider world, thus how it is recontextualised and the interdiscursivity it reflects would be crucial. I discuss this aspect of the school as a 'bridge', a 'social laboratory' or a 'hot-house' in my introduction to Chapter 5.

2.5.3 The SRC as a site for 'democracy education-in-action'

New Literacy Studies school pedagogy draws on Vygotskian social constructivist theory (see chapter 3, 3.1), which dominates contemporary understandings of learning in education and provides a useful meta-language for language and literacy learning-across-the-curriculum (see both Rothery and Macken-Horarick in Hasan & Williams,1996; LLACSIG, 1996). Learners are seen to participate in a web of multiple social practices. Understanding and learning occurs by building up structures of understanding from previous acts of construction: scaffolding. Learning occurs 'in dialogue' with someone or something else.

A 'literacy' pedagogy, while consistent with the scaffolding model outlined above, often hinges on the central notion of apprenticeship. Learners are admitted into social practices at the periphery and, through a gradual induction and scaffolding process, take up full-player roles as they gain mastery. This contains epistemological and ontological assumptions widely critiqued from various educational perspectives. It assumes that 'everyday knowledge' of community life is 'transferable' and can be 'scaffolded' into the specialised discipline knowledges and languages

[7] I support Street's (1994b) observation that the term 'cultural literacy' needs to become dissociated from J.R. Hirsch's notorious use of it and reclaimed for cross-cultural sensitivity.

required in secondary Discourses[8] of school and school subjects. A further reductionism resulting from critical theory, associated with 'critical pedagogy' and 'empowering pedagogy', is a tendency to reduce all knowledges and 'power' to the same logical type and empirical status, with the assumption that 'power' is something that can be 'shared' or 'given up'. (Gore, 1992; Bernstein, 1990; Dowling, 1994; Street, 2000; Luke, 1996a). To address this reductionism and knowledge/power equation, some NLS models (for example of Kress and Luke) try to 'blend' their critical theory with Foucaultian notions of power, a project which is not completely successful (Pennycook, 1994; Hammersley, 1997). A 'literacy pedagogy', while definitely reductive, provides tools for understanding language as a resource for learning and teaching language-across-the-curriculum (Rothery, 1996; Macken-Horarick, 1996; Painter, 1996;81).

I view the SRC as a 'democratic pedagogic practice' through which learners can be scaffolded into both the democratic governance practices of their school, and those of a broader community. I was interested in seeing how learners acquired the 'literacy practices' to operate in council meetings and work in committees. According to NLS pedagogy, teachers (especially in a primary school), as well as peers, have important roles in enabling and scaffolding learners into 'appropriate' discursive literacy practices in the SRC. Several tensions in my research intersect at the notion of 'appropriate'. In the critical linguistics model I adopt, the concept of 'appropriacy' is part of sociolinguistic hegemony, an ideological project in itself: 'Appropriateness models block a critical understanding by ideologically collapsing political projects and actual practices ... foregrounding normativity and training in appropriate behaviour,' argues Fairclough (1992;53). However, Fairclough acknowledges that the concept 'appropriate' does have a place provided that judgements are made, and appropriateness evaluated, in terms of social genesis and social function (1992;54). I used the linguistic literature on turn-taking and power-relations in asymmetrical relationships and inter-cultural communication to develop some notions of 'appropriate' discourse in the school SRC. In the context of my study I view discourse patterns which encourage learners to participate and own the process as 'appropriate' while authoritarian discursive style by teachers which silence the student voice is 'inappropriate' in an SRC meeting. Appropriate discourse should lead to a more democratic and tolerant ethos, as well as showing sensitivity to others in discourses around social responsibility and representation. Fairclough (1992a;201) calls for the 'democratization' of discourse by 'the removal of inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive and linguistic rights, obligations and prestige of groups of people'.

[8] See under 'Discourse' in Glossary, appendix 3, for James Gee's specialised meaning.

2.5.4 The meeting as a 'multi-modal text'

The term 'text' is another protean concept used in many different ways. My usage is developed from within a discourse analysis perspective, where a notion of 'text' is developed to contrast and complement a broader one of 'discourse'. When we focus on the specifics of an event, argues Lemke, we speak of 'text'. When we look at 'patterns, commonality, and relationships that embrace different texts and occasions, we can speak of discourses' (Lemke, 1995;7).

Halliday defines text in the simplest terms as 'language that is functional ... we simply mean language that is doing some job in context, as opposed to isolated words or sentences ...' (1985; 10). A text, for Halliday, is a chunk of authentic language actually spoken or written for the purposes of communication by real people in actual circumstances (Bloor & Bloor; 1995;4). Halliday (1985) stresses that language must be understood through the study of texts in context. The notion of 'with the text' (the essential meaning of 'con-text') goes beyond what is said and written: it includes other non-verbal communication – the total environment in which a text unfolds (Halliday & Hasan,1985;5). Successful communication depends upon being able to 'predict', on an unconscious level, what the other person is going to say and this 'prediction' is based on the context of a situation (1985;9).

A text, as a semantic entity, is both a product (an output, for example a meeting agenda, minutes or a transcript of proceedings) and a process (an interactive event). Text in its 'process' is a social exchange of meanings, with the dialogue between speakers as a fundamental text form. In this sense, the spoken discourse produced in the SRC meeting is a verbal text, recoded into a transcript. Text used in this sense may overlap with genre, usually described as one level up from text (see the next section, 2.5.4.1).

In my study, the verbal mode of speech was only one of several ways of making meaning in the SRC meetings. The most visible communication methods were gesture, body position, facial expression and eye-contact. Communication in a social practice such as a meeting cannot be confined to the literacy aspect (minutes and agenda) or the verbal aspect (conversation analysis) alone. It is, as Kress highlights, multi-modal (Kress et al, 2000). Language use is just one of many modes of meaning-making (semiosis). Meaning is not a matter of each form of communication (a mode) making discrete meanings within its particular realm of potentials and signifiers; rather it emerges in the interweaving between and across modes (the intertextuality[9]).

[9] Intertextuality: similar to interdiscursivity (see chapter 2, section 2.1). A text is made up of snatches and references of other texts.

Halliday claims that people use language in three broad categories (metafunctions): the ideational function, the interpersonal function and the textual function. All three metafunctions usually operate simultaneously in the expression of meaning and have a systematic relationship with the lexicogrammar of the language (Bloor & Bloor, 1995;9).

Linguistic choice operates at every point of production in speech, from the moods (imperative, declarative) and lexical choices through to the word order of groups of words. Most of the linguistic choices we make are unconscious: chosen because they best express the meanings that we are trying to convey and exclude superfluous meanings (Bloor & Bloor, 1995;3). People use language to express meanings in specific situations (context), and the form of language they use is influenced by the complex elements of those situations (Bloor & Bloor, 1995;3). Genres, for example (outlined below), 'register'(a semantic concept one level below genre) or an indexical item (for example 'taking the minutes') constrain our linguistic choices. Genre then becomes important in studying text (language-in-use) so I shall develop the notion of genre' below. (See figure 1 in chapter 3 for a diagram illustrating these levels of language usage.)

2.5.4.1 Genres at work

Genre refers to the 'highest' or most abstract communication plane in a semiotic understanding of language (Ventola, 1988;57). Swale (1981, 1985 and 1990) defines genre as 'a recognisable communicative event, characterised by a set of communicative purpose(s) identified and mutually understood by the members of the community in which it regularly occurs'. Genre is not so much a text-type but a particular 'process of producing, distributing and consuming texts' (Fairclough, 1992;126). It is structured and conventionalised, placing constraints on allowed contributions in terms of their interest, form, position and functional value.

When looking at SRC practice, especially in a primary school context with teachers present, one can identity two central recognisable 'communication processes and purposes'. There is the constituting committee practice as well as recognisable generic ways in which teachers relate to and instruct learners. I explore these two separate discursive practices as two genres: meeting procedure and teacher-student talk.

2.5.4.2 The meeting genre

The 'meeting procedural genre' assigns each sub-genre (minutes, agenda, verbal reports and discussion) its appropriate space and position in weaving together a complex multi-modal literacy event creating the intertextuality within the event. The genre also assigns the actors their various identities and roles: chair, secretary, scaffolder/rhetor (teacher), house representative and so on.

But genres have 'changeable, flexible and plastic' natures which are important in changing discursive practice (Berkenkotter & Huckin cited in Bakhtin, 1986;80).

Genre knowledge is best conceptualised as a form of situated cognition embedded in disciplinary activities (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995;3). As such, genre forms a useful tool to describe the linguistic and knowledge-related practices and skills that constitute various citizenship literacy practices. Some genres, like discourses, are more powerful or privileged in society than others. Genre theory argues that we can 'empower' learners, especially marginalised ones, by explicitly describing and teaching genres of power. This is again a debatable and controversial idea related to 'literacy pedagogy' and the notion of hegemonic control over 'appropriacy' in selecting genres to teach, which I referred to in 2.5.3 above. I touch on this aspect again in chapter 5.

2.5.4.3 Genres of teacher–student talk: 'the triadic dialogue'

In the SRC practices I saw in two primary schools, teachers were active participants in the actual SRC meetings. Thus the relationship between teacher and learner in the meeting was crucial to constituting SRC practice. An analysis of the talk should inform an understanding of the embedded power practices, as well as a functional view of the type of scaffolding role the teachers played in the SRC practice.

There are generic ways in which teachers and pupils relate in the classroom, and these are governed by particular pedagogical discourses operating in the context. Classroom interactional research has developed models for analysing teacher–pupil talk that translate well into my SRC pedagogic literacy event.

Mehan (1979) conceptualised fragments of exchanges between teacher and individual pupils as constituting Topically Related Themes (TRTs). Applied to a meeting situation, they appropriately reflect the items on the agenda, which tends to frame the discourse. Another prototypical pedagogic interactional sequence is of Teacher Initiation–Pupil Response, followed by teacher Evaluation (IRE) developed by Sinclair & Coulthard (1975). Nassaji & Wells (2000;377) have developed the IRE exchange into a concept of 'triadic dialogue' to account for different power differentials within asymmetrical exchanges which apply beyond the classroom. I use this concept to establish categories of 'teacher voice' in Chapter 3, section 3.4.3.

The notion of a 'multi-modal' text is further complicated by 'intertextuality'. In this meeting there is the level of interaction and 'manifest' intertextuality between the different modes, as well as what I call sub-genre texts: the minutes, the agenda and the dialogue of the meeting. In addition, there will be tensions between the 'mixed genres' of 'meeting procedure' and teacher–learner

instruction and power discourses (see section 2.5.4.1 above). But the multi-modal text also has complex relationships with the conventions (genres, discourses, modes) that constitute both the SRC practice and the recontextualised generic practice of Western-style committee practice which will contain 'echoes' of macro-discursive practices and discourses.

In the following chapter, I outline my CDA methodology, and explain my categories for analysis, drawn mainly from applied linguistic work on turn-taking in genres and power relations in dialogue.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced a CDA and Foucaultian understanding of discourse before briefly placing the notion of democracy in a South African context. I highlighted aspects of 'traditional' African decision-making processes, which I argued could inform more interculturally sensitive and appropriate discourse-practices needed for South Africa's new democratic project of '*saamtrek*'. I argued that 'transformative' discourse-practices for a new South African nation need to develop a text in which the multiple voices present in a 'rainbow' nation can locate themselves in space and time. This requires a culturally nuanced exploration of the institutionalised official and civic practices developed in the context of a colonial, racist past, together with a range of 'indigenous discursive practices' to develop appropriate discourses around citizenship.

I explored contemporary notions of 'citizenship' and 'citizenship education' through an analysis of C2005 policy documents, placing these in context with contemporary global models. While C2005 opens up discursive space for articulating a concept of 'active citizenship', as yet it does not consistently name or define what I suggest should be called 'democracy education'. My pilot study pointed to the limited value of decontextualised textbook activities developed from C2005 guidelines for 'democracy education' in the substrand of Human and Social Sciences. An incidental SRC report-back to the class led to my reconceptualising 'democracy education' as a range of procedural–social citizenship literacy and suggested the potential of school SRCs to provide 'democracy education-in-action' through involving learners in contextualised democratic practices.

'Democratic practice' can be thought of as a complex, intertexual weaving of many related discourses and social practices that are socio-culturally and historically embedded. While invisible, their processes and effects can be observed through events and mediated through multi-modal texts. To teach 'democracy' and 'citizenship' in South Africa we need a flexible model of a multidimensional citizenship together with an expanded notion of 'active participatory

citizenship'. I argue that discourses and practices associated with democratic citizenship are best taught through an understanding of acquiring citizenship literacies. Research is needed to identify and describe what these citizenship literacies are. We also require appropriate new 'languages' of democracy and citizenship to enable all South Africans to locate themselves in a new text of nationhood and to develop the inter- and intra-cultural sensitivity to function optimally in a democratic South Africa in the 21st Century.

Chapter 3 Researching democratic literacy practices

> Analysing qualitative data is best thought of as a process that is continuous throughout an entire study … The process is far more cyclical [than lineal] … This aspect also makes qualitative analysis ideal in situations where not much is previously known about the topic under consideration, or when rapid changes in the subject necessitate flexibility in the design … (Lindlof, 1995;215)

In chapter 2, I established a Foucaultian sense of discourse, before interrogating the concept of 'democracy' in a South African context. I argued that the challenge facing democratic discourse in South Africa is to adapt and develop citizenship discursive-practices that establish a contemporary notion of the South African democratic ideal and allow all its people to locate themselves in time and place in the 'text' of South African nationality. C2005 attempts this in an implicit notion of 'active citizenship' in the context of procedural notions of democracy.

My pilot study pointed to the limitations of the decontextualised classroom practice of civic education and the importance of viewing 'democratic citizenship' as a practice and a 'literacy' to be acquired. My fieldwork experience suggested the potential of school SRCs as sites for 'democracy education-in-action'. Consequently I sketched my understanding of school SRCs as democratic literacy practices, and SRC meetings as multi-modal texts, through which learners could acquire democratic social practices.

3.1 Research paradigm considerations

I locate my applied linguistic CDA framework within a broad social constructivist research paradigm, relevant to C2005, to enable educators outside my applied field to relate to the socio-cultural paradigm used by the *New Literacy Studies* (see chapter 2, section 2.5). A social constructivist position will be contested from within many NLS perspectives (for example, Street, 2000), but there is a growing recognition that the guiding epistemology and ontology from within the educational linguistic literacy models (Christie & Mission, 1998; Hasan & Williams, 1996; Barton, Hamilton & Ivanic, 2000) is social constructivist. Janet Maybin, for one, argues that the post-structuralist turn reflected in the Lancaster School of the NLS (its use of the discursive construction of knowledge, subjectivity and interdiscursivity) means that studies also reflect social constructivist ideas about how activities are shaped and given meaning by their social and cultural contexts (in Barton et al, 2000;198). NLS pedagogy is based on Vygotsky, a social constructivist(see chapter 2, section 2.5.3). See figure 3.1 on the following page for an adapted summary of Ernest's Social Constructivism Research Paradigm (1995;459–486).

Epistemological and methodological problems in social constructivist qualitative research include the realist–relative dimension (see Muller, 1999). Applied linguists and discourse analysts such as

David Corson (1997;168–173) and Ian Parker (1992) argue for a critical realist position. However, the CDA models, with roots in both Marxist functionalist (critical theory) and structuralist social theory (SF linguistics) are critiqued by Widdowson (1998) and Hammersley (1997) and others for a reductionism which locates the production of ideology in the infrastructure of the social and economic domains, resulting in a static, unitary character of power and the social domains (chapter 2, section 2.5.3 touched on the pedagogical implications). To overcome this, Kress and Luke (1996;126) argue for a 'blend' of CDA informed by a Foucaultian analysis with a notion of power/knowledge located in institutional discursive relationships. However, both Pennycook (1993) and Hammersley (1997) argue that critical theory and Foucaultian discourse analysis (with Latour's concept of a 'relative relativist'– see Kendall & Williams, 1999;98) are actually 'incommensurable discourses' (Pennycook,1993). This is an unresolved tension in my study: both offer different strengths for describing social practice and aligning applied linguistics to pedagogic practice. (See appendix 2 for a summary of Luke's critique of Fairclough's and Kress's models to illustrate some of the pitfalls of the CDA models I use.)

Epistemology	Ontology	Methodology	Pedagogy
Fallibilist[1] – everyday knowledge is: • that which is lived and socially accepted; • semiotically and socially constructed. Learning theory: socially-situated nature of knowledge and learning. Constructivist: constitutive nature of language and social interaction. Metaphor: scaffolding.	Sophisticated realist: i.e. there is a world, which we have shared access to, but no certain knowledge of it. e.g. A Critical Realist:[2] includes as *real* properties of the social world, things such as reasons and accounts people use or offer.	Eclectic: Recognises that: • all knowing is problematic; • there is no privileged advantage point (no epistemic gain – see fallibilist epistemology) is usually qualitative.	Eclectic, aware of: • interactive and inseparable effects of micro- and macro-social contests; • the internal construction of self, beliefs and cognitions. Often centres around notion of 'apprenticeship'.

Fig. 3.1 *Tabulated adapted summary of Ernest's Social Constructivism Research Paradigm (1995;480) to which I have added 'Critical Realist' (see footnote).*

[1] The belief that propositions/beliefs are inherently uncertain and possibly mistaken. In its most extreme form, the doctrine attributes uncertainty to every belief; more restricted forms attribute it to all empirical beliefs or to beliefs about others, the external world, the past or future. Most contemporary philosophers reject it in its extreme form, holding that beliefs about elementary logic principles and the character of one's current feelings cannot be mistaken. Fallibilists argue such conclusions are at best probable, never certain (Audi, 1995;261).

[2] I have added this example to Ernest's outline. Several other applied linguists (e.g. Corson, Parker) call for such an ontology, which is similar to Habermas's critical theory.

3.2 Research constraints

3.2.1 Limitations around qualitative research

Qualitative research data produced has a different status to that produced by quantitative and empirical methods. Because of the 'pitfalls' of subjective reflexivity where researchers can impose their unwarranted personal analysis, Muller calls it 'perspectival data from singular studies', arguing that, while useful to practitioners, it is of little value to educational policy or curriculum development (Muller in Taylor & Vinjeold, 1999;59).

However, the concepts of 'reliability' (rather meaningless in fluid socio–cultural practices) and 'validity' have limited relevance in qualitative socially situated research studies. Qualitative researchers work reflexively as participants but they nevertheless seek credible, dependable data (Guba, 1985; Lindlof, 1995; 238). Critics of qualitative research concede that it has a role in initial formulation of theory and hypotheses: it excels at 'finding points of entry into new areas of inquiry' (Lindlof, 1995; 218). The site-specific features of qualitative research do not permit the careful cross-comparison of cases, nor provide sufficient data for policy research. One cannot generalise from my study: rather it opens up the area of SRC practice for further research and exploration. The links and implications it suggests for curriculum practice are very tentative.

3.2.2 Constraints on my research project

3.2.2.1 Racial and ethnic categories

The language of apartheid, with its taxonomy of racial classifications, fragmented South African society and reproduced racial stereotypes that contributed to people seeing themselves primarily as racial and ethnic subjects. Eliminating biased terminology is one way of changing the way we see ourselves and others. The use of racial categories is inaccurate, obscuring both difference and commonality (for example ethnic, religious, socio-economic, geographical and life-style) or implying a homogeneity which is not there (for example, the terms 'black' and 'white' imply a shared commonality, masking socio-economic class and 'lived experience' differences). They may also further racialise discourse. However, 'colour-blind' research may serve racist agendas or assimilationist agendas (Vally & Dalamba; 1999;7[3]). Although I avoided racial categorising with the participants, I found it important to use racial categories in interpreting my data. Not to do so would have placed my research within the assimilationist and 'colour blind' ethos of the schools I

[3] Vally & Dalamba's report has a useful discussion on a range of research positions and strategies for racial/ethnic categories (1999;6–8).

studied. At the same time, I am very uneasy about the essentialist nature and inaccurate nature of such stereotypical categories.

3.2.2.2 Selecting my school

Literacy practices, from a NLS perspective, are socio-culturally constituted. This suggests that there will be very different understandings about democratic SRC practice within different South African schools. The historically white-dominated school SRC practice in my study is likely to be very different from that in the township schools, which inherit a proud tradition of resistance to apartheid during struggle years, and of fighting for an autonomous SRC voice (see Badat, 1999; Pampalis,1991;250,256).[4]

I initially wanted to locate several primary schools with operating SRCs to represent a former model C school (historically white), an 'African township' school and a 'coloured' Cape Flats school, to give an important interdiscursivity to my study. However, although the Regional subject adviser and several zone inspectors assisted me in my search, we could not find primary schools with SRCs in the 'township' or 'Cape Flats' schools: a significant finding in itself.

I then limited my study to one historically white, middle-class, English-medium, government school (School B), in which an SRC had been functioning for 11 years (unusual in the context of a South African primary school). This case-study then is not representative, nor generalisable: rather an exemplar of a certain type of SRC practice in a primary school. The primary school in which I did my pilot study (School A, also historically white Model C, now very integrated ethnically and socio-economically) also had an SRC, established for the first time in 2001.

3.2.2.3 My role as researcher

Fairclough (1992a) argues that as a researcher, an analyst and text interpreter, one is interpreting throughout the research process. Producing a transcript is inevitably also an act of interpretation related to prior conclusions. Analysis leads to production of texts which are consumed and ideologically positioned: analysts are 'inside' the social practice they analyse (Fairclough, 1992a;199).

The analysis I produce is only one possible reading and interpretation of the data. In writing up my research, I am also producing a carefully positioned text for a multiple audience. Apart from producing a text for the academy (a minor-dissertation) with its own conventions and ethical

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[4] For a concise, broader contextualising of the apartheid legacy, post-1994 education policies and desegregation see Vally & Dalamba,1999;9–24).

demands, I feel ethically obliged to report my research findings to the participants of my study, the school SRC and the staff, as well as the Western Cape Education Department (in appropriate formats). My selection, use and interpretation of the data has been influenced by my multiple audience as I have tried to focus on a constructive, pedagogically functional analysis rather than a highly critical macro-discourse analysis or a micro-linguistic text analysis. This may in places lend a rosy tint to my gaze: I want to be able to affirm much of the schools' efforts, rather than highlight all their failures.

My understanding of the SRC event to be analysed can be summarised as a multi-modal literacy event. However, due to the constraints of a mini-dissertation, I could not explore this event in sufficient depth and detail to warrant such a research claim. I narrowed my study mainly to analysis of the meeting transcripts and an interview with three former SRC executive members (now at high school) the following year.

3.3 The process of data collection in the field

3.3.1 Gaining access to research sites

My fieldwork consisted of two stages in two different primary schools:

- a pilot study doing action research for one week in a grade 7 classroom in School A (see chapter 2, section 2.4 and the narrative account in appendix 1)
- my main research focus into SRC meeting practice in School B.

Permission for my initial research project (the pilot study in School A) was readily obtained from the Western Cape Education Department and the headmaster of the school I approached. I believe this was partly due to the research involving input in the form of lessons/workshops because I felt ethically obliged to 'give' the learners and staff something. (See appendix 1, paragraph one, for the problems arising from this).

For the research into SRC practice in School B, I approached the Headmistress of the school informally first, before writing formally to the SRC president explaining my research and requesting permission to attend two meetings and video one. The SRC took it through the appropriate channels and then communicated directly with me. I had not negotiated with the SRC or Headmistress about obtaining background information and records: it was envisaged from the start as a 'snapshot' view. The following year, I had to obtain permission from the Headmistress of the high school, and each girl's parents, before interviewing them again. I have changed the names of schools and most participants in an attempt at confidentiality, but unfortunately it is not possible to achieve anonymity effectively with educators acquainted with the schools in the region.

3.3.2 Data collection method

Most of my data is drawn from transcripts of two meetings: a small 'agenda planning' meeting which established the pre-set, formalised agenda to structure the subsequent full SRC meeting. I also drew data from the minutes made at the full SRC meeting, a newsflyer mentioned in the meeting, an interview with three of the former SRC members eight months later and an interview with the incoming SRC president.

I observed, tape-recorded and transcribed in full the first meeting (the executive agenda planning meeting of about 20 minutes). The subsequent, full SRC meeting (1 hour) was observed by me and videotaped by a cameraman from the university's audio-visual unit. Our presence as outsiders, as well as that of a camera, would certainly have impacted upon the participants (for example there might possibly have been more formality and a reluctance of less-confident learners to participate). My only way of countering these affects was by asserting from the start that I was most impressed by what the school and its SRC was achieving. (The video has since been used by the school in initiating and training the next incoming SRC).

I took a deliberate decision not to interview individual members that year, nor delve into past SRC records for more 'contextualising' material as I believed it would heighten participants' tensions and was not part of our initial agreement. As an outside researcher, I am sensitive to the ethics and politics of 'intruding' upon potentially sensitive territory. The data is thus more in line with CDA than that of a 'situated literacy' research where background documentation and participants understandings would have formed an integral part of the research. However, to provide some learner perspective with hindsight, the following year I conducted one interview with the three former executive members present together at their high school, and another one with the new incoming SRC president using a 'researcher's voice'. In addition, I had copies of the agenda and the minutes at the videotaped meeting, as well as the newsflyer referred to in the meeting.

3.4 Developing my analytical tools

3.4.1 Transcribing the text

Following Kress et al (2000) I attempted various ways of transcribing the different modes, viewing the videotape with and without sound, as well as working with a sound only tape-recording. All methods reinforce the essentially integrated, multi-modal nature of the meeting. While written texts and formal language framed the whole process, gesture (eye-contact, facial expressions and hand signals) and spoken communication dominated the proceedings. To isolate only one or two modes is to fail to deal with the communicative event or discursive practice. In the end, it was hard enough to do justice to the spoken mode, let alone deal with the other modes. So, reluctantly, I

have focused on the spoken discourse (making only brief reference to gesture and position mainly in annotated transcript notes).

In transcribing my spoken text, I reverted from a more complex conversational analysis model to a more 'everyday' approach using some of the methods taken from Stenstrom (1994). I found that the more complex linguistic transcribing notations were too hard to achieve with an ordinary keyboard and, for my purposes, a more conventional style of written language produced a more user-friendly text. Part of the intention of my study, as applied research, is to make linguistic knowledge, and my research findings, available in formats that benefit the teachers and the learners. Some of the spoken utterances approximate the grammatical clause, while more formal speech from some participants transcribes naturally into sentences. In these cases, I made use of punctuated speech. Pauses for breath, for example, in some sentence-like utterances, seemed better to translate into a comma than into the transcribed (-) hesitation. In the more informal spoken utterances I have made use some of Stenstrom's transcribing symbols. (See the key to transcript symbols in appendix 3.)

3.4.2 My critical discourse analysis method

I adapted a method of CDA used by Luckett & Chick (1998;82–83) based on Fairclough (1992) and Halliday & Martin (1993). I slightly adapted Luckett and Chick's diagram to summarise my method (see figure 3.2 below).

In figure 3.2, the different dimensions (or levels) of discourse are represented by the four ovals. These are embedded in each other to show that, in each case, the inner dimension is a particular realisation of its immediate outer dimension. Working from the inside out, the *text* itself, a realisation of the *genre*, the *discourse language practice* (Fairclough's 'language as social practice – including processes of production and interpretation) and the *socio-cultural practice (*an extra-linguistic dimension, more in line with a Foucaultian notion of discourse, which determines the conditions under which production and interpretation take place).

The method involves three stages, which for me, rather than being lineal, involved a cyclical process, revisiting stage 1 and stage 2, before finally reaching stage 3, a re-interpretation/ explanation stage. Three stages are marked down the right-hand side of the diagram, namely:

Stage 1: A socio-historical understanding of the macro-discourses and social practices shaping the text, my pre-analysis understanding of the text and context as a multi-modal literacy event and a pre-interpretation reading of the text to establish categories and focus areas for my analysis in stage 2 (chapters 1 and 2).

Stage 2: Formal analysis of the text (description) and discursive analysis (interpretation). I concentrated on the internal organisation of the text, looking particularly at the interactional control features of the meeting (Fairclough,1992). I used turn-taking and lexico-grammatical patterns of choice (for example modality, passive voice, pronoun usage) to relate interpersonal meanings to social roles, participant status and power relations. I was interested in how these choices were influenced by the two genres shaping the text. In doing this, I move from a description of interpersonal meanings in the text into an interpretation of the text as a discursive practice (Luckett & Chick, 1998;84). I also related various lexico-patterns (for example passivity, modality and questioning strategies) to various scaffolding and pedagogic practices.

At this point I contextualised instances of language use in the spoken transcripts with examples and illustrations from the written minutes taken in the meeting, the content of the SRC newsflyer, and a retrospective interview with several participants eight months later. This stage, explain Luckett and Chick, involves a 'to-and-fro movement' between a description of the lexico-grammar of the text on the one hand and an interpretation of its discursive practices on the other.

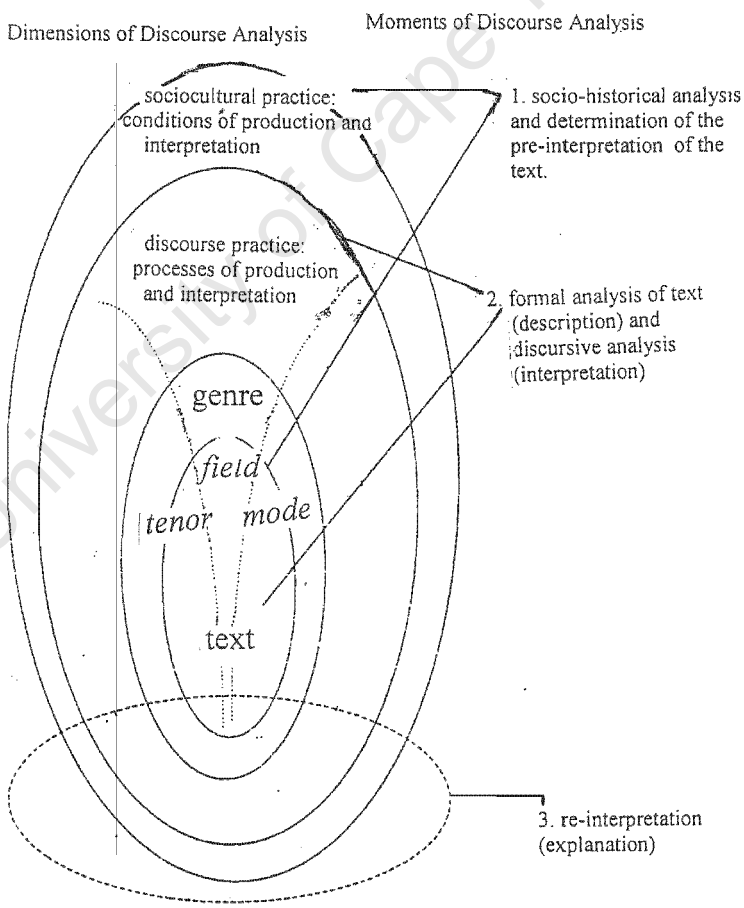


Fig. 3.2 Diagram illustrating the method of Critical Discourse Analysis

Stage 3: In this stage, I revisited pre-interpretations and understandings, my theoretical and methodological framework and the larger macro-discourses and discursive-practices (the cyclical process of qualitative research to which Lindlof refers). As a result, I offer re-interpretations of the texts, drawing on my analysis in stage 2 and attempting to relate the properties of the texts to the social, political and ideological effects of the text as a discursive event. I revisited my hypothesis, developed in stage 1, to see to what extent it has been supported by the formal/discursive analysis. It is at this stage, Luckett and Chick argue, one asks what relations of power and domination are being constructed, reproduced or eroded? What discourses and configurations of discourses are they articulating and in whose interests are these discourses being employed (Luckett and Chick, 1998;84)?

3.4.3 Establishing categories

For an analysis of this nature, where I establish a notion of 'appropriate' versus 'less or non-appropriate' (see chapter 2, section 2.5.3), I need to establish some categories for discussing and comparing discourse patterns. I attempted this after my pre-interpretation reading of the text, working in conjunction with the applied linguistic material on the dynamics of dialogue (see Glossary in appendix 3 on conversational analysis, turn-taking, dialogue and the triad) and a model of multidimensional citizenship (Cogan, 1997).

3.4.3.1 Teachers' voices: the triadic dialogue

The teachers played a dominant role, speaking with different voices from the mixed different genres operating (see chapter 2, sections 2.5.4.1 and 2.5.4.3). Teachers have a high status position (privileged voice) in the meeting, and the principal's voice is the most privileged (the nexus for a number of privileging positions, that is teacher, principal and link with governing body). After analysing the transcript of the agenda planning meeting and sections of the full council meeting, I felt I could use Nassaji & Wells's triadic dialogue (2000; 377) to establish some notions, as he does, of a 'more democratic mode' of teacher–student talk versus a more authoritarian mode of a 'traditional or didactic' teacher–student dialogue (see also chapter 2, section 2.5.4.3). This also corresponds well to Fairclough's notion of the 'democratization' of discourse (1992a;201).

Based on the basic IRE exchange of teacher–student talk, Nassaji & Wells make an important distinction between the 'primary' and the 'secondary' knower, to help explain unequal discursive relations. Their research found that even where teachers tried to operate in more informal dialogue styles in the classroom, the triadic dialogue continued to be the dominant discourse genre (Nassaji & Wells, 2000;381). The triadic dialogue gave me two categories of teacher voice, a facilitator voice and a traditional didactic voice. I assume that in an SRC meeting, the facilitator voice and

mode is more appropriate (I touched on the notion of 'appropriacy' in chapter 2, section 2.5.3). I instance the two modes in chapter 4, section 4.2.2.

3.4.3.2 Power and politeness: low modality

Apart from the triadic dialogue described above, I also used turn-taking and modality (see Glossary, appendix 3) to analyse power relationships in the 'meeting genre'. In spoken dialogue, the exchanges are characterised by interpersonal meanings and mood, where polarity and modality play a significant role (Halliday, 1994;chapter 4 'clause as exchange'). Low modality appeared to characterise many of the politeness strategies in the meeting. However, working in conjunction with the asymmetrical relationships, the implications between a learner's use of low modality and a teacher's use may be different.

3.4.3.3 Modes of silence

The absence of talk is difficult to analyse linguistically. Nevertheless, having observed and analysed the spoken text of the meeting, and made notes on gesture and body position, I found I needed some tool to represent both the Chair (the absence of 'talk' and presence of 'talk' without words) and a relative absence of SRC discursive input. My understanding of silence is developed from Verschueren (1985) (comparative research into verbals in Dutch and English).

3.4.3.4 Multidimensional citizenship

In chapter 2 (section 2.3) I mentioned that the C2005 documents could be improved by providing a new, flexible model of citizenship. I used such a model, developed by an international Citizenship Education Policy Study Project (CEPS) (Cogan, 1997) to develop criteria for and notions of 'appropriate' citizenship discourse for the 21st Century. I concentrated on several 'themes' from this: teamwork and co-operation, social responsibility, sense of commitment, community and public awareness, political literacy (representation, accountability, governance, democratic procedure and decision-making) and the civic genre of committee work (meeting procedure and discourse, minutes, chairing, turn-taking, decision-making, organising and problem-solving skills). I narrowed my final selection of 'themes' for discourse analysis, presented in chapter 4, to what I believed to be pedagogically the most significant and useful material for furthering democratic practice in schools. My single case study is too limited to develop models of discourse practice. Nevertheless in chapter 5 (5.1.5.1) I have related the discourses I analysed in my SRC study to the four-dimensional CEPS model (Cogan, 1997) as a tentative step towards relating discourses present in SRC practice to citizenship practice in the 21st Century.

Conclusion

I argued that the socio-cultural literacy perspective in education involves a social constructivist epistemology with a critical realist ontology. I identified a tension between such a critical realist position together with a Foucaultian perspective on discourse, as present in my CDA/NLS models, briefly sketching some of these implications. I outlined my research process: the limitations and constraints, access, data collection, my researcher role, and transcription. I then described my CDA method, including a diagram describing a cyclical three-staged process of text analysis. Finally I outlined my methods for establishing the main categories I use in my analysis and interpretation of the text, namely contrasting modes of teacher voice, modality, a mode of silence and a multidimensional model of citizenship criteria.

Chapter 4 An SRC in action: participating in democratic governance

> It is practice that constitutes democracy … engaging with other citizens are in themselves educative practices … (Davidson, cited in Dudley et al, 1999)

> How are we to bring children to the spirit of citizenship and humanity which is postulated by democratic societies? By the actual practice of democracy at school. It is unbelievable that at a time when democratic ideas enter into every phase of life, they should have been so little utilised as instruments of education. (Jean Piaget, cited in Mosher et al, 1994)

The quotations above capture my argument and understanding of democracy education as outlined in the previous chapters. In my pilot study in School A, I identified the school SRC as a potential site for such democratic citizenship education. From a Foucaultian discourse and NLS perspective it will also be a site of contested discourses and power struggles, either explicit or embedded implicitly in the discursive practices. There are many issues around the functioning of the SRC as a 'democratic practice' (for example issues around symbolic versus 'real' power and effective representation of the learner body). But my central focus is on two questions, as follows:

- Is the SRC a potential site for acquiring a 'citizenship literacy'?
- If so, in what ways does this happen and how can its functioning be improved?

All data in this chapter is from the SRC practice in School B, Ashton Girls' Junior Primary. I focus on the 'meeting' genre, central to SRC practice, as a 'site' for acquiring multiple discourses of 'participatory citizenship practice'(see chapter 2, sections 2.3.1.2 and 2.3.2).

4.1 Governance status: space to operate

The SRC has high status and symbolic framing in the school, replacing the traditional prefect system. The SRC girls all wear a beautiful, large badge, identifying them as SRC members. The SRC president 'heads' the learner-body ceremoniously, delivering her Presidential Report at the formal end-of-year function (along with the Principal and the Chair of the Governing Body). The SRC conducts a whole-school assembly once a term itself and it has a large notice-board and a termly newsflyer of which every pupil gets a copy.

The meetings are taken seriously. Full council meetings are formally time-tabled by the governing body at the beginning of the year and attended by the principal, the deputy and a teacher in charge of community outreach. They take place in a 'status' venue: the executive meetings (aided by the deputy) in the headmistress's plush office and full council meetings in the school library,

'appropriately' pre-arranged with desks and chairs in a large circle[1]. Minutes are duplicated and circulated. Each SRC member maintains a file that, together with pens, formed the essential accoutrements of business meetings and constituted an interesting mode of non-linguistic communication in the meeting (for example, avoiding uncomfortable eye-contact by looking for something in the file, filling awkward silences or embarrassing moments with rustling pages, or using pen gestures for emphasis, a businesslike extension of hand movements generally associated with women and less confident speakers).

The composition and structuring of the SRC, which has been functioning for 11 years, has changed annually over the last few years as part of an ongoing project to extend effective participation and functioning. For the first time in 2000 (the year of my study), 12 Grade 7 girls sat on the SRC. Several of these girls had been 'junior' SRC members in previous years when the SRC was open to Grade 5 and 6 learners as well.[2] The SRC president was in her third year on the SRC, while the secretary had stood for SRC elections twice before but failed to get on.

Girls standing for SRC elections make a speech in their class, and the class then vote for up to eight to go forward to the next level of selection. This involves repeating one's election speech, and a voting process by the elected class reps (later described by one as central to her gained confidence in public speaking.).

4.2 Genres at work: turn-taking in the meetings

My concern with 'process' and 'participation' directed me towards the 'interactional control features' of the meeting (Fairclough, 1992a), useful for exploring the embedded power of relations of the SRC practice and, I hoped, provide a meta-language (tools) for exploring the pedagogic practice (see Glossary in appendix 3 on turn-taking, dialogue, monologue and asymmetrical dialogue, as well as Discourse and 'Face' for the linguistic background).

4.2.1 The genre of meeting procedure

When I first approached the principal for permission to do the research, she indicated that they followed an explicitly Western parliamentary genre. The formal 'meeting procedure genre' officially dominated, assigning each subgenre (minutes, agenda, verbal report-backs and

[1] This signals my (and probably the teachers') perspective. In my final interview with the ex-secretary she spoke of a 'clash' between the discursive formality (for example 'Madam Chair', pre-set agendas and school uniforms) and the casual informality of the desk arrangements.

[2] This year the SRC has been increased to 28 general council members, from which 12 executive council members are elected to run the four cornerstone committees: academic, sports, art and culture and community outreach. Following on the recommendations of last year's SRC, teachers will no longer be present at all SRC committee meetings, which will be chaired by executive council members. Teachers will attend the full council meetings, chaired by the SRC president.

discussion) its role and intertextual position within the event. Once the meeting was verbally 'opened' by the Chair, the pre-set written agenda text became the dominant subgenre governing 'process' and official turn-taking distribution. However, this 'text' in turn was governed by or interacted with the interpersonal relationships, especially the asymmetrical relationship of teacher–student. On analysis an implicit 'hidden agenda' operated, constituted by a strong teacher voice, justified by the pedagogic discourses of a primary school (teachers saw themselves as responsible for directing and 'guiding' the SRC). One way of understanding this dynamic is the intertextuality of the mixed genres of formal meeting and a genre of teacher–student relationships assigning different, often competing roles and turn-taking rights to participants.

4.2.2 Genres of teacher–student talk

In my methodology (see chapter 3, section 3.4.3.1) I outlined my use of the triadic dialogue (outlined in chapter 2, section 2.5.4.3) to establish a more traditional didactic teacher voice (based on 'classic' IRE exchange-mode often characterised by teacher interruptions) as opposed to the facilitator's voice which finds more democratic ways of muting imperative control and reducing the power differentials between teacher and learner status. I illustrate these two categories with my data drawn from the SRC meetings at Ashton Girls' Primary.

The traditional IRE (Initiation-response-evaluation)

This mode represents the type of traditional, didactic teacher–student talk (Nassaji & Wells, 2000;381). The teacher initiates the episode, usually with a rather closed question (she already knows the answer she wants) to which the learner responds. As soon as the teacher has sufficient information from the learner, she often interrupts with evaluative feedback (verbal, tonal or gestural) to signal closure to the episode or further questions seeking the right answer. Such a discursive style centres power and interactional control in the teacher's voice as authority, primary knower and director. The learners are cast into a passive role of answering directive questions, being constantly evaluated and frequently interrupted and cut short. The following exchange, taken from a transcript of the informal agenda-planning meeting of the SRC executive, illustrates this. Mrs DP is the deputy principal who assists the SRC executive in their work and the SRC president is Nothando.

Episode 1: IRE with teacher-style interruption

Mrs DP:	Okay, did you, have you sorted out those, urhm, the things for the code of behaviours ..[[Yes] [Yes] [Yes] *(all three SR C members reply, president's voice heard most clearly)*
Mrs DP:	.. the expectations ..
President:	Yes, some of them are up already .. and (.) [*(voice tails off slightly which may indicate that she is ready to hand over but she is interrupted)*
Mrs DP:	[So does that need to go on the agenda or is it] .(pause) ..

President:	..under report back
	Under report back?
Mrs DP:	...under report back, Ja

Mrs DP follows a fairly typical IRE response. She initiates with a question, but as soon as she has sufficient information from the learner, she interrupts, taking the floor with a pedagogic scaffolding question, 'So does that need to go on the agenda …'. Typically the question is somewhat closed, suggesting the correct response (a closed question), but does allow the committee to decide where to place the item on the agenda. She closes the episode with the 'evaluative' feedback, telling the girls their choice is correct, coded more tonally, than in the single word 'Ja'. It signals that they can move on to the next item, shown as episode 2 in a fuller script in appendix 4 and analysed later in this chapter.

IRE triadic working in conjunction with formal meeting genre: scaffolding work

In the exchange below, taken from the full council meeting, Ms P is the principal and the chair is Nothando, the SRC president. While officially following a formal meeting genre, I argue that the teacher voice below (that of Ms P, the principal) is still operating in the generic teacher–student triadic dialogue. This lends a more directive teacher control to the dialogue, as well as 'scaffolding' in a more didactic and traditional way.

(1) MS P:	Thanks, Madam Chair
(2) Chair:	Um, Can I please have someone who will propose the minutes?
(3) Mrs P:	Are there any other queries .. any other aspects of the minutes that need (..) considering, because I think when I asked if I could speak somebody else was going to say something? *(Chair and MS P look around)*
Chair:	No?
(4) Ms P:	okay *(soft)*
(5) Chair:	Cynthia and someone who'll please second the minutes? .. Melanie. Umm Are there any other discussions?
(6) MS P:	From the Minutes? Shall we take matters arising out of the minutes, please urm, Madam Chair?
MS P:	Umm, I would like to know first of all, did umm, did we get anywhere at all, with the proposal that we made of here about, um, the thank you .. the certificate for Sikhona – was that done?
(7) Chair:	*(paging in her file)*: Yes, I have the certificate here.
(8) Mrs P:	Right, so that's going to be presented to her when?
(9) Chair:	Umm, at the next SRC assembly.
MS P:	All right, so that's ….. um and then, (slight hesitation) the other aspect here,, um, the .. SRC the Conway primary school project, we, it wasn't to be second hand books, we were going to have a look and see if we could collect some exercise books.

Ms P's utterance in (1) signals closure on the previous item, and, within the meeting genre the Chair (Nothando) initiates the next move/topic related theme. However, Ms P immediately steps in, using her privileged status (teacher) to take control of the meeting (3), initiating the next exchange with a teacher's voice (possibly modelling a chairing question). The Chair responds, and

Ms P's evaluative 'okay' signals closure, at the same time handing over control to the Chair to initiate. Pedagogically, this move is justifiable in that she is modelling and teaching meeting procedure and chairing techniques. The rest of the extract demonstrates a similar triadic dialogue pattern.

In (5) the Chair initiates, Ms P (6) picks up on possible ambiguity in the use of an 'everyday' semantic term 'discussions', rather than explicitly correcting her, she rephrases the question within the applied lexicon of the meeting genre (a 'scaffolding' technique: 'Shall we take matters arising out of the minutes, please Madam Chair?'). The future progressive ('shall we take ...') is commonly used in British English as a polite request, reinforced by the 'please' and ritual use of 'Madam Chair'. Used in a teacher–learner interaction, however, 'shall' carries a strong sense of obligation to go along with her request: in this context there is little possibility of the Chair not complying. Ms P's intention appears to be modelling the lexical discourse and procedures of a polite meeting genre, at the same time re-affirming the learner's status as Chair. In (8) and (9) her teacher voice appears to evaluate automatically ('right'/'All right') before she again uses didactic questions (8) and correction (9).

I suggest that a more **authoritarian, didactic teacher voice,** characterised by a classic IRE mode of dialogue and by strategies that reinforce the asymmetrical power differentials between teacher-student, is less appropriate in the context of an SRC meeting.[3] Insensitive discursive habits, from interruptions, body gesture, tone, and the use of imperatives all play a role. Teacher interruptions featured strongly in my data, usually indicating one or other inappropriate teacher voice. I also use the notion of a **'strong' teacher voice** to suggest that a didactic role or privileged status is operating primarily versus say a more democratic teacher voice which may be trying to mute power differentials while contributing to the dialogue. Another inappropriate teacher voice is that which uses its privileged position to digress with personal narrative monologues. Another teacher voice is that of the **moral voice** which I did not analyse separately, but Ms Ps moral voice tends to deliver moralistic, monologue lectures which I tend to associate with a more inappropriate didactic voice.

A facilitative triadic dialogue – a more democratic teacher voice

I use Wells's model of the democratic mode of teacher–student talk to understand the notion of teacher as a 'facilitator' through a more democratic mode of triadic dialogue. The teacher still controls the interaction, but through less directive methods which reduce the power differentials.

[3] See chapter 2, section 2.5.3, for discussion with problems around notions of 'appropriate' in applied language work and genre pedagogy, as well as chapter 3, section 3.4.3.1 for notions of 'democratic modes' of discourse.

She may use more-or-less open questions which place the learners in a more powerful position of information-givers or primary knowers, or allow learners to initiate the episode, ask their own questions and become more independent actors. A democratic teacher voice mutes overt control and imperatives (as seen in the more classic authoritarian IRE modes). (See Episodes 2 and 3 in appendix 4 and an analysis in section 4.2.2 of this chapter.)

The **facilitator's voice** could adopt a number of different facilitating strategies, for example the teachers frequently observe a range of formal politeness strategies and rituals to reinforce the learners in their roles as an SRC council. Within such a role, a pedagogic voice or teacher voice may appropriately 'scaffold' a learner into the applied knowledge of the meeting genre and democratic governance (for example taking minutes, chairing skills or democratic decision-making) through modelling, example, direct or implicit instructions and suggestions.

The dialogue below illustrates the more facilitative mode I suggest is a more appropriate 'scaffolding' approach in the context of an SRC meeting. The extract is again from the small SRC executive agenda-planning meeting in which they are discussing the failure of a noticeboard subcommittee to update the notice-board. The SRC Secretary is Cathy, Mrs DP is the deputy principal, 'vice' refers to the SRC vice-president.

Episodes 2 and 3: reducing power differentials: a more democratic mode

Secretary:	... uhhhmmm and how about the notice board? because I believe. It's meant to have been changed and it hasn't.
Mrs DP:	I'll be totally honest with you *(--) {softer, indistinct and slightly hushed tone, indicating the sensitive, confidential nature of this 'confession'} .. ..* I've also also talked to the noticeboard committee ... *{inaudible background noise and talking, half suggestions, soft voices – later discourse showed it to be a 'sensitive' issue in the school}*
Secretary:	Ja, *(drawn out, a 'verbal nod' of sympathetic agreement)* Uhmmm, I think, uh, I also feel that she's been put in charge too much and she wants to .. [
Mrs DP:	*[Ja] *{*Backchannelling, quick agreement, relieved that an 'acceptable' explanation has been offered? Note: No name has audibly been mentioned.*}
Secretary:	..and she wants to give some of the work load to Tanya, uhmm, and *....{general noise some muttering ...}*[
President or vice:	[to Sarah,]
Mrs DP:	*...(begin hesitantly)* Okay, so you've got that on the agenda?
Secretary:	Ja ... Erhmm, right (--) **(Leading into Episode 3)** ... The report backs that we had last time, were, we have to the normal house report backs, and *(drawn out) (--)* then we just said the the sandwich days, *(indistinct)* project (-) and er, and er I think also we should discuss about what the er, uh, the house projects we're doing, because the [
Vice:	*[Oh Ja,]*
Secretary:	...we are quite involved (.) [
Vice:	* [Because the Pet Food week and everything that's happening ..]*
Mrs DP:	What is next term's house project?

In the episodes above, Ms DP's pedagogic voice becomes that of a 'facilitator', achieved through a more democratic mode of triadic-dialogue to 'scaffold' learners into the text production through

questioning and feedback (see her use of 'Ja'). She allows the secretary to initiate exchanges and be 'primary knower' (through more-or-less open questions), placing learners in the more powerful positions of information-givers and independent actors, muting overt control and imperatives (as seen in classic IRE mode and episode 1 above). The question: 'Okay, so you've got that on the agenda?' further acknowledges the power of the girls to construct the agenda text.

On an ideational level, the theme is the SRC notice-board, which the subcommittee has failed to update. Apart from a few key linguistic clues that signal the 'sensitive' nature of the topic, the central mode of communication is tonal and gestural. What is not said is as important as what is said. Mrs DP also uses a powerful, embedded 'equalising strategy' in episode 2, nuancing the teacher voice with the intimacy of the 'confessional', generating an effective interplay of messages.

Mrs DP: I'll be totally honest with you *(--) {softer, indistinct and slightly hushed tone, indicating the sensitive, confidential nature of this 'confession'}* .. .. I've also also talked to the noticeboard committee

Her use of 'total honesty' reinforces her authority role (unexpected because of her teacher/adult status). But by making the 'exception' (sharing confidence and privileged adult knowledge), she suggests the girls' maturity and responsibility, enhancing their status. Her hushed tone suggests the intimacy of informal friends. She returns to a teacher voice with the explicit reference 'I've also talked to the notice-board committee' which carries 'punitive' connotations. The interplay of mixed voice coming from teacher and 'confessional' conversations, produces multiple messages: the seriousness of failing to carry out committee responsibilities, institutional support for the executive, and reinforcement of sensitive ways of talking about one's team-mates while still dealing with negligence. She does not take control or make direct suggestions for action, reinforcing learners' control and status.

The collaborative nature of the discourse in this episode points to the value of team loyalty in 'covering' for the girls who have failed to carry out their responsibilities (rather than just hiding their names from an outsider – me)

Secretary: ... uuhhhmmm and how about the noticeboard? because I believe (.) it's meant to have been changed and it hasn't.

The secretary's initiating exchange, coded in the passive form, allows her to distance herself from any responsibility, as well as avoid naming the 'culprit' while still acknowledging the problem. She shows remarkable strategic political skills, focusing on the noticeboard, and hedging with 'I believe'. The use of 'meant' has connotations of 'planned obligation' rather than the 'blame'

associated with a higher modality form in 'should have'. The secretary continues her sensitive handling of the issue.

Secretary: Ja, *(drawn out, a 'verbal nod' of sympathetic agreement)* Uhmmm, I think, uh, I also feel that she's been put in charge too much and she wants to.. [Ja]
(-) and she wants to give some of the work load to Tanya, uhmm, and [to Sarah]

She refers to the unnamed culprit as 'she' (the key participants will know who this is) and indirectly 'excuses' her by an implicit suggestion that her 'workload' is too much. Her utterance indirectly suggests a solution to the problem (bring in someone else to do the work) but it is skilfully structured to present the solution constructively through the 'culprit's' recognition of the problem (it is easier to excuse people if they recognise they are failing in their duties). The other SRC members co-operate by suggesting possible helpers. This incident points to the secretary's ability to take other's perspectives in dialogue, an important conflict resolution skill associated with political and moral development which I discuss further in chapter 5.

This talk about an absent team-mate reinforces a teamwork ethos of collaborative, caring support and the value of not bad-mouthing people behind their backs. The failure to perform the noticeboard duty (which in the full SRC meeting evokes the exclamation of 'oh Madam Chair, that's my nightmare!' from the Principal) has been reconstructed as 'work overload' needing another two people to do it. I now look more specifically at the nature of a discourse of collaborative teamwork in the meeting.

Low modality in politeness strategies

In spoken dialogue, the exchanges are characterised by interpersonal meanings and mood, where polarity and modality play an significant role (Halliday, 1994;chap 4 'clause as exchange'). Low modality appeared to characterise many of the politeness strategies in the meeting. However, working in conjunction with the asymmetrical relationships, the implications of a learner's use of low modality may be different from those of a teacher's use of it.

Typical examples of teacher voice using low modality in meeting genre to make polite suggestions

Mrs F: Mmm, and Madam Chair **if I may** just comment, **perhaps** we need to encourage the Grade 4 R's who have been particularly good about producing little vests, **so if** we **could** perhaps send them a note, **or if you could** pop in and **just** say 'congratulations and … or something of that nature,

Ms P: **Perhaps** Madam Chair something **could** go up on your honourable mention board?

Ms P: Okay, well **I think maybe** we need to take out specifics and **perhaps** get some more done, uhm, for the end of this term, but **I don't think** we'll get through the whole Code of Behaviour which was our aim.

The modal auxiliaries (may, could) and 'perhaps' (a mood adjunct of 'probability') both function to give the discourse low modality (Halliday, 1994;76,82). They feature a lot in the teacher

politeness talk, together with 'might': a formal polite request form. Modality is very complex. Ms P uses two grammatical metaphors of modality (Halliday, 1994;354) the last utterance quoted above. The 'I think maybe ...' and the transfer of polarity in the primary clause in 'but I don't think' (on the face of it nonsensical). Here she has dressed up the modality as a proposition (though explicitly subjective – the 'I' form versus 'it') probably to 'soften' (make more polite or gentle) a criticism.

Some learners, I suggest those that were more skilled in the social exchanges of the meeting genre in use, also made effective use of low modality as a politeness strategy.

Chair:	Um Can I please have someone who will propose the minutes?
Secretary:	can I just Madam, through to Jane, Jane, okay, you don't need to ..
Secretary:	Uhm Well, er Ms P. **I think we need to** decide on a date **if we are going** to have another one, **because I think** at the last meeting you said that we'd have to do one this term.
Ms P:	I think we must do one this term

In the exchange above, Ms P (the principal), responds with a high modal of obligation ('must') softened by the subjective 'I think'. Learners' low modality appears to require a response from a teacher, whereas a teacher's low modality is accepted as a polite instruction. For my purposes, however, I found a complex grammatical clause analysis tediously slow and cumbersome without adding much value beyond a more surface skimming of modals, the use of pronouns and turn-taking.

4.3 Working as a team

The ability to work in a team is as an important skill in 'active citizenship' participation. I now explore the construction of a notion of team-work through a 'solidarity discourse'.

4.3.1 A discourse of collaboration, solidarity and obligation

On a discourse level, the most marked feature is the use of what is termed the solidarity pronoun, 'we'. It is used, nearly exclusively, in the sense of implying a collective, collaborative venture, where the decision has been taken collectively by the meeting (consensus or majority – it does not discriminate). At an interpersonal level, however, 'we' functions in a number of complex ways to 'mask' various types of power relationships present in the 'text'. Apart from the obvious asymmetrical relationships such as teacher–learner, power play exists between the more powerful participants who have invisible 'rights ' to initiate, occupy 'floor' and control turn-distribution and non-powerful members (Fairclough, 1992a).

Within the context of discursive power relationships, Ms P, the principal, draws on much 'interdiscursive' power: that of the didactic-style teacher and a forceful first-language speaker with full mastery of several powerful discourses at play, as well as holding real power in her position as principal and mediator between the SRC and the governing body.

Mrs P initiates the exchange below, coded lexically ('take minutes', 'Madam Chair'), in official meeting genre. Her first 'we' affirms the collective nature of the meeting while the polite question is an equalising discourse from a school principal, coding her instruction into the discursive atmosphere of a collective democratic experience. (Within a meeting genre, an imperative or a declarative mood would have been inappropriate for any one other than the Chair.)

Ms P: Shall **we** take matters arising out of the minutes, please uhm Madam Chair?

Uumm **I** would like to know first of all did uhm did **we** get any where at all with the proposal that **we** made here of about uhm the thank you (--) the certificate for Sikhona Tshuma ? (-) was that done?

Her use of 'I' construes her subjectivity in this instance as separate from the 'we' that carried out the task, but the second 'we' shows her constructing herself as part of the collective 'we'. If she had used 'you' she would have distanced herself from the learners in the SRC, keeping the social distance of school principal. Intertextually there are complex notions at play here centred on 'we'. Her second question, 'did we get anywhere with the …' is a genuine one (she doesn't know the answer). But the 'we' highlights the strong obligatory nature of SRC duty and the relationship of the minutes to conducting SRC business. She is creating a powerful discourse of team-work: shared responsibility, decisions and obligations to see them acted upon. Lexically the text (for example 'take matters arising, 'the minutes', 'did we get anywhere at all, the proposal) inducts the learners into the genre of meeting procedure. Ms P uses the passive 'was that done?' to foreground the action, not the person who did it. She implicitly communicates that names and identities of actors are not so important, provided that 'agreed' tasks are completed.

However, the collective 'we', constructing principal and teachers into a learner's SRC, glosses over the very real power differentials present. It masks 'difference', reinforcing the discursive and real power of those who control the interactional and ideational 'floor'. The written discourse produced by the SRC texts suggests the 'we' discourse is associated with a team-building school ethos. The minutes of this meeting recontextualise the spoken 'we' into an interesting version of SRC minutes (see appendix 5 for full text). The minutes are an interesting intertextual mix of a narrative report and a check list of tasks to be carried out, rather than formal meeting minutes told through the consensual voice of 'we'. They serve as an ideological but functional text, creating and reinforcing a team spirit obliged to carry out a list of duties. Most sentences begin with 'We'

followed by a present tense action verb, often with a high modality auxiliary verb expressing obligation and duty ('should', 'must', 'will') contrasting with the low modality of spoken dialogue in the meeting itself.

Extract from the minutes made of the meeting (see appendix 5 for full text of the minutes)

> … **We** should ask again about space to store the SRC's 'stuff'. **We'll see** if we can get one of the media room or art work drawers. Cathy will see to this.
>
> Community Outreach
>
> **We must** all knit at least three vests each for the Neo-Natal Unit *{a task the girls expressed resentment about the following year}* **We will say thank you** to the grade 4R's … **We will ask** …
>
> Code of Behaviour
>
> **We must move** the posters around … **We will try to examine** another section of the booklet this year …

In the Minutes, there is *some* linguistic marking that Ms P, the principal, took most of the decisions (see appendix 5, marked with *....*). The final decision on the heaters in the extract below, implies a consensual decision not supported by the actual text nor by a subsequent interview with the SRC executive (see episode excerpt under section 4.3.2. I have used bold to highlight text dealing with decision-making).

Extract from minutes recording decisions on report backs (see appendix 5 for full text of the minutes)

> Con – They spoke about Pet Food Week and their Anti-Litter Project. They had two suggestions … They also had **the same suggestion of getting heaters in the classrooms but again *we* said no ...**
>
> Silverlea – … (2) to have a paper recycling bin at school **but *we* said no as the boys' school already has one** and we are to use that, we just don't have enough space. There was also *[only use of this construction]* **a suggestion to get more benches but Miss P said no** …

The decision about the paper recycling was also taken by Ms P, without discussion, contrary to popular support (see utterance (2) above). A 'solidarity discourse', marked by a collective, consensual 'we' that records no divided opinion, disagreement or discussion, can be the discourse of co-option and hegemonic discursive practice.

The girls use the solidarity 'we' to build a notion of a unified team, central to SRC identity. The extract below comes from Newsletter A, produced by the subsequent SRC (2001). It describes an incident at the new SRC initiation camp (for full text see appendix 7, Letter A).

> After some hot chocolate and a shower we went to bed. This is when Ms P left us with a thought from the Old Testament, "Be still and know that I am God." It was hard to sleep as it was so hot and the mosquitoes were most frustrating. That night we did not show respect, empathy, responsibility, nor were we dependable or still, and by the next morning we knew it. We did not go on our morning walk and the schedule was changed. We were not a team and we needed to be.

> We went back to the dorm miserable and ashamed when someone said: "We can do this. We can work as a team and service our school. We are going to be the best SRC that Ashton has ever had!' So we sat in a circle, hand in hand, and decided on the SRC goals for 2001. We were brought closer. We were a team.
> We had done it!

The newsletter at the end of the term, of which an extract is appears below, continues the 'we' team ethos (for full text see Appendix 7, Letter B).

> During this term the SRC has become independent, hard working and have learnt to communicate with each other. We have managed to set our goals, re-decorate the notice board, put suggestion boxes in each class, come up with our motto and how to promote it, had our first SRC assembly and each corner stone has played their part. A lot of hard work and determination has got us where we are this term! SECOND TERM, HERE WE COME!!!!!!!

In the next section, I look at the learners' organising skills associated with team-work. The extracts also show how teachers interrupt and divert the meeting genre, not always providing 'good role models'.

4.3.2 Organising skills: the SRC's anti-litter campaign

The written agenda and the minutes show the amount of organising the SRC undertook (see Agenda in appendix 6, Minutes in appendix 5). When I interviewed the girls the following year, they described the workload as 'too much' and 'boring'.

I have taken one item on the agenda, 'organising the SRC anti-litter campaign', to show how learners' voices, and the meeting genre, are ignored by teachers who use their asymmetrical power to interrupt, 'hi-jack' and occupy meeting space to 'think aloud' and divert issues that often side-track the agenda. The item on the agenda is 'opened' appropriately by the Chair, and the secretary introduces the key organising concept (selecting a date). The teachers side-track or 'hi-jack' SRC space for their personal administrative purposes (punishing 'wrong doers') and ignore the voice of the secretary.(For full, uninterrupted text see appendix 8.)

Chair:	Anti-litter campaign
(1) Sec:	Uhm Well, er Ms P. I think we need to decide on a date if we are going to have another one, because I think at the last meeting you said that we'd have to do one this term. *{implies it is Ms P's idea, not actually the SRC's}*
Ms P:	I think we must do one this term.
Ms F:	Okay, the box *{punishment box where pupils collect litter from the grounds – side-tracking – see Chair's agenda item above}* was supposed to be put into the er staff room, has been put up and there are quite a few, er uhm, … names in there?
Ms A:	Oh, are there? *(surprised – rather doubting tone)* … Because when I last looked last term I didn't see any, because we must do something about
Ms DP:	[Sorry, Madam Chair, we do need to make an arrangement about who is going to collect those names because the teachers have been putting names in and the pen went missing but we found it (-) erh, so we really do need somebody to take responsibility of collecting the names from that box at regular times, er, every second week or however we want to [*interrupted by Ms P*

[Ms P: and then to add on the details of that, Madam Chair .. who could do that?
Chair: umm?
Ms P: Who's the committee..? Who's the litter committee ? (------ silence) it's meant to be somebody on the particular committee, so who on the litter committee Madam Chair is going to undertake to clear the box? *(increasingly firm)*
Chair: *{rustling papers, fumbling: flipping through files was often used to avoid eye contact, fill awkward moments, silences or to look efficient and involved in proceedings – possibly to express irritation or resentment}*

Eventually Ms P re-introduces the idea of a date (without crediting the secretary's proposal). The dialogue shown below is one of the few occasions when an overt power struggle over 'space and time' occur. The three most powerful voices participate in the struggle, representing different interests: the principal (Ms P), the deputy (Ms DP) and the SRC secretary, Cathy. It is interesting to note that in this 'dialogue' between teachers the talk makes more varied use of pronouns. General learners are 'they', the SRC is 'you' and 'we' who take the decision are not so much the staff, but the powerful staff members Ms P, the principal, and Ms DP, the deputy-principal (there was another staff member present).

(2) Ms P: .... So we need to set a date for anti-litter day, … But I think we need to wait until this very wet weather subsides … *{more personal narrative occupying inappropriate floor space}* You have your assembly, the next SRC assembly Madam Chair, is Friday 4th of August, what about that day?
Mrs DP: Not a Friday
Ms P: Oh not a Friday, Friday is is is Ms DP (*repetition is accurate transcription)*. Ms DP has a problem with a Friday because of her science.
Ms DP: Umm, well let's
(3) Ms P: Come up with suggestions please girls.
(4) Mrs DP: What about the Monday after that? *{she ignores one of Ms P's rare attempts to open up floor...}*
Ms P: What time?
Mrs DP: *{Sniggering kind of laugh}*
(5) Secretary: Madam Chair, through to the council, uhm, if I recall correctly I think last time we er um did it, er um, it was like we used erhm five or ten minutes of the lesson before break and then we carried on into break, so maybe we could do …* [teacher: That's right]* that umm, again?
Ms P: But Ms DP won't even give 5 or 10 minutes of her science lesson …
(6) Secretary: She did <u>yesterday</u>. *{appealing tone}*
Mrs DP: Oh I see, well exactly, so we aren't doing it again.
(7) Secretary: *{a giggling laugh}*
(8) Ms P: Well, let's have a look – let's take a Wednesday – let's take a Wednesday, it's the middle of a week, and we all like a break Madam Chair, so why don't we look at Wednesday 2nd August, umm, if the bell rings at 10.10? *{allows a small break – rustling – }* and we do the same, follow the same procedure as the last time, so we have the black bags handed out and
*[Chair: coloured T-shirts] * *{This is back-channelling, not interrupting, but one of the examples where a learner inserts her own voice into teacher floor space}*

Even when Ms P, for example, asks for the girls' suggestions, Mrs DP answers and the two carry on a dialogue that excludes the girls' voice (see turns marked (3) and (4)). Ms P could, for example, have repeated her question after Mrs DP's interruption, to include the girls. The dialogue

continues, ignoring the girls, until the secretary uses the correct meeting genre, 'Madam Chair, through to the council … (see turn (5)) with a constructive suggestion. Negotiating for lesson time, the secretary offers to give up some of the break-time in exchange. She supports her proposal with an intelligent use of logical precedence combined with persuasive strategies (tonal-utterance see turn (6)) and submissive power play using deferential politeness strategies (turn (7)) associated with women or those in less powerful positions (for example, body language, smile and giggling laugh therefore polite in her pupil-role, countering her more assertive negotiating strategy)[4]. Ms P, as principal, comes in to resolve and 'mediate' this struggle (turn (8)).

I suggest the SRC, given a space to organise itself in the extract marked 'section 3' in appendix 8, shows itself capable of efficiently deciding and planning the details of the campaign.

If one reviews the whole agenda item (appendix 8), one notices that while the learners appropriately stuck to the agenda, meeting procedure, generic turn-distribution and constructive minimal inputs, the staff ignored the agenda and the authority of generic voice invested in both the Chair and Secretary when it suited them. It wasted a lot of time. Ms P took additional privileged floor-space, on long personal illustrative narratives (edited from the script). The teachers failed to play by the rules of the game they were supposedly modelling.

4.4 Political Literacy

4.4.1 Accountability and representing the electorate

In the context of the SRC, its important to ask how 'representative' the SRC members are of the majority of learners and whose voices are excluded or marginalised. American research into school democracy projects shows most participants come from politically and socially active backgrounds (Banks & Roker,1994).

I did not explore these questions, although it is interesting to note that the Chair in my study is the daughter of a cabinet minister, and the incoming SRC president this year the daughter of a professor of politics.

The notions of 'representation' and 'accountability' are central to democratic practice. The system of 'suggestions' and 'feedback' in the context of this SRC meeting happened through house representative report backs, house-meetings and a suggestion box in the library. The SRC reminds the learners of this system in the following rather inappropriate cartoon graphic in the first term's newsflyer:

[4] See Lakoff (1979) cited in Chick (1985;314) for discussion on gender and discursive power-play.

4.4.2 Accounting in the minutes through 'invisible pedagogy'

In the extract below the principal draws the secretary's attention to her inadequate minutes and suggests a way of improving them. (A potentially face-threatening, but 'scaffolding' pedagogic move). On a functional level, Ms P instructs the secretary and the council-as-a-whole about a procedural minute-taking technique, important for accurate records and report-back. Further embedded within this suggestion and rationale is the principle of accountability of the SRC to the girls they represent (and how this happens).

Chair:	Uhm *{clearing throat}* Thank you C. *{secretary}* Are these minutes in order?
Ms P:	*{several points raised before this item}* .... Um, I think it needs to be minuted that, although *(last three words said slowly to place emphasis)* you know, we comment, for instance, we state here that, umm, this particular idea wouldn't work or or didn't make sense, it nevertheless could just be minuted what the suggestion was, because otherwise it appears from the minutes that we didn't even bother to look at them really, so I think if something is raised at the meeting, if you could just minute what it was and possibly why it was rejected. Okay, just so that we know for the benefit of report back to the girls that it has been dealt with.
Sec:	Okay,
Ms P:	thanks, Madam Chair

The low modality ('I think it needs', 'could just be minuted')[5] and passive form ('it needs to be') are part of an accepted 'politeness strategy' belonging to the formal Western meeting procedure tactics. The passive and low modality in 'could just be minuted' allows Ms P to 'code' her criticism and suggestion in face-saving terms. The criticism is indirect, masked by polite suggestion: the instruction is disguised as a possible suggestion, 'if you could … Okay'. She uses the present tense, low modality and passive voice to hedge: 'I think it needs to be …' The impersonality of such talk focuses on the 'act', not the writer, making the comment appear less critical of the writer's personal abilities. She switches to a collective ownership of the text, creating further distance from personal ownership of the text by the secretary, 'we comment … we state …'. The suggestive effect is maintained by the use of passive voice, 'it appears from the minutes …'. It further removes the secretary from the act of writing the text, while now focussing on the 'readership' and function of the text. Her final utterance explains the function of minutes in

[5] See 'modality', chapter 3, section 3.4.3 and Glossary.

terms of the SRC's constituency: 'Okay, just so that we know for the benefit of report back to the girls that it has been dealt with'. The 'okay' carries the informal teacher's voice of 'command': it is actually an instruction.

Research shows that the indirect, implicit instructions and 'teaching' contained in such language, is often not understood by learners whose primary socio-cultural linguistic background is not middle-class first-language English (Bernstein, 1977, 1990; Rothery, 1996). It is especially difficult for second-language[6] speakers of English. It represents an indirect embedded pedagogic practice, the 'invisible pedagogy' associated with the more democratic modes of middle-class first-language speakers and progressive, communicative approaches to English teaching, now widely critiqued by a number of discourse and applied language educators. It privileges a dominating 'school' voice of British English, middle-class discursive practices, disadvantaging many of the learners in this school. The chair, Nothando, for example, is a multilingual 'African' South African who in spite of her fluent English and privileged middle-class background, may still find such discourse hard to follow.

The secretary, Cathy, (a first-language speaker, originally from England, who demonstrated skilled language and discourse usage in the meeting – for example see appendix 8) translated the instruction as the first line of her minutes: 'When ideas are raised, they should be minuted and if they are rejected, say why.'

4.4.3 Dealing with the house reps and learners' suggestions

Each house representative makes a quick verbal report back from the house-meetings, and then reads out the 'suggestions', made on slips of paper submitted by the girls to be 'considered' at the SRC meeting. Ms P then deals with each suggestion individually, often in a somewhat face-threatening way, illustrated below by her tonally intimidating and rather rude reaction (see turn marked (1)). She does not reflect or encourage discussions around issues.

Cav. House Rep:	My suggestion: *(Reading paper)* .. In Grade 6b to have more ur, more reading time in class. And then get a heater in the classrooms, because we don't have a heater either and it's cold. *(all laugh shyly, politely)*
(1) Ms P:	To get what? I didn't catch that?
Cav House Rep:	A heater.
(2) and (3) Ms P:	A ***heater*** in the ***classroom***! Oh, I don't know, I walked into maths this morning, and I took off my .... *(delivers a monologue lecture)* .... so I don't know – I can look and see if there is a heater around, but I don't think we are going to go into purchase these things, I don't think it is really that essential. Sorry, I didn't catch the first one either. *{signalling a rather dismissive mode of listening ....}*

[6] The current 'politically correct' avoidance of this term, while appropriate in many contexts, gets very cumbersome in an analysis such as this.

In the 'the heater' suggestion above, Ms P's abrupt, rather rude tone in phrasing the initial question (see utterance marked (2)), suggests that she did in fact hear, and is signalling her disapproval and dismissal of the idea before it has even been recognised. My transcript tries to capture the tonal emphasis on the italicised word 'heater' by the use of an exclamation mark (suggesting a sense of mock shock). The effect is a type of scornful, ridiculing dismissal, lightened facially by a tight smile.

After her exclamation, Ms P affirms the disapproving teacher voice, denying the learners reality (a little more politely – consistent with 'recovery' from the earlier 'mock' shock) (see turns marked (2) and (3)). Then she shifts to a privileged, personal narrative (only 'allowed' to a high status participant), a generically inappropriate 'monologue' justified in teacher voice as a 'moral' lecture (not quoted). She returns to a more moderating teacher voice in the context of negotiating with an SRC, but is still dismissive, taking the decision unilaterally: '…so I don't know – I can look and see if there is a heater around, but I don't think we are going to go into purchase these things, I don't think it is really that essential …'.

When another house rep brings up the same idea, she responds with a less dismissive tone, in a moralising lecture. Her agenda as a pedagogic, moral voice is clear: echoing a religious and liberal social conscience she spells out the 'care ethic' of a socio-economically privileged school. Notice how suddenly the 'we' gives way to a blaming 'you':

Con Rep: And she gave a second suggestion .. I think that heaters should be installed in all the classroom for winter, which is the same as Sara gave.

Ms P: I have the feeling that we should take some of these young ladies to some of the schools, erm, out there, and see what, what is appreciated, instead of always worrying about heaters and keeping their toes warm I really do. No, I think we tend perhaps in Ashton to be a little bit spoilt, and we want everything and all the comforts, and I think its time that maybe you as peers, should be saying to the girls, look, well hang on a second we're okay really, we are only sitting here for this length of time. Maybe we should rather do something about providing some knee rugs for a school that's in the snow with no electricity? Do you know that the majority of schools in the Western Cape don't have electricity in their classroom? Forget heaters (-) okay. I think perhaps maybe you need to become that little bit more socially aware and I don't think that we're going to spend a lot of money on heaters, girls, there are other priorities and we've only had this spell of cold for a couple of days and its been very refreshing. But, but again it's something that we can look at. But I, I must be honest, I am happy to put forward to the governing body, but I won't be encouraging it, because I don't believe it's a necessity in our classrooms.[

[*some-one begins to speak*]

Ms P: It's also not healthy – you go outside and catch colds.

This moral 'attack' is 'face-threatening', unfair and inappropriate. The girls' 'constitutional' duty is to bring these suggestions to her and she then vents anger at them for texts they didn't even write. She shifts back into a more appropriate voice as the SRC's messenger to the governing

body, agreeing to take this suggestion to the governing body (her duty) but indicates that, as principal, she will oppose it.

One of the effects of such lectures was to 'silence' the SRC's voice; not one girl dared 'promote' the idea.(I discussed the 'minuting' of this suggestion in 4.3.1). The extract below comes from a reflective analysis of the girls in an interview eight months later. Nothando used the heater episode as an illustration to demonstrate their exclusion from decision-making and Lisa, the former treasurer, shows how she remembered the incident. Cathy was the secretary. The suggestion for heaters came from two of the four houses who had discussed it (indicating wide school support), and, as the girls' reconstruction below points out, their body language indicated their support, even though none of them dared to speak up for the idea. This could partly explain why the principal's moral attack may have become directed the members of the SRC.

Nothando:	Ja, like there was a suggestion in one meeting for heaters in the classroom and the whole council thought it was quite a good idea but the teachers just said 'no'.
Lisa:	Ja, what did they say about the cost or something ?
Nothando:	Ja
Lisa:	Oh no, Ms P's point of view, you'd go out of the classroom and probably catch cold or something .. But we (-) I think, I was very for it. We thought (--) I thought, everyone agreed and was nodding their heads, M P cut us off. She [*Ja*] she knew how we felt but because she didn't feel the same way
Cathy:	Ja. I think it was very unfair because the teachers ....*{this topic and several other examples followed for a number of turns}*

It is interesting to note, that the girls did not remember Ms Ps main point – her moral lecture.

The next exchange further illustrates Ms P's use of voice to select appropriate items, delivering a 'moral lecture' at the same time. Significantly, following this request, the girls won the right for Grade 7's (as seniors) to wear the white anorak, the same as the High School. But it was, they explained, one of the only 'ideas' channelled through the SRC that was implemented that year.

Cav. House Rep:	and then to make a school anorak for winter.
Ms P:	we should have a school anorak for winter? Uhmm, Madam Chair, you have a school *raincoat* for winter time and the purpose of the raincoat as opposed to the high-school anorak is that the raincoat actually keeps your legs dry, and your skirts dry – its not a fashion thing as the high school anorak is. Uhm, Madam Chair, we can look into that, but it has to actually, any change in uniform goes through the governing body and we can propose it to the governing body if they wish to consider this. I can do that on Monday evening. *(She makes a note in her diary)*
Secretary:	Madam Chair, through to Ms P. I think uhm, what the erh, the person who wrote the suggestion meant, was that they, 'cos the answer (–) the raincoat just keeps off the rain , you know, and keeps you, keeps you dry, whereas maybe with an anorak erm, because of the insulation inside, it keeps you a lot warmer, because I remember in England, you were allowed to bring a coat to school, you know, so maybe we, erh, could get someone to make like a brown coat or something and you can wear the raincoat over it?
Ms P:	Okay, I'll put it to the governing body *(sounds unenthusiastic)* for their consideration.

Although judgemental, Ms P indicates the appropriate authority channels and her 'duty' to pass on the request, signalled by the collective 'we can propose it' and 'I can do that' supported gesturally by the physical note in her diary.

Whether it was Ms P's willingness to take the anorak issue forward or a more felt need, the secretary spoke to support the anorak suggestion. The secretary (a highly intelligent, confident first-language speaker from the UK) is the only speaker who has the 'power' to 'negotiate' with staff, and this is one of the few occasions a speaker defends an idea or another speaker against a staff member.

It would appear that the decision on whether an idea is suitable or not for discussion is taken solely by Ms P. There is no discursive-space allowed for inter-peer dialogue or an SRC discussion forum, shown to be one of the most powerful ways of developing moral, political and social awareness in children (Berman, 1997;119,135).

4.4.4 Communicating with the learner body

Communicating with the learner body is a vital SRC function in accountability (identified by several American research papers on student democratic governance as a weak area, usually neglected (Mosher et al, 1994). I shall briefly touch on two aspects, which point to the need for further research and development within in the school's SRC project.

4.4.4.1 The administrative level of communication

The girls have an SRC noticeboard which displayed a photograph of each SRC member and described her role. In addition, it should have the last minutes of the meeting pasted up, the agenda and date of the next meeting, and additional information about projects and issues the SRC is dealing with.

In addition to the SRC notice-board, the school runs an Honours board and a 'Social Awareness Board'. All three appear to be administered by the SRC, who are instructed by Ms P to make greater use of them in 'rewarding' girls and classes who show appropriate values and actions in SRC campaigns and projects.

In addition the SRC made a variety of posters, recontextualising legal and moral discourses of the Code of Behaviour into a 'commercialisation' genre or 'political' genre. Posters are a more user-friendly, visually powerful medium, and probably ideologically more effective, especially in a primary school.

The SRC also recontextualises discourses of 'social responsibility' for the underprivileged, using posters and newsflyers to advertise the range of community projects on the SRC agenda. One such

school project is that learners are asked to bring a loaf of bread or sandwiches to school on Tuesdays ('rewarded' by house-points) for 'those who don't have'. The SRC had made Sandwich Day posters with the statement 'Tuesday = Careday = Bread Day' and displayed them all over the school to 'remind' learners about their social responsibilities. This represents a visual statement about the schools 'social awareness' ethic.

An inappropriate graphic on the SRC newsflyer probably reflects the girls' white middle-class concern with animals more than people (the penguin representing a local community effort to save oil-stricken penguins at the time). (See newsflyer reproduced in section below.) A pattern for knitting baby vests for the hospital was reproduced on the back of the flyer. An interesting interview with the incoming SRC President, however, pointed to the failure of these posters and slogans to communicate successfully.

4.4.4.2 SRC voice in the newsflyer

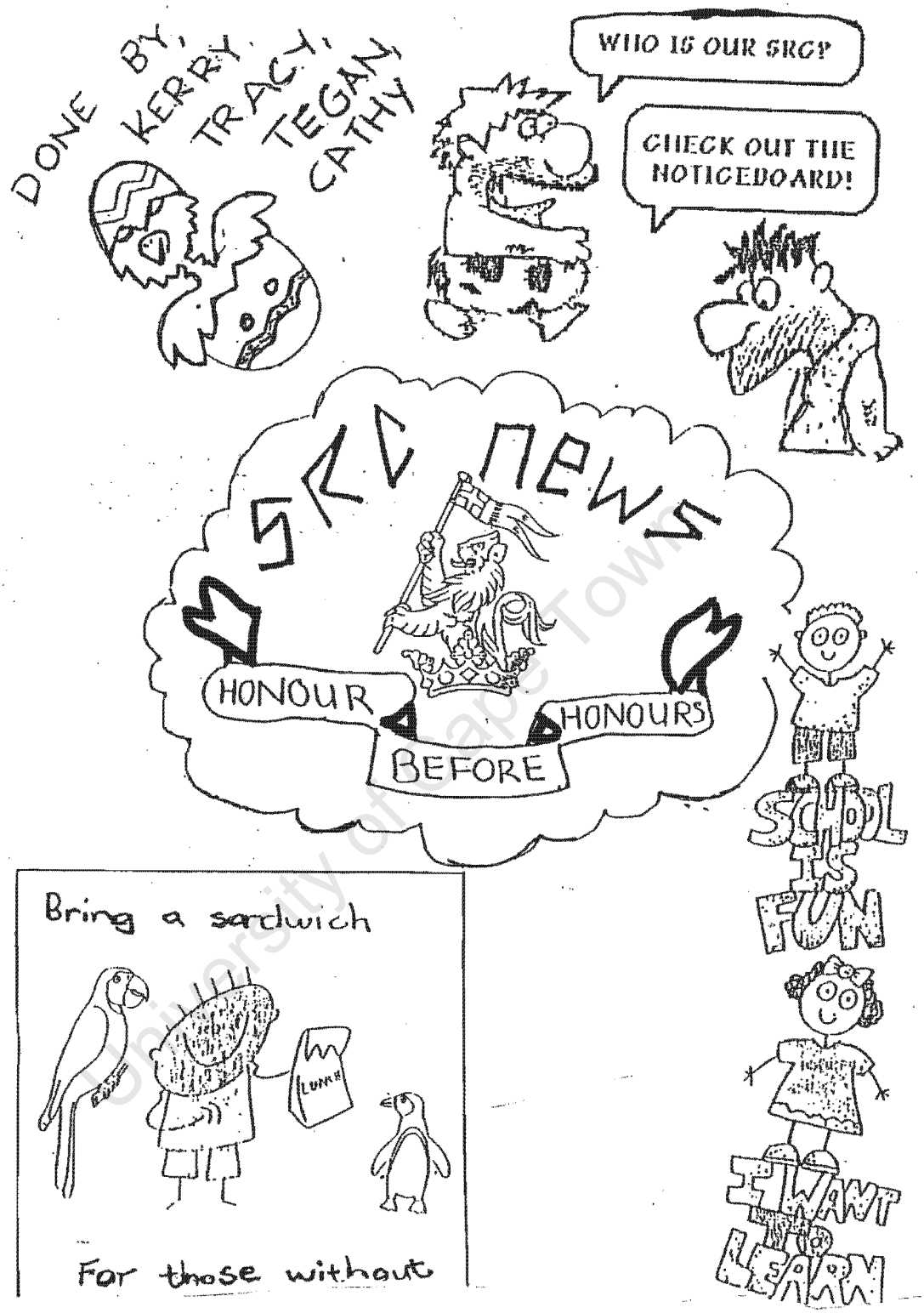
The newsflyer, reproduced on the next page, was a newsletter from the SRC, reproduced for each learner in the school about once a term to tell learners about the SRC role and projects. It illustrates a problematic understanding of SRC function and provides implicit messages about the constituency of the learner body represented on the SRC, as well as the discourses (for example on social responsibility) it recontextualised in its text. The SRC members become spokespeople for the official school 'voice' and a notion of 'good girl' morality produced by learners who can relate to the sickeningly sweet slogans 'School is fun, I want to learn'.

This role of official school voice and 'good girl' messages could both alienate the SRC from the learner body and further marginalise learners who do not 'enjoy' school. In a school where there is a sophisticated and rich artwork tradition, it shows very little understanding of the implications of graphics and illustrations.

The new SRC has a very different style of 'newsletter' which, while academically more appropriate and informative, I suspect is too 'literate' to interest the majority of learners. Once again, SRC activity is associated with official school programmes. (See Appendix 7 for two newsletters from the following SRC).

A grade 5 pupil spontaneously remarked 'I *love* getting these newsletters, but we hardly get them!' A house suggestion for more such newsletters appears to reflect their popularity.

The front page of a double-sided SRC newsflyer for term 2:



4.5 Talk about others: extending the 'care ethic' to the community

Discourses around 'social responsibility' are ideological: hybridised from many discourses that constitute 'us', 'them', 'the Other' and perceptions about how we interact with society. In the text

extracts below, the SRC is discussing how to further help Conway school ('a disadvantaged school') having already donated them some money.

Conway Primary School is a small school serving the few remaining 'coloured' Afrikaans-speaking[7], and, more recently, African workers', children, in an elite 'rural' upper-class suburb, about three kilometres from middle-class school I studied.

4.5.1 Acting in the community: the discourse of social responsibility

This first extract occurs under 'matters arising from the minutes' and serves to contextualise the project. It also indicates a rather paternalistic discourse governing the school's understanding of 'social responsibility'. Note Ms P's idea about helping them establish their own SRC.

MS P: All right, so that's .. um and then, *(slight hesitation)* the other aspect here um, the (..) SRC the Conway Primary School project, we, it wasn't to be second hand books, we were going to have a look and see if we could collect some exercise books and things together and then what we decided subsequent to the last meeting, was that we would actually try for a major fund-raising for them, and that was why, uhm, we then went ahead with the pizza sales plan, and that the takings from that was donated to Conway Primary .. Also, the, I did speak to the Principal about a joint SRC meeting .. They don't have an SRC group in actual fact that would be able to meet with us, to um, discuss things, so I think what we need to do is possibly help them to get something established but I think that would only be able to take place next year.

Chair: (soft) okay

The two extracts below show the teachers raising the girls' level of social awareness. The first exchange is one of the few exchanges in which Ms P actually asks the girls for their opinions, readily taken up by the secretary's concerned response construed completely within a paternalistic discourse (we decide, give them what we have).

Ms P : You know, what could we do to encourage more interaction between Conway Primary School and Ashton Girls Junior because it is a school in our community ?

Secretary: Madam Chair, through to Ms P, when we were uhm talking about what sport they have and we have they didn't seem to have cricket for girls, so maybe we could organise with Mrs D that the girls cricket team go over there and teach any willing girls how to play cricket?

Ms P: Er, um, a good idea Madam Chair, just that it is a commitment that would then have to then happen every week and one has to be sure first that our girls are going to have that sort of time. I wonder, I wonder whether we should be looking at new things, or whether **we shouldn't try to find common ground first.** *{my emphasis}*

The principal's response gives the obligatory IRE of a school teacher: 'a good idea, but …'. She raises important principles of commitment entailed in helping others and the logistical problems attached, then extends the exchange by a directive, but constructive, scaffolding suggestion, although for Grade 7 learners rather metaphorically dense.

[7] There are still several farms, small hotels and country estates that employ a small resident labour force.

Mrs DP's response to the principal, in the extract below, shifts the discourse into a more culturally sensitive 'social aid' perspective. She shows sensitivity both to the importance of discussing how and where to interact with the 'Other', pointing out that Conway has a lot to give them as well: especially language skills, crucial to inter-cultural issues and citizenship in South Africa.

Ms DP:	Sorry, Madam Chair we were discussing with the teachers and some of the pupils the possibility of having Afrikaans there where we could be taught by the pupils of Conway Primary how to speak ..[
[Ms P:	Oh, I've noticed that enthusiasm here!]
(1) Ms DP:	but *I think it is important that we reciprocate, that it is not just one-sided, the giving and that we also, that they have the opportunity to help us as well.*
Ms P:	Definitely. That's what we're trying to get going here. You know one must be very careful of always wanting to give because sometimes that gives the impression that we think we are the ones that have everything and that nobody else has to give, everyone has so much to give one another. You've got to find the common ground – I think that's quite a good idea Madam Chair. Maybe Ms DP should pursue it?

The Principal's sarcastic interruption 'Oh, I've noticed that enthusiasm here!' is both dismissive as well as a realistic reflection of the status of Afrikaans and the learning of other languages in the very English monolingual school culture. (Multilingualism, especially in such monolingual environments, is emphasised in C2005 and further curriculum documents. See chapter 2, section 2.3.2.)

Ms DP defends her point passionately, in one of the most constructive scaffolding attempts to transform the meeting's understanding of 'helping others' to a more sensitive 'social critical' one (see utterance (1)). It is a remark addressed as much to the principal as the girls, its effect is a very honest communication: ironically, the 'honest' quality to it works better as an equalising strategy than the rather formal exaggerated politeness rituals of the teachers to equalise the debate. She makes an interesting linguistic shift, mid-utterance 'and *that we* also, *that they* have the ...' where she changes the subject of the last clause to 'they' instead of 'us'. Her ideational level shift (focusing on 'them' and not just 'us') is reflected textually by breaking with always coding 'us' first as the subjects and actors. It is nevertheless achieved in a rather negative construction: 'have the opportunity to help us' still makes us the 'giver' of the 'opportunity' (see turn marked (1)).

This discourse of social aid, the construction of 'us' ('the'Self') and 'the Other' has been constructed within the legacy of colonial discourse. It begins with the assumption that 'the Other' has problems of poverty, ignorance and so on, which can be solved by bringing 'our' Western euro-centric ways to guide them (for example, our model of SRC and cricket) (Pennycook, 1998). In post-apartheid discourse, 'colour' is no longer mentioned, but other ways are sought to name 'the Other' and difference. In the context of a school ethos of monolingual English speakers,

discursively blind to 'colour' and language diversity in their own school, they can safely identify 'the Other' as 'Afrikaans'.

4.5.2 Experiencing South Africa's 'two worlds'

The two extracts below are report-backs from the SRC members who were placed in the traditional charitable discourse of a 'visit' to make the donation of money collected for the Conway School. The responses below indicate opportunities for learners to interpret and understand their reactions to confronting 'difference' and 'poverty'.

Response 1 *(the girl whose report functioned as the 'official' report-back)*:

Nancy: Well, we just had (-) well we went there and they did they welcomed us and we had a chat with them, and it was very interesting, and they talked about what they had in their school, and their sports, and we told them all about our school and it was just a very interesting where we eh um just spoke to (-) well we communicated and .. and it was a lot of fun *(a laughing shrug).*
(a sort of hmmf, awkward sighs??)

Response 2 *(Spontaneous contribution at the end of the agenda item on the school)*:

Treasurer: Madam Chair, through to the council, I just want to say that when we went to school, umm, it was very dusty compared to our um, roads that we have here, and the pavement and things and 'cos not exactly a shock but it was very, very different from what we have at our school, and I thought it very sweet when they said the prayer for us. Umm The whole school was there – it's very small – it's almost as big as one section of the Grade 6 when they sit in the hall for assembly, that is their whole school – and the hall that they have is the size of – is even smaller than the science lab. And erh, the older children sit on chairs, and the its just – its *very* exciting to see but its also – um – they are very underprivileged *(spoken confidently)* and they are very grateful for the money that we gave to them and when I came back to the school I was **WOW! This is the school I attend every, single day** and I don't actually [

* [Ms P: so …] * I don't actually appreciate it.

Ms P: So , so the purpose for you in two ways. To see how some others don't have and how much you've got. I think perhaps the greatest shock, might have been the fact that it is called Conway Primary School and one anticipates … that you going to have a school that is privileged and its important to know girls that, within your community, there are children that don't have what you have. And we need to do more about bringing a spirit of interaction between our schools. We've been trying for a couple of years to get something going and this is the first time that we've really succeeded in try to be – you know – getting started on .. so we must build on that.

Nancy's response could be classified discursively as an 'everyday' account of the visit, while the Treasurer's response shows some initiation into a public, rather paternalistic discourse of charity and social aid. The Treasurer highlights their act of prayer (patronisingly described as 'sweet'): it is one of the only things she sees such a school as being able to 'give'. She seeks to reassure her audience of what she knows is expected of such occasions: their polite gratitude and under-privileged status. This was a passionately spoken and sincere experience, but it also demonstrates the discourse of social awareness the learner is operating under. She gained confidence when she

found the correct word to name them (underprivileged) and then spoke of the powerful effect the comparative school experience had on the viewing of her school grounds in contrast to the dusty, undeveloped space of their school. To experience ourselves as privileged, dominant and generous, we need to experience 'the Other' as poor, needy and gratefully receptive.

4.5.3 Talking 'peace' and 'tolerance'

Peace talk is a fascinating global and South African discourse: a thesis topic in itself. Kevin Durrheim, analysing 'peace talk' in South Africa, associated it with Foucault's notion of 'pastoral power' (1997; 31). It is a form of power that represses and disciplines, producing subjects as 'peace-loving' citizens. Peace talk thus functions as a form of self-discipline that renders the individual docile. It is allied to the formation of the 'imagined community' of a nation portrayed as Utopia, associated with reconciliation, cooperation, equality and freedom (1997; 37). Peace talk further opens semantic identity-space of a religious/Christian tone with implications for individual salvation, so evident in the extract below.

The extract refers to a symbolic daily ritual of ringing the 'peace bell' at 12 a.m. for a minute's 'silence' in the school, arising from an inter-school 'peace campaign' several years before, during which all the local schools joined hands to make a 'peace chain' and 'pray' for peace. Notice how the idea of 'peace' is associated with the 'physical' disciplining of body and mind into a notion of 'peaceful' behaviour. But peace talk also undermines itself, by producing resistance, observable in the theme of this extract (see appendix 9).

On a less critical level to that of my discussion above, Ms P's final response unpacks the meaning of 'tolerance', 'the search for common ground' and 'consensus building' in dialogue scaffolding practice. Instead of silencing one or other moral voice, she affirms the need for both ethical principles and a caring, tolerant response demonstrating maybe a moment of 'unity in diversity' around the powerful national symbol of 'peace.' This, argues Berman, is the strength of dialogue in educating learners in social responsibility (1997; 120).

4.6 No room to talk: modes of silence

I explained in my methodology (chapter 3, section 3.4.3.2) that I needed categories to analyse the absence of talk, less talk than could be expected and the act of silencing someone. I explore these categories below.

4.6.1 Interrupting the Chair

Generically Ms P, the principal, explains the generic role of the SRC Chair as 'host' to the meeting[8]. A democratic understanding of the Chair's role involves less turn-taking, an avoidance of using the privileged power position to dominate and occupy the floor, instead using the power invested in the role to allow others, especially the less powerful, space to speak. However, because of the Chair's central position in the SRC, one may have expected more input than she gives. The Chair's body language was appropriate and controlling throughout both meetings and could have been read and interpreted in several different ways (one reading could suggest that she was so in control, she could allow the complete 'floor' to others). She was not, as a Dutch idiom goes, 'silent in all seven languages'.

In all three recorded events, a number of the Chair's speech acts are '*verba cessandi*' (Verschueren, 1985) used to describe the act of 'falling silent' or discontinuing her discourse. But related to such a notion are linguistic acts to cause somebody else to be silent (on a stronger level 'to muzzle' or 'to hush'). I believe it is useful to explain the Chair's 'falling silent', on all three occasions, as an act of being 'silenced' by the insensitive discursive habits of staff as well as SRC members.

Look at episodes 2 and 3 in appendix 11, and note how the Chair, Nothando, is interrupted, at places where she hesitates or pauses. Similar interruptions can be noted during the formal meeting transcript, although there are fewer instances. The extract below, from the interviews I conducted with the girls eight months later, shows how they interrupt the former Chair, Nothando, ignoring her nodding head and attempts to contribute. Although she spoke very fluently once she gained a turn, she battled getting the floor, even when I indirectly tried to give her a turn.

Researcher:	And how'd you find – looking at the speech patterns on the video Ms P is a very strong personality for a start, strong ideas, how difficult was it to be heard as a Grade 7 next to a teacher?
Cathy:	It wasn't that difficult
Nothando:	*{Nodding enthusiastically and smiling broadly}* Well [
[Lisa:	For me it was, at the beginning I was shy and nervous, but I mean (.) she wanted to know how we felt (.) we obviously had to tell the truth and you know after a while, and after we'd had a couple of meetings, I was okay.
Cathy:	I have no scruples about speaking my mind to an adult. Its been *{inaudible}* into me that I should speak what I think, but you know, do it in a polite way .... *{personal narrative about her class behaviour}* sometimes I even argue with teachers. I've never been afraid to challenge an adult's authority, so its not really a big thing to me to talk one on one.
Nothando:	I thought it was sort of difficult, if uhm [
[Lisa:	If you had a different point of view from Ms P's because she would usually go with her point of view and then you probably wouldn't get your way.

[8] The incoming Chair explained this in her interview with me.

My repeated gestural attempts to give the ex-chair space, without making a face-threatening 'verbal' comment, had failed, so I intervened with a 'research' voice.

Researcher:	Looking at the video and tapes, C. is confident and keeps on speaking until she is heard, N, I noticed you were interrupted quite a lot when you stopped to think, and I think you would have gone on talking (-) and one of the teachers would cut in on you, uhm, looking at the tapes I found you more reserved and you found it harder to get space – because when you speak, you speak very confidently – but they interrupt you. Did you experience that?
Nothando:	Yes I did *{nodding in agreement}* Most of the time. *{Spoken very firmly}*
Researcher:	What was your feeling?
Nothando:	Well, most of the time (.) the, like most important thing what I was going to say was said, so it wasn't much of a big deal to me.

As indicated earlier, Nothando was the only 'African' South African operating within a very English first-language context and may have been at a distinct disadvantage in the technically difficult language discursive practices of Ms P (see 4.4.2 'invisible pedagogy'). Nothando, however, is from an upper middle-class, multilingual background within which English may in fact be one of two 'first' languages. Her formal opening and closing of meetings were excellent, and her end-of-year speeches and formal 'performance' outstanding. Her spoken English is fluent and indistinguishable from first-language speakers on the audio-tape, but this does not necessarily mean an ability to function as efficiently at the more complex level required by Ms P's discursive practice.

In contrast to the monolingual, native speakers of English, Nothando fails to use pause fillers and stalling devices to hold turns. This could be a reason her hesitations (possibly pre-textual gaps to collect her thoughts) are taken for turn-yielding strategies. The secretary, Cathy, a native speaker of English from the U.K. (with a good intuitive feel for linguistic tactical strategies – demonstrated in earlier texts – see appendix 8), speaks in a very fast, flowing, native language style. She identifies the way she used to speak as preventing her election to the SRC in Grades 5 and 6. 'Then,' she said 'I changed something about my speech and managed to get in.' But she still makes use of extensive 'uhms' and 'ers' and repetitions to 'fill' her pauses and hesitations, thus retaining her turn. For example:

Secretary:	and then uhmm (-) should we have a may erhm a report back from the newsletter committee? (--) [several uhms/Ja] and also, uhmm ..

and

Secretary:	I think also meetings should uhmm, uhmm under general (--) maybe we should uhmm also uhmmm Ms P watch erhm ask Miss P what's going to happen

Both the secretary and the vice president make use of 'uhms' at the beginning of turns to 'announce' their turn or claim their space. Both meeting transcripts show that the chair, when she

completes a turn's utterance, does so smoothly, only resorting to the occasional repeating of a word, or a silent, unfilled pause. Perhaps, cast ethno-linguistically as a second-language speaker (suggesting why such a term now has undesirable, negative associations), Nothando actually lacks the confidence to make hesitant speech acts and verbally 'fumbled out' speech-in-construction, again associated with positive-face and self-image being chosen over negative-face. However, sociolinguistic research into the intra- and inter-cultural encounters between native English speaking and isiZulu speaking South Africans suggests possible systematic differences between isiZulu (a bantu-language, very similar to Nothando's home language, isiXhosa) and S. A. English (Chick, 1985) which explains the 'silencing' of Nothando.

Chick (1985) reports anecdotal evidence that Zulu-English speakers speak, on average, more slowly than S.A. English speakers, that short pauses do not function as turn exchange signals in Zulu-English, and that Zulu-English speakers are generally more tolerant of extended monologue than S.A English speakers[9]. In Chick's questionnaire, 69% of Bantu-English speakers chose the generalisation that S.A. English speakers interrupt them before they have completed their point, findings supported by my data. On Chick's questionnaire, 60% of S.A.English speakers chose the description that they were uncomfortable with even short silences, while only 15% of Bantu-English speakers chose this option (1985;309). (See 'successful communication' in Glossary, appendix 3, under section on 'turn-taking' for a more information on inter-cultural pragmatics.)

Nothando's whole ethos (gesture, body posture and speech utterances) was consistent with Chick's Zulu informant's description of valued practice in his culture: steady, measured and dignified pace, paying particular attention to politeness strategies and not interrupting. She would rather not have her final say, than fight for floor, that is she was more concerned with her positive self-image than defending her negative face (being imposed upon by others). Chick further proposes that the gender differences between women and men's discursive behaviour in the United States, reported by Lakoff (1979), seem to exist between S.A. English (the dominant discursive group) and Zulu-English speakers. When the lower status of a group persists over a long period of time, deferential behaviour associated with the less powerful participant in an asymmetrical politeness system can become a conventionalised, targeted communication style (1985;314). This would serve to reinforce Nothando's strategies that make her appear deferential and insecure to outsiders to her culture.

[9] Possibly, Chick (1985) suggests, related to the survival of a strong oral tradition, with a relatively short history of literacy in the culture.

4.6.2 Silencing the SRC voice

In the reflective interview I conducted with three of the former SRC executive eight months later, the girls expressed a personal gain of confidence, especially in public-speaking.

Lisa: Before the SRC I was really nervous. I was actually frightened to speak, you know in front of girls, in orals and when I got to become an SRC member we spoke a lot in meetings, and the assemblies we had to, you know (.) do assembly, and there was a lot of communication and I became more confident with myself. We did a lot of public speaking, especially for the speech that we made – our election speech, that was the main (-) but the assemblies, in the meetings, I became more confident

However, they increasingly became aware of the repression of their voices:

Cathy: They'd always change our ideas and I don't think that was (-) Part of the reasons that they have an SRC, I think, is to build up and enrich some of the girls personalities and confidence and character, and they were actually uhm what's the word (-) making it smaller. Ja instead of making our confidence building on that, they were diminishing it

Lisa: Ja they didn't have enough confidence in us to do the tasks.

Nothando: Also on staff day, for example .. always checked up on us and asked us if things were going well

Cathy, the former secretary, with her 'tongue like a fly-whisk', cuts through the symbolic power accorded to the SRC, acknowledging that they had little real power, and no-one dared speak in opposition to Ms P. There was no space for a discourse of disagreement or resistance.

Cathy: Well, I think I (.) personally looking back now, and listening to Nothando's s point of view *{referring to her experience of being interrupted quoted earlier}* I feel it was run too much by the teachers, we were just (--) well we were asked for advice that wasn't (-) that usually wasn't used and we were just given a uhm title, we weren't given a job and responsibility .... *{slightly abbreviated}* I mean we had our jobs to do, but I mean the part that we participated for (-) you know the advice and the (---) giving and deciding on ideas, we weren't actually included in that, it was more Ms P and the governing body (-) Ja, if we tried to interrupt at all, we'd always get into trouble, you know, but if they interrupted , which they did frequently [

[Nothando: Ja, like there was a suggestion in one meeting for heaters in the classroom and the whole council thought it was quite a good idea but the teachers just said 'no'.

The critical voice of the girls was not completely silenced. They made some recommendations based on their year's experience at their final meeting, and suggestions in the interview with me. These included more than doubling the size of the SRC, and having formally scheduled meetings without teachers present. I shall refer to several of these in my analysis in chapter 5. I conclude by reiterating my opening quotation: 'It is practice that constitutes democracy … engaging with other citizens are in themselves educative practices …' (Davidson, 1999 cited in Dudley et al).

Conclusion

I presented data reflecting the high symbolic status and official space given to the SRC. I explored the interactional control of the meetings in terms of two dominant genres: the formal meeting genre and the teacher's voice, often present as the 'triadic dialogue'. I found that the teachers'

privileged powerful voices dominated what should have been a learner-dominated meeting practice through teachers' authority, but especially their linguistic mastery of several powerful discourses and genres. A 'bossy' teacher voice frequently interrupted learners, sometimes side-tracking and ignoring appropriate meeting genre procedure. The solidarity discourse of 'we' served to construct a notion of supportive team-spirit and obligation, while also masking the power differentials between teacher and learners. I argued for a 'mode of silence' to represent both a process of 'silencing' the Chair through insensitivity to inter-cultural discursive practice, as well the silencing of the learners' voices and discourses of resistance. A constructive teacher voice was typically present in more democratic modes of 'triadic dialogue' to scaffold learners into the functional genre of meetings and governance, and more appropriate levels of social awareness. Reflecting back on their experiences, the girls identified some personal growth as well as their repressed voices, and the secretary's critical voice emerged to reflect a grasp of the symbolic power accorded them (in title) but not real power or consideration in practice.

Chapter 5 My research findings and their implications

> 'Democracy is like a raft. It never sinks, but damn it, your feet are always in the water' (Brogan, 1943). This wry observation can be applied as well to democracy in schools … like every substantial school reform, it is very hard to vitalize and sustain … We all underestimate the effort required to mobilize people on behalf of higher ideals. But we believe deeply on both philosophical and evidentiary ground that it is important to do so. (Mosher et al, 1994; 23)

The quotation above aptly illustrates my findings, presented in chapter 4. Democratic practice in an SRC never clearly surfaces and is loaded with pedagogic ambiguity but never quite sinks. The data in chapter 4 allows me to draw five main conclusions, listed and discussed in section 5.1 below. In section 5.2 I discuss the implications of my findings, before answering my research questions in section 5.3.

5.1 My main research findings

My main research findings were that:

- teachers played at democracy;
- learners acquired several functional citizenship literacies;
- two powerful genres dominate an SRC meeting at which teachers are present;
- discursive practice disadvantaged less competent and ESL speakers as well as being inter- and intra-culturally insensitive; and
- SRC practice offers a rich but poorly-utilised resource for acquiring citizenship literacies and democracy education-in-action.

I discuss each finding in more detail below.

5.1.1 Teachers played at democracy

Traditional pedagogic practice, as well as the teachers' first-language mastery of several powerful genres, often stifled more democratic discursive practice, revealing 'democracy' as a surface manoeuvre. Teachers used their asymmetrical power to follow their personal agendas rather than an appropriate SRC agenda, to side-track, veto suggestions, or take the real decisions. Teachers' discursive power operated largely through teachers' sophisticated discursive mastery of both the meeting genre and the generic teacher–student relationship. It was often subtle: what was implied and left unsaid often carried more power than explicit utterances. Power was expressed in the intonation patterns and skilful, even manipulative use of modality (see sections 4.2.2, 4.3.2 and 4.4.1), a shared solidarity discourse (section 4.3.1) and politeness and distancing strategies. But teachers also used more bossy and repressive strategies which repressed individual learner voices, dissent, discussion and a collective SRC voice (see sections 4.4 and 4.6).

A team-work ethos, coded in the pronoun 'we', dominated process, and was reproduced in products (see chapter 4, section 4.3.1; appendix 5 for Minutes; appendix 7 for letters). The

collective 'we' constructed principal and teachers into a learners' SRC, glossing over the very real power differentials, becoming a discourse of co-option and hegemonic practice. It masked, for example, who actually made most of the decisions, and reconstituted teachers' ideas and projects as collective SRC work (for example, the anti-litter campaign, Conway Outreach, knitting vests). Ms P's unilateral decisions were often minuted as collective, even when they ran contrary to the opinion and body language of the whole council (see section 4.3.2.). While the girls were participating in this discourse they failed to understand fully the nature of what they later described as a 'diminishing' collective experience.

My data suggests a 'pseudo democratic practice' whereby teachers' allowed learners to 'play at democracy' through giving them symbolic and ritual power in the school and adhering partially to a meeting genre script which gave learners' mainly ritualistic symbolic power. The SRC practice really continued a tradition of learners' acting as a prefect body to help staff administer the school and represent learner participation at appropriate ceremonial points and school practices in the school year (see large amount of administration: chapter 4, sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3).

5.1.2 Learners acquired several functional citizenship literacies

Although the teachers dominated what I argue should be a learner-directed process, I believe the SRC members demonstrated a better functioning literacy of public committee work and acquired more political literacy than they would have as a traditional prefect body.

On a functional level, the SRC discourse shows many opportunities to develop concepts, discourses and skills of democratic and civil participatory practices. For example, concepts of accountability, representation, decision-making, negotiation, responsibility and duty, and constitutional procedure were all present in some form in my data (see sections 4.3, 4.3.2 and 4.4).

The SRC practice also develops crucial skills in its leaders to communicate with the learner body it represents (see section 4.4.4). SRC members were involved in communicating a range of citizenship discourses and literacies to learners (the SRC role, learners' avenues for accessing the council, recontextualising of discourses around 'codes of behaviour', social responsibility and cultural awareness campaigns).

Research in my literature survey showed that institutional structures that enable young people to participate in decision-making about meaningful issues, and dialogue between peers in collective decision-making contexts, impact specifically on politico-moral development and develops moral selves (based on Kholberg,1981, and Gilligan cited in Berman, 1997;94–97,119; Haan, Aerts and Cooper, 1985; Hekman, 1995). They impact on learners' sense of responsibility, and their ability

to take a collective perspective, their pro-social behaviour, their understanding of democratic values and processes and their personal and political efficacy (Berman, 1997; 135). I believe my SRC dialogue captures such moments in the participants' understandings of their social responsibilities to the team and fellow learners and their development towards social responsibility (see sections 4.3; 4.5 and 4.6.2).

In an interview eight months later, Cathy commented: '... we were just given a title, we weren't given a job and responsibility ... I mean the part we participated for, giving and deciding on ideas, we weren't actually included in that, it was more Ms P and the governing body ...' (see section 4.6.2). Rather than reflect failure in SRC practice to provide democracy-education-in-action, I believe this comment illustrates success. It demonstrates an increased political awareness, and some critical understanding of the notion of democratic practice (for example symbolic versus real power, that decision-making is central to governance) which is best learnt through experience. This understanding will now equip the Grade 8 girls to function much more effectively within democratic practice in their high school context.

5.1.3 Two genres of power operated within an SRC meeting at which teachers were present

My data supports my understanding of the SRC meeting as a multi-modal event (spoken, written, gesture, silence[1], tonal) governed by two dominant genres: the official meeting procedure genre and a generic turn-taking teacher–student relationship characterised by the traditional IRE turn-taking.

5.1.3.1 The formal meeting genre empowered the SRC voice

My data suggested that while intimidating and exclusive, the formal meeting genre gave the learners more discursive power than they would otherwise have had. The formality and complex discursive pattern and vocabulary would exclude many learners. The girls felt that the formality of the meeting genre used (especially 'Madam Chair' and notions of proposing and seconding the minutes) was unnecessary in a primary school, and excluded those who did not learn the procedures. Nothando commented: '... lots of us got very confused with the agenda, the minutes, seconding and stuff like that. Some girls didn't understand it.' But the girls also acquired a functional appreciation of meeting procedure. They argued strongly for a pre-planned agenda to make a meeting serious. Cathy, the ex-secretary felt, 'It made us feel we had to go, whereas if we just had little

[1] I argued that a mode of silence was necessary to understand the dynamics of dialogue in the meeting. Silence and silenced as well as pre-textual gaps remain under-researched in dialogue and intercultural pragmatic analysis.

meetings you know.' Lisa, the ex-treasurer explained, 'I mean with an agenda you have certain things to talk about, you know. You actually get through all of them and speak about it.'

There is evidence that the meeting genre also empowered the girls. At places a few girls managed to break into inappropriate teacher-talk with the powerful phrase, 'Uhm, Madam Chair, through to the council …', 'politely' reinstating the official genre, and gaining 'floor'.
The discursive position and status of the Chair, Nothando, was enhanced by the discursive 'Through you Madam Chair' which was particularly empowering in the context of an African second language speaker in a predominately white, assimilationist context. She was interrupted less often than she was, and spoke more than she did, in the two informal contexts without the formal position of chair. Nothando chaired effectively when the teachers' voices allowed the girls space at the end of the item on the anti-litter campaign (see section 4.3.2). Her appropriate body language throughout the meeting (she made excellent use of eye-contact and head movements to show interest, indicate turn-taking and her following of the proceedings) as well as her fluent, polite and to-the-point speech, made her a very good role model and SRC President. This, in the context of anti-racism and desegregation, is important.

5.1.3.2 The genre of the teacher–student talk

It was possible to establish notions of a more autocratic mode and a more democratic mode of teacher-talk (see section 4.2.2). This highlighted teachers misuse of their privileged status as teachers and first language adult mastery of powerful discourses as well as indicating some ways to achieve a more appropriate teacher voice to facilitate and scaffold learners into democratic processes.

A constructive teacher voice demonstrated a process of scaffolding in procedural sub-genres (for example setting agendas, taking minutes and representing others) and to develop greater social awareness and social responsibility literacies (See appendix 4, episodes 2 and 3; chapter 4, section 4.4.2 and 4.5.1). However, much of this scaffolding (see Ms P in section 4.4.2) takes place through 'invisible pedagogy'(embedded instruction through passive voice, high modality, and distancing) widely associated with pedagogic practice that disadvantages and marginalises a wide range of learners (Bernstein, 1990; Rothery, 1996). Apart from the more democratic triadic dialogue (see chapter 4, section 4.2.2) there are many ways of achieving a more appropriate 'teacher voice': physically removing all teachers from most meetings, having only one teacher present (this would disrupt teacher-to-teacher talk, enabling the teacher to focus on appropriate 'facilitation') and explicitly developing more appropriate facilitative roles. These were suggested for the following year's SRC practice. I believe a teacher/adult presence in some meetings, even at

a high school level, is important to maximise learners opportunities to acquire and master a range of citizenship discourses.

I attempt to present a tentative, work-in-progress description of aspects of the meeting procedure genre and the teacher-talk genre I analysed in chapter 4. I have indicated some of the pedagogic implications and attempt to point out some implications of my data for democratic practice. See *Table 1: Some generic features in operation in the SRC meeting*, on the next page.

5.1.4 Discursive practice disadvantaged many learners, especially less competent speakers and ESL speakers

Discursive practice disadvantaged less competent and ESL speakers as well as being inter- and intra-culturally insensitive (see section 4.6.1). As discussed above, teachers, as mature adults with first language mastery of a range of discourses, controlled proceedings through discursive practice (see section 5.1.1). They appeared to see their use of complex lexical terminology, language structures and formality as a necessary part of inducting learners into formal meeting procedure. Learners explained that they had been given no formal instruction in their roles other than a brief explanation for the first meeting. Comments aimed at teaching learners (for example around accountability in the minutes) were made through indirect criticism and suggestion, associated with 'invisible pedagogy' because learners who are not from a middle-class English-speaking background fail to understand that the teacher is actually correcting them and giving instructions for future practice.

I used a 'mode of silence' to examine the silencing of learner voices, especially the frequent interruptions of Nothando, a bilingual but first language isiXhosa speaker. It is significant that the only applied linguistic research into inter-cultural discursive practices which helped explain my linguistic data on first language speakers interrupting and 'silencing' Nothando was done in the 1980s (Verschueren, 1985 and Chick, 1985). Intra-cultural research in South Africa then became stigmatised, seen as furthering apartheid's agenda, as well as recognising the Western bias of speech act research (for example, Grice's principles of co-operation and Goffman's face) and the Anglocentric nature of modern pragmatics (Wierzbicka, 1991). Fortunately researchers such as Wierzbicka (1991, 1992, 1999) and Clyne (1994) are working on extending and developing notions such as 'co-operation', 'direct/indirect', 'not saying' and so on to allow for cultural variation (Clyne, 1994;12; Wierzbicka, 1991:22). Recent work in discourse pragmatics has a major focus on discrimination that takes place as a result of the lack of sensitivity to cross-cultural variation, as seen, I argue, in my data (Clyne, 1994;27). South Africa urgently needs such cross-cultural and inter-cultural research.

Table 1: Some generic features in operation in the SRC meeting

Genre	Key functions	Some discursive features	Pedagogic implications	Implications for democracy
Formal meeting procedure	• agenda assigns formal turn-taking & floor control • privileges SRC voice of chair, secretary and agenda assigned turns • enables SRC to interrupt inappropriate teacher voice • should enable chair to give more floor space to the SRC/learners • mastery of discourse enables space to discuss, debate, disagree and register difference	- pronoun 'we' builds solidarity discourse of team but also masks power relationships of teacher control - politeness strategies use low modality and passive voice - acquiring turn maintenance strategy important for learners – using filled pauses (e.g. uhm), intonation, speaking faster/slower, etc. - privileges competent first language speakers in a hegemonic discourse - ESL speaker disadvantaged by different discursive turn-maintenance patterns	- potentially empowering genre - dialogue powerful way to develop values, discourses, identity & intra-cultural sensitivity - acquire a range of citizenship literacies through modelling, dialogue, skill development, explicit instruction and recontextualising - low modality politeness can create 'invisible pedagogy'	**Psuedo democractic practice resulted when:** **Teachers :** - controlled the floor & decisions - used power to veto SRC voice - used discursive power to silence collective and individual SRC voice - manipulated discourse (e.g. use of 'we') to mask their control - were inter & intra-culturally insensitive
Triadic dialogue of teacher/ learner relationships	• asymmetrical dialogue • privileges teacher voice, especially authoritarian and didactic teacher voice • gives teacher power to interrupt, side-track and hijack official agenda • allows teacher to occupy illegitimate floor space	**Traditional/autocrat mode** - classic IRE with teacher initiating, primary knower and evaluating learner response/closed questions - teacher can interrupt when response judged correct or wrong or veto **More democratic facilitative mode** - teacher uses discursive strategies to reduce her power while still guiding, e.g. open questions, placing students in primary knower roles, honesty and low modality, explicitness, adherence to meeting genre and agenda	- guide meeting - encourage SRC/marginalised voices - model meeting genre, democratic process, values & skills (e.g. tolerance, listening, empathy) or model autocratic behaviour - scaffold learners into a range of applied & critical literacies	**Students:** - lacked explicit understanding of their roles & functions - made no critical use of meeting genre empower SRC voice/learner voice. **There was no space for difference, disagreement or minority position**

5.1.5 SRC practice covered a potentially wide range of citizenship literacies but the learning potential of the SRC practice was underutilised

5.1.5.1 Political literacy, media literacy and social awareness

In spite of the meeting's using a Western 'parliamentary' procedural genre, famed for tolerating and registering different opinions, no space was created for the individual voice of a learner to show dissent or for the collective SRC voice to register its support for an item the principal did not support (for example the heater episode in section 4.6.2). Through the use of the solidarity 'we' discourse, a consensual notion, consistent with that attributed to the notion of '*eluthu*' in African decision-making procedure (see chapter 2, section 2.2.2), silenced discourses of resistance and disagreement. No space was created for voices to pursue issues and desires of childhood and early adolescence (evidence suggesting that the staff's agenda dominated). The girls, in their notion of 'teamwork', also constructed a solidarity discourse that did not register disagreement (see Minutes and letter A, appendices 5 and 6). A notion of registering 'difference' without fragmenting and splintering the collaborative nature of committee work, political decision-making and taking a genuinely 'collective' decision appears to imply a level of critical literacy and mastery of the liberal genre clearly not available to the girls.

The newsletter and posters produced by the SRC, as well as the use of subcommittees, provide exciting potential for developing whole school media literacy and critical social literacy skills (see Lankshear, 1997;40). The SRC projects could broaden participation, and enable the senior girls to involve and develop skills and understanding in the younger learners: an expanded notion of citizenship literacies that I return to in the final section of this chapter (see also appendix 12).

Throughout my interview with the girls, they wanted more responsibility, more personal selection in projects and less censorship and policing. They wanted a forum for learner voices that not only showed appropriate social awareness, but reflected their everyday concerns of fashion (from the anoraks to spring water in the tuck shop), a school culture more sensitive to learner diversity in religious practice (for example exemption from Christian assemblies for Muslim learners) and support for isiXhosa, as well as an opportunity really to implement some of their ideas as opposed to those of the staff.

I have developed a table illustrating a model of multidimensional citizenship from Cogan's CEPS report (1997) (see chapter 2, section 2.3, footnote 7) to illustrate a thematic, values and skills match between the ideational and interactional level of my data and that of contemporary notions of citizenship for the 21st century. This is a tentative model of work-in-progress, reflecting what I saw as the potential of the meeting and not its objectives or actual practice. I have noted some of

the features I feel were demonstrated in the meeting, as well as important practices and skills absent from meeting practice. See *Table 2: The Potential of SRC Practice to develop Multidimensional Citizenship Literacies*, on the next page. In the next section I look at the implications of my findings for curriculum, schools and research.

5.2 Implications for democracy education and SRC practice

5.2.1 Schools as sites for democratic practice

In chapter 2 I argued for an understanding of democracy education as helping learners acquire discourses and experience of social practices associated with multiple citizenship literacies (see sections 2.3.2, 2.3.3 and 2.5). Viewed from this perspective schools can be 'social laboratories' (Mosher et al, 1994;3) and 'bridges' between the family and outside society to acquire democratic citizenship skills and social responsibility skills, and a sense of moral self (Kholberg, 1985;3). This, argues Enslin, is especially important in societies in which patriarchal or familial authority in the family is not traditionally democratic, particularly in relation to girls and women (cited in Berman, 1997;130).

The school, viewed as a 'laboratory', casts the learner into the role of 'citizen now' present within the political community of the school and wider discourses around nationhood and community responsibility. But the idea of a 'social laboratory' problematically glosses over the power play present within the interdiscursivity of a school community, shown in my data to undermine more democratic practices. Experience in both schools (see appendix 1: School A in the pilot study, and data from School B in chapter 4) indicates that democratic school practice requires an ethos that not only tolerates, but also encourages questions and discussion by educators who have the procedural skills to model, host and facilitate a range of culturally and politically sensitive discussions, report-backs, debates and negotiations. My research suggests that, generally speaking, teachers lack this ethos. They are not aware of the broader implications of their discursive practice for modelling democratic discourses and practices. I argue that a more explicit notion of democracy education, a flexible, multidimensional model of citizenship, together with that of acquiring a range of critical citizenship literacies through a literacy and genre approach to pedagogy[2] would provide educators with a meta-language and awareness to acquire more

[2] There is a nuanced pedagogical debate in NLS and elsewhere about the problems with uncritical genre work. Luke critiques 'empowering pedagogies' for a 'model of power' as 'technical control' over the texts, as well as the assumptions about the existence of 'genres of power' (1996, 322; 2000). Further critique centres on constructivist notions about acquiring and teaching 'literacy' and discourses (Bernstein, 1990; Street, 1995) (see also chapter 3, section 3).

Table 2: The potential of SRC practice to develop multidimensional citizenship literacies

	Dimensions of citizenship: summarised from Cogan (1997)	POTENTIALS shown in the SRC meeting – not all achieved	Some demonstrated features of SRC practice	Important skills/practices ABSENT from meeting
Personal	Developing personal capacity and commitment to a civic ethic, socially responsible habits; critical and systematic thinking; inter-cultural sensitivity and human rights issues; repertoire of responsible, cooperative and non-violent conflict resolution and problem-solving skills, readiness to protect and defend the environment and human rights and engage in public life.	Developing teamwork and committee skills, taking responsibility for SRC tasks Representing others and school Decision-making and problem-solving, e.g. anti-litter campaign Public speaking (election speeches, assemblies, council/house meetings) Organising skills and community projects Communication skills (speaking, newsflyer, notice boards) Peer-mediation and conflict-resolution skills Media literacy: representing social awareness and others in posters	Gain in personal public speaking – elections speeches, assemblies, etc. Ability to function in overt meeting and committee formal genre with knowledge of lexical terms, etc. Take responsibility and organise school admin and litter campaign. Operate in individual roles as chair, secretary, house rep, etc.	Critical use of meeting genre Ability to use genre to speak for others Ability to withstand authority figures through meeting genre Full use of minutes to record accurate reflection of decisions, record 'difference' where necessary
Social	Recognise the social nature of citizenship, living, working and interacting with people in variety of settings and contexts. Participate in public debate and discussion, deal with social issues and problems. Deal respectfully with people whose ideas and values differ from their own. Citizenship entails a commitment to participate in public life where activity is a result of reflection and deliberation.	Teamwork and interaction with public Political literacy – accountability, representation, constitutional authority, awareness of real versus symbolic power Social responsibility Community outreach - environmental literacy - inter-cultural sensitivity Social critical literacy: associating with people who are different/ learning more critical 'social aid' discourse	Functional use of overt meeting genre Solidarity 'we' discourse Sensitive dealing with team-mates – through use of passive and modals Distancing of 'collective text' from writer Mixed genre minutes: 'we' discourse masking some power play in decision-making Politeness strategies Represent school in social aid discourse	Inter-cultural sensitivity to team difference Ability to develop a sense of SRC voice separate from school authority Understanding of SRC as learner representative rather than 'prefect' model of school admin Create space for 'difference' and individual voice
Spatial	Citizens seeing themselves as members of several overlapping communities: local, regional, national and multinational. Citizens should be able to live and work at a series of interconnected levels from local to multinational.	Members see themselves as learners of the school, Grade 7s, SRC members as well as being involved in their broader community through outreach projects, and the wider SA community through the peace project. Street clean-up Community outreach	Talking about 'peace' Describing SA's two worlds in visit to Conway school – poor resources versus their wealth	Develop more sensitive inter- and intra-cultural understanding More aware social critical literacy Positive attitudes to other languages
Temporal	Citizens must pay appropriate attention to the past, recognising heritage and tradition. Need a rich knowledge of their own and the world's history to give them a sense of connectedness and rootedness, and a depth of understanding essential to the *practice* of multidimensional citizenship. Requires that the present and its challenges be located in the context of both the past and the future to avoid short-term solutions – thoughts and actions need to be formulated in a broad timeframe. We need to balance our readiness to innovate with respect for knowledge and values that constitute our heritage realising that we are also stewards for the future.	Implied in attitudes of social responsibility to those less privileged than ourselves. 'Race' was unmentioned, but was present implicitly in most references to 'the Other''under-privileged'. Recognition of their own privilege as being historically created, and their responsibility for contributing to the wider community and the 'peace' process, is implicitly recognised. It is often in a rather paternalistic discourse, and an English eurocentric and assimilationist ethos, which needs to be developed into a more culturally and politically sensitive discourse. The SRC has the potential to introduce new and appropriate South African democratic discourses and discursive practice and make explicit both inter-and intra-cultural discursive practices needed to counter assimilationist practice and ethos.	Paternalistic discourse displayed in social aid (see newsflyer and Sandwich Day posters)	Some knowledge and insight into the tradition of black SRC practice in the past Understanding of youth politics Seek appropriate interaction with other SRCs in different schools as 'youth forum' Conscious understanding of implications of the power of English and a commitment to work against assimilationist practices.

appropriate modelling roles. For example, Macken-Horarick (1996) has developed a model for teaching language and literacy across-the-curriculum which, although theoretically reductive, is a useful teaching tool to talk about a 'process' of moving students from a discussion in an 'everyday knowledge domain', to the applied functional use of a procedural genre (applied knowledge domain) through to a reflective or critical literacy domain.

My analysis of teacher talk showed that rather than modelling democracy, teachers often model autocracy and increase learners' scepticism about participatory democracy, human rights and civic education. Berman's quotation below points to the very real problem of viewing schools as sites for democratic practice.

> Democracy cannot be a surface manoeuvre – a gesture to fairness that leaves the traditional authority structure in place. If students are asked to play at democracy while teachers go on making the real decisions, little is gained while the good name of democracy is lost. There is a need to carefully think through how to implement a democratic process of governance that gains the acceptance and participation of both teachers and students as partners in a common endeavour. (Power et al, cited Berman, 1997;131)

While new educational policies encourage a notion of democratic practice and provide for a compulsory SRC in high schools the curriculum documents have not made the necessary link between democracy, human rights and citizenship education and establishing democratic school governance practices. Moreover, they fail completely to conceptualise democratic SRC practice and relate it to acquiring citizenship literacies (see chapter 2, sections 2.3.2 and 2.5.3). I found no accessible current research, international or local, or literature, on school SRC practice, and apart from one HSS textbook (Chimusoro et al, 1999;10–15), no relevant instructional material on SRCs.[3]

My research, however, shows that discourse practices associated with citizenship literacy are in fact present in current SRC practice, as well as highlighting the rich potential and inadequate practice in SRCs. Research around moral, inter-cultural, political and 'social justice' literacies, as well as drug-related education, indicates that the senior primary school years are the best time for such attitude formation. Primary school children can discuss 'difference' against a background of consensus, which fragments into 'rebellion' at high school (Craft, 1995). My data points to the strong nature of this consensus in a solidarity discourse, which, in terms of democratic practice within SRCs, has both positive and negative effects. This further reinforces my argument that primary schools are neglected pedagogic sites for acquiring and teaching multiple citizenship

[3] Many high schools do have SRCs (now known as Learner Representative Councils) but in my area most of these appear to be functional only in former model C schools. The education department in my area could identify only one functioning high school LRC in an African high school and no SRCs in township or Cape Flats primary schools.

literacies, including political, media and 'street law' literacies, as well as genres of civil participation (debates, discussion, collective decision-making, meeting procedure and negotiation).

5.2.2 South African schools require new inter- and intra-cultural democratic discursive practices

A school can become a hothouse for privileging certain discourse practices and voices, while stifling others. Schools can nurture new inclusive democratic discursive practices desperately needed for South Africa's democratic transformation project or continue to rear inappropriate discourses and practices inherited through our colonial and apartheid past.

My data on Ashton's school ethos tallies closely with the findings on similar schools in Vally & Dalamba's report (1999). Ashton School genuinely but superficially welcomes desegregation and espouses a multicultural perspective of celebrating the 'rainbow nation', but its actual ethos is 'assimilationist'. Both teachers and peers are insensitive to the hegemonic and linguistic power they exercise as first language speakers of English. They are unaware of both the inter- and intra-discursive practices of talking about themselves and others in potentially offensive, insensitive, patronising or racist ways. The continuation of middle-class South African English discursive practices with their assumptions, values and aspirations ensure that a particular white middle-class Christian ethos dominates. The dominant discourses constructing identity about 'ourselves' as privileged English speakers continue the assumptions of racial and cultural superiority associated with the English language's intimate, long-standing relationship with discourses of colonialism (Pennycook, 1998).

This data further supports my argument, expressed in chapter 2 (see section 2.2), for developing in all South Africans an appropriate understanding of intra- and inter-cultural discursive traditions, including 'politeness' strategies and meeting procedures. It is important for learners to understand both the dynamics of their own cultural discursive practices as well as an intra-cultural knowledge of other South African linguistic and cultural discursive practices (Fairclough, 1992b; Janks & Ivanic, 1992). Clyne argues for an inter-cultural communication as an essential component of all English classes for all learners. Such programmes obviously cannot teach everything (to do so would create a series of stereotypes) but can equip learners with a set of options of discourse patterns and expectations at least to be able to ask questions whose responses will contribute to their understanding of pragmatic or discourse rules. Clyne argues for bi-culturalism with more than one active command of one communicative style. A passive command of as many styles as possible is an advantage, as discourse patterns are closely linked with cultural values, including issues of face (1994;210). It is also necessary for people of all cultural backgrounds to understand

and tolerate one another's discourse patterns. This practice, I suggest, is referred to as reclaiming 'cultural literacy' (Street, 1993).

5.3 Answering my research questions

My research project set out to investigate a general question broken down into sub-questions. All my discussion in this chapter and chapter 2 has been directed at answering my question, so I shall simply briefly restate my answers.

5.3.1 To what extent is 'democracy education' an identifiable and teachable concept in Curriculum 2005?

I argue that South African curriculum documents (especially the original C2005 document of 1997) create a significant pedagogical discursive space for what I call 'democracy education'. This includes notions of 'active participatory citizenship' and a thin collection of ideas and routes to explore various citizenship, human rights and democracy education discursive practices, but little applied research and concept analysis appears to have informed the routes (see chapter 2, sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3). The pedagogical space created by curriculum documents is still inconsistently named, concepts remain undefined and, I argue, will not be taught until we have defined concepts, models and pedagogy.

5.3.2 How do we characterise the discourse around democracy education in a pedagogically useful way so that educational outcomes can be more precisely defined, taught and assessed?

In chapter 2 I argued that democracy practice is a complex web of many related discourses and social practices that are socio-culturally and historically embedded. I argued that at a pedagogical level we needed a meta-language to conceptualise the technical, linguistic and knowledge related practices involved in democratic citizenship. I addressed this issue through a literacy and genre methodology and pedagogy (see chapter 2, section 2.5 and chapter 3). In this chapter (section 5.1.5) I developed a notion of citizenship literacies in the context of my fieldwork experience in both schools. I related my data in chapter 4 to a multidimensional model of citizenship with its related discourses (see table 2) as a step towards articulating more precisely defined notions for citizenship in democracy education, as well as to illustrate the potential of school SRC practice for acquiring a range of citizenship literacies. Based on my fieldwork experience in two primary schools, my data presented in chapter 4, themes in HSS textbooks and the literature, I tentatively suggest that an understanding of multiple citizenship literacies includes political literacy, media literacy, cultural literacy (bi-culturalism), social responsibility and a critical social literacy, 'street

law' literacy and green/ecoliteracy. (See appendix 12 for a further reference list on citizenship education literature.).

The concept of 'citizenship literacies' requires modification to that of critical citizenship literacies. A 'critical literacy' presupposes a certain degree of functional mastery, but includes evaluation, judgements and critical abilities to transform the practice where required, consistent with that envisaged in C2005.

5.3.3 In what ways can a school Student Representative Council provide democracy education-in-action?

My data shows that SRC practice provides rich opportunities and resources for acquiring a range of citizenship discourses, literacies and skills. I relate these to a multidimensional model of citizenship (see table 2) and the acquisition of a range of citizenship literacies above. I believe that these literacies can be acquired through a process of peer dialogue and practice in committee work and SRC related projects. Ideally schools should model a democratic ethos.

Teachers can act constructively as 'facilitators' to model, indirectly guide and scaffold learners into literacies. A genre and literacy pedagogy can provide an explicit meta-language and pedagogy for scaffolding learners from everyday domains of understanding to applied functional and eventually reflective, critical discursive practice. However, I argued that for this to happen, South African schools need to develop new democratic discursive practices (see chapter 2, section 2.2 and chapter 5, section 5.1.4 and 5.2.2).

Conclusion

In my study SRC democratic practice tended to be a surface manoeuvre or pseudo-democratic practice, stifled by the asymmetrical teacher–learner genre. A bossy teacher voice tended to dominate and repress both individual learners' voices and a collective SRC voice. Discursive practice disadvantaged a range of learners, and was both inter- and intra-culturally insensitive, acting to silence an ESL speaker. But teachers' voices at times played a constructive facilitating role and learners did acquire a range of functional and some critical citizenship literacies.

I argue that at both an ideational and interactional level, my findings point to SRC practice as a powerful potential site for democracy education-in-action and have developed a tentative model of this potential in relation to a multidimensional model of citizenship presented in table 2. I argue that SRCs help learners acquire a range of multiple citizenship literacies through teacher and peer dialogue, modelling and SRC committee and projects practice. For this to happen, however, a more explicit pedagogy needs to be developed and articulated by policy and curriculum

documents. My fieldwork in both schools indicated that democratic school practice requires a school ethos that encourages questions and discussion by educators who have the procedural skills to model, host and facilitate a range of culturally and political sensitive discussions, report-backs, debates and negotiations. My research suggests that, generally speaking, teachers lack this. For this reason, I argue for the deliberate development and explicit teaching of appropriate democratic discourses and practices in school SRCs.

Chapter 6 Summary and conclusion

> ... one's ability to write oneself into the text of nationality, constitutes a form of literacy. It is an acquired language of belonging in space and time to an imaginary [ed] community ... Opinions differ radically over both the form and the content of this language. Some argue that in an increasingly complex and multicultural society there is a need for a common literacy; others propose that we are moving towards a culture of many literacies. (Trend, 1994;238)

Trend's quotation captures the essence of my argument. In this chapter I give a brief summary of my research project and findings and make a number of recommendations based on my research.

6.1 Summary

My research set out to explore to what extent South African curriculum documents established an identifiable and teachable understanding of democracy education, and to look at useful ways of conceptualising and teaching active democratic practice. My pilot study involved a week's action research on democracy and human rights education in a Grade 7 classroom. An SRC report-back to the class I was with led me to focus my research on SRC practice as a potential site for 'democracy education-in-action.' My research involved taping and videoing two SRC meetings, an interview eight months later with the SRC executive, an interview with the new incoming SRC president and a consideration of supporting SRC produced documents related to the meetings and newsletters.

My research shifts the notion of educating the 'future citizen' to a notion of 'the learner as citizen now'. A school SRC, now compulsory in all South African high schools, becomes one of the many powerful sites in a school for learning social democratic citizenship practice. My analysis of the dialogue in SRC meetings and the nature of the SRC work and projects showed that learners on the SRC learnt many of the skills and functions associated with political and democratic practice and developed attitudes and skills in social responsibility and community outreach work.

However, the SRC practice itself could not be described as democratic. The teachers tended to play at democracy, allowing the learners ritualistic and symbolic status, but really retained the power for themselves. Teachers dominated the SRC meeting and the SRC tended to be used as an official school voice for helping staff with administration work and outreach projects, rather than as a forum for learners' voices. The teacher-facilitation did not develop satisfactory understandings of democracy and the function of SRCs, nor sensitive and responsible ways of talking about other people in the context of community outreach to less-privileged schools. English first language speakers showed unintentional insensitivity to a second language speaker, frequently interrupting her. English first language speakers' lack of understanding of the extent to which their own

cultural assumptions and language practice dominated the meeting and school ethos led to the well-documented assimilationist ethos in former model C schools.

Nevertheless, I believe school SRC practice has a rich potential as a site for involving all learners in active participatory democratic practice, envisaged in the C2005 project and related educational documents. I used applied linguistic models to look at teacher talk. Such models helped establish language strategies around more traditional and didactic autocratic teacher talk and more democratic, facilitative teacher talk which I see as more appropriate for school SRC practice. I developed a tentative model of multidimensional citizenship and related it to a notion of multiple citizenship literacies based on the themes, knowledge skills and practices. I believe SRC practice can be used to develop a range of citizenship literacies (for example a political or democratic literacy, media literacy, social responsibility and a critical social cultural literacy and bi-cultural literacy) in learners through using SRC projects, report-backs to class, newsletters and posters, discussion, debates and sub-committee work. I argue for teaching methods that explicitly define and establish citizenship literacies and develop in teachers the skills to facilitate such practices.

Educators can also utilise SRC report-backs and issues to stimulate a wide range of necessary democratic processes and genres such as discussions, debates, decision-making, negotiations and mediation, as well as develop necessary intra- and inter-cultural, critical social literacy and social responsibility discourses in the classroom and wider school community. My study supports the wider research findings that dialogues between peers within institutional structures that involve learners in discussion, debate, decision-making, perspective-taking, negotiation and conflict resolution develop learners' socio-political and moral understanding. This is what good SRC practice should be about and I saw moments of this in the SRC practice I studied. The senior primary school years are particularly important to foster the values and moral and political development required in contemporary notions of citizenship.

Our present curriculum policy documents, curriculum developers and educators have not as yet developed the potential created by legislated compulsory SRCs in school governance to provide democracy education. Schools can become hothouses to nurture new appropriate democratic and citizenship literacies in learners or continue to privilege hegemonic and insensitive practices that disadvantage many South Africans.

6.2 Recommendations

The strength of qualitative single case research is to open up new areas of inquiry in fields undergoing rapid change. Qualitative data of this nature is not generalisable. Muller (1999;58)

argues it has only a small role in policy and curriculum development. However, I disagree. While a study of this nature cannot set out to establish definitive SRC practice or establish definitions and curriculum models and discourses, research of this nature can still inform curriculum development, highlight potential routes and practice and make some concrete suggestions for practice, possibly suggested by my tentative steps in this direction. With these limitations in mind I make the following recommendations:

6.2.1 For curriculum

- The C2005 project outcomes and values for 'democracy education' can be pedagogically represented as a process of inducting learners into 'critical citizenship literacies', for example political or democratic literacy, social critical literacy, a reclaimed cultural literacy, and media literacy.
- The curriculum needs to link 'democracy education' with whole-school governance and especially SRC development. It needs to define and conceptualise constituting discourses. An explicit citizenship model, like that used in chapter 5, may help make the process more explicit.
- SRC practice is a good site for developing appropriate new civic participatory genres. Applied linguistics sees social change as transformation happening most effectively at the level of genre.
- My research data supports other South African research findings that many former white, model C schools' attempts at 'celebrating' a multiculturally diverse and democratic nation do not challenge the middle-class Anglocentric hegemony of the school's discursive practice and have an assimilationist ethos. I argue that C2005 therefore needs to research and develop more appropriate discursive practices through various strategies, including appropriate models of SRC practice as 'democracy-in-action'.

6.2.2 For research

- The area of 'citizenship literacy practices' provides opportunities for fascinating research, especially that carried out from a socio-linguistic perspective and researched as 'literacy practices' from a NLS methodology. Questions that need to be answered are: What do South Africans require to 'participate' as citizens? How can such discursive practices prevent hegemonic English- and Western-dominated literacies from writing many South Africans out of the 'text' of real participation?

- At school level, I believe research into the various SRC practices in different schools would be very instructive. I believe it is important to develop appropriate models for pedagogy and materials for developing SRC structures and functioning in our schools.
- Applied language and linguistic research has a crucial contribution to make in developing a better understanding of citizenship literacies and inter- and intra-culture practices in South Africa. Clyne (1994;214) suggests that the task of mapping discourse features across cultures and languages is both exciting and daunting. 'If pursued in an appropriate spirit', he argues, 'this work may well offer a key to inter-cultural and international understandings.' I support Clyne in arguing that it should become one of the significant areas of linguistics in the early 21st century.
- I argue for such research into the inter- and intra-cultural practices of South Africans to inform language programmes in schools and work places aimed at developing bi-culturalism in South Africans without developing stereotypes.
- Appropriate research like Chick's is needed to both deconstruct stereotypes and inform new inter-cultural understandings. This would require a Foucaultian deconstruction of both the colonial and apartheid anecdotal stereotypes relating to such practices (see Chick, 1985; Pennycook, 1998) as well as a fostering more sensitive '*saamtrek*' discourses (see chapter 2, section 2.2).
- Research into discursive practices that discriminate against others, including modes of silencing and repressing others, both inter- and intra-culturally (see Riggens,1997 and Wodak,1996). Even research like that of Verschueren (1985) on comparative verbals could yield fruitful linguistic knowledge if applied to South African languages. An understanding of what it means 'to be silent', 'to be polite' or 'to direct' would help further develop a cross-linguistic and cultural understanding of discourse practice in South Africa.
- More research into the meaning of silences and pre-textual gaps in dialogue is needed. This would include discursive practices that silence others, especially inter-culturally, and ways to develop inter-cultural sensitivity within schools.

6.2.3 For school level

- All language programmes, both first language and as additional or second language levels, need to develop inter- and intra-cultural awareness are needed for all learners. English first language speakers especially, need to be become sensitive to its

discursive power, and techniques to counter rather than manipulate this to their advantage.

- SRC practice should be used to develop explicitly a range of democratic practices, civic participatory genres, media literacy and social responsibility. It should be a forum for learners voices and not an extension of the official school teacher voice used for administration purposes in the manner of the old prefect system.
- SRC practice and report backs should be used in classrooms to develop contextualised debate and illustrate principles of democratic and political practice, negotiation, discussion, media literacy, social awareness and bi-culturalism in all learners.
- School SRCs should be trained in well-designed meeting genres which empower an appropriate learner voice, create spaces for registering difference, dissent and a minority position. Teachers require training in appreciating democratic practice and using their discursive skills to facilitate learner voices, encourage marginalised speakers and develop appropriate critical literacies.

Conclusion

Democracy education forms a major goal of most education systems, and is of special significance in an emerging democracy such as South Africa. Democratic practices and processes are complex and multi-layered, and consist of competing and contested discourses, and, as such, are socio-culturally specific. While our policy and curriculum documents create an exciting discursive space around a notion of civic education for 'active participation' in society, they do not develop the necessary concepts, knowledge and practices needed to inform pedagogy. A more explicit exploration of central concepts, as well as the discourse and knowledge-related features and processes of what constitutes 'active citizenship practice', appear essential both to curriculum and materials development. Applied language studies have a key role to play in researching, mapping and developing appropriate democratic discourses and practice for South Africa.

Appendix 1 Narrative of pilot study

One week spent in action/ethnographic classroom research April 2001

Ethically, I felt obliged to 'give' the students 'something' and not just 'use' them to gather data. This led me into a position of conflicting roles: an action researcher, a participant observer and 'a teacher'. Staff and learners saw me as a 'teacher' and it was not until the third day that I worked out a fairly successful strategy for resolving this conflict in the classroom. I explicitly redefined myself as a 'researcher', unpacking the process with analogies to school research projects.

Although my fieldwork generated a lot of data, I had erroneously planned on using the learners' written discourse, which is too restricted, in a new learning area at Grade 7, to be of real interest. But the pilot study, together with the changing context of democracy education in June (see *Review Report* on C2005) refocussed the direction of my research. Nevertheless I wish to highlight two interesting points and anecdotal 'hunches' arising from the pilot. Firstly, the most successful 'lessons' and learning occurred when I utilised the situated context for teaching aspects of 'democracy education': news items on the media and the school's SRC. Secondly, to do this a school would need a democratic ethos within which learners were scaffolded into constructive and appropriate challenging of authority at times. I shall illustrate this.

In my news media project on 'human rights' I found the class responsive to exploring newspapers at home and discussing the news with their parents. A rather gratifying incident supports my claim. I was present in the staffroom before school, when a parent made a special visit to inquire from the class teacher 'Who is the new teacher because she has my daughter reading the newspapers and listening to the news?' Asked if it worried her, she replied that she was delighted – she'd be trying to get her daughter interested in current affairs and human rights for years. It was not until the end of the week that the class showed me the worksheet they were doing that week in Life Orientation – the State of Emergency declared in apartheid South Africa – yet the teacher concerned had not once linked this event to contemporary political understanding and current news headlines.

One of my group activities was a visual literacy/political literacy exercise in which learners were asked to classify photographs and political cartoons into 'democratic'/'non-democratic' circles. The exercise generated interesting verbal debate and a fairly sophisticated visual literacy not matched by an equivalent verbal one (for example, one student recognised 'the gravy train' and it's meaning, while several related it to the rich not giving to the poor). I believe that at present political cartoons and visuals are being underutilised in democracy education texts at the intermediate band of GET. In contrast, the class all showed a very poor knowledge of 'common' 'street-law' legal terms and concepts (for example, not knowing the difference between words such as assault, murder and arrest) when we did drama role-plays around the Bill of Rights and Constitution.

A coincidental SRC report-back provided the key to the most successful 'lessons' with the class. The day after dealing with an exercise on 'accountability' presented through a photographed spread of an SRC-in-action, I was present for the newly established[1] SRC representative's report-back to the class. The headmaster had made two fairly controversial decisions that caused a heated reaction. I immediately channelled it into a discussion to prepare the class SRC rep to report back (accountability, representation and negotiation, as well as various modes of

[1] The school had introduced an SRC for the first time that year comprised of a representative from each class in the school, regardless of Grade. This is different from the system in the second school mentioned in Chapter 5.

organising and controlling public discussion and debate – all part of C2005). I then initiated several interested learners in the class to organise a debate on one of the contested issues (censorship of books in the school library). I took the opportunity to explain formal debating as a 'game' and a process (parliamentary procedure) providing process role scripts for the chair, time-keeper, speakers and a reporter the next day. The debate provided a very valuable democratic learning experience: tolerating other views, freedom of expression, the rights of others and responsibility for younger children, as well as methods of debating and discussion procedures. It convinced me of the importance of the debating genre in the development of a democratic, critical culture in this country (see *Report on Values, Democracy and Education*, which calls for the establishment of debating societies). It is important to note that the ethos of the school must be appropriate to facilitate debate: both encouraging and tolerating a critical, democratic questioning of issues but balancing this with responsibility and the rights of others (are all books suitable for a primary school library?; who must decide what a child can read or not read?) C2005 itself does not place emphasis on the debate as a genre. It is conspicuously absent from most primary schools' curricula. When consulting the Grade 7 teachers in the staff room prior to the debate, I was told that primary school children are too young for formal debating, and the only way it would work was to divide the class into two, and tell them to speak 'for' and 'against': personal convictions have no place here. (See research by Kholberg (1981) and Gilligan in Hekman (1995).)

Appendix 2 Luke's CDA models summarised

A summary of Luke's critique of the CDA models to discourse analysis (1993;121–126)

Level	Fairclough's Model	Kress's Model	Luke's Critique of CDA models
1 micro	Text – the product & process, spoken or written; micro tend to be studied as instances of the macro	Meanings of texts – Kress concentrates on the first 2 levels, but recognises the macro	a) Useful frameworks for analysis – provide for the relationship btw language & social order
2 mediates the two levels	Orders of discourse – sets of conventions associated with institutions	Discourses and genres – the actual meaning of texts determined by discourses i.e. systems of meaning arising from social institutions & conventionalised social interaction	b) But neo-Marxist material reductionism falsely implies: – assumptions that so-called base can be separated from superstructure
3 macro	Ideologies – ideological determinism of Marxist flavour	Ideology – determines the configuration of discourses present & their articulation in specific genre	– 'material' base determines rest: by making economic inequality primary, lose sight of other sites of inequality
4 macro	Relations of power – Neo-Marxist – power located in relationship btw social classes & economic production 'Tendency to have a subject determined by ideologies that can be simply deduced from texts as they are read by critical analysts' (Luke, 1993;126)	Larger social structure which remains vague in Kress (1985) has a Marxist flavour in Hodge & Kress (1988) (cited Luke, 1993;124) Speaks of dominant groups and structures of dominance reflecting and influencing the interests of the dominant groups and their power	– creates oversimplified dominant/oppressed version of society ascribed to socio-economic relations – 'real' world veiled by ideology (Habermas): problematic for Luke (see 1993;125–126) – representational fallacy i.e. 'real world' of social relations is represented in language – macro determines micro model doesn't allow enough space for human agency, interpretation or change

Appendix 3 Key and glossary

Key to transcript

Reference to utterances:	
(1), (2) etc. marked in front of speaker's name	(1) Ms
Pauses:	
short pauses, breathes etc.	(a comma) and (.)
slightly longer pauses	(..) (-)
longer pauses	(---)
speech continues (i.e. edited)	.....
Interruptions:	
interruption	[..on speakers line & new turn [Ms P .....]
backchannelling	* *
backchannelling interruption	*[ ]*
My comment on tone, gesture or interpretation	*{italicised comment}*
Speaker's emphasis on word	**bold**, or <u>underlined</u>

Glossary

Conversation analysis terminology

When we speak we divide the flow of words into some kind of units: they can be pause units or tone units or a combination of both. Pauses (ranging from brief silent pauses to long pauses and filled pauses) are used for hesitation, strategic purposes such as holding or yielding a turn, making a clean start or marking of a unit of discourse.

The **turntaking system** involves three strategies of taking the turn, holding the turn and yielding the turn. Taking the turn may involve starting up, taking over or interrupting. Hesitant speakers who have not properly planned their turn before taking it, can make use of **filled pauses** (uhm, erhm) and **verbal fillers** (well, I mean, you know). They tend to cluster in the 'global planning area' at the very beginning of turns, where rough planning of the whole utterance takes place. Filled pauses/and or verbal fillers are also used as **stalling** device to hold the turn (silence should be avoided, unless it is strategically placed, as the listener might mistake it for a take-over signal). Filled pauses can usually be taken to indicate that the speaker has no intention to yield the turn, but is actually planning what to say next (Stenstrom, 1994;76). Without a filled pause the listener may get the wrong impression. Some words function as 'verbal hedges' (kind of, sort of). They usually modify and mitigate an utterance.

Backchannelling refers to active participation by the listener. This can be silent feedback such as head-nods, smiles, and eye-glances, but oral backchannelling is also expected. **Backchannels** can reflect empathy, enthusiasm, indignation, lack of interest, indifference and impatience, seen along a gradient ranging from indifference to strong involvement. Laughter is once of the most frequent types (Stenstrom,1994;81). It is intended to keep up the communication flow by confirming or reacting to a preceding statement and can be regarded as a 'positive interruption' and an encouragement for turn maintenance (look at backchannelling in my data), but often backchannelling in inter-cultural communication is ambiguous and leads to communication breakdown.

Strategies of increasing and decreasing **speed in turn-taking** can contribute to turn maintenance or turn appropriation. Among the methods of turn maintenance and appropriation are: increase in volume, increase in speed, decrease in speed with or without elongation, raising intonation,

repetition, addressing a person by name and use of 'excuse me'. Increasing speed prevents someone else from interrupting and gaining floor. Slow and elongated words, speed against competition or speaking at the same time as the other person can regain a turn. Turn-change /turn-taking procedures are largely determined by power relations and different languages and cultures have different turn taking patterns, for example Central Europeans are most successful in turn maintenance and turn appropriation through simultaneous speech. **Turn direction and deflection are the results of more goal-orientated behaviour** required to turn direction, for example, keep a conversation going or involve particular people at a meeting, and turn deflection to promote a more 'democratic' control of the floor in a meeting. Such skills and strategies are important in chairing technique, scaffolding and chairing a meeting. Often **long turns are related to negative politeness and face saving strategies on behalf of the hearer as well as oneself** (Brown, L cited Clyne,1994;109). **Short turns** are usually related to adjacent pairs (Clyne,1994,102–106).

Successful communication presents messages so that they can be decoded successfully in as non-culturally specific and neutral a way as possible. It doesn't allow appropriation of turn, keeps control of exchanges and limits interactions to intended goal. **Successful communicators** are aware of their own and their interlocutors expectations of communication. They express themselves in as 'culturally neutral' a way as possible and know which questions to ask to resolve potential causes of communication breakdown (Clyne, 1994;153).

Dialogue, on the surface, is a face-to-face interaction between two or more people exchanging a system of signs and gestures, which, as it unfolds, assumes new forms and finally terminates. Dialogues are dynamic and are always embedded in a particular socio-historical context, be they cultures, institutions or the relationships of power that exist between the participants. When interlocutors respond instantly to each other, they respond far more to the immediacy of each other's gestures and utterances. Their gestures and utterances convey past experiences and cultural knowledge which may or may not be shared and this effects the quality and kind of relationship reflected in the dialogue (Markova & Foppa (eds),1990;6–8).

Monologue is *dialogical* in nature. Monologue (as distinguished from monologism), like dialogue, is directed towards the other, only in the extreme case the other being self. But it does not rely on *immediate* response, or only relies partially on a response, unlike dialogue. The distinction between monologue and dialogue is often a difficult one to make. For example, a participant may be involved totally in her own point of view while engaged in a dialogue with others. Descriptions of one own feelings, experiences, point of view and long passages of speech in which little or no attention is paid to one's interlocutor are examples of 'monological dialogues', but I refer to them as 'monologues' in my study (Markova & Foppa,1990;9–10).

Interplay of participants' initiatives and responses generate a web of social relations, commitments and responsibilities. Over and across the sequences of initiatives and responses patterns of **symmetrical and asymmetrical dialogue**: patterns of symmetry versus asymmetry (dominance) emerge. Such emergent patterns can be understood partially as reproductions of culturally established and institutionally congealed provisions and constraints on communicative activities. Meanings are not entirely constructed in interaction: they belong in part to a cultural capital inherited and reinvested all the time. Microcontexts cannot be understood without some concept of macroframes (Linel in Markova & Foppa,1990;147).

Socially orientated researchers emphasise the interactive and embedded nature of dialogue which points to the interactive turns as units of analysis (Markova & Foppa, 1990). Sinclair and

Couthard (1975) developed the **triad** *initiative, response and feedback* for classroom interactions. Schegloff (1979) and Jefferson (1989) observe that much natural conversation takes part in the **triad**, where the third item appears to manage a discord by reformulating what the two opposing parties have already stated, and enables a smooth transition to take place. Some conversational analysts argue that **tripartition** is a structural principle according to which conversational sequencing is organised and interactional negotiations take place (Jefferson 1989) (Markova;1990;130-131). Markova, however, argues for a **three-step-process**: each interaction is embedded in its linguistic and social context and is both past directed (retroactive) and future-directed (proactive).

Culture is a very problematic term, particularly in the South African context. I adopt a pragmatic notion of culture (suggest by Clyne) according to which culture can be equated to an 'ensemble' of social experiences, thought structures, expectations and practices of action which has the quality of 'a mental apparatus'. Clyne also provides a shorthand definition by Hofstede (1991), who views culture as 'collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another' (Clyne, 1994;3).

Clyne (1994;3) speak of **values** as 'internalised ... standards for guiding action ... an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence'. Clyne relates a discussion on **values** to Halliday's (1978:139) statement: 'In its most general significance, a text is a sociological encounter through which the meanings that constitute the social system are exchanged'. Clyne shows cultural values constitute 'hidden' meaning underlying discourse structures.

Speech Act research both inter and intra-culture has been enriched by Goffman's (1955) notion of '**face**', that is 'positive social value a person claims for himself by the line others assure he has taken during a particular contact', that is a sensitivity to the rights of others (Clyne, 1994;14). It is based on premises that speakers share assumptions about politeness which inform their communicative strategies: degree of relative power, relative ranking of impositions in a particular culture, social distance. My notion of '**face**' is derived from Goffman (1967) as developed in Brown and Levinson (1987;61-73). The notion of '**face**' ties up with self-esteem and avoiding 'losing face' (embarrassment or humiliation). People are generally seen to cooperate to maintain one another's self-esteem and 'face' and that it is in everybody's best interests to maintain everyone else's face. People can be expected to defend their face, if threatened, and so risk threatening others faces. The content of **face** will differ in different cultures.

Negative face: a person's actions be unimpeded by others, and involved with the formal 'politeness' of non-imposition. Includes the desire to be ratified, understood, approved of, liked and admired.

Positive face: the person's attributes and possession of value to them are admired, desired and complimented.

Face Threatening Acts (FTAs): refer to any 'act' (verbal or non-verbal communication) that imposes upon or runs contrary to a person's face. A lot of **polite behaviour** is associated with **redressive action** that 'gives face' to the addressee, that is attempts to counteract the potential face damage of the FTA by doing it or modifying it to indicate that no face threat is intended. This is done in through **negative politeness**: avoidance based assurances that the speaker recognises and respects the addressee's negative face and will not interfere with his/her freedom of action (characterised by self-effacement, linguistic and non-linguistic deference, hedges, passives and 'softening' and giving face-saving lines of escape).

Ethos: Related to intertextuality, ethos refers to the wider process of modelling wherein time, place, and discourses, verbal and non-verbal communication signals the social identity of participants. Ethos is signalled by the whole cumulative effect of bodily movement (sitting, gestures, facial expressions, proxemic behaviour) and the way participants organise and interact spatially with their environment, space and time and not just the way participants talk or the genres and discourses they use. (Fairclough,1992a;166-167).

Discourse (New Literacy Studies understanding)

Discourses = saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combination (Gee 1992,1996;127). Discourses are always more than just the language. They are ways of being in the world or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes and social identities as well as gestures, glances, body positions and clothes ('a sort of identity kit')(Gee,1996;127).
Discourse = connected stretches of language that make sense, for example conversation, story, reports (Gee, 1992;1996;127). See mainstream applied linguistic definition, Chapter 2.

Gee's distinction of primary and secondary Discourses:

Primary Discourse = those discourses which people acquire early in life during primary socialisation in the family within its socio-cultural setting – first language, home and local community-based Discourses. They constitute our first social identity: who we are, who people 'like us' are and what sort of things people 'like us' do, value, and believe. They provide the base from which we acquire or resist later Discourses (Gee, 1996;137).
Secondary Discourse = those discourses to which people are apprenticed as part of their socialisations within various local, state and national groups and institutions outside early home and peer-group socialisation, for example church, school, gang (more publicly orientated discourses). They constitute recognisable and meaningful 'public' (more formal) acts and identity (Gee, 1996;137).

There can be **competing and conflicting Discourses**. Gee argues that acquiring primary and secondary Discourses can be compared, certainly metaphorically, to acquiring a language, especially contemporary second language learning. Discourses can interfere with one another, and aspects of one Discourse can be transferred to another Discourse (1996;143).

The **acquisition of Discourse** is a process of acquiring something (usually unconscious) by exposure to models, a process of trail and error and practice within social groups without formal teaching (how people acquire first language). It is a process of enculturation or *apprenticeship into social practice* (Vygotsky) through scaffolding and interaction with people who have already mastered the Discourse. It happens in natural settings which are meaningful and functional, that is it is acquired in order for people to function in situation. Apart from our very early enculturation most of the Discourses we acquire are acquired through a combination of acquisition and learning.

Appendix 4 Two types of triadic dialogue

See 'genre of teacher-student talk', chapter 4, section 4.2.2

Extract from agenda planning meeting:

Chair = SRC President, Nothando; Secretary = Cathy; VP = SRC Vice-Pres.; Ms DP = Deputy Principal

VP:	Hmmm .. But I don't (uhhmm) But I don't (uhmm, okay, but, okay because we can [
Secretary:	[Ja, it does say here that we were going to have a competition but …
VP:	Ja, . uhmmmm .. (pause) uhmmm, Ja….(can't hear) . I hadn't thought of that

Episode 1: teacher initiates with classic IRE triadic mode (see chapter 3, section 3.4.3.1):

Ms DP:	Okay, did you, have you sorted out those, urhm, the things for the code of behaviours,.. [
	[Yes] [Yes] [Yes] (all three SR C members reply, Nellie's voice heard most clearly)
Mrs DP:	.. the expectations ..
Chair:	Yes, Some of them are up already..and (-) *{voice tails off slightly which may indicate that she is ready to hand over but she is interrupted)*
Ms DP:	So does that need to go on the agenda or is it .(pause) ..
Chair:	..under report back
MS DP:	…under report back, Ja
	(Pause –) ***leads straight into* episode 2 below**

Episodes 2 and 3: reducing power differentials: a more democratic triadic scaffolding (see chapter 4, section 4.2.2):

Secretary:	…uhhhmmm and how about the notice board? because I believe. It's meant to have been changed and it hasn't.
Ms DP:	I'll be totally honest with you (pause - Speaking in a softer, indistinct and slightly hushed tone)… I've also also talked to the notice board committee .. …… *{Mumbled, quick, not clearly spoken – I believe that this section is indistinct because the matter is rather sensitive with members having failed to do duties and [participants are trying to avoid blaming or naming individuals)* *{background noise and talking, half suggestions, soft voices – later discourse showed it to be a 'sensitive issue in the school}*
Secretary:	Ja, *(drawn out, almost a 'verbal nod' of sympathetic agreement)* Uhmmm, I think, uh, I also feel that she's been put in charge too much and she wants to .. [
Ms DP:	[Ja] *(Quick agreement, relieved that an 'acceptable' explanation has been offered? Note: No name has been mentioned.)*
Secretary:	..and she wants to give some of the work load to Tanya, uhmm, and ….. *(general noise some muttering..)* [
Chair or VP:	[to Sarah,]
Ms DP:	*...(begin hesitantly)* Okay, so you've got that on the Agenda?
Secretary:	Ja .. Erhmm, right (…) **Episode 3:** The report backs that we had last time, were, we have to the normal house report backs, and *(drawn out)* (--) then we just said the the sandwich days, *(indistinct)* project ..and er, and er I think also we should discuss about what the er, uh, the house projects we're doing, because the [
VP:	[Oh Ja,].
Secretary:	…we are quite involved.. [
VP:..	[Becos the Pet Food week and everything that's happening..]
Ms DP:	What is next term's house project?
Secretary:	I don't know yet.
Ms DP:	Okay, you need to find that out and write it on the, er, hmmm, on agenda as well.
Secretary:	….. *(Continuing to consult her notes)* Er, and then we have 'general'...

Minutes of the ~~fifth~~ meeting of GJS SRC 2000, held in on the 18 July 2000

Apologies: None, full council attendance

Minutes proposed by: Tegan

Minutes seconded by: Melanie

Financial Statement:

Balance at 17/07/00 R1147.43

R1147.43 ~~1194~~ 1094,43

Matters discussed

When ideas are raised, they should be minuted and if they are rejected, say why.

C... Primary don't have an SRC. We should ask again about space for the SRC's 'stuff'. We'll see if we can get one of the media room or art room drawers. Cathy will see to this.

CommunityOutreach

We must all knit at least three vests each for the Neo-Natal Unit. We will say thank you to the grade 4R's for their enthusiastic response to the knitting pattern. We will ask Mrs C for the hat pattern to go on the next news flyer.

Code of Behaviour

We must move the posters around to ensure that all the school sees all of the posters. We will try to examine another section of the booklet later this year.

Noticeboard

The Sandwich Day posters are up, there is one on the noticeboard.

Anti-Litter Campaign

Jade will collect the house points from the box in the staff room weekly. The Constantia-Silverlea house project must use the litter collected from Anti-Litter Day, Wednesday 2nd August 10:10am. The house representatives must tell the girls this at the house meetings. We will use the same roster as before. Cathy must take over Tracy's duty. We will ask Mr R if he will donate black bags again. Half of Cathy's group will patrol the pavement with a teacher and the other half will clear the grade 6 area.

Reports-back

Cavanagh-Their meetings were mainly about Pet Food Week and the assembly. They had two suggestions, to have heaters in the classrooms but Miss said that this wasn't necessary as they probably wouldn't heat the whole classroom and they are also quite expensive. Also to have more reading time in class, they should ask their class teachers about this as their timetable can't fit in any extra time. Also to have a school anorak, Miss . will put this to the Governing Body at their next meeting. Also to have monkey sherbet and spring water at the tuck shop. Miss says that the tuck shop is a private enterprise and so we should forward this suggestion to Mrs .

Constantia-They spoke about Pet Food Week and their forth coming Anti-Litter Project (a litter fashion show). They had two suggestions, to have more SRC flyers which we said was impossible as it is hard work getting two out a term, we

couldn't manage more than that. They also had the same suggestion of getting heaters in the classrooms but again we said no.
Kirsten-Their meetings were mainly about Pet Food Week. They had two suggestions, to return Toilet Duty, we agreed to this and Mrs will be speaking to the teachers about it. Also to have a Readathon every term but we said no as this was too much organising and pressure to Mrs B but Tanya will ask Mrs B about having more reading competitions.
Silverlea-Their meetings were mainly about Pet Food Week. They had three suggestions, to have a paper recycling bin at school but we said no as the boys' school already has one and we are to use that, we just don't have enough space. Also to have a Recycling Day, we said that Silverlea should speak to the boys' school about this. There was also a suggestion to get more benches but Miss said no. There are already enough, it's just that people move them and don't put them back. They are currently standing by the high school wall where the 'little ones' play house on them at break. The benches are also very expensive.
Sandwich Day
There are six posters up around the school about this.
Peace Project
We will speak to the class teachers about silence during the peace bell. We will put reminders in the news flyer and also ask in assembly how many people are silent. We should remind the girls that this minute is for peace and stillness. The girls should also remember mediation.
C Primary
We thought that it would be good to have sports and cultural activities between the schools. We thought we could have an Afrikaans Day with them, Mrs will look in to this. There will be a committee of Lauren , Tanya , Sara , Alison , Melanie , Mrs F and Mrs W
General Discussion
The colour criteria workshop is scheduled for Saturday 2nd September, 9am-3:30pm at school. There is a competition running on tube to collect teddy bears for children who don't have. Tanya will look into this and report back at the next meeting. We wish Tracy well when she emigrates to England and hope that she enjoys herself. We will try to organise that she receives copies of the flyer. Jade will take Tracy's place on the flyer committee. The grade 6's who wish to be on the council next year will observe term 4's meeting.
N declared the meeting closed at 17:46 pm.

secretary: _____
Cathy

Appendix 7 SRC newsletters 2001 – letter A

Student Representative Council

Girls' Junior School

.G. S.R.C, EDUCATION, PEACE AND UNITY

To my fellow pupils and staff

Together the 28 voices sang out in a chorus of unity. The Girls S.R.C. of 2001 were sitting in a circle hand in hand. Some had already been there for one night and others were just arriving. We were in a beautiful part of Stellenbosch. I could look out and see our duck pond surrounded by reeds. We had in it geese, swans and ducks. The grass was green and uneven and you could see the mountains behind the hills of grapevines. It was one of those places where you just want to run through the grass and look up at the sky. That is when Miss said " This is heaven" and so it was!

We could feed the ducks and geese and Liandi managed to stroke a swan! We could play on the jungle gym and monkey bars, but there was lots of work to be done.
We lead the newcomers to their dorms. We had wooden bunks in rows on either side of the room. They were told the ground-rules and then it was time to begin!

We started off by telling our fellow S.R.C. members about ourselves using a collage we had compiled.
We were asked questions such as "What are your fears?" "What are your beliefs?" and other difficult questions of that sort. Then we had the privilege of being paid compliments e.g. "Michelle is amazing." "Stephanie has never said anything horrible about anyone", "Kirstin is very enthusiastic" and the list goes on.

Then we discussed the characteristics that should be displayed by S.R.C. members. Some of these were things such as being positive, responsible, loyal, optimistic, respect, self-respect, communication and many more. I believe the S.R.C. of 2001 will be able to live out these characteristics very well. After that we moved on to discussing characteristics that should be displayed by the president of the council. Some of these were being positive, dependable, responsible, empathetic, and resourceful and to be good communicators.

Then we watched a video called " You can make a difference" which was enjoyed by all and we learnt a lot.

After some hot chocolate and a shower we went to bed. This is when Miss left us with a thought from the Old Testament, "Be still and know that I am God." It was hard to sleep as it was so hot and the mosquitoes were most frustrating. That night we did not show

EXTRACT.

PTO

respect, empathy, responsibility, nor were we dependable or still, and by the next morning we knew it. We did not go on our morning walk and the schedule was changed. We were not a team and we needed to be.
We went back to the dorm miserable and ashamed when someone said. " We can do this. We can work as a team and service our school. We are going to be the best S.R.C that has ever had!" So we sat in a circle, hand in hand, and decided on the S.R.C goals for 2001. We were brought closer. We were a team.
We had done it!

So we went back to the lecture room and sat in a circle in silence.

When the teachers entered all they could hear were "We go together like ramalama lama gedinkety dinky dong!" This is when Miss began her "Greased Lightning" dance in the centre of our circle. We were a team.
We then had a difficult thing to do. We had to write what we thought our position was in the situation.
Once that was done we wrote our pledge. It was signed and read to the whole council as well as Miss , Mrs. and Mrs. B We had made a commitment and we would stick to it.

Finally we had the difficult task of electing the president and the two deputies, who were announced on the 12th of February. Tears of joy, relief, sadness and disappointment were shed on that day, but we are all closer as a team, as friends and as fellow pupils of this school. Everyone is motivated that this is going to be an excellent year for the council and the school.

We would all like to say a big thank you to Miss who drove the school bus and had to put up with our singing and of course for all her help with running the camp. To Mrs. for everything she put into a wonderful camp and to Miss for her hard work and for guiding us in the right direction. We are very grateful.

Yours Truly

S.R.C. PRESIDENT

Student Representative Council

Girls' Junior School

To all members of the .G.J.S Family

A new system of running the council has motivated us all and we believe that this year is going to be a good one for the SRC !
Three meetings have already been held --- one Executive and two full Council Meetings. In these, we have managed to get through a lot of work and discussion. We feel it is important for all members of the family to know what we are doing for the school.

The SRC has been divided into four corner stones - Sports, Cultural, Academic and Outreach.
The Outreach corner stone has a few projects that it would like to do this year. They have already put posters around the school asking children to bring bread on Tuesdays for hungry children.
Competitions will be starting soon to see who is bringing in the most bread. The Outreach corner stone also helped sort out the clothes that have been donated to Tenterden House, a children's home, and we know they will be greatly appreciated. They are hoping to help C[illegible] Primary start their pre-school by donating crayons, old colouring-in books etc. and finally they are planning on donating old magazines and scrap material to Grassroots Educare Trust.

The Sports corner stone is asking girls to support their school in any sports matches they can. A message has gone up on the SRC notice board asking them to do so. All members of the corner stone attended the inter-schools gala and were there to keep the spirit up. They have also been very busy organizing the up coming and the previous sports day, which was enjoyed by all.

The Academic corner stone has just had their first amazing tables challenge, which will be held once a term. The results were as follows.: 1st: Constantia; 2nd: Kirsten; 3rd Silverlea; 4th: Cavanagh
They are hoping to have a Quiz Night later this year and that is something we all look forward to.

The Cultural corner stone is organizing a film festival, talent show and they would also like girls to write about their cultures to see how many beautiful cultures and traditions we have in our school.

During this term the SRC has become independent, hard working and have learnt to communicate with each other. We have managed to set our goals, re-decorate the notice board, put suggestion boxes in each class, come up with our motto and how to promote it, had our first SRC assembly and each corner stone has played their part. A lot of hard work and determination has got us where we are this term! SECOND TERM, HERE WE COME!!!!!!!

Yours truly,

President Deputy President

Dear Parents,
Overleaf I have copied an article that I believe has relevance to our children's lives. Please read it.
Regards,

Appendix 8 Anti-litter campaign

See discussion in chapter 4, section 4.3.2: organising skills

Chair:	Anti-litter campaign
(1)Sec:	Uhm Well, er Ms P. I think we need to decide on a date if we are going to have another one, because I think at the last meeting you said that we'd have to do one this term.
Ms P:	I think we must do one this term.
Ms F:	Okay, the box *{punishment box where pupils, collect litter from the grounds – side-tracking – see Chair's agenda item above}* was supposed to be put into the er staff room, has been put up and there are quite a few, er uhm, … names in there?
Ms P:	Oh, are there? *(surprised – rather doubting tone)* … Because when I last looked last term I didn't see any, because we must do something about [Ms DP…
Ms DP:	[Sorry, Madam Chair, we do need to make an arrangement about who is going to collect those names because the teachers have been putting names in and the pen went missing but we found it (-) .erh, so we really do need somebody to take responsibility of collecting the names from that box at regular times, er, every second week or however we want to..
[Ms P:	and then to add on the details of that, Madam Chair ..who could do that?
Chair:	umm?
Ms P:	Whose the committee..? whose the litter committee ? (------ silence) it's meant to be somebody on the particular committee, so who on the litter committee Madam Chair is going to undertake to clear the box? *(increasingly firm)*
Chair:	*(rustling papers, fumbling..*
Ms P:	Madam Chair, I see here that Con. and Silverlea are having an anti-litter campaign – is that in addition to the SRC anti-litter project?
Treas:	But Madam Chair through to the council, I think it was Constantia making a model out of .. out of the litter [yes]
Ms DP:	Yes but how will it actually work? Is it going to overlap with the um, SRC
[Ms F:	Sorry if I may just interrupt, I am not absolutely certain, ….
MS A:	Is that part of their house project?
Ms F:	so that is part of their house project [yes] [yes]
Ms DP:	Sorry, Madam Chair, but then umm, Mrs F, will they be going out of school twice to collect litter ? or are they using it […
[Mrs F:	I'm not saying are they going to ..]
Ms DP:	.. .we must be careful if they, we overlap ..
(2)Ms P:	No, I think they must use the litter that is collected on litter day ..on anti-litter day. …. So we need to set a date for anti-litter day, *{the secretary was trying to do this from the beginning of the agenda topic, but the staff hijacked the SRC meeting to suit their administrative needs}* But I think we need to wait until this very wet weather subsides… *{more personal narrative occupying inappropriate floor space}* You have your assembly, the next SRC assembly Madam Chair, is Friday 4th of August, what about that day?
Ms DP:	Not a Friday
Ms P:	Oh not a Friday, Friday is is is Mrs DP. Mrs DP has a problem with a Friday because of her science.
Ms DP:	Umm, well let's
Ms P:	Come up with suggestions please girls.
Ms DP:	What about the Monday after that? *{she ignores one of Ms P's rare attempts to open up floor…}*
Ms P:	What time?
MS DP:	*{Sniggering kind of laugh}*

Secretary:	Madam Chair, through to the council, uhm, if I recall correctly I think last time we er um did it, er um, it was like we used erhm five or ten minutes of the lesson before break and then we carried on into break, so maybe we could do …[teacher: That's right] that umm, again?
Ms P:	But Ms DP won't even give 5 or 10 minutes of her science lesson…
Secretary:	She did yesterday. *{appealing tone}*
Ms DP:	Oh I see, well exactly, so we aren't doing it again.
Secretary:	*{a giggling laugh}*
Ms P:	Well, let's have a look – let's take a Wednesday – let's take a Wednesday, it's the middle of a week, and we all like a break Madam Chair, so why don't we look at Wednesday 2nd August, Umm, if the bell rings at 10.10? {allows a small break - rustling - } and we do the same, follow the same procedure as the last time, so we have the black bags handed out and
*[Chair	coloured T-shirts] * {*This is back-channelling, not interrupting, but one of the examples where a learner inserts her own voice into teacher floor space}*
MS P:	the coloured T-shirts for those that are monitoring the …
Ms DP:	how will you let the children know? Because it will be before your assembly?
Chair:	Last time we just went to their classes and we told them that …
[Ms P:	but it will also be at report-back to the houses}
Ms DP:	Which is?
MS P:	Well the report-back to the houses should be this coming Monday
Ms DP:	how will you let the children know? Because it will be before your assembly? Isn't it the first Monday after the meeting, so the report back to the houses will be this Monday, and then uhm, um and of that time they'll be told that this is taking place …?
Pam:	Madam Chair through to the council, um I think it's a good idea if we all go to the same classes that we did last time so that, because I think that they've already grown used to us when they went with us last time, so when we introduce ourselves we won't be totally new to them.
Ms P:	I think that's a good solution.
Treas:	Oh Madam Chair, through to the council then maybe er we could make the roster again to remind us which classes we were in and what colour T-shirt we must wear.
Ms P:	Well I think that the litter committee must see to organising that and reminding everybody to be wearing
Jane:	Madam Chair through to Lisa, I've still got a copy of it on my computer so I'll just see to it again.
Secretary:	Can I just Madam through to Jane, Jane, okay you don't need to print out the computer – I've still got my copy here so you can just, maybe you can just photocopy it.
Chair:	Tracy
Tracy:	Madam Chair, through to Jane, what about the classes that I did? 'Cos I won't be here.
Treas:	Well I think somebody will just have to double up … Which groups were you working? (*Teacher's sort this out more or less…)*
Chair:	Are there any other suggestions? Okay, reports back. The house meetings and suggestions for cabinet (?)

Appendix 9 Talking 'peace' and 'tolerance'

See chapter 4, section 4.4.3 for a brief discussion of this text extract

X: Umm, Madam Chair, the peace projects, when the peace bell rings there still seems to quite a lot of noise around, either they don't hear it or they just ignoring it, or something, but people are still moving or have been disrespectful to like if we ask them to be quiet

Ms DP: Madam Chair, could that be discussed with the class teachers, please, perhaps members of the council could just ask class teachers. Maybe we could do it in the staffroom … and then I think when the peace bell rings, one needs to just put up a hand and say uhm, Mrs Dallas, the peace bell has rung.

Ms P: You know sometimes you don't hear it when you are teaching you get engrossed and they might not hear it, but I notice generally around this area downstairs that people do stop for that minute ... and observe it. But I notice the std 5 are taking it very seriously …

Lucy: Maybe in the newsletter we can remind them about the peace bell, and the benches etc.

Ms P: Good idea.

X: Madam Chair, through to the council, maybe at our next assembly we could ask them, 'how many of you actually stop when to do stop and uhn, be silent for that minute?'

Ms P: And I think girls you must also talk 'peace'. You know I don't think you must be shy to not, if there's a problem in your classroom, I think you need to talk about the facilitation of conflict programme that we have, the peer mediation we have, remind people that its happening and talk peace, talk about peace yourself, instead of talking about the latest fashion model that walking around on the cat walks and so on, sometimes just talk and say 'what do you think of what is happening with the taxi and bus warfare?' Talk about these things, so that *you* become aware of what peace is needed and what should be done and what do you think could be done to sort of the problems with, between golden arrow and the taxi drivers, you know you have got so much to offer, but if you don't talk these things amongst yourselves it doesn't get out.

X: I do notice when the peace bell rings, they stop talking and doing their work and they don't do anything about the peace process.

Ms P: But that's okay, because maybe that's what they want to do, there's no there's no restriction as to *what* has to be done at that time. It's a time of stillness … so if they are talking and working together and the peace bell rings, and they stop talking, but they continue with that, maybe that is what they choosing to do to observe peace, but there is *stillness* that's what it is about. We *recommend* that they stop everything and just for that minute, focus in on peace or say a prayer for peace or do what ever it is they want to – but as long as they are not disrupting that time of stillness, okay? It's no good being too prescriptive about what they must do at that time.

Appendix 10 Tables reflecting potential of SRC practice

Table 1: Some generic features in operation in the SRC meeting

Genre	Key functions	Some discursive features	Pedagogic implications	Implications for democracy
Formal meeting procedure	• agenda assigns formal turn-taking & floor control • privileges SRC voice of chair, secretary and agenda assigned turns • enables SRC to interrupt inappropriate teacher voice • should enable chair to give more floor space to the SRC/learners • mastery of discourse enables space to discuss, debate, disagree and register difference	- pronoun 'we' builds solidarity discourse of team but also masks power relationships of teacher control - politeness strategies use low modality and passive voice - acquiring turn maintenance strategy important for learners – using filled pauses (e.g. uhm), intonation, speaking faster/slower, etc. - privileges competent first language speakers in a hegemonic discourse - ESL speaker disadvantaged by different discursive turn-maintenance patterns	- potentially empowering genre - dialogue powerful way to develop values, discourses, identity & intra-cultural sensitivity - acquire a range of citizenship literacies through modelling, dialogue, skill development, explicit instruction and recontextualising - low modality politeness can create 'invisible pedagogy'	**A meeting where teachers:** - controlled the floor & decisions - used power to veto SRC voice - used discursive power to silence collective and individual SRC voice - manipulated discourse (e.g. use of 'we') to mask their control - were inter & intra-culturally insensitive.
Triadic dialogue of teacher/ learner relationships	• asymmetrical dialogue • privileges teacher voice, especially authoritarian and didactic teacher voice • gives teacher power to interrupt, side-track and hijack official agenda • allows teacher to occupy illegitimate floor space	**Traditional/autocrat mode** - classic IRE with teacher initiating, primary knower and evaluating learner response/closed questions - teacher can interrupt when response judged correct or wrong or veto **More democratic facilitative mode** - teacher uses discursive strategies to reduce her power while still guiding, e.g. open questions, placing students in primary knower roles, honesty and low modality, explicitness, adherence to meeting genre and agenda	- guide meeting - encourage SRC/marginalised voices - model meeting genre, democratic process, values & skills (e.g. tolerance, listening, empathy) or model autocratic behaviour - scaffold learners into a range of applied & critical literacies	No space for difference, disagreement or minority position **Students:** - lacked explicit understanding of their roles & functions - made no critical use of meeting genre empower SRC voice/learner voice.

Table 2: The potential of SRC practice to develop multidimensional citizenship literacies

	Dimensions of citizenship: summarised from Cogan (1997)	POTENTIALS shown in the SRC meeting – not all achieved	Some demonstrated features of SRC practice	Important skills/practices ABSENT from meeting
Personal	Developing personal capacity and commitment to a civic ethic, socially responsible habits; critical and systematic thinking; inter-cultural sensitivity and human rights issues; repertoire of responsible, cooperative and non-violent conflict resolution and problem-solving skills, readiness to protect and defend the environment and human rights and engage in public life.	Developing teamwork and committee skills, taking responsibility for SRC tasks Representing others and school Decision-making and problem-solving, e.g. anti-litter campaign Public speaking (election speeches, assemblies, council/house meetings) Organising skills and community projects Communication skills (speaking, newsflyer, notice boards) Peer-mediation and conflict-resolution skills Media literacy: representing social awareness and others in posters	Gain in personal public speaking – elections speeches, assemblies, etc. Ability to function in overt meeting and committee formal genre with knowledge of lexical terms, etc. Take responsibility and organise school admin and litter campaign. Operate in individual roles as chair, secretary, house rep, etc.	Critical use of meeting genre Ability to use genre to speak for others Ability to withstand authority figures through meeting genre Full use of minutes to record accurate reflection of decisions, record 'difference' where necessary
Social	Recognise the social nature of citizenship, living, working and interacting with people in variety of settings and contexts. Participate in public debate and discussion, deal with social issues and problems. Deal respectfully with people whose ideas and values differ from their own. Citizenship entails a commitment to participate in public life where activity is a result of reflection and deliberation.	Teamwork and interaction with public Political literacy – accountability, representation, constitutional authority, awareness of real versus symbolic power Social responsibility Community outreach - environmental literacy - inter-cultural sensitivity Social critical literacy: associating with people who are different/ learning more critical 'social aid' discourse	Functional use of overt meeting genre Solidarity 'we' discourse Sensitive dealing with team-mates – through use of passive and modals Distancing of 'collective text' from writer Mixed genre minutes: 'we' discourse masking some power play in decision-making Politeness strategies Represent school in social aid discourse	Inter-cultural sensitivity to team difference Ability to develop a sense of SRC voice separate from school authority Understanding of SRC as learner representative rather than 'prefect' model of school admin Create space for 'difference' and individual voice
Spatial	Citizens seeing themselves as members of several overlapping communities: local, regional, national and multinational. Citizens should be able to live and work at a series of interconnected levels from local to multinational.	Members see themselves as learners of the school, Grade 7s, SRC members as well as being involved in their broader community through outreach projects, and the wider SA community through the peace project. Street clean-up Community outreach	Talking about 'peace' Describing SA's two worlds in visit to Conway school – poor resources versus their wealth	Develop more sensitive inter- and intra-cultural understanding More aware social critical literacy Positive attitudes to other languages
Temporal	Citizens must pay appropriate attention to the past, recognising heritage and tradition. Need a rich knowledge of their own and the world's history to give them a sense of connectedness and rootedness, and a depth of understanding essential to the *practice* of multidimensional citizenship. Requires that the present and its challenges be located in the context of both the past and the future to avoid short-term solutions – thoughts and actions need to be formulated in a broad timeframe. We need to balance our readiness to innovate with respect for knowledge and values that constitute our heritage realising that we are also stewards for the future.	Implied in attitudes of social responsibility to those less privileged than ourselves. 'Race' was unmentioned, but was present implicitly in most references to 'the Other''under-privileged'. Recognition of their own privilege as being historically created, and their responsibility for contributing to the wider community and the 'peace' process, is implicitly recognised. It is often in a rather paternalistic discourse, and an English eurocentric and assimilationist ethos, which needs to be developed into a more culturally and politically sensitive discourse. The SRC has the potential to introduce new and appropriate South African democratic discourses and discursive practice and make explicit both inter-and intra-cultural discursive practices needed to counter assimilationist practice and ethos.	Paternalistic discourse displayed in social aid (see newsflyer and Sandwich Day posters)	Some knowledge and insight into the tradition of black SRC practice in the past Understanding of youth politics Seek appropriate interaction with other SRCs in different schools as 'youth forum' Conscious understanding of implications of the power of English and a commitment to work against assimilationist practices.

Appendix 11 Interrupting the Chair

See chapter 4, section 4.6.1

Examples from agenda planning meeting

Episode 1

Ms DP:	Okay, did you, have you sorted out those, urhm, the things for the code of behaviours,..
	[Yes] [Yes] [Yes] (all three SR C members reply, Nellie's voice heard most clearly)
Mrs DP:	..the expectations ..
Chair:	Yes, Some of them are up already..and (-) *{voice tails off slightly which may indicate that she is ready to hand over but she is interrupted)*
Ms DP:	So does that need to go on the agenda or is it .(pause) ..
Chair:	..under report back
MS DP:	…under report back, Ja

Dialogue further on in agenda planning meeting

Vice P:	Ja, I don't know if there is anything under last generals that must go onto the agenda? {(---)…*noise, general uhmm, as they check notes & minutes}*
Chair:	{*speaking hesitantly and softly*} It was (-) was there (---){*like a verbal fumbling: either a 'pretextual gap' to muster her thoughts and words or an invitation for others to contribute but clearly interrupted before she could finish}*
Ms DP:	*Okay, What about the thank you to Sekona?*
	[['Oh's]] {*several competing replies, the secretary's reply begins to dominate* }
Secretary:	{*wins the turn}* Uhmm that was, was to appear in the newsletter.
	{*again a competition of voices discussing issue*}
Vice P:	Uhmm (difficulty interrupting). And also..Alison then made a certificate
	And it's going to be presented to Sekona at an SRC
	[*several voices speak together* 'at an SRC executive' secretary again gains the turn..]
Secretary:	…that was for…
Vice P:	I think it's stuck up on the notice board at the moment?
Chair:	No, no I have it.
Vice P:	Oh, oh
Ms DP:	Okay, so you don't need to put that down?
Secretary:	and then, urhmm… should we have a maybe, erhm, a report back from the newsletter committee?
	(pause, several uhmm's and ah's a [Ja])
	…..and also, uhmm
Vice P:	…a report back from the girls who go to Constantia

Appendix 12: Useful references on Citizenship Education

General discussion

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