Waiting to learn: An analysis of instruction in four preschool settings in poor contexts

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PLAGIARISM 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.

Justine Jowell

Signed by candidate

Signature: Signature removed Date: 29 January 2016

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I have worked in the development sector for over 15 years. At some point I was working with children at risk – those struggling in their lives for success and happiness. It was one of those children who said to me that we are starting in the wrong places. He said schools are places of so much influence – both positive and negative and that we should focus our attention there. Hence my interest in Education and particularly the power of schools to transform and to limit.

I followed that interest, and through work and luck, it lead me to focus earlier and earlier in a child's life, until finally I am working and researching an area I am passionate about and convinced that is central to having the power to make a substantial difference in the lives of all South Africans – early childhood development.

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ABSTRACT

Worldwide there has been a growing recognition of the important role that preschool education can play in supporting later school (and life) success. At the school level, studies that examine and broaden knowledge of educational transmission in the classroom (pedagogic discourse) have been useful in providing pointers towards better practices to support children's learning at school. Extending the study of pedagogy to the preschool level seems to hold great potential for better understanding how to support children's learning.

This study, based within a sociology of education framework, poses the question: *How is pedagogy constituted and how does it vary across four different preschools situated in working class areas?* Using a case study approach, four sites were chosen from the same setting, and classroom observation data collected. The study examines in these sites how time is distributed across the school day in relation to different domains of early learning; how pedagogy is structured (and how it varies); and how what is offered at the four settings compares to an optimal[1] pedagogy identified for school, and preschool, in the research literature. Drawing on Basil Bernstein's conceptual frame for the analysis of pedagogy, a coding tool was adapted from Hoadley (2005) for the preschool setting which enabled a robust description and comparison of the pedagogy at the four sites.

The study found that:

- there was a ritualised, childcare nature of provision, rather than educational, in three of the four sites;
- substantial time was spent each day on "non-instructional" activities, and a significant proportion of time learners[2] were left waiting with nothing to do;
- three of the four sites displayed significant similarities in the pedagogy enacted,

[1] The terms optimal and ideal are used interchangeably throughout to describe the pedagogy proffered by the literature.

[2] The terms learner and student are also used interchangeably throughout.

with very weak correlations with ideal pedagogy; and

- one of the four sites, despite being from the same setting and with similar characteristics, enacted a substantially different pedagogy that more closely correlated with the ideal identified in the literature.

There is a tendency in South Africa to homogenise poor schools (and contexts) and to discount the possibilities of preschools to function in the way the literature suggests they should to prepare learners for school. The form of pedagogy that is dominant in the majority of the sites (the three) analysed in this study does not come close to what is proffered in the literature as ideal. The study concludes that for learners in the majority of the cases described, socialisation into the code of schooling is not happening, and their teachers are not offering them interactions that support learning. Therefore, the potential is high that they will remain excluded from the discourse of schooling, and will continue to wait to learn. The outlier, however, offers possibility as an exception; and therefore hope for the disruption of these seemingly inevitable processes of cultural reproduction in contexts of poverty.

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

The Pedagogic device acts as symbolic regulator of consciousness…It is a condition for the production, reproduction and transformation of culture.

Bernstein (1996:37-38)

1.1. Rationale and purpose of study

This study emerged out of my interest in supporting children (and therefore teachers) to achieve better outcomes at school and the potential role preschool education has in ensuring this. This has been further influenced by the work of Bernstein and others in identifying the role of the family environment in preparing children for school, and how those from poor socio-economic settings (SES) arrive differently prepared for school and therefore often struggle to access the elaborated code of school (Painter 1999; Holland 1981, Bernstein 1990). Without the concerted cultivation of family preparation, children can arrive at school at a substantial disadvantage.

The potential for preschool, and the preschool teacher, to interrupt this process, has become a passion of mine and has driven an interest in understanding how preschool can support children's readiness to learn at school, and what the optimal learning environments are to encourage this.

Until very recently, most children worldwide did not attend education programmes before formal school. This has been steadily changing in the developed world (in 2013, 54% of 3- and 4-year-old children in America were in some kind of preschool programme (UNICEF, 2016) and 26% of sub-Saharan children aged 3-5 (Unicef 2014)) both because of changed working patterns but also because of the growing recognition of the value of early years education for later school success. In South Africa the government has long expressed commitment to increase access to preschool to all (of which the introduction of a national Grade R year in 2001 was a demonstration). The recent cabinet decision in February 2015 to establish an Inter-Ministerial Committee

(IMC) on Early Childhood development, further confirms this. However, access to preschool (before Grade R) and the quality of what is on offer is still very limited.

At the school level, studies that examine and broaden knowledge of educational transmission in the classroom (pedagogic discourse) have been useful in providing pointers towards better practices to support children's learning at school. Extending the study of pedagogy to the preschool level seems to hold great potential for better understanding how to support children's learning both at that stage and for later readiness for school.

In recent years, an 'optimal pedagogy' to assist working class children to achieve in the school context has been identified (Hoadley 2005; Morais 2002). This work focuses on methods that support children to access the context-independent code of schooling. In a formal school context an optimal pedagogy entails a "mixed pedagogy" – mixed in that it draws on both teacher-centred and learner-centred approaches. Within the Bernsteinian literature these variations are captured with his concepts of classification and framing. Classification describes the organisation of contents, and the way in which learners' identities are established. Framing refers to control relations between teachers and learners in the pedagogic relation.

My interest in this study is in the preschool context and how teaching and teacher-child interaction can function as an interrupter of the social reproduction of class, and can support the preparation of working class children for the context-independent code of school, through optimal pedagogy. This study considers what practices exist across a sample of preschool settings, and how these approximate this optimal pedagogy identified in the literature as a way to describe, in practice, whether the South African preschool in working class settings is functioning as this interrupter (and preparer). For this reason, I have selected four preschools all from one working class community as the sample for this study.

My central research question is:
How is pedagogy constituted and how does it vary across four different preschools situated in working class areas?

This question focuses on the structuring of pedagogy both in terms of *what* is made available to learners and *how* the teacher teaches. The sub-questions are:

- How is time distributed across the school day in relation to different domains of early learning?
- How is pedagogy structured across the four settings, and how does it vary?
- How does what is offered at the four settings compare to the optimal pedagogy identified for school, and preschool, in the research literature?

1.2. Locating the study

The consistent achievement gap between children of different socio-economic backgrounds has been an enduring concern of educational theorists since the landmark Coleman report was published in 1966 and has become a focus of sociological research to try and explain why this gap persists (and therefore what can be done to address it). Despite years of educational research and attempts at school improvement, schools tend to continue to reproduce the social inequality of the societies in which they are situated.

This is true too of South Africa, where the education system, although part of a new democratic dispensation, continues to replicate class inequalities and differing achievement. The work of Basil Bernstein and his cultural reproduction and code theories have assisted in explaining why this is, and how children arrive differently prepared for school. He describes how social classes differentially distribute power and control relations and that these produce different practices and forms of consciousness.

Bernstein's theory of cultural transmission and code theory went some way to describing how children are inducted into different ways of making meaning in the world (orientation to meaning). Orientation to meaning refers to "the transmission and acquisition of more context-independent meanings (elaborated codes or a 'school code') and more context-dependent meanings (restricted codes)" (Hoadley 2006:1). Children are slowly inducted into language and discourse from birth, with their early orientation to meaning being context specific and dependent, but over time these orientations to meaning change and develop, with some children being inducted into more context independent ways of making meaning. This "concerted cultivation" by parents (and or

family) supports children to develop these ways of making meaning and prepares them for later school success (Smith & Sadovnik 2010:11).

As Holland (1981) and others have shown, students are differently prepared for the discourse of schooling by their family contexts. Schools privilege a context independent way of making meaning, and this puts those children who have not been inducted into these at a considerable disadvantage.

The growing realisation globally of the importance of the early years for later success has manifest in the growing concern for school readiness (or as I will refer, school preparedness). School readiness generally understood in relation to children's attainment of a certain set of cognitive and language skills (encompassing literacy and numeracy targets) or more recently in terms of social-emotional and behavioural skills (such as the ability of students to self-regulate for the school environment, various gross and fine motor skills among other things necessary to support transition to school), it encompasses the elements associated with greater (or lesser) success when starting school (Rao *et al.* 2014:5).

Although there is much debate over whether the learner should be ready for school, or the school should be ready for (and adapt to) the child, the fact still remains that what results is a preparation gap when children arrive at school – either in terms of what they have been supported to develop prior to school, or in the way the school is able to accommodate them. As Sadowski (2006:para.1) so aptly describes:

> For decades now, educators, researchers, and policymakers have puzzled over so-called achievement gaps—the disparities in academic performance by race and ethnicity that consistently show up on standardized tests, grade-point averages, and a host of other measures. A growing body of research, however, suggests that any serious effort to eliminate disparities at the primary and secondary school levels must also address what some researchers call the **school readiness gap**—the variations in academic performance and certain social skills among children entering kindergarten and first grade.

The preschool, I would argue, has the potential to augment the home in preparing children for school, and therefore it is this role, and the optimal pedagogy to support this, that I am interested in and how currently pedagogy is constituted in relation to this. The UK's EPPSE (Effective Preschool, Primary and Secondary Education Project) longitudinal research project tracked children from preschool to age 14 and found a range of lasting benefits for children who attended quality preschools. These are in summary that:

- There is an enduring impact of preschool on children's academic and social-behavioural development up to age 11.
- Those who attended low quality or no preschool had poorer outcomes.

Importantly, preschool education still shows beneficial effects even after nearly 10 years and continuing effects of preschool attendance and also of preschool quality and effectiveness, particularly for later attainment in maths and science (Sylva, Melhuish, Sammons, Siraj-Blatchford & Taggart 2012). In South Africa, "analysis of the 2007 SACMEQ survey of a large sample of Grade 6 school children across all nine provinces found significantly higher literacy and numeracy scores among those who had attended preschool compared to those who had not (Moloi & Chetty 2011:3)."

As a result of the positive impact of preschool on later school achievement, there has been much interest in increasing access to preschool for all children. The South African government-initiated additional Grade R year has been an initiative intended to support this. The National Development Plan (NDP) has proposed two "compulsory" years of preschool education (NPC 2012:69) – additional to the Grade R. However, recent research into the impact of this Grade R expansion has raised serious questions about the impact it has because of issues concerning quality and teaching. The Grade R evaluation report (van der Berg *et al.* 2013) describes small impacts with virtually no measurable impact for the poorest three school quintiles. Thus, instead of reducing inequalities, Grade R further increases the advantage of more affluent schools. The achievement gap has only widened with those from middle class backgrounds attending good preschools and therefore starting school at an even further advantage. The EPPSE study showed that specific pedagogical and structural practices differentiated effective preschools and therefore it is not sufficient to increase access to preschool education, but requires that

what is offered is of a good quality (and particularly the characteristics of the pedagogy) in order to achieve results (Sylva *et al.* 2012).

In the formal schooling context there has been extensive research identifying the optimal pedagogy for supporting achievement for students from low SES backgrounds. At the same time large-scale studies in the UK, such as the EPPE (Effective Preschool and Primary Education) and EPPSE study, have identified optimal pedagogies in the early years that support later achievement.

In South Africa there is limited research available describing pedagogy at the preschool (pre-Grade R) level. What we do know is that in most working class preschool settings, the type of care offered is normally custodial in nature (Williams & Samuels 2001), and children arrive at school already struggling with curriculum outcomes at Grade R.

Attempts to shift this are underway with the recently drafted National Curriculum Framework for Birth to Four which aims to improve the quality of preschool programmes though a standardised curriculum. This curriculum was piloted in 2015 at sites across the county. However, a standardised curriculum is just one potential strategy for improving quality, although somewhat contentious at the ECD level because of risk of being too prescriptive. Additionally, as Bernstein (1975) articulated so well, it is not just the what of teaching (the relayed) that is important, but equally the how (the relay).

This study therefore connects importantly with the next phases in South Africa's development of quality preschool provision by analysing and considering not just the what of teaching in this early years, but also the how.

1.3. Ethical considerations

Because this research involved human subjects, it needed to consider the code of ethics for research that involves human subjects. It adhered to the ethical rules as set out by the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Humanities and I obtained ethical clearance from them. For the study pertaining to this dissertation, permission was gained from principals of ECD centres to conduct research in their centre via individual interviews and signed consent forms (Appendix A). The centre principal then selected the

teacher to be observed. I then gained permission from each teacher (through an introductory meeting, explanation of the research and signed consent form that provided them opportunity to refuse) to have their class observed and recorded (Appendix B).

Consideration was taken of the fact that teachers might have felt compelled to participate in this research, even though the voluntary nature was explained to them, and that children had very little, if any, opportunity to object to being part of the study. To attempt to mitigate the potential vulnerability of teachers, they were assured in private of the voluntary nature of their participation (and the possibility of refusing to be involved), the assurance of anonymity (through confidentiality and the use of pseudonyms) and I committed to sending them a short summary of the research. I ensured this confidentially in the study by using alternative names for the sites, not referring to the teachers by name and not disclosing the location of the research (other than in a poor SES context in Cape Town) which has minimised the chances of the participants being identifiable. The children did not have any understanding of the intention of the study and their understanding of their role in the research was limited and therefore they could not actually give their informed consent. As the teachers and not the learners were the subject of this study, and the content of the school day was not altered nor the class disrupted, and therefore parental consent was not sought.

1.4. Overview of this research and thesis outline

In the next chapter of this thesis, literature pertaining to the contexts and theories of optimal pedagogy and preschool education are reviewed and discussed. Chapter Three briefly outlines Basil Bernstein's theories of classification and framing, as well as Pedro's extension of Bernstein's framework in considering the organisational form of pedagogy, and provides a theoretical framework for informing the study. It goes on to describe how the theory was used to create a set of categories and descriptors to analyse the data and compare the four settings. Definitions of terminology used in the study are also briefly clarified. Chapter Four provides an analysis of the pedagogy across the four settings, and the findings are presented. The relevance of these findings to optimal early years practice is discussed in the fifth chapter. The final chapter concludes the thesis, addresses the research questions directly and reflects briefly on the potential for pedagogy, as analysed in this study, in preparing children for school.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This study is positioned within the context of the drive in South Africa to expand access to preschool programmes for young children as discussed in Chapter One, particularly as a potential positive force in addressing the achievement gap at school between working and middle class children and in preparing children for school.

In this chapter, I provide a brief overview of critical concepts in early years education (particularly the concepts of play and child-centredness), a discussion on the study of pedagogy informed by Bernstein, followed by a brief overview of studies comparing ECD pedagogies and some conclusions reached through these studies. Importantly, I review studies and findings in order to position the study, but also to describe an optimal pedagogy for the early years, which I then draw from later to reflect on the findings across the different sites in my study.

2.2. Learning in the early years

Learning in the early years is generally characterized by its difference from formal schooling, informed by two centrally important ideas (particularly in the Western World) – the concepts of play and child-centredness (Anning, Cullen & Fleer 2009:12).

Play and child-centredness are considered fundamentally important principles in early childhood education (Wood 2010). As Vygotsky argued, and many agree, during the preschool period, “the child moves forward essentially through play activity” (Vygotsky 1967:16) and that play is “the leading source of development in the preschool years” (Vygotsky 1967:6). Children must therefore be provided with “direct immediate experience to provide [them] with opportunities to be active and take the initiative to learn” (Wood 2009:31). Although definitions of play abound, and many types of play described, for the purposes of this study, the distinction between two main types of play is made – what is generally termed free (unstructured) play and structured play.

Structured play is generally adult-directed and carefully structured around learning goals, while free play is child-initiated, goalless and spontaneous (Brookner 2011). Peter Smith (1994), in his discussion on play in the early years, describes the varying views as ranging from what he terms the "play ethos" which advocates free play which is child-initiated and spontaneous with little adult interaction, to more "structured play" in which educators play a role in helping children develop both their play and concepts through play (Smith 1994:19). This role in its simplest entails providing learners with structured materials (for example, puzzles or matching games), however, he points to the role teachers have in providing "structure and challenge" by joining in and facilitating children's play (Smith 1994:19). Reed, Hirsh-Paske and Golinkoff, in their discussion of structured play (what they call guided play), includes the enriching of the environment by providing specially selected materials to play with and enhancing children's play and exploration through co-playing and asking questions (Reed *et al*, 2012:27).

This differentiated role of the adult across free and structured play is again highlighted in the concept of child-centredness. Child-centredness is concerned with provision that offers children plenty of opportunities to choose how to spend their time during the day (Stephen 2010:18) and is generally understood to mean the child's ability to take initiative and to self-select activities and for the curriculum to be focused around children's interests. The learning environment must, therefore, provide very young children with opportunities to be active and to take the initiative to learn and self-direct their activity.

However, both these fundamental ideas have gone through much contestation and examination in recent times and the debates and discussions around them, and particularly the role of the teacher, are important to understand as this study is located within these debates.

2.2.1. The contested understanding of child-centredness

The early years space is one which is greatly contested and varying views as to optimal provision abound. Weikart (2000) describes a typology of early childhood education (as illustrated in Figure 2.1) that is useful for understanding the different types of provision.

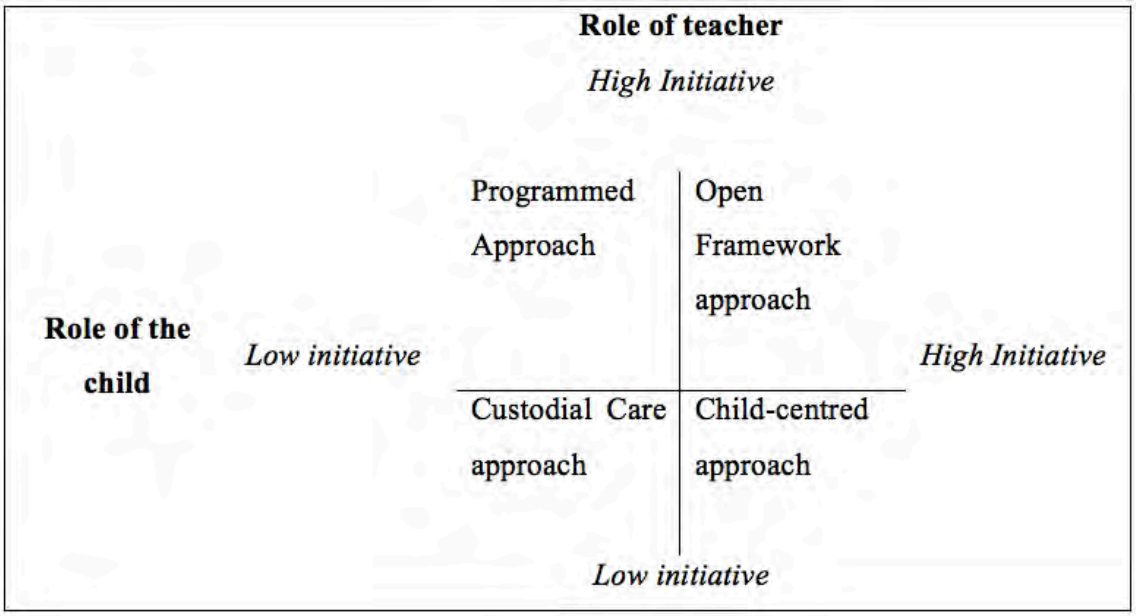


Figure 2.1. Preschool models and role of the child and teacher (Weikart 2000:57)

Weikart (2000), in his review of early years research, describes a number of studies (as summarised above) that explore effectiveness of preschool programmes for children living in poverty. The four varying approaches are outlined above – the programmed approach, open framework approach, custodial and child-centred approach.

However, in the early years literature, an arena of on-going contestation is the role of the teacher in the preschool classroom and whether a child-centred or adult directed approach is preferable. Across the Western world, the dominant view of early years education has been that it should be "individualised and play-based, and that adults should be non-directive and 'facilitate learning rather than teach'" (Siraj-Blatchford 2009:147). Many early years theorists, especially free play advocates, supporting a child-centred approach, argue for the reduced or non-interventionist role of the teacher. However, in recent years, these positions have faced on-going contestation and debate particularly as research has emerged showing the value of the teacher directed approaches in combination with a more child-centred approach.

Although the importance of free play and child-centredness remain as key guiding principles, understanding of the teacher's role in providing the right conditions for effective learning environments has become more nuanced than the debates that have

traditionally characterised the literature and this will be discussed in more detail in the optimal pedagogy section below.

2.2.2. Understanding play

Studies examining play (and free play specifically) found that the positive benefits of play are not always shared by all children (Wood 2009:31). They found that "play was limited in frequency, duration and quality with adults adopting a very non-interventionist approach…with good quality outcomes not being achieved" (Bennet *et al.* 1997 quoted in Wood, 2009:30). Without adult intervention play can become repetitive and therefore educators have a key role to play (Smith 1994:19). The traditional free play (generally understood to have no teacher intervention and totally child-initiated), although shown to have value, is most valuable when it includes adult contact and verbal communication. Play of any kind "while educationally valuable can be made more so by adult involvement" (Smith 1994:21).

The benefits of free play are also often mitigated by the fact that that "adults leave children to play by themselves" either just watching or waiting, or using the time to do something else (BERA[3], 2003: 14). As Christine Stephen warns in her discussion of early years pedagogy, that we must be concerned about "a laissez-faire approach that removes adults from the learning process once the environment has been prepared and which can be seen as placing responsibility for progress and change on the young learner." (Stephen 2010: 20). She contends that free play is not a sufficient condition for learning, citing failed learning experiences that did not include adult support for learning. Vygotsky also argued that the adult has a role in helping the child develop to a new level of competency (from the actual development level to their level of potential development with the help of an adult – also known as the zone of proximal development) (Vygotsky 1978). This is true not only in terms of free play but also in the whole child-centred approach to the early years.

[3] British Education Research Association

2.3. Pedagogy – the how of teaching

As discussed above, the role of the adult in the early years is critical for success and positive child outcomes. Importantly, as Reed *et al.* (2012) remind us, we will not be successful in closing the achievement gap if we focus only on "what to teach but ignore the pedagogy of how to teach" (2012:27). In describing pedagogy (the how of teaching) Bernstein's theories are useful and will be briefly explained, and then used in describing optimal early years pedagogy.

2.3.1. Bernstein's pedagogic discourse

For many years an examination of teaching tended to focus on what was taught (the relayed) rather than how it was taught (the relay). Bernstein was interested in how the "how" of teaching created a particular context in the classroom that was accessible to some and not to others. His descriptions and theories are useful for describing what happens in a classroom, and enables the comparison of what teachers do across different settings. It also highlights the power and control relations in the classroom and forms the basis for the approach of this study.

For Bernstein, the relay of teaching (the how) was a pedagogic discourse consisting of two discourses – an instructional and a regulative discourse. The instructional discourse is concerned with the transmission/acquisition of specific competences, and regulative discourse is concerned with the transmission of principles of order, relation and identity (Bernstein 1990:211). The regulative discourse is the dominant discourse in which the instructional is embedded. In the process of learning to be an acquirer, the rules of social order, character and manner are transmitted so that one can learn to be an acquirer. These rules of conduct (whether explicit or implicit) are the regulative discourse. These discourses are structured by a set of "grammar" or set of rules as he describes it.

Bernstein developed the concepts of classification (the distribution of power) and frame (the principles of control to describe the structure of the "curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation which are realisations of the educational knowledge code" (1975:88). Framing describes the control relations and in the degree of control learners/teachers have over selection, sequencing, pacing and evaluation. Classification describes the relations of

power and strength of boundaries between agents, spaces and discourses. These are explained in more detail in Chapter Three.

Bernstein (1990:65-65) describes pedagogic practice as a cultural relay, that consists of both what is relayed (the what) and the relay (how the message is carried), which reproduces culture through its various rules. This cultural transmission consists of transmitters and acquirers. At school level the national curriculum is set up to regulate classrooms and classroom discourse. In its recontextualisation in the classroom, however, there is variation in how the curriculum is delivered. This variation is particularly relevant to the social class bases of the school (Hoadley 2005). Classification and framing offer a useful lens for the description of the transmission of knowledge across different settings, exploring the social bases of pedagogy and how power and control are manifest in pedagogic practice.

2.3.2. Different types of pedagogy

Bernstein, using the concepts of classification and frame, went on to identify two types of pedagogic practise – visible and invisible (1990:65-65). In visible pedagogies, the rules of the regulative and instructional discourse are explicit, while in the invisible they are implicit. A visible pedagogy typically has strong framing and classification which makes the rules explicit and is teacher directed, while invisible pedagogy has weak classification and framing and the rules are more relaxed with learners having more control over content, pacing, etc. In invisible pedagogies (typically more progressive pedagogies), the rules are implicit and the classification and framing weaker.

However, Bernstein also noted that classification and frame can vary independently and normally do within a pedagogy (Bernstein 1990:89). Being able to look at these elements independently allowed researchers to compare different elements of a pedagogic system to be able to identify the elements that support or disadvantage different social groups, and to study what aspects support working class students to enable school success (Fontinhas *et al.* 1995:445, Morais & Miranda 1996 and Morais & Neves 2001, cited in Hoadley 2006:27; Morais, Neves & Pires 2004).

Within formal schooling, there has generally been a move from traditional visible pedagogies to more progressive invisible pedagogies. However, as researchers in the Bersteinianian tradition have started to show, these invisible pedagogies are not always accessible to all. These studies have resulted in a move away from a debate between visible and invisible pedagogies and towards recommending a mixed pedagogy for success for working class students at school (Morais 2002, 2004; Lubienski 2004; Rose 2004) in which specific elements are more strongly framed and others more weakly framed.

2.3.3. Different early years approaches

This same debate between visible and invisible pedagogies and the move towards advocating a more mixed pedagogy also holds true for early years education research. The typology identified by Weikart (2000) and shown in Figure 2.1 above was used to describe the most common types or early years models in the EPPE longitudinal study done of quality preschool in the UK. Siraj-Blatchford (2009) notes that the main difficulty with this typology, however, was that the definition of the curriculum is organised according to the role of the teacher (and the child's initiative). She suggests that it would be better considered in terms of pedagogy and to employ terms developed by Bernstein to describe the practice. This is illustrated in Figure 2.2 below.

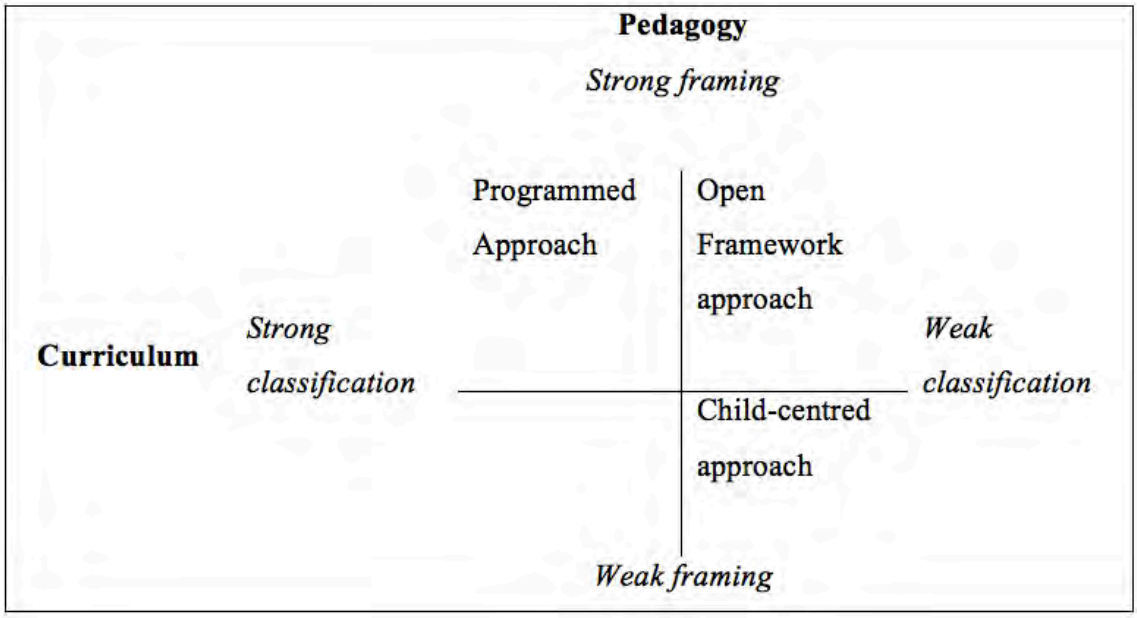


Figure 2.2. Pedagogy framing and curriculum classification (Siraj-Blatchford 2009:147)

In Figure 2.2, Siraj-Blatchford (2009) omits the custodial care approach due to its not having a specified curriculum and therefore not being an educational approach. She goes on to explain these approaches within Bernsteinian terms, namely:

- The teacher-directed, programmed learning approach, in Bernsteinian terms, a visible pedagogy;
- An open framework approach where children are provided with "free" access to a range of instructive learning environments in which adults support children's learning – a more mixed pedagogy;
- A child-centred approach where the adults aim is to provide a stimulating yet open-ended environment for children to play within – an invisible pedagogy.

She describes how the Programmed approach is highly teacher directed providing for little initiative on the part of the child. "This pedagogy is usually applied where curriculum objectives may be clearly (and objectively) classified and is likely to be most effective where learning involves the development of basic skills or memorisation. The curriculum content is often highly structured" (Siraj-Blarchford 2009:150). In Bernsteinian terms this is a more visible pedagogy with strong framing and classification.

The Open-framework approach provides "a strong pedagogic structure (or framework) that supports the child in their explorations and interactions with, and reflections upon, the learning environment. Here framing over selection is weaker as the child has a good deal of freedom to make choices between the various learning environments (e.g. sand, water, block play, puzzles, etc.). However various activities are often provided to achieve particular (usually cognitive or conceptual) curriculum goals. They found that in some settings children's choices were carefully monitored to ensure a balanced curriculum" (Siraj-Blatchford et al. 2002:29).

The child-centred approach involves following the initiative of the child and in the most extreme "the teacher responds entirely to the individual child's interests and activities" (Siraj-Blatchford et al. 2002:27). However more often, it is about adapting topics or to appeal to the children's interests. "The curriculum emphasis is on encouraging children's independence, their social and emotional growth, creativity and self-expression. The classroom/playroom environment is often rich in stimuli, permissive and provides for open-ended exploration and discovery" (Siraj-Blatchford et al. 2002:27).

Although these typologies are useful for describing some of the dominant approaches in early years provision, as described above, the classification and framing values can and do vary across various dimensions within a pedagogy and therefore articulating this variation becomes important when trying to understand the pedagogy.

2.4. Towards an optimal pedagogy for the early years

A thorough search of early years pedagogy related studies and literature was done prior to this study, as it informs the context for this study, and also identifies similar studies. Crucially, however, I refract the literature through Bernstein's concepts. This enables me to generate an ideal pedagogy for early years contexts which serves as a comparator for the sites I analyse in my study.

Very little was found on early years provision in South Africa, and generally there is a lack of postgraduate research into preschool education in South Africa (Rule 2011). This is likely due to the focus nationally on fixing the formal education system and the low status of ECD teaching, which is not seen as academic (Rule 2011). Most of the South African early years research consulted focused on history and policy discussions rather than classroom level research. The limited research at the "classroom" level has included some work on literacy (Bloch 1999; Murris 2014), teacher discourses and perceptions (Ebrahim 2010), cultural understanding of ECD and play (Marfo & Biersteker 2011) and the role of community practitioners in ECD (Ebrahim, Killian &Rule 2011), but were not directive for this study as they did not focus on detailed descriptions of pedagogy and its variation. Prinslo0 and Stein's (2004) ethnographic comparison of approaches to literacy in three preschools, did provide useful descriptions of pedagogy at preschool level in South Africa at these three sites. They described pedagogic approaches which included teacher-led direct instruction "characterised by collective rote-and chant-learning; supervised playtime where the children are left to play with each other in the small play-ground; and eating and drinking times. Explicit pedagogy is exclusively dedicated to chant learning and recitation" (Prinsloo & Stein, 2004: 74). They describe how little individualised pedagagy was enacted, and when it did occur, "was simply about getting the children to recite the sequence on their own, accompanied by threats of sanctions if they made mistakes" (Prinsloo & Stein, 2004: 77).

In recent years Grade R has received more attention, mostly in the form of evaluations (van der Berg *et al.* 2013). These evaluations have found issues with the quality of teaching at this phase, but have not entailed an in-depth study of pedagogy. More recently a Masters thesis by Lubowski (2014) has further deepened understanding of pedagogy, and followed similar approaches to this study, but focused on Grade R, not preschool.

The international research consulted on ECD pedagogy focused mainly on large scale preschool curriculum (and pedagogy) comparisons. Weikart (2000) describes three main preschool comparison studies that investigated the differences in outcomes between the three approaches described above in Figure 2.2. These are the Schweinhart and Weikart (1997, quoted in Siraj-Blathford *et al.* 2002) study, the University of Louisville study of Headstart (1983) and the University of Illinois study (1983) (both quoted in Weikart 2000). All three studies found that initially children in the programmed approach (direct instruction) outperformed the other two, but that the academic benefits seen in the beginning disappeared within a year of starting formal school (Weikart 2000:60).

The Schweinhart and Weikart (1997) study, in comparing the direct instruction approach (programmed approach), a child-centred (nursery school) curriculum and an open framework model (HighScope developed by Weikart and his associates in 1971), found the open framework approach to be the most successful (Wiekart 2000). Here, "child-initiated learning that is supported by adults" (Wiekart 2000:69) led to better outcomes – a more mixed pedagogy in Bernstein's terms.

The EPPE project (discussed in Siraj-Blatchford *et al.* 2002) was drawn on heavily in the background to this study. It is particularly relevant to my interest in that it looks at the effect of preschool in different socio-economic contexts and is one of the largest longitudinal ECD studies, conducted to date, looking at the effect of preschool (and different variables across preschools, particularly pedagogy) on 3000 children and their later development progress. The REPEY study (Researching Effective Pedagogy in the Early Years) extended the work of EPPE (also discussed in Siraj-Blatchford *et al.* 2002) by selecting 10 effective schools from the original 141 in the EPPE study and examining in-depth the pedagogy and activities and quality of these sites. Findings from this study compliment earlier studies by providing some key features of the effective pedagogy that

will be discussed in more detail below. Critically, they built on previous work by expanding the understanding of the importance of adult-led activities in the early years. The focus on child-initiated activities was still important, but the quality sites they observed demonstrated a balance between child- and adult-initiated activities. Siraj-Blatchford and Sylva's (2004) article summarising their research findings states the "most effective preschool settings (in terms of intellectual, social and dispositional outcomes) achieve a balance between the opportunities provided for children to benefit from teacher-initiated group work, and in the provision of freely chosen yet potentially instructive play activities" (Siraj-Blatchford & Sylva 2004:713). They go on to argue for a balance between all three approaches – a mixed pedagogy (Siraj-Blatchford & Sylva 2004). In other words, a mix between visible and invisible pedagogies with elements varying in strength within the classification and framing values.

According to the literature, the ideal use of time at preschool level includes focus on play, a balance between adult-led and child-initiated activities, as well as time spent on teacher directed group instruction. The REPEY study found "in centres with adequate quality when engaging with children they carried out more physical care rather than explaining or questioning, or extending and scaffolding children's learning…As a result, children in high-quality care spent more time in adult-led activities, and in activities involving numeracy, reading, writing and listening…experiencing academic curriculum areas" (Sylva *et al.* 2007:62). Another important finding was that children in high-quality preschools spent less time on creative and physical development activities than children in adequate-quality centres. This extends previous findings by showing how although centres of good quality did engage in creative activities, they spent less time on free-play activities, allowing more time for activities related to literacy and mathematics. (Sylva *et al.* 2007:62).

Importantly some of their findings that relate to this particular research is that "in good-quality centres children spent a significantly greater proportion of time in sustained shared thinking with staff and experiencing direct teaching from staff [which included modelling, questioning and demonstrating]. In adequate-quality preschools children experienced significantly more monitoring [instead of participating in children's play] in which staff observed but did not interact with children" (Sylva *et al.* 2007:58). "In good-quality centres, children spent more time participating in reading/writing/listening and

adult-led activities than in centres of adequate quality…and engaged more often in games and numeracy activities, and in activities involving examining, exploring and investigating, while those with adequate quality, children were observed to spend more time in pretend play, in activities that involve puzzle/construction and in art or music activities. In addition, children in adequate centres…tended to stand around gazing or waiting (empty activity) more often than in the good ones" (Sylva *et al.* 2007:60-61).

This is further emphasized by the literature on formal schooling which highlights the importance of time made available in the day for specific content (separate to analysing how it is taught). Referred to as "opportunity to Learn", and defined as contact time dedicated to each subject (Reeves & Muller 2005:5), it has been shown to be essential for improving learner achievement (Fleisch 2008:125). It might seem obvious but consistent, empirical evidence points to the relationship between opportunity to learn (curriculum content covered and content exposure, in terms of time, in the classroom) and better results. The concept of opportunity to learn is useful in considering in the preschool how much time is made available to children to do some of the identified critical curricula activities.

These studies highlight some key debates in the literature around the role of the teacher (and how directive or not they should be). The work of Bernstein-inspired scholars in studying and describing optimal pedagogy in the formal schooling context was found to be very useful in comparing pedagogies but no early years studies were found, and so a brief discussion of those in formal school are described below.

2.4.1. The Bernsteinian approach to studies of optimal pedagogy

Very useful in informing this research was the Bernstein-inspired work of Morais (2002), Hoadley (2005, 2006, 2011, 2012) and Hoadley and Ensor (2009) that used Bernstein's theories to develop tools to analyse pedagogy enacted in a classroom, enabling comparisons between provision and identification of optimal pedagogy for working class students. This literature was consulted in developing the tools used in this study and informed the design (discussed in Chapter Three).

The Bersteinian inspired studies of optimal pedagogy for working class children made progress in explicating the elements of effective pedagogy and the variation between the classification and framing of various elements of pedagogy in order to describe the subtle differences of approaches that lead to successful outcomes. It points to a more mixed pedagogy as opposed to visible or invisible pedagogy, with specific elements varying in the strength of framing and classification.

For example, in Morais's studies exploring the differing achievement in science classrooms (2002:559-569) and examining the impact of different elements of pedagogy, she concludes that studies show the importance of weak framing of pace and hierarchical rules and weak classification of spaces and discourses. On the macro level framing of selection and sequence should be strong, but weak at the micro level. Additionally, the classification of student relationships should be weak. She highlights that one of the most important aspects of pedagogic practices is the explicating of the evaluative criteria (relatively strong framing) (Morais 2002:568).

These studies, as well as identifying optimal pedagogy at the formal school level, have also provided useful tools and approaches to analyse preschool pedagogy. It is this Bernstein approach, that is adopted in this study, to both analyse and describe early years pedagogy as well as to discuss the possible implications for later success.

2.4.2. A mixed pedagogy for the early years

Bernstein's theories provide the opportunity for a more nuanced description of pedagogy needed in the early years. Although no studies (other than the EPPE which reference Bernstein on a macro curriculum level) were found describing early years pedagogy in Bersteinian terms, all the relevant literature can still be interpreted from this stand point and will be discussed below.

In much of the early years literature consulted, the dominant position advocated is for the child-centred approach to early childhood education. This position does not address tension around preparing children for school and the downward pressure of formal schooling. This tension has manifested particularly in preschool approaches for poor children which have often focused on more didactic, formal schooling practices and

therefore visual pedagogies are more popular in less affluent schools (Smith & Sadovnik 2010). This is ascribed to the fact that more structured curricula are assumed to be needed to make up for the "deficit" of their upbringing (Smith & Sadovnik 2010:2). Recently concerns with the achievement gap between high and low SES learners has meant the favouring of the programme approach (direct instruction) to try and close this gap (Reed *et al.* 2012:26). However, these strategies have not proven successful as longitudinal studies quoted in Siraj-Blathford (2002:29-30) have shown. Although children provided with direct or "programmed" instruction sometimes do better in the short term than those provided with other forms of pedagogy (e.g., Millar & Bizzell 1983; Karnes *et al.* 1983 quoted in Siraj-Blatchford *et al*. 2004: 29), the studies also suggest that these gains are short lived. Direct instruction has also been found to result in children showing significantly increased stress/anxiety behaviours (Burts *et al.* 1990 quoted in Siraj-Blatchford 2009:29-30). Strong authority constructions and rote learning might be easiest for lower class children to access initially but "the strong pacing, sequencing, framing and classification continue to reproduce class inequalities" (Smith & Sadovnik 2010:4).

Invisible pedagogies allow for a child-centred curriculum in which children learn at their own pace, rather than as a group as in visible pedagogies (Smith & Sadovnik 2010). However, these invisible pedagogies can be difficult to access initially, especially where children are yet to develop self-regulation and would benefit from more explicit signalling of formal rules and expected behaviour (Bernstein 1990:84). Siraj-Blatchford (2009), and research from the EPPE, argues for somewhat stronger classification and framing in early years from the purely child-centred approach (2009: 150) and for a "balance of [visible and invisible] approaches, both the kind of interaction traditionally associated with the term 'teaching', and also the provision of instructive learning environments and routines, [and that] where young children have freely chosen to play within an instructive learning environment, adult interventions may be especially effective" (Siraj-Blacthford *et al.* 2002:12). They found that the most effective settings combine the provision of open-framework, free play opportunities with more focused group work involving some direct instruction. Schweinhart and Weikart's rigorous longitudinal study (1997 quoted in Siraj-Blathford *et al.* 2002) also showed that "…developmental outcomes have been found to be best in those settings which

emphasise a balance between child-initiated and teacher-directed activities" (Siraj-Blatchford *et al.* 2002:30).

This emphasis on balance mirrors arguments made at the formal school level for the use of mixed pedagogy (Morais 2002; Rose 2004) and others. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five in relation to the pedagogy described by this study.

2.4.3. A pedagogy of play

Whilst play forms the bedrock of early learning, an agreed pedagogy of play is less well articulated, and play in practice is deeply problematic (BERA 2003:14).

Meadows and Cashdan (1988) reported a study that aimed to characterise the range and variation of teaching styles in a sample of typical mainstream nursery schools over a period of four school terms. Analyses of the quality of play resulted in some critical findings. The study noted a lack of intellectual challenge, and provided evidence of repetitive activity that indicated boredom, or disengagement. The authors concluded that there was only weak evidence that the traditional free play curriculum contributed to the development of children's thinking or to their later educational achievement, though it contributed more clearly to the development of their social skills (BERA 2003:15). A consistent theme running through these studies was that educators need to create the conditions for learning through play. (BERA 2003:16) and highlighted the need for a proactive and interactive role for practitioners, which aligns both with the socio-cultural theories of Vygotsky (confirmed by the EPPE and REPEY research) than with the traditional laissez-faire ideologies of play.

As the BERA (2003) study noted,

> Whilst play-based learning appears to hold much promise, implementing a play-based pedagogy continues to present numerous challenges to practitioners…The new pedagogy of play emphasises that play should be planned and purposeful, and should provide children with challenging and worthwhile activities. In addition to creating the appropriate conditions for learning, practitioners are encouraged to interact with children and provide a richly resourced learning environment. Children should be enabled to plan and

> develop their own activities, and have sustained periods of time to work in depth. (BERA, 2003:17)

Play is now understood as a prime opportunity for adults to scaffold children's understanding by helping them extend their thinking or by introducing new concepts within a playful context that is meaningful for the child. In the most effective (excellent) settings the importance of staff members extending child-initiated interactions is clearly identified (Siraj-Blatchford *et al.* 2002) and illustrates the importance of the adults' role – the pedagogy.

However, in some of the literature there has been a collapsing of pedagogy and curriculum into one concept. As outlined above by Bernstein and others studying education from a sociological perspective, pedagogy and curriculum are distinct terms. Play (free and structured play) are often referred to as curriculum components, instead of being seen as pedagogical approaches. "The provision of play-based environments is just one pedagogical approach, alongside direct instruction" (Siraj-Blatchford, 2009:148).

The REPEY study tried to identify the day-to-day activities most common in high-performing centres, further extending the understanding of the balance between child- and teacher-initiated activities. They found the children in high-quality settings did spend more time in adult-led activities, but importantly the quality of what happened in these sessions and the form of adult-led activity and the content. "This might seem seem contradictory to Wiltz and Klein (2001), who found that the low-quality centres put a stronger focus on direct teaching, but one has to consider that the direct teaching in Wiltz and Klein's study took place mostly in the context of the whole group and was 'instruction'" (Sylva *et al.* 2007:62) What is referred to above as direct teaching was more varied and included questioning and modelling, and was generally done in small groups, where children then had more access to informal teaching, rather than large groups in the other study. The Wiltz and Klein study (2001, cited in Sylva *et al.* 2007) found that low-scoring classrooms spent most of their time in "large-group and teacher-directed activities, while in high-scoring classrooms, active participation was encouraged and children had more opportunities to choose their own activities and materials" (quoted in Sylva *et al.* 2007:50) – pointing to the importance of individualising pedagogies as important instead of collectivising ones.

Sylva goes on to note that their study further extends "our knowledge of children's experiences in preschool settings of differing quality. Children in low-quality settings spend more time unoccupied (Vandell & Powers 1983, cited in Sylva *et al.* 2007; Toyan & Howes 2003, cited in Sylva *et al.* 2007), in solitary play (Howes & Stewart 1987, cited in Sylva *et al.* 2007) or in large-group teacher-directed activities, where little time given to activities of children's free choice (Wiltz & Klein 2001, cited in Sylva *et al.* 2007). Higher (or good) quality settings on the other hand offer more free choice; as a result, children spend more time in cognitively enriching activities such as creative play, language or science activities. They are more engaged with their peers and spend more time in one-to-one interactions with their teachers. In addition, "teachers…focus more on challenging activities…scaffolding children's learning through play, modelling activities/interactions, and questioning rather than monitoring children's play or engaging in care activities." What their study drew attention to was the difference in balance between "structured and free-form activities, between 'active' teaching versus 'monitoring' roles for adults. What distinguishes good from adequate quality is the relative balance between structured and free-form activity. The EPPE/REPEY studies have shown that a more thoughtful, structured approach to everyday activities (derived from sound pedagogical practices) in preschools leads to better cognitive and linguistic outcomes for children" (Sylva *et al.* 2007:63).

2.5. An ideal pedagogy for the early years

In summation, the optimal structuring of pedagogy for working class students in formal schooling is a mixed pedagogy characterized by variable framing over pacing, and selection with strongly framed evaluative criteria. The hierarchical rule tends to be weakly framed, with more horizontal personal relations, allowing open communication between learners and teachers. The blurring of boundaries between teachers' and children's spaces is a further crucial condition for children's success (Morais *et al.* 2004:84).

The early years literature is clear – in terms of teacher child relationships, these need to be weakly framed and classified (with open communication between teachers and learners and between learners) and weak framing of the hierarchical rules. In Siraj-Blatchford *et al.*'s (2009) work they also describe the importance of adult-child

interaction in the learning process at early years level and the need for both parties to be "motivated and involved which expands on the weak framing of adult-child relations (2009:148).

More recently, research with young children has shown that early development of executive functioning [4] and self-regulatory abilities in preschool children predicts "positive adaptation to school" (Blair & Diamond 2008, quoted in Whitebread & Basilio 2012) and the development of early academic abilities (Blair & Razza 2007, cited in Whitebread & Basilio 2012). "Enhancing the development of executive functioning involves [amongst other things] sensitive, responsive caregiving and individualised teaching in the context of situations that require making choices, opportunities for children to direct their own activities with decreasing adult supervision over time, effective support of early emotion regulation, promotion of sustained joint attention…" (Center on the Developing Child 2011:6). This underscores the importance of weak hierarchical relationships, the need for weak framing around selection and sequence at the micro level, and weak frame over pace (to allow for child initiation and child intervention in activities).

However, the framing of selection and sequence varies – with a weaker framing considered optimal for free play, but stronger framing over the teacher directed activities (structured play and group instruction sessions) and at the macro level. Importantly at the micro level – so within activities – there should be weaker framing over the selection and sequence, allowing children free choice within carefully constructed and selected activities directed by teachers. Additionally, Siraj-Blatchford *et al.* (2002) note, "In the excellent and good settings the balance of who initiated the activities, staff or child, were very equal, revealing that the pedagogy of these effective settings encourages children to initiate activities as often as the staff" (2002:11). This points to the weak framing over selection which is also essential.

Strong classification of agents is pointed to in the literature, in terms of the development of self-regulation and management of tasks and activities in the classrooms, to ensure the

[4] Executive functioning refers to "functions of the brain, which encompass cognitive flexibility, inhibition and working memory, as well as more complex functions such as capacities to problem-solve, reason and plan" (Whitebread & Basilio 2010:3).

development of self-regulation and sustained attention and the construction of their identity as learners.

At formal school the importance of making explicit the evaluative criteria is essential – but less important at preschool level because the content to learn is less specific. However, as Whitebread's work in developing independent learning dispositions notes, "children's autonomy and ownership of their learning, together with the value of making the processes of learning explicit to the child" is important. Therefore, delivering "effective lessons is about making learning objectives explicit" (Whitebread & Basilio 2012:2). Furthermore, framing of evaluative criteria needs to be variable – strongly framed to explicating objectives and give clear feedback and weakened during activities in order to elicit and affirm learning responses, feelings and opinions.

Individualising pedagogies are also considered ideal – in which teachers respond to individual children's learning needs, and significant time is spent in teacher-child one-on-one interaction, as opposed to large group, whole class interactions. Importantly, the weak framing of adult-child interactions is important (weak framing of the hierarchical rule) which is supported by the weak classification of spaces – allowing blurring between learners' and teachers' space. The strong classification of agents, seen in learners being given choice, freedom of movement and control over their instructional activities, has also been highlighted in developing independent learners with a strong identity, so necessary for later school success.

Finally, specifically how play is constructed (the pedagogy of play) also relates to later success. The role of the adult in mediating play becomes essential and can be described in terms of the need for mixed strong and weak framing of evaluative criteria – both the making of evaluative criteria explicit, but also asking questions and expecting reasons from children, commenting and engaging on their productions and making concluding comments about their productions, and affirming responses and encouraging expression.

This ideal construct can be summarised in Table 2.1, below, and is used later in the study to reflect on optimal pedagogy constituted at the four settings analysed in this study:

Table 2.1

Ideal pedagogy for the early years

	Strong or weak
Selection	Variable. Weak framing over selection in the micro level and for free play sessions. Stronger framing for structured play and direct instruction and at the macro level.
Sequence	Variable. Weak framing within activities (micro level) and free play. Some stronger framing in direct instruction.
Pace	Variable pace – however generally weak – guided by the needs of the child. This does not mean slow though. Exceptionally slow pace (children waiting once completed activities) shows not being guided by the pace of the child.
Evaluative criteria	Weak on the micro level and during activities. Strong on the macro level and in the exposition and feedback of activities.
Hierarchical rule	Weak framing to allow for control and initiation by the child.
Classification of agents	Strong classification to enable development of learner as agent.
Classification of spaces	Weak classification to ensure porous boundaries between teacher and learner.
Organisational unit	Mainly specialised or integrated activities done in individual or sub-group units. A few of the activities present in the day, however, benefit from large group homogenous format (e.g., music and movement).

2.6. Summary

In this chapter I presented the literature review and then went on to propose a description of optimal pedagogy. As discussed in Chapter One, students come to formal schooling differently prepared by their home environments and as the EPPE study found, can benefit quite considerably from good quality preschool experiences. In other words, the school environment has the potential to compensate for constraints within the home. However, this depends on the quality or the how of teaching, and hence the focus of this study on understanding the pedagogy and comparing what is offered, with an ideal.

CHAPTER THREE

Theory and research methodology for analysis of how pedagogy is organised

In this chapter, I will give an explanation of the theoretical frameworks that inform my research methodology within a sociological and Bernsteinian framework and which aim to answer my three research sub-questions, namely:

- How is time distributed across the school day?
- How is pedagogy organised across the four settings?
- How does what is offered compare to what is proffered in the literature as ideal pedagogy at ECD level?

In this chapter, I will describe how I used Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing to describe how pedagogy was organised across the four settings. The work of Pedro (1981) in furthering Bernstein's work in describing pedagogy was also used, and is briefly touched on below. I will describe how I used this theoretical framework to inform the research design and analyse the data collected.

3.1. Bernstein classification and framing

As discussed in the previous chapter, Bernstein (1975, 1990) brought rigour to the study of education with his development of theories that assisted researchers to describe pedagogic practices and brought particular attention to how the "how" of teaching created a particular context in the classroom that was accessible to some and not to others. Bernstein's work, describing the relay (pedagogy) in terms of classification and framing, brought rigour to the study of education with his development of theories and terminology that allowed researchers to "diagnose, describe, explain, transfer and predict" (Morais 2002:565) and therefore analyse education and pedagogic practises from a sociological perspective. These theories are useful for describing different pedagogies enacted in the classroom and therefore for making comparisons between teachers and their classrooms, and provide the theoretical basis for this research.

Bernstein's concepts of classification and frame describe the pedagogic discourse (1975:88) and are generally described on a continuum from weak to strong. Frame refers to the degree of control teacher and learner have over "selection, organisation, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted in the pedagogical relationships" (Bernstein 1975:89) and how the control relations are set up between teacher and learner. Strong framing refers to a "limited degree of options for students, and weak framing implies more 'apparent' control by learner" (Hoadley 2006:6). Classification describes the relations of power and refers to the relationship between contents, between categories, and the strength of boundaries between agents, spaces and discourses. Strong classification has strong boundaries between while weak boundaries are blurred or weak.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Bernstein (1990) described two types of pedagogic practice – visible and invisible. In visible pedagogies, the rules of the regulative and instructional order are explicit while in the invisible they are implicit (Bernstein, 1990). Bernstein (1990) identified different dimensions of framing and classification that enable this description of power and control and how these are manifest in pedagogic practice. The rule that governs the regulative is the hierarchical rule describing more personalised and informal relations (weak framing) or more "positional" or formal relations (strong framing) (Bernstein 1990:66). The instructional discourse refers to framing over selection, sequencing and pacing of instruction and the evaluative criteria. Selection refers to who selects the knowledge or activities to be done in the classroom, sequencing is who determines the order of transmission of the instructional knowledge and content, pacing refers to control over the expected rate of acquisition and criterial rules (evaluative criteria) are defined as "rules that regulate the extent to which legitimate text is made explicit to acquirers" within the instructional discourse (Morais 2002:560). A diagram showing the elements that were considered in this study is shown in Figure 3.1 below.

As the preschool level does not make use of summative assessments such as exams, the explicating of legitimate text is not what is meant here. Rather, what this is understood to mean is the extent to which learners are given explicit feedback and comment on their productions and answers, and by explicitly articulating the purpose of activities, are supported to acquire the rules of the classroom (and learning in general). Through explication of explicit instruction and feedback (strong framing) or implicit instruction

and implicit feedback (weak framing), learners' ability to recognise and realise an appropriate piece of work is developed.

Although it is possible to have distinct visible and invisible pedagogies, the strength of the dimension of classification and framing can vary independently and normally do within a pedagogy (Bernstein 1990:89). Looking at these elements independently allows researchers to compare different elements of a system to be able to identify the elements that support or disadvantage different groups. For example, as described in Chapter Two, one can have strong framing of the hierarchical rule within a pedagogy, but weak framing of pace.

In this study, these rules are analysed according to their framing and classification values, in order to describe how pedagogy is organised across the four settings and therefore to enable a comparison between them.

3.2. The organisational form

Following on from Bernstein, Pedro's work (1981) also sought to describe the transmission processes of education. She contributed a further dimension of understanding of the manifestation of power and control in her description of how every pedagogical context "presupposes a division of labour of pupils which regulates the pedagogical unit of transmission" (Pedro 1981:209-210). This division of labour is made explicit in the organisational unit, as well as in the social relations of the pupils.

I have drawn on this theory to describe whether the pedagogy is, what Hoadley (2005:144) terms, individualised or communalised in these settings as an important consideration in ECD pedagogy. A communalising pedagogy has the teacher dominantly working with the whole class as a homogenous group, with little or no differentiation of tasks. An individualising pedagogy fosters more individual teacher-learner interaction with teachers often working with individuals or sub-groups and differentiating the tasks between learners. Pedro (1981) describes how hierarchy and control are made explicit through the organisation of the class into "groups" and through the pedagogical unit within the organisational unit. She describes the organisation of the class (as depicted in Figure 3.1 below) in terms of the pedagogical unit – namely homogenous pedagogic

work (all children have the same activity), integrated (which means that there would be interdependent work) and specialised (which means activities are specifically designed for specific children).

These pedagogical units are then further delineated into how the class is structured during the activity by the teacher – either isolated (what I have referred to as individual when each learner works by him- or herself without interaction with others), a sub-group (more than one learner but not the whole class are working together) and finally the whole class working together on the same or different activities. Figure 3.1 below details the analytical framework employed for the study of the organisational unit used in this study.

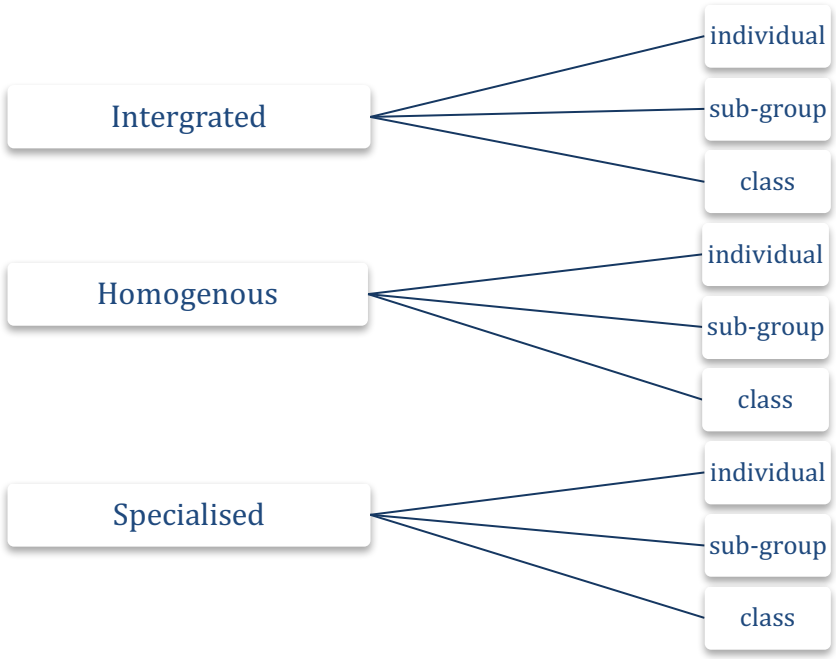


Figure 3.1. Pedro's organisational form of activity in the classroom

These descriptors, as depicted Figure 3.1 above, are useful for analysing how learners are grouped in a setting, and how knowledge is distributed to different groups – either homogenous to all or specialised. This is helpful in identifying whether the teacher sees the learners as one collective identity with similar/same needs or as individuals with varying needs. This would inform whether the pedagogic form is a collectivising or individualising one.

3.3. Outline of analytical methodology

In this section I outline the research design and its use in the analysis that follows in Chapter Four. Firstly, I will describe the sample that was selected and the data collection activities I undertook. Then I will go on to describe the analytical methods I used and my development of an "external language of description" (Bernstein 2000).

3.3.1. The sample

In Chapter One I described my broader interest in this research being to better understand the potential role of early learning (ECD) experiences to enable children to be ready for schooling, and in particular to support the better preparation of children from poor class contexts for success at school.

Because there has been very little in-depth analysis of pedagogy at this level in South Africa, the focus of this research was to provide a detailed case analysis of the settings sampled. To allow for this in-depth analysis, the sample considered is small – four ECD centres.

Furthermore, these sites were specifically chosen to highlight the role of ECD centres in poor contexts and therefore the four sites were all chosen in a working class suburb in Cape Town. As ECD centre provision still largely consists of unregulated private provision[5] there is substantial difference between centres depending on their operational structures and legal registration. Within working class settings there are generally two types of provision – those that are privately owned and started by local (generally female) entrepreneurs who often have no training in teaching or ECD, but who see the business opportunity for providing these services. The other form are those started by small charity/non-profit organisations (NGOs) who have an interest and often some training, in early years education delivery. I sampled for both types of provision in my selection of centres.

[5] There is currently no state provision of preschool in South Africa (other than Grade R). All preschool is delivered through a system of private provision, with a portion of that subsidized, but not delivered, by the state.

As I was interested primarily in exploring if there was variety in delivery, I chose sites in the same SES setting (all within a 2km radius of each other), drawing learners from the same community. I chose two privately owned and two NGO run centres, because historically these are generally differently resourced, to explore what possible differences that might reveal. The two privately owned centres are both run in very informal under-resourced sites with limited resources and space for both the classes and outdoor play (another purposeful selection) and until recently neither were registered with the Department of Social Development. Both the NGO run centres are established organisations with a number of classes per age and on well-established grounds with access to outdoor play equipment and space.

3.3.2. The ECD centres

The sites and their characteristics are summarized in Figure 3.2 below:

Site Name	Operated by	Legally registered or not	Teacher's qualification	Infrastructure	No. of children in class observed
Kleindier	Local entrepreneur	No	None (in training)	Adapted shack in informal settlement with no outdoor play equipment (small outdoor play area)	23
Kinders	Local entrepreneur	Yes, but with no subsidy	None (in training)	Adapted RDP house with small outdoor play area (with basic equipment)	10
Hope	Non-profit organisation	Yes	ECD Level 5 training	Large property with separate classrooms in containers with substantial outdoor play area and equipment	23
Maria	Non-profit organisation	Yes	ECD Level 5 training	Established property with separate classrooms and large, equipped central play area	26

Figure 3.2. Sample analysed in this thesis

A more detailed description of each site follows below.

Kleindier was based in an informal settlement (adjacent to RDP housing[6] development in which the other three sites were based) in a converted shack on the side of a main through road. Consisting of three classes (babies, 2-3 year-olds, and 4-5 year-olds) all situated close to each other with inter-leading doors, it drew children from the surrounding informal settlement. It had a small fenced outdoor play area on the porch running alongside the edge of the building with no space for fixed outdoor play equipment. It was not yet registered with the Department of Social Development (DoSD) (therefore was operating illegally) and relied on parent fees to meet operational costs. Classroom space was at a premium with the teacher often having to pack away the tables to create space for group work. Class size of the class observed (4-5 year-olds) was 23 children. The teacher was in training to get her Level 4 FET ECD qualification[7].

Kinders was based in a RDP housing development in a converted RDP house. The house had been turned into an ECD centre with three classes (the babies and toddlers, the 4 year-olds and the 5 year-olds) also fairly close together, with a central small outdoor play area with basic outdoor equipment that was shared on a rotational basis with the other classes. It had recently registered with the DoSD but was still not receiving the per child subsidy and therefore relied on parent fees to operate. The size of the class observed (the 4 year-olds) was 10. The teacher was in training to get her Level 4 FET ECD qualification.

Hope also in the same RDP development, had been established by an international NGO and was based on large grounds with substantial infrastructure. With four classes (one babies and toddlers, two 4-year-old classes and one 5-year-old class), it was organised in repurposed containers set out on a large property with large well equipped play areas with sufficient play space for all children. It was registered with the DoSD and received support from the parent NGO. Parents were expected to contribute a nominal fee for child attendance. Class size was 25 and the teacher had a Level 5 ECD qualification and worked with an assistant.

[6] Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing developments are cheap state built housing developments built for those who were living in informal living conditions.
[7] FET is a post school (equivalent to a matric) qualification for preschool practitioners offered by Further Education and training colleges

Maria, also in the same RDP development on a site shared with other NGOs, was an established NGO that received funding and support through a network of supporters in the Western Cape. It had two classes (two 3-6 year-olds) with spacious classrooms and access to a well-equipped shared outdoor play area. It was registered with the DoSD and received support from the parent NGO. Parents were expected to pay school fees for child attendance, but there were scholarships based on need. The class size was 26. The teacher had a Level 5 ECD qualification and also worked with an assistant.

All sites, except Maria, were using a loosely constructed curriculum based on a set of activities or daily routine as it is known (song, creative activities, outdoor play, story time, play-based activities) that is based on general recommendations described in Level 4 FET training for ECD. Maria was the only school which had a more specific curriculum as they were a Montessori-based school. Additionally, the two NGO sites were noticeably differently resourced to the two private ones – each had an assistant in the classroom with the teacher, greater indoor and outdoor space with more resources (toys, equipment, etc.) in both.

3.4. Analytical method

3.4.1. A case study approach

Social research attempts to describe and explain certain phenomena or instances and to do this relies on different methodologies. Harre (1979 quoted in Swanborn 2010) makes the distinction between extensive and intensive approaches to social research – the former collecting information on a number of instances in order to generalize properties, and the latter focusing on one or a handful of instances in order to study something in depth. In the intensive approach, each instance is often referred to as a case (hence the term case study). A case study approach is concerned with "a specific instance or manifestation of the phenomenon to be studied. A case study may be based on one case (a single-case study), or on several cases (a multiple-case study)" (Swanborn 2010:21).

An intensive case study provides us with tentative ideas about a social phenomenon and can answer broad questions about this phenomenon by developing a thorough understanding of it (Swanborn 2010:3). Although a case study approach does not allow

us to make generalisable conclusions, in this case, how ECD pedagogy is structured in low resource settings, it does provide insight into these specific sites and therefore provides possible conclusions that could then be explored/tested in larger more extensive studies.

As Gerring (2007 quoted in Swanborn 2010:8) explains, "a case study is an intensive study of a single case (or a small set of cases) with an aim to generalize across a larger set of cases of the same general type" which is done by focusing on a few cases, and trying to draw out the commonalities between them (as well as noting the differences). An important element of Swanborn's (2010) definition of the case study approach, is the study of the instance in its "natural form", and not to isolate it from its context (2010:15). In this study, therefore, the focus was on studying the characteristics of a few sites in order to build understanding of the commonalities of these cases for comparison with the ideal as proposed by the literature.

The study design used here employed a case study approach to build understanding of pedagogy across four ECD sites in poor settings in South Africa. In the study's approach I am strongly influenced, particularly in the structure of my analytical framework, by Hoadley's study (2005) of how social inequalities were reproduced through pedagogy in a sample of South African primary schools. Her analysis of the classification and framing of the pedagogic discourse and instructional form allows one to compare the discourses across settings and therefore begin to draw conclusions about how pedagogy is constituted and then make some assumptions about this in relation to an ideal construct (Hoadley, 2005).

3.4.2. Data collection and development of external language of description

My study involved the collection of data (two days of instruction per site) from four ECD sites in poor settings over the period of January 2014 – April 2014. The source of information was video observations of the four settings over a two-day period. The data collection, extraction and analysis for this study was conducted in five steps.

- Step 1: Data was collected through videoing of lessons (specific instances of the video were transcribed).

- Step 2: Descriptions of the whole day of programme and categories for task analysis defined.
- Step 3: Time analysis of tasks across the daily programme to determine weighting of tasks and time spent on instructional versus behavioural elements.
- Step 4: Coding of pedagogic discourse in tasks according to classification and framing, and organisational unit.
- Step 5: Specific discussion on the pedagogy offered in these settings in relation to optimal pedagogy defined by the literature (and with a focus on play).

These steps are explained in more detail below.

Step 1: Video observation

Each teacher was observed for two days during the first term of the school year. Although these days were initially supposed to be consecutive, in two sites this was not the case (in one site due to teacher sick leave and in the second instance because the day observed was a Friday, and was a particularly truncated programme and so was rescheduled).

I selected the first term for observation under the assumption that the programme would be new to some leaners and therefore the explicating of the routine and activities might be more strongly framed and therefore would make for interesting data. Because of the nature of ECD settings there was a natural "end" to the instructional part of the day (in many settings, children leave at mid-day or the afternoon consists largely of sleep time and lightly supervised playtime), and therefore it was decided to only record the morning session. Those that stayed went into a predictable routine of lunch, a long nap and then free play in the afternoon (often termed after-care). The particular "care" focus of the afternoon was not within the interest of this study.

The two days were video recorded and observation notes were taken during the sessions. Although it is understood that a teacher's work extends beyond the time recorded and is on-going, it was considered possible to discern indications of patterns of pedagogic practice over this time period. The entire period of the morning up until lunch was

analysed for time use, organisational unit and an analysis of classification and framing of the pedagogy.

Step 2: Categorisation of units of analysis

As there was no nationally stipulated curriculum for the age studied (3-4 years) at the time of this study, there is large variation in the terms and categories used for the description of the curriculum elements offered at preschool. As part of the analysis process, I therefore established categories of curriculum elements that would be used for task analysis across the different contexts.

In terms of curriculum considered important for the early years, there is a general common understanding that the framework for good early years schooling should allow time for both structured play, free play, story time and some group time in conversation (often termed morning ring), physical activity and music time. “Within childcare settings, children are usually offered a rich variety of experiences, ranging from creative activities involving dramatic play or art, to manipulative activities involving blocks and puzzles, to literacy and numeracy activities involving number concepts or reading and emergent writing” (Sylva *et al.* 2007:50).

The literature review proposed the categories of structured and free play, as well as some direct instruction, and story time as important activities in the early years. These categories were used to group activities observed in the settings, and those activities which did not fit into one of these were then noted. Those were the behavioural routines and the music and movement activities. These categories were then added, resulting in these six different categories of curricula activity:

- Group instruction (mostly taken place as morning rings)
- Structured play
- Free play
- Music and movement
- Story time
- Behavioural routines

Group instruction was characterised by group teaching of basic concepts such as days of the week, numeracy, the weather, and in all but one site, were in the form of seated, conversational morning ring time. These sessions generally involved sitting in a circle and included greetings, attendance registers, conversations about the day, and some limited instruction around numbers, months, etc. In one site, however, these sessions, which also took place in the morning time, mimicked formal schooling, in which the learners were seated at tables and teaching was characterised by drill instruction of numbers and letters with learners sitting at their tables.

Structured play was defined as any hands-on activity that was set up by the teacher for children to complete. These were always seated activities, generally in small groups at tables that involved either an art and craft activity, some activities placed at tables (to which children rotated) such as puzzles, threading activities, games such as dominoes or writing/matching tasks or occasionally construction activities laid out in the classroom. These sessions were very varied with activities designed to develop a number of different skills – fine motor skills (threading, sticking), perceptual skills, pre- numeracy skills (puzzles, categorisation, construction) and some pre-literacy skills.

Free play refers to any play for which the main purpose of the activity was for children to do what they wanted, with no implicit or explicit purpose from the teacher. In most of the settings this was the outdoor play component of the programme – children playing outdoors on swings, with balls, skipping ropes, etc. – but in a few settings also included the "fantasy play" component, where children are provided with props and toys and then left to play with them without any specific teacher intervention or set-up. The potential purpose of free play activities is covered in some detail in Chapter Two, however, in these settings, the implicit purpose seemed to be time out or burning off energy.

Music and movement activities were those large group activities that involved singing, dancing or copying of physical movements. This was led by the teacher and involved some sort of call and response pattern. Movement activities are generally designed to develop gross motor and perceptual skills, while music, especially rhyme, are important in pre-literacy development.

Story time is a very specific activity that involves teacher-led reading of a book to the class (in all cases, the whole class at the same time). Because of its acknowledged role both in pre-literacy skills development and in later literacy development it was also specified as a separate activity.

The final category of analysis was what was loosely termed behavioural routines. Initially this category did not exist but during the process of data analysis it became clear that a large amount of time in the day was spent on "non-instructional" activities. These activities do not have a specific traditional school content, however at the early years level, they are important for behavioural learning. At the ECD level the distinction between the instructional and the regulative discourse is a lot more blurred because the regulative component is often also instructional (in other words, at this level, you are explicitly *taught* how to be a learner and to manage yourself in a classroom).

Some of these items have specific uncontested importance such as toilet routines and snacks. However, as the data analysis later showed, it also became clear that there were some entirely unstructured periods of time that were not instructional or necessary, but just involved learners waiting – either for the toilet, or for the teacher to prepare something, or just for the teacher to finish doing whatever she was doing (having tea, talking to someone). Therefore the behavioural routines were further specified into these sub-categories for analysis purposes:

- toilet routine (which included washing hands before or after snacks/outdoor play);
- preparing for an activity or packing away (both linked specifically to an activity);
- snack time; and
- waiting.

Waiting periods were defined as any period of five minutes or longer that children waited, without stipulated activity other than sitting still, while the teacher was busy with something else. There were additional waiting time periods that were under five minutes, but for the purposes of the analysis were incorporated into the activity to which they were most proximate (for example, waiting while the teacher prepared the art activity was then classed as preparation).

Therefore the final categories used for analysis were:

- Group instruction
- Structured play
- Free play
- Music and Movement
- Behavioural routines that were sub-divided into:
    - preparing/packing away
    - toilet time
    - snack time
    - waiting (> 5 mins)
- Story time

In each school day, each specific instance of one of the above, was coded as a distinct activity. Activity is the unit of analysis, and is defined as a delineated period of time focused on a single goal, theme or set of actions – for example a single instance of structured play – set up by the teacher and running for a specific period of time – comprised a unit of analysis. Eighty-nine activities were identified across the six categories, listed above, across all four sites (a list of which is included in Appendix C).

Step 3: Time analysis of daily curriculum

Once the empirical categories had been identified and all the activities across the days observed and grouped accordingly, the time spent on each (in minutes) was then recorded and collated into a table to provide a meta-level analysis of the time spent on specific activities.

Although the beginning and end of activities was not always easy to determine because there were no specific periods (or ringing of the bell), they were determined either by the teacher having stated that the activity was at an end, or when the majority of children had moved on to the next activity.

The time spent on each activity was then compared across sites for any specific variation, as well as identifying which areas were the main focus of the day (with the assumption

that this points to what is "valued" in terms of content). Additionally, all the instructional activities were added together and a comparison made between time spent on "instructional" compared to "non-instructional" (the behavioural routines) activities.

Step 4: Classification and Framing of the pedagogic discourse

In analysing the classroom videos, I was mainly interested in Bernstein's two dimensions of classification and framing. Following Hoadley (2005), the conceptual dimensions that are entailed in these are summarised below.

FRAMING	Discursive rules	Extent to which teacher controls **selection** of content
		Extent to which teacher controls **sequence** of content
		Extent to which teacher controls **pacing** of content
		Extent to which teacher makes explicit the **criteria** for evaluation of learners' performance
	Hierarchical rules	Extent to which teacher makes **formal or informal** the social relations between teacher and learners
CLASSIFI-CATION	Classification of space	Teacher-learner (strength of demarcation between spaces used by teachers and learners)
	Classification of agents	Teacher-learner (the strength of demarcation of pedagogic identities)

Figure 3.3. Conceptual dimensions for analysis (following Hoadley 2005)

Where I departed from Hoadley was in not bringing focus on the relations between discourses because at the ECD level content is generally very weakly classified as there are no official subjects. I also did not consider the division between everyday and school knowledge. Everyday knowledge around toilet routines, the weather, body parts and other behavioural content, is considered part of school knowledge and basing all learning on the child's individual experience is considered important. Additionally, the

classification of space was only analysed in terms of the physical interaction between teacher and learner and not with regards to the demarcation between the classroom as learning space, and the rest of the school, because of the informal nature of ECD settings. In generating my empirical categories, however, I did distinguish between classroom activity that contains instructional content and that which is about order, comportment and social norms (i.e., behavioural routines).

Following Hoadley (2005) I then constructed a coding tool to describe both the instructional and the regulative dimensions of learning in terms of classification and framing values. For each dimension, an indicator (and in some cases two or more indicators) representing empirical instances of these abstract concepts, was selected and detailed. Descriptors for each indicator were then provided which were relevant to the preschool setting.

For example, in identifying the extent to which the teacher (or learner) have control over the pacing in each setting, one of the empirical indicators I looked as was **how the learners move through and complete an activity**.

In Figure 3.4 below we can see how framing of pace is expressed in terms of its strength or weakness. There were 13 indicators in the final tool. Each indicator had a scale, either of classification and framing (used to describe the power and control relations for each indicator) that enabled me to code the elements of the pedagogical discourse. In Figure 3.4 it shows how the empirical instance of the strongest framing F ++ (and strongest control) is when the learners have no control over the pace at which they work through tasks. Teachers either hurry children along, or decide randomly when activities end, but do not alter the pace according to what children are producing or interjecting.

Discursive rule **PACE** (F^{+-})

The extent to which teacher and learner have control over the pacing of instructional knowledge and the day's activities

	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{-}	F^{--}
3. In the learners doing tasks/ completing activities	Always or almost always controlled by the teacher	Mostly controlled by the teacher	Learners have some control over the pace	Learners have substantial control over the pace
	The pace at which learners work through tasks is always or almost always strictly controlled by the teacher. Injunctions to "hurry up" or "work slowly" and mention of time are frequent, and the teacher does not vary the pace according to learners' productions. Activities end randomly without responding to learners' completion of a task. The teacher always or mostly defers or ignores learners' questions and interjections, or learners make no interjections.	The pace at which learners work through tasks is mostly determined by the teacher. Time is mentioned quite often and on occasion the length of an activity is stipulated beforehand. The teacher accepts few learner interventions and questions. She answers questions briefly and moves on. Occasionally she varies the pace in response to learners' productions or extends an activity to ensure that children finish a task.	Learners work at their own pace. The teacher exercises some control over pace, but remains open to its variation. The teacher accepts some learner interventions and questions. She checks briefly to make sure that all learners are ready to move on before changing to a new activity. Setting of parallel activities for learners who have finished may occur.	Learners work at their own pace. The teacher places no pressure on them to finish in a stipulated period. She may give them opportunities to "catch up" or extend the activity depending on learner interest. The teacher accepts most or all learner interventions and questions and discussion may be extended or deviate as a result. Learners decide when they are ready to move on to other work. Setting of parallel activities for learners who have finished may occur.

Figure 3.4. Extract from Coding tool for Discursive Rule: Pace

As the data analysis revealed the need for more (or fewer) indicators for a more precise analytical description, the tool was adapted. The coding tool enabled me to assign values to the dimensions described in Figure 3.2 above, and in this way enabled me to code the data.

Another extract of the coding tool, in Figure 3.5 below, shows one of the four indicators describing the extent to which teachers make the evaluative criteria explicit to learners.

Discursive rule **EVALUATIVE CRITERIA** (F^{+-})

The extent to which teacher and learner have control over the evaluative criteria of the instructional knowledge pertaining to the meaning of concepts and principles and their appropriate realisation

	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{-}	F^{--}	F^{0}
4. In the introduc-tion / explana-tion / exposi-tion to a topic / task	Evaluative criteria very clear and explicit	Evaluative criteria quite clear and explicit.	Evaluative criteria quite unclear and implicit.	Evaluative criteria very unclear and implicit.	Transmission of evaluative criteria not observable.
	Teacher always or almost always makes the evaluative criteria available through exposition. Explicitly defines and explains the meaning of concepts, addresses key aspects of the knowledge or tasks under discussion through question-ing and explica-tion. She makes it clear exactly how a task should be completed and why.	Most of the time the teacher makes the evaluative criteria available in an explicit and clear manner through explication and discussion. The require-ments for the successful comple-tion of a task are generally clear, although there may be some aspects that remain implicit.	The concepts and principles being addressed in the exposition are sometimes unclear. Attempts are made to make the require-ments for the successful production of a text available to learners, but these are often unclear or not articulated. Some ambiguity as to what should be done and how it should be done exists.	Generally the teacher does not draw out the knowledge principles in her exposition. Very little or no attempt is made to make the requirements for the successful production of a text/ completion of an activity available to learners. Learners are unclear as to how to proceed, or proceed in any manner they choose or in, it seems.	It appears as if no attempt is made to transmit the concepts and principles in the instructional practice. The purpose of the task, activity, discussion is unclear and/or in instances where specific behaviour is required these are not explained either.

Figure 3.5. Extract from Coding tool for Discursive Rule: Evaluative Criteria

Importantly in coding the Evaluative criteria, following Hoadley (2005) an additional value of F° was added. This was to allow for instances where no evaluative criteria have been transmitted at all "which makes the framing difficult to categorise as either weak or strong" (Hoadley, 2005:96). However, I depart from Hoadley in how I describe the absence of evaluative criteria. For her these instances are when transmission is "devoid

of evaluative criteria relating to the instructional discourse or where these are obscured by regulative criteria…All is about comportment, form or behaviour" (Hoadley, 2005:96-97).

Rather I have proposed above that the regulative aspects are equally part of the instructional knowledge that needs to be transmitted at the ECD Level. Therefore, when analysing the behavioural routines specifically, feedback and comments on productions relating to comportment, manner, and conduct were included as explicating of the evaluative criteria. This resulted, as will be shown later, in strengthening of framing of evaluative criteria in the behavioural routines across all the centres, because of the explicit requirements made by the teacher around behaviour. This distinction is highlighted in the data analysis in Chapter Four. Therefore my definition of F° is as above – that there is an absence of evaluative criteria relating to either the instructional discourse in the explicit instructional times, or evaluative criteria relating to regulative discourse in the behavioural routine times.

Those indicators describing the classification of agents and spaces (and therefore the distribution of power) were coded C++ to C -- (from strongest classification to weakest). I was looking to describe the strength of the boundaries between teachers and learners (more strongly classified space would entail stronger boundaries with teachers and learners having clearly demarcated space, while strongly classified agents would entail strong learner identities as per Figure 3.5 above. The empirical indicators that were considered are described in the coding tool in Appendix D.

Each activity (as identified above) was coded according to this scheme, although in some cases not all indicators were observable. For example, one of the indicators under the evaluative criteria referred to the answers required from children. In some instances, no questions were asked and therefore this indicator could not be coded. Additionally, under the hierarchical rule, there was specific coding related to the empirical instance of the teacher disciplining the child. This was not always evident if no discipline was enacted. Overall 89 activities were coded. All the activities under each curriculum category per site were then drawn together into one cumulative value for that particular activity and the coding values were aggregated. If there was significant difference, this was

represented in terms of variation in the final summary for that category, for example F+/F-.

Once this analysis was complete, I looked for similarities and differences between sites and patterns across the various indicators and transcribed specific extracts to illustrate specific examples within the overall activity. Using these methods I was able to describe in detail the various sociological relationships that characterise the instructional and regulative dimensions of the pedagogy,

Step 5: The organisational form

Additional to the analysis of the pedagogic discourse in terms of classification and framing, following Pedro (1981) and Hoadley (2005) I expanded on the descriptions of the classification of agents by describing the organisational form of the pedagogy. Pedro (1981) provided useful descriptors of the organisational form (whether the task is integrated, homogenous or specialised) and then how, for that activity, the class is organised (individual, sub-group or class) – what Pedro (1981) called the pedagogic unit.

The terms were understood in the following ways: Homogenous is when all children have the same task, integrated is when children have tasks to complete together in an interdependent way, and specialised is when the task is specially selected for an individual child based on their particular needs. For example, in a structured play activity where children rotate from table to table this was considered homogenous because they ultimately all have the same experience. Specialised activities were those given to learners that were specifically different to others based on ability or need, for example, when specific letter practice activities were given to some children and not others, based on their profile and individual progress. This helped describe whether learners were differentiated in terms of the task set for them.

The form that learners were grouped in – whole class, sub-group or individual referred to how they were organised – either seated all together on the mat or in a circle, or grouped around smaller tables (sub-group) or doing individual activities in the space. Occasionally however, the groups seated around a table would have been classed as a class when they were being taught all as one (as in the group instruction activities).

Pedro (1981) makes the point that the organisational unit depends on how the "hierarchy or control is made explicit or implicit" (1981:209). My interest here was in whether the pedagogy communalised or individualised learners both in the kind of task (whether it was homogenous, integrated or specialised) and in the ways in which groups were organised for the task (individual, sub-group, class) as shown in Figure 3.1 above. The unit of analysis for this was the same as that for the classification and framing analysis, which was the activity.

Step 6: Specific focus on the instruction offered in the four sites in relation to ideal pedagogy

The final step involved summarising findings from the analysis of the structure of the pedagogy and the distribution of time across activities, and then comparing this to the current literature on optimal pedagogy both for the early years and for learners from poor SES backgrounds. This is discussed in Chapter Five.

In this Chapter I have presented my method and analytical framework. Chapter Four presents the results of my analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis of Data

In this chapter, I present the detailed analysis of data collected to address the question: *How is pedagogy constituted and how does it vary across four different preschools situated in working class areas?*

In answering this question, I will focus in this chapter on two of my sub-questions, namely:

- How is time distributed across the preschool day in relation to different domains of early learning?
- How is pedagogy structured across the four settings, and how does it vary?

I will focus first on findings with regards to allocation of time to different curricula activities as defined in Chapter Three, with particular focus on time spent on instructional and non-instructional time. In analysing how pedagogy is structured, I will focus first on examining the pedagogic practice using Bernstein's classification and framing variables and then on the organisational form. A brief summary of these findings is then provided. My third sub-question: "How does what is offered at the four settings compare to the optimal pedagogy identified for school, and preschool, in the research literature?", will be discussed in Chapter Five.

The data for each preschool day was divided into specific time bound activities that fell within the six curriculum categories defined in Chapter Three. Each specific instance then formed the unit of analysis, which was then each coded. Eighty-nine activities were coded. A summary of the activities according to curriculum category are given in Table 4.1 below (with a detailed list included in Appendix C).

Table 4.1

Total number of activities coded per site

		Kleindier	Kinders	Hope	Maria	Totals per activity
Group instruction		2	2	2	2	8
Structured play		6	5	2	2	15
Free play		3	4	3	2	12
Music and movement		2	3	2	2	9
	Preparing/packing away	2	2	3	3	10
	Toilet time	6	3	3		12
	Snack time	4	2	2	2	10
	Waiting	2	2	2		6
Story Time		1	2	2	2	7
Total coded per site:		**28**	**25**	**21**	**15**	**89**

4.1. The allocation of time across settings and activities

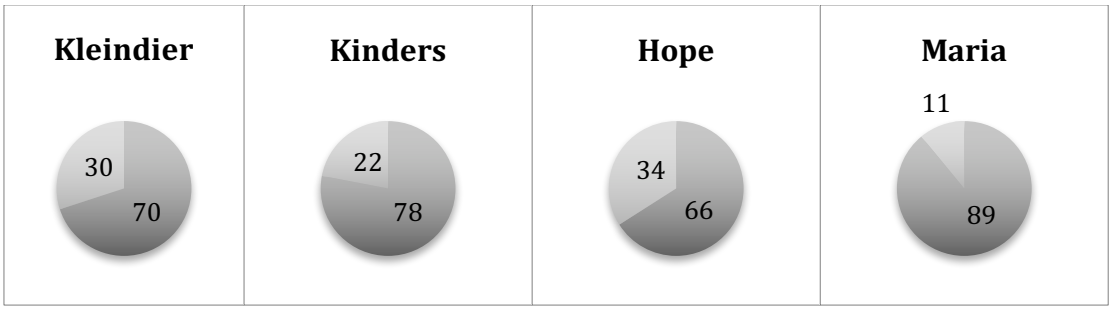
Bernstein noted that the amount of time accorded to a given content gives a "crude measure of the relative status of the content" (1975:87). The analysis of allocation of time across activities is presented as a reflection on the "what" (the content) or the relayed (in Bernstein's terms) in the classrooms across the four settings. The categories used for describing the daily curriculum as described in Chapter Three, were:

- Group instruction
- Structured play
- Free play
- Music and movement
- Story Time
- Behavioural routines, which included:
    - preparing/packing away
    - toilet time
    - snack time
    - waiting (> 5 mins)

The data were analysed and the time spent on each of the categories was calculated and then analysed in terms of the percentage of time that activity was allocated in the whole day. This was considered important in determining what was prioritised – instructional or behavioural dimensions of the day and what curricula elements were the emphasis in the daily programme.

4.1.1. Time spent on behavioural routines versus instructional time

The first significant finding to emerge from the analysis of time use is that across all sites a substantial amount of the "instructional" part of the school day is spent on behavioural routines. Figure 4.1 below shows the percentage time spent on instructional versus behavioural activities across the four sites.



Key: red = behavioural routines. Blue = instructional time

Figure 4.1. Percentage of time spent on instructional time and behavioural routines

As the above charts illustrate, three of the sites spent upwards of 20% of the time with children in the morning sessions of their programme engaged in behavioural routines that included toilet time, packing away or preparing and activity, eating snacks and waiting. In Hope and Kleindier, the average spent on behavioural routines is 31% of all instruction time. Had Kinders had a comparable class size to these two, it is also likely it would have spent similar time on behavioural routines[8] in comparison to Maria which spent 11% of the time on these activities. This has significance both for the importance placed on behavioural routines, but also for the reduction in instructional time available.

[8] Kinders, which spent 22% of the time on behavioural routines, also had a substantially smaller class than Hope and Kleindier (only 10 in comparison with over 20 in the others). As time spent on behavioural routines is impacted on by group size (because, for example, the waiting in line for a few toilets increases as the class increases), it is likely that the smaller group size skewed the data for this indicator for Kinders. In other words, Kinders did not necessarily weight time spent on behavioural time substantially less than Kleindier and Hope, but just had a lower percentage of time because of the small class size.

Consideration was also given to how time was allocated within behavioural routines, between the four activities of preparing and packing away, toilet time, snack time and waiting time. This was useful in revealing time spent on waiting, but also on substantial differences between time spent on specific activities across the different sites. This is detailed in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2

Detail of time spent in behavioural routine activities

	Percentage of total time spent per site			
Types of Activity	**Kleindier**	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Behavioural routines	**30**	**22**	**34**	**11**
preparing/packing away	1	6	7	6
toilet	11	8	13	-
snack time	10	5	10	5
waiting (> 5 minutes)	8	2	3	-

Across the first three settings, an average of 10% of the morning is spent on toilet routines, which is a substantial portion of the day. Maria did not have an allocated toilet time as part of their curricula activities. When one adds this toilet time to the time spent waiting (both of which are not present in Maria), over 13% of the total time available in the morning is spent on behavioural routines that are potentially not needed as specific curricula activities (as Maria has demonstrated with its exclusion). How these elements are constructed and used are also worth examining and will be done in the forthcoming sections. Important to note was that the toilet and waiting times were generally characterised by increases in the need for disciplinary action by teachers (and the type of control exerted is discussed in more detail in the section on hierarchical rule below). This was not the case with Maria, as learners were self-directed during these activities and therefore the issues with behaviour that arose because of long periods waiting in line or just waiting in the other three sites, were not present in Maria.

When one considers the significant amount of time spent on behavioural routines during the instructional part of the preschool day (time that does not include lunch, or the

afternoon nap portion), it raises questions about the time available for learning content that would help prepare children for school. In two of the sites, approximately one third of the time is expended on these activities and almost a quarter in the other, indicating the childcare nature of what is offered in these settings. Maria is the exception with only 11% of time spent on behavioural routines, thus freeing up more time for instructionally-focused activity.

4.1.2. Time allocations for activities in daily routine

Additional to the analysis of instructional and behavioural routine time allocation, the allocation of time per curricula activity was also considered. Table 4.3 below details the percentage time spent on the different curricula categories as defined in the previous chapter.

Table 4.3

Percentage of time spent on different categories of activity in daily routine

	Percentage of total time spent per site			
Types of Activity	**Kleindier**	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	11	7	10	7
Structured play	37	38	18	50
Free play	17	16	26	19
Music and Rhyme	5	9	3	7
Behavioural routines –				
preparing/packing away	1	6	7	6
toilet	11	8	13	-
snack time	10	5	10	5
waiting (> 5 minutes)	8	2	3	-
Story time	2	8	10	7
Total time on Behavioural routines	30	22	34	11
Total time on instructional routines	70	78	66	89

As shown above, all sites offered the full range of activities deemed important at this phase. However, all had limited time spent on group instruction and, of concern, limited time on stories when one considers the importance of story time for literacy development. Kleindier's was particularly low story time, as they did not even have a story session on the one day (and on the other day story time involved paging through books as a group on the mat, with no interaction from the teacher, so with no language development opportunities). Also noteworthy is the relatively large part of the day spent on waiting and toilet routines at three of the sites, when no time was spent on this in Maria. The activities that were allocated the most time across the four sites were behavioural routines, structured play and free play as show in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4

Top three activities per site as shown in percentage of time allocated

	Percentage of total time spent per site			
Rating of activities by time ratio	**Kleindier**	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Most time	Structured play (37%)	Structured play (38%)	Free play (34%)	Structured play (50%)
Second most time	Behavioural routines (30%)	Free play (22%)	Behavioural routines (26 %)	Free play (19 %)
Third most time	Free play (17%)	Behavioural routines (16%)	Structured play (18%)	Behavioural routines (11%)

The time allocated to behavioural routines was discussed in detail above. The most substantial time of the day in three of the four centres is spent on structured play which when one considers the importance placed on experiential hands-on play, discussed in Chapter Two, this is understandable. The dominance of free play is important at this age, but, as described in Chapter Two, this time was often used for teachers to do something else. Also in many high quality settings studied in the EPPE, less time was spent on physical activities (such as outdoor play).

Allocating significant time for free play and structured play is congruent with recommendations present in the literature. The value of these curricula elements however rests not on the time allocated to them in the daily schedule but how the pedagogy is constructed within these activities, and how this relates to optimal pedagogy as proffered by the literature. The value of these activities is not in the activity itself, but in the structure of the pedagogy (and interaction with the teacher) that enables learning These will therefore be examined in more detail in the next sections.

4.2. The classification and framing of pedagogic practice across the four settings

In this section I analyse the pedagogy in terms of the framing of the hierarchical, discursive and evaluative criteria, as well as the classification of space and agents in order to show how pedagogy is constructed across the four sites. As described above, all activities (excluding some behavioural routines) were coded according to the tool (Appendix D) and assigned classification and framing values.

Two summary extracts from structured play (being a core component of the school day both according to time allocations, but also as suggested by the literature) are presented below, as exemplars. These were selected as contrasting examples of practice within structured play activities, one from Kleindier and one from Maria.

Extract 4A: Kleindier, Structured play session, Day 1

Learners are busy at the toilet, while the teacher lays out various resources at the small tables. Each table has a different activity: puzzles, building blocks (lego), dominoes, matching cards, shape dominoes, fine motor threading activities. As the children come back from the toilet they drift over to the tables and sit down. The teacher, busy with some writing at the edge of the classroom says "You must share with your toys. Your puzzles." She then retreats to organising and sticking art from the previous activities on the walls, while the children begin to play with the items. The group with the Dominoes are sitting together making walls with their dominoes, other children at tables are staring off into space. One table is just sitting with blocks in their hands not doing anything. The group with the matching cards are trading pictures without matching up pairs.

The teacher finishes the tidying and organising she has been doing (10 minutes) and then joins a group that is building with Lego. She builds alongside them but doesn't engage or give any feedback. At some point, she tells the groups to rotate to another table.
Teacher: "Why are you making such a noise? You must be quiet."
Twenty minutes into the activity (after two groups have rotated) she notices that the table matching the pairs has been doing it wrong.
Teacher: "This is wrong – you need to make a pair." She says, "That's a pair and this is also a pair", *she says pointing to two same cards. She sits with them and starts to organise the cards into pairs.*
Teacher: "Wrong wrong wrong, you must make a pair – see two shoes, that's a pair. That is also a pair. Two ice creams. What the pairs? – two fruits. Where is the other fruit?" *Showing them which are pairs.* "This is a ladybird not a spider."
She sits with them for a bit and then goes to the table with shape dominoes and shows them what to do.
Teacher: "This is about shapes. You need to match these shapes." *She spends some time showing them. She doesn't go to any of the other tables. The table with the dominoes is using them as imaginary telephones and having a conversation together.*

When the learners swop groups again the teacher then introduces the pair activity to that group but doesn't go back to the other tables
Teacher: "This is a pair, you must find the pairs, ne?" *She then goes outside and to the kitchen and spends the next while doing other tasks while children play by themselves. She returns.*
Teacher: "Who is shouting in my classroom? Time to rotate."
She goes out again. She does not introduce the activities to any of the groups. The domino group have no idea what the "purpose" of their activity is, and are playing that their dominoes are pretend cars. She drinks tea by the door looking out. She then does a brief walk round the room. As she comes past the domino group:
Teacher: "Oh Lord, he is making a car out of his." *And then continues walking. After a few minutes, she tells them to go back to their tables and the activity ends.*

Extract 4B: Maria, Structured play, Day 2

Teacher starts the session by reminding children that this is their work time and asking them to think about what they would like do first. Children are spread out across the room selecting activities from the shelves and then working either on a rolled out mat or on small tables dotted around the room. As they finish an activity, they put it back and select something else. Children reading, building towers, doing art, playing with puzzles, doing matching cards, taking out building/mathematical toys and working with those. Sometimes other children join them and they work together. The teacher goes round the room checking on individual's work.

Teacher: "What are you doing here? Oh that is good."

Teacher: "Julian can you show her how to do this?"

Teacher: "Remember that you need to match the pairs here."

Teacher: "Show me where is the car? And the bumper?" *Children come and interrupt the teacher frequently and freely while she is busy with children on their work on the mat – asking her about activities they are busy with, showing her something or just coming to tell her something. She goes to sit with one girl doing threading.*

Teacher: "You need to count the beads. Let's count together: one, two, three."

About half-way through the time she goes and sits at a small table and gets out a box with letter work. She then indicates to a child to come and sit next to her. Teacher starts by singing each letter. "Concentrate, put your thinking cap on", she says. One child comes to interrupt. Teacher says, "I worked with you already, go and get a book or a puzzle." She continues, saying the letter and draws with her finger, and then waiting for the learner to repeat and also draw with his finger. She nods when it is done correctly. They go through a select number of letters one by one, sounding out the letters, tracing them and revising the sound (and associated words). When she finishes with the one, she shows them how they did on the record sheet. Other children come up to ask to do letters, and she works with them one by one.

When she finishes with the letters she gets up and circulates again, making corrections and joining in with children activities. She also selects a few new activities and then will select a child and then sits down on the floor to do a demonstration with them. With one girl she takes out the matching cards and goes through each one:

Teacher: "What it this?" *(Child doesn't know)* "It is a sandcastle – where do you build a sandcastle?"

Learner: "The beach."

Teacher: "Yes, that is right."

She goes through each card checking understanding of the card and then showing/ asking what the matching card is. She does the activity once with the explaining and then does it again. Child then asked to do it and the teacher watches and nods when the right action is done.

She then gets up to circulate round the room again. Children call the teacher over to check their work while they are busy. She sits down to work with sight words with the one child.

Teacher gets up: It is time now to tidy up.

Some children still playing and wandering round the classroom, slowly tidying up. Others focused on tidying and packing up.

4.2.1. Framing of discursive rules

Sequence and selection

Framing of sequence and selection concerns who controls what is selected for transmission, and control over the order in which it is taught. Strong framing of selection is shown in the structured play activities above in Kleindier (Extract 4A) where the object of the activity (the laying out of puzzles and activities) is determined by the teacher. This extract then goes on to demonstrate the weak framing over sequence as the continuing use of the activities and puzzles is not determined by the teacher at all.

This is the dominant framing of sequence and selection across the four sites as is shown in the table below – strong framing over selection and then in some cases weaker framing over sequence.

Table 4.5

Framing over sequencing and selection

	Sites							
	Kleindier		**Kinders**		**Hope**		**Maria**	
Types of Activity	**Select-ion**	**Seq-uence**	**Selec-tion**	**Seq-uence**	**Selec-tion**	**Seq-uence**	**Selec-tion**	**Seq-uence**
Group instruction	F++	F++	F+	F+	F++	F+	F+	F-
Structured play	F++	F- -	F++	F-	F ++	F -	F -	F+
Free play	F- -	F- -	F-	F- -	F-	F - -	F - -	F - -
Music and Rhyme	F++	F+	F +	F -	F + +	F ++	F+	F+
Behavioural routines	F+	F-	F+	F+	F++	F++	F- -	F -
Story time	F++	F++	F +	F +	F +	F++	F+	F++

Most of the content and structure for the activities is selected by the teacher, and not in response to the learner, except in Maria where there is a balance of teacher directed and

child directed activities. In most activities across the three sites, except free play, the learner generally has no control in selecting the content (knowledge), and in this case, activities, to be covered. Sequencing for most of the activities across all sites is framed more weakly – once the activity has been set up (selected), how learners complete it is left entirely up to them. At Maria all activities are more weakly framed around selection, but in some cases sequence is more strongly framed (as shown in Extract 4B). These are discussed briefly below.

In group instruction the topic is mostly chosen by the teacher, focusing generally on the weather, numbers and shapes, but there is often weakening of the frame with children being able to introduce new topics and interrupt the sequence. In Kleindier, however, where the group instruction time mimics the formal instruction of school, there is very strong framing over selection and sequence during this session with the teacher standing at the front doing drill work or copying numbers as she writes them on the board,

Extract 4B above describes a structured play session at Maria's where we see a weak framing of selection and sequence for the majority of time, but with a strengthening of both selection and sequence for individuals during the activity itself. At the start of the session the learners are told to choose their work and for the majority of the two hours of the structured play session, learners select activities organised in the shelves around the room. During the session, each child also does a specific activity individually with the teacher (strongly framed around selection and sequence) which is related to their specific progress (different for each). The majority of the time is weakly framed around selection except for short periods with each child which is more strongly framed.

The free play is weakly framed over selection and sequence across all sites, with the children able to choose what they do during this time and in what sequence. This is to be expected from the definition of free play as child-initiated activity.

Pacing

Framing over pacing refers to the control teachers and learners have over the rate of acquisition. Therefore, in analysing the pacing, I was interested in whether learners were able to alter the pace of the activities – with their own interjections or in relation to their

progress thereby indicating some control. Pacing is sometimes used in the literature to refer to the amount of content covered and therefore whether the lesson is slow or fast (relatively). This was not what I was interested in, but rather in the regulative aspect of the pedagogy in terms of who controls the rate of acquisition.

Across all sites learners were generally given ample time to complete activities and were generally not hurried by the teacher to finish. They often also sat for long periods of time (both evidenced in the significant time spent waiting during the day but also within activities when they had completed an activity and waited for others to finish). Extract 4A illustrates an extreme example of this, with little opportunity for learners to vary the pace – the learners sit at their tables playing and then are rotated onto another table as and when the teacher says. There is no interjection on the learners' behalf to change the pace (which is also influenced by the strong framing of the hierarchical rule established in the classroom and evidenced further on). Strong framing over pacing is dominant across most of the sites and activities as shown in the table below.

Table 4.6

Framing over pacing across the four settings

Types of Activity	**Sites**			
	Kleindier	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	F-	F+/F-	F-	F-
Structured play	F++/F+	F-/F+	F++	F- -
Free play	F--	F--	F--	F - -
Music and Rhyme	F++	F+	F+ +	F+
Behavioural routines –				
preparing/packing away	F+	F+	F+	F- -
toilet	F+/F-	F+	F++	F - -
snack time	F-	F-	F+	F-
waiting (> 5 minutes)	F++	F++	F++	-
Story time	F++	F-	F++	F-

As Table 4.6, above, shows, there is relatively strong framing of pace across most of the sites and activities (except Maria, the behavioural routines and the free play activities) where learners have very little, if any opportunity to vary the pace – particularly in the structured play, the music and movement sessions and the behavioural routines. This strong framing across the three sites is characterised by teachers in control of the pace with little if any ability for students to alter the length of the activity or rate of transmission/acquisition, and with very little interjection in the form of questions or objections across the sites that would alter the pace or opportunity. Across the sites (and most activities) learners work slowly and there is little mention of time or urge to complete things within a certain time frame. However, the teacher is in total control of the pace and time allocated to complete an activity (as seen in timed rotations during structured play which do not take into consideration if learners have completed the activity before moving them on) and when a learner has finished an activity, there are no alternative activities set for those who have finished a task. When learners registered their objection to waiting long periods, for example in the toilet routines, through "acting out" and misbehaving, the pacing was not amended.

There is generally strong framing over behavioural routines at the majority of sites, except snack time which is relatively weakly framed accordingly to pace. During snack time, all learners have to wait till the slowest person finishes (in one instance at Kleindier, learners waited for 15 minutes while two students finished their porridge). This does not however reflect a change in the control, but rather the communalised nature of the activities at the ECD level, discussed later.

The exceptions to the dominantly strong framing are the group instruction time, free play and Maria. In the group instruction time (traditionally "conversational" activity at the start of the day) this weak framing is possibly related to a weakening of classification of space, discussed below. The generally very weak framing over pace during free play is shown in the extract below.

All the children file out into the outdoor play area and choose their activity. Most gather around the water play section where cups and play things have been put out. Some go to the swings, others to the sandpit, or jungle gym. They change and move as they want (except for the water play section where the teacher needs to make space for others). Teacher walks around helping with the water activity, some engagement with children, plays ball with some. Gets children together to play with a ball game. Pushing children on the swing, changing over other children to other activities. During the time children move from one activity to the next as and when they are ready.

Eventually the time is up and teacher and assistant get children to pack away and line up to go back to the classroom

(Hope, Outdoor free play, Day 2)

This activity, as with all activities in the sites, is strongly framed in terms of the time allocated, but weakly framed within the activity with children able to spend as long or as little time playing in the various areas as they choose. This is likely related to views of free play as "child-initiated" (as described in the literature) as well as potentially because this is seen as a time for children to blow off steam.

Extract 4B, above, illustrates the difference in framing of pace in the Maria site. Although the teacher controls the overall length of the activity (time allocated), within the activity learners have substantial control for the majority of the time over how long they work on something, and decide when to end and start something new[9].

Evaluative criteria

Framing over evaluative criteria is concerned with the extent to which the teacher has control over, and makes clear what the requirements are for a successful production on

[9] Overall however it is difficult to describe the framing over pace because the evaluative criteria are so weakly framed (discussed in the next section). Without strongly framed evaluative criteria, it is difficult to establish whether the pace is weak or strong because there is no concept of what production is intended, and therefore no ability to assess its completion or not. As the teachers provide little explanation of expected product, whether learners have had sufficient time to complete a task is not clear. I elaborate on this below in the section on evaluative criteria.

the part of the learner. Each activity, where appropriate, was coded according to four indicators that considered the extent to which the teacher made clear the requirements for successful production. Activities were analysed according to these four indicators:

- In the introduction/ explanation/ exposition of the topic/activity;
- In the course of the learners conducting an activity (during the activity);
- In the kinds of verbal answers required of learners; and
- At the conclusion of the activity/task.

Each empirical indicator was given a framing value, and then an overall summary value for each curricula component was drawn for each site. For each of these indicators a summary table was drawn up detailing the framing values for each site and each activity. These are included in Appendix D for reference.

Across all activities in three of the sites the evaluative criteria were very weakly framed across all the indicators. This is summarised in Table 4.7 below.

Table 4.7

Framing of Evaluative Criteria

Types of Activity	Framing of evaluative Criteria			
	Kleindier	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	F--	F--	F-	F+
Structured play	F°	F--	F--	F+
Free play	F°	F°	F--	F-
Music and Rhyme	F°	F--	F-	F-
Behavioural routines	F°	F--	F--	F+
Story time	F°	F--	F--	F+

We can see examples of how weakly the evaluative criteria are framed in Extract 4A above. There is no introduction to the activity (other than laying out the resources on the table) and therefore it is not clear what is expected of students. No criteria for its successful completion is given, and only in two instances (when she points out to the one group what is wrong with the dominoes, and how to do the matching activity) is feedback given on productions or information as to how to conduct the activity during the activity.

The students ask no questions and at the end of the activity, the only input from the teacher is for them to pack away. The activity is therefore very weakly framed.

In the three sites, although overall evaluative criteria were weakly framed, there were some exceptions, namely in the introduction and exposition of procedural elements and the "instructional' component of behavioural routines, which is discussed below. This strengthening of the framing in the introduction and exposition to activities when detailing procedural elements is shown in the extract below in telling children how to do the steps in an art activity.

> Teacher: "Today we are going to use our fingers to paint – our fingers are part of our body, so we are going to use our fingers to paint. Teacher is going to show you what to do." *Places four paint pots in the middle of the circle.*
> Teacher: "How many fingers does teacher have on her hand?"
> The children: "Five" *(with a few "Tens" in the background).*
> Teacher: "Ok, lets count how many paint buckets we have. I can use any finger. Can you see each finger is for a different colour. I can use all my fingers to paint."
> *Stops mid-way and says, "What else can I put on?" (what other colour).*
> Teacher: "Ok, you are going to paint – one finger one colour."
>
> (Hope, Structured play, Day 1)

However, the exposition of the task above, was only a portion of the whole activity. The other activities (at the other tables) that the children were expected to complete, were very weakly framed (as in Extract 4A above) and therefore the activity as a whole was coded F-. Often some evaluative criteria are provided with the teacher making a few comments during the course of the task: "This is wrong – you need to make a pair" (Extract 4A) – but this is not sustained or the criteria for successful production is not made explicit. For example, in the below extract (coded F- -) some criteria are provided on learners' productions but these are either not clear, or given very seldom.

Teacher: "You need to put two wheels per car. For each car. So you must share."

She then says to those doing construction, "I want to make the nice thing – to see who will get my sticker."

Teacher: "Are you all working nice?"

Leaners continue working at their tables.

Teacher: "I am coming with my sticker, I know who is going to get."

Gives a sticker to a few children. Says to one as she gives a sticker, "For building a long one!" (a long structure with building blocks). To others she says, "Nice one. Well done."

(Kinders, Structured play, Day 1)

As seen in the extract above, and dominant in sites excluding Maria, there is very limited attention paid to children's productions and only a few comments made to a few learners – the majority lacking any clear evaluative criteria but rather just encouragement ("Nice one!"). In Extract 4A above, the teacher does provide a few restricted interventions ("wrong, wrong, wrong…") during the course of the activity, but for the majority of the time does not attend to their productions, asks no questions and offers no concluding comments but just ends activities by asking them to pack away.

More common than weak framing was occurrence of the absence of evaluation criteria (coded F° in Table 4.7 above) in the three sites. In these instances, it was not possible to observe any transmission of concepts or principles and there was no purpose of the task given, as shown in the introduction to the activity in Extract 4A above. This is again illustrated in the extract below from the music and movement activity from Kleindier:

Teacher: "Come inside and make a circle."

Children dancing and waiting. Teacher starts the song by singing the first line and they continue the song all together. Those that do know the song sing, others follow but the teacher no longer sings and doesn't do any teaching. Teacher stands to the side and looks like she is listening but doesn't participate, demonstrate or correct those who are getting it wrong.

As each song ends, the teacher sings the first line of the next song, and as the children chime in, she goes silent.

Children: "The wheels on the bus go round and round and round. The conductor on the bus says ticker please, ticker please."

All the children saying the wrong thing but no correction. Song finishes

Teacher sings: "Hey diddle diddle".

Rhyme continues in an indiscernible mumble of words with some children standing around looking very lost. No further interjection or lead from the teacher.

(Kleindier, Music and Movement, Day 1)

This is coded F° as the teacher gives no criteria as to how to complete the exercise appropriately, and the purpose is opaque, giving no feedback on productions during the course of the activity and relying on children to demonstrate to others, not noticing or correcting when mistakes are made.

This absence of evaluative criteria for the kind of verbal answers required for learners was common amongst most sites for most activities – generally no questions were asked of learners during activities and no answers expected, except in Maria. The few questions that were asked were generally used to get children to either repeat what the teacher said or required yes/ no answers as in the extract below.

At the start of the structured play activity, the teacher starts with them all in a circle as she demonstrates how to do the one activity.

Teacher: "What does teacher have in her hand?" *(No answers)*

Teacher: "It is a page. What does teacher have here?" (*Doesn't wait for any answers)*

Teacher: "Scissors, paper. Teacher has made a curvy line on the page – so that you can cut. *(shows them how to cut).* Then you start to cut on the curved line. You will cut on the line" *(as teacher demos, all children applaud).*

Teacher: "Now teacher must cut another line. Only when teacher calls you are you going to stand up and go to the table I say."

(Hope, Structured play, Day 2)

The extract shows the kind of question used only to get children to repeat what she says and sometimes she did not even wait for an answer. The use of questions was limited in all sites except Maria, and when used, no reasons were sought (or wrong answers corrected.) Story time, a potentially very useful time to build language, pre-literacy, comprehension and knowledge as described in the literature, also requires this use of questioning and more strongly framed evaluative criteria. However, in the three similar sites, this was still weakly framed with poor use of questioning, as seen below:

Teacher: "Sit on the mat We are going to read a story." *(Looking for a book)*

Teacher sits in front of them.

Teacher: "Can you see the elephant?"

Children: "Yes."

Teacher: "What is an elephant?" *(No answer given to this)*

Teacher: "What sounds do they make?" *(Children start to reproduce sounds of elephant. They then go through a number of different sounds of cows, sheep and birds. She affirms with "Yes, nice one." for some but doesn't respond to all nor correct wrong ones.)*

Child: "Teacher, what is the sound of a tiger? *(No response)*

Teacher: "What is the sound of the rain? Of the wind?"

Child: "What is the sounds of the beach?" *(No answer)*

Teacher reads the story (about a mom who keeps putting her money in inappropriate places and then nearly losing it).

(At the end) Teacher: "Where must we put our money? *(Children shout out different answers. No response from the teacher. One child answers about buying fruit – she doesn't indicate this is not the right answer but starts another conversation about what children buy at the shop.)*

(Kinders, Story time, Day 1)

Across all sites, the evaluative criteria during free play were very weakly framed, if at all. The ritualised production of this activity seems understood and known by all and therefore the purpose is either non-existent or not made explicit. According to the generally accepted principles of free play (as described in the literature), evaluative criteria would be very weakly framed as it is not trying to get a specific content across. However, the fact that generally the indicator around questions was coded F° for this activity alerts us to concerns around whether the potential value of this activity can be realised. As the literature indicates, the educational value of free play relies on an educator who engages with children and takes the learning of concepts further during the free play sessions. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

The exception to this weak framing across the three sites and activities was notable in Maria, and somewhat with behavioural routines across the sites. In Maria, evaluative criteria were more strongly framed as we seen in Extract 4B above. Although in the beginning of this particular extract evaluative criteria are not particularly strongly framed, within the structured play session specific sub-activities were more strongly framed across all the four indicators. She clearly explains what is expected in the task with the matching, checks learners understanding through questions, gives feedback on their productions at the completion of the tasks, and clearly states that the activity was correctly done. During the structured play sessions which the teacher goes around

observing, commenting and indicating to children if they are doing something right or wrong. She also spends some time on short activities with individuals as is seen in this letter recognition activity done with the older children.

Teacher and child sitting at small table with pack of cards with letters on in front of them. Teacher takes out a card and puts it in front of the girl.

Child: "M." *(Traces it with her finger)*

Teacher: "What is M for?"

Child: "Mama." *(Teacher nods yes and notes progress on sheet that she has got it correct). She goes one by one through seven letters. Each letter the teacher checks she knows what word starts with that letter and that she knows the sound.)*

Teacher: "Now I am going to show you new one –J." *(She show the J card and the shows her how to trace it.)*

Teacher: "What starts with J?"

Child pauses: "Juice?"

Teacher: "Yes, correct."

Teacher keeps out the new letter J card and one that she struggled with, L, and repeats and shows them again.

Teacher: "Good, well done, we will do this again next time."

New girl comes to do letters and teacher goes through same process of going through each letter (but a different set of letters for her as she knows the old ones).

Teacher: "What is H for?"

Learner: "House."

Teacher: "Good and what else?" *(Learner quiet, thinking)*

Teacher: "What you wear on your head?"

Learner: "Hat!"

Teacher: "Yes, good."

(Maria, Structured play, Day 1)

In this above extract (coded F++) the teacher gives clear and consistent feedback to the learners about their productions, asking questions to check understanding and focusing on those items that have not been correctly produced. Importantly the whole activity – the exposition, during the activity and its conclusion – are relatively strongly framed which is substantially different to other sites.

In the three sites that had generally weaker framing, slightly stronger framing of the evaluative criteria was observed during the behaviour routines. This was because the "instructional" content in behavioural routines was specifically around regulative (moral and order) productions – how to behave, how to eat. This is shown in the extract below.

> Teacher: "Alright, eating time…Eating time is a quiet time – I don't want you talking. Sit right on your chair. Don't take if you don't want." *(Not all children are taking)*
> Teacher: "Put your head on the table if you don't want porridge. Say thank you when you take. If you eat and talk I am going to take your porridge away and give it to someone who is hungry."
>
> (Kleindier, Behavioural routines, Day 1)

The teacher makes it somewhat clear to the learners what is expected of them during behavioural routines and this was true of all sites, and across activities. In many of the "instructional" activities, behaviour and order requirements were explicated – however, in these cases, this did not contribute to a strengthening of the framing coding because in these activities they were not part of the instructional content. In those cases, activities were still often coded F-- rather than F° as no evaluative criteria were given around the "instructional" content.

In summary, overall the framing of evaluative criteria was weak or absent across all sites, except Maria. Of particular note was the common occurrence of the absence of evaluative criteria during activities. This is not shown clearly in Table 4.7 above because this table shows the summary framing values (i.e., because of F+ or F- coding of the introduction to the task or other indicators, often resulted in an overall F - - coding. This is shown clearly, however, in the detailed Appendix E.

Importantly over the three sites, activities generally have no stated or clear purpose. It seems that the teachers have a completely procedural understanding of their role. They follow routines without demonstrating what purpose or underlying instructional/ developmental functions these activities are meant to develop, as though the activity on its own, without their intervention, will lead to learning. This is shown in the extract below.

Without introduction, the teacher starts putting different activities down at different tables – blocks, play dough. The children start to play with those that are in front on them.

Teacher: "You need to share. You need all to share."

She then turns around and starts hanging art work on the wall while they play – she continues to do this until nearly 15 minute have gone by. She then starts to pack away the various items on the tables. At no point does she see what they have done at their tables or give any feedback or comment.

(Kleindier, Structured play, Day 2)

The teacher has not introduced the activity, provided any criteria for successful production, commented on learners' productions during their work, or provided any feedback on completion. Evaluation occurs through the process of exposition and response to the learners' productions by the teacher – none of which happens here. If it is only occurring in the form of directives around behavioural routines, then overall it is absent. In other words, the requirements of what students are required to produce are not being communicated. This has important considerations for the learners' ability to recognise the completion of an activity and correct production. Learners are learning that activities are open-ended and pointless or without a correct and incorrect outcome.

4.2.2. Framing of hierarchical relationships

Framing over hierarchical rules refers to the extent to which the teacher and learner have control over the order, character and manner of the learners; and teachers' relations, and the "Extent to which the control relations in the classroom are made explicit or masked" (Hoadley 2005:124). In this study each activity, where appropriate, was coded according to three indicators that considered the nature of the social relation. Eighty-nine activities were analysed according to these three indicators:

- Teacher's physical engagement with learners;
- the use of discipline; and
- the learners' ability to move freely within the classroom and activities.

Each empirical indicator was given a framing value and then an overall summary value for each curricula component was drawn for each site. For each of these indicators a summary table was drawn up detailing the framing values for each site and each activity. These are included in Appendix F for reference and are summarised below in Table 4.8.

Given the preschool context and literature, one would expect to see weakly framed hierarchical rules, allowing close physical relationships between teacher and learner, and learners' ability to take control (child-initiated) of their movements in the classroom. When we look across all these dimensions, as in Table 4.8 below, we can see, firstly, the relatively strong framing of hierarchical rules across all the activities and sites, and particularly the strong framing around discipline, and also the ability of learners to move freely. The exceptions to these are the generally weak framing around the physical interaction between teacher and learners, the free play sessions and the weakening of the hierarchical rule in Maria around the discipline and ability for learners to move freely. These are explored more fully below.

Table 4.8
Hierarchical Rule

Types of Activity	**Sites**											
	Kleindier			**Kinders**			**Hope**			**Maria**		
	Physical interactions btw teachers, learners	when the teacher disciplines learners	in the learners' ability to move freely	Physical interactions btw teachers, learners	when the teacher disciplines learners	in the learners' ability to move freely	Physical interactions btw teachers, learners	when the teacher disciplines learners	in the learners' ability to move freely	Physical interactions btw teachers, learners	when the teacher disciplines learners	in the learners' ability to move freely
Group instruction	F+	F+	F++	F+	F+	F+	F-	F+	F++	F-	F-	F-
Structured play	F+	F++	F++	F-	F+	F-	F-	F+	F+	F-	F-	F- -
Free play	F+	F+	F-	F-	F+	F--	F-	F+	F-	F-	F-	F- -
Music and Movement	F+	F+	F+	F+	F+	F+/-	F-	F+	F+	F-	-	F+
Behavioural routines –	-		-									
• preparing/packing away	F+	F+	F+	F-	F+	F+	F-	F+	F++	F-	F-	F-/F+
• toilet	F+	F+	F+	F+	F+	F+	F-	F+	F++	-	-	-
• snack time	F+	F+	F++	F+/F-	F+	F+	F-	F+	F++	F-	F-	F+
• waiting (> 5 mins)	F+	F++	F++	F-	-	F+	F-	F+	F++	-	-	-
Story time	F+	F+	F++	F-	F+	F-	F-	F+	F++	F-	F-	F-

As shown above, generally across all sites the framing of the physical interaction between teacher and learner is relatively weak. What this looks like in practice is the presence of physically affectionate and caring interactions between teachers and learners. For example, we see the teacher from Hope during free play engage physically with children for the whole session, playing soccer with them, pushing them on the swings and talking to children, and comforting them when distressed. One child comes to her with a sore eye and she picks up the child, comforting them and then eventually carrying them to another activity *(Hope, Free play, Day 1).* The only site which is framed more strongly in this indicator is Kleindier, where the teacher seldom touched and never physically (or otherwise) comforted a child during the sessions and remained physically distant.

In terms of the discipline exerted by the teachers, the coding here was particularly influenced by Bernstein's work on different forms of control (Bernstein 1970). The strongly framed discipline instances were those of imperative control (where the learner has no choice but to obey or rebel) while the weaker framed discipline incidents were based on appeals. These were either positional control (appealing to norms and therefore communalised), coded F- or the weakest framing being personal control (appealing to child and their intentions and dispositions), coded F--. On the whole discipline was relatively strong framed across all sites except Maria. Below we see some statements of imperative control:

> Teacher: "Don't do that. How many times must I tell you? Must I put children in a corner? I think we are going to have some children who don't go outside today."
> *(Hope, Morning Ring, Day 1)*

> Teacher: "Finish your work. If you don't finish your work now the police is going to come for you."
>
> (Kleindier, Structured play, Day 2)

This use of imperative control gives no discretion to children in the interaction and is therefore strongly framed. On occasion this is coupled with instances of more positional control – in Hope during the behavioural routines children were sent to sit on their own in the corner, and the teacher went to sit with them individually to

reaffirm and explain the rules of the class and behaviour. However, there was no questioning as to their motivations/reasons for their behaviour, she just refers to the rules and reminds them that she will punish them if they keep misbehaving. There were not instances of personal control in either Hope, Kleindier, nor Kinders.

It is only at Maria that we see the use of personal control for discipline (and hence the weaker framing). When children are disciplined, there is usually a reason and an explanation given for why this is inappropriate. The explicating of reasons for certain discipline and/or the questions as to the children's motivation and intentions around behaviour is important for assisting children to learn that there is a logic/rationale behind certain behaviour, and demonstrates (and teaches) a reasoning approach to learning that is important for developing positive learner approaches and identities.

The final indicator considered in this section is that of learners' ability to move freely. This indicator was developed during the course of this research especially because of the recommendations in the literature for child initiation. There, freedom or lack of movement in the classroom contributed to understanding the extent of control learners have in the classroom and the class relationships/structures.

Overall this is strongly framed across sites except Maria with children having limited, if any, control over their movements (except during free play which is framed weaker across all sites with children able to move freely between the various activities on offer with little or no interaction or control from the teacher (other than safety). In the three sites, excluding Maria, learners are generally not free to move around and are expected to remain either in their seats or where the teacher puts them, until instructed otherwise. This goes further than the required safety controls at this age, as shown in the following two extracts.

> Teacher: "Teacher said stand up. She didn't say go to your locker. You must ask teacher before you go to your locker."
> *(Hope, Morning Ring, Day 1)*

The teachers tidying away after the painting activity in the classroom while children are waiting outside. Some of the children get up to come inside.

Teacher: "Why are you up from your chairs – who said you must get up from your chairs? You must sit down and wait for me to tell you."

(Kleindier, Structured play, Day 1)

Besides the free play, learners generally have no control over their movements, waiting their turn in lines for the toilet, remaining at their tables until they are told to move or instructed to tidy up, or just waiting without any instruction or explanation. This is clearly shown in Extract 4A, above, where learners wait at their tables until instructed to rotate. No children get up to go to other tables, or move before told to.

When this is more loosely framed as in Maria, children generally have more control over their movements, as seen in Extract 4B where children get their own activities from the shelves (and return them), move around the room freely (joining other groups and working where they like) and coming up to the teacher to interrupt her when they need to.

This difference in control over learners' movements between the three sites and Maria is shown most markedly in the toilet routines, with children in Maria able to go to the toilet (just needing to inform the teacher), unsupervised and when desired and it is not an official "activity" in the daily routine. All three of the other sites exert considerable control over toilet time. It is a specific activity on the daily programme (that takes up significant time) in which all learners partake in having to go all at the same time on instruction from the teacher, resulting in waiting in long queues for their turn, directed and supervised by the teacher.

In summary, overall the hierarchical rule is strongly framed, except in the physical engagement between learner and teacher, the free play session and Maria. I would argue that the physical closeness demonstrated in all sites (except Kleindier) is commonly understood practice relating to the custodial care nature of preschool. It therefore disturbs the framing of the hierarchical rule and belies the actual strong framing hierarchical rule. The dominant interest in the hierarchical rule is the extent to which rules are elaborated and reasons given, thus instilling in learners an ability to

reason, and attend to the logic behind concepts (a key learner disposition to develop and critically part of language development and executive functioning). As shown above, in the three sites, discipline is largely imperative or positional in terms of a form of control relying on stated rules without a rationale being provided, and therefore does not approximate that suggested by the literature. Maria is the exception again, offering freedom of movement, and the introduction of reasoning through social relations.

4.2.3. Classification of agents and spaces

In this section I consider the classification of spaces and agents (the strength of boundaries between different spaces and agents).

Classification of space

For the classification of spaces I looked at one indicator of the movement between the teacher and learner space as an indicator of the extent to which teacher and learner space were insulated (or not) and how clearly these relationships were bounded. The findings are represented in the summary table below.

Table 4.9

Classification of spaces

Types of Activity	Classification of Spaces			
	Kleindier	Kinders	Hope	Maria
Group instruction	C++	C-	C--	C--
Structured play	C++/C+	C-	C-	C--
Free play	C++	C-	C-	C-
Music and Movement	C++	C+/C-	C+	C-
Behavioural routines –				
preparing/packing away	C+	C-	C-	C-
toilet	C+	C-/C+	C-	N/A
snack time	C++	C+	C+	C+/C--
waiting (> 5 minutes)	C++	-	C-	-
Story time	C++	C+	C-	C-

From Table 4.9 we can see that the classification of space between the teacher and learner is mostly weakly classified across the sites, meaning that generally the teachers spent time in the learners' space, as opposed to remaining in their space and separate. In both Extract 4A and 4B we can see this weak classification of space in how the teacher enters the space of the learner – attending to their work at their tables, coming round to see their work and to give assistance.

The generally weak classification is weakest in Maria where the teacher sits on the floor, participates in the child's activities and where the children are constantly approaching her, "interrupting" her while she is busy with others and joining in with activities with her, as seen in Extract 4B.

Although this weak classification was generally true for all, Kleindier was more strongly classified with the teacher largely remaining in her own space – in this case not a desk but doing tasks like hanging art, drinking tea or doing other admin tasks as shown in Extract 4A. This is also the teacher who demonstrated strong framing across all the indicators of the hierarchical rule – including the physical closeness with learners. She did not demonstrate a particularly caring close relationship to children, nor the propensity to seek out their motivations and provide reasons for actions.

In terms of activities, free play activities were generally always strongly classified across sites, and again were strongest in Kleindier where the teacher is not even supervising, or in the same space as children for most of the time. As indicated in the literature, this is likely because of an (mis)understanding that free play activities lack explicit purpose (and consequently evaluative criteria), and therefore do not require teacher involvement. Distance from the child is therefore considered fine (although actually not ideal as it diminishes the potential learning opportunity of these activities).

However, it is important to note that even though this indicator approximates the ideal in the literature, the time spent in children's space is not necessarily used for making evaluative criteria explicit as shown by the generally weak evaluative criteria discussed above. Time spent in children's space is generally spent on correcting the procedural or regulative aspects ("Don't mix your paint colours"; "Complete your

activity before moving on", etc.) or providing encouragement or praise without linking this to specific criteria for an appropriate production ("Nice one"). This encouragement and praise is important for cultivating an environment in which learning is experienced as positive, but without the supporting strong framing of the evaluative criteria, children are not supported to make meaning of what they are producing.

Classification of agents

In the classification of agents, I looked at the extent to which children's roles are specialised with respect to the classroom and its practices on two dimensions namely:

- In how bounded learners were in terms of their role in the routine activities of the classroom (for example, in structured play, whether they were able to do routine tasks such as taking out their own toys or packing away without needing guidance or instruction); and
- In terms of their behaviour and whether they were able to work consistently (i.e., that the teacher did not need to keep bringing them back to their task but that they remained fairly focused (age appropriately) themselves).

Starting with how bounded learners were in terms of their role in the routine activities of the classroom, we see that there was quite a lot of variation, as shown in Table 4.10, below.

Table 4.10

In the routine activities engaged by learners

	In the routine activities engaged by learners			
Types of Activity	**Kleindier**	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	C-	C-	C-	C+
Structured play	C-	C+	C-	C++
Free play	C+	C++	C++	C++
Music and Movement	C++	C-	C+	C+

Behavioural routines – • preparing/packing away • toilet • snack time • waiting (> 5 minutes)	 C- C+ C+ C-	 C+ C+ C++	 C- C- C+ C-	 C++/C+ C++ C+
Story time	C+	C-	C-	C+

Generally, learners are fairly strongly bounded in terms of their routine roles in the classroom – knowing what is expected of them and then doing it. When instructed by the teacher (to go to the toilet, to pack away, to take out the playdough) they are able to do so, and understood what is expected. However, as shown in Extract 4B in both Kleindier and Hope, learners were less strongly classified in the structured play session, waiting on instruction from the teacher and not doing routine instructional tasks on their own, but on instruction from the teacher. This is also true for the behavioural routines where they do not enact these tasks on their own accord but on instruction from the teacher. Both these sites were also more strongly framed in the hierarchical rule (particularly in their control over their own movement) pointing to the relationship between this strong control relationship, disabling the development of the understanding of their daily roles as learners and their ability to self-regulate (as noted as so critical in the literature). The exception across the sites is again Maria where children are so aware of the routine activities that they do not need to be asked, but do routine activities on their own accord without reminding (as see in Extract 4B). Children are learning to be learners, and to self-regulate.

In terms of their behaviour and whether they were able work consistently, I considered learners' ability to work consistently as demonstrated by the lack or need for reminding them to stay on task or disciplining by the teacher. We see in Table 4.11, below, that the sites were generally quite strongly classified.

Table 4.11

In the behaviour of learners

	In the behaviour of learners			
Types of Activity	**Kleindier**	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	C+	C-	C-	C+
Structured play	C+	C+	C-	C++
Free play	C+	C+	C+	C++
Music and Movement	C+	C-	C+	C+
Behavioural routines				
• preparing/packing away	C+	C+	C+	C++/C+
• toilet	C+	C+	C-	C++
• snack time	C+	C+	C+	C+
• waiting (> 5 minutes)	C+		C--	
Story time	C+	C-	C-	C+

Generally, in the activities presented by the teachers, learners remained focused on the activity and did not need to be reprimanded or brought back on task. This was less true of the sites such as Hope and Kleindier, with teachers needing to remind children to stay on task and work consistently. This often resulted in more behaviour management being required.

Both Hope and Kleindier had stronger framing of the hierarchical rule and as pointed out above, this had impact on the lack of development of independent learner identity (weak classification of the agents). Learners were not allowed to manage any of their tasks or behavioural routines (such as packing away, toilet time or finding their own activities, and this correlated with activities characterised by discipline issues as shown in the toilet time activity above.

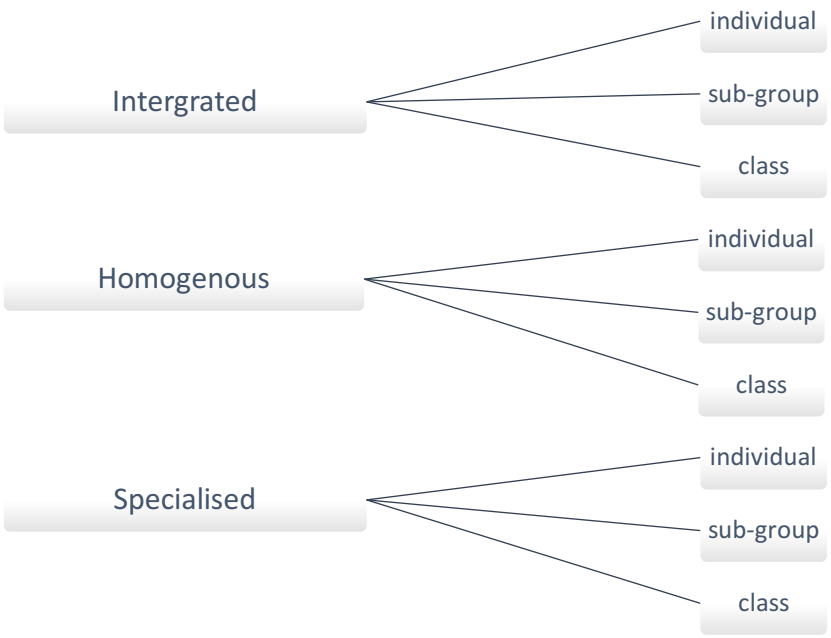
In contrast, Maria, which has more weakly framed hierarchical rules, also had stronger classification of agents, and had virtually no instances of undisciplined behaviour or need for discipline. For the two hour structured play session at Maria (all other structured play sessions were never longer than 50 minutes), the children generally worked consistently, selecting their own activities to complete, packing away with virtually no reminding by the teacher to stay on task (except for a few times with the young children).

It is assumed that in Maria, through the weak framing relations, children have been provided opportunities to control their learning, supporting the construction of an identity of a self-regulated learner. In the other sites, the strong framing of relations has removed the children's control, resulting in those sites with strong hierarchical relations having their role as learners weakly classified. The difference between the three sites and Maria shows that the educational site has the potential to provide children with access to both key skills and knowledge as well as the social competencies embedded in learning to be a learner. These are critical in preparation for formal schooling.

4.3. Pedagogical organisational unit (Pedro)

The outline used to analyse the data in relation to organisation form was briefly described in Chapter Three (and is again presented below) and is based on Pedro's (1981) work describing the organisational units present in the school.

Image 4.1. Pedagogical organisational unit (Pedro)



By looking at the organisation of the class through the pedagogic unit (whether the task is integrated, homogenous or specialised) and then how, for that activity, the class is organised (individual, sub-group or class), I was able to analyse the

classification of agents in more depth. This was useful in identifying the way in which the pedagogy collectivises or individualises learners, which is important when one considers what the literature suggests (an individualising pedagogy and the importance of specialised and individual/sub-group work, especially during structured play, as opposed to dominant whole class structure which tends to characterise poor quality sites). Below is a summary of the organisational structure found across the four sites, as per my coding of video observations.

Table 4.12

Organisational unit and pedagogic form summary

Types of Activity	**Kleindier**		**Kinders**		**Hope**		**Maria**	
	Org Form	Pedag unit	Org Form	Pedag unit	Org Form	Pedag unit	Org Form	Pedag unit
Group instruct-tion	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class
Struc-tured play	**Homo-genous**	**sub-group & whole class**	Homo-genous	**sub-group & whole class**	Homo-genous	Sub-group	**Special-ised**	**Inter-depen-dent & indi-vidual**
Free play	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class	**Homo-genous sub-group/ class**	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class
Music and Rhyme	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class
Beha-vioural routines –	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous class	whole class
Toilet routines,	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class	**Special-ised**	**Indi-vidual**
Story time	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class	Homo-genous	whole class

Looking at the data across the four settings (as summarised in Table 4.12) it is clear that the dominant grouping across all the settings and curriculum elements is homogenous/ whole class groupings. The Music and movement activities, story time

and morning rings were all organised like this. In the extract below we see an example of the homogenous class organisation.

> *The class is sitting in a group gathered around the teacher on a chair. She starts by asking the group:*
>
> Teacher: "How many days in the week? Raise up your hands." *Children call out, "Seven".*
>
> Teacher: "Yes nice once! There are Seven days in the week!" *(distracted by some behaviour management and needs to get children to stop fighting)*
>
> Teacher: "You want to go to the baby class?" *(she asks the children disrupting the activity.)*
>
> Teacher: "Lets count to 10."
>
> *The children count out loud together to ten.*
>
> Teacher: "Nice one. Let's look at the numbers" *[on the wall].*
>
> *One by one she selects children to get up and point to a number that she calls out.*
>
> (Kinders, Morning Ring, Day 1)

You can see here that there is no differentiation of the group and no differentiation of the activity between individuals and therefore it is classed as homogenous/whole class. This points to the collectivising nature of the pedagogy at this level – a treatment of all children as the same with the same learning needs.

There are a few exceptions to this. The first being the homogenous sub-group category, most prevalent in the structured play activities. Here students are seated at small tables (which is the common form of student organisation in the early years) in groups (Extract 4A) where children do different activities at their different tables, but rotate to each activity station over the course of the session. Therefore, most structured play activities were defined at Homogenous/Sub-group (rather than integrated as this would require work that is interdependent, which was not seen).

The other exceptions (shaded in the Table 4.12 above) were Hope's homogenous sub-group/class activity during free play and Maria's structured play and behavioural routines. Hope's homogenous sub-group/class in the free play was purely because they set up a small group activity each day as part of the outdoor time, so that learners

had a turn with limited resources. However, the class was largely still treated as a whole. This was therefore not considered significant.

The significant exception is Maria, which has the only occurrences of specialised/ individual organisation of activities across all sites. This is seen in the structured play and toilet time component of the behavioural routines (discussed in detail above). In the structured play session, the teacher starts by saying*: "Someone will come and tap you on the shoulder and then you need to go and find some 'work' to do"*. As shown in Extract 4B, children spend the structured play time working on their own or sometimes with another on the activity they have selected. We can see how this is mainly individual as children are working by themselves on self-chosen activities. All the children are doing different things at the same time and mostly working on their own or sometimes in small groups (self-selected like the group that gathers round the building of a tower with blocks) or just because they happen to sit down at the same table to do drawing for example. These activities are therefore classed as individual or sub-group. In the sense that the work selected is specific to them, rather than the same for the whole class, it is specialised. The teacher also chooses specific individuals to do specific activities with (based on progress and need) and in this sense too, it is specialised.

4.4 Summary

Although there is variation in how the pedagogy is constructed across the activities at the sites, and between sites, there are useful generalisations that can be drawn from the data describing the construction of pedagogy. Three of the sites demonstrate largely similar constructions with the fourth site, Maria, providing a useful contrast to the others.

In terms of time allocation (as an indicator of what is considered important) all sites spend a considerable portion of their instructional time on the structured play sessions. They also all spend a significant portion of this time on free play and, with the exception of Maria, on behavioural routines.

In terms of the structure of the pedagogy, the three sites, excluding Maria, had a very similar pedagogy. Selection and pacing were all relatively strongly framed, while sequence was weakly framed. Evaluative criteria were very weakly framed (and often absent). The hierarchical rule was generally strongly framed, with the exception of the physical engagement between teacher and learner, though it is suggested that the "childcare" nature of preschool, masks this otherwise strongly framed relation. Spaces between teacher and learner are generally weakly classified, and agents (learners) are generally weakly classified in terms of their role but strongly classified in terms of their behaviour. I would argue, however, that this strong classification of their behaviour is because of their internalisation of the strong hierarchical framing, and their understood role as passive learners waiting for direction from their teachers. A brief discussion of this prevalence of waiting will be offered in the conclusion. Additionally, in terms of organisational form, all activities presented homogenous pedagogical units (same task for all learners). There was some variation between whole class and sub-group organisation of learners, but not significant to detract from the overall collectivising nature of the pedagogy in a whole class, homogenous organisational form.

Almost all the above similarities in the construction of the pedagogy present differently in Maria, as discussed in each section above. In illustrating this, I extract the data for structured play sessions as a summary and comparison of the sites. Table 4.13, below, summarises the classification and framing values, as well as the organisational units, used to describe the structured play sessions at the four sites.

Table 4.13

Pedagogical structure of structured play across four sites

	SITES			
	Kleindier	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Selection	F++	F++	F ++	F -
Sequence	F- -	F-	F -	F+
Pace	F++/F+	F-/F+	F++	F- -
Evaluative Criteria	F°	F--	F--	F+
Hierarchical rule (without physical interaction)	F++	F-/F+	F+	F-/F--
Classification of Agents				
in the routine activities	C-	C+	C-	C++
in the behaviour of learners	C+	C+	C-	C++
Classification of spaces	C++/C+	C-	C-	C--
Organisational Unit	Homogenous	Homogenous	Homogenous	Integrated/ specialised
	Sub-group	sub-group	sub-group	Individual

From Table 4.13, above, we see the clear differences across the sites with Maria and highlighting the commonalities across the other three. For the three dominant sites, there is a weak framing of evaluative criteria, strong framing of hierarchical rules, strong framing over selection and pace, relatively weaker classification of agents and a collectivising nature of the pedagogy. Maria is markedly different with the weak framing over selection and pace, stronger framing of evaluative criteria and weaker framing of the hierarchical relations. In Maria, the learners (agents) are more strongly classified and treated as individuals, rather than collectivised through the pedagogy.

The findings from the three sites coupled together, and what this means in relation to the optimal pedagogy as proposed in the literature, is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion

This chapter seeks to discuss my last sub-question: How does what is offered at the four settings compare to the optimal pedagogy identified for school, and preschool, in the research literature? In this chapter I also consider my larger question pertaining to how pedagogy is constructed as revealed by the data in the four settings studied.

I will reflect on the findings summarised in Chapter Four in relation to optimal pedagogy, with particular reference to:

- The distribution of time in the daily routine;
- The classification and framing optimal for preschool settings;
- Collectivising pedagogies; and
- How play is constructed in the four settings.

The similarities and dominant constructs across these themes will be highlighted, but this chapter will also present the significant differences across sites that were considered important. Importantly the ideal pedagogy contrasted with the findings is that described in Chapter Two, and as summarized in Table 5.1, below.

Table 5.1

Ideal pedagogy for the early years

	Strong or weak
Selection	Variable. Weak framing over selection in the micro level and for free play sessions. Stronger framing for structured play and direct instruction and at the macro level.
Sequence	Variable. Weak framing within activities (micro level) and free play. Some stronger framing in direct instruction.
Pace	Variable pace – however generally weak – guided by the needs of the child. This does not mean slow, however. Exceptionally slow pace.

	(children waiting once completed activities) shows not being guided by the pace of the child.
Evaluative Criteria	Weak on the micro level and during activities. Strong on the macro level and in the exposition and feedback of activities.
Hierarchical rule	Weak framing to allow for control and initiation by the child.
Classification of Agents	Strong classification to enable development of learner as agent.
Classification of spaces	Weak classification to ensure porous boundaries between teacher and learner.
Organisational Unit	Mix of homogenous and specialised activities done in individual or sub-group units. A few of the activities present in the day, however, benefit from large group homogenous format (e.g., music and movement, group instruction).

Additionally, as discussed in the literature review, it includes an optimal use of time that ensures a substantial part of the day is used for instructional activities within which there is a balance of child- and teacher-initiated activities. Free play is also specified as important, but needs to include teacher involvement to ensure it has educational value.

5.1. The distribution of time

Before analysing the construct of the activities provided in relation to the optimal pedagogy, I have first considered the time allocated in the day to specific curricula activities, as a potential indicator in relation to the optimal "content" to be covered in a day. According to the literature, the ideal use of time at preschool level includes focus on play, a balance between adult-led and child-initiated activities, as well as time spent on teacher directed group instruction. The REPEY study centres of only adequate quality spent more time on physical care and physical development, and had limited time in adult-led activities (Sylva *et al.* 2007).

The dominant findings in the four settings is that a significant portion of the day was spent on behavioural routines (focusing on physical care) therefore compromising

time available for other important curricula activities. This points to the valuing of childcare as opposed to educational purpose at these sites. In early years theory there is possibility for the behavioural routines to provide opportunity for learning instructional content but this requires the mediation of the teacher to broaden the learning beyond just functional behavioural learning. When you then consider the framing and classification present in these settings (discussed below) and the lack of evaluative feedback (shown in the weak framing and the dominance of evaluative feedback offered on issues mainly of order, comportment and character (the regulative) this leaves limited options for learning instructional content such as literacy and numeracy, as highlighted in the literature. Additionally, there was significant time spent waiting at these three settings – both as a specific activity (more than five minutes) but also within activities, where children had completed activities/waiting to start and sat around waiting for instruction. Maria was the exception with no time spent on waiting, and a relatively small time spent on behavioural routines.

Of the instructional time provided, the main focus across the sites was on the structured play time (creative and construction activities) and free play (mostly outdoors), which is congruent with the ideal. However, the short time spent on group instruction and story telling during the day is problematic across sites. This, as noted in the EPPE study, brings into question the opportunity to learn specific content, that is ideally transferred in group instruction sessions, and literacy development through story telling. Book sharing in and of itself is considered critical for later success and exposure to book reading and language, a predictor of later school success (McCain, Mustard & Shanker 2007). However, in these settings, there was very little time (proportionally) in the day afforded to book reading. Additionally, many of the benefits of shared reading (improved outcomes) are understood to result from the extended conversations that take place around the book itself (Vally 2012) and an adult that cultivates the child's active role rather than promoting passive listening and encouraging cognitively demanding engagement (National Early Literacy Panel 2008). This however was not the case in these settings with minimal, if any, questions being asked or engagement and dialogue sought during story time (and very weakly framed evaluative criteria), except in Maria. So although both story and group

instruction were provided, as will be discussed below, the pedagogy enacted in this time brought to question the education value of this time.

Of the instructional time, the majority of the activities at the three sites (excluding Maria and free play sessions) were teacher-initiated (both at the macro and at the micro). The literature review calls for a balance of this teacher directed activity and child initiative but the pedagogy enacted in this teacher directed time is the most crucial component. In Maria we see the child-initiated structured play session, that includes lots of teacher "direction" through the strong framing of evaluative criteria shown in the provision of feedback and questioning. This is discussed in greater detail later in the next section. The same is true for the free play time. Although the literature emphasises the importance of play in the early years, it is as a pedagogy and not as a curricula content. Just providing play opportunities is not sufficient for ensuring good learner outcomes and therefore, how these play opportunities are constructed is critical in terms of ensuring their value. This will be discussed below in relation to the classification and framing values found present in the study.

5.2. The classification and framing of the preschool settings

As per the literature review, optimal pedagogy for preschool is characterised by a mixed pedagogy, with variations in the strength of framing of the discursive rule and hierarchical rule, as well as the strong classification of agents and weak classification of spaces. These items are summarised in Table 5.1 above.

The focus and importance of child-centredness is generally understood to mean the child's ability to take initiative and to self-select activities, and for the curriculum to be focused around children's interests. In a Bernstienian frame this would be described as weak framing over selection, sequence, pace, evaluative criteria and hierarchical rules. The literature review also pointed to strong framing of selection at the macro level as ideal in terms of selecting and creating instructional environments in which children learn, as well as selecting the content for group instruction time. However, at the micro level, it is important that this is weakly framed, giving children the opportunity to select activities and content, and to initiate their own learning.

Weak framing over pace is considered important to give children opportunity to control the pace of content delivered. Evaluative criteria should vary in strength of framing. The strong framing described in optimal pedagogy for working class children in formal schooling is also important at this preschool level. Explaining to children the purpose of activities, commenting on their productions and indicating areas for development/ improvement all require explicating. Importantly the role of question, both to understand children's current understanding but also for developing reasoning and critical thinking, is essential. However, evaluative criteria at the preschool level also benefit from weak framing within activities to encourage child initiative.

As shown in the data analysis, three of the four sites had a very similar pedagogic construct (the dominant one) while one, Maria, was in contrast to the other three in almost all elements of the enacted pedagogy. First the dominant mode, and then the exception, will be discussed in more detail below.

The dominant mode across the three sites was strong framing of selection across all activities and within activities too, except for the free play sessions which were very weakly framed. This is problematic in both instances – as within structured play children in the three dominant sites had little if any free choice within activities to initiate activities and select items that they wanted to engage with. Siraj-Blatchford *et al*. (2002) stress the importance of children's initiation of activities as often as teachers (weak framing of selection). Free play was entirely initiated by children, but from a limited (and unchanging) repertoire of outdoor gross motor activities.

Within the free play sessions, the lack of macro framing over selection (in terms of selecting activities which could be instructional) was very weak and therefore across all sites the instructional potential of the free play session was limited. Apart from the free play session, pacing was generally strongly framed. Structured play for the majority of sites, except Maria, involved teachers selecting the activities with no initiation of activities by the children. Children were rotated to new stations in the structured play sessions regardless as to whether they had completed an activity or not and without any individual control (strong framing of pace). The overriding approach to the daily routine was a tick box of activities that needed to be completed, of which

the children did, and their understanding (or lack thereof), did not have an influence over the pace – a sort of ritualised form of education (or perhaps childcare). This was further confirmed by the daily routine (a list of activities) displayed in the three sites as a list of activities for the day that were followed routinely.

Evaluative criteria were generally very weakly framed and in many cases absent, except in the explicating of procedural instructions (for example, how to do an art activity). This is understandable in the free play sessions which did not have a clearly articulated purpose – however the lack of comment or feedback on productions is concerning and the absence of any sense of purpose of activities. In the majority of centres, comments and feedback, if present, were often directed, to the whole class, rather than to individual children's productions. The lack of questioning is the most problematic in relation to the ideal pedagogy, as the stimulating of thought and reason, as it clearly points to the development of a learner identity in which questioning is not valued. Hasan (2001) and Painter's (2007) work show how preschool children that habitually participate in discursive practices which include a relatively frequent use of the kind of de-contextualised language typical of school instruction, will already have the "pre-requisites for the development of literate language" (Cloran 2005) by the time they enter school.

In terms of the hierarchical rule, the literature points to the weak framing of hierarchical relations, describing the optimal learning environments as ones that mirror the mother-child relationship of close physical contact and warmth. Children who develop warm, positive relationships with their preschool teachers are more positive about coming to school, more self-confident, and achieve more in the classroom and this also leads to enhanced thinking and reasoning skills (Center on the Developing Child 2004). This was born out in two of the three dominant mode sites in the study (and includes Maria in this), with teachers demonstrating warmth and close physical care of children. These sites were generally warm and caring, clearly modelling the dominant understanding of the childcare aspects of preschool, as I have argued, a social interaction whose framing is relatively weak.

However, the other empirical indicators of the hierarchical rule – namely in terms of the type of discipline enacted and the ability for children to move freely, were much

more strongly framed in the three sites. Children had very little opportunity to move freely (except in the free play sessions) and were required to wait for teachers' instruction, wait for permission to access resources and did not have choice around their movements at toilet time. This limited their opportunities for child initiation (complimented by weakly framed evaluative criteria) so important at this level – and for taking control of their environment which would have provided opportunities to develop self-regulation so important for later success. In Maria, we see learners choosing their own activities, managing their own toilet routines and moving freely in the classroom and school.

In terms of the type of discipline enacted, the literature points to the value of personal forms of discipline as they enable the development of context independent orientations to meaning through the use of reasoning and explanation, particularly when meanings given to regulate children's behaviour (giving reasons appealing to consequences), and information given in response to children's questions is expansive and directive (Hasan 2001). However, these practices were not seen in evidence in the dominant sites, except Maria. These centres were characterised in the main by discipline that was positional (and imperative) not leaving much space for encouraging reasoning or developing personal responses to situations, with limited if any questions from children (and limited response from teachers), and no use of reason to regulate behaviour (imperative rather than positional control in discipline). In Maria, we see a marked difference with the consistent use of personal forms of control that appealed to reason and gave explanations.

This strong framing of the hierarchical relations had direct impact on their ability to self-regulate and manage their own learning, which was reflected in the weak classification of their role as agents. Across the three sites, learners did not routinely do instructional tasks in the classroom, and demonstrated little initiative. They waited for instruction from the teachers, and needed reminding to manage their own tasks. Interestingly they were quite bounded in terms of their behaviour – generally working quite consistently without needing too much reminding or behaviour management from the teachers (except in the behavioural routines for one site). It is possible that this was caused not by the self-regulation that could have been developed by weaker framing of hierarchical rule and weakening framing over selection and pace, but

rather by fear of the authority structures and learnt obedience. This was clearly shown by the comparison with Maria, in which agents were strongly classified and almost no discipline was required by the teacher as they knew how to manage and regulate themselves in the classroom.

The structured play sessions were directed by teachers – set up instructional environments (activities at tables) with which children could engage and play. As with the free play, this alone is not sufficient to support optimal learning and requires substantial and individual adult-child interaction. Also, as shown above in the framing of the evaluative criteria, the form of this engagement was not always conducive to optimal learning. Structured play as seen in these settings is largely a ritualised activity with very weak evaluative criteria which undermines the potential learning possible. These activities become habituated forms of classroom life and repetitive daily acts that become ends in themselves rather than any purposeful pedagogic practice (as Jacklin, quoted in Ensor 2014, describes).

Therefore, in summary, besides the exceptions found in Maria, the dominant pedagogy enacted in the sites was strongly framed around selection, sequence, pace and the hierarchical rule, and weakly framed over evaluative criteria, which, in many cases, was absent. They were weakly classified in terms of spaces (one of the few items that correlated with the ideal pedagogy) and generally weakly classified in terms of agents. This shows a weak correlation with the ideal pedagogy for preschool, and also in relation to the ideal for working class students at a formal school level. Within the three dominant ECD centres analysed in this study, learners are not being developed into learners with a strong identity as self-regulated independent learners, nor are they being given much individual choice or control in their learning experience. They are being inducted into a strongly hierarchical school culture that requires obedience to the teacher, before reasoning, and values the ability to follow instruction and wait for direction. Maria, on the other hand, provides an opposing and more hopeful construct that much more closely approximates the ideal pedagogy when comparing these elements. It illustrates the possibilities of developing a pedagogy that resembles optimal pedagogy.

5.3. Collectivising pedagogies

As the literature review touched on, the importance at formal school and ECD level of a pedagogy that individualises learners, in terms of their specific needs, but also ensures that learners have ample one-on-one interaction with teachers, is important for later success. This is also important at this level for modelling the mother-child interaction that is so important in developing the orientation to meaning as indicated in Hasan (2001) above. Some group work is good for certain direct instruction, but the dominant mode should be individualising of learners.

As shown in Chapter Four, the dominant organisational form in the three sites reveals a collectivising of learners – treating them all as a whole class in the activities set (homogenous activities) and in the way learners are grouped in large groups. In the structured play activities, learners are organised in sub-groups around small tables, but the tasks are still homogenous (students rotate from table to table) so there is still a collectivising pedagogy at work. There is very little differentiation of work, i.e., tailoring activity to different needs/levels and no activities set as individual activities in the three sites. In Maria we see a substantial exception. As in the other sites there is homogenous, whole class activity for some activities (group instruction, story and music and movement) but the dominant time of the day is spent in specialised activities, with learners either working on their own (individual) or in small self-organised sub-groups. This facilitates the one-on-one teacher interaction, but also allows tasks to be chosen for a child's specific needs.

In the dominant three sites, there is some one-on-one interaction of the teacher and child during group activities when teachers spend time in the learners' spaces (weak classification of space) but this is generally coupled with weak evaluative criteria, resulting in little useful individual feedback given at this time. The structured play sessions were generally characterised by more adult-child interaction and therefore had the potential for more instructional value. However, as this interaction focused largely on character and manner, and very little on the children's actual productions (consistently weak or absent evaluative criteria), there was limited possibility to further their development and capacity.

The dominant organisational form (homogenous-whole class/sub-group) also reveals how teachers see learners as one large collective with similar needs, rather than as individuals with specific varying needs and requirements. This is also problematic in terms of the literature which foregrounds an ideal pedagogy, that adapts to and tries to meet each individual child's need. This therefore results in a generic set of activities delivered to all regardless of specific need with the risk that all children get the same set of activities but not necessarily appropriate for extending their particular learning (and ensuring that the zone of proximal development is reached for all). Additionally, as the Bowman report (2000) states "Children are better prepared for school when early childhood programs expose them to a variety of classroom structures, thought processes, and discourse patterns…. [Such as] providing children with a mix of whole class, small group, and individual interactions with teachers" (National Research Council 2001:8). This is not the case in the three dominant sites in this study, but is true of Maria as shown above.

5.4. Summary

In summary the dominant structuring of pedagogy across the three sites, typified by the three similar sites, have very weak correlations with the ideal pedagogy as described in the literature. Maria however, across the elements studies, reveals a contrasting picture and more closely approximates the ideal, providing a useful and encouraging example of what is possible in the early education and socialistion of children in contexts of poverty.

CHAPTER SIX
Conclusion

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter I briefly summarise how I answered my research question: *How is pedagogy constituted and how does it vary across four different preschools situated in working class areas?* I also briefly revisit the findings presented in the previous two chapters in relation to my sub-questions below. I will highlight the main themes that emerged (and the areas of concern), some of the limitations of this study and finally conclude with a brief consideration of the potential for preschool education as constructed in these sites (and therefore potentially in low SES settings in South Africa) to improve educational outcomes for children).

6.2. How pedagogy is constructed across four settings in a low SES environment in South Africa

The interest of this paper was to describe how pedagogy is constructed in four preschool settings in South Africa in relation to:

1. How is time distributed across the school day in relation to different domains of early learning?
2. How is pedagogy structured across the four settings, and how does it vary?
3. How does what is offered at the four settings compare to the optimal pedagogy identified for school, and preschool, in the research literature?

Four preschool settings were chosen and data was generated from two days of classroom observation. This formed the basis of the data used to describe the pedagogy. A coding tool was developed to analyse the pedagogy based on Bernstein's theories of the classification and framing of the educational code, and drawing on work by Hoadley (2005), Pedro (1981) and others. A novel contribution of the thesis is the adaptation of these analytical frames and methods to early years pedagogy.

The answers to the first two questions are described in detail in Chapter Four. A brief summary is provided here in relation to the last question, discussed in Chapter Five.

Of the four sites studied, three displayed significant similarities in the pedagogy enacted which have very weak correlations with the ideal pedagogy, as described in the literature. In summary, these sites are characterised by strong framing of the selection, pacing and hierarchical rule, with weak framing of evaluative criteria and weakly classified agents. The weak classification of spaces and weak framing shown in the physical relationships between teachers and learners, are the only dimensions that approximate the ideal pedagogy proffered by the literature, as these sites are physically caring spaces, with blurring of the boundaries between learner and teacher space, common in settings focused on childcare. The structuring of play, particularly the structured play sessions, a critical component of the preschool day, is problematic in these settings, raising questions as to the value and outcomes that can be derived from these times. Finally, substantial time allocated to behavioural routines, the lack of time provided for story time (and the quality thereof) and the prevalence of substantial time waiting, are all concerning in relation to optimal use of time. Maria was the outlier in the four, enacting a curriculum that more closely resembles the ideal.

There was a dominant focus on the regulative over the instructional across all sites (although less so in Maria). At preschool level, the distinctions between the regulative and the instructional are a lot more blurred because the regulative is actually the instructional (and in some ways vice versa) – learners are deliberately being schooled to be learners, alongside learning instructional content. However, as research in optimal pedagogy notes, instructional content is important, but this was not seen across the three sites with the strong focus on the regulative (both in the limited instructional content, the construction of the pedagogy and the time allocated in the day to instructional activities, including group instruction and story time).

An important aspect to the development of a learner identity at this level is the cultivation of self-regulation in the learner. This is facilitated in Maria through weak framing over selection, strong framing over evaluative criteria and weak hierarchical framing. At the other three sites, through strong positional control in both

instructional and behavioural routines, learners have not learnt to self-regulate. They are yet to gain a clear identity as learners rather than children under the custodianship of the centres.

Finally, the substantial time allocated to behavioural routines, the lack of time provided for story time (and the quality thereof) and the prevalence of substantial time waiting, are all concerning in relation to optimal use of time.

Therefore, the dominant themes that emerged from this study were:

- the ritualised childcare nature of ECD provision in three of the four sites;
- the substantial time spent each day on "non-educational" activities – both behavioural but also specifically students left waiting with nothing to do;
- weak correlation across three sites with optimal pedagogy; and
- an exception found that more closely approximated the ideal.

Selecting the two Private and two NGO sites did not reveal the difference between those two different modalities that had been expected. The pedagogy enacted in Maria was substantially different to all the other sites, even when compared to the other NGO site with similar resources and level of training to Maria. Anecdotal knowledge of sites in low-income settings in South Africa and from the little research available suggests that the three sites with similar pedagogy represent (and provide a description of) the dominant pedagogy enacted in South Africa in low income settings, and does not approximate the ideal. In this study, this did not vary substantially and even remained similar in the one NGO site (with slightly different features - more training, better resources, outdoor play areas). What was not anticipated in the research was finding a site from the same community, serving children with the same demographic characteristics, that was so substantially different in terms of the pedagogy enacted, particularly when compared with the other NGO site. There is a tendency in South Africa to homogenise poor schools (and contexts) and to discount the possibilities of preschools to function in the way the literature suggests they should to prepare learners for school. However, Maria disrupts this tendency. This study therefore gives both the story of the majority of schools but also

the beginnings of possibility. A story of how disadvantage is reproduced and also how it can potentially be interrupted.

6.3. Limitations of this study

This study has some limitations. Firstly, it is unable to comment on the effectiveness of the various pedagogies enacted as I did not gather outcome data for children. Therefore, assumptions on both of these items are based on what evidence from the literature in other research studies pointed to. The thesis sets out to describe the structuring of pedagogy and its variation in relation to the literature on optimal pedagogy.

Secondly, the anomaly represented by Maria, and further understanding the causes of this, is beyond the scope of this study. It was the one site with a different specifically trained curriculum approach (Montessori) that includes substantial teacher training and provides frameworks for classroom structure that foreground individualising pedagogies, teacher engagement in structured play and learner choice. It is thus assumed that it was this curriculum difference, and supported teacher training, that enabled the difference between the pedagogy constituted at Maria and the other three sites, but this is in no way definitive, and would need further study.

Finally, a Bernsteinian framework only describes the structuring of pedagogic discourse (the relay), not the content of that discourse (the relayed). Further analysis of the classroom transcripts would yield interesting findings regarding the differences between the sites in terms of the actual content made available by the teachers (for example, what stories were told, what activities were offered during structured play). Neither did I look in detail at the kind of discursive interactions (only in the structuring of pedagogy but not substantially in the content of interactions), which also would have yielded interesting results.

6.4. The potential for preschool to interrupt the cultural reproduction of social inequality

Bernstein (1975, 1990) described how the pedagogic device acts as a symbolic regulator of the consciousness – to produce, reproduce and transform culture. Therefore, rather than act as an agent of change, the education system often becomes a site of cultural reproduction that results in reproducing the society within which it is located. The preschool has the potential to interrupt this process of cultural reproduction, but to do so, it requires particular characteristics to do this, and to offer optimal pedagogy for success.

The form of pedagogy that is dominant in the majority of the sites (the three) analysed in this study does not come close to what is proffered in the literature as ideal. The question remains as to what kinds of learners are these structures creating and whether this bodes well for later success at school. For learners in the majority of the cases described, socialisation into the code of schooling is not happening, and their teachers are not offering them interactions that support learning. Therefore, the potential is high that they will remain excluded from the discourse of schooling, and will continue to *wait to learn*. Maria, however, at the levels of time use and structuring of pedagogical relationship and agents, offers possibility as an exception; and therefore hope for the disruption of these seemingly inevitable processes of cultural reproduction in contexts of poverty.

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APPENDIX A

Principal Consent Form

Title of research project: Waiting to learn: An analysis of instruction in four preschool settings in poor contexts

Names of principal researchers: Justine Jowell
Department/research group address: Department of Education, Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town

Telephone: 082 859 6333 **Email**: Justine@gem.co.za

Name of participant:

Nature of the research: The research is interested in documenting the pedagogy and teacher-child talk in preschool environments in a working class area in Cape Town, through video and observation, in order to better understand the forms of pedagogy, especially in relation to best practices, and their potential to support children's later formal learning.

Participant's involvement:

What's involved: The research will involve observation for half a day and **video** observation for two days of ONE class (preferably 4-5 year-olds. It is preferable that the same teacher and same class be observed for all days.
This will be followed by a 30 minute interview with the teacher at a time convenient with her, and a 30 minute interview with you the principal, at a time convenient with you.
Risks: None other than that the teachers might not feel totally comfortable in the class.
Benefits: You will have access to the research which will provide reflection on teaching and learning in your centre.
Costs: None invisioned
Payment: None

- I agree to allow my centre to participate in this research project and allow the researcher access to my centre to observe lessons for maximum of 3 days, and to interview the teacher involved.
- I have read this consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions about them.
- I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition my privacy is respected, subject to the following:
  - I understand that my personal details will be used in aggregate form only, so that I will not be personally identifiable.
- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project.
- I understand I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.

Signature of Participant / Guardian (if under 18): _____
Signature of person who sought consent: _____
Name of person who sought consent: _____
Signatures of principal researchers: a) Justine Jowell_____(name)
Date: _____

APPENDIX B

Teacher Consent Form

Title of research project: Waiting to learn: An analysis of instruction in four preschool settings in poor contexts

Names of principal researchers: Justine Jowell
Department/research group address: Department of Education, Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town

Telephone: 082 859 6333 **Email**: Justine@gem.co.za

Name of participant:

Nature of the research: The research is interested in documenting the pedagogy and teacher-child talk in preschool environments in a working class area in Cape Town, through video and observation, in order to better understand the forms of pedagogy, especially in relation to best practices, and their potential to support children's later formal learning.

Participant's involvement:

What's involved: The research will involve observation for half a day followed by **video** observation of your class for a period of 2 days, from 8:30 until 4.
This will be followed by a 30 minute interview with you at a time that is convenient you.
Risks: None other than that you might not feel totally comfortable with the video. If this is the case, you can ask the researcher to stop the video and switch to audio only recording or note taking.
Benefits: You will have access to the research which will provide reflection on teaching and learning in your class.
Costs: None envisioned
Payment: None

- I agree to participate in this research project.
- I have read this consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions about them.
- I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition my privacy is respected, subject to the following:
  - I understand that my personal details will be used in aggregate form only, so that I will not be personally identifiable.
- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project.
- I understand I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.

Signature of Participant / Guardian (if under 18): _____
Signature of person who sought consent: _____
Name of person who sought consent: _____
Signatures of principal researchers: a) Justine Jowell_____(name)
Date: _____

Appendix C: Summary of activities analysed and coded

KLEINDIER ACTIVITIES	
Activity Number	**Summary**
1	GROUP INSTRUCTION - Morning ring on the weather
2	STRUCTURED PLAY - ART ACTITIVITY at tables. All doing the same activity copying a picture
3	Behavioural routines - waiting
4	Behavioural routine -Waiting while teacher tidies
5	Behavioural routine- Snack/ breakfast
6	Behavioural routines - waiting
7	Behavioural routine - Toilet time
8	STRUCUTRED PLAY - finding pictures of fruit in magazines and tearing out
9	FREE PLAY - outside with some toys and skipping rope
10	Behavioural routine - toilet time
11	Behavioural routines - snack
12	MOVEMENT AND MUSIC - a number of different songs sung
13	FREE PLAY - Outside with toys
14	BEHAVIOURAL ROUTINE - toilet
15	STRUCTURED PLAY - Activity play at small tables - all doing different activities (dominoes, matching, etc.) rotating
16	Behavioural routines - Toilet time and packing away
17	DIRECT INSTRUCTION - group counting and copying numbers
18	Behavioural routines - toilet time
19	GROUP INSTRUCTION - copying picture drawn by the teacher
20	STRUCTURED PLAY - different activities placed at tables (lego, blocks, etc.)
21	Behavioural routines - packing
22	FREE PLAY - outdoors/ fantasy play
23	Behavioural routines - packing away
24	MUSIC AND MOVEMENT - songs and movement
25	Behavioural routine - snacks
26	Behavioural routine - waiting
27	STRUCTURED PLAY - children given books to page through and “read”
28	Behavioural routines - toilet time
29	FREE PLAY - outside
30	Behavioural routines - Toilet time again
31	Story time

Kinders activities	
Activity Number	**Summary**
32	GROUP INSTRUCTION – morning ring on days of the week, counting, weather ,theme
33	STRUCTURED PLAY – different art activities at different tables – cutting, colouring, playdough
34	Behavioural routine - Packing away
35	STRUCTURED PLAY - art and writing names
36	BEHAVIOURAL ROUTINES - Pack away, Snack
37	MUSIC AND MOVEMENT - singing and dancing
38	STRUCTURED PLAY - Small group working at tables – building, drawing activities
39	FREE PLAY - fantasy play
40	Behavioural routine - waiting
41	FREE PLAY - Outside free play
42	Behavioural routine - toilet time
43	Story time
44	Behavioural routine- toilet time

Kinders activities	
Activity Number	**Summary**
45	GROUP INSTRUCTION - morning ring on colours and shapes
46	STRUCTURED PLAY ACTIVITY - Arts and crafts
47	BEHAVIOURAL ROUTINE - packing away
48	Behavioural routines - Snack time
49	Behavioural routines - toilet break
50	MUSIC and MOVEMENT – song and dance with CD
51	STRUCTURED PLAY - puzzles/ threading/fine motor work. Rotating at tables
52	FREE PLAY- Fantasy area
53	MOVEMENT AND MUSIC - throwing ball in group
54	FREE PLAY - Outdoor
55	BEHAVIOURAL ROUTINES – waiting
56	STORY TIME

Hope Activities	
Activity Number	**Summary**
57	GROUP INSTRUCTION - Morning Ring on body parts and fruit
58	Music and Movement – songs and dance about the body
59	BEHAVIOURAL routine - preparing
60	FREE PLAY - Outside on jungle gym and water play set up teacher
61	BEHAVIOURAL ROUTINES - toilet and snack
62	Behavioural routine – packing away
63	STRUCTURED PLAY - Different stations – art and blocks and threading at tables. Sticking, finger painting
64	BEHAVIOURAL ROUTINE - Packing up from activity
65	STORY TIME
67	Behavioural routine - toilet time
68	MUSIC AND MOVEMENT - rhymes and songs
69	Behavioural routine - waiting for lunch
70	GROUP INSTRUCTION - MORNING RING - body parts, song about body parts
71	BEHAVIOURAL ROUTINES - waiting
72	FREE PLAY - outside gross motor and water play
73	Behavioural routines - toilet time
74	STRUCTURED PLAY - activities on different tables - cutting, pasting, book corner, construction
75	FREE play
76	Story time

Maria Activities	
Activity number	**Summary**
77	Movement and music – catching and throwing games and signing
78	GROUP INSTRUCTION - MORNING RING - days of the week, recap of the pervious day and rules
79	STRUCTURED PLAY - various activities and tasks self selected from children (with a few selected for specifically children by the teacher, or literacy work)
80	BEHAVIOURAL ROUTINE - packing away
81	BEHAVIOURAL ROUTINE - snack
82	FREE PLAY–- outside play
83	STORY TIME

Activity number	**Summary**

Activity number	Summary
84	GROUP INSTRUCTION - Morning ring on weather, recap previous day, counting
85	Structured play (work time) - various activities self chosen by children - some on floor, some on table
86	Behavioural routine - tidying up
87	Behavioural routine - snack time
88	FREE PLAY - outside on jungle gyms, outdoor play resources
89	STORY TIME

APPENDIX D: Coding tool used in data analysis to describe indicators in pedagogy

Discursive rule **SELECTION** (F^{+-})

The extent to which teacher and learner have control over the selection of instructional knowledge/ activities done in the class

1. In the exposition to a task and in doing activities	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{-}	F^{--}
	Always or almost always controlled by the teacher	Mostly controlled by the teacher	Learners have some control	Learners have substantial control
	The selection of tasks, activities and knowledge in the classroom is always or almost always determined by the teacher. Learners are rarely able to disrupt the selection to suit their own needs. Their suggestions are generally dismissed or ignored or they are not seen to make any.	The selection of tasks, activities and knowledge in the classroom is determined by the teacher most of the time. On a few occasions selection varied according to learner intervention or production.	Learners have the opportunity to vary the selection of tasks, activities, knowledge some of the time. Students have opportunities to chose their own activities sometimes. Some learner suggestions are accepted, or the teacher alters selection according to learners' productions.	Learners often make decisions around the selection of tasks and activities in the classroom. They are given opportunities to determine the knowledge content of the lessons/ or the activities that they do for a large portion of time. The teacher alters the selection according to learners' requests or suggestions

Discursive rule **SEQUENCING** (F^{+-})

The extent to which teacher and learner have control over the sequencing of instructional knowledge and the daily programme

2. In the course of the task	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{-}	F^{--}
	Always or almost always controlled by the teacher	Mostly controlled by the teacher	Learners have some control	Learners have substantial control
	The teacher always or almost always determines the sequence of transmission of knowledge and activities in the session. Any interjections potentially disturbing the order of learning/ or the correct sequence of the activity are dismissed or ignored.	The teacher more than half of the time determines the sequence of transmission of knowledge and activities in the lesson, and the format of the activity.	Learners sometimes make decisions around the sequence of tasks and activities in the lesson. They are regularly given options regarding the order in which to do things, either during an activity period.	Learners have the opportunity to vary the sequence of the transmission often. The teacher at times responds to learners' interventions by varying the sequence of the learning and or activities and learners are able to complete tasks in the order/ way that they choose.

Discursive rule **PACE** (F^{+-})

The extent to which teacher and learner have control over the pacing of instructional knowledge and the days activities

3. In the learners doing tasks/ completing activities	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{-}	F^{--}
	Always or almost always controlled by the teacher	Mostly controlled by the teacher	Learners have some control over the pace	Learners have substantial control over the pace
	The pace at which learners work through tasks is always or almost always strictly controlled by the teacher. Injunctions to 'hurry up' or 'work slowly' and mention of time are frequent, and the teacher doesn't vary the pace according to learners' productions. Activities end randomly without responding to learners completion of a task. The teacher always or mostly defers or ignores learners' questions and interjections, or learners make no interjections.	The pace at which learners work through tasks is mostly determined by the teacher. Time is mentioned quite often and on occasion the length of an activity is stipulated beforehand. The teacher accepts few learner interventions and questions. She answers questions briefly and moves on. Occasionally she varies the pace in response to learners productions or extends an activity to ensure that children finish a task	Learners work at their own pace. The teacher exercises some control over pace, but remains open to its variation. The teacher accepts some learner interventions and questions. She checks briefly to make sure that all learners are ready to move on before changing to a new activity. Setting of parallel activities for learners who have finished may occur.	Learners work at their own pace. The teacher places no pressure on them to finish in a stipulated period. She may give them opportunities to 'catch up' or extend the activity depending on learner interest. The teacher accepts most or all learner interventions and questions and discussion may be extended or deviate as a result. Learners decide when they are ready to move on to other work. Setting of parallel activities for learners who have finished may occur.

Discursive rule **EVALUATIVE CRITERIA** (F^{+-})

The extent to which teacher and learner have control over the evaluative criteria of the instructional knowledge pertaining to the meaning of concepts and principles and their appropriate realisation

	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{-}	F^{--}	F^{0}
4. In the introduction / explanation / exposition to a topic / task	Evaluative criteria very clear and explicit	Evaluative criteria quite clear and explicit	Evaluative criteria quite unclear and implicit	Evaluative criteria very unclear and implicit	Transmission of evaluative criteria not observable
	Teacher always or almost always makes the evaluative criteria available through exposition. Explicitly defines and explains the meaning of concepts, addresses key aspects of the knowledge or operation under discussion through questioning and explication. She makes it clear exactly how a task should be completed and why.	Most of the time the teacher makes the evaluative criteria available in an explicit and clear manner through explication and discussion. The requirements for the successful completion of a task are generally clear, although there may be some aspects that remain implicit.	The concepts and principles being addressed in the exposition are sometimes unclear. Attempts are made to make the requirements for the successful production of a text available to learners, but these are often unclear or not articulated. Some ambiguity as to what should be done and how it should be done exists.	Generally the teacher does not draw out the knowledge principles in her exposition. Very little or no attempt is made to make the requirements for the successful production of a text/ completion of an activity available to learners. Learners are unclear as to how to proceed, or proceed in any manner they choose or in it seems.	It appears as if no attempt is made to transmit the concepts and principles in the instructional practice. The purpose of the task, activity, discussion is unclear and/or in instances where specific behavior is required this is not explained either

	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{-}	F^{--}	F^{0}
5. In the course of learners conducting an activity or task	Evaluative criteria very clear and explicit	Evaluative criteria quite clear and explicit	Evaluative criteria quite unclear and implicit	Evaluative criteria very unclear and implicit	Transmission of evaluative criteria not observable
	The teacher constantly moves around and monitors what learners are doing and makes comments. To the whole class and to individuals she repeatedly goes over what constitutes an appropriate performance. In group activities she gives clear lead as to what needs to be done.	The teacher makes some points either to the whole class or to individual learners so as to clarify what is expected of them in the task. In group activity she give some feedback on the production	The teacher makes a few comments during the course of the task and looks at some of the learners work, or attends to learner productions, however this is not sustained and the criteria for a successful production are not made explicit to all. In group activity no feedback is given around the correct or incorrect participation in the task	The teacher looks at a few learners' work when it is brought to her attention. She rarely or never attends to their productions. Rarely she makes a comment to the learner. These are not extended to the whole class. No attention is paid to the productions in group activities and no feedback given.	The teacher engages in other work in her space and is not seen to look at what the learners are doing. She makes no comment on the work as it proceeds. No action is taken to ascertain what the learners are doing.

6. In the kinds of verbal answers required of learners	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{--}	F^{--}	F^{0}
	Evaluative criteria very clear and explicit	Evaluative criteria quite clear and explicit	Evaluative criteria quite unclear and implicit	Evaluative criteria very unclear and implicit	Transmission of evaluative criteria not observable
	Learners are always or almost always required to give reasons for their answers. They may be asked to draw out a more general principle to support, clarify or modify their answer. In incorrect responses the teacher shows why the answer is incorrect. The teacher often elaborates on a correct answer.	Learners are often required to give reasons for their answers always. They are sometimes asked to clarify or modify their answer. In incorrect responses the teacher often shows why the answer is incorrect. The teacher often elaborates on a correct answer.	Learners are on a few occasions required to give reasons for their answers. In incorrect responses the teacher sometimes shows why the answer is incorrect. The teacher does not elaborate on a correct answer.	The teacher looks only for yes / no answers, or for learners to repeat what she has just said. Incorrect answers are generally ignored, or the reasons for them are not sought. Correct answers are accepted and may be praised, but are not elaborated on.	The teacher does not respond at all to learners' answers, whether these are correct or incorrect. She simply moves on with the discussion or with setting out the task, OR any response is acceptable, though not elaborated. It is unclear as to why the response may or may not be appropriate.

7. At the conclusion of the task / activity	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{--}	F^{--}	F^{0}
	Evaluative criteria very clear and explicit	Evaluative criteria quite clear and explicit	Evaluative criteria quite unclear and implicit	Evaluative criteria very unclear and implicit	Transmission of evaluative criteria not observable
	Teachers makes specific comments on what has been produced –and indicates the specific corrections/ detailed feedback. She ensures evaluation of each learners' productions. She gives examples of both success and failure in the task and may point to individual performances.	Teachers makes comments on what has been produced –and indicates the specific corrections/ detailed feedback. However these comments are generally made to the whole class or only a few students.	Learners work is collected and gives some comment, generally quite vague and positive but without clear observation or useful evaluation of their participation	The teacher collects all work without any commentary on the work done – no feedback is given with regards to completion/ incomplete or any observation of what the student achieved/ did.	Learners productions are not seen, or heard nor is any feedback given

Hierarchical rule **TEACHER – LEARNER** (F^{+-})

The extent to which teacher and learner have control over the order, character and manner of the conduct of learners in the relation between teacher and learner – "The hierarchical rules refer to the extent to which control relations in the classroom are explicit or masked." (Hoadley, 2005: 124)

8. In the physical interaction between teachers and learners	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{-}	F^{--}
	Positional or imperative	Positional	Mostly personal	Mostly personal
	The teacher does not interact with learners physically affectionately. She may pinch or hit learners, or threaten them with a ruler or other implement.	The teacher seldom interacts with learners in a physically affectionate manner. The learner and teacher are physically distant.	The teacher will at times embrace a learner, especially when the learner is distressed. The teacher is generally openly affectionate with the learners.	The teacher frequently embraces or gently touches learners. Learners will often embrace the teacher in greeting.

9. When the teacher disciplines a learner or learners	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{-}	F^{--}
	Positional or imperative	Mostly positional	Personal or positional	Mostly personal
	The teacher becomes angry and admonishes the learner based on positional control and threatens further action (physical or non-physical). Rationale for actions is not provided by the teacher.	The teacher admonishes the learner using positional control. Rules and control are generally based on formal status relation teacher-student or on sex or age attributes of child. Rules are generally stated, not explained.	The teacher listens to learners' reasons for their actions and reproves them based on personal or implicit positional control. Rules may be stated but the implications of the behaviour is drawn out as well.	The teacher mostly listens to learners' reasons for their actions and provides a counter argument using personal control. The teacher emphasizes the implication of the learners actions for themselves and for others.

10. in the learners ability to move freely based on their needs	F^{++}	F^{+}	F^{-}	F^{--}
	Teacher has control over movement and space and those that wish to change this are told that they need to wait. Learners are not allowed to touch anything in the classroom without explicit permission of the teacher and wait to be told to move.	Learners have little control over when they can go to the toilet, get different activities or move in the class. Movement in and around the class is mostly restricted without much control over the space	Learners have some control over then they need to go to the toilet and other functions that need to perform – changing clothes, getting something from their bags etc	Learners have control over when they go to the toilet and have freedom to move around the classroom and engage with activities at will. Control over belongings and own decisions relating to these are encouraged

Relations between **SPACES (insulation between teacher's space and learners' space)** (C^{+-})
The extent to which space/s in the classroom are marked off for teacher and learners, and the strength of insulation between teacher and learners' spaces.

11. In movement between teacher and learner space	C^{++}	C^{+}	C^{-}	C^{--}
	Very bounded	Quite bounded	Quite unbounded	Very unbounded
	The teacher and learners generally remain in their own spaces. The teacher mostly remains in one space removed from the learners, and the learners remain in their seats. Sometimes a learner may approach the teacher for help with permission, or the teacher on a few occasions may approach a learner in their space.	The teacher and learners generally remain in their own spaces but do move into each others' spaces particularly to facilitate the showing of work or for discipline purposes	The teacher often enters the learners' spaces to monitor what they are doing and give assistance. Learners also regularly approach the teacher.	The teacher spends the majority of the time in close proximity to the learners, checking work, assisting, instructing, talking. She rarely sits apart from them and learners approach her frequently wherever she is.

Relations between **SUBJECTS** (learner) (C^{+-})
The extent to which the learners' roles are specialized with respect to the classroom and its practices

12. In the routine activities engaged in by the learners	C^{++}	C^{+}	C^{-}	C^{--}
	Very bounded	Quite bounded	Quite unbounded	Very unbounded
	Learners do routine instructional tasks in the classroom without being told, such as managing their own books, using activity books, packing away equipment, cleaning up.	Learners do some routine instructional tasks in the classroom of their own accord; at times the teacher reminds learners what they should do. For most of the time learners manage their own taskss.	Apart from a few tasks, learners do not do routine instructional tasks in the classroom of their own accord but on instruction from the teacher. Some of the learners / some of the time do some of the specific class tasks	Learners only do instructional activities in the classroom in response to the teacher's instruction. Learners do not pack away, assist with cleaning or engage with the toy/ learning equipment of their own accord

13. In the behaviour of the learners	C^{++}	C^{+}	C^{-}	C^{--}
	Very bounded	Quite bounded	Quite unbounded	Very unbounded
	Learners work consistently, the teacher rarely or never disciplines them or tells them to keep quiet	Learners generally work consistently. At times the teachers has to ask the learners to keep quiet or sit down.	Often the teacher battles to get learners to work quietly and consistently. Especially towards the end of a task she has to often tell learners to sit down or be quiet.	The teacher constantly tells learners to sit down or to keep quiet. All learners do not work consistently and are frequently playing, talking or out of their seats.

Appendix E: Detailed coding of the Evaluative Rules

Table A. *In the introduction/exposition to a task/activity*

Types of Activity	In the introduction			
	Kleindier	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	F+	F-	F-	F+
Structured play	F°/ F+/ F-	F-	F+/F-	F+
Free play	F°	F°	F--/F°	F+
Music and Rhyme	F--	F--	F+/F-	F+
Behavioural routines –				
preparing/packing away	F-	F-	F+/F-	F+
toilet	F+	F+	F-	-
snack time	F+	F+	F+	F+
waiting (> 5 minutes)	F--	F°	F--	-
Story time	F- -	F--	F°/ F--	F+

As Table A shows, framing of evaluative criteria in the introduction/ explanation/ exposition of a task was generally weak across all sites and most curriculum activities.

As mentioned above, during the course of the learners' conducting an activity, the evaluative criteria were also very weakly framed (for instructional, not behavioural).

Table B. *During the course of the activity*

Types of Activity	During the course of the activity			
	Kleindier	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	F- -	F+	F+	F+
Structured play	F--	F-/F+	F-	F+
Free play	F-	F-/F--	F-	F+
Music and Rhyme	F°	F-	F+	F+
Behavioural routines –	-		-	
preparing/packing away	F+	F+	F+	F+
toilet	F+/F-	F+	F++	-
snack time	F+	F+	F+	F+
waiting (> 5 minutes)	F+	F+	F++	-
Story time	F- -	F-	F+	F+

This can be seen in Table C below, where besides from the behavioural routines, and the morning ring the evaluative criteria are weakly framed during the course of the activity

Table C is a summary of the framing of evaluative criteria in the kind of verbal answers required from learners during an activity.

Table C. *In the kinds of verbal answers required of learners*

Types of Activity	In the kind of verbal answers required			
	Kleindier	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	F°	F--	F-	F-
Structured play	F°	F°	F--/ F°	F-
Free play	F°	F--	F--	F-
Music and Rhyme	F°	F°	F°	F-
Behavioural routines –				
preparing/packing away	F°	F°	F°	F-
toilet	F°	F°	F°	-
snack time	F°	F--	F°	F+
waiting (> 5 minutes)	F°	F°	F°	-
Story time	F°	F--	F--	F+

As Table C shows, this was generally very weakly framed across all sites, with many sites never the activity being coded F° as no answers at all were required from learners (no questions asked) and therefore it was coded as absent.

Table D. At the conclusion of the activity/task

Types of Activity	At the conclusion of the activity			
	Kleindier	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	F°	F--	F--	F--
Structured play	F°	F--	F--	F+
Free play	F°	F°	F--	F--
Music and Rhyme	F°	F° /F--	F--/F°	F--
Behavioural routines –				
preparing/packing away	F°	F--	F--/F°	F--
toilet	F°	F--	F°	-
snack time	F°	F--	F°	F°
waiting (> 5 minutes)	F°	F°	F°	-
Story time	F°	F°	F--	F--

Across all sites, even Maria (except in the structured play sessions) the framing of evaluative criteria at the conclusion of the activity was weakly framed. Generally, the activity ended without any commentary on what was achieved, work done or any observation of what the student/s did or did not achieve.

Appendix F: Detail of the framing of hierarchical relationships

In the physical interaction between teacher and learner

In Table A below we can see a comparison between the framing values of the hierarchical rule as shown in the physical interaction between teacher and learner.

Table A. In the physical interaction between teacher and learner

Types of Activity	In the physical interaction			
	Kleindier	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	F+	F+	F-	F-
Structured play	F+	F-	F-	F-
Free play	F+	F-	F-	F-
Music and Rhyme	F+	F+	F-	F-
Behavioural routines –	-			
preparing/packing away	F+	F-	F-	F-
toilet	F+	F+	F-	-
snack time	F+	F+/F-	F-	F-
waiting (> 5 minutes)	F+	-	F-	-
Story time	F+	F-	F-	F-

As shown above, generally across all sites the framing is relatively weak of the framing of the physical interaction between teacher and learner. What this looks like in practice is the often physically affectionate and caring interactions between teachers and learners with teachers often touching or being physically affectionate with children.

Table B. When teacher disciplines learners

Types of Activity	When teacher disciplines learners			
	Kleindier	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	F+	F+	F+	F-
Structured play	F++	F+	F+	F-
Free play	F+	F+	F+	F-
Music and Rhyme	F+	F+	F+	-
Behavioural routines –	-			
preparing/packing away	F+	F+	F+	F-
toilet	F+	F+	F+	-
snack time	F+	F+	F+	F-
waiting (> 5 minutes)	F++	-	F+	-
Story time	F+	F+	F+	F-

On the whole as is shown above discipline is relatively strong framed across all sites except Maria. Positional control is used, as opposed to personal or imperative control.

Table C: In learners' ability to move freely

Types of Activity	In the learners ability to move freely			
	Kleindier	**Kinders**	**Hope**	**Maria**
Group instruction	F++	F+	F++	F-
Structured play	F++	F-	F+	F- -
Free play	F-	F--	F-	F- -
Music and Rhyme	F+	F+/-	F+	F+
Behavioural routines –	-			
preparing/packing away	F+	F+	F++	F-/F+
toilet	F+	F+	F++	-
snack time	F++	F+	F++	F+
waiting (> 5 minutes)	F++	-	F++	-
Story time	F++	F-	F++	F-

In Table C the framing around learners ability to move freely is summarised. It is clear that largely this is strongly framed across sites – with it being particularly strong in behaviour routines and weak across all sites in free play.