A STUDY OF TEACHER ATTITUDES AS RELATED TO TEACHER
PRACTICES AT PRIMARY SCHOOL LEVEL IN SOUTH AFRICA

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**ABSTRACT**

The research reported on in this thesis investigated the nature of the relationship between teachers' attitudes and perceptions regarding the language learning/teaching process and their pedagogical practices in class, within two English as second language teaching contexts - a non-formal project and a state primary school. Both attitudes and practices were examined in relation to an educational model consisting of a bi-polar dimension, moving from a traditional, transmission-oriented perspective on teaching, to a more progressive, generative one. This model was based upon pre-existing models drawn from educational philosophy and communicative language teaching. Thus, a principle of communicative orientation underpinned the model and provided the theoretical framework for the design of the major research instruments viz. an attitude questionnaire and a classroom observation scheme. The data from these research instruments were supplemented by that obtained from more naturalistic methods such as interviews, stimulated recall and diary entries, so that data was produced that could be analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Thus, the state of the art of pedagogy in black primary classrooms was examined in terms of both the **micro-context** (pupil numbers, teacher qualifications, etc), and the **macro-context** (wider societal structures and ideology) which might have an influence on teachers' attitudes and practices in class. Alternatives to this type of pedagogy were then considered with reference to various project initiatives encouraging communicative approaches to language teaching. Finally, the implications of the study for research into teacher thinking in general, and for new roles in particular, are examined in relation to two innovative research techniques and an attitude awareness activity. The educational model is then reappraised in the light of the research findings.

**Erratum**

sic should read ibid throughout
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GLOSSARY

ANC African National Congress
CCE Centre for Continuing Education
CLT Communicative language teaching
CNE Christian National Education
C.O Communicative orientation
COLT Communicative orientation of language teaching
DET Department of Education & Training
ELTIC English language teaching information centre (Johannesburg)
ESL English as a second language
EL2 Second language speakers
FIAC Flanders Interaction Analysis Categories
FLINT Foreign Language Interaction
FOCUS Foci for Observing Communications Used in Settings
HPTC Higher Primary Teacher’s Certificate
HSRC Human Sciences Research Council
INSET In-service education and training
IPI Inset policy initiative
JPTC Junior Primary Teacher’s Certificate
JSTC Junior Secondary Teacher’s Certificate
LL/LT Language learning/language teaching
LPTC Lower Primary Teacher’s Certificate
L1 Mother tongue/first language
L2 Second language
NGO Non-governmental organization
PE People’s English
PEUP Primary Education Upgrading Project
PRESET Pre-service education and training
PTC Primary Teacher’s Certificate
SAALA Southern African Applied Linguistics Association
SELP  Schools English Language Project
SPTC  Senior Primary Teacher’s Certificate
SRC   Student’s Representative Council
SSTC  Senior Secondary Teacher's Certificate
STC   Secondary Teacher’s Certificate
Std   Standard
TALOS Target Language Observation Scheme
TELIP Teachers’ English Language Improvement Project
TL    Target Language
UNISA University of South Africa
WITS  University of the Witwatersrand
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR STUDY

The broad area within which this research lies is innovation or change in educational practice and the professionalization of teachers. The research was motivated by the need for change in the South African educational system and explored the role of the teacher as potential change agent with the main focus being on teachers’ attitudes, perceptions and practices. Teachers are in the most strategic position in the educational hierarchy as they stand at the interface between the rest of the system and the clients (learners) and in this respect offer the greatest potential as agents of change. Conversely, they could also offer the greatest resistance to change if they are excluded from the planning of the innovation process, thus considering it to be either irrelevant or beyond their own understanding and/or competence.

A necessary step towards understanding the innovation process is attitude awareness. For teachers to become agents of their own change (which is a prerequisite for change to occur elsewhere in the system) (1), they need to become consciously aware of their own perceptions of, and attitudes towards the learning/teaching process on one hand, and their practices in the classroom on the other, and what the alternatives to the latter might entail. Easen (1985) points to the need for increasing the repertoire of "ways of handling professional life", i.e. of breaking out of "stereotyped patterns" and realising that there are additional choices and that it is possible to act on them (p93). As part of a response to this need, the research conducted in this case study focused on ways of gaining access to the attitudes and practices of teachers within the contexts of two language teaching situations: a non-formal project and a state primary school. Both teaching situations involved non-native English-speaking teachers and pupils in the fifth year of primary school (Standard 3), the year in which English is introduced as medium of instruction.
South Africa is currently experiencing upheavals on all fronts: political, economic, social and educational. With reference to the last, traditional ideologies and ensuing teaching practices are being rejected as outdated and ineffective, being seen as an attempt to maintain the status quo. An alternative ideology has been taking shape over the past five years - that of Peoples’ Education for Peoples’ Power (1985/6). This movement is demanding far-reaching changes in the educational system.

Beeby’s (1986) model for stages in the growth of educational systems provides an appropriate framework within which to understand the challenge now facing the South African educational system. His work is relevant to the current situation in South Africa as his concern lies specifically with the nature of change in educational systems in developing countries. He outlines four broad stages in the growth of a Primary School system as follows:

**Stage 1: Dame School.** Teachers are ill-educated, untrained. This stage is characterised by unorganised, relatively meaningless symbols; very narrow subject content with focus on the three R’s; very low standards; memorisation is all-important.

**Stage 2: Formalism.** Teachers are ill-educated but trained. It is highly organised; symbols have limited meaning; rigid syllabus; emphasis on three R’s; rigid methods with ‘one best way’; one textbook; external examinations; inspection stressed; discipline tight and external; memorisation heavily-stressed; emotional life largely ignored.

**Stage 3: Transition.** Teachers are better-educated and trained. There are roughly the same goals as stage 2, but more efficiently achieved; more emphasis on meaning, but still rather thin and formal; syllabus and textbook less restrictive, but teachers hesitate to use greater freedom; final leaving examination often restricts experimentation; little in classroom to cater for emotional and creative life of child.
Stage 4: **Meaning.** Meaning and understanding are stressed; somewhat wider curricula; variety of content and methods; individual differences catered for; activity methods; problem-solving and creativity; internal tests; relaxed and positive discipline; emotional and aesthetic life as well as intellectual; closer relations with community; better buildings and equipment essential. (After Beeby 1986:38).

If these stages were applied to education in South Africa, it would seem that educational practice in the majority of primary schools, especially black, still lies at stage 2 - **Formalism** - revealing a rigid authoritarian ideology with strict control of both teachers and pupils (see 2.1). This extends to INSET activities, especially those run by the State - Formal INSET - which has traditionally used the centralised course approach with very little post-course follow-up in schools (see 2.3.4.2). The main focus of INSET activities in South Africa has been, and still is on skills acquisition: the formal upgrading of qualifications, both professional and academic, and improvement of own language skills. In addition, state-controlled courses normally carry promotion for teachers so that they naturally appear more attractive than non-formal INSET courses run by the private sector which cannot offer the same benefits. Chapter two provides an overview of the history of black education, state ideology, and the state-of-the-art in terms of the pedagogy practised in black primary schools.

Since 1985, however, there has been a proliferation of organizations offering non-formal INSET, in tandem with the demand for greater equality of education by the Peoples’ Movement (see 3.2). These courses are an attempt to uplift and empower the people by introducing new ideas and teaching methods and upgrading the qualifications of teachers. Their goal is Beeby’s fourth stage - **Meaning** - but have probably only just begun to reach his third stage - **Transition** - in the institutions where they have influence. As Beeby notes, change in the quality of classroom practice "is a matter of growth" (p37). He goes on to note that:
Planners who have not had extensive experience in educational administration rarely understand how difficult it is for teachers to change their classroom practice. They seldom know the type of in-service training that is necessary to help average and below-average teachers make even limited changes...Planners often grossly underestimate the time it will take to bring about real change in classroom practice. (p37)

Chapter three describes the alternative educational paradigm taking root in South Africa and traces its origin through the resistance movement and the establishment of People’s Education, to the project initiatives which are attempting to help teachers cope with new roles. The language teaching model underlying the research is then discussed in relation to the above changes.

Easen (1985) believes that teachers "actively shape the curriculum that pupils actually experience " (p6) and that any change in this experience is linked in some way to change on the part of the teacher. Curriculum development, then, is a function of professional development on the part of teachers which, in turn, is a function of the development of individuals. Easen thus identifies a link between educational change, professional development and personal development.

The traditional model of INSET programmes, however, has tended to neglect the improvement of a teacher’s personal circumstances. Before teachers can be expected to respond to the more recent calls for change in the nature of INSET programmes, they need to grow both academically and professionally. The challenge offered by Peoples’ Education for Peoples’ Power is for a more progressive and relevant model of education, i.e. Beeby’s fourth stage - Meaning. However, change

..is a slow and ragged process that does not proceed uniformly on all fronts. Teachers are the frontline troops of change and progress
depends on their own education, motivation and freedom to innovate. (Beeby 1986:37)

Yet in South Africa

Seldom is there any recognition that teachers might be positive change agents in their own right, or that they might constitute a significant resource for INSET. (Van Den Berg 1987:21)

Contrary to viewing teachers as recipients of policies determined by education departments, it should be recognised that teachers need to be agents of their own change with direct involvement in planning both content and methodology of their courses. Referring to school-centred INSET, Easen (1985) makes the point that "it is not about transmitting the values and interests of external agencies into the school", but of the school "negotiating its own values and agendas for action" (p137). He feels that the external agencies should be called upon only to "service those teachers who have realised their own power and wish to create change for themselves" (sic).

Eraut, quoted in Van Den Berg (1987), describes the issue thus:

Is our prime concern with in-service training in which a teacher employee is told what to do and how to do it? Or is it with in-service education in which a teacher professional is supported in his task of trying to answer the questions for himself? (p1)

For Easen (1985), critical self-awareness has a key place in in-service work. He cites Mezirow who points out that a person’s behaviour is shaped by his/her perspective (p69). Where old knowledge is reorganised in a new way so as to transform old attitudes and perspectives, we have what he terms ‘paradigm change’ as opposed to ‘pendulum change’, which involves abandoning one set of certainties for another without question. Easen adds that curriculum change implies paradigm
change "as real changes in behaviour, as opposed to superficial or short-term changes, are often the result of a change in perspective (or paradigm)" (sic).

Van Den Berg (1987) goes on to mention two major reasons why INSET strategies in South Africa need to be based on the active involvement of teachers. The first is that these strategies seem to be more successful, and the second is that:

..within an autocratic society those who are concerned about INSET and who also claim to support the democratization of South African society must be committed to the empowerment of teachers and not their continued subjugation. (1987:26)

This focus on the teacher as change agent and professional highlights the need for attitude awareness and sensitivity to practices in the classroom.

1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The educational model used as the underlying conceptual framework in this research, and which underpinned the design of the research instruments, both empirical and ethnographic, was that of the transmission versus generative teaching dichotomy. It was conceptualised as a bi-polar construct moving from a more traditional, formal perspective on teaching, to a more progressive, informal one. Two pre-existing models, one from the domain of educational philosophy and the other, embodying a set of pedagogic ideas, informed this educational model. The first was Dewey's (1938) classic distinction between traditional and progressive views of education, which included different characterizations of the nature of knowledge and of instruction. In the traditional view, knowledge is seen as an objective, well-defined body of information detached from human subjectivity and to be transmitted intact. The progressive perspective views knowledge as emerging from a process of interpretation and clarification of meanings. In the present study, this dichotomy is referred to as the pedagogic model, on a transmission versus generative teaching dimension. This dimension
is then elaborated by Beeby's (1986) model of the stages in the growth of a primary school system, moving from stage 1 (Dame school), through stage 2 (Formalism) and stage 3 (Transition) to stage 4 (Meaning), i.e. from transmission to generative teaching, which is set out in detail below.

The second model is that of the communicative approach to language teaching (CLT) (see 3.4.1) operationalised by Allen, Frohlich & Spada's (1983) second language teaching observation scheme - the COLT (Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching) (see 6.1.4 & 6.2), which contains a dimension of communicative orientation (C.O.) which moves from low C.O. to high C.O. The categories of the COLT scheme were thus designed in such a way as to capture both communicative and non-communicative aspects of language teaching. Thus, movement from Beeby's stage 1 through to stage 4 would be a movement from low to high C.O.

Necessary simplifying assumptions were made in the initial conceptualisation of the model, especially in terms of the absolute polarity created between transmission versus generative perspectives on teaching, and low versus high C.O., as it was intended as an operational model with an enabling function, to be applied to a particular educational setting in order to capture data which could then be used to critically reappraise the model itself. Thus, elements in the data uncovered by the model that did not ‘fit’ as it were, were not ignored but used instead to challenge the model. The application of this model to particular circumstances then, was a dialectical process which left open the possibility of revision of the particular educational and pedagogic principles underlying the model. It was hoped that in this way the present study would make an important contribution to the discovery of the relationship between a fixed, universal model, and the particular circumstances and setting to which it was applied. The main questions guiding the application of the model, therefore, were the following: (1) How useful is the model for discovering and adequately describing a teacher's particular pedagogy in the classroom? and (2) To what extent is the model questioned by the very pedagogy which it aims to discover and describe? Conclusions concerning the
feasibility of the application of the model to specific circumstances, and the implications of this, are discussed in chapter 7 (see 7.6.1).

In this thesis, the terms pedagogic model and language teaching model are used to denote specific aspects of the educational model underlying this research. The pedagogic model thus refers to the transmission versus generative dimension — variously referred to as traditional versus progressive and formal versus informal in the literature (Bennett 1976). The language teaching model refers specifically to the communicative orientation dimension as embodied in the COLT observation scheme. The term educational model, therefore, will be used to refer to the broad conceptual framework underlying the research as a whole.

1.2.1 Pedagogic Model

The pedagogic model selected for this study was intended to reflect opposing ideologies in the struggle for equal and effective education in South Africa, and in this respect is relevant to research conducted in the area of teacher education.

Paolo Freire (1972) coined the term ‘banking education’ to describe what Barnes (1976) refers to as a ‘transmission’ mode of teaching. Freire’s work was forged out of a third world learning/teaching situation in response to the need for change in established mainstream schooling practices, and, as such, has relevance for the current socio-political situation in South Africa. The South African literature identifies this type of teaching as an ‘authoritarian-dependency’ tradition (Young 1987a; MacDonald 1987; Hofmeyr & Pavlich 1987; Hartshorne 1987a; Mehl 1987) or the ‘rote-rhythm method’ (Macdonald 1990a), which describe essentially the same phenomenon: the teacher is in the position of ‘expert’ or ‘knower’ who ‘transmits’ information to passive pupils who ‘receive’ this knowledge unquestioningly. Accordingly, the teacher controls all interaction, strictly managing pupil response. The pattern of interaction thus established has been called the IRF pattern, (initiation-response-feedback) (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). This type of pedagogy thus allows no pupil initiative and very little peer-sharing. In Young’s
(1987a) terms "the teacher authorises knowledge rather than negotiating it with students" (p170). This corresponds to the first two stages of Beeby's (1986) model, i.e. Dame school and Formalism.

Freire's (1972) alternative to this transmission mode of teaching is what he terms "a problem-solving approach" to education, designed to lead to 'conscientization' and, ultimately, social transformation. This approach consists of 'acts of cognition' rather than 'transfers of information', in which the teacher is seen as 'animator', providing the impetus for interpretation and critical thinking. Barnes (1976) termed this 'interpretation' teaching, requiring "student freedom in using language in exploratory ways in informal, peer group controlled situations, wherein pupils themselves authorise the forms of language and what counts as valuable..knowledge in curricula terms" (Young 1987a: 171). This type of teaching has been variously referred to as an "egalitarian, decentralised mode of interaction" (Chick 1991); a 'constructivist epistemology' (Mehl 1987), reflecting a 'generative', 'interpretation' (MacDonald 1987; Ellis 1984a) view of teaching involving pupils actively in exploratory learning, which Freire (1972) termed a 'problem-posing' approach to education. This corresponds to Beeby's fourth stage in his model, i.e. Meaning.

Werner and Bower (1982), in a manual aimed specifically at instructors for health workers, outline three approaches to education: the 'conventional', the 'progressive' and the 'liberating'. The 'conventional' approach corresponds to Freire's 'banking education', and is described as "authoritarian, with rigid top-down control", the aim being to get people to conform to the status quo. It creates dependency in both teacher and learner thus inhibiting creativity. The 'progressive' approach is described as "paternalistic, with kindly top-down control", the aim being to 'pacify' people and teach them to reform themselves. This approach, although appearing to be supportive, still resists real change. The 'liberating' approach is described as "humanitarian and democratic, whereby the people themselves are in control". The aim here is to create autonomous, independent,
creative learners which would ultimately lead to the transformation of society itself. This corresponds to Freire's 'problem-posing' approach.

The pedagogic model outlined above provides the theoretical justification for the choice of research contexts. The first context, the school, reflects a transmission teaching mode in which learning consists of committing facts to memory, and the non-formal project, a more generative, exploratory mode, in which pupils learn through developing 'processing strategies' (Harlen 1985) which enable them to "interact with things about them and with the ideas of others" (Macdonald 1987:3).

Lawton (1983) distinguishes between three basic educational ideologies in relation to curriculum development: classical humanism, progressivism and reconstructionism. The first is 'knowledge and culture-centred' with the implication that it might not be relevant to all cultures; the second is 'child-centred', having its origins in Rousseau’s classical work, Emile, and which places emphasis on discovery, with childhood needing to be regarded as an important period in its own right, and not necessarily as a preparation for adulthood (see 2.3.3.1); and the third is 'society-centred', where education is seen as a way of improving society, providing opportunities for growth. With reference to the pedagogical model above, we could say that 'classical humanism' applies to the model used in South African education, which is essentially transmission-oriented, and 'progressivism' and 'reconstructionism' apply to various aspects of the alternative model expressed through various project initiatives and the movement known as People's Education for People's Power, especially with its emphasis on 'collective learning' (see 3.2).

The pedagogic model is especially relevant to an investigation into teacher attitudes and practices, as the rote-learning, transmission perspective has been the traditional one in operation in state education since 1953 (see 2.1 & 2.3.1), whilst the generative view represents the move towards alternative education in South Africa as reflected in the Peoples' Education Movement (see 3.2).
Kuhn (1970) refers to the frame of reference which a ‘community of specialists’ share at a particular moment in history, as a ‘paradigm’. This paradigm is a ‘disciplinary matrix’ wherein the ideas, problems and actual mode of working will reveal shared and consistent assumptions, beliefs, values and ways of interpreting experience (p182-210). The pedagogic model outlined above reflects two different paradigms, i.e. two different sets of beliefs and values leading to two different approaches towards the LL/LT process, viz. transmission teaching versus a more generative approach. For Kuhn, ‘revolution in science’ is a period when one paradigm is replaced by another, the intervening, transition phase being termed a ‘confusing’ period of paradigm shift, wherein the new paradigm may be either assimilated into the prevailing one and adapted by teachers and other educationalists (cf. Olson 1981), thereby reflecting a resistance to change and/or protection of vested interests, or replace the previous paradigm entirely (i.e. total transformation - Hofmeyr 1991). With reference to English language teaching in South Africa, we may say that the erstwhile paradigm, the traditional transmission model, is still in force in black primary schools, but that the alternative, generative paradigm embodied in communicative language teaching, is gradually gaining ground, as reflected in the syllabus itself (see 4.3.2.1), more recent courses introduced at this level and in various project initiatives (see 3.5).

1.2.2 Language Teaching Model

The second language classroom was selected as a research context as English is used as medium of instruction for other subjects in primary school from the fifth year (Std 3), which would necessitate a certain level of fluency on the part of both teachers and pupils (see 2.2.4). The ESL classroom would be the obvious training ground for this as it would provide the context for research into whether, in fact, the focus of the learning/teaching process was on language in use with emphasis on its communicative features (see 3.4.1). Furthermore, English language courses written for the lower primary school since 1983 have increasingly incorporated communicative features into their course design, with the resulting emphasis on
group work, genuine information gap and interactive tasks (see Kroes 1987 for a full review of these courses).

If the communicative features contained in the course books and required by the use of English as medium of instruction were noticeably absent, then the ESL classroom context would provide an opportunity for exploring the extent to which teachers’ attitudes and perceptions affected classroom practices.

**Communicative orientation** was selected as one of the dimensions underlying the theoretical models, as it reflected the movement through the stages of growth in Beeby’s (1986) model, and the various categories in the COLT scheme. Furthermore, this choice naturally pointed to the communicative approach or communicative language teaching (CLT) as the obvious candidate for the language teaching model. This model complements Beeby’s fourth stage, placing emphasis, as it does, on "activity methods, problem solving, and creativity" (Beeby 1986:38).

The communicative orientation principle was perceived as a continuum moving from **low communicative orientation** at one end, to **high communicative orientation** at the other. It was thus divided into two basic constructs, corresponding to the polarization reflected in the pedagogic model.

With reference to English Second Language teaching, the traditional, authoritarian, transmission type of teaching has given rise to a heavy emphasis on skill learning in terms of grammatical rules and explanations and accuracy work (in the teacher’s terms) (Brumfit 1984) (see 2.2.4). A **low** communicative orientation would reflect this type of education.

The generative perspective on education, on the other hand, is embodied in the communicative approach to language teaching, with emphasis on the teacher as facilitator, encouraging autonomy and independence in her pupils thereby helping them to "take an active part in managing their own learning" (Ellis 1984a:65). The emphasis here lies on **process** as opposed to the product of language teaching.
(Brumfit 1980) (see 3.4.1). A **high** communicative orientation would reflect this view of education. Below is a summary of the characteristics of the two basic parameters.

**Interpretation view: high communicative orientation**

- teacher as facilitator
- pupils share in managing own learning
- emphasis on how to learn - process
- cooperative negotiation, joint interpretation and a sharing of expression
- group/pair work
- pupils initiate discourse, propose own ideas and actively explore materials
- questions and responses are open with genuine information gap
- caters for individual style and pace of learning
- grammar is taught from the interactive point of view stressing fluency

**Transmission view: low communicative orientation**

- teacher as knower
- teacher controls topic, materials and interaction
- emphasis on the what of learning - product
- IRF interaction pattern predominates
- pupil responses limited to choral work and repetition
- questions are closed with very little information gap
- teacher functions as assessor
- focus on skills-acquisition in terms of grammatical rules and explanations and accuracy of form

(see 2.1 & 3.4.1 for clarification of the above characteristics).
1.3 RESEARCH CONTEXTS

The research contexts - a state primary school and a non-formal extramural project - both involved the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL) to primary school pupils in the urban black community in Soweto, Johannesburg. The state primary school reflected the second stage of Beeby's (1986) model (Formalism), where authority remains unquestioned, reinforcing the status quo and where there is hardly any room for innovation or personal initiative.

The non-formal project, embodying as it did the principles of both CLT and a generative view of education, approximated the fourth stage of Beeby's growth model (Meaning) in which "meaning and understanding are stressed with greater variety of content and methods" (p38). This is reflected clearly in the aims of the project which were:

- to enable children to find their voices outside the constraints of the school system
- to develop children's confidence and sense of self-worth
- to develop ESL teaching materials for the above
- to train teachers to implement the above

Although the project was specifically targeted at Std 3 pupils in Soweto, in an attempt to provide them with experience of a more communicatively-based language course, it also fulfilled an INSET function as it attempted to raise consciousness regarding teacher attitudes and perceptions in terms of the language learning/teaching process (see 4.3 for a detailed description of the research context).

It was felt that an investigation into attitudes and practices within contexts representing different stages of Beeby's growth model would reveal important insights into teachers' attitudes (a) towards the status quo (traditional teaching) and (b) towards change and innovative ideas, as reflected in a more generative,
exploratory type of learning. It would also reveal those attitudes which were flexible and more open to change and those which were resistant to t.

1.4 RESEARCH AIMS

The general aim of the research was to determine the nature of the relationship between teacher attitudes and perceptions regarding the language learning/teaching process, and their actual practices/behaviours in the classroom. The assumption was that attitudes and perceptions predetermine, in important ways, the types of interaction occurring in class and thereby influence learning (Ellis 1984 personal communication).

If this could be shown to be a valid assumption then it would follow that unless there is a fundamental change in attitudes and perceptions, there is no guarantee that teachers will use innovative approaches in their teaching, however 'teacher-friendly' they may be. In other words, there is no guarantee that a teacher will use new materials or methods in the classroom without a fundamental understanding of the principles of language learning/teaching which they embody or of the particular educational ideology which they reflect, and without a fundamental understanding of her own perceptions of, and attitudes towards, these principles and ideological perspectives. Above all, the teacher has to experience for herself the need for change.

Related assumptions concerning teachers' beliefs, the influence of differing ideologies on attitudes, and attitude change in different contexts, are set out more fully in 4.2.6.2 & 5.1.2).

1.5 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

In order to gain access to teachers' perceptions, attitudes and practices, two basic research instruments were used which, by nature of their constructs, would be
capable of reflecting the fundamental polarity between an authoritarian type of education and a generative, exploratory perspective. These were:

1) an attitude survey consisting of a questionnaire administered in an interview situation, and

2) a classroom observation instrument designed for systematic observation of teacher practices specifically in the second language classroom.

In addition, unstructured observation with fieldnotes and informal interviews were used in the initial phase of the study, and interviews, including triangulation in the form of stimulated recall (Lincoln & Guba 1985) in which teachers comment on part of their lessons which are played back to them on video, and diary entries, offered further data of a more qualitative nature, in order to confirm the researcher's interpretations by checking them against those of the respondents (see 4.2.4).

The research design in this study was thus both qualitative and quantitative, with the data from the former being used to supplement and validate the data from the latter. Chapter 4 describes the major theoretical paradigms and approaches informing the present research design, and provides a description of the data collection phase of the study itself.

1.5.1 The Attitude Questionnaire

The attitude questionnaire was based on the distinction between the two different perspectives on education embodied in the pedagogic model, and also reflected elements of Beeby's (1986) growth stages, especially Formalism and Meaning. It was therefore designed according to low and high communicative orientation in order to relate the findings to those of the COLT scheme. It was assumed that if teachers' attitudes and perceptions regarding their role and task could be altered, then their attitudes and perceptions regarding their presentation of content and
related teaching practices would also change, which would then be reflected in their teaching behaviours in the classroom. The items in the questionnaire thus focused on teachers’ attitudes towards, and perceptions of, their task responsibilities including aims and objectives of lessons, their specific role in the classroom, the syllabus and methodology used, and the pupils (see 5.1 & 5.1.3 for a discussion of the theory from which these items were derived). Each category (and its subcategories) were assigned either a low or high communicative orientation value. Definitions of attitude and a survey of various attitude studies are provided in chapter 5 (see 5.1), together with an in-depth analysis of the results of the individual teacher’s responses to the attitude questionnaire.

1.5.2 The Classroom Observation Instrument

The observation instrument was the Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT) originally designed by Allen, Frohlich and Spada in 1983. Spada (1987) describes the original research using the COLT scheme as a "process-product study, investigating possible relationships between instructional differences and learning outcomes" (p137). The categories of the COLT were based on a comprehensive review of the literature on communicative competence, communicative language teaching and recent research into first and second language acquisition (see 6.2).

For Allen et al (1983), competence involved the following components: grammatical, discourse and sociolinguistic (p4). These components are operationally defined and set out as categories and subcategories on analysis or coding sheets and are thus easy to analyze for the purpose of creating profiles of communicative behaviour. In keeping with its theoretical underpinnings, the COLT stresses aspects of communicative behaviour such as genuine information gap, sustained discourse, pupil participation and independence - all those aspects of learning/teaching which comprise Beeby’s (1986) Meaning stage, reflecting an active, exploratory, generative perspective. For this reason, the COLT provides a useful and sensitive instrument for describing behaviours which could then be
related to either one or other of the perspectives on education embodied in the pedagogic model underlying this research. The distinction between high and low communicative orientation (upon which the attitude questionnaire was constructed) also reflected this polarity, and most of the COLT categories were capable of being assigned to either the high or low end of the continuum (see 6.2). In chapter 6, the position of this study in relation to general research using classroom observation is discussed (see 6.1), together with a description of the research procedure carried out, and an in-depth analysis of each teacher’s lessons.

1.5.3 The wheel profile

In the final analysis of various lessons, Mackey’s (1965) ‘method profile’ was used, which should, according to Mackey, "...enable us to see all the characteristics of a method together" (p317). In the present study, the profile was adapted in order to show trends in communicative orientation of particular lessons with particular teachers. It also revealed clusters of behaviours, i.e. those behaviours which tended to co-occur together (such as high teacher control of interaction and materials with minimal responses from pupils and chorus work) (see 7.4.1.1). Providing as it does an accessible visual image of a teacher’s style of teaching in a particular lesson, the profile or ‘wheel’ offers a useful means of comparing one lesson with another, and one teacher with another (see 6.5.5 & overlays in Appendix 6e). As far as can be ascertained, the use of the wheel or profile in order to reveal clusters of teacher behaviours in terms of communicative orientation is an innovative technique. Using the COLT over several lessons thus provides a pattern of teaching behaviours which can then be generalised into a profile of a particular teacher’s style. This was done in the present study and the results were then correlated with the findings from the attitude questionnaire.

The correlation of attitudes and practices produced a rank order for the teachers (see 7.1 & 7.2). In chapter 7, the implications of this are considered, together with the implications of the findings of, and procedures used in the study, for teaching in new roles and for future research of this nature. The chapter concludes by
highlighting the need for attitude awareness and reflection on practices in order to facilitate pedagogical change in teachers.

Before considering teacher attitudes and practices in detail, however, it is necessary to examine the context, or "ecosystem" (Erickson 1986) within which teachers work, as this has an important influence on attitude and behaviour. The following chapter examines this context in terms of the major influences operating on black education in general, and the classroom in particular.

NOTES

1. A challenge to this assumption comes from Georgiades & Phillimore (cited in Easen) who maintain that change is slow because of the "continued emphasis upon training as the predominant change strategy - pre- and in-service training" (p161). They consider this emphasis on training misguided, based, as it is, on the assumption that since work organizations are comprised of individuals, the organization can be changed by changing its individual members. They go on to cite evidence of research to support their view from both "generalised psychological research related to the nature of resistance to change at the workplace" (sic), and specific research into the evaluation of training programmes.

Perhaps this is a case of the 'chicken/egg' syndrome. The organization, and the interrelationships within it, need to be considered in any strategy for innovation, yet it might be simpler to begin with consciousness-raising on the part of the individuals who constitute that organization, so that they may come to support the innovation by gradually 'owning' it. This is the position taken up by Easen (1985), who sees curriculum change as having "a personal dimension for each teacher.
involved, and an institutional dimension created by the interaction of all those involved” (p8).

2. Critiques of Beeby’s stages in educational growth have been few. The main arguments seem to be that his thesis is ‘outdated’ (Jansen 1988) and ‘unquestioningly accepted’ (Guthrie 1980). However, Gale (1989) makes the point that this relative lack of criticism may be due to the fact that those involved in education in developing countries find that Beeby’s stages actually do reflect their basic experience in this area, a point with which this writer fully concurs.
Pedagogy is simultaneously about the details of what students and others might do together and the cultural politics such practices support. Thus, to propose a pedagogy is to propose a political vision. (Simon cited in Peirce 1989:408)

In this chapter, the current state-of-the-art in terms of the pedagogy practised in black primary schools will be presented. In other words, we will be considering what "students and others...do together" in the classroom. We will then move to a consideration of the factors, both external and internal to the classroom, which have been identified in the literature as having an influence on this pedagogy, i.e. the 'cultural politics such practices support'. In chapter 3 we will consider the alternatives to such pedagogy, both in terms of resistance to the status quo (in both historical and practical terms) which naturally proposes its own 'political vision', and in terms of various innovations which have been attempted in order to improve both the quality and relevance of education for black primary children. We now turn to a consideration of those factors which have had an influence on the teacher's situation in the school and in the classroom, factors which Simons (1986) perceives as "wider social structures, dominant ideologies and material conditions (which) are seen as influencing, shaping and constraining...meanings (of human actors)" (p7). According to this perspective then, attitudes and perceptions are perceived of as being subject to external influence.

Focusing on the teacher necessitates a consideration of the micro-contexts and macro-contexts within which the teacher operates (what Erickson (1986) refers to as the 'ecosystem' and Shulman (1986) terms 'the classroom ecology' - see 4.2.2 & 4.2.4.1), both of which significantly affect teacher attitudes and performance.
This influence naturally extends to the microcosm of the classroom and becomes manifest in the nature of the learning/teaching processes which the participants experience. Simons (1986), in his investigation into classroom communication and schooling, proposes that classroom practices are influenced by an underlying set of assumptions, attitudes and values inculcated by black teacher-training and schooling, along with the material conditions of the pedagogical workplace (piii). He thus perceives these ‘practices and patterns’ while being ‘shaped and constrained’ by the teachers’ and pupils’ own biographies, education and training (Dunkin & Biddle’s 1974 presage variables), as the ‘outcome of wider structural determinants’ (sic). These ‘structural determinants’ will be found in the micro and macro-contexts mentioned above and are implicit in the following questions which will guide the discussion throughout this chapter:

1) What is the predominant pedagogy (or mode of teaching) in the classroom and why do teachers persist in it despite evidence of pupil failure and exposure to new styles?

2) What is the nature of the micro-context created by the respective participants in the classroom in terms of pressures, problems and difficulties?

3) In which ways does the macro-context (historical, political, economic) influence pedagogy in the classroom?

Obviously the issues underlying these questions are not discrete as there can be mutual influence between 2 and 3 which join forces to influence 1. Thus, one perspective on schooling found in the literature is that educational institutions are ‘agents of society’ and mirror, rather than cause, societal structures and changes (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Thus, the participants in these institutions merely reproduce dominant social structures, thereby reflecting the covert ideology underlying them. Simons (1986) believes that educational institutions, on an ideological and ‘cultural’ level, “have inculcated teachers and students with a set of taken-for-granted assumptions, ideologies and perspectives, which guide and
shape their practices" (p5). These ‘ideologies and perspectives’ he locates within a ‘positivist’ tradition, which, according to Simons "presupposes a passive and deterministic view of human beings" (p6). A challenge to this perspective comes from Alexander (1983) who perceives a link between political and educational change. Referring to the educational struggle in South Africa, he mentions that, historically, "practical interventions by independent educational instances have been a major contributory factor to the growth of political consciousness among our people" (p35/6). This perspective has been derived from Symbolic Interactionism or Social Phenomenology (Simons 1986:6) (see 4.2.2) and treats human intentionality and subjective meaning as "a valid starting point for the reconstruction of knowledge" (p6).

These two perspectives parallel a ‘consensus’ versus a ‘conflict’ view of society (Kallaway, 1987; Christie, 1985) where the former perceives the state as the "neutral representative of the collective will of all the individual members of society" so that schooling is essentially for the promotion of individual rights and needs, and is thus seen to be working towards the ‘national good’ (Kallaway 1987:29). Policy decisions are made and implemented at the macro-level which is essentially a ‘top-down’ model that does not invite negotiation or feedback. Innovations are often ‘teacher-proof’ in order to reduce resistance, and learners are regarded as passive recipients of information. There is no systems analysis to explain error or failure. This model essentially serves to maintain the status quo and is thus more likely to ‘mirror’ the environment external to it. Bernstein (1977) argues that educational institutions such as schools are primary agents of social control as they attempt to socialize people into accepting the status quo as legitimate. In the South African context, for example, the state seeks to reproduce the dominant ideology of Christian National Education (CNE) which stresses the existing order as based on consensus (see 2.3.3.1). The ‘conflict’ view, however, holds that the state "is essentially an expression of the interests of specific groups of society" and is thus open to challenge by other interest groups (Kallaway 1987:29). The ideology of the state gets ‘institutionalised’ thereby creating conflicts with the ideologies of other sub-groups in the system, a good example of
this being that of People's Education for People's Power (see 3.2). In this view, educational innovation from the 'bottom up' is seen as having an influence on change in the wider society as teachers become 'catalysers' or 'promoters' of change, while their learners take on the role of active creators of knowledge.

These opposing views on education have implications for the relationship obtaining between questions 2 and 3 outlined above. If the micro-context of the school, and the classroom within it, merely serves to reflect the macro-context, then the pedagogy practised in the classroom is unlikely to change without there being prior changes in the external society of which the school is a part. If, however, schools and their participants are seen as potential agents of change, being capable of influencing the macro-structure of society, then the locus of responsibility for change and innovation shifts to the educational arena with ensuing consequences for all those directly involved in education. This places control of the pedagogy practised in the classroom within the reach of the teacher (and pupils). The broad assumption underlying this study is that human beings, and wider societal forces, are both responsible for constructing meaning, and change, in their particular social environments. As Simons (1986) puts it: "there is a dialectical interaction between human agency and structural forces which are historically rooted" (p6). Thus, although human beings are "conscious, reflexive creators of meaning", they are still constrained by wider social structures and personal experience or 'biographies' (sic).

The rest of this chapter will consider the state-of-the-art regarding the particular type of pedagogy practised in South African black primary schools. It will then move to a consideration of the micro-context of the school and classroom, identifying problems and difficulties which both teachers and pupils experience and which could have a considerable influence on pedagogy. Finally, the influence of factors in the macro-context will be discussed in terms of their influence on practices in the classroom and on the micro-context, the material conditions in which both pupils and teachers find themselves.
2.1 PEDAGOGY IN THE BLACK PRIMARY CLASSROOM: STATE-OF-THE-ART

The most pervasive characteristic of schooling in South Africa is rote-learning, the reproduction of teacher or textbook facts, the reliable recall of the words of others, the reproduction of dominant social structures, and incorporation into the status quo (Morrow 1989:151). This is the opposite of what Freire (1972) terms 'conscientization' or the promotion of critical thinking. This type of pedagogy is not unique to South Africa as Hawes (1979) has illustrated regarding the state-of-the-art in other parts of Africa.

Young (1987a) finds that teachers 'enjoy' talking for much of the lesson in the belief that teacher-talk ensures control over the flow of knowledge, thus ensuring discipline (p170) ('). Exploratory, student-centred learning is often seen as risky. In Barnes' (1976) view, transmission modes of teaching occur when the teacher controls the one-way flow of information and pupil response (if any). Questions tend to be 'closed', being of a fact-seeking nature (see, for example, Appendix 6a, Transcript 6, Excerpt 1 and Transcript 11).

On the topic of questioning behaviour, Delamont (1976) argues that teachers need to be trained to ask different types of questions. Citing the work carried out on the Ford Teaching Project (Elliott & Adelman 1975), she describes how a typology of teaching strategies were developed by the project team that allowed the relationship between teacher, pupils' knowledge base and questioning strategy that lies at the heart of classroom negotiations, to be clearly seen. She goes on to cite Walker & Adelman who located their teaching strategies along two dimensions: definition and open versus closed content. Definition refers to the degree of specification of the pupil's role, where high definition refers to 'providing the right answers'. The second dimension refers to the organization of lesson content in relation to
the pupils. If it is left open, then the pupil is genuinely engaged in negotiating knowledge. If closed, then the content is organised into tight, logical steps over which the pupil has no control. Walker & Adelman found that focusing was the norm where the pupil's role was to provide 'right' answers which were logically determined by the teacher (i.e. closed content). This framework can be clearly seen operating in the individual teacher's lessons in the present study, where the lead-in lessons of the project (see 4.3.1.2), with the focus on exploration and discussion of pictures, provided open content with low definition, whereas most of the school lessons, and most of the project's accurate reproduction lessons provided closed content with high definition of pupil role (see 6.6).

A prominent feature of the South African version of transmission teaching is the chorusing/chanting behaviour of pupils in response to cues from the teacher. This is clearly evident in the data collected for this research study, especially in the lessons of Teachers 3 & 4, the school teachers (see Appendix 6a, Transcripts 6-14). Chick (1991) regards this as 'collusive' behaviour on the part of both teacher and pupils "to hide their poor command of English; obscure their inadequate understanding of academic content, and maintain a facade of effective learning taking place" (p18). For Macdonald (1990a), this cycle of chanting allows pupils to "disengage their attention", so that very little learning takes place at all. In her investigation into the use of English as a second language and as medium of instruction in black primary schools, Macdonald (1990a) notes that the method has "several disconcerting ritualized aspects" which she identifies as "chorusing or chanting where pupils repeat spontaneously the last word/structure the teacher has just said, often without cues, or reply in the affirmative to teacher's (superficial) checking of understanding" (p135).

Chick (1991) isolates two types of cues to this behaviour: the first involves the use of a set of yes/no questions requiring a generally affirmative response from the pupils. Chick identifies this as a signal confirming participation rather than a genuine request on the part of the teacher to gauge the level of understanding in her pupils. The second kind involves the use of a rising tone on the end of
accented syllables which normally requires completion, with known information, by the pupils. The fact that the information chorused is usually known suggests that "the primary function of the chorusing elicited by this kind of cue is social" (Chick 1991:11). Examples of this abound in the data from this study (see especially Appendix 6a, Transcript 6, Excerpt 1, Transcript 8, Excerpt 1 and Transcript 11 for chanting behaviour, and Transcript 11 for superficial checking of understanding). The tag /me? with a rising pitch signals an affirmative response from pupils, which Macdonald (1990a) perceives as the teacher getting the pupils to indicate their attention, thereby keeping them focused on the lesson content (p83). She goes on to add that "the teacher's intention...is that children's responses correspond closely with what the teacher said or intended. Evidence of independent thought...would be sufficient to startle the teacher" (p83/4).

Another strategy with the same purpose is where the teacher pauses before completing her sentence with a rising pitch on the penultimate word and waits for the pupils to supply the last word in chorus with her (see transcript 11 lines 29/30). An example of this ritualized behaviour, when taken to the extreme, is where pupils respond to the ritual itself, i.e. to the various cues, rather than to the meaning of what the teacher is saying so that what results is either incorrect or illogical. An example of this can be found in Appendix 6a Transcript 9. Examples such as these concur with the findings from Chick & Claude's (1985) study, which are discussed below in terms of cultural influences on classroom teaching (see 2.2.2) (?).

Macdonald (1990a) finds that the most worrying aspect of the method is "its capacity to mask the absence of comprehension" (p135). This chanting behaviour occurs most frequently in the language classrooms, when pupils rehearse language patterns and engage in drill work (see Appendix 6a, Transcript 6 and Transcript 14 for examples of drill work). However, it seems that the paradigm case in subject teaching is not less ritualised (see Appendix 6a, Transcript 9). The teacher gives oral input on a topic often accompanied by a demonstration or visual aid, and then pupils copy down teacher's notes from the textbook, written on the board, which
will later be memorised for tests. Sometimes "pupils may answer teacher's factual questions on the passage in the words of the passage which they did not understand... they may not know what the words mean but they do know that they are the words which the teacher wants" (Macdonald 1990a:143). This leads to what Macdonald terms 'loss of meaning', an example of which can be found in Appendix 6a Transcript 14. In this way, "behaviour which looks very much like understanding can and does take place" (sic). This kind of teaching forms a closed loop in which the teacher is safe as controller of knowledge (5).

Christie (1985), citing Bernstein's (1971) work on social class, emphasises the fact that very often teaching methods embody a hidden curriculum. Teachers 'deposit' knowledge into the 'empty' minds of their pupils where the latter's role is simply to pay attention to and memorise what the teacher says. Knowledge is thus treated as an object "a commodity that can be exchanged" instead of something which people create (p154). Freire (1972) refers to this as "education for domestication". Pupils are not given the opportunity to think or discover things for themselves and are not encouraged to develop critical awareness. Freire goes on to point out that if we want social change then we need to develop new forms of education which would be based on collective learning (dialogue) with teachers and pupils as active co-participants in the learning situation. This concurs with Alexander's (1983) view outlined above that challenge to the status quo in terms of innovation in education can initiate changes in the wider society. In the introduction to his book, Morrow (1989) on a more philosophical note, proposes that:

The concept of a practice is central to an understanding of social reality...social reality is a web of practices...Thus, to transform social reality (or some aspect of it such as South African schooling), is to transform the web of practices which constitute it. A main contribution to the transformation of practices will be the transformation of the forms of understanding which nourish, sustain and animate those practices. (px)
He goes on to argue that one overwhelming effect of the South African schooling system is:

to teach people that it is grossly unwise to use one's own judgement, or to allow it to emerge in our school work; in fact, successful products of our schooling system learn the most amazing skill of keeping their own judgement out of view. (p133)

A related issue concerning this type of teaching is what Macdonald (1990a) identifies as teachers' perceptions of their pupils as being unable to contribute much to the lesson at Std 3 level. For example, Teachers 3 and 4 in the current study rated their pupils' ability in English as "fair to weak" (probably correctly) (see 5.8.2.3 and 5.8.2.4: Analysis of Part one: Q 40 & 41). Macdonald (1990a) goes on to say that:

A strongly determining factor in the teacher's style is generally to expect very little of her pupils, which affects specifically the pace at which they work. As the children get very little done, the teacher gets through less material than she might (p126).

This is clear from the data obtained from Teachers 3 and 4 in the present study where whole lessons were devoted to the memorisation of various language forms (see Appendix 6a Transcripts 6 and 11). Macdonald (1990a) notes further that "not all teachers could give us insights into the motivations for different accepted practices: those who can are the decided exception" (p116). This lends support to the selected focus for the research reported on in this thesis, i.e. teacher attitudes and perceptions regarding the learning/teaching process. In support of this, Macdonald suggests that:

The aspect most obviously amenable to change would probably be the teacher, who would need to have a deeper understanding of the nature of the learning she is expected to inculcate...and she herself must have full mastery of the concepts in English. (p125)
In the current state of black primary education, this might seem rather idealistic when the freedom of exploratory learning is threatening to the teacher. Furthermore, there are other variables in the micro-context, to which we now turn, which tend to reinforce this mode of pedagogy.

2.2 CONSTRAINTS ON BLACK PRIMARY EDUCATION: THE MICRO-CONTEXT

The primary school is the foundation on which all else is built, and if we neglect our primary education we should be very largely wasting our efforts in pursuing the later stages. (Lord Hailsham, quoted in Behr & Macmillan 1966:85)

The primary school was selected as the focus for this research as it is the foundation upon which all else rests. If education is not effective at this level, failure at higher levels is virtually guaranteed. In South Africa there has been, and still is, a crisis in black primary education which has led to disastrous consequences for schools, teachers and pupils. Hartshorne (1990) states that in 1988, some 307,000 pupils left school at the end of Std 2 (the fourth year of schooling) and about 440,000 left after reaching Std 5. He adds that each year "at least 300,000 young people join the ranks of those who are not functionally literate and numerate" (p3), and for the percentage of children of school-going age not in school, he gives a 'very conservative figure' of two and a half million, for the whole of South Africa (sic).

What is the situation which causes such dissatisfaction amongst pupils and teachers alike? What is the nature of the micro-context of the school, and the classroom within it, which ensures the perpetration of a pedagogy such as that described under 2.1. To answer these questions, we need to look at the problems and difficulties experienced by the participants in this context and the various explanations for them. Among these are the following:
- the consequences of mass schooling where teachers have to cope with large pupil numbers which cause ineffective teaching leading to poor standards of education. This, in turn, leads to high pupil failure and drop-out rates

- sociocultural factors and the imposition of a Eurocentric, western culture and norms on an African culture

- socioeconomic factors leading to deprivation and impoverishment in terms of school-readiness

- sociolinguistic factors such as the use of a second language as medium of instruction and poor proficiency in this language. Related to this is the level of difficulty of the teaching materials and the pedagogy inherent in the textbooks

- poor teacher qualifications, both academic and professional, and low levels of competence in the second language. This leads to lack of confidence, insecurity and low morale resulting in survival teaching (*).

- attitudes towards both pupil and teacher roles in class

2.2.1 The consequences of mass schooling

Hartshorne (1990) has this to say about Bantu Education:

In the 150 years that there has been some form of primary schooling for Africans it has always been neglected in relation to other levels of education, starved of resources, and generally accepted as an 'iron rations' route march from which most would dropout by the roadside. (p2)

Alternative metaphors used to describe what has been happening in black primary schooling are "Swimming up the waterfall" (MacDonald 1990a) and "Falling at the
first hurdle" (recent report of the Education Policy Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand 1990). Hartshorne (1990) identifies the high drop-out rate as a serious problem as the schooling system has failed to 'hold' children long enough for it to be of any benefit to them. He questions the validity of the assumptions made about the purposes of primary schooling by those who hold power:

Is it merely a preparation for what follows, or has it value and relevance in its own right? The state has for too long been caught up in 'the numbers game' in a simplistic concept of mass education that has aimed at providing primary schooling for as large numbers as are expedient at as little cost as possible (p2).

Large pupil numbers obviously affect the interaction patterns that are possible in the classroom. There is a lack of individualised attention resulting in a high failure and drop-out rate. Danaher (1984) gives the average pupil-teacher ratio in a rural (homeland) situation as 56:1 whereas the average for white schools is 18:1. More recent statistics provided by the Department of National Education (DNE) in the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) Document (1991) reveal these ratios as 51:1 compared to 19:1. According to Chick (1991), these numbers make it difficult for teachers to "facilitate more egalitarian, de-centralized ways of interacting" (p14).

Since 1976, however, the number of black pupils successfully completing matric (Std 10) has increased five-fold yet this, cautions Hartshorne (1985a), has to be measured against "a serious falling-off in standards" (p149). High pupil/teacher ratios, poor physical conditions, lack of suitable learning aids and inappropriate curricula have been blamed for this (Young 1987a; Hartshorne 1985a; Simons 1986).

2.2.2 Sociocultural factors and the cultural hypothesis

Sociocultural factors have also been identified in the literature as having a bearing on what occurs in the classroom. Chick & Claude (1985), in examining classroom
interaction data in black primary classrooms in Kwazulu, Natal, identified what they called a "putative, culturally-specific Zulu-English interactional style" involving "a preference by higher status speakers in encounters with lower status speakers for solidarity politeness including the strategy of volubility" (cited in Chick 1991:3). They went on to hypothesise that:

Kwazulu teachers and pupils find it difficult to transfer to styles compatible with communicative language teaching because these differ markedly from those which predominate in a wide range of domains within the Zulu-speaking community (p3).

The focus of Chick's (1985) research was to identify the source of the prevailing pedagogy practised in Kwazulu primary schools, as a number of in-service teacher training projects run by the private sector were meeting with strong resistance from both teachers and pupils in their attempts to introduce more 'communicative' approaches to the teaching of English. To some extent this was evident in the data from the present study where Teacher 3 found it difficult to adapt her interactional style to the more flexible, communicative environment of the project (see 6.6.3).

Macdonald's (1987) research findings tend to endorse this 'cultural' perspective in what she terms a 'cultural tradition':

One possible explanation (for a rote-learning model in black primary schools) is that the practice has deep cultural roots. In cultures with an oral tradition, the knowledge is transmitted from 'above' with relatively little questioning from 'below'. So teacher functions as 'knower' who shares his knowledge with the pupil who functions as the 'information-seeker'. Here, the classroom interaction is characterised by a series of exchanges consisting of initiation, pupil response and teacher feedback (p4).
Very often, as both Macdonald (1987) and the present researcher found in their respective studies, the ‘feedback’ move is omitted, leaving pupils to wonder whether their contributions were correct or not (see Appendix 6a Transcript 11 for examples of this).

Macdonald’s (1990a) later work for the Threshold Project reveals new, and perhaps more sophisticated insights into the issues of culture and learning especially in relation to the development of cognitive skills in children. Using a Vygotskian analysis, she focuses on the role of mediation in learning. She cites Vygotsky who sees mediation as "a mechanism of individual development ..rooted in society and culture" (p30). The mediator thus has "a critical role in determining the course of (a child’s) development" which is the main impetus behind "socialising children into familiar social forms or tasks" (Macdonald 1990:68). In this paradigm, the origin of self-regulatory activities, which include higher order reasoning skills, "lies in culturally prescribed patterns of control" (sic).

Macdonald’s main thesis is that with socio-historical or socio-political change, traditional tasks may be displaced, the loss being "not the tasks themselves, but rather the opportunities for learning which these tasks embody" (p69). It appears that the culture has to make a ‘paradigm shift’ as old social forms "do not necessarily achieve new social goals" (sic). In this respect there could well be a loss of ‘cognitive efficacy’ as the participants might experience disempowerment. Now schooling in South Africa has adopted western cultural traditions and norms. For the non-western mother and teacher:

schooling is complicated by the fact that meanings are obscured and reasons unintelligible....What can happen is that social forms which the teacher may find more consonant may replace those forms which she finds ready-made but opaque. In other words, the black children may do the same thing as white children for completely different reasons and perhaps, with rather different consequences (Macdonald 1990a:70).
Kok, quoted in Macdonald (1990a), conducted research on problem-solving dyads comprising pre-school Zulu children interacting with their mothers and teachers and found that these dyads did not function very efficiently in western terms as problem solvers. Kok then reconstructed what she thought the mediators intended in the execution of the tasks, and came up with six 'indigenous mediational 'operators'" (p79) or strategies, which correspond fairly closely to Macdonald's (1990a) findings from the Threshold Project in different classroom settings. The strategies included the following:

1) Maintaining mutually exclusive role division where the teacher is the 'one who knows' while the learner is 'the one who does' and where the goal of regulation is to "teach the child to subordinate her individual intentions and become responsive to outer-directed instruction" (Macdonald 1990a:79).

2) Emphasising the manifest task demands where the teacher assumes that the outward appearance of the task (what it seems to require) is the appropriate focus for regulation: "The teacher may not be used to bringing to the surface deeper aspects of task performance if it requires a mode of consciousness which she is not adept with" (Macdonald 1990a:81). Teacher perceptions of pupil ability also play a role here.

3) Embedding instruction in a know-how (practical) paradigm where the focus is on the child's discovering what to do. "The teacher creates opportunities for trial and error behaviour and is not specifically concerned with means-end efficiency" (Macdonald 1990a:81/2). Macdonald found that in her own research, children would often wait for the teacher to come and show them what to do:

They have no higher order understanding of the structure of the task, are not expected to participate in the gathering of appropriate information and do not have the essential features of the task conveyed to them....It is this strategy which directly conflicts with children's being able to become autonomous problem-solvers (p82).
Without feedback on their efforts, children will fail to learn.

4) Embedding instruction in a know-it (experiential) paradigm where "the teacher emphasises getting the children to act in synchrony with her, in response to minimal verbal and non-verbal cues" (Macdonald 1990a:83). It seems to be very important for the teacher that the children appear to be paying attention by responding to her signals. This point was discussed in relation to chorusing behaviour under 2.1 (see Appendix 6a Transcript 8 Excerpt 1).

5) Providing an accepting environment for guided discovery where the teacher reinforces the child’s engagement in the task regardless of whether the child’s reactions are appropriate or not. This practice is more social, rather than task-oriented.

6) Construing the task in terms of social motives and goals where the focus is on learning to do tasks with people and subordinating individual intentions to social motives and goals.

It would appear that fundamental aspects of these ‘mediational strategies’ reappear in the classroom and underpin the rote-learning, transmission model of teaching so prevalent in black primary schools. There is strong role-division where the teacher is ‘expert’ and the pupils, passive recipients of her instructions which are often only piecemeal. Pupils are given no, or very little feedback as to the state of their understanding, and paying attention to the teacher, even without understanding, seems to be more important. This can be clearly seen in the data from Teacher 4 of the present study (see Appendix 6a Transcript 11 and Transcript 14).

Furthermore, the warm, accepting environment for learning allowed very young children seems to disappear as they go higher in the school "for reasons not entirely clear" (Macdonald 1990a:86).

Hawes (1979), in discussing influences in black primary education in Anglophone Africa refers to "influences of indigenous education" which are:
evident in attitudes to authority and in learning styles used or preferred. Oral explanations and discussion may convey a meaning and a depth lacking in written explanation which may tend to be accepted at an uncritical and somewhat superficial level (p23).

He also refers to evidence that the desire to find one rather than alternative answers to a problem may have its origins in patterns of indigenous education.

The 'cultural hypothesis' has been challenged by various theorists, among them Gallimore, who notes that:

When determining teaching strategy, it is likely that the adaptation of teaching styles to cultural values may be a difficult and unrewarding exercise as...behaviour in schoolrooms, as in work settings, is a function of higher-order interactions of multiple person and setting variables" (Gallimore cited in Gordon 1985:4)

Likewise, Chick, in his 1991 paper, re-analyzed his 1985 data in the light of "new understandings and criticisms" levelled at the cultural explanation he offered. This type of thinking, it was claimed, could easily be seen as a 'neo-colonial' or 'neo-apartheid' stance, i.e. the belief that "'traditional' and 'tribal' institutions remain viable" (Chick 1991:4). He further notes that "we had not taken sufficient account of how forces in the wider society constrain what takes place in the classroom" (sic). In re-examining the style which he had previously identified as 'culturally-specific', he suggests that rather:

It is a style consistent with interactional norms which teachers and pupils have constituted as a means of avoiding the oppressive and demeaning effects of apartheid ideology and structures. I see the teacher and her pupils colluding in preserving their dignity by hiding the fact that little or no learning is taking place (Chick 1991:5).
More specifically, Chick finds that 'teacher volubility' and 'student taciturnity' are characteristic of classroom discourse elsewhere and he cites Ellis who maintained that teacher-centred pedagogy is derived from classroom practice "common in pre-war European schools" (p11). Hawes (1979) concurs with this view, tracing the influence of British education systems on African primary schooling to "the conscious borrowing of content, practices and methods from metropolitan education systems" (p25). He cautions, however, that there is a tendency for such borrowings "to become fossilised and consequently to represent a historical rather than a current picture of British educational practice" (sic). In reviewing his position on the issue, Chick (1991) now views these features of classroom practice as 'institution specific' rather than 'culturally-specific' owing to the "asymmetrical distribution of social power and knowledge between teachers and pupils" (p9).

What is specific to the pedagogy practised in black South African primary classrooms, however, is the chorusing behaviour identified by Chick (1985, 1991) and Macdonald (1990a) which is discussed above (see 2.1). Chick believes that this behaviour reduces the possibility of 'loss of face' through lack of understanding (p11). Furthermore, this style "also helps teachers avoid the loss of face involved in the display of incompetence" (p12). The lesson proceeds along pre-determined lines thus reducing the possibility of challenge. Chick refers to this as 'safe-talk' and traces its cause to apartheid ideology (see 2.3.3.1), leading to overcrowded classrooms (see 2.2.1) and poorly qualified, insecure teachers (see 2.2.5).

2.2.3 Socio-economic and environmental factors: the deprivation hypothesis

A third set of factors influencing the micro-context of the school and classroom are socio-economic or environmental factors. Gordon (1985) cites various studies investigating how parental occupation has a bearing on performance differences in children. The theory is that participation in professional activities leads to problem-solving skills and abstract conceptual thinking whereas menial occupations require, and stimulate, different forms of cognitive skills which parents are likely to transmit to their children. Kohn's work, cited in Gordon (1985), which focused on the occupational status of parents, tends to reinforce this view. He proposes that
middle class occupations stimulate greater autonomy, self-direction and problem-solving than working class occupations. This type of orientation would affect the type of socialization children are exposed to, and can either facilitate, or hinder, their performance at school. It would also have a bearing on the type of pedagogy possible in the classroom.

A third explanation of poor performance identified by Gordon (1985) is that of ‘environmental deprivation’ espoused in the classic work by Bernstein (1971) on the use of different linguistic codes by middle versus working class families. Bernstein proposed that the code used by the former places them at a greater advantage in the school system. This problem is compounded by the obligatory use of a second language as medium of instruction in black schools in South Africa.

2.2.4 English as second language and English as medium

The use of English as medium of instruction in black primary schools in South Africa is one of the most important factors affecting classroom interaction and pupil performance. As everything has to happen through English from the fifth year (Std 3), if there is no understanding, then there can be no real teaching, and, hence, no learning - what Macdonald (1990a) referred to as ‘loss of meaning’ (see 2.1).

Macdonald identifies a number of problems associated with the use of English as medium. After the advent of Bantu Education in 1953, with its Christian National Education ideology essentially promoting Afrikaner nationalism (see 2.3.3.1), mother-tongue English teachers were slowly phased out of black schools. They were replaced by Afrikaans English second language (EL2) speakers, especially at the teacher training colleges. These became the role models for black teacher trainees. In addition, most of the black teachers teaching in the primary schools have had very little exposure to English as spoken by native speakers. We thus have a situation where teachers are poorly trained in the language which they have
to teach and which they have to use as medium of instruction. Their own language proficiency is low which leads to a lack of confidence. As Walters (1984) notes, teachers have a low image of themselves as users and teachers of English which causes them to take on 'risk-avoiding' behaviour, i.e. they avoid exactly the type of interaction that they should try and promote.

In her work with the Threshold Project (1985-1990), which attempted to establish the nature and extent of the difficulties pupils experienced in the change-over to English as medium of instruction at Standard 3 level, by examining aspects such as the pupils’ school-based learning experiences, their English abilities, reasoning skills and the disparity between English as medium and English as a subject, Macdonald (1990a) found that the pupils’ English proficiency was difficult to ascertain as "the pupils' production skills were so poor" (p132). In reading comprehension activities in English at Std 3 level, she found that the children "could not answer low-level inference questions from a simple Std 2 text" (sic), nor indeed more traditional factual questions from the same text". Related to this was the fact that the important reading skill of making inferences from a text was largely absent. Pupils appeared to have difficulty with WH-questions which she regarded as a 'serious shortcoming' since notions of reason and cause become increasingly important in content subjects. She also found that their spoken discourse resembled their written discourse as a result of their not having had much opportunity to speak spontaneously, and that their listening comprehension was masked by the "rote-rhythm" method (see 2.1). All this led to 'alienating' the pupils from the content of lessons as they "only dimly perceive the implications and linkages between the concepts which they are presented with" (p141). Finally, Macdonald concludes that:

> The pronounced weakness which we discovered in the children's English skills leads us to believe that the current generation of junior primary children cannot cope with the challenge of the medium transfer in Std 3, at least in its present form (1990a:137).
In sum, lack of proficiency on the part of both teachers and pupils, lack of good role models, no contact with mother-tongue speakers and outmoded materials all contribute to the poor state of learning and teaching English, and through English (across-the-curriculum) in black primary schools. Young (1987a), in discussing the feasibility of implementing language-across-the-curriculum (LAC) in black schools, stresses the point that "language is used in every classroom by every teacher" (p165). However, what is important is how it is used and to what effect. In his research with student teachers, he found that teachers talk for two thirds of the time and this is mostly spent transmitting ‘knowledge’ through ‘teacher talk’, instead of listening to pupils talking, expressing ideas and interpreting ‘knowledge’. He points out that pupils are not allowed sufficient opportunity to practise using English or to explore the meanings of words in genuine interactional encounters. He notes:

If communication is the negotiation of meanings in social contexts, are there sufficient classroom openings for pupils to explore the social use of language, so that they can transfer the experience of English in the classroom to the real world outside in a way that enables them to speak appropriately and colloquially to mother-tongue English speakers? LAC can hardly begin to work in a teacher-dominated classroom with no opportunity for individualisation and group work, the object of which is to explore and negotiate meanings in the language. (p166)

A further factor related to the use of English as medium and as second language is the level of difficulty of the materials that pupils are required to use. With regard to the disparities between English as a subject in Std 2 and English across the curriculum in Std 3, Macdonald (1990a) found that all content subject texts make ‘a quantum leap’ from those used in the English as subject courses, in terms of vocabulary, grammatical structure and concepts. Pupils are faced with 100 page textbooks from the first time; the vocabulary count increases by 1000 per cent; the verb phrase and clause structures become far more complex, and pupils have to
begin learning ten subjects through a 'foreign' medium, each with new ideas and concepts. Vorster's report on word counts in the 1987 comparative evaluation of courses for the lower primary school tends to support these findings (cited in Kroes 1987).

Young (1987a) made similar findings and further points out that the understanding of concepts and terms in the second language as medium is a major problem in black education as "much recent western technological jargon, especially in science, finds no vernacular lexical equivalent...such terms are learned as semantic primes rather than through negotiated understanding" (p172). He believes that concept formation, especially across the curriculum, is only learned through exploratory talk and "open-ended discussion of meanings". However, this causes a problem as there is "great resistance from teachers and pupils to allow unstructured, learner-centred talk in the classroom. Teacher-centred, transmission teaching seems to be endemic" (p172). Teachers make notes from the textbook for pupils to memorise for exams. This is done as teachers realise that pupils do not understand the textbooks. It is one thing to memorise something that one understands but quite another to memorise something that one does not. Herein lies the 'loss of meaning' mentioned by Macdonald (1990a).

A further factor contributing to the type of pedagogy practised in the ESL classroom is the nature of the English language textbook. The texts which the school teachers were using during this research expressed a strong audio-lingual behaviourist bias (see 4.3.2.2). However, more recent course texts for the lower primary levels have been introduced, due to the realisation that the single language textbook was no longer adequate to meet the needs of black primary pupils preparing for the transition to Std 3 (Kroes 1987)(see 4.3.2.2). Instead, whole packages are needed, including Teachers' Guides, workbooks, readers and audio-visual aids. With this package, should come ample teacher support - both initial and on-going - if the courses are to be successfully implemented.
In 1985, the DET approached the HSRC with a request that they undertake an evaluation of eight English language courses of the type currently in use in black primary schools (see 3.5). The two courses used by the teachers in this study were not included, although it was realised that this was a serious omission as they were fairly widespread in the schools (Kroes 1987:31). All of the courses assessed tended to introduce more communicative principles into their course design in an attempt to wean teachers off the rote-rhythm method. They also discouraged constant error-correction, meaningless drills and memorisation. However, Kroes & Walker (1988) found that, in relation to a number of the courses, especially Bridge to English (Lanham & Rodseth 1984,1986) "impressive, conceptually developmental tasks were carried out in a mechanical way" (p72). Teachers seemed unaware of the potential of the materials for interaction, exploratory exercises and problem-solving. Consequently, pupils were not given an opportunity to go beyond simple tasks of identifying, remembering and reproducing. Overly simple and formulaic identification exercises were used with constant repetitive drilling which lacked any form of cognitive engagement on the part of the pupils.

It was therefore felt that teachers needed intensive in-service training in the new approaches with continual follow-up in the schools, as teachers either did not read the Teachers’ Guides (which were intended to be self-supporting), or, if they did, they could not understand them. Furthermore, teachers saw themselves as lacking expertise and appropriate training, which, in turn, reinforced dependency on the textbook.

2.2.5 Teacher qualifications

Poor teacher qualifications also influence the micro-context and underpin most of the issues raised above. Hartshorne (1985a) states that:

Quality in education is in the first place dependent upon the ‘quality’ of the teacher - his qualifications, experience, competence in the classroom, professional confidence and commitment. In all these
areas the black teacher is under siege and fighting for survival.

(p149)

He notes further that "more than half of the total teaching force is under the age of 30, 17% are professionally unqualified/untrained, and only 24% have an academic qualification of at least senior certificate, now the minimum for entry to training" (p149). Figures released by the Institute of Race Relations for the year 1984/85 (the years in which this study was undertaken) showed that 70% of black teachers were unqualified. Pelser (1986) provides more exact figures which show that of 46,000 teachers in the service of the DET in 1986, 36,000 (78%) were not in possession of Category C (Matric + three years qualification). Given these circumstances it is hardly surprising that poor standards prevail in black schools and that

the classroom style is one of survival, characterised by dependence upon the textbook, disinclination to allow pupils to question and discuss, and discipline which is rigid and authoritarian (Hartshorne 1987a:150).

According to Chick (1991), "the degree of openness of teachers to innovation is directly related to the quantity and quality of their pre-service education" (p5). This view is also upheld by Hawes (1979:17), Hunter (1988:1) and Beeby (1966), who argue that teachers' competence, flexibility and ability to innovate depend largely on their level of education and training. It might be added that teachers' perceptions of the quality and relevance of their initial training course would also be significant. In this regard, it is interesting to note the negative responses towards their pre-service training courses of the EL2 teachers in the present study, (see Appendix 5b Qs 55/6). In general, they felt that not enough attention had been given to the structures of, and practice in, English, and that ESL methodology in particular had largely been lacking. In this area, then, it would seem that in-service education would have a vital role to play (°).
2.2.6 Attitudes towards roles

A final issue which has a bearing on what occurs in the classroom is that of the attitudes of teachers and learners towards their roles in the classroom. Young (1987a) finds that teachers "are often unwilling to relinquish their dominant roles in class" and that the use of a foreign medium is "both reason and excuse to restrict pupil-initiated talk" (p170). Ellis (cited in Young 1987a) appears to support this view, perceiving the problem as having to do with "the attitudes teachers and students have regarding their classroom roles" (p170). He further identifies a "strong instrumental motivation to learn" in black students which does not "easily tolerate exploratory learning" as the most important thing for them is to pass the examination (sic).

This type of attitude towards role is reflected in the data from the present study. In Q 70 (Role) under the low communicative orientation (C.O) parameter (which contained items relating to transmission teaching), the two school teachers (as opposed to the project teachers), gave equally mixed positive and negative responses, revealing an ambivalence in attitude (see Appendix 5c Q 70 and the analysis of these teachers under 5.8.2.3 & 5.8.2.4). Teachers 1 and 2, however, who taught exclusively on the project and who scored more highly on the high C.O parameter, gave very definite negative responses to items under low C.O, thereby showing far more confidence and stability in attitude.

In the light of the above issues, it would appear that a closer examination of attitudes as they relate to practices is not untimely in the current climate of black primary schooling. For example, Simons' (1986) study attempted to encourage an awareness, in teachers, of "those self-imposed and external constraints" which prevent pupils from "thinking and using the medium of instruction creatively and meaningfully" (p3), with the related intention of "informing classroom practice about forms of communicative interaction which enable learning and understanding to take place" (sic). This is also a major aim of the present study, which takes a
closer look at the way in which teachers and pupils communicate (if at all) in the classroom, in order to suggest possible ways in which this might be improved.

The following section attempts to relate the micro-processes of the classroom to the process of schooling and society at large (see 2.0). We thus turn to a consideration of the macro-processes which have an influence on classroom practice.

2.3 CONSTRAINTS ON BLACK PRIMARY EDUCATION: THE MACRO-CONTEXT

Historical, political and economic factors form the macro-context for schooling in South Africa and work together in creating and maintaining the prevailing pedagogy in the classroom. The major influence on pedagogy which underpins all other factors is ideology, for educational practices are manifestations of the prevailing ideology in a society. The questions that need to be asked here are the following:

1) How have historico-political factors, and the various ideologies underlying them, influenced black primary education in general, and language education in particular, leading to the type of pedagogy practised in classrooms today?

2) How have politico-economic factors contributed to the prevailing schooling system for black primary children in South Africa?

3) What has been the role of pre- and in-service education and training (PRESET & INSET) in contributing to the type of pedagogy practised in black primary classrooms?

2.3.1 The history of black education

Pre-colonial education for blacks was informal and in the hands of society as a whole. Children learned the values and norms of their society through tasks and
working with their elders. Learning was thus a process of development through imitation of elders and concrete, 'hands-on' practical experience (Christie 1985:30).

In 1652, the Dutch settlers arrived at the Cape, and with them, the advent of colonialism. Education lay in the hands of the church (Dutch Reformed) which professed a strongly Calvinist doctrine and which was available for the white population only. The British then took control of the Cape after 1815 and attempted to anglicise the schools, declaring English the official language. They set up the first official Department of Education although schooling was not compulsory. There were three types of schools in this period: state, state-aided (provided English was used as medium of instruction) and mission schools. The latter were the only schools that provided for black education (Behr & Macmillan 1966).

In 1836, the Great Trek began as the Boers wished to escape from British influence and control. This led to the division of what later came to be known as the four provinces, with the Boers having control over the Transvaal and Free State, and the British retaining control of Natal and the Cape. The Boers once again set up their own schools with a strongly religious bias which showed the beginnings of the ideology known as Christian National Education (CNE) which still underpins state schooling in South Africa today (Behr & Macmillan 1966) (see 2.3.3.1).

With the discovery of gold in the Transvaal came important social and political changes. After the Boer wars in 1899, the British gained control of all four provinces which became the Union of South Africa. With increased urbanisation came a demand for new skills and knowledge, yet the provision of education was based on class (socio-economic) differences and as such, remained inadequate (Christie 1985). Control of local primary, secondary and teacher education lay in the hands of the four provincial councils with a notable lack of any kind of national policy (Behr & Macmillan 1966).
In 1948, the Nationalist (Afrikaner) party came to power and introduced a policy of apartheid. Under this system, patterns of educational inequality became entrenched. A commission on 'native' education, the Eiselen Commission, was set up in 1951 to investigate the provision of education for blacks. This commission reported that the existing education "was not in keeping with the cultural life of the Bantu...and was conducted without the active participation of the Bantu as a people" (Behr & Macmillan 1966:16). This report formed the basis of the Bantu Education Act (No 47 of 1953) the main provisions of which were to bring control of black education under a centralised state system, thus separating it from other educational agencies. With the advent of Bantu Education, most of the mission schools closed down. As a prelude to its recommendations, the commission set out its views on the aims of Bantu Education which were that:

it has a separate existence just as, for example, French education, Chinese education, or even European education in South Africa...Bantu Education had in content and method to be dictated by the needs of children brought up in a Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language, and imbued with values, interests and behaviour patterns characteristic of the Bantu. (Behr & Macmillan 1966:349)

In this way, apartheid policy became entrenched in education with the various education systems enjoying different power and subsidy structures. Furthermore, the unequal distribution of resources perpetuated this policy and ensured the "preparation of black people for the working class" (Janks 1988:11). For example, according to surveys carried out by the Institute of Race Relations, the per capita expenditure for blacks in 1982 was R176.20 as compared with R1021.00 for whites. In 1985, it was R293.86 for blacks as compared with R1926.00 for whites.

Behr & Macmillan (1966) note that there were two types of primary schools: the lower primary for ages 7-10 (Grade 1 - Std 2) where the medium of instruction was the mother tongue with an official language being introduced for
communication purposes only, and with the main focus on the three R’s; and the higher primary, for ages 11-14 (Stds 3 - 6) where the official language begun in lower primary was extended to include reading and writing and a start was made in teaching the second official language orally (for communicative purposes). Among the subjects to be taught were handicrafts, agriculture and horticulture. After this, pupils were streamed either academically (university stream) or practically (vocational/technical stream). The purpose of the lower primary course was to provide 'mass literacy' and pupils were automatically promoted up to Std 2, at which point, many pupils dropped out of school. Religious instruction was compulsory in all state schools and the teaching posts were filled by Bantu teachers only. The Bantu Education system was thus based on vernacular languages and ethnic culture. According to Marcum (1982):

A steady deterioration in the quality of African education was the result as the vernacular requirement continues to impede pupils' proficiency in English (p18)

There was strong resistance to the medium policy from the black community, and especially to the dual medium policy in secondary school (see 2.3.2). After many appeals to the government "to take a more relaxed and flexible approach to the medium question" (Hartshorne 1987a:96), the Soweto riots finally erupted in 1976, marking the beginning of a new phase of resistance to state imposition in black education.

The government reacted to this by commissioning an extensive investigation into education in South Africa, known as the De Lange commission (1981), the recommendations of which were:

- the need for an "open" education system
- the creation of a single department of education for the whole country (instead of the current 18)
- compulsory primary education and parity of expenditure on all school children
- administrative decentralization with school admissions open on a basis of local or regional options
- establishment of a multiracial Council of Education to implement the committee’s recommendations for comprehensive educational development.

The single education system was to have three phases: pre-basic, basic and post-basic. It also recommended that primary school children should not carry a ‘compulsory load’ of more than two languages, the mother tongue and one other. However, in the field of black primary education, the De Lange report had little effect. In 1983, the government issued a White Paper reaffirming the nationalist commitment to the "Christian and National character of education", the principle of mother tongue (L1) instruction, and the policy of separate schools and departments of education for each population group (Marcum 1982:25). In the words of Hartshorne (1991, personal communication), "they took what they wanted out of De Lange and disregarded the rest". This action also ran parallel to the setting up of a tricameral political system (Houses of Assembly, Delegates and Representatives), which further served to reinforce the policy of 'separate development'.

Hartshorne (1990) mentions that the government did develop some programmes that can be traced back to the influence of the De Lange recommendations. In 1980, there was an "upgrading in school-readiness" programme which later included components concerned with improved methods in mathematics and language. The programme began in the lower primary, but by 1984 had extended to farm schools and higher primary schools by 1985 (Hartshorne 1990:6). Closely related to this school-readiness programme were "individual training classes" intended to help pupils who were not coping with their first year of school. Following the bias towards ‘career education’ in the De Lange report, courses stressing technical subjects were set up for pupils at higher primary level. In 1983, class library books in vernacular languages were supplied to lower primary schools. This was followed by library books in the official languages in 1986. In the same year, the Human Sciences Research Council was commissioned to
investigate the effectiveness of nine different English language series in use in black schools (see 2.2.4). Hartshorne (1990) makes the point that although these were positive educational steps taken by the Department of Bantu Education their value was reduced considerably owing to lack of credibility and disintegration of the system itself. A further point in this regard mentioned by Hawes (1979) with reference to other parts of Anglophone Africa, is the inadequacy of "small-scale initiatives" in the face of the monumental requirements of black primary education (p30).

The most recent development in terms of government's response to the crisis in black education has been the issuing by the Department of National Education of a document to interested parties for comment. This document is entitled "Education Renewal Strategy" (1990), to be finalised in one year and intended to seek "short and medium term managerial solutions for some of the more pressing problems in education" (ERS 1991:6) It does appear however, to contain a very delayed acceptance of some of the De Lange proposals suggested ten years earlier. At the level of policy, a new model consisting of a four-tiered system is being proposed, with a new central authority (similar to the current DET) which would be responsible for policy, monitoring, standards and tertiary education. Under this would come regional education departments (not racially-based) having political and administrative functions. Next comes educational districts which enjoy 'free association' (but for which no organizational capacity is evident and which is expressed in very vague terms in the document) and finally, come the various educational institutions which have the "maximum possible autonomy". This devolution of power was one of the main recommendations of the De Lange (1981) inquiry. At the level of detail, there is a greater focus in the document on vocationally-oriented and vocational education in the school curriculum. This is intended to counteract the current trend where "pupils of all population groups tend to choose mainly general or 'academically-oriented' study programmes (p12). This proposal, however, could be seen as a reversion to providing "working class training" for blacks in order to cater for the labour market (see 2.3.3.2).
The document also proposes the establishing of 'edukons' in which more academic support programmes between secondary and tertiary education would take place. Finally, the document contains proposals for improving initial teacher education and training which will be covered in 2.3.4.1. It has very scant proposals, however, for pre-primary and primary education and INSET. One of the major recommendations of the document, in fact, is the use of distance education for these areas, as "alternative and...cheaper ways of providing education have...become crucially important" (ERS 1991:28). In the area of pre-primary education specifically, the document advocates the use of programmes based on those broadcast in the U.S.A. (eg. Sesame Street) and suggests further that programmes be developed for the training of adults (apart from teachers) to help guide children at pre-primary level. This harks back to Macdonald's (1990a) focus on mediation (see 2.2.2) and appears to be an attempt to enrich the child’s pre-school experience. However, it has also been perceived as the department (responsible for black education) passing on the responsibility of educating blacks to their own communities and to the private sector (Hofmeyr:1991), which will be discussed in more detail further on. What is lacking in this document, however, are any real recommendations for primary education.

At a recent meeting of the Transvaal Regional Forum of the national Inset Policy Initiative set up in 1990 (†), the ERS was criticised for the fact that it does not entail reform as such (i.e. total transformation of the education system) but efficiency, i.e. greater rationalization and cost reduction within existing structures (i.e. renovation) (IPI 1991:10 August). One of the major reasons for this was that the government no longer had the financial resources to solve educational problems, hence the proposals for handing over some of the responsibility for education to the private sector. A further criticism of the document was that it was lodged in bureaucracy and thus lacked credibility in any attempt at addressing the various problems at grass-roots level. For example, the whole process had taken a year and there had been no research element, compared to the De Lange (1981) inquiry which had taken three years, with a research cycle and then a consultation cycle. Furthermore, macro (policy) and micro (grass-roots) levels were not really
addressed in the document, i.e. issues such as textbooks and resources. In fact the group "that loses out totally is that of the ordinary teachers and pupils in disadvantaged situations" (Hofmeyr 1991). In general, the IPI Transvaal Steering Committee felt that the ERS was the result of a "closed bureaucratic process" which did not involve "legitimate stake-holders". What was needed was "an open, public process to develop educational policy for a democratic South Africa" (Hofmeyr 1991). This, then is the current state of black education in South Africa today, with fresh proposals coming from the government sector being largely rejected by alternative political and educational organizations.

2.3.2 The history of language policy in black education

Black education and development have become inextricably intertwined with English. It is almost impossible to separate them without, at the same time, affecting, adversely, the very fabric of black development and advancement in a world context (Mawasha 1987:111)

Walters (1984), in reviewing the history of English in black education, identifies three main periods:

- Pre-1950s where English was taught in the mission schools which, he maintains, were regarded as prestigious. Pupils were instructed through English and also spoke it socially.
- 1950s, which saw the mother-tongue medium policy of Bantu Education with the official languages being taught only as subjects at primary level and with the mission schools being gradually phased out.
- 1960s, which marked the 'interventionist' phase where private enterprise and special projects joined forces in an attempt to improve the quality of English teaching and learning where the state had failed.
Behr & Macmillan (1966) record that up to 1806, the official language at the Cape was Dutch after which it became English under British control. By 1892, Dutch was recommended as an optional medium which was later to become Afrikaans in the Boer schools. Here lay the beginnings of the major role played by the two official languages in black education. Owing to the fact that the missions engaged in 'native education' were mostly English-speaking, and that Afrikaans as medium of instruction was not an accepted policy (Welsh committee 1936:80), English became entrenched in the schools as medium of instruction at a time when the users of the education system (the black population) were not in a sufficiently powerful position to resist had they wished to. English was also a sine qua non for state aid in education (Hartshorne 1987a:85).

Hartshorne (1987a) points out that in the years after Union, increasing attention was paid to the use of the mother tongue in the early years of schooling, especially by the missions who played a major part in the early development of the vernacular languages, such as translations, compiling of school text books, dictionaries, etc. This prepared the way for the use of the vernacular languages as educational tools. By 1935, a vernacular language was a compulsory subject throughout primary school and at teacher training colleges, and the policy as far as medium of instruction was concerned was as follows: the mother tongue was to be used for the first six years (until Std 4) in Natal and for the first four years (until Std 2) in the Cape, Orange Free State and Transvaal, after which an official language was to be used as medium which was nearly always English. From the time of the Eiselen Commission (1951), however, as Nationalist theorists and ideologists turned their attention to black education, a clear pattern began to emerge:

rigid educational separation, a Christian National Education ideology, enforcement and extension of mother tongue medium of instruction and thereafter the use of Afrikaans, with a concomitant decline in the influence of English - these were to be the objectives (Hartshorne 1987a:88).
Separate independent black states such as the Transkei, however, opted for the introduction of English at an earlier stage, i.e. Std 3, which was the first stance taken in opposition to government policy. In the high schools, half the subjects were taught through English and the other half through Afrikaans which placed an unnecessary linguistic burden on pupils. As Hartshorne (1987a) notes "African opinion never became reconciled to the extension of mother-tongue medium beyond Std 2 nor to the dual medium policy in the secondary school" (p92). Teacher associations, parents and principals appealed to the government to "take a more relaxed, flexible approach to the medium question" (p96) but to no avail. This situation continued until June 1976 when the Soweto uprisings occurred, triggered by the failure of the government to listen to grievances of pupils, parents and teachers.

In reaction to the Soweto crisis and to pressure from the black community, the government passed the Education & Training Act in 1979 which allowed for a change of medium to either of the official languages after the fourth year of primary school (Std 2), and in 1982 came official recognition that English be used as medium from Std 3. This is the situation in most black primary schools today.

Various reasons for the black community's rejection of the mother-tongue medium policy can be identified in the South African literature on the subject. Among these are the division of primary schools along ethnic lines according to the vernacular spoken by the students which was perceived as mere perpetration of apartheid policy (Janks 1988:12); the difficulties experienced by students switching from mother tongue to English/Afrikaans as medium on entering high school, and the denial of access to the rest of the world which English offers as an international language, and also to employment and tertiary education (T).

However, English medium education can be effective "only if both teachers and pupils have the capacity to use English in the classroom at a level appropriate to the learning required by the curriculum" (Hartshorne 1987a:100). The effect of the various language policies over the years has been "to reduce this capacity seriously
and to lower the standard of English throughout the system" (sic). Hartshorne feels that attention needs to be given to English in the pre- and in-service education of teachers and the teaching of English in the first four years of primary school "not as just another subject but as the working tool for the remainder of the pupil's education" (p100). According to a recent source from the DET, the department has not been active in mounting INSET courses at this level to address the problem (Southey, personal communication 1992), a fact to which the recent ERS document testifies (see 2.3.1).

In sum, language policy in South Africa has been, and still is, a highly politicised issue where decisions on language in education have had to do with "issues of political dominance, the protection of power structures, the preservation of privilege and the distribution of economic resources" (Hartshorne 1987a:83). It is to these broader issues that we now turn.

2.3.3 Ideological factors underpinning black education

2.3.3.1 Apartheid Ideology

Thompson (1984) distinguishes between a 'neutral' and a 'critical' notion of ideology. In the former, ideology is used as a descriptive term where one refers to "systems of thought or beliefs" which pertain to "social action or political projects" (p4). The critical conception, however, perceives ideology as essentially linked to the process of sustaining asymmetrical relations of power, i.e. to the process of maintaining domination. To study ideology, therefore, is to study "the ways in which meaning...serves to sustain relations of domination" (sic). Morrow (1989) substitutes 'forms of understanding' for what Thompson calls 'meaning' as he feels that these are implicit in social practices, which they, in turn, sustain and shape (pxii). What then are the 'forms of understanding' which sustain and shape apartheid practices? It would seem that the philosophy of Christian National Education (CNE) and its pedagogic exponent, Fundamental Pedagogics, constitute the 'forms of understanding' underlying apartheid ideology.
CNE arose out of the political struggle of the Afrikaner Nationalist movement, begun in the early nineteenth century, and reappearing after the Nationalists came to power in 1948. It is predicated on the idea of separateness and that different people with different cultures and languages should have their own type of education. The term 'national' implies love of one's own culture and heritage, the school being perceived as lying at the heart of national life. The term 'Christian' implies the strongly religious (Calvinist) principles underlying all state education. Although CNE principles explicitly underpinned all white education in South Africa, it also extended to black education, the essence of which has been summed up in Article 15 - The Christian National Education pamphlet of 1948:

We believe that the teaching and education of the native must be grounded in the life and world view of the whites, most especially those of the Boer nation as the senior white trustee of the native, and that the native must be led to a mutatis mutandis yet independent acceptance of the Christian and National principles in our teaching. We believe that the mother tongue must be the basis of native education and teaching but that the two official languages must be taught as subjects because they are the official languages, and to the native, the keys to the cultural loans that are necessary to his own cultural progress. On the grounds of the cultural infancy of the native, we believe that it is the right and task of the State, in collaboration with the Christian Protestant Churches, to give and control native Education (cited in Rose & Tunmer 1975:127/8).

The result of this philosophy of separateness was the establishment of eighteen different education departments, each dealing with its 'own affairs' and enjoying differential expenditure which affected pupil:teacher ratios for the various groups, and the quality and provision of teacher training (see 2.2.1 & 2.2.5). Enslin (1984) sums it up thus: education for blacks should be in the mother tongue; it should, by implication, not prepare blacks for equal participation in economic and social life, and it should preserve the cultural identity of the black community although it
would still lead 'the native' to acceptance of Christian and National principles. Chick (1991) adds that the apartheid system has ensured that teachers do not speak English with confidence or fluency, use outmoded materials and have almost no contact with English speakers. CNE is thus not a 'neutral' theory of education and is spread to all schools in South Africa, white and black, through the 'hidden curriculum' (Christie 1985) which comes under the guise of Fundamental Pedagogics - the 'philosophy of education' or educational theory prescribed as the standard theory for black teacher training colleges. This philosophy seeks to justify and reproduce the dominant ideology of CNE (cf. Enslin 1984). The following quote from the authors of this philosophy serves to illustrate this relationship.

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

Concepts such as 'autonomous science', 'universally valid results' and 'truths' create the impression of an objective, scientific reflector, free of value judgements, ideology and subjectivity. Simons (1986) points out that although pedagogicians claim that their approach is phenomenological, it nevertheless distorts the phenomenological perspective in which the observer is not detached but rather establishes a relationship with the observed and "thereby influences and is influenced by the phenomenon" (p79). In this way, phenomenology recognises that knowledge and reality are "essentially socially constructed in intersubjectivity" (Schutz quoted in Simons 1986:79) which is not the position of the pedagogicians.
The result is that the latter face problems of relativism, which Simons (1986) outlines as follows:

if pedagogics recognises the "truths" and "validities" of different philosophies of life and endorses different "views of life" how can Pedagogicians claim to know what the "truth" of that philosophy of life is as Pedagogicians themselves view these philosophies from their own relativist view point? If all accounts are "valid" there can be no basis to arrive at that which is universally "valid" or "true": relativism leads to nihilism (80)

Pedagogics is thus open to criticism from any other perspective. Simons (1986) notes further that pedagogicians tend to ignore the fact that ‘philosophies of life’ and educational systems change, as they do not seek to explain how and why certain ‘educational systems’ or cultures are established or transformed and that they cannot be examined independently of their socio-political and historical contexts, as theories and philosophies are themselves "produced and rooted" in such contexts (p80).

Simons finds that pedagogics shares a deeper relationship with positivism

where the position of the observer is defined as outside and independent of the observed phenomenon, which is defined in terms of the observer’s categories and which are arrived at through the application of systematic methods of inquiry in order to discover the "objective" characteristics of the phenomenon (1986:79).

Now this position is purportedly "value-free":

(The educator) is engaged in accompanying the child on the way to self-realization, but this realization must be in accordance with the demands of the community and in compliance with the philosophy of
life of the group to which he belongs. In this way the South African child has to be educated according to Christian National principles.

But, as such, this does not concern the scientist (Viljoen & Pienaar 1971:95)

Herein lies a contradiction: although the scientist/theorist is not concerned about values, he somehow knows what the values and interests of various communities are, and although he insists that the child's 'self-realization' must be in accordance with the 'demands' and 'philosophy of life' of the community to which he belongs, he nevertheless insists that there is only one true path for all communities, and that is Christian National Education. Thus, communities and their 'values' are normatively defined, thereby excluding the possibility that they may well be "fields of contesting and conflicting interests" (Simons 1986:82). Simons concludes that it is here, in all its vagueness that "pedagogics as theory seeks to legitimize the practice of CNE in South African schools" (sic).

This educational philosophy filters through all the educational theory courses, including Didactics, which is the theory of the practice and methodology of teaching (see 4.3.2.1). This has important implications for the ways in which teachers perceive the pedagogical relationship and process, which, in turn, will have a significant effect on their practices in class.

One of the key concepts governing the pedagogical relationship is 'guidance' or 'accompaniment' where the adult accompanies the child on his path of 'self-realization'. A class of children, then, is seen as a group of "immature, developing human beings" (Duminy quoted in Simons 1986:83) for whom, as Morrow (1989) describes it "the attainment of adulthood provides the overarching goal" (p76). Pedagogical problems thus tend to revolve around the "becoming-an-adult" of the child which ignores "the great deal adults learn from living with children" (Morrow 1989:76). This position also reflects a 'deficit' view of the child in which the teacher-pupil relationship is necessarily asymmetrical. This naturally leads to a perspective which dictates a rote-learning, transmission view of education "where
the child is seen as passively, unquestioningly receiving knowledge from superior elders (experts) whose task it is to guide him to adulthood" (p77). Macdonald (1990a) perceives this as the child being reduced to a 'philosophical object' which has to be led to adulthood: "the child as a person gets lost in the process which has serious consequences for school-based learning experiences" (p114).

For Morrow (1989), a perspective which allowed adults to learn from children and children from each other (i.e. 'collective' learning), would facilitate a more generative, exploratory type of learning where children would be free to initiate and share ideas in interaction with peers and authority figures. The overarching goal of education in this view is thus not adulthood per se but "being-an-adult" which entails a certain amount of responsibility and thus "a shift in the notion of authority and related notions such as obedience and submission" (Morrow 1989:77).

Morrow thus concludes that Fundamental Pedagogics is a case of "doctrinaire thinking" the result of which is that many teachers "understand their role and function in terms drawn from the vocabulary of doctrinaire thinking" (p169). Unfortunately, as Simons (1986) points out, in most black teacher training colleges there is very little room or time for debate or for more critical evaluations of the various philosophies or theories underlying the practice of teaching. He believes that theory (knowledge) and practice need to be "dialectically and interactively related" (p74) in the sense that student-teachers should be encouraged to reflect critically on and evaluate "the interactive styles, patterns of communication, theories, ideologies and assumptions which underlie the 'skills' and methods which they use in practice" (p74). If, Simons notes, student-teachers were able to evaluate how their forms of teaching related to the wider structures and relations in society, then this level of awareness would enable them "to identify those constraints which are self-imposed or are imposed from sources other than themselves" (p74). This is the aim behind the present study, i.e. an examination of attitudes and perceptions (and their origins) as they relate to practices in order to better inform pedagogical processes.
It thus seems that the ideology of apartheid and its various philosophical exponents have had a profound influence on pedagogical practices in the classroom, one of the consequences of which are the survival strategies which both teachers and pupils develop in order to avoid the demeaning effects of inequalities in the educational system. Chick (1991) refers to one of these strategies as ‘safe-talk’ referring to the chanting, chorusing and cued response behaviour (see 2.1) which teachers and pupils ‘hide’ behind “as a means of coping with the overwhelming odds they face in their segregated schools” (p18). This phenomenon constitutes “a barrier both to learning and to educational innovation in South Africa…and serves to reinforce the inequalities that gave rise to it in the first place” (p19). One of the implications of Chick’s study is that innovation at the micro-level which is not accompanied by appropriate ‘structural changes’ at the macro-level is unlikely to succeed. Hence, institutional ideologies and bureaucratic structures appear to constrain what takes place at the micro-level. The ideology of apartheid has been an obvious target for criticism regarding unequal opportunities and the provision of an inferior education. However, this has been challenged by those who believe that the issue is not necessarily one of ideology but of capitalism. This position is considered in the following section.

2.3.3.2 Mass Education

A subtle relationship between mass education under capitalism and inequality of opportunity has also been identified in the literature on black education. In South Africa, the concept of ‘mass education’ would apply to ‘Bantu Education’, yet this relationship also applies to the first world. Kallaway (1987) believes that the issue is one of class structure and that South Africa is ‘unique’ only in the fact that this also implies race. He maintains that Bantu Education has, in fact, been highly successful in what it set out to do: increase pupil enrolments; introduce compulsory education up to a certain level and prepare people to join the workforce. All this, he notes, is the major aim of mass education under capitalism in most countries and that these (Bantu Education) policies:
simply extended mass education to the majority of South Africans in keeping with mass education strategies elsewhere, and were, as such, aimed at consolidating the state in the post 1948 mould, incorporating an entire new section of the population into the legitimating apparatus of state ideology, and ensuring a supply of appropriately educated black workers to meet the demand of the rapidly expanding industrial economy of the post-war era (p27).

Hence, workers were to be provided with a minimum set of basic skills with the main justification being the need for:

intellectual conformity and an induction into capitalist ideology rather than any goal to ensure that working class youth developed critical habits of thought (Kallaway 1987:47).

This type of schooling would support and reinforce a rote-learning, transmission type of pedagogy in the classroom.

Behr & Macmillan (1966) note that the idea of universal elementary education established itself in Europe in the nineteenth century. This was a kind of mass education provided by the state for the working classes with the object of equipping industry with better trained personnel. The emphasis, however, was on "imparting skills and information" with the pupils learning by rote and "constant, repetitive drilling" (p85). Although with the Reform Act of 1944 came a more 'progressive' type of learning and teaching, South Africa "has tended to remain in the shadows of the intellectualism of the nineteenth century" (p126). Morrow (1989) views these 'schooling systems' that were "imported into Africa" by colonial powers as "potent agents for the colonization of the minds of local populations" (p12). In relation to other parts of Anglophone Africa, Hawes (1979) refers to the demand "often locally generated", for an education which would produce "a competent and reasonably docile junior civil servant...to work under a
white colonial officer" (p25). Hence the emphasis on discipline, arithmetic, English and examinations.

One result of the combined forces of apartheid ideology and mass education is the highly bureaucratic nature of black schooling in South Africa. Referring to external monitoring and bureaucratic control, Morrow (1989) cites Boyce who feels that South African schools and their teachers have become so accustomed to bureaucratic control "that one wonders whether they would be able to develop the capacity to self-monitor their performances" (p136). In the same vein, Morrow (1989) questions the extent to which teachers' understanding of education and their professional responsibilities "might themselves be products of the bureaucracy of schooling" (p136). He goes on:

the thought that teachers employed in schooling systems are themselves bureaucratic officials might sound heretical to some, but is nonetheless a useful lever to pry open some doors we need to peer through (p136/7).

An investigation into teachers' perceptions of schooling and their attitudes towards their practices in class could help to "pry open doors". Unfortunately, this type of consciousness-raising has not been part of either pre- or in-service teacher education in South Africa. On the contrary, as was briefly mentioned in the section covering Apartheid Ideology above, PRESET serves to inculcate the beliefs and values of the prevailing ideology, and INSET merely serves to reinforce it.

2.3.4 Teacher education and training: the traditional model

2.3.4.1 PRESET

As teachers' attitudes and perceptions are influenced to some extent by the content, method and quality of their theoretical and methodological courses in their initial training, it is necessary to outline the context of black teacher education and
training, as the majority of black teachers, including those in the present study, pass through the colleges of education.

Prior to the Education and Training Act of 1979, colleges admitted students without a matriculation (school-leaving or university exemption) certificate to their courses. For example, in 1966, there were two types of certificates on offer: a Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate (LPTC) taken on completion of Std 6, and a Higher Primary Teacher's Certificate (HPTC) taken on completion of Std 8. Both courses lasted two years (Behr & Macmillan 1966). These courses were later ‘upgraded’ to a Primary Teacher's Certificate (PTC), also referred to as a Diploma (the term used in this thesis), consisting of two year’s training after Std 8 and preparing teachers to teach all standards in the primary school, a Junior Secondary Teachers Certificate (JSTC), and a Secondary Teacher's Certificate (STC) requiring a matriculation certificate for entry and involving a further two year’s training. After the Act, a matriculation certificate became the minimum requirement for entry to a Teachers’ training college and the original PTC, JSTC and STC courses were extended to three years. These courses were then subdivided in order to handle differentiated levels of primary and secondary schooling: Junior Primary (JPTC)(Sub A - Std 3); Senior Primary (SPTC)(Std 4 - 5); Junior Secondary (JSTC)(Std 6 - 8) and Senior Secondary (SSTC)(Std 9 - 10).

Furthermore, increased specialization for teachers was introduced into the SSTC course (and some students with a matric exemption on the JSTC) course by including UNISA (University of South Africa) courses. Thus students may complete two to four degree courses in the two teaching subjects in which they specialise.

The content of a primary teacher’s course, according to Behr & Macmillan (1966) consists of four interrelated parts. The first part is ‘academic’ and offers two/three subjects up to first year degree level. In the second year, students study the principles of education : history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, administration. Simons (1986) adds components such as Psycho-Pedagogics and Socio-Pedagogics which would also form part of this course. The third part offers
students theory on teaching methods - Didactics - and the fourth part consists of practical work in the schools. As far as can be ascertained, this model has not changed much over the years.

More recent innovations on the part of the DET are reflected in the ERS document (1991) (see 2.3.1) which proposes a revision of the present teacher training programmes and structures. For example, the department envisages retaining the present admission requirement of matric for entrance into colleges, but to be more flexible with teachers who have at least eight year's experience of continuous teaching and who wish to study for matric. These teachers would be granted admission initially to allow them to study. To some extent this is a positive move towards addressing the more serious problems in education, such as the underqualification of teachers. It would have been applicable to the EL2 teachers in the present study who lacked a matriculation certificate but who had nevertheless been teaching for ten or more years. Had they been given this incentive, they would probably have completed their studies for the Senior Certificate (Std 10) in a shorter time.

The department also proposes the idea of Distance Education for teacher training, as part of the strategy to reach as many teachers as possible at as little cost as possible. This could only be a viable option, however, if the student-teachers were able to cope with self-directed learning. However, the idea of teacher groups, introduced by the projects who have been most active in the area of INSET, could be usefully implemented in this respect. Furthermore, the department does propose an initial period in the classroom for these teachers in order to experience the 'practice' to which they can later relate the 'theory'. The IPI (see 2.3.1) Transvaal Forum (1991) felt that distance education as far as teacher education was concerned was only justifiable if the quality of the education and training received could be maintained.

However, no mention has been made in the ERS document of curriculum content so it is not clear whether this important area of teacher education will remain
neglected. As Simons (1986) notes: "Pedagogics and its children reigns supreme and does not enter into critical discourse with other viewpoints and philosophies" (p83). He makes the point that first year students in the colleges, for example, have over thirteen compulsory courses which they have to pass in order to be promoted to the second year of study. This factor, he suggests, precludes any idea of critical analysis or debate in class which appears to be confirmed by the 'uncritical' nature of the finally required 'knowledge' from the educational theory examination papers (sic). He goes on to quote Dummy who explores various teaching methods such as the 'telling method', the 'question and answer method' and the 'discussion' and 'problem-solving' method and who advocates the use of the last two as they allow the child "to engage in independent thinking and activity" rather than rote-learning (p86). However, this is not what happens, either in the colleges or in the schools (see 2.1) as transmission-type teaching "which has strong epistemological roots in Fundamental Pedagogics and its various disciplines...is normatively upheld and goes unquestioned" (Simons 1986:86). Nowhere in the curriculum is there any opportunity for reflective behaviour on the part of the trainees, i.e. for an investigation into their attitudes towards teaching and their roles in the classroom which would help teachers to transform their own practices. As Simons (1986) points out, if trainees are not educated (as opposed to merely being trained in teaching skills) in their programmes, they may "uncritically and unconsciously reproduce the dominant social relations in society and inculcate their own students with views of knowledge, attitudes and values which sustain and perpetuate hegemonic structures" (p74).

Furthermore, the prescribed books and methodologies for the teaching of specific subjects do not generally include more 'modern' or 'updated' approaches. Simons (1986) mentions Askes's text on teaching English as a second language to primary school pupils as an example of a 'recent' work displaying 'outmoded' knowledge and practices, i.e. it advocates the use of the audio-lingual method at this level (p87). Similarly, the textbooks used by the teachers in the present study expounded the same approach (see 4.3.2.2).
At a working session on the role of INSET in black education, convened by the English Language Teaching Information Centre (ELTIC) and the Council for Black Education and Research (1984), a number of problems concerning the current state of teacher education were identified, among which were:

-the fact that existing teaching styles were not fostering learning and that classroom interaction patterns needed to be changed as pupils and teachers were merely paying 'lip-service' to more 'communicative' techniques such as pair and group work
-the fact that colleges responsible for initial teacher training were operating in a 'vacuum' and that there was thus a pressing need for a 'real' relationship between pre- and in-service education as far more innovation was occurring in the INSET field (due to the involvement of the private sector in upgrading and research projects) which could profitably be fed back into pre-service training.

At a meeting of the Inset Policy Initiative (IPI) Transvaal section (see 2.3.1) in May 1991 with delegates from both the government (formal) sector and the private (informal) sector, the same concern was expressed again, although it was acknowledged that the state had begun to run INSET courses in some of the colleges. This, however, placed an added burden on the college lecturers, whose main responsibilities lay with their pre-service courses. However, the new proposals contained in the ERS document (1991) do give far more autonomy to the colleges, as well as more responsibility for both pre- and in-service training.

The major developments in teacher education have thus come from the private sector - the projects - which lie outside the formal system and which are mainly involved with INSET. Before considering these innovations and developments (which will be discussed in the following chapter - see 3.5), we need to look at the provision of formal INSET, and what effect this has had, if any, on teacher attitudes and practices in the classroom.
2.3.4.2 Inset

The traditional INSET model in state education in South Africa has been the centralized course approach. Courses take place in Teachers' Centres established by the DET. The first college for INSET was established at Mamelodi in the Transvaal in the early seventies. This was later moved to Soshanguve. Enrolment figures for this centre in 1983, for example, were placed at 3062 teachers (for three weeks) and this represented only 4% of the teachers under the DET at the time (Hofmeyr & Pavlich 1987:83). In 1985, these enrolment figures increased to approximately 8000 and were projected as 11,000 for 1986. However, the majority of courses offered to date have been at the secondary level, although from 1986 courses for primary teachers were also included in the course programme (Pelser 1986:251).

Referring to the in-service training of teachers within the DET, Pelser (1986) identifies two main categories: INSET which does not lead to a further or higher qualification, and that which does. The former consists of centralized courses offered at Colleges for Continuing Training (Soshanguve); centralized and decentralized courses offered by educational advisers from head office and decentralized courses offered by educational advisers in the various regions. These courses are used to introduce new syllabus content; disseminate information on new techniques and serve as refresher courses. They are mainly aimed at "increasing the teacher's knowledge of the subject matter and subject didactics" (Pelser 1986:248).

The latter usually consist of one year specialization courses offered at the Colleges of Continuing Training and other Teachers' Colleges in areas such as Media Science, Librarianship and Remedial Education. Qualifications in these areas lead to a 'higher category' classification. Finally, owing to the large proportion of unqualified and underqualified teachers in the force, the upgrading of their qualifications is perceived by the DET as a priority. It therefore offers
specialization courses on a full (one year) or part (two years) time basis consisting of vacation courses, correspondence assignments and follow-up visits to schools "for a practical evaluation of the teacher's performance in the classroom" (Pelser 1986:249).

Hartshorne (1991 personal communication) distinguishes between 'Course INSET' and 'Programme INSET', the major objective of the former being to increase and update knowledge of a particular subject, whereas the latter would lead to a change in methods and attitudes. Traditional INSET has been, and still is, of the 'Course' type, lasting between one to three weeks, and taking place at a venue other than the school in which the teacher works. This system whereby teachers are withdrawn from the classroom "has more often than not failed to influence practical education in the classroom" (Pelser 1986:246). Bot (1986) makes the point that most of the departmental INSET programmes fall under the type for the upgrading of teacher qualifications, with provision for continuous INSET being made through the inspectorate and Teachers' Centres.

The problems experienced by the DET with the in-service training of teachers include problems with the selection of teachers to attend courses which is often done in an ad hoc fashion without rationale; the withdrawal of teachers from their classrooms without suitable or sufficient replacements; poor command of the medium of instruction leading to misinterpretation of the subject content due to unfamiliar concepts and lexis, which eventually filters through to the pupils and, finally (and possibly the most important), lack of follow-up in the schools owing to the "large number of teachers involved and the wide geographical area covered" (Pelser 1986:251).

The description of traditional INSET on offer by the formal, state sector in South Africa makes it clear that it is a highly centralized, top-down procedure where the planning of the courses and curricula is carried out by department officials in the form of 'subject committees' and 'subject advisers' who identify INSET needs in their subject area. These committees are represented by teacher training colleges,
colleges of education, universities (mainly for black teachers) and two/three practicing teachers (Bot 1986 88). Thus, educational departments approach INSET more from the angle of ‘system needs’ without any participation from the users themselves. Courses tend to be

firmly syllabus-based, planned by the centre staff and transmitted to the participating teachers who have very limited input into the nature of courses (Hofmeyr & Pavlich 1987:83).

There is very little formal evaluation or follow-up in the schools, except by school inspectors on routine school visits. This ‘top-down’ approach views the teachers as consumers - of syllabus, methods and materials - to be consumed in the form of ‘packages’ for use in the classroom, without much opportunity being provided for exploring the rationale behind them. This is what Simons (1986), referring to the ideas of Giroux, terms a "professional-technicist mode of rationality and knowledge" which is related to the "culture of positivism" (p74). The emphasis is on skill improvement and regular practice in a circumscribed range of activities. There is also a body of 'useful knowledge' "which governs the practice and which contributes to the formulation of criteria by which we can evaluate the practice", which is worthwhile transmitting (Simons 1986:73). This perspective leads to a 'knowledge-driven curriculum', or 'classical humanism' (Lawton 1983) (from teacher training to secondary levels), with strict compartmentalization of content areas, and little or no emphasis on cognitive development (Macdonald 1990b:1). Furthermore, the effect is felt at primary levels "since the content/knowledge which could not be squeezed into the secondary curriculum has been pushed downwards into the years of higher primary education" (sic).

At a policy level, the ‘top-down’ approach has been described as

a linear process…which consisted of (albeit limited and biased) situation analyses, followed by policy and strategy formation, followed by aim and goal formation, followed directly by (power-
coercive) implementation ... notable is the omission of other key
elements of the curriculum planning process (trial and development,
follow-up, monitoring and evaluation) (Macdonald 1990b)

This type of curriculum necessarily determines an 'instructional plan',
characterized by teacher-centred methodology, the rote learning of items of
knowledge and inadequate provision of resources. It is ironical that although the
government has attempted to 'upgrade' the training colleges to tertiary level by
renaming them "Colleges of Education" and by equipping them with the latest
educational technology, this has no effect at all in schools where there are no
facilities for this type of technology. Macdonald (1990b) notes further that in this
type of system, "the learning outcomes are minimal" as teachers have not,
themselves, been part of the process of curriculum-design, and the curriculum is
"doubly alien to the students who are, ultimately, the victims of it" (p1). She
believes that the above 'technicist' approach to education has been partly brought
about by pressure from universities and the business sector for the education
system to 'produce' school leavers who can fulfil their respective needs. This ties
in with the concept of mass education discussed under 2.3.3.2.

As a response to the inadequacies in the qualifications and training of teachers, the
DET and its In-Service Training Centre established a two-year In-Service
upgrading programme which was subsequently taken over by the Further Training
Campus of Vista University which operates on a distance learning, correspondence
basis. In 1983, 2234 teachers were enrolled in courses on this campus (Hartshorne
1985b). However, the reading material, which the teachers depend on in a
'distance-learning' situation, proves difficult for the teachers who cannot interpret
the study material. There is an inclination to learn by rote with no real application
of the content learned (Bot 1986:108). The drop-out rate for this type of course is
about 30% (Bot 1986:108). These university-run courses are still tightly controlled
by the DET and are seen as 'bribes' providing incentives for teachers to conform
to the status quo. Certificates obtained on these courses carry promotion for
teachers, which is not the case for courses run by alternative, non-government
organizations (Matthews 1989). Teachers thus prefer to spend the little time they have in pursuing courses that carry remunerative rewards. Bot (1986) notes that figures for teacher enrolments in formal INSET courses were "difficult to obtain" as "the only way a department knew whether a teacher was involved in further training was when he/she applied for a grant, leave or a re-evaluation" (p88).

In spite of these 'improvements' by the formal sector, there does not appear to have been any response at the micro-level. Very often, 'in top-down' models of educational policy and innovation, changes at the macro-level are not necessarily accompanied by changes at the micro-level, as the 'implementers' of the 'top-down' policies, the teachers, have never had to take the initiative before, and therefore to do not assume any responsibility for change. What is needed is intensive training at the level of INSET. However, a national policy statement on INSET is still lacking. In general, both pre-service and in-service teacher training is dealt with by one section in the department i.e. there is no separate budget for INSET. In the recent ERS (1991) document, INSET has been largely neglected, with a passing reference to distance education as being an appropriate means of dealing with the problem (p85). It would appear that the state has left the responsibility for INSET in the hands of the non-governmental organizations (NGOs), hence the dissemination of the discussion document in order to get a reaction from various stakeholders (Hofmeyr 1991). In fact, the major developments in INSET since 1976, however, have come from private sector organizations and academic institutions who have attempted to fill the gaps left by departmental (DET) programmes. One of the major aims of these projects has been to restore the self-confidence, self-respect and competence of the teacher so that she would be more relaxed and thus more effective in the classroom. These will be covered in greater detail in 3.5. There is still a need, however, for greater coordination among these initiatives in order to avoid duplication of effort and to make more effective use of scarce resources. In addition, teachers need to be involved in the planning of their courses if INSET is to become a more meaningful experience for them. As Hartshorne (1985a) notes
Education systems are most effective and relevant when they have the acceptance of the user (learner, teacher, parents, community), when the user is involved and participates in the educational decisions that are made, and when the user is in broad agreement with the view of man and society that informs the philosophy on which the education system is based (p151).

The following chapter will examine what the ‘philosophies’ might be that the ‘users’ will agree with, i.e. the alternatives to the current centralized state education system.

In this chapter, various constraints operating on teachers’ attitudes and practices have been considered, from wider societal structures (the macro-context) to the conditions within the classroom itself (the micro-context). The pedagogical model informing this study has been examined in the light of these. In the following chapter, an alternative paradigm to transmission teaching will be considered, tracing its development from the early resistance movements through to the birth of People’s Education for People’s Power. The language teaching model underlying this study will be examined in the light of the demands of People’s Education and also in terms of new roles for teachers. Finally, alternative INSET strategies will be discussed in terms of the private sector’s response to the demands of People’s Education.

NOTES

1. In the present study, both school and project teachers showed evidence of this, in spite of the fact that the project was perceived as a more learner-centred
2. With reference to some parts of Anglophone Africa, Hawes (1979) refers to the "colourful ritual" which children "enact but which they do not fully understand", in chanting or chorusing English nursery rhymes (p14). He is referring to "deep" rural communities in Nigeria, Swaziland, Sierra Leone and Kenya, where some schools have adopted English as medium of instruction.

3. Hawes' (1979) experience in other parts of Africa appears to have been similar. The picture he paints of a primary school class in these areas is as follows:

   The faces of the many others remain with me...the bored and the bewildered; those who lost the battle at Book 2 but who are confronting Book 4 'because it is there'; those who can mouth Book 4 to the teacher's satisfaction but do not understand the concepts in it (p15).

4. With reference to what he terms "survival teaching" in some parts of Anglophone Africa, Hawes (1979) notes that it is:

   ..handed down by one hard-pressed disillusioned teacher to another in the face of long hours, poor conditions and low recognition. These...all contribute towards maintaining authority, reducing pressures, saving time, achieving passable examination results. They lead to a formal, didactic, teacher-centred approach...they operate with devastating force upon teachers newly trained in 'activity methods', but in the tough, bleak conditions which obtain in some schools, they may well represent the only possible alternative for a struggling teacher to adopt" (p26).
5. A different point of view comes from Hawes (1979) who cautions that education and qualifications do not necessarily reveal a teacher's potential in the classroom. He argues that what is more important than "chasing paper qualifications" is maturity, integrity and a genuine interest in children (p17). Describing two teachers whom he believed to be "extremely successful" as "most competent" in the classroom, he noted that both of them were untrained (p18). This applies to Teacher 1 in the present study, who had a junior certificate (Std 8) and a Higher Primary certificate only and yet ranked as the most "communicative" of the teachers and showed great sensitivity and empathy towards her pupils in class. This could have been due to her greater exposure to specialised ESL teaching methodology on various courses overseas. It seems that personal characteristics, as well as the quality of education and training received are at issue here.

6. The INSET Policy Initiative (IPI) has its origins in discussions among teacher educationists at the SAALA conference in Durban in 1990. There was a felt need for a "coherent national policy for INSET" (IPI report 1991:2) given the difficult environment in which in-service teacher education takes place. In June 1990, representatives (of largely non-formal INSET practitioners) from the major city centres in South Africa agreed to set up fora for a discussion of INSET policy on a regional basis. The Johannesburg conference took place from 16-18 May 1991 at which 46 delegates from government INSET departments, non-governmental organizations and colleges of Education were present. The objectives of this conference were:

- to bring together stakeholders in the process of teacher education and to assist networking
- to critically analyze the changing context of teacher education.
From this initial conference further meetings were convened, one of them focusing on a discussion of the recent Education Renewal Strategy, which was led by Jane Hofmeyr and Peter Buckland of the Urban Foundation.

7. More recently, however, there have been clear calls from the People’s Education movement for a review of the medium of instruction issue in South African schools, with Alexander’s (1983) seminal work paving the way for the re-introduction of African languages as possible mediums of instruction.
CHAPTER 3: AN ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM: GENERATIVE PARTICIPATORY LEARNING & PEOPLE’S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE’S POWER

3.1 THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT: 1954-1991

Throughout the history of black education in South Africa there has been resistance from the black community to the various government policies and legislation. This resistance ran parallel to wider political activity and strike action against the apartheid regime and all its various manifestations. According to Christie (1985), the earliest resistance to the Bantu Education Act came from the teachers due to greater work loads without compensation.

In 1954, the African National Congress (ANC) organised the "Resist Apartheid Campaign" which led to massive school boycotts and which marked the formation of the ANC’s Freedom Charter. During this time, the African Education Movement was formed to give alternative education for pupils in the form of a network of "cultural clubs", the aims of which were to use songs, stories and games to teach basic maths, history, geography and general knowledge. By the 1960’s these schools were no longer operating (Christie 1985:55). The setting up of informal, community schools where pupils and parents could choose what they wished to learn has been a common thread underlying the resistance movement. Its significance lies in its attempt to offer a different kind of education in terms of aims, methods and general approach, i.e. a type of "collective learning" ('), which was to reappear thirty-two years later in the form of People’s Education for People’s Power.

Throughout the 1960’s there was continual unrest in the schools which eventually spread to the universities, with the formation in 1968 of the South African Students’ Organization (SASO) which later inspired the formation of the Black Consciousness movement in the 1970s (Christie 1985:234). This period of unrest
eventually culminated in the 1976 Soweto riots, which, superficially, were in reaction to the government’s language policies at the time.

During the 1980s, school boycotts were resumed and student leaders once again organised alternative education programmes at schools in the way of talks, discussions and debates, in order to raise awareness of issues and topics not normally discussed in government-controlled schools. Here again, was the phenomenon of ‘collective learning’. Furthermore, students were openly able to criticise and challenge teachers who, under the normal system, were figures of unchallengeable authority. They also encouraged a reaction in the government, which was the setting up of the De Lange Commission of Inquiry into education in 1981 (see 2.3.1). However, the government ignored the major recommendations of this commission, one of which was the establishment of a single ministry of education for all population groups.

Dissatisfaction with apartheid education continued until a new wave of resistance, protest and violence erupted in the townships in 1984 which was the period during which the data for the present study was collected i.e. 1984-1986. This period also marked the beginning of the Education Charter Campaign. To date, the schooling system for black South Africans remains unsettled, despite the reform initiatives of De Klerk. The demand is clearly for total transformation of the education system, and not mere renovation (Hofmeyr 1991).

To summarise, Hartshorne (1985a) identifies three main sources from which there have been increasing pressures for reform in the last ten years: the private business sector, which is concerned about the failure of the black education system "to provide the additional skilled manpower required for the maintenance and growth of the economy"; teachers and educationalists who have questioned the relevance of the schooling systems "their authoritarianism and the limited influence teachers have had as professionals on major decisions on the form and content of education" and the black community itself who are "no longer prepared to accept, without protest, inferior, segregated, discriminatory education systems being imposed upon
them" (p148). All these pressures finally culminated in the formation of a movement which addressed itself to alternative forms of education. This movement was called People's Education for People's Power.

3.2 PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER

This movement grew in response to the crisis in black education in South Africa. It grew out of various events (riots and boycotts) and out of organizations and conferences such as the Soweto Parent's Crisis Committee and the National Education Consultative Conference (1985). The National Education Crisis Committee was formed out of these and was given responsibility for initiating reform in the syllabuses and materials used in the schools. Various sub-committees, such as the History and English Commissions were also set up by the NECC in 1986 (Janks 1988).

Hartshorne, cited in Kallaway (1987), outlines the essential features of People's Education, drawn from various NECC congresses during 1985/6, particularly the Second National Consultative Conference:

The broad goals of People’s Education (PE) are the setting up of a "free, compulsory, unitary, non-racial, democratic South Africa". In its structures, it is to be "for all sections of our people" and so organised that it allows students, parents, teachers and workers "to participate actively in the initiation and management of PE in all its forms". The values to be promoted in PE would be democracy, non-racialism, collective work and active participation". The educational objectives, to be reached through the stimulation of critical and creative thinking, analysis and working methods are:

-the elimination of illiteracy, ignorance, capitalist norms of competition, individualism, stunted intellectual development and exploitation
to equip and train "all sectors of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to attain people's power".

In sum, "People's Education means education at the service of the people as a whole, education that liberates, education that puts people in command of their lives" (NECC 1986:24, cited in Kallaway 1987). PE has become "the struggle of the whole community" (Kallaway 1987:20). Student Representative Councils (SRCs) and parent-teacher organizations would be key structures in this. People's Education for People's Power is part of a "long-term, mass-based undertaking by a whole society to transform itself" (Gardiner 1987:5). This transformative function underlies the various aims and proposals for PE whose specific proposals for method, content and language competence are predicated on an understanding of education as process.

Process means exploration through language. It involves discussion and revision and an understanding of how parts relate to the whole. Process values the contributions of all learners and makes every member of the group responsible for the learning process. The teacher's role is to make this possible. (NECC 1986/87:38).

The Press Release goes on to state that if English is ultimately to empower students and serve as a means to liberation, then language competence should also include the ability

- to say and write what one means with confidence
- to defend one's point of view, to argue, to persuade, to negotiate
- to explore relationships whether personal, structural or political
- to create, reflect, invent

The above correspond to Beeby's (1986) fourth stage in his growth model and are also operational definitions of Harlen's (1985) "processing strategies". As such, they conform to the generative perspective on education. Muller argues that it was
when PE began to take on a 'more explicit form' within the guidelines proposed by
the People's English and History Commissions, that the NECC "felt the full might
of the state" (quoted in Peirce 1989:410). Thus, the third National Conference was
banned and the Public Safety Act of 1953 was invoked "which provided for the
prohibition of all non-approved syllabuses, course books and pamphlets" (sic).
Peirce argues that the government's reaction was because "the People's English
Commission made no claim to neutrality...that People's English represents a
pedagogy of possibility...and consequently a threat" (p410). The idea of a
'pedagogy of possibility' (Simon 1987) is a more recent concept appearing in the
literature on English language teaching and one which opens up a political
dimension. It involves a critical analysis of discourse, leading to counter discourse
with the main emphasis being on the learner's empowerment (see Simons 1986,
Janks 1988 and Peirce 1989 for an application of this concept to the field of
education in South Africa).

For Morrow (1989), one of the central aims of education is to generate
'democratic agents'. This aim is expressed in the view that "education aims to
contribute to people's autonomy, to their capacity for critical thinking...to the
development of their moral and political sensibility" (p149). When PE claims to be
"concerned to promote a commitment to collective effort and responsibility and the
development of critical thinking, it is talking about this dimension of education"
(sic). He argues further that without the active engagement of the learner,
learning simply cannot proceed and that the learner "needs to be conceived of as an
agent in her own right and not merely as an instrument of the teacher's agency"
(p148). This naturally implies a new role for the teacher.

3.3 NEW ROLES FOR TEACHERS

Morrow (1989) challenges teachers to

make up their minds whom they serve; to put their cards on the
table vis-a-vis the bureaucracy of schooling...(which) is part of the
problem...teachers need to decide whether they are part of the problem or part of the solution (p138)

He feels that the widespread call for "democratization" of education presents a challenge to us as educators, and that we need to "think seriously about our practices and convictions, our settled routines and deeply entrenched assumptions" that are being challenged "by a new form of discourse which forces us to face up to uncomfortable questions about where we stand and what we are doing" (p135). This is a clear call for increased awareness of attitudes on the part of teachers, especially as they are being challenged by pupils who are aware of a need for change (see 7.6.2). The same teacher who

has an implicit theory of learning...which is not consciously constructed, nor does she have to think about it very much. Rather, the theory comes from her own experience in a particular educational culture (Macdonald 1987:4).

now has to face the challenge of growth and independence in a new educational environment. Part of this process would be an honest reappraisal of her own perceptions of, and attitudes towards education in general and the language learning/teaching process in particular. By bringing into conscious awareness those perceptions and attitudes which inhibit learning, teachers would be laying themselves open to change, because real change is internal, not external. Research into teacher attitudes and practices is thus not untimely in South Africa given the present educational climate.

However, innovation in the educational arena is not without its problems (cf. Hurst 1983), one of the major ones being resistance from the participants in the process. Taitz (1989) in referring to this type of resistance, noted the teachers' dependence on their tutors and materials. They resisted innovation and there was no, or very little transfer of training into the classroom setting. The issue of 'transfer of training' was comprehensively covered at the ELT Journal's fortieth anniversary
symposium in London, October 1986, especially the contributions of Britten, McMullan & Thornton, Matthews and Hurst. A more subtle type of 'resistance', noted by Taitz (1989), was the kind where teachers often insisted on improving their own abilities first, before embarking upon more innovative methods. She described a new initiative in rural schools, run by the English Language Teaching Information Centre (ELTIC), in which an attempt was made to negotiate a more innovative curriculum with the teachers. They were given a choice as to which component they would like to do first and they chose improvement of own language abilities for the entire first year, but agreed to a "Classroom Management" component and a "Language Across the Curriculum" component for the second and third years. After the first year of the course, attendance dropped dramatically. Kouraogo (1987) related this resistance to innovation to the level of a teacher’s self-confidence both in terms of her proficiency in the language of instruction and the language being taught as a subject, and in her general pedagogy.

Easen (1985) proposes possible causes for this resistance, among them being what he terms a teacher’s own ‘theory of action’, which is similar to Macdonald’s (1987) ‘implicit theory of learning’, and which results from experience in the classroom (see 4.2.6.2). This ‘theory of action’ is what is threatened by any proposal for curriculum innovation. If a teacher’s theories are deeply engrained they may be very resistant to change (p6). Denscombe (1982) argues that there is a hidden dimension to teaching - a ‘hidden pedagogy’ - that imposes constraints on innovation in the classroom. Denscombe identifies four common features of classroom experience that account for all significant similarities in teachers’ work: social pressures from peers and colleagues to conform to shared expectations about appropriate teaching behaviour; reliance on personal qualities to establish control; adverse staff-pupil ratios and a level of isolation between classes that fosters a belief in individualised practices and the autonomy of teachers in the classroom. Thus, classroom experience has a ‘pervasive’ influence on the pedagogical practices of teachers and probably causes many innovative strategies to be considered unrealistic or impractical.
Easen (1985) suggests critically examining these theories from time to time, as he feels that confronting ourselves is often a prerequisite for making changes elsewhere. In order to do this "we need to reflect on our own behaviour or practice, make explicit the theories buried in that practice and critically examine them" as these theories are intuitive and only explicitly describable "after considerable reflection and analysis" (p6). This type of 'consciousness-raising' was central to the Ford Teaching Project (Elliott & Adelman 1973: Unit 3) and is also central to school-based INSET (Rousseau 1989 and Langhan 1989).

To summarize, the call for an alternative approach to education in South Africa, one which focuses on the process of learning, necessitates a fundamental change in the attitudes and perceptions of teachers towards education in general, towards their role and task, and towards their pupils. This need for change has not been explicitly acknowledged by the state which maintains a highly controlled, centralised and bureaucratic education and teacher training system. The latter still focuses on the product of teaching at the expense of the process. Since 1976, however, a number of privately-run and privately-sponsored projects have intervened in black education, working mainly in the area of INSET (see 3.5). These courses reflect the alternative education model demanded by the people, being established, as they are, upon communicative language teaching principles, and, as such, reflecting a more generative, exploratory type of pedagogy.

3.4 THE LANGUAGE TEACHING MODEL: COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING (CLT)

3.4.1 CLT: Key principles

Breen (1987) refers to a 'paradigm shift' in syllabus design (see 1.2.1). The erstwhile structural and functional syllabuses (Wilkins 1972) focused on 'lists of isolates' (Brumfit 1980) thus representing a perception of language knowledge as fixed and static - as a product to be consumed by the learner. Breen refers to this type of syllabus as a 'propositional plan'. By contrast, the new paradigm,
embodied in CLT and the 'process approach', sees language as "embedded within social activity requiring negotiation" - what Breen terms 'process plans' (1987:84). It is the 'process plan' of CLT upon which the language teaching model underlying the present research is based, which led to the division of items in the questionnaire as either product or process based. What follows is merely an outline of the theoretical orientations informing CLT, and its key principles, as the theory has been adequately, and fairly exhaustively, covered elsewhere (see Widdowson 1978; Brumfit & Johnson 1979; Johnson 1982; Richards & Rodgers 1986; Stern 1983; Allen e.a.1983).

CLT has an interdisciplinary base, drawing on such diverse areas as linguistics, sociology, ethnography, sociolinguistics, psychology, philosophy and educational theory. Each of these disciplines has fed into CLT theory, informing both syllabus design and methodology (see Stern 1983 for an overview of CLT). The sociolinguist, Hymes (1972) challenged Chomsky's (1965) fairly narrow view of linguistic competence, broadening it to encompass a knowledge, not only of linguistic structures, but of using language in appropriate ways in order to achieve particular purposes and to participate in communicative events - what he termed 'communicative competence'. Related to this were notions such as differential competence in heterogeneous societies and the notion of the speech event, including setting, context, participants, etc, which emphasised the 'communicative act' itself.

In relation to sociolinguistics and its more recent offspring 'pragmatics', the concern with the analysis of 'language in use' and the functions which language fulfils (Halliday 1973; Van Ek 1975; Munby 1978; Wilkins 1972, 1976) gave rise to the functional, notional and situational syllabuses with their emphasis on the contexts in which language occurs, and the purposes for which it is used. Halliday's (1973) distinction between three major functions of language: the ideational, interpersonal and textual, focuses attention on propositional content, interaction and discourse, exploring how all three mutually interrelate in the use
and learning of a language. Breen (1987) makes the point that the functional syllabus is concerned with 'communicative performance', its main objective being "to provide the learner with a repertoire of various ways of coding things they wish to share and achieve through the new language" (p90). This brings us to a consideration of communicative competence as opposed to communicative performance and how this distinction applies to CLT.

Canale and Swain (1980) developed an 'integrative theory' of communicative competence which involves a synthesis of knowledge of basic grammatical principles (grammatical competence); knowledge of how language is used in social situations to perform communicative functions (sociolinguistic competence); knowledge of how utterances and communicative functions can be combined according to the principles of discourse (discourse competence); and knowledge of how to cope in an authentic communicative situation and keep the channel open, i.e. the strategies L2 speakers employ to handle breakdowns in communication (strategic competence). Communicative performance, on the other hand, is the realisation of the other competencies and their interaction, in the actual production and comprehension of utterances.

The contribution of philosophy and psychology have, from different perspectives, led to a focus on the importance of interaction in language learning. The contribution of philosophy to CLT was in the form of speech act theory (Searle 1969; Austin 1962) which laid emphasis on the meanings of utterances (termed the perlocutionary and illocutionary force) which referred to literal, overt meanings versus the more covert, hidden meanings which interlocutors attributed to what they or others said. This refers to knowledge of the conventions of meaning or semantics shared with other code users and which is gained through interaction with other speakers. One of the more prominent theorists in this area is Widdowson (1978, 1979, 1983, 1990) who applied speech act theory to an analysis of discourse, from which he derived his classic distinction between 'usage' (denoting accuracy) and 'use' (denoting appropriacy and fluency).
Psycholinguistic theory has also contributed to the focus on interaction. Research into L1 (Brown 1973; Slobin 1971; Wells 1985) and L2 (Allwright 1982; Hatch 1978; Hatch & Long 1980; Larsen-Freeman 1980) acquisition has been extended to an analysis of classroom processes (Allwright 1980; 1982, 1984, 1988) concerned specifically with examining the way in which input relates to interaction. Interactionist theory holds that communication in the classroom generates the input upon which language learning depends thus the quality of language learning depends on the extent and productivity of the learning opportunities made available in class, in interaction with the learner’s mental abilities. Classroom process research thus stresses the negotiation of meaning during the interactive work of the participants during a lesson. Furthermore, classroom process research distinguishes between product-oriented and process-oriented learning and teaching, the former assuming that all learners learn the same thing in the same way at the same time, whilst process-oriented teaching assumes that learners learn different things in different ways at different times in interaction with the teacher, each other and the materials, often depending on task-based activity (Prabhu 1987), and which Allwright (1984) refers to as ‘uptake’.

For Breen & Candlin (1980), the communicative curriculum defines language learning as learning how to communicate as a member of a particular social group. The social conventions governing language form and behaviour within the group are, therefore, central to the process of language learning. In exploring shared knowledge, participants will be modifying that knowledge, hence the importance of negotiation. An essential part of competence, therefore, is both the knowledge systems, and the abilities which call and act upon that knowledge, the primary abilities being interpretation, expression and negotiation.

The contributions of the various disciplines have thus led to a focus on discourse, on meaning, on appropriacy and style and on interaction. From the wide and various literature on CLT, we can thus identify certain key principles: information gap (Brumfit & Johnson 1979; Widdowson 1978; Johnson 1982); meaningful and sustained discourse (Brumfit 1984; Littlewood 1981; Canale & Swain 1980;
accuracy versus fluency (Brumfit 1984); group and pair work (Brumfit 1984; Long & Porter 1985; Nunan 1989); task-based exploration and problem-solving (Prabhu 1987); interpretation and negotiation (Breen & Candlin 1980; Allwright 1982, 1984, 1988). Not to be omitted here are Krashen's (1981, 1982, 1983) theories of the 'affective filter', comprehensible input (i + 1) and the 'silent period', derived from L1 acquisition theory, although this theory has been seriously challenged for what is perceived to be a lack of a sound theoretical base, and hence, for being 'unfalsifiable' (Ellis 1985; Gregg 1984).

The above principles and the theory behind them are clearly reflected in the categories of the COLT scheme. For example, the COLT caters for the way in which input relates to interaction by focusing on the types of content explored in lessons (eg. explicit focus on form, function, discourse or sociolinguistic, or on other topics divided into narrow and broad), and the nature and source of control over the topics (whether teacher or pupil-initiated/dominated), and the nature of the materials (whether minimal or extended; audio or visual). These elements are found in Part A (activity organization). The COLT focuses on interaction specifically, and the quality of the interaction, in Part B (verbal exchange patterns), which can be gauged by categories such as information gap (whether pseudo or genuine), sustained and unrestricted versus minimal and restricted speech and form, and incorporation of previous utterances by way of paraphrase, comment, expansion or elaboration, which would occur in normal conversational interaction (see Appendix 6c for the structure of the COLT scheme).

3.4.2 CLT: The alternative paradigm

The principles of CLT outlined above clearly reflect the aims of the People's Education movement (see 3.2) with their emphasis on the process rather than on the product of teaching, entailing discussion, exploration and negotiation (NECC 1986:38). Furthermore, the concepts of critical discourse and a pedagogy of possibility (see 3.2) extend these principles in order to facilitate the empowerment of the learner. Thus, Janks (1988) is concerned to show how prototypical
'language awareness' courses (Hawkins 1984), both in the U.K. and elsewhere, lack a critical dimension, stressing, as they do, a 'conformist' perspective with regard to appropriacy and acceptability which essentially serve to maintain the status quo. Peirce's (1989) argument concurs with Janks', and concerns English language teaching in third world countries. She maintains that existing language approaches (including CLT) necessarily exclude a pedagogy of possibility, i.e. the possibility for learners to build up a 'counterdiscourse' to the discourse of the dominant interest group in that society. The implication is that language is political, and that learners (and, by implication, teachers) need to critically analyze language structures as they are used for various purposes (government propaganda, the media, the language used in textbooks) in order to identify and determine the subject's 'position' so that they may resist subordination and control. For Peirce (1989), existing language teaching approaches stress appropriacy and acceptability per se, without considering agency or the subject being 'positioned', and are therefore incompatible with a pedagogy of possibility. This, however, need not be the case.

The fundamental principles of CLT include negotiation of meaning, discussion and interpretation, each of which could be harnessed to a critical examination of language data. CLT, therefore, does not necessarily exclude critical processes - it could easily be extended to incorporate them, especially in terms of the choice of topics to be discussed. The COLT allows for a wide range of topics (content - other) and for a sharing of control (teacher and pupils). It further allows for initiation of discourse (and thus of topic) on the part of the pupils and also for sustained speech. There is no reason why this could not include 'counterdiscourse' - metalinguistic activity in which the meaning of lexical items and language structures, and their 'position' within the specific context, are explored.

If there are moves afoot to 'empower' learners, there need to be concomitant efforts geared towards 'empowering' the teachers (see 7.6.2). Owing to the lack of provision for efficient teacher education and training by the government, the private sector has been untiring in its efforts to provide alternative teacher
education in order to help teachers meet the challenge of the 'new paradigm' (and of their learners) in language teaching - a paradigm which necessitates a swing away from the teacher-centred classroom, to a more learner-centred pedagogy.

3.5 AN ALTERNATIVE PEDAGOGY: PROJECT INITIATIVES COURSE MATERIALS

INSET in South Africa has recently been defined as:

a prime strategy for furthering the academic and professional development of black teachers, accelerating the achievement of equal quality education for all children and preparing teachers to participate in the transformation of education and society (Hofmeyr & Pavlich 1987:75)

This leads to the following aims for INSET in the South African context:

- to promote the personal growth of the teacher (which is where attitudes and perceptions play a crucial role)
- to promote the professional growth of the teacher
- to promote school growth, so that they become more effective and relevant as institutions
- to promote societal growth so that it contributes to positive change and development in society (Hartshorne 1987b; Van den Berg 1987).

It is interesting that the personal aspect of growth was listed first, before any other. This, in fact, is what Easen (1985) proposes in his model for curriculum development and change. He argues that any curriculum change has a personal dimension for each teacher involved and an institutional dimension created by the interaction of all those involved. Attempts to tackle a curriculum issue at a school-based level needs an interplay between three elements: personal change,
interpersonal change and curriculum change. Any real change implies change on
the personal front first, which naturally implies reflection on one's own beliefs,
attitudes and perceptions. As Easen argues, if we wish to make changes, "we often
have to begin with confronting ourselves" (p6). This perspective on the personal
dimension of INSET is becoming more and more evident in the INSET
programmes provided by non-governmental organizations.

In 1984, at a conference on INSET convened by ELTIC and the Council for
Black Education and Research comprising approximately one hundred delegates
from various prominent private sector organizations and academic institutions, the
following objectives for a programme for INSET were envisaged:

- to improve teachers' teaching performance to a professional level of
  competence
- to ascertain teachers' needs from the teachers themselves so that they
  participate fully in the planning process
- to negotiate with teachers in the formulation of specific objectives for
  their courses
- to consult pupils concerning areas of frustration and perception of
  weaknesses
- to guide the teacher in management skills and thus encourage peer
  observation when colleagues were using communicative techniques such as
  group work.

In addition, the following requirements from teachers were emphasised:

- adequate command of the language used for medium of instruction
- knowledge of the objectives of the lessons
- ability to plan and set up activities
- ability to present items in a meaningful way so that pupils can
  expand upon this knowledge
- willingness to allow pupils to take responsibility for their part in the learning process
- awareness of not only a product objective, but also of a process objective in order to produce independent learners.

The above objectives and requirements are clearly visible in the project initiatives begun towards the middle of the 1970's. Bot (1986) in a comprehensive study of both formal and non-formal INSET initiatives in South Africa, found that the various programmes focused on the following broad areas:

- curriculum-related INSET aimed at improving curriculum implementation and the quality of the teacher's practice and expertise in teaching the subject and in knowledge of the subject
- INSET for new roles which involves retraining for promotion purposes, teaching at higher levels or expansion of skills within a particular subject area
- other INSET for unqualified (and underqualified) teachers which focuses on a specific area of professional need and aims to improve classroom teaching by enriching and increasing a teacher's knowledge or by introducing a new approach to the teaching of particular subjects in training
- other INSET for qualified teachers which has a similar function to that for unqualified teachers above
- academic/professional upgrading of unqualified (and underqualified) teachers which include courses for teachers in need of a matric (Std 10) certificate and some university courses and in need of further professional qualifications such as upgrading a two year diploma to three or four years
- academic/professional upgrading of qualified teachers which has a similar function to that for unqualified teachers except at a higher level and often includes a further year of specialization in a particular area (p7)
For the purposes of the current study, we will be examining the first two in relation to the primary school only.

Bot (1986) notes that informal INSET normally addresses itself to the first four functions, whilst formal (government) INSET focuses on the last two functions (see 2.3.4). She notes further that while the type of INSET provided by the various governmental education departments normally follows planned curricula changes and/or attempts to address itself to the problems of a poorly-qualified teaching force, informal INSET has normally been initiated in response to both perceived and expressed needs and aims at support and improvement of a teacher's circumstances (p7). In particular, the latter attempt to raise awareness and understanding of the course objectives and what they are attempting to do, i.e. to bring about behavioral and attitudinal changes in teachers and pupils (Greenland 1983:111).

Most of the projects providing alternative INSET so far have focused on curriculum development rather than on the formal upgrading of educational and professional qualifications, with the most emphasised areas being maths, science and English education. Bot (1986) notes that sixteen programmes have been of this type of which six focus on science and maths; five focus on English language teaching, and five aim at more than one aspect of the curriculum.

The major aims of the English Language projects are to upgrade teachers' use of English as medium of instruction and in teaching it as a subject and to improve their teaching methods across the curriculum by making available recent, more innovative techniques and approaches; and to increase teachers' skills and competence in the classroom so as to engender more self-confidence, independence and initiative. Among the more notable of the projects in terms of duration (since 1975) and scale, i.e. geographical area covered and numbers of teachers reached, are: the Schools English Language Programme (SELP) for primary school teachers (Stds 3 - 5), which is based at the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS), Centre for Continuing Education (CCE) and runs on a system of workshops based at
centres in the townships in the Witwatersrand area, reaching about 1130 schools and 250 teachers; the Molteno Project aimed at primary school teachers nationwide (it reaches about one million children and 250,000 teachers (Matthews 1989)) and which operates under the auspices of the Institute for the Study of English in Africa, Rhodes University, Grahamstown under the directorship of L W Lanham who was responsible for the dissemination of the Breakthrough to Literacy and Bridge to English series in black schools; the English Language Teaching Information Centre (ELTIC) which is an Education Trust founded in 1973 by the English Academy of Southern Africa and covers about one thousand teachers in urban and rural (farm school) areas and runs an English Language Teaching library; and the Teachers’ English Language Improvement Project (TELIP), initiated in response to a need identified by SELP for improving the teachers’ English language skills and operating under the same organisers as SELP (i.e. WITS and CCE).

Between 1985 - 1988, a survey of English language courses currently in use in black primary schools was carried out by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), commissioned by the DET (Kroes 1987; Kroes & Walker 1988) in order to establish which of the courses were more effective in meeting pupils’ needs and ‘pragmatic implementability’. These courses were intended to prepare pupils for the switch to English as medium of instruction in Standard 3. Those rated more highly by the team of specialists expressed notional/functional principles and a learner-centred pedagogy. They also advocated techniques such as pair and group work and task-based activity, and provided teachers’ guides and intensive in-service training in the techniques advocated by the course.

Although these courses expounded ‘communicative’ principles in theory, in practice, teachers found it difficult to use them for the following reasons. In some courses, there were no overt indicators of the authors’ theoretical approach which appeared to be ‘eclectic’. The text of the materials themselves did not help the poorly-trained, non-reflective teacher to discover and apply the language learning principles inherent in them (see 4.2.6.2). Although a number of courses provided
teachers with guides as to how to handle activities, these often took the form of step-by-step instructions regarding group work, reading exercises, error correction, etc, which relegated the teacher to the role of ‘implementer of techniques’ rather than ‘interpreter of knowledge’, equipping her to do nothing more than merely deliver the product (Craig cited in Kroes 1987:112). Activities were suggested without guiding the teacher in ways of mediating (see 2.2.4) the pupils’ learning. Craig makes the point that if participation does not involve an ‘active transaction’ between the subject’s cognitive and social resources, and the demands of English as a ‘system of resources’, no real learning can occur (p81 cited in Kroes 1987:45). What this means is that the activity lacks a guided process of problem-solving strategies to resolve the ‘non-balance’ between ‘subject resources’ and ‘object demands’, which entails the pupils’ actively engaging with the content (e.g. a story) through task-directed activities which focus them on points of importance - points that require learning, adaptation or change on their part (sic). This reminds us of Kok’s (cited in Macdonald 1990a) study of mediating strategies (see 2.2.2).

Few of the courses were designed to accommodate English across the curriculum (see Young 1987a) as statistical analyses of vocabulary items revealed large gaps in relation to most other subjects (Vorster cited in Kroes 1987). Furthermore, these courses provided little guidance on how the stated objectives were to be achieved or why things were done or set out in a certain way. Neither were there any reasons given for the grading of particular structures or lexical items so it was left to the teacher’s own initiative who were themselves ill-equipped to make those decisions. Although some of the courses did provide Teacher’s handbooks, these were often mainly devoted to preparing schemes of work and lesson plans, learning aids and games. It was found that most of the courses were largely teacher-centred encouraging an IRF pattern (see 2.1). Dace (cited in Kroes 1987:33) made the point that since language is essentially seen as a product, the teaching/learning process becomes largely a matter of transmitting the structures, functions and notions of language to the learner without any active engagement, (such as negotiation or interpretation), with the materials on the learner’s part. In general, it was thought that much of the success of the courses reviewed would depend on the
quality of the teacher (which has been discussed in 2.2.5) and the assistance given to the teacher by the materials and/or by in-service training.

The team of specialists in the above survey concluded that courses which they rated highly for effectiveness and relevance covered the various knowledge areas of English (structural, functional, notional) at the same time relating them to the learners’ background knowledge, i.e. what they brought to the LL/LT process which could form a bridge to new knowledge. As this entails moving from the pupils’ own abilities and experiences to an active pursuit of increasing understanding and knowledge, it would require more than mere repetition, memorisation and answering ‘closed’ questions. One such course is the Molteno Project’s Bridge to English (Rodseth & Lanham 1984) which is based on extensive research by academics and practitioners in South Africa.

This project explores the psycho-social situation of the pupils in order to address what pupils already know and still need to know (e.g. difficulties in learning English pronunciation patterns for African learners), and the content and visual aids are relevant to the black child’s world. The course also attempts to transfer the skills already learned in the L1 (it follows the Breakthrough to Literacy series - Lanham & Rodseth 1984) to learning to read in English. The lessons proceed from being structurally-based (building of firm grammatical foundations) towards a more communicatively-oriented approach where the communicative functions become applications of this grammatical knowledge. Attempts have also been made to build in vocabulary from other subjects in a general cross-curricula approach in order to prepare pupils for the switch to English as medium in std 3.

In terms of methodology, chorusing is decried and self or peer correction encouraged, as are group activities which maximise learner-centredness and individual pacing. Activities and exercises contain an interactive or discovery element. Initiative and independent learning are encouraged through dictionary work, library reading and discovery tasks. Although plenty of guidance is given to teachers, they are nevertheless encouraged to act independently, and to regard the
materials as a starting point for further activities of her own devising. The course also provides teacher support in the form of 3-day intensive training courses in child-centred learning/teaching methods and follow-up visits to schools. In sum, this course follows a balanced path between educating the pupils and educating the teacher (Kroes 1987).

A second project aimed at the general professional growth and development of confidence in the field which is similar in aims and approach to the Bridge programme is the Primary Education Upgrading Programme (PEUP), which was the primary focus of Macdonald’s (1990a) work on the Threshold Project (see 2.2.4). Initiated in 1980, and covering those primary schools in Bophuthatswana which were prepared to upgrade their facilities in order to accommodate the approach (a collective effort from the community), this project operates in conjunction with the Bophuthatswana Education Department and the Institute of Education, University of Bophuthatswana. It embodies a ‘total approach’ to LL/LT, being child-centred and progressive in its conception. The child’s natural potential for social and intellectual development was to be nurtured and there was to be differentiated group teaching (Holderness 1986). It further aims to stimulate professional contact among teachers at all levels through the exchange of ideas and the formation of Teacher Groups for purposes of curriculum study and resource exchanges. It also aims to create a learning environment (including teachers, principals and parents), within which pupils can take on the responsibility for their own learning.

The projects mentioned above represent "long range strategic thinking" (Rochford 1987) on the part of the private sector, with the aim of tackling the long-term personal and professional development of teachers, thus concentrating on academic improvement, innovative teaching methods and management and leadership skills.

Finally, Bot (1986) discusses "INSET for new roles" which aims to encourage management skills and educational leadership, by facilitating understanding of oneself in interaction with others and the nature of working in groups. These
efforts use an ‘action-reflection’ model and provide opportunities for clarifying attitudes and values concerning the learning/teaching process. In this respect, it would seem that this particular type of INSET would be well-suited to an attitude awareness component of the kind advocated in the present study as it is essentially to do with the increased professionalization of teachers and aims at encouraging and developing leadership skills of the kind where teachers can help and train each other (see 7.4.2).

Bot's (1986) study concludes with an overview of some of the more prominent characteristics of private sector INSET. Most of the courses for all the different types of INSET are residential and stem from a perceived need by outsiders rather than from requests from the teachers themselves. For example, three out of fifteen curriculum-related courses were started in response to teacher requests; two out of seven for INSET for new roles; two out of twenty-six for "other" INSET and one out of six for academic/professional upgrading. Clearly teachers need to be encouraged to take more initiative in this area. The primary concern of all the projects is to encourage competence in the classroom; to develop and improve skills, method and knowledge so that teachers become more effective, innovative, motivated and self-reliant. Nearly all projects include follow-up in the teachers' schools which is an improvement on formal, state INSET. In most of the courses, teachers participate in the planning of their content and activities, and most courses (except for the course upgrading teachers' academic/professional qualifications which normally takes one to two years study) last from one/two weeks to three months. According to Hartshorne (1991 personal communication), projects have learned from experience that the work they do with the teachers must be (a) school-based and (b) planned with the teachers so that the latter begin to 'own' the programme and form their own support groups.

Rochford (1987) sees the success of the projects (he cites the Molteno and PEUP projects as an example) lying in their particular model for curriculum development, which he terms 'naturalistic', the important elements of which are deliberation, negotiation and the felt needs of users. He contrasts this to a "rational objectives"
model and cites Basson & Walker who found that this model failed in the
townships "because it tends to emphasise specification of content and outcome at
the expense of the less definitive roles played by uncertain processes and people"
(p117). In other words repeated emphasis is placed on both the beliefs and values
of the participants in curriculum projects, together with the needs experienced by
teachers in the school systems concerned. As Hartshorne (1990) notes, the projects
that have been concerned with primary level have been marked by two important
characteristics: they have taken primary education seriously, realising that it is the
foundation for everything else that follows, and they have worked through and
with the teachers, realising that it is teacher quality that counts. One might add that
they also emphasise the importance of the beliefs and ideals of the participating
teachers and their ability to influence the final form of the curriculum projects.

In this chapter, an alternative paradigm to transmission teaching has been
considered, particularly in the light of calls for change from the People’s Education
movement and the more recent trend towards critical analysis and counter-discourse
in the literature on language teaching. Communicative language teaching has been
proposed as the language teaching model underlying this research, having been
selected for its flexibility in being able to cater for more ‘traditional
communicative needs’, such as appropriacy and acceptability, and the more recent
demands for a ‘pedagogy of possibility’. Finally, various project initiatives
embracing the communicative approach were considered, in order to provide an
overview of what has already been done in this area. It also provides a background
for, and context to the present study. In the following chapter, the theoretical
rationale for the research design in this study is presented, moving from a
consideration of the broad research paradigm informing the research, to a review
of research on teacher thinking and teacher change. It then moves to a
consideration of the study itself in terms of research context, aims and
methodology.
NOTES

1. In his ethnographic study of teachers and students in black secondary schools in South Africa, Simons (1986) provides evidence of the importance students placed on the notion of "collective learning". He points out that students did not view their teachers as the only source of knowledge; they also "recognised each other as important resources in the learning process" (p129). This was confirmed by the data from his observations of students during their study and free periods in which they would form study or discussion groups in order to clarify content among themselves.
CHAPTER 4: THE STUDY

4.1 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF STUDY - THE HYPOTHESES

The research reported on in this thesis was primarily descriptive in nature, but contained a certain level of causality in that it aimed to describe and determine the nature of the relationship between teacher attitudes and perceptions regarding the language learning/teaching process, and their teaching practices in the classroom. The underlying assumption was that attitudes and perceptions influence the types of interaction occurring in class and, hence, pupil learning. The research thus focused on the micro-processes of the classroom, which led to the formation of the following hypotheses:

1) that teachers’ perspectives on knowledge and learning determine what happens in class and, hence, what becomes available to be learned;
2) that the attitudes and perceptions of teachers teaching in the formal school context would be far less communicatively-oriented than those of the teachers teaching exclusively on the project by virtue of their exposure to different ideologies and structures. This, in turn, would affect their teaching practices in the classroom;
3) that given a different teaching context and exposure to an alternative, more ‘progressive’ perspective on education, and thus to a different type of language teaching methodology, a teacher would gradually begin to change her attitudes to her role and task which would then be reflected in her teaching practices in the classroom.

The above hypotheses (especially 1 and 2) were borne out by the data from the research findings, except for hypothesis 3, for which the analysis was far more complex. More time was needed in which to monitor and confirm the changes in attitude that had begun to occur during the period of research and to relate these to changes in teaching practices (see 7.5.1).
4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN - THEORETICAL RATIONALE

4.2.1 Definition of present research

The research reported on in this thesis could be described as a case study investigating a small sample of teachers (4), teaching English to primary school children in two specific LL/LT situations within a particular socio-historical, socio-cultural and socio-political context. Focusing specifically on teacher's attitudes and practices, the study attempted to define a relationship between these two variables with a view to increasing understanding of the ways in which they interact, which, in turn, could inform teacher education and development with reference to teacher change and methodological innovation. To the extent that this study provides a 'rich description' (Erickson 1986) of teachers' attitudes and practices, it resembles a 'case record' which Stenhouse (1980) describes as an "archive of raw data" that can be worked on by other researchers in the course of writing case studies, thus producing "multi-site" case study generalizations.

According to Erickson (1986), the goal of interpretive research is not "the search for abstract universals", but rather for "concrete universals, through case studies" (p130). The task of the analyst, then, is "to uncover different layers of universality and particularity that are confronted in the particular case at hand" (sic) i.e. what is broadly universal, what generalises to other, similar situations and what is unique to the given instance. The responsibility for judgement about logical (cf. statistical) generalization thus resides with the reader (Hamilton cited in Erickson 1986). Lincoln & Guba (1985) prefer the term "transferability", (Bassey cited in Bell 1986 terms it "relatability"), to refer to "generalizations" from one case to another, as the latter are always contextually and temporarily relative. Thus, if two contexts are sufficiently congruent, the working hypotheses generated in one may be transferable to another. This contrasts with the positivist paradigm where generalizations are regarded as context-free, thus down-playing the value of knowledge of the particular.
The case study approach is appropriate for researchers who wish to study an aspect of a problem at depth within a limited time scale. It is essentially concerned with the interaction of factors and events and allows for the use of various research methods (both positivist and naturalistic) in order to study the interactive processes in the classroom, which, in large-scale surveys, could remain hidden through data-reduction. Bassey (cited in Bell 1986) makes the point that if case studies are carried out systematically and critically; are aimed at the improvement of education; are relatable and extend the boundaries of existing knowledge, then they are valid forms of educational research (p7)

4.2.2 The research paradigm

Two broad research traditions have informed the design of the present study. They have been variously described in the literature as follows:

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In terms of the rationalistic paradigm, the basic nomothetic tenets are methodological monism (controlled experiments), knowledge of reality as reducible to causation and a single reality. The basic hermeneutic tenets are methodological pluralism (interpretive histories), and personal interpretation of realities as they are different and multiple (cited in Kouraogo 1987:28).

According to Erickson (1986:124), mid-nineteenth century French thinkers (viz. Comte and Durkheim) proposed a positivist science of society, modelled after the physical sciences, which was concerned with the 'social facts' of human behaviour rather than with the various meaning perspectives of the different participants in a setting, which need to be eliminated if the enquiry is to be 'systematic and objective'. In educational psychology, this perspective derives from behaviourism, in the sense that "what counts is the researcher's judgement of what an observable behaviour means, rather than the actor's definition of it" (Erickson 1986:126). In Lincoln & Guba's (1985) terms, positivism has produced exogenous research where problem definition, instrumentation, data collection and analysis, and the use of findings are 'researcher-determined'. The rationalistic paradigm, therefore, lays emphasis on objectivism in social and educational enquiry, leading to a methodology purporting to be 'value-free' and 'context-free', with a quantitative and normative evaluation of data which leads to data-reduction.

An analytic study normally involves an experimental situation in which predetermined hypotheses are tested, variables isolated, controlled and examined as discrete entities, with the logic of enquiry moving from the universal to the particular (Erickson 1986). Various research methods and instruments such as surveys and questionnaires, structured interviews, attitude scales, observation schedules and standardised tests are used to collect data which are then analysed statistically in order to confirm or reject hypotheses. Research in the positivist tradition thus normally follows a descriptive - correlational - experimental loop
model (Cohen & Manion 1985) whereby data are described and correlated in order to identify causal relationships which could then be put to the test in a subsequent experimental phase.

There is thus a narrow definition of human reality in the positivist tradition, leading to a preoccupation with large samples to minimise the effects of uncontrollable variables (French cited in Kroes & Walker 1987). The whole research effort is 'product-oriented' i.e. related to the outcome of the experiment or the evaluation (Parlett & Hamilton cited in Gale 1989). As such, research in the positivist tradition does not respond to a 'dynamic situation' which would require a more holistic approach. Furthermore, this paradigm does not allow for the interpretation of individual traits and achievement, nor does it allow for the fact that research will always be 'context-bound'.

In a critique of the positivist paradigm, Lincoln & Guba (1985) observe that enquiry is never 'value-free' as paradigms are a 'systematic set of beliefs' which express various ways of construing the world. They are at once enabling and constraining and action cannot occur without reference to them (p15). The positivist paradigm constrains research to prediction and control, tending to ignore understanding and description, with the unfortunate consequences of determinism and reductionism (against human meaning or intention), and subjecting all phenomena to a single set of laws.

The naturalistic, interpretive paradigm, on the other hand, is deemed to be better suited to the social sciences with its roots in ethnographic and humanistic traditions. The researcher working within a naturalistic paradigm attempts to report specific events and situations with understanding, the findings of which are not necessarily generalizable in an abstract sense, but rather transferable to other events and contexts (Cohen & Manion 1985:41). Guba (1981) argues that the classical criteria for evaluating research in the positivist tradition, viz. external validity, reliability and objectivity, are replaced by credibility and transferability, as the investigator is not trying to be 'context-proof', but rather wants findings that
are plausible, context-dependent, relevant and investigator-free (p33). Furthermore, interpretive research takes account of the wider environment of which the research setting forms a part. Shulman (1986) sees the 'classroom ecology' as being 'nested' within the wider contexts of the school, community, family and culture, all of which have a bearing on what happens in the microcosm of the classroom. Finally, naturalistic research treats unobservable phenomena, such as the cognitive processes of the participants, as important sources of data. Findings from research in the naturalistic tradition are normally reported by means of detailed descriptions using 'narrative vignettes', direct quotes from interviews and analytic charts, summary tables and descriptive statistics (Erickson 1986:121).

Erickson (1986) traces the roots of naturalistic enquiry to late nineteenth century German social theory, which made a sharp distinction between the natural sciences (Naturwissenschaft - science of nature) and human or 'moral' science (Geistewissenschaft - science of the spirit), on the basis that humans, unlike other life forms, have the capacity to make and share meaning. The naturalistic paradigm, variously termed ethnographic, participant observational, symbolic interactionist (Mead 1934), phenomenological, constructivist and interpretive (Erickson 1986:119), is interested in human meaning as it is constructed in human reality, and the interpretation thereof. It thus aims to provide a 'rich description', in qualitative terms, which is essentially a matter of 'substantive focus and intent' rather than of procedure in data collection (Erickson 1986:119).

Interpretive, participant observational fieldwork research usually involves intensive long-term participation in a field setting; careful recording of the various events in the setting by the use of fieldnotes, machine (audio and visual) recording and other documentary evidence (diaries, memos, textbooks), and subsequent analytic reflection on the data obtained. Data collection proceeds intuitively as the researcher, through participant observation in the field, attempts to discern patterns in the data. These data are then analysed, interpreted and referred back to the participants in the study for 'member checks' and 'peer debriefing'- what has been termed 'triangulation' (Adelman 1981). Data analysis takes the form of multiple
readings of all data sources - fieldnotes, interviews, observations (machine recordings) and diaries, in order to identify patterns of occurrences of various behaviours or actions. Instances of actions are derived from a review of fieldnotes and machine recordings. Instances of comments on meanings, beliefs or attitudes are derived from an analysis of formal and informal interviews (and questionnaires) with respondents.

In the analysis of fieldwork data, pattern discovery is done qualitatively, especially on a small sample (as in the present study), thus manipulation of the data by elaborate inferential statistical methods such as multi-variate analysis, multi-dimensional scaling or other forms of factor analysis, are not usually necessary or appropriate (Erickson 1986).

The naturalistic paradigm has been criticised for its tendency towards ambivalence with respect to generalization from case to case and from a particular case to the world at large, and for too narrow a focus on certain aspects of classroom life, whilst ignoring the ‘ecosystem’ (Erickson 1986) of the environment. Shulman (1986) finds that contexts outside the classroom are often described in very general terms "subsequently to be ignored in the explanations of classroom interactions that follow" (p21). These problems were noted in the design of the present study.

4.2.3 An eclectic approach

Kuhn (1970) observed that the absence of a single dominant paradigm, which he perceived as a state of "pre-paradigmatic retardation", was what distinguished the social from the natural sciences. Shulman (1986), however, perceives this to be a healthy phenomenon, as "the co-existence of competing schools of thought is a natural and quite mature state"(p5), especially for the social sciences and education. Different paradigms alert research workers to different phenomena of interest, different conceptions of a problem and different aspects of events likely to be ignored within a single perspective. Paradigms can be different, yet ‘mutually enriching’(sic). There thus seems to be a move towards ‘principled eclecticism’
where researchers can draw on different paradigms to suit different purposes and the phenomena under study (Evertson & Green 1986).

Ochsner (1979) calls for two types of research, one for objective, physical data, and one for subjective, unobservable facts, and Guba (1981) advocates the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods, as the researcher needs "to seek an appropriate balance between rigour and relevance" (p79). Erickson (1986) argues that quantification of particular sorts can often be employed in interpretive research, and thus prefers to use the term 'interpretive' to refer to naturalistic research, as opposed to the term 'qualitative', which carries the connotation of 'non-quantitative'. Finally, Cohen & Manion (1985) cite Merton & Kendall, who argue that the trend in social science is to combine the most valuable features of both positivist and interpretive paradigms, the problem being that of determining the points at which one adopts one or other approach. Burgess (1985) citing Davies et al, notes that all quantification involves judgement as to qualities, and all qualitative statements invoke hierarchy, number and amount, to give shape to meaning. This describes the position of the present research which drew on both the rationalistic and naturalistic research paradigms for its design, methodology and instrumentation, which were both empirical and ethnographic.

4.2.4 Research design and methods used in the study

Figure 4.1 shows a model of the research design for an investigation into teacher attitudes as related to teacher practices. It draws on both of the major research paradigms, using a ‘principled eclecticism’ in terms of the research methods used for the various phases and purposes of the study.

4.2.4.1 Phase 1:(ethnographic phase) Field experience 1980 - 1988

The researcher had been familiar with the general field, ‘ecosystem’ (Erickson 1986) or micro- and macro-contexts (see 2.2 & 2.3) of the research setting for a number of years prior to the study, at different levels of involvement and for
Figure 4.1: Model of research design for investigating teacher attitudes and practices

**Research Methods**

- prior unstructured observation
  - prior informal interviews

- questionnaire
- structured interview
- triangulation

**Teacher Cognitions**
- attitudes
- perceptions
- beliefs
- theories

**Teacher Behaviour**
- actions
- practices

**Research Methods**
- systematic
- structured
- classroom
- observation

**Analysis**

Qualitative analysis of two data sets

Teacher Profiles

NATURALISTIC/INTERPRETIVE
- prior unstructured observation & informal interviews
- post-questionnaire interviews
- teacher diaries

QUALITATIVE DATA

Quantitative analysis of two data sets

Rank orders

PSYCHOMETRIC/POSITIVIST
- formal questionnaire & structured interviews
- systematic classroom observation

QUANTITATIVE DATA
various purposes such as: prior research in black primary (Std 3) and junior secondary (Std 6) classrooms (see Lennard 1984); in an advisory capacity on the Schools English Language Project (SELP) (see 3.5); as moderator for the Preparatory Course for Overseas Teachers of English which later became the COTE Scheme run by the SACHED TRUST (South African Council for Higher Education) examined by the Royal Society of Arts; in a supervisory and external examining capacity for higher degree students from the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape town researching in the field; and involvement in the planning and running of short workshops for black primary and secondary teachers on ESL methodology. This field experience provided valuable insights into the problems encountered by black teachers in their teaching, their level of understanding of, and resistance to, new or innovative methods, and the general state-of-the-art of ESL pedagogy and English as medium teaching in the schools. It also led to the formation of tentative research questions and hypotheses which underpinned the research carried out in the present study.

4.2.4.2 Phase 2:(ethnographic phase) Testing the field

As the appointed evaluator for the SPEAK project (one of the research contexts in this study - see 4.3.1), the researcher spent a month prior to the more formal phase of the research, i.e. the study, familiarising herself with the two research contexts. Unstructured observation and informal interviews were carried out and recorded in the form of fieldnotes. These gave rise to what has been termed ‘grounded theory’ (Glaser & Strauss 1967) which informed part of the design of the questionnaire items (see 5.3) and confirmed the relevance and appropriacy of the COLT categories (see 6.2). In terms of the naturalistic paradigm, this phase could be termed ‘subjective’ and ‘speculative’ (Burgess 1985).

4.2.4.3 Phase 3:(empirical phase) The formal study (1985/6)

This phase is covered in detail in 4.3. It is sufficient to note here that the empirical methods used to collect data during this phase were a questionnaire with pre-
determined questions and an observation schedule with pre-determined categories. Both these instruments produced quantifiable data which were analyzed numerically in order to obtain rank orders. Systematic observation of classrooms with the use of machine recordings and observer-as-participant (Gold in Burgess 1985), was carried out over a four month period, and once again a year later. In terms of scoring procedures, then, this aspect of the research could be termed ‘positivist’, ‘atomistic’ and ‘abstract’ (Burgess 1985). The attempt to describe and explain teacher practices with reference to their attitudes could be termed ‘explanatory’ (Burgess 1985) and ‘deductive’ on the dimension ‘deductive - inductive’ (Lincoln & Guba 1985), as it set out to confirm or falsify preformulated, theoretically-determined (but also ‘grounded’) hypotheses by reference to a body of ‘empirical’ data defined in an ‘a priori’ manner by the hypotheses to be tested.

However, other methods, more in keeping with ethnographic research, were used to cross-check and supplement the findings from the main data sources. These were a structured interview, which nevertheless allowed for open and flexible responses from the teachers, with the various questions being used as ‘prompts’ rather than requiring ‘fixed’ responses; stimulated recall, involving playback of part of a teacher’s lesson pre-selected and controlled by the researcher, and teacher diary entries regarding their perceptions of their teaching experiences. These methods formed a type of ‘methodological triangulation’ (Cohen & Manion 1985; Kroes & Walker 1988) which served to validate and supplement the major data sources. The data was thus analysed both quantitatively, in order to test hypotheses, and qualitatively, in order to provide a ‘rich description’ (Erickson 1986) of both attitudes and practices which resulted in the development of teacher profiles.

4.2.4.4 Phase 4:(ethnographic phase) Research exposure (1986-1990)

Lincoln & Guba (1985) refer to member checks and peer debriefing as a ‘system of checks and balances’ in which data and interpretations are referred back to the data sources for correction, verification and challenge. During this phase, data obtained from the empirical phase were subjected to ‘member checks’ and ‘peer
debriefing’ (Lincoln & Guba 1985) although these activities did not form part of the data collection period per se, which would have allowed for the opportunity of ongoing revision and reinterpretation of findings. However, the member checks that were carried out after the study, in the form of seminars for the teachers concerned, confirmed to a large extent, the original interpretations of the researcher regarding the data. Teachers were invited to analyse for themselves the lessons played back on video in any way they wished. These analyses by the teachers were then compared to the researcher’s interpretations which were either falsified or confirmed with the emphasis tending to be on the latter.

Peer debriefing occurred in various meetings, seminars, conferences, workshops and lectures involving staff and higher degree students from universities in South Africa and the U.K. In 1986, lectures, workshops and seminars on the research were conducted with higher degree students and staff at the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Durham and London. Three papers presenting the research, one in the form of a research proposal, were given at two SAALA (Southern African Applied Linguistics Association) conferences in 1985 and 1991, and at the ELTJ fortieth anniversary symposium in London in 1986. Finally, the research methods and findings have been used on a continuous basis in courses for higher degree students at the University of the Witwatersrand. Feedback from all these sources, although not explicitly acknowledged as such, has been taken into account in the final analysis of the data and reporting of the findings in chapters 5 and 6.

4.2.4.5 Summary of research

Although the research process, especially in the formal phase, was ‘researcher-determined’ (Lincoln & Guba 1985), it was only a first, and necessary, step in the research cycle investigating teacher attitudes in relation to teacher practices. The researcher articulated a problem or issue previously identified in the literature, through unstructured prior observation and from general familiarity with the research setting which led to the formulation of a priori hypotheses. Various
methods drawn from the rationalistic paradigm were then used to collect and analyze data in empirical fashion. This data was then confirmed and supplemented by the use of ethnographic techniques which formed a 'methodological triangulation'. The result of this type of research was quantitative measurement of specific variables (attitudes and practices), supplemented by 'rich description' of a qualitative kind. This could then be adopted or adapted by the target population on whom, and for whom, the research was carried out in the form of 'action research' (Elliott & Adelman 1975; Stenhouse 1980) in the classroom. Hence, what began as 'exogenous' research at the beginning of the research cycle becomes 'endogenous' research where the respondents have "equal rights of determination" (Lincoln & Guba 1985:109).

4.2.5 Justification for and limitations of research methods

4.2.5.1 Use of triangulation

As research methods act as filters through which the environment is selectively experienced, they are never neutral in representing it. For Cohen & Manion (1985), confidence can only be achieved as far as normative research is concerned when different methods of data collection yield substantially the same results. Thus, in its use of multiple methods, triangulation may utilise either normative or interpretive techniques. Cohen & Manion (1985) identify two categories of triangulation: within methods triangulation, which concerns the replication of a study as a check on reliability and theory confirmation, and which involves a longitudinal approach with the same study being replicated at a different time - also known as time triangulation - and between methods triangulation, which involves the use of more than one method in pursuit of a given object (p259). The present study included both, as part of the attitude questionnaire (Q 68 - Interaction Mode) was again administered to two of the teachers a year after the formal study, and different methods (stimulated recall, interview and diary entries) were used to gauge both attitudes and practices.
4.2.5.2 The interview

Although the interview was 'structured' in the sense that questions and excerpts from the video tapes used in the stimulated recall activity were preselected by the researcher, it nevertheless allowed for 'deeper probing' (Cohen & Manion 1985:293) into teachers' responses to questions. In addition, 'open-ended' questions were used which supply a frame of reference for respondents' answers but put "a minimum of restraint on the answers and their expression" (p.297). This type of item allows the researcher to probe further, clarify misunderstandings, 'test the limits' of the respondents' knowledge and attitudes, encourage cooperation, help establish rapport and allows the researcher to "make a truer assessment of what the respondent really believes" (Cohen & Manion 1985:297).

A variation on the stimulated recall exercise is that mentioned by Clark & Yinger (1977) who point out that stimulated recall as a research technique has changed from the use of relatively short, randomly selected videotaped sections with a standard set of questions attached, to reviewing the entire videotape and giving the teacher control over when to stop the tape and which type of 'mental processes' to focus on. This would seem to be more in line with an ethnographic approach to research into teacher thinking.

4.2.5.3 Participant observation

Burgess (1985) cites Gold's classification of different modes of participant observation: complete participant - participant-as-observer - observer-as-participant - complete observer. In the present study, the researcher was an observer with a very limited role as participant, in the sense that she would be included in games and other activities at times, and sit with groups and pairs while they worked on various tasks, but, in the main, the observer remained external to the interactive processes occurring in the classroom.
4.2.5.4 Use of machine recordings

In the present study, the researcher was present in the classroom while video recordings were being made so that she had the advantage of the use of fieldnotes and recordings in subsequent data analysis. Erickson (1986) cautions against the use of machine recordings as the ‘primary source of data’ as they do not provide access to the "contextual information surrounding the event" which is important in helping the researcher come to an 'interpretive understanding' of the "immediately local organization of interaction within the event" (p145). There is thus a need to combine regular ethnography (participant observation with fieldnotes) with micro-ethnography (machine recordings). The advantage of machine recordings is that they offer the opportunity for repeated viewings and analyses of the data. The analyst is thus "freed from the limits of the participant observer's embedding in the particular sequential occurrence of events in real time and space" (Erickson 1986:144/5). Machine recordings also allow for ‘completeness of analysis’ (Erickson 1986:145) as phenomena can be observed from a variety of theoretical positions and analytical perspectives. Finally, ‘intra-observer reliability’ was established by means of repeated viewings of lessons at different time intervals.

4.2.5.5 Researcher bias

To a large extent, sampling and instrumentation were 'researcher-determined' (Lincoln & Guba 1985) in the present study. Both 'purposive' and 'convenience' sampling (Cohen & Manion 1985) applied to the sampling methods used, as teachers were selected on the basis of judgements concerning their 'typicality', and were also part of the project being evaluated by the researcher. Furthermore, theory was 'imposed' on the research in the formal phase of the study, in the form of preselected attitude questionnaire items and preformulated observation categories. Data collection was thus 'deliberative' (in positivist mode) in order to support or refute the hypotheses that were developed during the phase of unstructured observation and interviewing. Thus, the research design for the present study was not 'flexible' or 'fluid' in the interpretivist sense, but tended to
remain 'static' in the sense that concepts and theories were not modified or revised as such during the process of data collection.

Parlett & Hamilton (1977) however, argue that behind the notion of researcher/observer bias (making personal interpretation 'scientific') is the "erroneous assumption that forms of research exist which are immune to prejudice, experimenter bias and human error...any research study requires skilled human judgements and is thus vulnerable" (p18). The researcher thus makes no excuse for bringing to bear on the research design her own frames of reference and schemata to the research design, which naturally acted as a filter through which events and experiences were interpreted.

4.2.5.6 Scope of study

Attitude change needs to be monitored over time which would prove costly and time-consuming for such a small-scale study. It thus remains, in essence, an intermediate step in helping to identify possible links between teachers' attitudes and practices which could be tested out further on larger samples in a full-scale research project.

Secondly, in response to the criticism aimed at naturalistic research, that it often focuses too narrowly on certain aspects of classroom life whilst ignoring the 'ecosystem' of the wider environment (see 4.2.2) including society at large, the school milieu, subject matter and instructional tasks (Erickson 1986), this was not true of the present study. Figure 4.2 presents a model of the variables that need to be considered when examining teacher attitudes and practices, and includes both the macro-context (sociopolitical and sociocultural factors, ideology, and educational and language policies), and the micro-context of the classroom itself (physical setting, syllabus and materials and pupils). In the present study, the macro-context was perceived as a strong determining influence on the micro-context (see chapter 2). Consideration of these contexts continuously informed the interpretation and analysis of both attitudes and practices, described in detail in

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Figure 4.2: Model of variables to be considered when examining teacher attitudes and practices

MACRO-CONTEXT
Sociopolitical factors

MACRO-CONTEXT
Sociocultural factors

MICRO-CONTEXT
Classroom

MICRO-CONTEXT
Physical environment

MICRO-CONTEXT
TEACHER COGNITIONS
- attitudes
- perceptions
- beliefs
- theories

TEACHER BEHAVIOUR
- action
- practices

MICRO-CONTEXT
Pupils

MICRO-CONTEXT
- syllabus & materials

MACRO-CONTEXT
Ideology - society & School

MACRO-CONTEXT
Education & Language Policy
chapters 5 and 6. An example of this would be the chanting behaviour of both teachers and pupils in black primary classrooms, which has been related to the prevailing ideology in the society in which the school forms a part, in so far as it may contribute to the reasons behind the teachers' insecurity and hence, inflexibility which underpins the rote-rhythm method (see 2.1). Furthermore the COLT observation scheme, focusing as it does on both Activity Organization (Part A) and Verbal Interaction (Part B), was able to capture multiple aspects of the micro-processes occurring in the classroom at any given moment, and of relating them to micro-contextual factors such as lesson content (English versus other subjects), lesson goals (lead-in versus accurate reproduction) and task activities (group work, role play, picture discussions) (see 6.5).

Finally, the study deliberately focused on the teacher, thereby excluding the attitudes and actions of pupils. This is a dimension normally used in ethnographic triangulation where pupils' accounts and interpretations of lessons and events are played back to the teacher (Elliott & Adelman 1975). The assumption here is that no actions are self-contained as "all actions are interactions involving reciprocations which naturally implies a reciprocal viewpoint" (Adelman: 1981).

Allwright (1982, 1984, 1988) makes a strong case for observing pupil (as well as teacher) behaviour when investigating classroom processes, as he believes that pupils play an active role in determining the course of a lesson through compliance, navigation or negotiation. While this point is fully accepted, the focus on the teacher in the present study was perceived as a necessary first step in identifying a relationship between attitudes and practices, which could then be taken further to include the pupils' accounts of these practices. This, however, would be the focus of another study (see 7.5.2).
4.2.6 Review of research on teaching

4.2.6.1 Teacher behaviour

Gage (1963a) limits the phrase 'research on teaching' to that in which at least one variable consists of the behaviour or characteristics of teachers. He summarises several models of 'teaching process research' which have the following elements in common: (a) the perceptual and cognitive processes of teachers which eventuate in (b) action elements on the teachers' part which are followed by (c) perceptual and cognitive processes on the pupils' part which lead to (d) actions on the pupils' part (127). The present study focuses on the first two elements.

Figure 4.3 is a schematic representation of recent research on teaching, most of which has focused on teacher behaviour (and pupil behaviour) in the classroom and its relation to various outcomes, such as student achievement which, in turn, leads to a consideration of what constitutes teacher effectiveness. Termed 'process-product' studies (Dunkin & Biddle 1974), they used research methods traditionally belonging to the positivist paradigm such as observation schedules and standardised achievement tests. Brophy & Good (1986) provide a full review of studies focusing on teacher expectations, pupil performance, and teacher effectiveness, and Rosenshine & Stevens (1986) provide a review of instructional techniques stemming from this research to be used in teacher training. This research was mainly positivist and psychometric in research design, collecting quantifiable data which could be statistically analysed and used for predictive purposes, especially in teacher training courses. These studies were criticised, however, for their emphasis on performance at the expense of teachers' cognitive processes. Researchers such as Shavelson (1973) and Shulman & Elstein (1975) argued for the inclusion of studies on teacher thinking in research on teaching.
Figure 4.3: Schematic representation of research on teaching

TEACHER BEHAVIOUR
- actions
- practices
- performance

TEACHER EFFECTIVENESS
Empirical/psychometric research in terms of Process-Product Studies
Investigating Teacher performance with student outcomes
External perspective

TEACHER THINKING
Interpretive/ethnographic research in terms of Case Studies
Investigating Teacher's:
- implicit theories
- judgement & planning
- pedagogical content knowledge
- subject matter/curricula knowledge
- interactive decision-making
- cognitions (beliefs, attitudes, perceptions)
Internal perspective

TEACHER CHANGE
Phenomenological research Techniques for self-reflection leading to:

Greater professionalization through:
- pragmatic pedagogic & subject matter knowledge
- autonomy, responsibility and control over own professional development
- school-based INSET
4.2.6.2 Teacher thinking

Dunkin & Biddies' (1974) model on the study of teaching came to be widely used in process-product research. It included the following classes of variables, the first of which acknowledges the importance of taking teachers’ thought processes into account: presage variables (teacher characteristics and formative experiences); context variables (characteristics of pupils and the learning environment); process variables (observable actions of teachers and pupils in class); and product variables (short/long term effects of teaching on pupil growth). It would seem that this model provided the ‘bridge’ between the process-product studies and studies investigating teacher thinking, acknowledging, as it did, the ‘mental life’ of the teacher (Shulman 1986), in the form of presage variables.

Shavelson (1983) defined the purposes and rationale for this type of research programme:

Teachers are rational professionals who….make judgements and carry out decisions in an uncertain, complex environment…teachers behave rationally with respect to the simplified models of reality they construct…teachers’ behaviour is guided by their thoughts, judgements and decisions (pp392/3)

Feiman-Nemser & Floden (1986) coined the term teaching cultures to include teachers’ implicit theories and beliefs (Shavelson & Stern 1981; Clark & Peterson 1986; Olson 1981; Brown 1990; Nespor 1987) in relation to two main bodies of research into teacher thinking: teachers’ content knowledge, which includes subject matter knowledge, curricula knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge and concept formation (Shulman 1986,1987; Clark & Lampert 1986; Brickhouse 1990; Brown 1990); and teachers’ thought processes including preactive/postactive planning, interactive decision-making and teacher judgement (Clark & Yinger 1977; Clark & Peterson 1986; Shulman 1986). Research in these
areas has normally taken the form of case studies drawn from the naturalistic/ethnographic paradigm, using techniques such as think aloud protocols, stimulated recall, policy capturing (Shavelson 1986; Clark & Peterson 1986; Clark & Lampert 1986), repertory grid technique and fixed role therapy (Diamond 1982, 1985; Olson 1981; Brown 1990), the last two being drawn from personal construct theory (Kelly 1955). Results were then correlated with teacher behaviour, or actions, which, in turn, were investigated by means of various classroom observation techniques. The underlying assumptions in this type of research were that teachers’ perceptual and cognitive states produced and mediated observable behaviour (Shulman 1986:6).

Studies in the area of teachers’ content knowledge focused on the elucidation of teachers’ cognitive understanding of subject matter content and the relationship between such understanding and the instruction that teachers provide for their pupils (Shulman 1986). Research thus examined the sources of teachers’ explanations in particular instructional situations, and the extent, content and source of a teacher’s knowledge in the teaching situation and how it could be improved or changed. Findings from these studies pointed to the need for teachers to develop both subject matter understanding and pedagogical skill, as there seemed to be a lack of "commonly-held, empirically-derived principles and practices of pedagogy" (Lortie 1975). Lortie goes on to link the inadequacies of teacher education to the absence of a ‘technical culture’ in teaching. Widdowson (1990) and Brown (1990) appear to echo this concern with their calls for ‘pragmatic mediation’ and ‘concept formation’ respectively.

Brickhouse (1990), in investigating teachers’ cognitions about the structure of the various types of content knowledge outlined above, found that teachers differed in their conceptions of the nature of their disciplines, their roles as teachers and their pupils’ roles as learners. Teachers’ views of the theories and processes pertaining to their disciplines differed in terms of whether they perceived this knowledge as a product for teaching (involving accumulation of facts), or as a process for learning (revising old theories). He found that teachers operated from
"consistent, self-reinforcing belief systems' and that their practices "expressed personal philosophies that were congruent with their actions in class" (p60).

Yaakobi & Sharan's (1985) study examined different 'theories of knowledge' and different attitudes to education of teachers from different academic disciplines, relating them to classroom practice. They concluded that different academic disciplines exert differential effects on teachers' ideas about academic knowledge and classroom instruction and that these ideas are highly correlated with the teachers' instructional strategies in the classroom (Language teachers were found to be the least 'progressive' in this study!).

Research into teachers' implicit theories and beliefs seemed to point to the existence of belief systems regarding teachers' roles, pupils, subject matter and the school (Nespor 1987). Pearson's (1985) study focused on the congruency/incongruency of teachers' beliefs with their observed behaviour and found that these beliefs must be understood in terms of a clustering effect of beliefs in belief systems, as a number of beliefs were closely associated. His conclusion was that research needs to examine how beliefs interacting with other beliefs can present a coherent pattern of thought and behaviour. This was evident in the present study, where teachers' attitudes and practices were clustered around one or other of the bi-polar constructs in the educational model and on the dimension of communicative orientation (see 5.1.1.1; 5.1.3; 5.8.1 & 7.4.1.1).

In another study on teachers' beliefs and practices, Berlak & Berlak (1975) investigated teachers' reasons for their pedagogical practices, the rationale behind it being to discover the extent to which teachers practised the principles of 'open, progressive education' as set forth in the Plowden Report (1967). Their approach was to observe and record schooling acts, and teachers' own comments on their behaviour. They found that teachers did not hold an internally consistent set of beliefs that could be linked to behaviour. Instead they identified a number of 'dilemmas' in teachers' thoughts and actions, stemming from conflicts between teachers' schematic knowledge and cognitions (implicit theories), which are also
made up of cultural and societal ideas about teaching and the school, and the ideas gained from everyday ‘survival’ and experience in the schools. These conflicting ideas were then reflected in inconsistent behaviour.

Drawing on the work of Mead (1934) and his concept of a dialectical process between cognition and behaviour, with a distinction being made between dialectic occurring at some point in the past which would lead to habitual patterns of non-reflective, reactive behaviour, and that occurring intentionally and self-consciously, leading to reflective behaviour, Berlak and Berlak (1975) argued that the capacity to view their own behaviour in terms of generalised and abstracted norms signalled the potential for flexibility and change on the part of the teachers. Conversely, acting in an habitual, reactive manner would preclude self-reflection (see Salmon 1988). They concluded that behaviour may be viewed as the outcome of a dialectic of multiple tendencies to act and to resolve dilemmas thrown up by internal conflicts in teachers’ belief systems.

Extending the work of the Berlaks (1975), Brown (1990) saw these ‘dilemmas’ in terms of teachers’ resistance to ‘innovative doctrines’. When teachers adopt new practices, they face new uncertainties about their role, the effectiveness of the methods and the purposes of instruction. In order to help teachers identify the constraints that they themselves had imposed on independent reasoning among pupils, Brown (1990) helped them to reflect on their pedagogy by creating categories which guided teachers to formulate a schema of contrasted terms which led to a basic, three-fold classification: formal-informal; structured-unstructured and directed-guided-open-ended. The formal-informal dimension referred to the degree of intellectual dependence/independence that teachers encouraged in their pupils; the structured-unstructured dimension referred to the degree of subject-centredness versus child-centredness of the teachers’ aims; and the directed-guided-open-ended dimension referred to the amount of directiveness in methods used by teachers and the degree of control over how pupils learned. These
dimensions were then related to three sets of categories: situational categories (formal-informal); primary aim categories (structured-unstructured); and method categories (directed-guided-open-ended). Findings from Brown’s study revealed that teachers had not understood the project documents (of the innovative doctrine). However, in monitoring their own practices in terms of the above dimensions and categories, teachers developed different conceptualisations of their pedagogical practices. The study also brought to light the discrepancy between teachers’ implicit theories and curriculum developers’ theories regarding the introduction of innovative methods in various disciplines. Very often, curriculum innovation would call for reduced teacher influence (cf. CLT innovations in South African primary schools - 3.5) which teachers dealt with by ‘domesticating’ the ‘product’ i.e. translating it into their own terms. The conflict between teachers’ implicit theories about ‘good’ teaching, and those of the curriculum developers may help to explain the historic and continuing difficulties in the implementation of educational innovations (Clark & Peterson 1986:292). The conclusion from Brown’s study was that there is a need to stay close to the language of practice in eliciting and describing teachers’ belief systems when implementing innovative practices, as the teachers’ language itself can be harnessed in expressing new ideas. In this way, unexamined practices can be challenged by new images whose practical implications can be worked out first in the teachers’ own language thus allowing teachers to build an ‘experiential base’ from which to develop a more powerful language with which to describe and understand their practices. For Brown (1990) this is essentially a ‘dialectical process’ in that innovators need to understand the dilemmas teachers face, and teachers need to understand the potential of the new ideas and assess their value and relevance for their particular teaching situation (p272). Widdowson’s (1990) concept of ‘pragmatic mediation’, whereby teachers, starting from their own ‘schematic knowledge’, subject new ideas/theories to a considered appraisal before operationalising them in practice, suggests one way of resolving the ‘dilemmas’ teachers face in their pedagogic practices. It would seem that teachers are most receptive to proposals for change that fit in with their current beliefs and procedures (Elbaz 1983).
The dimensions in Brown's study closely resemble the bi-polar educational model used in the present study, reflecting as they do, elements of both transmission and generative teaching (see 1.2). Similarly, the categories identified by Brown resemble those that were used as a guiding framework for the design of the attitude questionnaire (see 5.1.3.1 & 5.3).

Research into teachers' thought processes examined teachers' typical ways of preactive and postactive planning, which was normally external to the classroom, and teachers' judgement and interactive decision-making, which entailed spontaneous decisions taken in the process of teaching. Research moved from employing a 'rational means-end model' (Taba; Popham; cited in Clark & Yinger 1977) where the teacher decides on the goals and selects the means (appropriate learning activities) for learning, to an 'integrated ends-means model' (sic), where teachers began by focusing on the activities and content of lessons first. It was found that preactive planning tended to create insensitivity towards pupils on the part of the teacher as those who did not plan were more open to the spontaneous events of the classroom. Findings also revealed that teachers spent more time planning content rather than instructional processes (Shulman 1986:23/4), and teaching routines emerged as a distinctive feature of teachers' planning (Clark & Yinger 1977) which seemed to develop as a result of experience. Four types of routines have been identified in the literature: activity routines, instructional routines, management routines and executive planning routines. Functionally, routines are characterised as methods used to reduce the complexity and increase the predictability of classroom activities. This came out clearly in Teacher 4's data in the present study, where she would move through a predictable set of routines when teaching grammar (see 6.6.4).

The common thread underlying research into teachers' interactive decision-making is the assumption that teacher thinking and teacher behaviour are guided by a set of organised beliefs often operating unconsciously (Clark & Yinger 1977:301). Research in this area focused on decisions made during the act of teaching, i.e. whether they were reflective or reactive (Clark & Peterson 1976). Findings
showed that teachers considered alternative strategies at various points in lessons only when the instructional process was considered to be going poorly, and even then, teachers rarely deviated from their predetermined lesson plans (Clark & Yinger 1977:293).

Understanding how and why teachers plan for instruction, the explicit and implicit theories they bring to their work, and the conceptions of subject matter that influence their explanations, directions, feedback and correctives will continue as a central feature of research on teaching (Shulman 1986:26). Teacher educators need to pay attention to teachers’ schemata which they use to impose meaning on their work situations. In the present study, the attitude questionnaire contained a number of items catering for the various types of knowledge brought to light by the above-mentioned research. For example, items reflecting teachers’ planning and judgements comprised the question on teaching aims (Q 66); items reflecting teachers’ implicit theories and belief systems were present in the questions on role (Q 70) and pupils (Q 67); items covering teachers’ curricula and subject matter knowledge comprised the questions on syllabus & materials (Q 69); and those dealing with teachers’ pedagogical content knowledge were contained in the questions on interaction mode (Q 68), methodology (Q 71) and the ideal teacher (Q72), i.e. items covering error correction, handling of pupil contributions, deductive versus inductive teaching of grammar, the use of drills and rote memorisation and problem-solving).

4.2.6.3 Teacher change

The findings from the studies of research into teacher thinking provided a basis for suggestions regarding teacher change in relation to two contexts: in initial pre-service education and training (Richardson 1990) identifies the literature on this aspect as the learning-to-teach literature), and in in-service, continuing education (identified by Richardson (1990) as the teacher change literature). It would seem more appropriate to study teacher change in relation to the second context, as self-reflection is far more relevant when a teacher has a few years’ experience of
teaching behind her, as she would have had the time to develop her ‘schematic knowledge’ and ‘implicit theories’ by then.

Various studies, specifically investigating the nature of teacher change have been documented in the literature. Those most relevant to the present study worked in contexts where teachers had shown resistance to innovative methods. They worked on the premise that a teacher’s awareness of what she was doing in class was a necessary precondition for subsequent change to occur. Consciousness-raising and self-reflection by means of the repertory grid technique, fixed role therapy and clinical interview strategies (Kelly 1955; Diamond 1982, 1985; Olson 1981); self and peer-monitoring of teacher practices in class (Freer 1982; Soule-susbielles 1986) and action research (Elliott & Adelman 1975), were the most common methods used for this purpose. The aim of all these studies was to move teachers towards greater autonomy and responsibility for their practices in class and hence, towards greater professionalization.

Cohen & Manion (1985) perceive action research as situational (working within a specific context), collaborative (a team of practitioners and researchers working together on a project), participatory (team members themselves take part in implementing the research) and self-evaluative (modifications are continuously evaluated within the ongoing situation, with the ultimate objective being to improve practice) (p208). Very often, outside researchers act merely in an advisory capacity leaving the teachers themselves to direct their own programme. Feedback is immediately operationalised. One of the most significant projects using this form of action research was the Ford Teaching Project (1973, 1975).

Elliott & Adelman (1975) distinguished between ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ line approaches to intervention, both directed at giving teachers evidence that they were not doing what they thought they were doing. In the ‘soft’ line approach, the observer took fieldnotes in class, talked to the pupils and then asked the teacher questions that gave him cause to reflect on his actions. In the ‘hard’ line approach, the observer worked with both teachers and pupils on various problems/misunderstandings, and
then provided the teacher with the pupils’ accounts of their classroom experience (i.e. triangulation), after which the teacher would embark on self-monitoring of own attitudes and practices. Researchers thus set out to enhance the teachers’ awareness - practical, situational and self-awareness. The principal justification for using action research, according to Cohen & Manion (1985), is improvement of practice, which can only be achieved if teachers "are able to change their attitudes and behaviour" (p214). Moreover, the task is not finished when the project ends as action research is an ‘ongoing constructive process’ where participants continue to review, evaluate and improve their practice.

In a different study, Soule-Susbielles (1986) used a form of triangulation to encourage teachers to monitor their own practices, as part of an in-service training scheme. She initiated two types of diaries: the ‘turning analysis’, where students would each write a short analysis of their perceptions of a lesson, before passing it on to the next student; and the ‘cross diary’, where both teachers and students would make entries in the same diary in order to provide access to each other’s perceptions and interpretations of classroom events.

Finally Diamond (1982, 1985) turned the order around in his research, and encouraged teachers to act out new roles in order to help them change their beliefs, attitudes and old practices. In Diamond’s (1985) study, a programme of Fixed Role Treatment (FRT) was devised to help teachers review the construct systems underlying their classroom pedagogies (see 5.1.1.1). Role enactment thus becomes a ‘formalised reflection’ of the constructive processes through which teachers are able to make explicit their construct poles in order to choose between them (p163). Diamond’s contention was that ‘transformation’ may indeed precede reflection.

In sum, research prior to 1975 was dominated by the process-product approach to studying teacher behaviour, which assumed a linear causal relationship between teacher behaviour and student outcomes. Research into teacher thinking, however, revealed that the relationship may indeed be a reciprocal one, and that thought
processes, and actions and behaviour mutually influence and reinforce each other. The relationship between teachers’ cognitive processes and their behaviour in class is summarised by Clark & Peterson (1986) in their model of "Teacher thought and Action" (see Fig 4.4). In this model, the relationship between thought and action is perceived as circular or reciprocal, rather than linear, with thought and behaviour mutually influencing each other. This model is very similar to that depicting the major focus of the present study.

Research has thus assumed an ‘enquiry orientation’ into teachers’ thought processes so that by opening up teachers’ minds to enquiry, researchers are implicitly acknowledging that the content of teachers’ minds is worth investigating on its own terms (Elbaz 1983). The mental life of teachers (and pupils) is thus ‘crucially significant’ for research on teaching (Shulman 1986) as it presents a ‘set of mediating variables’ between the major independent and dependent variables i.e. the inputs and outputs (Erickson 1986:127). Furthermore, implicit in all of the above studies, is the fact that although not explicitly mentioned, attitudes form part of a teacher’s belief system. This was the focus of the present study, to which we now turn.

4.3 RESEARCH CONTEXT - LOCATION AND SUBJECTS

In response to the present need in South Africa for intensive research efforts directed towards educational practices in the black sector of the community, the research context selected for this study was an urban township near Johannesburg viz. Soweto. The study was conducted over a six-month period (data collection phase) with four teachers being regularly observed teaching English to Sowetan primary school pupils at standard three level (approximately 11-14 years). Two different learning/teaching contexts were monitored: (i) a non-formal project and (ii) formal school classes.
Fig. 9.1. A model of teacher thought and action.
4.3.1 The Project

Teaching on the project was conducted in the afternoons after school at local community centres. Three teachers (one native English-speaking and two, non-native English-speaking (EL2)) taught groups of between 15-20 pupils from a sample of 100 selected from five Sowetan primary schools.

Standard three is a crucial stage of learning for EL2 pupils, as they are making the transition from learning through the medium of the L1 (in this case, a Southern African indigenous language), to learning through the medium of English. To date, the present school system has not been effective in promoting the necessary linguistic skills. The teaching methodology in the schools tends to be dominated by 'teacher talk' with the result that pupils lack sufficient practice in real communicative situations.

4.3.1.1 Aims and Objectives

The broad aim of the project was to attempt to address this problem by providing pupils with a more communicatively-oriented learning environment. Teaching materials were thus designed for the purpose of teaching a more functional type of English, i.e. English as medium and for social interaction, with the methodology leaning towards learner-centredness. The specific objectives of the project were thus:

- to provide an opportunity for practising and developing language skills
- to promote "active" learning through games and other activities
- to develop confidence in using the language
- to concentrate, at this stage, on fluency rather than on accuracy
- to provide the language needed for everyday purposes
- to encourage parental involvement in the project through regular meetings

(see Appendix 4a: Guiding principles for SPEAK teachers & Project aims).
A further general aim of the project was to encourage teacher development and independence through regular workshop and feedback sessions. In this way it was hoped that the work of the project would be extended to other community centres via the teachers, thereby creating a network of alternative learning environments for township primary school pupils (see 7.6.2). A final aim was that of materials development and evaluation which was an ongoing process throughout the duration of the initial phase of the project.

4.3.1.2 Methodology and Materials

The materials designed for the project consisted of six units which followed a simple story about a family who lived in Soweto and their daily activities. Each unit had its own sub-topic and objectives, both structural and functional (see Appendix 4b). The materials were constructed according to Harmer's (1983) model for introducing new language which consists of the following stages: lead-in - elicitation - explanation - accurate reproduction - immediate creativity. This particular model was a useful one as it 'operationalises' the principles inherent in CLT. During the lead-in phase, the pupils would discuss a series of pictures concerning the topic in question, the objective being to (a) create a frame of reference or 'schema' (Widdowson 1983) in the form of background knowledge for both the language and content to which the pupils were to be exposed, and (b) to encourage pupils' predictive skills in order to orientate them to the listening task which was to follow (see Appendix 4b:Unit 3:Catching the bus).

Questions asked during this phase would be both factual and exploratory, moving from what pupils actually saw in the picture to predicting what they thought people were saying to each other. In this way, the pupils themselves would create a dialogue which would later be matched against a model dialogue on tape. Subsequent listening activities would entail listening for gist and for specific detail with various worksheets to complete. The next phase of the unit would entail accurate reproduction, for which pupils would have to complete a task in pairs/groups, in order to practise newly-learned language items. This was often
presented in the form of a competition with the various groups presenting their solutions to the whole class whilst being evaluated for both truth value and accuracy of form (see Appendix 4b: Unit 2 Notes: Accurate Reproduction & Worksheet 2). A task involving immediate creativity would complete the unit. This normally took the form of a game involving a genuine information gap. It afforded extended practice of the newly-learned structures and often included role play (see Appendix 4b: Unit 2 Game: Is it in the bucket? & Worksheet 2).

The materials were designed with a view to maintaining a balance between accuracy and fluency and allowed for a fairly learner-centred methodology with group and pair work being the dominant learning mode for the pupils. The fact that the lesson units followed Harmer’s model so closely led to implications for teacher practices, as each teacher interpreted the materials and method in her own way. This offered a basis for comparison among the three teachers (see 6.5.5) as they were all constrained by the materials to teach the same content, in the same sequence and, virtually, in the same way. Furthermore, as the focus and pedagogic goal of each lesson varied (from exploration to practice), changes in presentation and method were therefore required on the part of the teachers, calling for greater adaptation and flexibility in their approach. This led to some interesting comparisons.

4.3.2 The School

The second learning/teaching context to be investigated was one of the five primary schools from which the project pupils had been selected. Two EL2 teachers were observed, one of them also being the third project teacher. This afforded an opportunity to compare her teaching practices in both contexts (see 6.6.1.3). Lessons in both English and other subjects were monitored in order to see whether practices differed when the focus was on ‘content’ and not necessarily on the language itself. To some extent, this ran parallel to the various stages in the Harmer (1983) model, to the extent that change in pedagogic goal necessitated a different approach by the teacher.
The syllabus for the Primary Teachers’ Diploma (PTD) English B, English (Second Language) Subject Didactics, and that for Standard 3 English, propose a ‘functional’ and communicative approach to the learning/teaching of English. However, these are the revised syllabuses since 1985, except that for Standard three English, which, apparently, has not changed substantially since 1983 (Southey 1992: personal communication). For example, one of the aims of the PTD English B is “to help the students to acquire fluency, spontaneity and confidence in the use of English” in order to enable them to "perform a general ancillary function in the English language by setting an example of correct language usage" (see Appendix 4c: PTD p1). Unfortunately, these aims are seldom realised, as a large proportion of teachers trained by the colleges are not confident in either their knowledge, or their use of English (cf. Appendix 5b: responses of Teachers 3 and 4 to Qs 5 & 23). Neither are they examples of ‘correct’ language usage as they often expose pupils to structures which are not ‘standard’ and which are then passed onto the pupils, forming, as it were, a type of fossilised ‘interlanguage’ (Selinker 1972; Corder 1981). The following structures, found in Appendix 6a Transcripts 1 Is 70-75 & 13 Is 69-72 are good examples of this: *How far is town from here to Bloemfontein? and *How is the tail? Similar structures, such as *How is an onion? and *How is Australia? have frequently been noted on different occasions by the present researcher, and others involved in classroom observation in black schools (Stein 1985: personal communication). These structures appear to have the function of asking for a description.

The English B syllabus advocates various models of language for students to imitate and ‘regular oral drills’ in order to ‘eliminate recurring language errors’ (p2), whilst the ESL subject didactics syllabus recommends that the students receive guidance “in meaningful memorising techniques” (p1). This is an aspect which is clearly carried over into the classroom where teachers continually focus on accuracy work at the expense of fluency (see Transcripts 6-14).
The Subject Didactics syllabus sets out to "equip the student with the necessary understanding of the latest methods and the most effective techniques of teaching a second language" (p1). This, however, is seldom visible in practice. Researchers and educationalists in the field have long since noted that teachers appear to pay mere lip-service to new approaches and techniques. It seems that teachers encourage participation on the part of the pupils for the sake of participation i.e. role play activities, memorising and reading dialogues from the board, and even 'retell' activities may be carried out in a superficial way in order to provide a semblance of participation (see Transcripts 7 & 8 ex2).

The moderator of the Preliminary Certificate for Overseas Teachers of English, now known as the COTE scheme (Royal Society of Arts Examination Board) (1987/88), offered to teachers by the SACHED TRUST (South African Council of Higher Education), included the following reservation in her report:

It would seem that trainees have a tendency to introduce various 'communicative' activities into their lessons in only a superficial way. What is needed is some way of encouraging a belief in the communicative methods that the course is trying to put across. So far, they are merely cosmetic and, as such, remain ineffective, as they are not really integral to the language learning/teaching process itself. The questions to be addressed are: How do we change attitudes and old habits? How do we encourage transfer of skills and content learned on the course to the classroom? Perhaps this is an area where peer observation would prove most valuable (Lennard 1988:1)

Like the PTD syllabus, the school English syllabus for Std 3 also expresses communicative aims, recommending that oral work in standards 3 and 4 "should frequently be related to other school subjects such as mathematics, geography, history and general science in order to prepare the pupils for the transition to English as a medium of instruction" (p4) and that the "improvement of a pupil's
English...is the responsibility of every teacher at the level at which English becomes the medium of instruction" (p5). This is the across-the-curriculum approach advocated by Young (1987a) (see 2.2.4). Finally, strong emphasis is given to the Aural-oral skills, especially pronunciation (p5), which has possibly contributed to the fairly exclusive focus on accuracy of form by black teachers in school English lessons.

Although the above recommendations express a generative, communicative approach in principle, they are rarely carried out in practice, as noted by numerous educationalists and researchers who have had fairly extensive experience in the field (see 2.2.4). Teachers tend to compartmentalise the skills into discrete lessons (see Transcripts 6 - 14 in Appendix 6a) rather than regard them as "interlocking components of an integrated approach to the teaching of living English" (school syllabus:p5). Deductive, formal presentations of grammatical structures abound (see Transcripts 11 & 14), in spite of the recommendation by the syllabus that this aspect be treated inductively (p7). Finally, the syllabus advocates an approach which leads pupils from listening to a model (teacher), to imitating that model to writing what they have learnt (p7). This aspect has been seized upon by teachers, Teacher 4 being a prime example of this (see Transcripts 11 & 14) as she moves from presenting the new language (or activities) to pupils (with some explanation of grammatical principles), to getting them to imitate her in chorus, and, finally, to making them copy down sentences from the board into their books, albeit erroneously (see Transcript 14). It would seem, then, that the teachers cling to what they can understand from the syllabus (or to what their H.O.D has extracted from the syllabus for them), i.e. simple methods of presentation or technique, whilst disregarding, or failing to understand, the principles behind them. The consequences of this are 'loss of meaning' for the pupils, who are exposed to these methods/techniques in a superficial, rote-learning manner (see 2.2.4).
4.3.2.2 The Materials

In contrast to the syllabus, the materials used by the teachers in this study were two textbooks which were explicitly structural and audio-lingual in orientation (see Appendix 4c: textbook samples). For example, the introduction to MODERN GRADED ENGLISH STANDARD 3 (Barnes & Dugard: no date) gives immediate attention to analysing the English sentence into subject, object and predicate (p1). Likewise, in PLAIN SAILING (Schoeman: no date), it is made clear that the textbook is based on "the principles of the audio-lingual (listening-speaking) approach" (p1). Each chapter covers a particular structure in English (p2); language drills with substitution tables form an integral part of the suggested activities (p3), and the memorization and dramatization of dialogues are advocated (p4). Little wonder, then, that the teachers, who are heavily reliant on the textbook, place more emphasis on these activities in their language teaching.

More recently, a survey was undertaken by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of 8 language courses currently in use in black primary schools (see Kroes 1987; Kroes & Walker 1988). Unfortunately, the above course books used by the teachers in this study were not included in the survey although they should have been (Dill cited in Kroes 1987:31). These courses include communicative methods and techniques, yet findings from the surveys showed that teachers encountered difficulty in using the new methods and appeared to use them without any deep understanding of what they were intended to achieve (see Kroes 1987; Kroes & Walker 1988). This aspect is covered more fully in 2.2.4.

4.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.4.1 Research Instruments

The broad research paradigm could be described as "descriptive-correlational" (Cohen & Manion 1985). Teacher attitudes and perceptions, on one hand, and
teacher practices in the classroom on the other, were to be separately observed and
described, and then correlated. Two basic research methods were used for this
purpose: an attitude survey consisting of a questionnaire (Appendix 5a), a post-
questionnaire interview with a stimulated recall activity (Appendix 5d), and diary
entries (Appendix 5e), and an observation scheme that had been designed
specifically to capture the communicative orientation of a second language lesson:
the COLT (see Appendix 6c). The research approach, therefore, included both
ethnographic and psychometric aspects, with participant observation, interviews,
diaries and researcher's field notes supplementing the quantitative data obtained by
means of the questionnaire and observation scheme (see 4.2).

4.4.2 Data Collection and Sampling

4.4.2.1 Observation and recording of lessons

Data collection took place over a period of approximately six months.
Familiarization with both research contexts and unstructured observation with
informal interviews took place in the first month so that both pupils and teachers
became used to the presence of the researcher/observer. Video recordings of
lessons began in the second month and continued until the fifth. Because data
collection began during a rather intensive period of political and social unrest in
the country (viz. July 1985) sampling had to be limited to what was available at
any particular time.

This necessitated a fundamental change to the pattern of data collection which had
been planned initially, i.e. to obtain data from teachers at the same stages in the
lesson units (which only happened once for an accurate reproduction lesson in
unit 2 - Where are the mice?), and to obtain a variety of lessons for each teacher
(lessons in which the pedagogic goals differed). Although each teacher was
observed and recorded teaching at least two different types of lessons, more varied
data should have been obtained for one of the project teachers (T1) (see 7.5.1). In
sum, each teacher was monitored in lessons where the pedagogic goal differed in
terms of whether the orientation, in general, was more structural (as in the accurate reproduction lessons), or more communicative (as in the lead-in and immediate creativity lessons). The ‘English’ lessons at the school corresponded (in terms of the heavy structural emphasis) to the accurate reproduction lessons of the project, and the ‘other subject’ lessons, to the lead-in and immediate creativity lessons (in terms of the emphasis on communication of content) (see Appendix 4d for a sampling of individual teachers’ lessons).

The prevailing socio-political climate also led to greater exposure to the project than to the school, access to which became difficult and dangerous. However, on average, sampling took place at two-weekly intervals for both contexts. Appendix 4d provides a summary of the total sampling time for both project and school. Eighteen lessons were obtained in toto, eight from the project and ten from the school, i.e. 750 minutes (12 hours 30 minutes) of lessons.

Lessons for project and school varied in length, with the former averaging between 45 - 75 minutes, and the latter, between 20 - 30 minutes. Furthermore, exposure to each teacher varied (see Appendix 4d for a summary of total sampling time for each teacher) so that it became necessary to ‘average out’ these inequalities by (a) dividing the total number of scores for each teacher by the total number of lessons per teacher and (b) by reducing/increasing each score obtained for each lesson to a rate per hour in terms of teaching ‘events’. This will be explained in more detail under 6.3.

4.4.2.2 Attitude survey

This took place towards the middle of the observation period. The intention was to include items in the questionnaire that were directly derived from the observation of lessons, so that a more direct relationship between teachers’ perceptions of their practices in the classroom, and their actual practices as observed during the lessons, could be obtained. A full description of and rationale for the various questionnaire categories appears under 5.3).
Each teacher was interviewed separately for a whole day during a 5-day period. The first part of the interview entailed answering the items in the questionnaire. The second part entailed watching a play-back of part of a lesson in which a particular teacher featured, and then answering questions on it. These interviews are explained in more detail under 5.6 (see also Appendix 5d: Teacher Interviews with stimulated recall on video recording of lessons).

The teachers had been urged to keep diaries during the observation period as supplementary material to the questionnaire and interviews. This proved to be unsuccessful as teachers were under pressure at school owing to the general unrest in the country which always threatened to disrupt classes. However, Teachers 3 and 4 did make a few entries in their diaries which reveal significant insights into their perceptions as compared to their practices. They have thus been incorporated into the individual analyses for each teacher in the attitude survey, which is the topic of the following chapter.

NOTES

1. This opens up the debate on whether the standard variety of the language should be taught to EL2 speakers, or whether their own variety of English should be used, for learning purposes at least (see Ndebele 1986; Mawasha 1987; Janks 1988).
CHAPTER 5: ATTITUDE ANALYSIS

5.1 THEORETICAL RATIONALE - RESEARCH ON ATTITUDES

5.1.1 Various definitions

In chapter 4, various terms for teacher cognitions were discussed, drawn from the literature on research into teacher thinking. The area that concerns attitudes, specifically, has been variously referred to as: implicit theories (Shulman 1986; Clark & Peterson 1986); images (Elbaz 1983); constructs (Kelly 1955; Salmon 1988; Diamond 1982, 1985; Olson 1981; Oberg 1986); dilemmas (Berlak & Berlak 1975); functional & structural belief systems (Nespor 1987; Pearson 1985); and scripts (Diamond 1985).

Studies involving research into these frameworks utilised a variety of categories for describing sub-types, i.e. of images, constructs and beliefs. These 'sorting categories' (Oberg 1986:55) most often carried labels such as 'learners', 'subject matter', 'curriculum guides', 'instructional material', 'aims & objectives', 'methodology', etc. These 'interpretive frameworks' and categories are very similar to those used in the design of the questionnaire in the present study. A consideration of the way in which these labels or 'frameworks' have been interpreted in the literature is a necessary prerequisite to understanding the way attitudes have been interpreted for the purposes of the present study. The following theoretical positions, then, have informed the design of the attitudinal constructs of the questionnaire.

5.1.1.1 Construct theory

In his work in clinical psychology, Kelly (1955) devised the theory of personal constructs to describe an individual's orientation to the world. The central tenets of Kelly's theory are set out as fundamental postulates elaborated by a number of corollaries. A construct is a bi-polar abstraction and takes the form of a pair of
dichotomous terms, such as ‘strong-weak’. In order to confirm the identity of a construct, it is necessary to identify at least two elements which share the attribute named in the construct, and a third element which does not. For Kelly, there is an interdependence of opposites where one pole cannot exist without its opposite, and an interpenetration of opposites where each construct contains elements of its opposites (which could explain why the attitudes and behaviours relating to both of the constructs underlying the educational model were sometimes evident in individual teacher’s responses to the questionnaire, and in their classroom practice). An individual’s conceptual system is thus a related, hierarchical, integrated complex of constructs, with subordinated constructs being determined by the superordinate ones which can be revised and expanded. Each person, therefore, has access to a limited number of constructs by means of which he evaluates phenomena that constitute his world. Constructs are used in anticipating future events and can thus be said to be predictive. In Kelly’s terms, a flexible construct is ‘permeable’, and an individual whose prior convictions are cast in terms of principles instead of rules has a much better chance of discovering those alternatives which lead eventually to his emancipation (Kelly 1955). Kellyian psychology thus viewed human possibility in developmental terms, as it is "only by extending the meaning of the world that we come to transform it" (Salmon 1988:12).

If one applies construct theory to teacher change, it becomes clear that it is only by examining their own constructs (attitudes & beliefs) that teachers can achieve a reconstruction of their basic construct system, as a change in one belief entails rethinking others owing to the hierarchical nature of construct systems. For Salmon (1988), construct systems define a teacher’s personal stance towards the subject matter, towards the teaching/learning process and towards the pupils. Thus, if a teacher views knowledge as an ultimate truth, she will define her subject in those terms and take a quantitative (accumulation of facts) approach to the teaching/learning process. On the other hand, if knowledge is regarded as provisional, to be constantly reviewed and revised in the light of new knowledge and facts, she will regard pedagogy as a process of constructive alternativism.
Kelly (1955). Construct theory facilitates understanding of both the individual teacher's uniqueness, and the similarity of teacher practices across classrooms. Each teacher interprets her own situation in terms of her own set of constructs (Kelly's individuality corollary), yet people who work in similar settings (e.g. a school), construe those situations in similar fashion (the commonality corollary). These conventional understandings provide their 'cultures' (Feiman-Nemser & Floden 1986) or 'tacit theories of the world' (Oberg 1986). Thus a teacher's actions are based on the set of constructs she uses to interpret her professional world. Using construct theory thus yields a comprehensive picture of the personal grounds for teacher practice (Salmon 1988:21). Making these grounds available for critical examination by teachers opens up the possibility of improving teacher practice. The implications for teaching are that in questioning their own attitudes and beliefs, teachers can gradually come to understand their own constructs and how these may affect their practices. Salmon (1988) feels that without the opportunity to articulate some of the basic assumptions from which they act, teachers cannot begin to reflect upon the meaning of the work they do. If they cannot envisage alternative approaches, they continue with the same reactive patterns that create the same ineffective conditions. Various ways of 'opening up' teachers' construct systems, using methods based on construct theory, have been documented in the literature.

In terms of research, Kelly (1955) devised a number of techniques to detect the components that comprise a personality, to promote experimentation and, finally, to achieve reconstruction (Diamond 1982). These included the Repertory Grid Technique and the Fixed Role Sketch/Treatment (FRT). FRT is based upon role-play i.e. the enactment of new behaviours to be used in the future. This technique was used by Diamond (1982, 1985), who reports on a study of the construct systems of fifteen teachers of composition, in which he found "gaps between their intentions and their actions" (p165). Teachers tended to blame "external factors" for their "inertia", which led Diamond to attempt to get teachers to perceive themselves as 'self-fashioning human beings' (p165), responsible, ultimately, for their own behaviour. He argued that teachers may be able to 'give up' a viewpoint if they
could perceive the "personally meaningful implications of alternative behaviour" (p166), as change is possible only with understanding of the alternative.

Diamond used both the repertory grid technique and FRT to gain access to the conceptual world of the teachers. The repertory grid technique produced teachers' constructs which were then used to build up a self-characterization of the teacher. The researcher then drew up a counter-portrait of a fictitious teacher who was "ninety degrees to the original of the teacher's pedagogical self-portrait" (p167). Both these portraits were discussed with the teacher concerned in order to confirm their plausibility. The teacher would then enact the role of the fictitious teacher for ten days (to avoid any changes occurring through other major events). The aim of the technique is to help teachers find dimensions along which to make changes by exploring new roles without feeling threatened, as the role is essentially an hypothesis. To some extent, Diamond's study is the reverse of the present study, in that it begins with practices in order to change attitudes rather than the other way around. Thus, through a negotiative relationship with the teacher educator and through role enactment, teachers can subsequently learn about the reasons for their actions (Diamond 1982:168).

Oberg (1986) used construct theory as a framework for studying teacher practices. For Oberg, bringing practice under self-conscious scrutiny enables practitioners to "theorize their practice, revise their theories in the light of practice, and transform their practice into praxis" (p55). The aim is a rational understanding of practice and is achieved through systematic reflection of both the unconscious and deliberate acts which constitute that practice.

Construct theory as used by Diamond and Oberg holds implications for the type of teacher involved in the present research study. Black primary teachers are often asked to try out new techniques (under the auspices of various projects) without fully understanding the principles behind them (see 3.5). Thus, when they came under threat, as in loss of authority or shift in role, they either translate the principles of the 'innovative doctrines' into their own practical terms (Olson 1981),
or abandon the new approach entirely. Construct theory and the techniques stemming from it would appear to provide a crucial bridge here - that of providing a way for the teacher to gain personal meaning from the new pedagogy. Diamond (1985) describes the purpose of FRT as being "to intensify self-consciousness, to heighten sensitivity and perceptiveness and to re-open the realms of pedagogic possibility" (170).

5.1.1.2 Theory of reasoned action

A number of sources have identified intention as being a significant 'mediating variable' between thought and action, and as the single factor distinguishing the concept of cause, as it is used in the natural versus the social sciences.

Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) try to show that it is possible to account for behaviour of various kinds by reference to a small number of concepts embedded within a single theoretical framework - a theory of reasoned action. They start from the premise that the behaviour is reasoned rather than automatic, with intention as the intervening variable (p5). They further identify two determinants of a person's intentions: personal, which refers to the individual's positive/negative evaluation of performing the behaviour, i.e. his attitude towards the behaviour, and social, which refers to the person's perception of the social pressures placed on him to perform, i.e. 'perceived prescriptions' called the subjective norm. These two determinants can influence the strength of a person's intentions to perform a behaviour.

With reference to attitudes, specifically, Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) perceive them as a function of beliefs, so that if a person believes that performing a given behaviour will lead to positive outcomes, he will hold favourable attitudes towards performing that behaviour and vice versa. These they term behavioural beliefs. Subjective norms, on the other hand, are also a function of beliefs but of a different kind, i.e. beliefs about what 'important others' (family, community, society, culture) think. These are called normative beliefs. Nash (1973) believes
that central to a theory of interaction are norms, ideals and attitudes. Nash regards these as symbols for the guides to action that members of a society follow with norms being the direct guides, ideals, the guides to actions we ought to do, and attitudes, the subjective guides to individual actions.

Thus, through a series of intervening constructs, the causes of behaviour can be traced back through attitudes to a person's beliefs (Ajzen & Fishbein 1980:8). A theory of reasoned action, then, consists essentially of a series of hypotheses linking beliefs to behaviour so that behavioural change is ultimately the result of a change of beliefs. According to this theory a person's attitude towards the behaviour itself is to be distinguished from the more traditional attitudes towards objects or targets - termed external variables in this theory. These external variables may influence the beliefs a person holds, or the relative importance he attaches to attitudinal and normative considerations. However, although they may influence behaviour, there is no necessary relationship between any given external variable and the ensuing behaviour, i.e. it will have an effect only to the extent that it influences the determinants (attitudes and subjective norms) of that behaviour. A more recent interpretation of the 'external variables approach' is that the relationship between attitudes and behaviour is moderated by other variables, eg. the presence of others, possession of skills required to perform the behaviour, internal consistency of the attitude, confidence with which the attitude is held and the occurrence of unforeseen extraneous events. A number of these variables are discussed in relation to the analysis of the attitudes of individual teachers in the present study (see 5.8).

The questionnaire used in the present study investigated both types of 'attitude' as defined by Ajzen & Fishbein (1980). It examined attitudes stemming from 'behavioural beliefs' in the sections on Interaction Mode and methodology, as these sections consisted of operationalised constructs of possible teaching behaviours, or practices, in the classroom. It also examined 'normative beliefs' in the sections on Aims, Role and the Ideal Teacher (the goals of education). Finally, it examined attitudes towards objects and targets in the sections on Pupils.
and Syllabus & Materials. These 'belief types', although presented separately above, were, in practice, integrated in the construction of the questionnaire items with relative weighting being given to the various sections.

A number of techniques have been derived from the above perspectives on attitudes, beliefs and behaviour which have had an influence on the questionnaire design in the present study. Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) cite Thurstone's psychometric model of a continuum along which measurement could take place, consisting of a bi-polar affective dimension moving from positive to negative. He assigned scale values to opinion statements, the most widely used being the 'equal-appearing interval scale' (p15). Likert improved on this by simplifying the model to a five-point scale defined by labels of agreement, and summating the ratings. This procedure was criticised, however, for its oversimplified and quantitative approach to the study of attitudes. Allport (cited in Ajzen & Fishbein 1980), argued for the recognition of the qualitative nature of attitudes, i.e. ways in which they were distinct from each other, and proposed a 'multi-component' view of attitudes which recognised that they were not just comprised of affect but also of cognition and conation (Ajzen & Fishbein 1980:17).

The attitude questionnaire in the present study is based on Thurstone's and Likert's scaling procedures, using scales of importance, agreement and frequency (see 5.4). Items assessed in terms of these scales were thus able to be assessed quantitatively. However, a qualitative analysis of various attitudes revealed in the data from the questionnaire was also carried out (see 5.8) in order to capture the complexity of attitudes, as pointed out by Allport.

The general conclusions from studies on attitudes are that a person's evaluation of a behaviour or an object, although not necessarily related to any given belief, is strongly related to the total set or pattern of beliefs (Ajzen & Fishbein 1980:22). This is consistent with the clusters of beliefs, belief systems or construct systems identified in the teacher thinking literature, and also with the findings of the present study, in which teacher attitudes tended to cluster around one or other
of the bi-polar constructs underlying the educational model, i.e. transmission versus generative teaching. According to Ajzen & Fishbein (1980), attitudes should be related to 'global' patterns of behaviour with respect to a target but not necessarily to any given action. They cite the work of Campbell, who assumed that verbal expressions of attitude, and overt behaviour with respect to the attitude object, are both manifestations of the same underlying disposition, which is noted in new global patterns of behaviour. He thus explains any 'inconsistencies' arising between discrete attitudes and behaviours, as identified in the literature on attitudes (see Kouraogo 1987:38), as 'pseudo-inconsistencies', as attitudes need to be perceived in terms of clusters or global patterns rather than as discrete entities. This phenomenon was noted in the present study, where clusters of attitudes were identified in the data, and related to global sets of behaviours (see 5.8 & 7.4.2).

5.1.1.3 Action versus behaviour

Nash (1976) makes a distinction between action and behaviour where the former is 'conscious and deliberate' and thus open to change 'by conscious deliberation' (Nash 1976:41). It is behaviour that is subjectively meaningful and characterised by an intention or aim and hence, is oriented towards the future. This corresponds to Mead's (1934) 'reflective behaviour'. 'Behaviour', on the other hand, is non-deliberate and 'only capable of being changed through a much slower process' (Nash 1976:41). This corresponds to Mead's 'habitual actions' which were 'non-reflective' and rooted in the past. The research in the present study addressed itself to the possible transition from 'behaviour' to 'action'. It was felt that it is precisely those fundamental, unconscious attitudes that give rise to the 'non-deliberate' behaviours mentioned by Nash, that need to be faced and challenged, thereby turning them into conscious and deliberate 'action' on the part of the teacher.

Behaviour, within a positivist, psychometric paradigm, is interpreted in terms of a linear causal model where the cause of behaviour lies in the past, eg. teacher performance is related to student outcomes (process-product studies) (Erickson
1986:126). Within an interpretive paradigm, however, a different perspective as to the nature of cause in social life is presented. Behavioural conformity is seen as a social construction in which humans create meaningful interpretations of the physical and behavioural objects in their environment towards which they take action in the light of their interpretations of meaningfulness. Hence, different individuals may have different interpretations of what appear, on the surface, to be similar objects or behaviour (which came to light in the analyses of attitudes regarding behaviour in the present study). Erickson (1986) thus makes a 'crucial analytic distinction' between 'behaviour' (the overt, physical act), and 'action' (physical behaviour plus the meaning interpretations held by the actor and those with whom he is engaged in interaction) - what Cohen & Manion (1985) term 'behaviour-with-meaning' or 'intentional' behaviour. Meaning interpretations are thus causal so that cause in human society is very different from the nature of cause in the physical world (Erickson 1986:127). Furthermore, as human actions are 'grounded' in choices of meaning interpretation, they are always open to the possibility of re-interpretation and change (cf. personal construct theory - see 5.1.1.1). This theory bears a resemblance to Collingwood’s (cited in Shulman 1986) theory of action as the unity between the ‘inside’ meaning (emic) and ‘outside’ meaning (etic) of an event where the cause of an event means the thought in the mind of the person by whose agency the event came about.

Finally, Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) distinguish between single behaviours and general categories of behaviour. Behavioural categories involve sets of actions, but as they cannot be directly observed, they are inferred from single actions assumed to be instances of the general behavioural category (p31). Furthermore, instances of single actions belonging to a general behavioural category, observed over time, rather than at a single point in time, reinforces the notion of a general behavioural category. With reference to the above, The COLT scheme, used in the present study to analyze teacher practices, was able to capture general categories of behaviour through its operational definitions of various behavioural aspects of the LL/LT process. Thus, a teacher's treatment of pupil error and pupil contribution, the frequency of her explicit code reactions, her insistence on rote-memorization,
repetition and choral work, may all be seen as constituting single actions belonging to the general behavioural category of transmission-type teaching. Finally, in the present study, the absolute frequency of a single action (the sum of the number of times in a lesson that specific behaviours were enacted), and the relative frequency of that action (the proportion of times the behaviour was performed in relation to the number of opportunities provided for enacting that behaviour), were captured by the COLT scheme and taken into account in the final analysis (see 6.6).

5.1.2 Various studies on attitudes and behaviour

Several studies on teacher attitudes have shown that they are an important factor in the language learning/teaching process (Stern 1983; Kennedy 1987). Kennedy (1987) takes the view that theories on the LL/LT, and educational processes "are ultimately context-specific" (p166), and that knowledge "is derived from deep-seated value and belief systems that will produce certain attitudes and behaviour" (sic).

Early attitude studies looked at teacher expectations and opinions of their pupils, and correlated these with both teacher and pupil performance (Rosenthal & Jacobson 1968). Other studies where interactions were seen to transmit attitudes as revealed by rating scales, were Good & Brophy (1972) and Nash (1973). However, most of these studies were in the 'process-product' mould.

Kouraogo (1987) mentions the work of Ferron; Barnes & Shimilt; Gardner & Taylor; Falvey and Young & Lee, all of whom investigated attitudes in relation to the bi-polar constructs of traditional - progressive or transmission - generative teaching, using a Likert-type scale to assess teachers' attitudes towards these dimensions. These studies used similar 'interpretive frames' (Oberg 1986) and categories, such as instructional techniques, learners, discipline and role, etc, as those used in the present study.
Kouraogo's (1987) study focused on "the attitudes aspect of learner-centredness with a view to drawing implications for a learner-centred approach to curriculum renewal" (p229), which implies that his main concern lay near the 'generative' pole on the bi-polar dimension used in the present study. He found that attitudes do make a difference in curriculum renewal.

Other studies investigating attitudes and teaching styles, mentioned in Bennett (1976), were those of Adams and Walberg & Thomas. Adams conducted a comparative survey of perceived teaching styles in the U.K., Australia, New Zealand and the U.S.A. Seven 'variable classes' were isolated from a review of the literature on traditional educational thinking, which are similar to those of other studies in this area and to those devised for the present study. The aim of this study, however, was to merely compare the four countries on each variable class. Walberg & Thomas analyzed the concept 'open' into its component parts and isolated eight themes which comprised a 50-item questionnaire with a rating scale. The degree of overlap in the content of the Adams study with the Walberg e.a. study was high.

Studies relating teachers' aims and opinions to their teaching practices were those of Ashton (1975), who found clear relationships between teaching approach, teachers' opinions about the broad purposes of education and priorities in terms of aspects of children's development, and Bennett's (1976) study, which focused on the relationship between different teaching methods (styles) and pupil progress, and between pupils with differing 'personality' characteristics, and different teaching approaches. Moving away from the usual bi-polar distinctions used in previous studies, he identified twelve 'teaching styles' perceived to engender different levels of work activity and pupil interaction. These he derived from breaking down the global constructs 'progressive' and 'traditional' into their constituent elements which were operationalised into classroom behaviours before translating them into questionnaire items (see Bennett 1976:38). This questionnaire was one of the main theoretical sources for the categories and items of the attitude questionnaire in the present study, as it covered six main areas which overlap with those of the present
study: classroom management and organization; teacher control and sanctions; curriculum content and planning; instructional strategies; motivational techniques and assessment procedures. Bennett found a 'strong relationship' between teachers' aims and opinions and their practices, which supports Ashton's (1975) findings on teachers' attitudes to teaching aims. 'Formal' teachers laid greater emphasis on the promotion of high level academic achievement as a preparation for secondary school, and the acquisition of basic skills in relation to reading and arithmetic than the more 'informal' teachers (p151). These findings concur with those of the present study, where the more 'formal' or 'transmission-oriented' teachers stressed similar aims (see 5.8.2.3 & 5.8.2.4). The 'informal' teachers in Bennett’s study, on the other hand, stressed social and emotional aims, the importance of self-expression and the development of creativity. This tended to be true of Teachers 1 and 2 in the present study (see 5.8.2.1 & 5.8.2.2). However, in the present study, all four teachers were in favour, generally, of academic achievement and skills learning owing to the instrumental nature of ESL in the schools in South Africa. In Gardner and Lambert's (1972) terms, instrumental motivation is probably more applicable to the South African context, than integrative motivation, for black teachers and pupils.

The relationship between teacher style and pupil progress appeared to be confirmed in Bennett’s study and he concludes that there appear to be better pupil gains in a more 'structured' environment, especially for 'insecure and anxious' children. This leads him to the conclusion that what is learned in class depends on the activities provided by the teacher for pupils and the use made by the pupils of the materials and learning experiences. These, in turn, are affected by the teacher's pedagogical practices which, in turn, are influenced by her underlying attitudes and beliefs regarding the nature of knowledge and of learning. For Bennett, this calls into question, not 'informal methods' per se, but the ways in which they are put into practice in the classroom - hence the need for a teacher's awareness of what she is doing and why, in order for her to develop a more 'principled' pedagogy leading to effective 'pragmatic mediation' (Widdowson 1990) on her part.
The studies by Falvey and Young & Lee (cited in Kouraogo 1987) are especially relevant to the present study as they used similar research methods. Falvey investigated ELI teachers’ attitudes towards teaching, using a 40-item questionnaire, and correlating the attitudes with teacher practices in the classroom obtained by means of videotapes. She found a significant relationship between expressed attitudes and practices in class. Young & Lee replicated Falvey’s study with EL2 teachers, before and after an INSET course designed to orient teachers towards ‘interpretation teaching’ in line with the new communicative methodology specified for ELT by the Hong Kong educational authorities. They concluded that it would be better to ‘adapt the method’ to the prevailing attitude of the teachers, rather than vice versa. This resembles what Widdowson (1990) perceives as starting from a teacher’s own ‘schematic knowledge’ in the move towards a more ‘principled’ pedagogy. It is also in line with the findings from various project attempts at educational innovation in black primary and secondary schools in South Africa (see 3.5).

Kouraogo (1987) mentions a number of ‘problems’ identified in the literature on attitudes and their relationship to behaviour. As attitudes are ‘constructs’ rather than ‘realities’, it is difficult to devise reliable, valid instruments to gauge them. Similarly, it is difficult to gauge the relationship between values, attitudes and behaviour. He further questions the ability to predict the effectiveness of a teacher or her classroom behaviour, from an analysis of attitudes, and, finally, he questions whether it is ‘ideologically’ or ‘ethically’ right to attempt to change these attitudes (p38). While these reservations no doubt have some substance, it has not been unquestionably ‘proved’ that the various instruments used to investigate attitudes are ‘unreliable’. In interpretive research, ‘reliability’ and ‘validity’ are replaced by ‘plausibility’ and ‘credibility’ (Lincoln & Guba 1985), and the various techniques taken from construct theory appear to be very effective in eliciting teachers’ constructs.

Secondly, the present study does not set out to ‘predict’ the effectiveness of a teacher’s behaviour but merely to (a) describe it and (b) to relate it to her attitudes.
as ascertained from the data obtained through the questionnaire, interviews and diaries. Finally, on the question of 'moral rectitude' or 'ethics' concerning teacher change, this would depend upon how it is carried out. If teachers themselves are dissatisfied with their own teaching, they would wish to initiate change. As mentioned in relation to various studies on teacher change discussed in 4.2.6.3, this can be done within the framework of self-directed activity, peer observation and support, and action research, all of which allocate to the teacher educator, a secondary role. No longer is it then a question of 'externally-imposed' alternatives, but a process of gradual awareness of the personal meaning which alternative pedagogies may hold for teachers. Teachers themselves can control and direct their own change (see 7.4.2).

5.1.3 Application to the present study

The theory on attitudes and behaviour, and the attitude studies discussed above have informed, to a greater or lesser extent, the theoretical rationale and research methods used in the present study. Furthermore, some of the issues brought to light in the studies, and their findings, appear to concur with those of the present study. These will be summarised below.

5.1.3.1 Construction of attitude questionnaire

For the design of the questionnaire categories, the choice of 'interpretive frames' (Oberg 1986) and 'categories' (Bennett 1976) was according to the following criteria:

1) The framework and categories had to be compatible with the general characteristics of teacher thinking as defined in the literature
2) Terms and labels for categories had to be meaningful to the teachers whose attitudes and practices were being described and analyzed
3) The framework and categories had to apply to teachers as a collective group rather than to the individual practices of individual teachers.
The framework and categories were thus informed by the various studies mentioned above, especially in terms of the choice of a bi-polar educational model and the categories covering various aspects of teaching, i.e. 'variable classes', such as interaction mode, aims, role, pupils, methodology, syllabus & materials and the 'ideal' teacher. A further study which was influential in the present research design, not mentioned above as the focus was not on attitudes, was that of Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum (1967), who devised the semantic differential which is a combination of controlled association and scaling procedures. Originally devised to measure concepts, the 7-step scales have a bi-polar form (of verbal opposites) "as thinking in terms of opposites is natural to the human species and semantic opposition is common to language systems" (p327). As it is a ‘highly generalizable technique of measurement’, it has been adapted to "the requirements of the research problems to which it is applied" (sic). It is thus a useful technique for research on attitudes, complementing, as it does, the scales devised and adapted by Thurstone and Likert.

With reference to the borrowing of various ideas, methods and items from other sources for the design of the research instruments in the present study, Kouraogo (1987) mentions that educational research methodologists advise replicating instruments wherever possible owing to difficulties in devising and piloting new ones. The present study drew partly on the work of Bennett (1976), Nash (1973, 1976), Osgood et al (1967), Kelly (1955) and Kouraogo (1987) for the derivation of theoretical constructs and categories in the questionnaire, and its design. In the same way, the study made use of the COLT observation scheme (Allen et al 1983) to gather data on teacher practices, as it seemed the most appropriate and relevant to the research in question, and its categories had already been ‘trialled’ and ‘validated’ by the original authors.

5.1.3.2 Action versus behaviour

With reference to the distinction made in the literature between action and behaviour, (see 5.1.1.4), the teacher practices investigated in the present study
straddled both as they were perceived as stemming from attitudes present at the moment of action, leading to action, and from belief systems formed through past experience, leading to non-reflective, reactive behaviour. As mentioned in 5.1.1.3, the intention was to guide teachers away from 'non-deliberate' behaviour to 'conscious' action, with its dimension of intentionality (Ajzen & Fishbein 1980).

5.1.3.3 Surface similarities

Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) and Erickson (1986) make the point that different people may have different meaning interpretations of what appear, on the surface, to be similar objects or behaviour. This was evident in the present study where teachers with very different attitudes (as revealed by the questionnaire) enacted the same behaviours but for different reasons (as ascertained through the interviews). The use of choral work and repetition by different teachers, for example, appeared similar. However, for Teacher 2, it represented an intentional act of consolidation of lesson content, informed by a principled pedagogy, whereas for Teacher 4, it appeared to a frequent and habitual action without reference to an overarching theoretical framework. Again, in the use of group work by the various teachers, differences emerged. Teachers 1 and 2 used it to create meaningful interaction among pupils, yet, although this also appeared to be the intention of Teacher 3, the activity appeared to lack any substantive meaning as this teacher tended to retain tight control over the interaction, using it for the practice of structures rather than for exploration of concepts or materials, even when the opportunity presented itself.

The following section details the design of the questionnaire, constraints on its design, and the procedure used for analysis. The data obtained from the questionnaire, interviews and diaries are then analyzed for each teacher, and related to teacher practices wherever relevant.
5.2 THE SURVEY

The attitude survey was conducted towards the middle of the observation period in order to (a) allow teacher's time to settle into their teaching, especially the project teachers, and (b) to allow a sufficient time period for unstructured observation of lessons without any recording in order to accustom both teachers and pupils to the researcher's presence, and to develop questionnaire items from attitudes unconsciously revealed by teachers during lessons. Patterns of teaching behaviours which could be converted into questionnaire items were also noted. This approach to the construction of questionnaire items could be termed "ethnographic" in so far as some of the items were derived from "grounded" theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967) in this manner (see 4.2.4), although it should be remembered that the items which resulted from this process were also a matter of interpretation on the part of the researcher. Other items and their classification into various sections in the questionnaire, were inspired by a survey of the literature on communicative language teaching (see 3.4), and research into attitudes and motivation (see 5.1).

It could be argued that the attitude survey should have taken place before observation of lessons began, in order to avoid any "Hawthorne effect" which the project itself and the presence of the researcher might have had on the teachers' attitudes. This point had, in fact, been taken into account in the initial planning phase, as it was reasoned that as the project was in its earliest stages of development, its influence on attitudes would have been negligible. This view appeared to be confirmed by two of the project teachers (Teachers 1 and 2) when interviewed informally a year later. (Teachers 3 and 4 were unable to be interviewed as they had left both project and school by that stage). They both revealed that it was only at that stage in their teaching that their attitudes had really begun to change, and that this change was mainly due to having worked with the pupils and materials over a fairly substantial period of time, and in a way which increased learner independence and peer interdependence (Breen & Candlin 1980) thereby challenging the teachers to reassess their roles.
In sum, three procedures were employed in order to ascertain teachers' attitudes and perceptions regarding the language learning/language teaching process: a questionnaire (Appendix 5a), which produced both qualitative and quantitative data i.e. teacher profiles (Appendix 5b) and Analysis of Questions (Appendix 5c), and which was administered within the context of an interview; a post-questionnaire interview and stimulated recall activity (Appendix 5d), and teacher diaries (Appendix 5e). The follow-up interview and the diaries were intended as a check against the teachers' answers to the questionnaire items - a type of "triangulation" technique (see 4.2.5.2 & 4.4.2.2). For example, during the interview, part of the teacher's lesson would be played back to her in order to invite her comments on various aspects such as the particular methodology or techniques used at certain stages in the lesson and the ensuing interaction patterns, teacher's handling of pupils' responses or contributions, error correction, and the teachers' intentions at particular points in the lesson as they related to the overall aims and focus. Findings from this exercise were then compared to answers to the questionnaires for purposes of consistency and cross-validation.

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF QUESTIONNAIRE: SELECTION AND INTERPRETATION OF ITEMS

The questionnaire was administered in an interview situation with the researcher explaining the questions to the teachers when necessary, and answering any queries teachers might have. This was in keeping with naturalistic enquiry, which formed part of the research design for this study (see 4.2 and 4.2.4). It was divided into two major sections (see Appendix 5a).

5.3.1 Part One

Part one asked for background information concerning education and training, language use and attitudes to English, and current teaching experience. Most of the items were taken from prior observation of the research environments, and examination of syllabus and materials, except for those included under the sub-
category "classroom organization" which were mainly taken from Bennett (1976) (see 5.1). In general, there is an underlying polarity reflected in each general category comprising part one of the questionnaire, the polarity inherent in the particular educational ideologies outlined in chapter one (see 1.2). Questions were designed to gauge the nature and extent of involvement of each teacher with her profession (whether minimum or maximum) especially concerning the type and level of qualification achieved or intention to study further (Qs 1-6); the type of motivation underlying actual use of English, together with attitudes towards the language itself, whether instrumental or integrative (Gardner & Lambert 1972) (Qs 7-23); teachers’ perceptions of, and rating of their own proficiency in English, and also that of their pupils, and the teachers’ level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their current teaching situation (Qs 24-65). Sub-categories specifically designed to gauge attitudes in the latter area covered remuneration, workload, class size and organization including degree of flexibility or control, level of pupil proficiency, extra-mural pupil-teacher and teacher-parent contact, rating of pupil ability, nature of staff contact including cooperation and support and whether the emphasis was on impersonal administration or on a teacher’s own personal development, and finally, attitudes towards, and use of, syllabus, materials and teaching equipment.

Part one thus contained a total of 65 questions, responses to which included multiple choice options, factual information of an "open" response type, ability rating scales, scales of frequency and importance and simple affirmative/negative responses. The numbering of the questions in part one of the questionnaire was purely a matter of hierarchy between major items and sub-items. The letters a-z were used to indicate first-order options to various questions and if these questions were further subdivided, as in Q25 a & b, then the numerals i, ii, iii were used. In cases where simple yes/no/unsure responses were required as in Q15, the numerals (i), (ii), (iii) were also used.

The first-order options were of various types. For example, in some questions they were extensions of a particular question as in Qs 3a,b,c, or multiple choice options
relating to a particular question, as in Q6, Q13, etc. In other questions these options were related to a scale of importance, frequency or agreement as in Q9, Q11, etc, or to ability rating scales as in Q23, Q40. Finally, the responses also included brief options of a similar type, eg. always, often, sometimes, never, as in Q30, Q38. This type of question was not the same as those with multiple choice options to be answered according to a scale of frequency.

It could be argued that the various questions with different option types as listed above should have carried different numbering so as to distinguish clearly among the various option types. Perhaps this may have appeared more orderly to some minds, but as the numbering of the various questions and their options had no effect at all on the final analysis, which was essentially qualitative rather than quantitative, the original numbering system, which reflected superordinate and subordinate categories and options rather than a particular, conceptual type of category or option, seemed perfectly adequate for the purpose, i.e. the responses of each teacher to each question were considered individually and then compiled into a profile of that teacher (see Appendix 5b). There was thus no risk of confusing various numbering systems at a conceptual level.

Finally, the responses to various questions were indicated either by a number (1,2,3,4), as in questions involving scales of importance, frequency and agreement, or by a tick, as in all other questions except for those questions which asked for "open" responses.

The information thus derived from part one of the questionnaire was eventually used to create individual teacher profiles (Appendix 5b) which were taken into account when analysing part two of the questionnaire, as items in part one required information on current practices which could then be related to items in part two, which covered attitudes and perceptions towards those practices (see 5.8.2 - analyses of individual teachers' attitudes).
5.3.2 Part Two

Part two of the questionnaire aimed at ascertaining teachers' perceptions of, and attitudes towards, the learning/teaching process, with specific focus on language learning and teaching. These included attitudes to teaching aims, pupils, role, syllabus/materials, interaction mode, methodology and, finally, the "ideal" teacher. The particular categories used in this part of the questionnaire were drawn from a survey of the literature on the language learning/teaching process, especially with reference to communicative language teaching (see 3.4.1), from observation of lessons and from a consideration of those factors which teachers would obviously have to take into account in their teaching, whether consciously or unconsciously, and which could also have a direct influence on a teacher's attitudes. For example, a teacher has to work with a syllabus (in schools) and with prescribed textbooks towards which she will hold certain attitudes. These, in turn, will influence the way she works with the syllabus and materials. Her pupils, and her stance towards them and theirs to her (Salmon 1984), will also have a direct influence on her attitudes and thus, on her teaching. A teacher makes countless decisions regarding methodology and techniques, every time she has to present new knowledge to her pupils or consolidate previous knowledge. How she chooses to do these things depends on her level of awareness of the options available to her, and of the effect these options may have on particular pupils.

Items included under each major category were drawn from prior observation of the learning/teaching environment under study and from interviews with teachers working in that environment. Both of these research activities provided "grounded theory" (Glaser & Strauss 1967) which, in turn, gave rise to the various questionnaire items under discussion. This was in keeping with the ethnographic approach to research, or naturalistic enquiry (Lincoln & Guba 1985) (see 4.2.1). For example, items listed under Q67 (pupils) covered various stances a teacher could take vis-a-vis her pupils, in terms of control, flexibility, sensitivity, etc, whilst items in Q68 (interaction mode) were drawn directly from notes on
interaction styles taken during observation of lessons. Other items were drawn directly from categories in the COLT scheme in order to more closely relate data taken from observation of lessons to the data provided by the questionnaire. Examples of items taken directly from the COLT scheme are Q68 u 1,2,3,4 and w 1,2,3.

A certain amount of overlap among items in the various questions was built into the design of part two of the questionnaire in order to control for consistency in response to various items. This is found mostly in Q68, Q71 and Q72. For example, overlap occurs between Q68 o and Q72 c regarding extensive use of group and pair work, and also between Q68 k and Q72 e regarding the explanation of grammatical principles and vocabulary before giving examples. Inconsistencies in response to these, and similar, questions where overlap occurs, have been recorded in the section on individual teacher analyses (see 5.8.2) (see also Constraints - 5.5.3).

Items in part two of the questionnaire were broadly related to one or other of the two theoretical constructs of the pedagogic model (see 1.2.1) which, in turn, were translated into high communicative orientation (high C.O.) with emphasis on the process of learning, and representing a generative, interpretation view of learning/teaching on one hand, and low communicative orientation (low C.O.) with emphasis on the product of learning, and representing a transmission view of education, on the other. A summary of the characteristics of these two constructs can be found in Chapter 1 (see 1.2).

Each item was thus operationally defined in terms of the two theoretical constructs outlined above, thus representing the breakdown of these into their constituent elements. Q66 (Teaching Aims) and Q67 (Pupils) are comprised of items reflecting a basic distinction between aims which emphasise a child’s personal development and hence a learner-centred perspective on education (generative view), and those which emphasise a more impersonal, collective training in order to fit into the existing status quo (transmission view). For example, in Q66, items under high
C.O. deal with the encouragement of learner independence and freedom of expression (b,d), emotional development (g), understanding (h), creativity (i), sense of responsibility towards learning (l) and cooperation with each other (j). On the other hand, items under low C.O. deal with discipline (c), skills training (a,e), social/moral development for status quo (f) and achievement of high standards in school work (k).

In Q67, items under high C.O. deal with pupils' individuality and potential (c,d,g), commitment to the personal development of pupils (h), sensitivity towards pupils (i,k,m) and use of praise (l), and the "good" pupil, who is seen as lively, interested, challenging (p1,3,6), independent (p8) and highly motivated (p10). Conversely, items under low C.O. reflect a negative view of pupils as passive and lazy (e,p5,p9.p12), unable to learn from each other (b), and in need of strict control and management by the teacher (n,o) who is seen as a remote, impersonal figure (j) to whom the pupils should adapt (a,f). The "good" pupil is quiet and disciplined (p4,5,7,9), compliant (p11,12) and speaks English well (p2). An example of the polarity underlying the two major constructs according to which the items were designed is the opposition between items c and f dealing with individual learning style.

Q68 (Interaction Mode) entails the perceptions of the teacher in relation to her interactive style with her pupils in the classroom and has as its underlying constructs, learner-centred classrooms on one hand, and teacher-dominated classrooms on the other. The former (high C.O. items) reveal a more flexible type of environment, with the teacher adapting to pupils (a,b,c,d,f,n) (cf. Q67 f, p4,9,12), and with the emphasis on greater pupil involvement in the form of response and initiative (e,g,j,l,v), exploratory learning and pupil autonomy (r,s). Group and pair work is used for interactive purposes (p1), and for creating pupil independence and genuine communication (p2,3). There is constructive and sensitive handling of pupil error on the part of the teacher (t3,4,5) and of pupil contribution (u2,3,4), and, finally, flexible use of audio-visual (A-V) materials (w2,3). Low C.O.items, on the other hand, reveal a more inflexible type of
environment with greater teacher control of input and activities (k,x), and of all pupil contributions in terms of spontaneity, quality and quantity of time allowed (h,i,m,q). Teacher treatment of pupil error (t1,2,6) and pupil contribution (u1) is fairly insensitive and teacher-centred, and questions on A-V materials do not encourage deeper probing or exploration of concepts by pupils (w1). Two items in this question which oppose each other directly, thus representing the polarity underlying the questionnaire design are items k and s which deal with explanation/discovery of grammatical principles.

Q69 (Syllabus and materials), deals with the teacher’s perceptions of the syllabus and materials which she works with. Items under high C.O. reflect a flexible, broad, integrated approach to teaching the syllabus (b,e) with the teacher being in control of the textbook (c) rather than vice versa. Conversely, low C.O. items reflect a more inflexible, restricting approach to the use of textbook, materials and examinations (a,f,g) with strict separation of subjects (d).

Q70 (Role), looks at the perceptions teachers have of the concept of role in the classroom (see Widdowson 1990 & Wright 1987 for discussions of the teacher’s role). Each item in this question deals, covertly, with the issue of control, gauging a teacher’s interest in classroom order and teacher-directed learning. Items loading on this factor (although this was not constructed with a multifactor analysis in mind), are those which suggest a structural, traditional style of teaching (transmission view) requiring an orderly, task-oriented atmosphere. Items under low C.O. thus reflect an emphasis on rigid teacher control of pupils, syllabus and method (b,d,h,l,m,q), restriction of pupil contribution, activity and spontaneity (h,j,k,r) and an emphasis on the teacher as a remote expert (c,g,o). Items under high C.O. reflect a humorous (a), humble (e,n), non-punitive (p) and facilitative (f) approach to the pupils on the part of the teacher.

Qs 71 and 72 deal with language teaching methodology and teaching style with items generally reflecting the distinction between a structurally-oriented versus a more communicatively-oriented type of language teaching. Underlying this basic
distinction are the bi-polar constructs of form versus function, accuracy versus fluency, and code versus communication (see 3.4.1). Although there is a place, in language teaching, for both ends of the continuum, exclusive emphasis on, say, form, accuracy and code could be related to a transmission view of education, whilst emphasis on function, fluency and communication could be related to a generative view of education. In Q71 (Methodology and Teaching Style), items under high C.O. reflect an interactive, communicative (c,d,f,i,j,k,l,n) and problem-solving approach (b) to language teaching. Items under low C.O. reflect an emphasis on the product of teaching, with rigid adherence to the syllabus (a), textbook and exams (e), and to accuracy work (g,h,m). In Q72 (Ideal Teacher), items under high C.O. reflect the ideal teacher as flexible (f,h), humble (j,k) and encouraging pupil initiative and independence (b,c,d,i). Conversely, items under low C.O. reflect deductive teaching (e) and accuracy work (a,g).

Each question in part two of the questionnaire thus consists of a set of statements labelled a-z, some of which are further subdivided. This only occurs when the particular question topic requires further breakdown into different yet related aspects. Examples of such items are Q67 p 1-12, Q68 p1-3, t1-5, u1-4, w1-3, which deal with concepts such as the "good" pupil, the use of group work, error correction, treatment of pupil contribution and questioning, respectively (see 5.5.5). Responses to each item consists of choices from the following three types of scale: importance (very important - important - not important); agreement (agree - neutral - disagree); and frequency (always - often - sometimes - never). Respondents would indicate their preference by a numeral (1,2,3,4). The items are translated into statements inviting either positive or negative responses. For example, item d of Q68 (You use different techniques to suit the needs of individual pupils) falls under high C.O., whereas item a of Q69 (What we need in Soweto schools is a clear and detailed programme of study and a uniform teaching methodology that all teachers should strictly follow) falls under low C.O. Responses of always or often on a scale of frequency to the former item would be considered positive responses to a high C.O.statement (positive high C.O.), whereas responses of sometimes or never to the same item would be
considered negative responses to a high C.O. statement (negative high C.O.). The same would apply to an analysis of the latter item (Q69a). On a response scale of agreement/disagreement with this item, a response of agree would indicate positive low C.O., and responses of neutral or disagree would indicate negative low C.O. It was assumed that there would be consistency between responses that were positive high C.O. and negative low C.O. and between those that were positive low C.O. and negative high C.O. Results appeared to confirm this assumption (see 5.8).

Part two thus contained a total of 124 items, 70 of which reflected high C.O. and 54, low C.O. As there were choices for either positive or negative responses to each item, the weighting of items on the side of high C.O. did not seem significant (see 5.5.4 for discussion of this point).

5.4 PROCEDURE FOR ANALYSIS

5.4.1 Analysis of individual items and assignment of positive/negative values

All the tables referred to in this chapter are in Volume Two Appendix 5f. As mentioned above, each item in part two of the questionnaire was assigned to either the high or low communicative parameter. A separate analysis for each parameter was then carried out, with a positive value being assigned to responses of very important and important, on a scale of importance; always and often on a scale of frequency; and agree on a scale of agreement. Similarly, a negative value was assigned to responses of not important on a scale of importance; sometimes and never on a scale of frequency; and neutral and disagree on a scale of agreement (see Appendix 5c for a breakdown of items in each category). Problems encountered at this point concerning the correct assignment of either positive or negative values to what are labelled the "middle" options (important on a scale of importance; neutral on a scale of agreement) are discussed more fully under 5.5.5. It is sufficient to note here that, in order to avoid ambiguity (and possible
distortion of data) caused by the inclusion of options demanding neither strongly positive nor strongly negative responses, two sets of final scores have been presented, one set including the "middle" options, and one set excluding them.

5.4.2 Scoring procedure

Each question was analyzed separately (see Appendix 5c Qs 66-72) and the scores totalled for each response type. These raw scores are the first set of scores appearing as totals for each response type for each question in Appendix 5c. They are then translated into percentages of the total number of items for each parameter (high or low C.O.) in each question. This was done in order to reflect the proportion of each response type selected by each teacher, for each question. For example, in the analysis for Q66, Teacher 1 scores 5 out of 7 items for very important (VNB) under high C.O, which converts into a percentage of 71%. These totals were then transferred to Tables 1 and 2 which represent the high and low communicative parameters respectively. In these tables, the questions are grouped according to response type in order to facilitate analysis. Thus all questions relating to a scale of importance are grouped together, the same applying to those relating to scales of frequency and agreement.

Total raw scores for both positive and negative values are given first and represent the sum of the sub-totals for each group of questions. They are then converted into percentages at the end of each table. In Table 1, these percentages reflect the proportion of positive and negative items selected under the high C.O. parameter, and in Table 2, they reflect the proportion of positive and negative items selected under the low C.O. parameter. Scores in percentages only are then summarized in Table 3 which also reveals the use made of the middle options by each respondent. Thus, Table 6 presents two sets of scores, those including the options important and neutral and those excluding them. Table 4 isolates the percentages showing relative use of these options for each parameter, and Table 5 combines these percentages for both parameters thereby revealing the relative use made of the middle options by the teachers in toto.
Tables 6 and 7 show the frequency of response types for each question and for each respondent, under high and low C.O. respectively. These tables facilitate a comparison across teachers in terms of their selection of different response types for the various questions (see 5.8.1). Global scores were arrived at by combining positive high C.O. scores and negative low C.O. scores on one hand, and positive low C.O. scores and negative high C.O. scores on the other, and obtaining an average in the form of a percentage, in order to arrive at one global score (see Table 8). This procedure assumed a consistency between responses for the above pairs (see 5.3.2). Two sets of scores are also presented, one including, and one excluding, the middle options. The scores excluding the middle options show either strongly positive, or strongly negative attitudes on the part of the teacher, at the same time maintaining the same rank order among the teachers as those scores which include the middle options. These scores are then summarised in Table 9 in order to facilitate a correlation with the scores from the COLT analysis. These scores, in the form of percentages, show a clear rank order among the respondents, with Teacher 1 obtaining the highest scores for communicative orientation (85%) and Teacher 4, the lowest (59%). Furthermore, the table clearly shows that the inclusion or exclusion of the middle options does not affect the rank order among the teachers. For this reason, the scores including the middle options have been used as the final scores to be correlated with those from the COLT analysis, for these options had been included in the questionnaire and were a part of the original research design.

5.5 CONSTRAINTS ON ANALYSIS

5.5.1 Validity of questionnaire items

According to Lincoln & Guba (1985), traditional research of the experimental type dealing with quantitative analyses requires validation of instruments before use in formal experimental situations. In relation to surveys using a questionnaire, this would entail pre-testing the research instrument on a wide sample of the target population in order to eliminate ineffective, redundant or invalid items (see 4.2).
This practice is not absolutely essential in ethnographic research however, especially in a case study situation with only four respondents. Partly for this reason, and partly owing to constraints of time and target population availability, there was no formal pre-testing of questionnaire items in this study. However, a number of items had been derived from other questionnaires in the literature which had been validated (see 5.1.3.1). However, in the process of interviewing the teachers who took part in the study and of observing their lessons over time, various questionnaire items were changed and/or eliminated before formal presentation of the questionnaire to the teachers. This procedure would obviously not qualify as having confirmed validity of questionnaire items in the traditional sense, but as this research was essentially ethnographic, with a psychometric aspect to it (the COLT analysis), it seemed valid enough. Furthermore, in keeping with naturalistic enquiry, in the qualitative analyses of the attitudes of each teacher, responses to every item in the questionnaire were taken into account, and even the redundancy between items was accounted for.

5.5.2 Numbering of questions

In 5.3.1 above, the numbering system for part one of the questionnaire was explained. However, the multiple choice options listed under Q3c were not numbered, as the label "c" had already been used to designate the number of the question itself. In a future revision of this questionnaire, questions of this type involving extensions of the same concept, would become separate questions in order to remain consistent with other questions which carry options labelled a-z. In the same way, those items in part two of the questionnaire which carried numbers (eg. Q68 p 1-12) would become separate items as they are not really consistent with the majority of the items in this section of the questionnaire.

5.5.3 Wording of statements

During the presentation of the questionnaire to the teachers in the context of an interview, the problems listed under this section became evident through the
various queries which the teachers had regarding certain questionnaire items, and through their requests for clarification. One of these problems was the wording of statements negatively which could have caused confusion, especially for teachers 3 and 4. Examples of this are Q68 a: You never give pupils rules/explanations until they have discovered them for themselves, and Q68 b: You try not to talk too much, responses to which are on a scale of frequency, which includes the option never. This gives rise to double negation which, in turn, leads to a positive value on the side of low C.O. which could be ambiguous and confusing. In a revised questionnaire, an attempt would be made to word all questions in the affirmative, whether they relate to low or high C.O.

5.5.4 Redundant items

As mentioned under 5.3.2, there was a certain amount of redundancy among the questions in part two of the questionnaire. This was particularly true of questions 71 and 72 which deal with methodology and teaching style. Although this redundancy served as a check for consistency in responses to the various items in the questions, in a revised, more simplified version of the questionnaire, these questions could be eliminated or collapsed into one question covering the teaching of language specifically.

A related issue is that of the questionnaire items representing both high and low C.O. parameters. In order to achieve a simpler design, and eliminate the complexity of an analysis involving negative/positive, high and low C.O., items could represent one parameter only, preferably that of high C.O. as these items were in the majority in the original design, and as low C.O. items are often merely the converse of the high C.O. items anyway. Responses to these items would still be either positive or negative, thus revealing the extent of communicative orientation in attitude of the teachers. This focus on high C.O. would also tally more directly with the COLT scheme in which most of the categories fall under high C.O.
5.5.5 The ‘middle’ options

As mentioned under 5.4.1 above, a potential problem in processing the results of the questionnaire was the analysis of what have been termed the ‘middle’ options important (on a scale of importance) and neutral on a scale of frequency. Although these options were hardly used by Teachers 1 and 2 whose results showed a high C.O. in attitude, they were used far more by Teachers 3 and 4 whose results showed a far lower communicative orientation (see Tables 3, 4, 5).

Table 5 shows clearly that Teacher 1 used these options in 21% of her responses; Teacher 2 used them in 12% of her responses; Teacher 3, in 31% of her responses, and Teacher 4, in 58% of her responses, which is just over half of the total. The problem lay in the correct placement of these options for the purpose of analysis, i.e. at either the positive or negative end of the scale. One way of dealing with this problem was to reflect two sets of scores: (a) a score which took into account only those responses at the extreme ends of the scale, thereby excluding the middle options and (b) a score including the middle options, with important being assigned a positive value, and neutral, a negative one. To some extent, this was done in order to ensure a balance between the positive and negative options. The results showed, in fact, that the inclusion of these options in the final scores did not substantially affect the relationship between final attitude scores and those of the COLT analysis for each teacher, nor did it affect the rank order among teachers (see Table 3). It thus made no qualitative difference to the analysis, especially as the scores are intended to show trends and not absolute values. One way of avoiding this problem in a future design of this questionnaire would be to use a Likert type scale with 5 to 7 unlabelled options at equidistant points along the line, and with one pole representing strongly positive attitudes and the other, strongly negative.

A further problem with these middle options lay in the interpretation of the data obtained from the results of the analysis. The difficulty lay in deciding whether the choice of these options showed uncertainty on the part of the respondent, mere indifference, or actual misunderstanding of the questions themselves. The
conclusion reached was that Teachers 3 and 4 showed greater hesitation and uncertainty in their responses to various questionnaire items thereby exposing attitudes that were not clearly defined (see 5.8).

The post-questionnaire interview and stimulated recall (see 5.6) had been designed as a check against this type of problem. However, in reality, this turned out to be fairly general in nature and could therefore not be used to check the nature of individual responses to the questionnaire in any detail. It also concentrated more on teaching practices, as part of the session entailed a playback of part of a teacher’s lesson. This has implications for the future design of research of this nature. This type of interview/feedback session could play a more functional role in terms of demonstrating a triangulation technique (see 4.2.1) whereby results from other research instruments could be cross-checked to ensure greater validity. This holds implications for the timing of the various phases and/or activities in a research programme, where results obtained from the use of one research instrument/technique need to be fully processed before being able to effectively cross-check them with another.

5.6 POST-QUESTIONNAIRE INTERVIEW AND STIMULATED RECALL

As mentioned above under 5.2 and 5.5, this interview took place after the respondents had completed their questionnaires, although the results of the latter had not been processed in sufficient detail to allow for specific findings from them to be included in the interview for cross-checking. However, from an initial perusal of each teacher’s responses to the questionnaire, and from observation of a number of their lessons over time, the researcher was able to select an appropriate and relevant section of a lesson from each teacher in order to probe her perceptions and attitudes more deeply. The interview and feedback session thus consisted of an initial section of more general questions designed to probe the type of perspective a teacher held in relation to her lessons, i.e. their purpose and focus, their continuity with lessons previously taught and lessons still to be taught, the perceptions of teachers regarding their habitual practices such as deductive or inductive grammar.
teaching, and their opinions of the methods they normally used and of their own teaching style (see Appendix 5d).

This section was then followed by a playback on video of part of a teacher's lesson with questions being asked on specific events occurring in the lesson. These questions were designed to probe more deeply into the teachers' awareness of their practices in the classroom in terms of the particular strategies or teaching techniques they were using at specific points in the lesson. Examples included teacher treatment of pupil error, her handling of pupil contributions, her use of the materials/own initiative, her focus on accuracy versus fluency or vice versa, and the nature and purpose of the various activities. The data from these interviews were used as supplementary data to the findings from both the attitude questionnaire and the COLT analysis (see Analysis of individual teachers under 6.6).

5.7 TEACHER DIARY ENTRIES

In keeping with an ethnographic approach to research as outlined under 4.2.3 part of the research design for this study included the keeping of diaries by the teachers (see Appendix 5e). The data obtained from this exercise were meant to supplement the data obtained from other research instruments. Diaries were handed out to the teachers at the beginning of the study with the instruction that they should attempt to record their impressions of lessons, and their experiences, at the end of each week.

The instructions for the diary entries contained a guide for the teachers, which consisted of three major categories. The first category concerned teachers' attitudes and feelings regarding the learning/teaching context as a whole; the conditions under which they worked; their pupils, materials, parental contact and the "macro-context" itself (see 2.3). The idea was to probe the teachers' feelings of frustration, satisfaction, success or failure. The second category looked at teachers' perceptions regarding the lessons themselves, i.e. methodology, syllabus, materials
and pupil response to various tasks. This section focused on the micro-environment of the classroom. The third category focused on the teachers' perceptions of their pupils' attitudes and responses to their role, to the materials and to the methodology used. This section attempted to probe the extent of the teachers' awareness of, and sensitivity towards, their pupils.

As will be seen from the entries presented in Appendix 5e, only two teachers (3 & 4), actually made any entries and these were very few. However, these entries have still been used to supplement the analyses of Teachers 3 and 4 as they carry interesting data in themselves, and for comparison with the data from other research instruments.

5.8 ATTITUDE ANALYSIS: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.8.1 General findings

Although all four teachers appeared to be in favour of a learner-centred approach to language learning and teaching, as ascertained from an analysis of their scores from the various questionnaire items (see Appendix 5c), scores for Teachers 1 and 2 were substantially higher than those for Teachers 3 and 4 (see Table 9). The former generally showed more confidence in their choice of response, avoiding the middle, potentially more ambiguous options, and selecting instead either strongly positive, or strongly negative answers.

This becomes clear in Table 6, which shows the frequency of the various response types, in percentages, for each teacher under high C.O. Teacher 1, for example, scores over 70% for most of her strongly positive responses, and her use of the middle options falls well below 40%. In the same way, Teacher 2 frequently scores 100% for her strongly positive responses and hardly uses the middle options at all. By contrast, Teachers 3 and 4 score far lower for their strongly positive responses for all questions, and make greater use of the middle options. For example, Teacher 3's highest score for her use of important (NB) was 44% for Q71.
whereas Teacher 4 scored mostly over 50% in her use of these options for most questions. A slightly different pattern is revealed in Table 7, which shows frequency of response types under low C.O. In general, Teacher 1 & 2’s strongly negative responses were well over 50% whereas Teacher 3 & 4’s responses were far lower. Teacher 3 & 4’s scores for strongly positive responses under the low C.O. parameter were also higher than those for Teachers 1 & 2. Again, greater use was made of the middle categories by the latter, although Teacher 1 revealed a surprising score of 80% for the use of important (NB) in Q66. This question dealt with Teaching Aims, covering a skills bias, high standards, social/moral development and discipline (see Appendix 5c Q66). Perhaps these items did not reflect a clear transmission bias (which was the intention) as a number of these elements could still form part of an integrated, holistic approach to education. This result could strengthen the case for using the high C.O. parameter only, in a revised questionnaire (see 5.5.5). Table 5 provides a summary of the total use of the middle options by each teacher, with Teacher 2 using them the least (12%), and Teacher 4, the most (58%)

Although the scores for strongly positive responses to the high C.O. parameter for Teachers 3 & 4 were lower than those for Teachers 1 & 2, they were still reasonably high, the highest score for Teacher 3 being 80% for Q70, and for Teacher 4, 67% for Q71. One explanation for this could be that for Teachers 3 and 4, contact with the project, and with each other at school, had begun to influence their perceptions of language teaching, but that these changes in attitude were not sufficiently internalised to be expressed as behaviour. These two teachers also held fairly positive perceptions of their typical interaction patterns in the classroom that were not borne out by the lesson data (see Appendix 5c for their scores for Q68: Interaction Mode). The question arises as to whether they had ever been made critically aware of their attitudes and teaching practices in the classroom before this study, which would seem to confirm a need for this type of research as an integral part of pre-service and in-service teacher education (see 7.4.2). In general, both teachers exhibited a lower communicative orientation in attitude than either Teacher 1 or 2 (see Table 9).
The latter, on the other hand exhibited a highly consistent relationship between their expressed attitudes, which favoured a more generative view of education, and their actual practices in the classroom (see 5.8.2 and 7.2). Both teachers were committed to finding alternative methods for helping township pupils learn more effectively.

5.8.2 Analysis and discussion of individual teachers

In this section, each teacher's results will be separately analyzed and discussed. Integrated into each analysis will be the following issues, although they will not be separately labelled as such: responses to each question; comparison of responses to different questions; comparison of a teacher's attitude results with her profile derived from part one of the questionnaire; comparison of a teacher's results with the findings of the interview and feedback session; comparison of a teacher's attitude with her actual practices in the classroom as revealed by the COLT analysis; comparison among the four teachers in terms of their responses to various questions.

5.8.2.1 Teacher 1

General summary

This teacher's attitudes were highly communicative in orientation for all questions (see Appendix 5c Qs66-72). Her emphasis lay on developing pupils' independence, individuality and sense of responsibility for their own learning. Emotional development, understanding and creative abilities were also emphasised. In terms of the learning process, she felt that individual learning style and the potential success of each pupil should be catered for by the teacher. She recognised the background knowledge and individual ideas which each pupil brought to the classroom, and their need to express themselves and ask questions without restriction, as well as their need to challenge the teacher, textbook and content if
necessary. With reference to Interaction Mode (Q68), which asked for the teacher's perceptions about her own practices in the classroom, she revealed an awareness about her own teaching that was confirmed by the data from the COLT analysis (see 6.6.1.1). She believed in group work, allowing pupil's time to respond to questions, for self/peer correction and for expansion/elaboration of ideas. She did not appear to feel constrained by the syllabus or materials and adapted them to her needs rather than vice versa. Finally, she saw her role as a humble one, as a facilitator guiding her pupils in the learning process and learning with them, rather than transmitting knowledge and imposing her own way of seeing things on her pupils. She felt that a teacher should continue to learn through her experience of teaching and through her contact with staff and pupils. This general description of Teacher 1 applies equally well to Teacher 2 who is discussed in detail under 5.8.2.2.

Analysis of part two

In terms of Teaching Aims (see Appendix 5c Q66), Teacher 1's responses were strongly positive except for items j and l (concerning cooperation and responsibility) which she rated as important (NB) i.e. a middle option. Apart from this, she supported learner-centred aims such as allowing pupils freedom of expression and independence (b,d), fostering understanding (g,h) and encouraging creativity (i). Under low C.O. her responses to transmission-oriented items were more non-committal, as she chose important (NB) for all items except (c) - to train a child to be well-disciplined - with which she totally disagreed. The other items concerned the teaching of basic skills (a,e), social and moral development (f) and encouraging pupils to achieve high standards (k). Perhaps, owing to the socio-economic, socio-political situation in the country, the EL2 teachers in this study placed a greater value on skill learning and achievement in education.

Teacher 1's responses to high C.O.items for Q67 (Pupils) were also strongly positive (see Appendix 5c Q67). The only items that she did not agree with had to do with pupils' total independence of the teacher (g & p8). Other than this, she
showed sensitivity towards pupils (i,k,l,m), a commitment to their development (c,d,h) and a willingness to be challenged by them (p1,3,6). On the other hand, her responses to the low C.O. parameter were strongly negative (71%) and only 14% were positive. The latter concerned the relevance of pupils' ideas to the teaching point in question (o) and regular practice in the form of homework (p11). Here again we see the emphasis on achievement and hard work for these teachers. Teacher 1 largely rejected a view of pupils as passive and lazy and only able to memorize their work (b,e,p4,5,7,9,12); where there was a need for coercion or punishment (f,n,p4) and where the teacher remained distant from her pupils (j). Her responses to this question were highly consistent with each other (internal consistency within each question); with her responses to other, similar items in the questionnaire (eg. Q66) and with her teaching practices as revealed by her lesson data (see 6.6.1.1).

With regard to Q68 (Interaction Mode) (Appendix 5c Q68), this teacher perceived herself as teaching in a communicative, interactive, facilitative way (a,b,c,f) which allowed flexibility on the part of both teachers and pupils (d,e). Her responses to items under high C.O. were strongly positive (88% - see Table 6 - Q68) emphasising the use of group work (o,p1-3) and sensitive treatment of pupil error (t3-4) and pupil response (u2-4), exploratory, discovery learning (g,j,l,r,s,w2-3) and challenge from pupils (v). This can clearly be seen in her lesson data provided in Appendix 6a Transcript 1). The only negative responses to this question were items (n) - pupils did not always understand what they had to do in activities - and (t5), where she stated that she never ignores errors even when the main focus is on meaning. This is certainly true of Transcript 2 Excerpt 1 (Appendix 6a) where the focus is on accuracy, but not of Excerpt 2 where she ignores errors during fluency work (lines 5-7). Under low C.O. for this question, responses were mainly strongly negative (73%), the only positive responses being to items (m) - pupils mainly question word meanings/grammar - (u1) - teacher response is brief comment, and (w1) - factual questions on A-V materials. As the project materials suggested moving from factual to more predictive questions on A-V materials, this item was probably unfair, being weighted as it was on the low C.O. side. All the
teachers made use of this type of questioning in the project, but some focused exclusively on it (which would then relate it to transmission teaching) whereas others used it more flexibly as part of a more holistic approach. Teacher 1 rejected a deductive presentation of grammar before providing examples (k) which is consistent with her lesson data (see Appendix 6a Transcript 2 Excerpt 2) (cf. Teachers 3 and 4 under 6.6.1.3 & 6.6.1.4). She also rejected the fact that pupils were bored (h) or passive (i); that there should be insistence on accuracy (q); insensitivity in treatment of pupil error (t1,2,6) and rote learning (x). This was borne out by her lesson data, especially in transcripts 1 and 2 (Appendix 6a).

Teacher 1 gave mixed responses to items under high C.O. in Q69, possibly because she was not exposed to the DET syllabus and textbooks in the schools and was not responsible for the materials used on the project. She disagreed with a teacher's freedom to choose a method (e), but agreed with an "across-the-curriculum" approach (b). She was more consistent in her responses to items under low C.O. which were firmly negative, rejecting a restrictive use of texts and method (a,f) and fragmented teaching of content (d). As these items dealt with issues on a more general level, her responses to this question cannot easily be related directly to her lesson data.

For Q70 (role), Teacher 1 responded positively to all items under high C.O. except item (n) - openness to pupils' suggestions - to which she revealed a neutral attitude. Otherwise, she favoured a role which was friendly and open (a,p), facilitative (f) and humble (e). This is clearly demonstrated in her lesson data (see Appendix 6a Transcripts 1 & 2). Her responses to items under low C.O. were internally consistent with those under high C.O. being strongly negative for all items except (q) - pupils should be regularly tested - which, again, has to do with achievement (see discussion of Q66 above). She thus rejected tight control of syllabus, method (h) and pupils (b,d,k,l,m) where the teacher dominates and is seen as the expert (c,g,o), which can be seen in her lesson data (Appendix 6a Transcripts 1 & 2).
For Q71 (Methodology and Teaching Style), her responses to items under high C.O. were positive, favouring an interactive, communicative approach (c,d,i,j,k,l) with problem-solving activities (b). Likewise, all her responses under low C.O. were negative except for (g) - never allow L1 in class - which was part of the whole teaching approach of the project. She thus rejected rigid adherence to textbook and materials (a,e) and intolerance of errors (h,m). These responses were consistent across questions (cf. responses to low C.O. for q 70).

For Q72 (Ideal Teacher) Teacher 1 was positive about all items under high C.O. The ideal teacher was thus flexible (f,h), open to learning from others (j,k) and encouraged pupil initiative and independence (b,c,d,i). Under low C.O. she rejected an exclusive emphasis on accuracy (a,g) and deductive teaching (e). A number of items in this question were clearly redundant (cf. similar items in Q68 and Q71) in order to cross-check for consistency in responses across, and within, questions (see 5.5.4). Teacher 1’s responses were consistent in this way.

Analysis of part one

Part one of the questionnaire (Background Information) revealed an interesting profile for this teacher, (see Appendix 5b) who was rated the most communicative in orientation for both attitudes and practices in the final analysis (see Table 15 in 7.1). In terms of qualifications (Q1), she had a Junior Certificate (Std 8) and a Higher Primary Teacher’s certificate. She had also been on a short course in teaching communication skills in Israel with her other colleagues on the project in 1983 (Q2). She had been studying for a matriculation certificate (Std 10) for two years (Q3) and planned to study further (Q4) for a course in English for overseas teachers. Her attitude to her pre-service teacher training course (Qs 5 & 6) was negative, like the other EL2 teachers in the study, as she felt that not enough attention was given to the structure and practice of English. Her attitudes towards the language itself (Qs 9 - 15) were positive, and she used it frequently in both her personal and professional life. Her reasons for learning English were mainly instrumental (Qs 17 & 18), i.e. for secondary and higher education, international
travel and a good job. She felt that the community (parents) should play a large role in their children’s education (Q19), and felt that her own proficiency in the language had improved through her teaching (Q22) and rated her own language abilities as good (Q23).

In terms of current teaching experience, she had ten or more years of teaching experience (Q25) and enjoyed it (Qs 26,28). She was satisfied with her current working conditions (Qs 29,30,31) and rated as obstacles to effective teaching, lack of good texts and materials (which is consistent with her responses to Q69 of part two - see Appendix 5c Q69), poor socio-economic and socio-political conditions (33). Her workload was light (Qs 34 - 39) as she was only involved in project teaching. She rated her pupils’ ability in English positively: as good in terms of comprehension skills, and as fair in terms of production skills (Qs 40,41), with reasons for pupil difficulty being poor environmental conditions; (which is consistent with her responses to Q33, i.e. the cause of difficulty was perceived as being external to, rather than internal to the pupils); little exposure to English and lack of resources (Q42).

In terms of classroom organization, her pupils had freedom of both speech and movement (Qs 43-47), which was borne out by her lesson data (see Appendix 6a Transcript 1, and Transcript 2 Excerpt 3). She was satisfied with peer contact and support on the project (Qs 49-55), and with the materials (Qs 56-63). She was sensitive towards pupils’ difficulties (Q64) and towards contributions from the pupils themselves (Q65). In general, then, Teacher 1 testified to a flexible approach towards her pupils and teaching, and was satisfied with her working conditions, which would tend to support the positive attitudes revealed in her responses to part two of the questionnaire, and in her teaching practices as revealed in her lesson data. This contrasts strongly with the findings from part one of the questionnaire for the other EL2 teachers (see 5.8.2.3 and 5.8.2.4).
Attitude change in second survey

A year after the initial study, an opportunity arose to monitor any change in attitudes which might have occurred in Teachers 1 and 2. Unfortunately, Teachers 3 and 4 were no longer available for this experiment as they had left the school and the project. Only Q68 (Interaction Mode) was monitored as the researcher wished to relate any changes in attitude specifically to classroom practice. In the case of Teacher 2, a further lesson was observed.

If one considers Appendix 5c Q68 Addendum, it becomes clear that Teacher 1's responses to this section of the questionnaire were slightly less positive than those of the first study. For example, her responses to three items under high C.O. changed from being clearly positive, to more negative, i.e.(b,j) and (u3). These dealt with teacher talk, pupils' freedom in asking questions unrelated to lesson content and expansion of pupil responses by the teacher. Perhaps the experience of a year's teaching on the project had led to a somewhat more realistic view of her interaction style, as a substantial amount of teacher talk is very noticeable in her lesson data (see Appendix 6a Transcript 1). Teacher 1 also gave two negative responses (never) to two items to which she had responded positively a year before, viz.(t4) and (u2) - peer correction of errors and rephrasing a pupil's contribution. The first response was accurate in terms of her lesson data, as she normally modelled the correct structure if the focus was on fluency (see Transcripts 1 & 2) but the second response was not consistent with her lesson data, as she often rephrased pupils' responses (see Transcript 1). On the positive side, two items moved from negative responses sometimes and never to always and often respectively. These were item (n) (pupils understanding of task instructions) and (t5) (teacher ignores error when focus is on fluency). This seemed more in line with the lesson data. In sum, the total number of positive responses under high C.O. dropped from 23 in the first survey to 20 in the second and negative responses rose from 2 in the first survey to 5 in the second (see Appendix 5c Q68.
Addendum), thus revealing a more cautious attitude, perhaps tempered by the experience of a year's teaching.

Under the low C.O. parameter, there was not much difference in the overall scores between the two surveys as positive responses dropped from 3 to 2, and negative responses rose from 8 to 9. The option sometimes was used far more than in the first survey, two items moving from often (m and u1), dealing with pupil questions about vocabulary/grammar and teacher's handling of pupil contributions with a brief comment), and three from never (q,t6 and x), which deal with focus on complete sentences, ignoring pupil errors and rote memorization). These changes reflected this teacher's prolonged experience with the project materials, which, in fact, encouraged these elements in certain units (see Appendix 4b Unit 2). Finally, one item moved from always to sometimes (item w1: factual questions), which was more consistent with her teaching, and one item moved from never to always (item i: pupils only talk when invited to). This was not evident in her lesson data from the first survey and as further observation of this teacher's lessons was not possible in the second survey, this result could not be confirmed. This also applies to the other attitude changes noted above. However, in general this teacher's attitudes remained firmly positive. During the interview, she noted further that she had begun to see herself as a learner together with her pupils, which she had discovered whilst doing drama workshops for a play. This naturally emphasised the importance of peer learning and teaching for her. Her teaching style had certainly shown great potential for containing these elements.

5.8.2.2. Teacher 2

General summary

In general, Teacher 2's attitudes were highly communicative in orientation for all questions. She made the least use of the middle options (12% - see Table 5) thereby showing more confidence in her responses. However, her teaching style was not as freely communicative as that of Teacher 1, as she tended to retain a
tighter control of both the materials, and of pupil responses (see Appendix 6a Transcripts 3 & 4). This could have been because she was testing out the materials which she, herself, had designed and was thus attempting to adhere to quite closely, and which were based on Harmer’s (1983) model which gives substantial weight to accuracy work.

Analysis of part two

Under high C.O. for Q66, her responses were 100% positive (see Appendix 5c). She thus supported a learner-centred approach, encouraging pupils’ independence and responsibility for their own learning (items b,d,j,l). This was evident in her lesson data, where the COLT analysis revealed a sharing of control for topics, tasks and materials, pupil initiation of discourse, meaningful interaction in groups and a high information gap. This was especially evident in her lesson observed a year after the initial study, when a new element, news, had been introduced into the units (see Appendix 6a Transcript 5). Both her attitudes and her lessons stressed the emotional and creative development of pupils (items g,i), by ensuring understanding of the various issues (h) through discussion and close questioning (see Appendix 6a Transcript 4 Excerpt 2). Under low C.O. Teacher 2’s responses gave equal weight to important (NB) and not important (NNB). She agreed with the view that children should be equipped to fit into society (a,f) and should be taught the basic skills (e) which was similar to the other teachers’ responses to these items, but she did not agree with training a child to be well-disciplined (c) or to achieve high standards in school work (k). Her response to the latter was different from those of the EL2 teachers possibly owing to the fact that she was an EL1 speaker in a particular socio-political dispensation at the time of the survey (The apartheid structure was still firmly in place - see 2.3.3).

For Q67, her responses to items under the high C.O. parameter were mainly positive except for items g and p1, where she disagreed with the point that pupils learn what they want to learn and that a “good” pupil talks a lot in class. For the rest, she recognised pupils’ individuality, potential, and background knowledge
(c,d,k), attempted to understand their point of view (i) and was committed to nurturing their growth (h,l,m). She was also willing to accept challenge from pupils (p3,6,8,10), which was amply demonstrated in her lesson data from the COLT analysis (see Appendix 6a Transcript 5) where she allowed pupils to initiate, expand on topics or interrupt as the need arose. The only items that this teacher found very important (VNB) or important (NB) under low C.O. were that streaming was easier (a); that pupils' ideas/responses should be relevant to the teaching point in question (o); that pupils should speak English well (p2) which was confirmed by her lesson data which revealed a strong focus on accuracy (see Appendix 6a Transcript 3 and Transcript 4 Excerpt 1) and that pupils did daily homework (p11) which supports (p2). She disagreed with the other items reflecting a transmission view of teaching.

Teacher 2’s impression of her interactive style was positive (see Appendix 5c Q68). She perceived herself as having good communication with her pupils (a,c) and tried not to talk too much (b). She encouraged pupils’ contributions (e,g,l,u2,u4), using frequent pair and group work (0,p1,2,3), which was evident in the project materials (see Appendix 4b unit 2) and, hence, in the lessons of all the project teachers. She favoured discovery learning (s) and tried to adapt to pupils’ needs (d,f,n) (see Appendix 6a Transcript 4 Excerpt 2). She believed in fostering learner autonomy (p2,3,v) which tallies with her responses to the high C.O. parameter for Q67 (c,d,p8), and in allowing time for self or peer correction before teacher intervention (t4,5). This attitude is consistent with her lesson data (see Appendix 6a Transcript 3 and Transcript 4 Excerpt 1). In her use of materials she favoured questions which were exploratory and predictive (w2,3), thus highlighting creative thought and information gap (see Appendix 6a Transcript 4 Excerpt 3). Under the high C.O. parameter, Teacher 2 was less positive about pupils asking questions unrelated to lesson content (j); about pupils discussing different points of view (r) (this might have been related to the pupils’ own level of English at the time); about teacher ignoring pupil errors (t5) (which was borne out by her data where she constantly picked up on errors) and about the teacher rephrasing, expanding or elaborating upon pupils’ contributions (u2,3,4). This
negative attitude was not entirely consistent with her practices, as there is evidence of it in her data (see Appendix 6a Transcript 4 Excerpt 3).

Under the low C.O. parameter for Q68, her only positive responses were for items (u1) (teacher gives brief comment as response to pupil’s contribution) and asking factual questions on the materials (w1) which was probably not a fair question under this parameter as this was part of the inherent design of the project materials, i.e. moving from questions of a factual nature to those which asked for prediction and inference. She also admitted to pupils memorising dialogues (x) which was also part of the materials design (see Transcript 3). The rest of her responses under low C.O. for this question were on the negative side, where she perceived herself as only sometimes engaged in behaviour characterised as transmission teaching, i.e. passive pupils (h,i); exclusive focus on accuracy (m,q) and insensitive treatment of error (t1,2,6). Furthermore, she never explained grammatical rules before giving examples which is clear from her lesson data (see Transcript 3).

Teacher 2 agreed with all items under the high C.O. parameter, favouring freedom and flexibility for the teacher in choosing method and use of materials (b,c,e) and in using materials from other subjects (b). In the same way, she disagreed with all items under low C.O. thus demonstrating an internal consistency among the responses to this question. She thus rejected rigid control of method and materials (a,f), the separate teaching of subjects (d) and the fact that exams can reflect ability (g).

Teacher 2’s responses to Q70 under high C.O. were strongly positive, perceiving her role to be that of facilitator (f), sensitive to her pupils (n,p) and humble (e). Similarly, she disagreed with most of the items under low C.O. except for (j) and (q) which dealt with pupils feeling secure when told what to do and their being tested regularly. For the rest, she rejected tight teacher control (b,d,h,k,l,m,r), and maintaining "face" at all costs (c,g,o).
For Q71, teacher 2's responses were very positive for all items under high C.O. She believed in providing both a sound grammatical base and practice in communication strategies when teaching language (c) but her emphasis lay on the latter (b,d,f,i,j,k,l,n) (see Appendix 6a Transcript 4 Excerpts 2,3 and Transcript 5). Under low C.O. Teacher 2 disagreed with most items except two: (a) (to teach the syllabus) and (g) (never allow the L1 in class). She rejected an exclusive exam focus on the textbook (e) and on never allowing errors (h,m).

Apart from two items (b & d - teacher speaks very little and pupils should be allowed to choose work they wish to do) for which she chose the middle option (NB), Teacher 2 responded positively to all items under high C.O. for Q72. These stressed flexibility and understanding on the part of the teacher (f,h,i) and humility in learning from pupils and peers (j,k) which was consistent with her responses to similar questions in Q70 (see items e and n). Under low C.O. she disagreed with every item except (a) (pupils need written practice for exams) as she did not perceive herself as explaining grammatical structures before providing examples (e) (which is consistent with her response to item (k) in Q68) or as always insisting on "correct" answers (g). Some of her lesson data, however, may challenge this response as her lessons retained a strong focus on accuracy (see Transcript 3).

Analysis of part one

This teacher's profile possibly explains her strongly positive attitudes towards more progressive learning and teaching. Her motivation and initiative in founding the SPEAK project reveals a concern for a more liberal, less restricting education. She was highly qualified (MA & HED) (Q1) and had specialised in TEFL in the U.K. (Q2). She had also been on the short course in teaching communication skills in Israel with her colleagues and was studying for a B.A.Hons in Applied Linguistics at the time of the study (Q3). Her reasons for studying further were to gain promotion, for interest and to gain more confidence in the field. She was the only teacher who held a positive attitude towards her pre-service teacher training (5) as she still used the methodology she had learnt in her French method studies, viz.
attention to accurate reproduction with drills, certain classroom organizational procedures such as pair and group work and the use of visual aids. This was very evident in the way she had designed the materials for the project and in her own lesson data (see Transcripts 3 and 4).

She was an EL1 speaker who had learnt two other languages well (French and Afrikaans) and was trying to learn Zulu (Qs 7-14). In spite of this, she preferred the bilingual option for primary schools (14) thus revealing a more informed approach to the medium question in South Africa. Although she professed to a love of the language and to teaching it (Q15), her reasons for the pupils' learning it, in order of importance, were strongly instrumental, i.e. for coping with secondary and tertiary education, for a good job and for success in society in general (Qs 17 & 18). This could account for her skills bias as revealed in her responses to items (a) and (e) under the low C.O. parameter in Q66 and to item (c) in Q71. She felt that parents and family should become involved with their children's English studies (Q19) and would like to have taught history as well, as she felt that both subjects dealt with society and culture (Qs 20, 21). This response reveals an open and enquiring mind, further supported by the fact that she felt that her own command of English had improved through her teaching through conscious attention to the structure of the language (Q22).

She had the least experience in teaching of all the teachers (5-10 years) (Q25) but really enjoyed it (Qs 26-28). She was satisfied with her current working conditions in terms of her project teaching (Q31), although she emphasised lack of good texts, too many pupils and inflexible administrative procedures as constraints on teaching in the schools (Q33). She rated her pupils' ability in English as good with regard to the receptive skills, and as weak with regard to the productive skills (Q40), the reasons for this being lack of exposure to EL1 speakers and lack of good materials and reading practice in school (Q42). Her classroom organization was fairly flexible (Qs 43-48), which was supported by the COLT analysis (see 6.6.1.2) and she was very positive about peer contact and support (Qs 49-55) and project materials (Qs 56-58). She was satisfied with the design of the project.
materials (Qs 56-63) and showed sensitivity towards pupils' difficulty with them (Q64) and towards pupils' initiative (Q65) in bringing their own "materials" to class, i.e. songs, reading books, drawings and realia. In general, then, Teacher 2's responses to part one of the questionnaire were consistent with her attitudes as revealed in part two.

**Attitude change in second survey**

When studied a year after the initial survey, Teacher 1's attitudes were found to be highly consistent with her results from the initial study (see Appendix 5c Q68 Addendum). Her overall scores for both high and low C.O. remained virtually the same. However, there were subtle changes in her responses to individual items, the most significant being the movement of six items from the middle option *often* to the more firmly positive *always* (a,b,e,f,p1,w2) and of two items (r,u3) from the option *sometimes* to *often*. Only one item moved from positive to negative, i.e. from *often* to *sometimes* (r). These movements indicate a general movement towards more strongly positive responses which could reflect this teacher's growing confidence in her teaching, and in her attitudes towards it. This result could be compared to that of Teacher 1, whose responses tended to show greater caution (see 5.8.2.1.-Attitude change in second survey). Only one item moved from positive to negative under high C.O. (u4 - elaboration of pupil contribution), perhaps owing to her experience of pupil capabilities at that level after a year's teaching. However, item (r), which dealt with pupils discussing different points of view, became more firmly positive, indicating the opposite to the previous point. Under low C.O. the results remained the same except for two items: item (u1) became more negative (teacher's treatment of pupil response) and item (w1), more positive (asking factual questions). This was probably owing to her prolonged experience of the project materials.

One lesson was observed and recorded during the period of this second survey, which serves to confirm the results of the latter (see Appendix 6a Transcript 5). This transcript shows the teacher exploring topics with her pupils, topics which
they themselves initiate and explore as they wish. In an informal interview during the same period (see 6.6.2), this teacher further elaborated upon her change in attitude. She stated that the crisis in socio-political conditions at the time and the influence of People's Education had led her to explore a number of issues in relation to the classroom. Among these were the "democratization" of knowledge (see 3.2) with the implication it carries for the teacher as a facilitator and how this would change the interaction process in the classroom, giving more responsibility to the pupils for collective decision-making, initiative and peer support; the question of "empowering" learners and the implications this has for teachers and materials writers who should encourage resilience and independence in their learners, beginning with the development of skills; the use in the classroom of pupils' own stories and experiences in order to create a familiar, yet rich, context as a starting point for new learning experiences; and, finally, the issue of this teacher being an ELI speaker with a very different cultural background to that of her pupils. This had led to a heightened awareness on her part, owing to a need for greater openness and sensitivity in trying to understand her pupils and their background (which is what they brought to the classroom essentially) but it had also led to a fear of over-sensitivity because of the type of crisis the pupils were going through in the townships at the time. In sum, this teacher's attitudes had shown an increase in communicative orientation over time which was strongly supported by her practices in the classroom as revealed in the second survey.

5.8.2.3 Teacher 3

General summary

Although Teacher 3 expressed similar positive attitudes to those of Teachers 1 and 2, her overall scores were well below those of the latter. For example, Table 1 shows her overall percentage for responses under high C.O. as 70% for positive responses (cf. 90% for Teacher 1 and 87% for Teacher 2) and as 30% for negative responses (cf. 10% for Teacher 1 and 13% for Teacher 2). Likewise under low C.O. (see Table 2) her scores for both positive and negative responses were equal
(50% each) revealing the highest score for positive responses to the low C.O. parameter of all the teachers (cf. 20% for Teacher 1; 26% for Teacher 2 and 40% for Teacher 4). However, her global scores as shown in Table 9 for high C.O. were still above average (60%) and those for low C.O. were below average (40%), although this figure was still far higher than those for Teachers 1 and 2. This teacher also made greater use of the middle options (31% - see Table 5) than did Teachers 1 and 2, thereby revealing less confidence in her attitudes than the latter.

Analysis of part two

Her responses to the question on Teaching aims (see Appendix 5c Q66), revealed her support for a generative view of education, marking five out of seven responses as VNB (b,d,i,j,l). This could have been due to the influence of the project, which encouraged a learner-centred, developmental approach to teaching English language. Items (g) and (h) were not as important (emotional development and developing pupils' understanding of the world). Under low C.O. her responses were all positive, two of which were marked strongly positive (c and e - basic skills and discipline) which revealed the traditional skills bias so prevalent in the schools, together with the need for rigid control. This bias permeated her teaching (see 6.6.3).

For Q67, Teacher 3 agreed with 77% of the items under high C.O. thus revealing a learner-centred stance towards her pupils. She saw pupils as individuals who have a right to learn in their own way (c,d) and to bring their own experiences to class (k). She agreed that a "good" pupil is one who is lively, challenges the teacher and takes responsibility for his own learning (p6,8,10). However, her COLT analysis did not reveal a consistency between her professed attitudes and her practices in the classroom in this regard (see 6.6.3). Pupils tended to remain passive in her lessons unless invited to contribute and teacher-talk predominated most of the time. This occurred in both school lessons (see Appendix 6a Transcript 189).
6 Excerpts 1 & 2) and in project lessons (see Transcript 10 Excerpts 1 & 2). She was more cautious about trying to see the pupils’ point of view (i) and using pupils’ ideas even if not directly relevant (m). Like the other teachers, she strongly disagreed with (g) (pupils learn what they want to learn). This particular item was informed by two sources: Allwright’s (1984) position on content being available to be learnt in class from any source, and Krashen’s (1983) theory on comprehensible input* (see 3.4.1). Perhaps this concept was not clear from the way this item was phrased so that teachers understood it in the sense of pupils being allowed to choose their own content. Her responses to items under low C.O. were mostly negative (64% with the middle option neutral comprising 14% of that figure) (see Appendix 5c Q67). Thus, she disagreed with a view of pupils as lacking in initiative (b); as needing punishment as a stimulus for learning (n); as needing to be quiet and disciplined (p4) and never asking too many questions (p5), never talking without invitation (p9) and as accepting the status quo without challenge. Her response to (p4) concerning discipline was in direct contradiction to her response to item (c) in Q66 where she was in favour of it. Furthermore, her positive responses to the above items were not confirmed by her lesson data (see Transcripts 6-10, and 6.6.3). For example, in all her lessons, pupils never spoke without being nominated by the teacher (p9). Finally, she showed support for a transmission view of teaching in her responses to items (a,f,o,p2,p11). These concerned streaming, pupils adapting to the method (which is not consistent with her positive response to item (c) under high C.O. regarding individual learning styles), the relevance of pupils’ ideas to the teaching point in question and doing daily homework.

Teacher 3’s responses to Q68, however, showed a different pattern to those evident in the previous questions, being weighted more on the side of low C.O. For example, the negative responses sometimes and never accounted for 56% of her responses to items under the high C.O. parameter, and 54% of her responses were positive (always and often) under the low C.O. parameter, which shows internal consistency within this question (see Appendix 5c Q68). There thus appeared to be some indecision and hesitation on the part of this teacher concerning what she felt
she ought to be doing (in the light of her exposure to new styles and theories of teaching) and what she perceived herself to actually do in the classroom. For example, her most positive responses under high C.O. concerned her enthusiasm (c); her frequent use of pair and group work (o) (which was a direct result of the project materials), and the fact that the main purpose of pair and group work for her was to encourage interaction, independence and genuine communication (p1, 2, 3). The latter is inconsistent with her lesson data for both school and project lessons, which show evidence of pair work being used for practice of structures in drill-like fashion (see Appendix 6a Transcript 7 and Transcript 10 Excerpt 2). She also used a positive response (often) for items (a, d, e, f, n, t4), which covered good communication on her part, the use of individualisation, encouraging pupils to talk, choosing interesting tasks, ensuring pupils' understanding of tasks and peer correction of errors. The first two items were not evident in her lesson data.

On the negative side, she never tried not to talk too much (b) which shows either a candid honesty on her part or misunderstanding of the item (i.e. she perceived herself as saying that she did not talk too much) (see 5.5.3 for a discussion of this item); her pupils never asked for more information on a topic (l); the teacher never waited for a pupil to correct himself (t3) and never encouraged challenge from pupils, which was in keeping with the spirit of the transmission mode of teaching so prevalent in the primary schools (see 2.2.6). Her positive responses to items under the low C.O. parameter supported a transmission view of teaching. Thus, she always explained grammatical rules before giving examples (k) (which was not evident in any of her lessons - see Transcript 6 Excerpt 1 for example) with pupils asking questions mostly about word meanings or grammar (m) (this never happened in any of the lessons for any of the teachers although they all answered positively in response to this item, visualising, perhaps, what they would have liked to have seen in their lessons). She also asked factual questions on materials (w1) which could not be confirmed from her data from the project because lead-in lessons, where these types of questions were asked, were not observed with this teacher. However, one of her school lessons, storytelling, showed evidence of this type of questioning (see Transcript 8). She also admitted
that she often got her pupils to respond in complete sentences (q); that she passed to another pupil if one made an error (t1) and that her pupils practised rote-memorisation (x). This was totally consistent with her practices (see Transcript 6 Excerpt 1 for evidence of all these items).

Teacher 3’s responses to items under high C.O. for Q69 were mostly positive, favouring the use of materials from other subjects (b) and freedom for teachers to choose their own method (e). She disagreed with item (c) which concerned the use of the textbook as a starting point for further activities and this tallied with her positive response to item (f) under low C.O. where she felt that teachers should follow the textbook closely, a phenomenon which was very prevalent in the schools. Her negative responses to the other items under low C.O. were consistent with those to items under high C.O. i.e. she disagreed with the separate teaching of subjects (d) (cf her response to item b) and that exams were a good reflection of ability (g).

In Q70, the only item which she disagreed with under high C.O. was item (n) (a teacher should be open to pupils’ suggestions). Once again, this response could probably be traced to her experience in the schools. For the rest, she favoured a humorous (a), humble (e), facilitative (f) and non-punitive (p) approach on the part of the teacher. Items (a) and (p) were evident in her teaching (see Transcripts 6-10) but not necessarily (e) or (f). Her responses to items under low C.O. for this question, however, were equally distributed between positive (42%) and negative (50%) (see Appendix 5c Q70) which possibly revealed an ambivalence in her attitude with respect to role within a transmission mode. Most of these items were probably familiar to this teacher through her experience of transmission teaching in the schools, so it was probably difficult for her to decide whether she agreed/disagreed with them in the light of her recent experience of a different type of teaching on the project. For example, she believed that pupils learn better under teacher control (d) and that pupils feel secure when told what to do (j). She thus agreed with the statement that the teacher must control what pupils learn (l); that pupils should be regularly tested (q) and that group and pair work do not work at
this level (r). Her response to the last item is interesting, as it contradicts her responses to items (o) and (p1,2,3) in Q68. It is also inconsistent with her practices in class, in which she is seen to use a great deal of group work (see Transcripts 7 & 10). Perhaps Teacher 3 was at the stage where she had adopted pair/group work as an ‘innovative technique’ because she had been exposed to it on various methods courses (see Analysis of part one) in her career and on the project. However, she merely paid lip-service to it as she was still unable to tap its true value by utilising it in a truly communicative, interactive manner (see 3.5 for a discussion of this point).

On the negative side, she disagreed with the teacher being severe (b), never admitting error (g), using corporal punishment (m) or maintaining distance from pupils (0). She also disagreed with pupils not being allowed to challenge syllabus or method (h) or being passive (k). In sum, this teacher rejected an explicitly authoritarian, transmission mode of teaching in terms of role, yet her lesson data showed that she still could not relinquish control over pupils and content (see Transcripts 6-10, and 6.6.3).

Teacher 3’s responses to items under high C.O. for Q71 were all positive, being split fairly equally between VNB (56%) and the middle option, NB (44%) (see Appendix 5c Q70). She thus favoured a basic grammatical foundation with practice in communication strategies (c) along with the other elements of communicative language teaching (b,d,f,i,j,k,l,n). Under low C.O. for this question, Teacher 1’s responses were also mainly positive (60%), especially for items (a), (g) and (m) which dealt with teaching the syllabus, never allowing the L1 in class and correcting all grammatical errors, which was clearly evident in her lesson data (see 6.6.3 and Transcript 6 Excerpt 1). However, her negative response (NNB) to item (h) (never allow errors) is inconsistent with her response to item (m) showing an ambivalence in attitude on this issue.

For Q72, Teacher 3’s responses to items under high C.O. were positive (88%), 38% of which was for the middle option NB which still shows caution or hesitance
on her part. For her, the 'ideal' teacher uses group/pair work (c); does not adhere strictly to the syllabus (f), which is consistent with her response to item (e) of Q69; encourages pupil independence in learning (i) and learns from colleagues (j). The latter was probably due to the influence of the project where weekly meetings to discuss pupils and problems were encouraged. She was not as strongly positive about giving pupils total freedom (d) and (h) (choosing own work and asking questions at random) or about being able to learn from her pupils (j), thus indicating the need for control of content, pupils, and the interaction in class. Under low C.O. two items were marked NB, (a) and (e) (written practice for exams and deductive teaching of grammar). However, she found an insistence on correct answers not important, which conflicts directly with her lesson data (see Transcript 6 Excerpt 1).

It would seem that Teacher 3's attitudes had been influenced by her contact with the project and with a previous teacher upgrading programme before that, viz. the SELP project (see 3.5), but that these attitudes had not been assimilated to a point where they had any marked influence on her teaching style. This would account for her high scores for high C.O. for Q66 (Teaching aims), Q67 (Pupils) and Q70 (Role). However, she revealed a fairly accurate perception of her typical interaction pattern in class (Q68) which was consistent with the findings from the COLT analysis. Her frequent choice of the option sometimes perhaps reveals uncertainty about her own teaching behaviours. If the findings from an analysis of part one of the questionnaire are considered (see below), it is evident that this teacher had been exposed to more innovative, communicative teaching methods on various courses such as the skills-course in Israel, which had, like her involvement with the SELP and SPEAK projects, offered her an alternative approach to the learning and teaching of English other than that practised in the schools. However, although her attitudes were beginning to move towards a more generative view of language learning and teaching they were still unable to be expressed in her teaching practices. Thus, a major difference between Teachers 1 and 2 and this teacher was that, although the former also believed in the need to give pupils a firm grammatical foundation in the language, the emphasis in their teaching
practices lay on encouraging pupil initiative and independence, whereas the latter was unable to relinquish control in this manner.

Analysis of part one

Teacher 3 was the most highly qualified of all the EL2 teachers, holding a matric and a Higher Primary Teaching certificate (Q1). She did not hold a TESL qualification (Q2), except for a short three week course in communicative skills in Israel, and she was not studying further at the time of the study (Q3). However, she intended specialising in remedial education (Q4) which she did a year after this study, hence her not being available for further observation, as happened with Teachers 1 and 2. As with the other EL2 teachers, she revealed a negative attitude towards her initial teacher training course (5) as she felt that there had not been sufficient practice in English structure or teaching methods. This tallies with her response to Q16, where she identified some of the problems in teaching English as a lack of confidence in her own language teaching ability, in the method and in the textbooks. It also tallied with her response to Q23, where she rated her own language ability in English as fair to weak. Her mother tongue was Xhosa, and she spoke four other languages although she rated her abilities in them as weak, except for English, which she rated as average.

Her attitude towards English in general was positive, using it fairly often in both her professional and personal life (Qs 9-13) and she preferred it as the medium of instruction in the primary school (Q14). She enjoyed teaching English (Q15) as it allowed her to improve her own command of it (Q22) and, like Teacher 4, she chose both integrative and instrumental reasons as being important for pupils to learn it (Q17,18). She felt that parents should help their children learn English (Q19) and, like Teacher 2, she would have liked to have taught history because of it's story-telling potential.

Like the other EL2 teachers in the study, she had been teaching for over ten years, and English specifically for between five to ten years (Qs 24,25). She enjoyed
teaching and wished to continue with it as a career (Q26,28,31)) but, like Teacher 4, she was not satisfied with her working conditions (Qs 29,30) as she had a heavy workload in the school (Qs 34-37). She saw as obstacles to effective teaching, the lack of resources, unstable sociopolitical climate and lack of motivation on the part of both pupils and teachers (Q33) and she had little time for extra-mural contact with pupils (Qs 38,39). Despite this heavy work load, however, she had still found time to teach in the afternoons on the project which showed a genuine concern for improving pupils' English proficiency. She perceived her pupils' abilities as weak (40,41), the reasons being very little exposure to the target language resulting in poor motivation, and poorly qualified teachers (42).

She perceived herself to be flexible in terms of freedom of movement for pupils (Qs43,44,45) which was borne out to some extent by her lesson data (see Transcript 8 in which the pupils role-played a story) and she honestly admitted that she did not allow freedom of speech (Qs 46,47), i.e. pupils only talk when invited to do so by the teacher, which was consistent with her lesson data. She appeared satisfied with staff contact (Qs 49-55), although she was not satisfied with the syllabus, materials or equipment in the schools (Qs 56-58). However, she still taught according to the textbook (60), which also tallies with her positive response to item (a) in Q71 and item (f) in Q69 (see Analysis of part two), and she still found the materials relevant, interesting and pitched at the right level for pupils (Qs 62,63). This, however, could have referred to those of the project. Finally, she attempted to simplify learning for her pupils (64) and made an effort to use their contributions (by way of materials) in class (65).

In sum, it would seem that this teacher represented Beeby's (1986) third stage in his growth model, i.e. transition (see 1.2). It seemed that this teacher's attitudes had begun to change from a transmission-oriented stance towards a more generative mode of education which was reflected in the fairly equal weighting given in her responses to both high and low communicative parameters. She also demonstrated far greater consistency in her responses within, and across questions, than did Teacher 4. However, these attitudes were not sufficiently established so as
to be expressed to any great extent in her teaching practices, as her lesson data revealed. It seemed that it was difficult for her to change her transmission-oriented teaching, especially in the school which still retained its traditional mode of teaching (Beeby's second stage - Formalism) and was therefore still a strong influence on its teachers. This influence possibly extended to her project teaching which was still in its earliest stages at the time of this study. This could be the reason why her teaching style as revealed by the COLT analysis for both project and school, was not very different.

5.8.2.4 Teacher 4

General Summary

In general, Teacher 4 obtained the lowest scores for high communicative orientation for both attitudes and practices (see Tables 3, 8, 9). Her global percentage scores were 59% for positive high C.O. and 41% for negative high C.O. Conversely, she scored 40% for positive low C.O. (which was lower than Teacher 3's score of 50% thus revealing slightly more negative attitudes towards transmission teaching than Teacher 3), and 60% for negative low C.O. In terms of total percentages for each question category, her scores were well below those of the other teachers for high C.O. and well above those for low C.O. (see Tables 1 & 2). A large part of these percentages, however, were made up of responses to the middle options important and neutral which comprised 58% of the total (see Table 5). This finding points to far greater uncertainty on the part of Teacher 4 concerning her perceptions of, and attitudes towards the language learning/teaching process, especially in terms of more innovative approaches within a generative perspective on education. This was a phenomenon of which she had very little experience, as her profile revealed (see Appendix 5b). Also pointing to uncertainty or indecision on her part was the marked inconsistency noted in her responses to various items within, and across, questions which will be discussed below in
relation to each question. There was also inconsistency between her professed attitudes and perceptions which tended to favour a more generative mode of learning and teaching, and her practices in the classroom, which were very transmission-oriented as revealed by the COLT analysis (see 6.6.4).

Analysis of part two

For Q66, all Teacher 4's responses under high C.O. were positive, 57% of which were VNB and 43% NB. This figure is high for a middle option (see above). Like the other teachers, she expressed positive attitudes towards developing pupils' initiative, independence, responsibility and creative abilities (items b,j,l,i) and believed that they should be encouraged to express themselves freely (d) and yet, like Teacher 3, she was unable to express these attitudes through her teaching (see 6.6.4). For example, in none of her lessons did the pupils express themselves freely, her lessons on English structure being appropriate examples as they represented her typical teaching style in class (see Appendix 6a Transcripts 11 and 14). Under low C.O. for this question, Teacher 4 obtained the highest scores for positive responses (80%) (see Appendix 5c Q66) thus supporting a skills approach (e), strict discipline (c), achievement of high standards (k) and conformity with the status quo (a). These principles underpinned her teaching.

In Q67, she agreed with 62% of the items under high C.O. and disagreed with 38%. She thus professed to believe in individualised teaching (c) with a view to pupils' personal growth (h) and potential success (d). She felt that teachers should use pupils' background knowledge (k), praise (l) and pupils' ideas even if irrelevant (m). Furthermore, the 'good' pupil asked questions and challenged the teacher (P3,6). None of this was evident in her lesson data. On the negative side, the teacher did not think that pupils learnt what they wished to learn (g); that teachers should try and see the pupils' point of view (i) and that the "good" pupil talked a lot and was independent of the teacher (p1,8). The latter responses were consistent with her teaching practices where pupils tended to play a passive role and only spoke in response to a question from the teacher (see Transcripts 11-14).
Under low C.O. 64% of this teacher’s responses were neutral, showing a very undefined stance on her part (see Appendix 5c Q67). On the positive side, she agreed with items (f) and (o) (pupils should adapt to the method and their ideas should be relevant to the teaching point in question). This is in direct contradiction to her positive responses to items (c) (individualisation) and (m) (teacher should use pupils’ ideas) under high C.O. She strongly disagreed with the point that pupils learn by punishment (n) and that the ‘good’ pupil is quiet and disciplined (p4) yet her lesson data does not show the pupils in any other mode (see Transcripts 11-14).

For Q68, Teacher 4’s positive responses were low for both high and low C.O., 32% under high C.O. and 27% for low C.O. Conversely, her negative responses under both parameters were high, 68% for high C.O. and 73% for low C.O (see Appendix 5c Q68). There was also a certain amount of inconsistency between her perceptions of her typical interaction patterns and her actual practices in the classroom (see 6.6.4). For example, she believed that she communicated well (a); was enthusiastic (c); encouraged pupils to talk a lot (e), chose interesting tasks (f), allowed self and peer correction (t3,4), free conversation and sometimes used group work (o). On the contrary, her COLT analysis shows this teacher using a rigid IRF pattern (see 2.1) which allowed only restricted and minimal responses from the pupils (see 6.6.4). She also believed that the main purpose of group work was genuine communication (p3); that when a pupil made an error the teacher asked other pupils to help (t4) and that the teacher rephrased and expanded on pupil contributions (u2,3). None of these were evident in her lessons except (t4), yet an interesting comparison can be made between the way in which this is done by Teacher 4 compared to Teacher 2, for example. Teacher 2 would ask other pupils to help their peer who had made the error and would spend time on it (see Transcript 3 and Transcript 4 Excerpt 2), but Teacher 4 merely passed over a pupil and nominated another, until she got the answer she wanted (see Transcript 11). For the rest, she chose sometimes as her response type for items (b,d,g,l,o,n,p2,s,t3,u4,v,w2,w3), thus showing far more caution in relation to these items. It is possible that they were not well understood by this teacher, not
being part of her basic schemata vis-a-vis her teaching experiences. Her only strongly negative responses under this parameter were to items (j), (p1), (r) and (t5) which basically dealt with pupils' freedom to ask questions; using group work for interactive purposes; pupils discussing different points of view and teacher ignoring error when the focus was on meaning. Teacher 4 was entirely honest about the lack of these elements in her teaching.

Under low C.O. for Q68, Teacher 4 chose the response sometimes for all except two of her responses viz. (u1) (she always gave a brief comment on a pupil's response) and (x) (rote-memorization of word lists and dialogues). Her positive response to the former was accurate (see Transcripts 11-14) but there was no evidence of the latter in the lessons that were observed, except for the chanting behaviour (chorusing) described in chapter 2 (see 2.1 and 2.2.2) which could be seen as a form of memorization as well. Otherwise, she showed an ambivalence towards transmission-type teaching. This could show a certain lack of clarity about her personal stance towards the language teaching process, and a conflict between her perceptions of her actual interactive style in the classroom and what she senses they ought to be, given her exposure to Teacher 3 who was her colleague at school, and who had passed on to Teacher 4 various, more innovative ideas and methods gained from her involvement with the project and elsewhere. Being part of the current study could also have influenced her attitudes to some extent.

For Q69, Teacher 4 moved towards the generative pole in her responses, stating that teachers should not be confined to a uniform syllabus or method (a) but should be free to choose their own method (e). She was neutral about using material from other subjects (b) and using the textbook as a prompt for further activities (c). She also disagreed with the separate teaching of subjects which is inconsistent with her neutral stance towards (b), and with the statement that teachers should follow the textbook closely (f). She felt, however, that exams were a good reflection of ability (g). Her negative responses to the above items were inconsistent with her lesson data, as she did tend to follow the textbook (see lesson 4, Reading 200
Comprehension, part of which is reproduced in Transcript 12), and switched to the next subject immediately the bell rang. To be fair, she was responding to the system already established by the school, but more content from other subjects could have been introduced into her lessons, and the same applies to Teacher 3.

For Q70, she agreed with 60% of the items under high C.O. and disagreed with 40% of items (see Appendix 5c Q70). She thus believed that a humorous (a), open (n) and non-punitive (p) approach was best. However, she did not feel that the teacher only learns to teach in the classroom (e) or guide pupils rather than control them (f). Her responses to the low C.O. parameter were equal, thus revealing mixed attitudes towards transmission-oriented teaching. She agreed with (g) and (h), i.e. a teacher should never admit error (which was highlighted in a lesson on the negative at a point where the teacher’s attempts at explaining the various structures only served to confuse the pupils more) (see Transcript 14), and pupils should not be free to criticise the syllabus or method, although elsewhere she was in favour of flexibility - see her response to item (a) for Q69). She also agreed with (m), that teachers should use corporal punishment, which is a direct contradiction to her response to item (p), and with (q), that pupils should be regularly tested. She disagreed with items (b,k,l,o) i.e. that there should be strict control of pupils (which is in conflict with her lesson data as the pupils were made to stand in a ring around the class for most lessons) (see Transcripts 11-14); that pupils should be quiet and listen to the teacher (which was the case in most of her lessons); that the teacher should choose and control what pupils learn and should maintain distance for respect. Although she disagreed with the above items, they were very evident in her lesson data (see Transcripts 11-14). In sum, Teacher 4 revealed both internal inconsistency in her responses to the two parameters within this question, and external inconsistency in her responses to similar and/or opposing items across questions.

For Q71, 67% of her responses to items under high C.O. were strongly positive (see Appendix 5c Q71) i.e. (c,d,f,j,k,n). These dealt with providing pupils with both a firm grammatical foundation and practice in communication; encouraging
integrative motivation; playing games and allowing time for pupils to speak and for free conversation. She was not as positive about problem-solving activities (b) (possibly because she had no experience of them); teaching language for colloquial use (d,f) and integrating the four skills (l). In the traditional setting of the school there was probably no place for the latter items. Under low C.O. she chose the middle option NB for all items except one, (h - never allow errors). She was thus positive about teaching the syllabus (a) and the textbook (e) and about never allowing the L1 in class (g) and correcting all grammatical errors (m) which was consistent with her teaching experience in the school.

Teacher 4 gave mixed responses to items under the high C.O. parameter for Q72 although 50% of them comprised the middle option, NB. She thus found using group and pair work (c) and not adhering strictly to syllabus or textbook (f) VNB although this conflicts with her responses to items from other questions (see item o and p3, Q68 and items (a) & (e), Q71). Her response to item (f), however, is consistent with her response to item (f) for Q69. On the contrary, she was negative about free questioning from pupils (h), and learning from her pupils (j) which was generally accurate, given the type of IRF mode of interaction in her classroom where neither of these items could really occur. Otherwise, she chose the middle option for the rest of the items (b,d,i,k) which dealt with the teacher speaking very little; allowing pupils to choose their own work; encouraging independence and learning from colleagues (which was probably happening with Teacher 3 being at her school). Under low C.O. she was very positive about explaining grammar before giving examples, which is very evident in her lesson data (see Transcript 11, and Transcript 14); and fairly non-committal about the other items (a,g), written practice and insisting on accuracy.

In sum it is probable that some of the items in this part of the questionnaire were unfamiliar to this teacher, who had never really been exposed to a more generative view of learning, and who had probably never been made conscious of any alternatives to the transmission mode of teaching before this study. This
explanation is partly confirmed by the findings from the analysis of part one below.

Analysis of part one

This teacher was probably typical of the majority of teachers teaching under similar circumstances in South Africa today. She had the minimum educational and professional qualifications (Qs 1 & 2) (see Appendix 5b) and had been struggling to improve the former (i.e. matric) for the past seven years (Q3) without much success. Heavy workloads and long distances tend to discourage teachers who wish to improve their own education and professional development. Like the other EL2 teachers in the study, her attitudes towards her pre-service training were negative (Qs 5 & 6) as she felt that not enough attention was given to English language teaching methodology and that one type of methodology, i.e. storytelling, was used for all subjects. She was thus the only teacher who had no exposure to ESL teaching specifically. Although the "communicative" approach had been advocated in the schools by the DET since 1986, it was not part of her initial training and no special training was given to help teachers with its introduction into the new syllabus. It was thus foreign to this teacher (and many others like her in the black primary school).

This teacher's mother tongue was Xhosa and she spoke two other languages, including English (Qs 7 & 8). Her use of English in her personal life was infrequent as, like her pupils, she lacked exposure to target language speakers, (Qs 9-13) and she preferred a bilingual situation in the primary school (Q14) although she professed to enjoying teaching English (Q15). She identified her particular problems in teaching English as lack of confidence in her own teaching methods and lack of pupil proficiency in, and knowledge of, the language (Q16). She chose both integrative and instrumental reasons for learning English (Qs 17 & 18) and felt that parents should help their children with their English studies (Q19). She admitted to preferring to teach another subject other than English, i.e. science and religious education, her reason being that these subjects widened children's
knowledge (an open, voluntary response to this question) yet she still felt that her own knowledge of English had improved through her teaching (Qs 20-22). She rated her own abilities in English as fair. Her commitment to teaching English specifically could thus be called into question. Salmon (1984) refers to a person’s stance towards a subject and makes the point that if teachers do not have a personal stake in what they are teaching, i.e. there is distance between their personal and professional lives, then what comes across to learners is an alienated stance, i.e. the teacher purveys beliefs that they do not really believe, the result being an inconsistency between "real" and "pseudo" scenarios. What learners receive is the teacher’s stance towards the subject and materials, so that, if a teacher is merely paying lip-service to these, one could hardly expect the learners to engage with them in a serious manner.

This teacher had been exposed to a transmission mode of teaching for over ten years (Qs 24-28). However, like Teacher 3, she was not satisfied with her working conditions feeling that she was underpaid (Q29) and had a heavy workload (Qs 30,34,35,36,37) so that she was unable to give time to extra-mural contact with pupils (Qs 38 & 39). This would most probably have encouraged the "survival" type of teaching discussed under 2.1 and 2.2. She was unsure about teaching Std 3 level (Q31), preferring to move up the school with the pupils (open response to Q32). She identified as obstacles to effective teaching, large pupil numbers, lack of adequate teaching equipment, textbooks or materials, inflexible exam procedures and lack of support from authority figures. This concurs with the general description of the state-of-the-art in black primary schools in chapter two (see 2.1 and 2.2). Her perception of pupils’ abilities in English was fair to weak (Qs 40 & 41), the main reasons being lack of motivation, poor learning environment and little exposure to English (Q42).

From her responses to Qs 43-48), she appeared to run a tightly controlled classroom with little freedom of movement for the pupils. However, she professed to allowing her pupils freedom of speech, which was not consistent with her lesson data (see 6.6.4). She was not very positive about staff or parent contact (Qs 49-
55), using sometimes as her main response choice. However, she would have liked to see more peer observation and discussion of ideas (Qs 54 & 55). She was very negative about the syllabus and materials used in the schools (Qs 56-61) yet she admitted to finding the materials/textbooks suitable for her pupils (Qs 62 & 63) (cf. findings from Macdonald 1990a; see 2.2.4). She perceived herself as being sensitive to pupils' needs (Qs 64 & 65), by simplifying materials if necessary and using materials that they brought to class.

From the foregoing analysis, it would seem that Teacher 4 perceived herself to be far more flexible and progressive than her teaching practices revealed her to be. Whatever exposure she had to more generative learning/teaching had been through Teacher 3 but these ideas had not been sufficiently internalised to be expressed through her practices in the classroom. In other words, this teacher, like Teacher 3, would make a good candidate for an exercise in self-reflection and peer observation of each other's classes in order to encourage understanding of what she was actually achieving in the classroom (see 7.4.2).

In this chapter, the general and specific findings of the attitude analysis have been recorded. The next step in the process is to examine, in detail, the teachers' practices in the classroom, in order to facilitate a comparison between the two (attitudes and practices). The following chapter begins with a brief overview of classroom observation research, focusing specifically on interaction analysis, and considering the implications for research and for pedagogy, of a blend of both empirical and ethnographic observation techniques. It will then go on to examine the data for each teacher's lessons, as revealed by the COLT analysis. It will begin with a brief overview of classroom observation research, focusing specifically on interaction analysis and considering the implications for research and for pedagogy, of a blend of interaction analysis and more 'ethnographic' observation techniques.
6.1 THEORETICAL RATIONALE: CLASSROOM OBSERVATION RESEARCH

Evertson & Green (1986) identify four overlapping phases of observational classroom research:
- an exploratory phase which began with the earliest systematic studies of instructional processes (see Medley & Mitzel (1963) for a review of these).
- a developmental phase of instrument development with the emergence of studies using category systems.
- a period of process-product studies focusing on teacher effects in relation to teacher behaviours and student outcomes. These studies were usually descriptive - correlational - experimental (see Dunkin & Biddle 1974; Simon & Boyer 1970; Rosenshine & Furst 1973, for a full review of these studies). Mitchell (1985) refers to this phase as the systematic observational research phase.
- a period of expansion with alternative approaches, theoretical and methodological advances, and convergence across research directions in the use of observational techniques to study teaching. Mitchell (1985) refers to this phase as the ethnographic phase, which was mainly descriptive in nature. Mitchell (1985) identifies a further phase - that of classroom discourse research - which was also mainly descriptive, and which belongs to this expansionist phase.

The systematic observation phase, and the expansionist/ethnographic phase will be discussed in more detail as they have a direct bearing on the present study.

6.1.1 Systematic classroom observation

The main impetus for second language classroom observation studies arose from the development of interaction analysis schemes for use in 'content' classrooms, eg. FIAC (Flanders 1970), which became modified and adapted by other researchers for use in L2 classrooms, such as the FLINT (Moskowitz 1971,
The nature of this work is a search for causal linkages between teacher effectiveness and student outcomes as measured by summative evaluation (standardised tests) and particular teaching practices. Teacher practices are monitored in terms of predetermined categories which gives this type of research its systematic nature. It also assumes uniformity of observation (reliability) across the period of observation within the same classroom, and across different classrooms. These studies were mainly used for teacher training purposes.

This type of research mainly records the range and frequency of speech acts occurring in classroom talk. Mitchell (1985) points out that these studies "typically generate accounts of variational patterns in lesson discourse by correlating frequencies in different categories" (p333), although such 'abstract categorizations' may be accompanied by qualitative commentary on the actual relationship between categories found in the data. Mitchell points out that there are analysis schemes that conserve discourse structure, either by providing a 'transcript-with-commentary' in the style of Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), or by displaying the coding of events along a time line (cf. Soule-Susbielles 1984; Allen et al 1983).

These systems were criticised on a number of counts (Mehan; Long; Mitchell, Parkinson & Johnstone cited in Mitchell 1985). They were criticised for their failure to take account of the distinctive character of L2 classroom interaction, in which the medium of instruction is itself an object of study; for their failure to provide a clear, theoretical rationale for the selection of features of classroom life to be studied; for their failure to define comprehensive and mutually exclusive category sets; for the unsatisfactory character of the basic unit of analysis, i.e. the arbitrary time unit of three-second intervals, instead of a 'natural' unit such as a speech turn; and for their failure to conserve the overall structure of the interaction being analyzed, as FIAC-derived systems merely tally the number of occurrences of particular events within categories, and do not reflect the relationship between events.
Efforts have been made in the field to meet these criticisms and to relate the systems to hypotheses about teaching and learning which are specific to the L2 classroom, the TALOS (Ullman & Geva 1984) and the COLT (Allen, Frohlich & Spada 1983) being two such instruments. The COLT, which was the research instrument used in the present study, managed to meet the above criticisms fairly adequately, in that it was designed specifically for the L2 classroom, backed by theory derived from the literature on communicative competence, L1 and L2 acquisition, and communicative language teaching. In addition, the category sets are clearly defined and mutually exclusive, relating to one or other of the major frameworks - Activity Organisation (Part A) and Verbal Interaction (Part B). The overall structure of the interaction is thus conserved by describing Part B, (which has been analyzed by means of an arbitrary time unit), in terms of Part A, (which follows a more 'natural' unit, viz. the duration of specific activities). The COLT thus has variously defined analytic units.

These systems have been further criticised for the fact that the analyses carried out in process-product research nearly always 'disaggregated' the observed classroom processes into the categories employed in the observation instrument, and then combined the observations taken over time and with different teachers (Shulman 1986:10). Thus, individual teacher behaviours 'got lost' in the individual scoring procedures and the 'collective pattern of the composite' (p12). In this way, teaching comes to be seen as an activity that "transcends both individual teachers and specific situations" (p10), as the 'values' of individual teacher behaviours are 'summed' across situations and across the observed behaviours of other teachers (sic). This was avoided in the present study through the provision of detailed qualitative analyses to accompany the quantitative data (see 6.6).

The concern for reliability places this type of research within the positivist paradigm. Erickson (1986) notes that the problem with this type of research was the validity of the judgements which were supposed to be 'low inference', but, in fact, "were often highly inferential" (p131). This problem was catered for by achieving high inter-observer reliability or, as was the case in the present study,
high intra-observer reliability, where repeated observations and analyses of lessons recorded on videotape were carried out at various time intervals (eg. a year apart). In fact, Erickson (1986) argues that the problem of validity can be counteracted by ensuring that the research can be replicated by providing the data which can then be reanalysed to confirm validity. In the case of the present study, samples of the data in the form of transcripts of lessons, videotapes of complete lessons and samples of coding and analysis sheets, have all been provided for this purpose. Finally, Kroes & Walker (1988) point out that the problem of 'subjective judgement' can be overcome to a certain extent by triangulation, i.e. including data from other sources in the final interpretation of the phenomena in question. This was carried out in the present study in the form of diaries and interviews (see 4.4.1 & 5.6).

Finally, Erickson (1986) points to the absence of any explanatory theory in process-product research, i.e. why particular combinations of teacher behaviour led to gain when others did not. He thus sees a need for an intervening variable - that of mediation - i.e. process - mediation - product with the explanatory mediating variables such as allocated time (time-on-task) and task engagement shifting the emphasis from the activities of teachers as causes to the activities of pupils as explanations (p13). He thus advocates a 'student mediation programme' with an active learner interacting with an active teacher (sic). This focus on the pupil, or student, signals the move away from the more empirical approach of the process-product studies to the more ethnographic approaches of sociolinguistic and linguistic research into classroom discourse.

6.1.2 Ethnographic/expansionist phase

Studies belonging to this phase have been mainly undertaken in the U.S.A. (For a full review of empirical studies with an ethnographic perspective see Van Lier 1988). Theoretical arguments for the adoption of a more qualitative, ethnographic approach to classroom observation have been put forward by Erickson (1986). He argues for a combination of microethnography, i.e. machine recordings of the
interaction in order to allow for repeated viewings and replication, and
ethnography, which takes into account the perspectives of the various participants
in the cultural setting through the use of interviews, diaries, stimulated recall and
other triangulation techniques. Allwright (1983) identifies two main perspectives
within this phase: a sociological perspective where the lesson is seen as a
socially-constructed event, i.e. as a product of the interactive work of the
participants in the classroom and the ways in which their interactive work creates
learning opportunities - Allwright's (1982, 1984, 1988) work takes this perspective
- and a linguistic perspective, which looks at the classroom as a setting for
language acquisition in terms of the language input created by teacher and pupil
talk.

ethnographic and classroom discourse phases in classroom observation research.
Classroom discourse research bases its units on frameworks, variously termed
'cycles' (Bellack 1966) consisting of 'moves' such as 'soliciting', 'responding',
'reacting', or 'transactions' consisting of 'moves' (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975),
or 'sequences' and 'acts' (Soulé-Susbielles 1986). These units or analytic
frameworks correspond to the COLT’s activity organization and verbal
interaction categories.

Adelman (1981) maintains that classroom discourse has a "high sense of order"
according to the teacher’s plan and the pupils’ attempts to follow it. Long stretches
of discourse link to previous utterances, and the extent of incorporation and
relevance to preceding utterances can thus be examined. This can only happen if
the research instrument conserves the structure of the discourse, as noted in 6.1.1.
Adelman goes on to note that in terms of classroom discourse, the teacher has
more, and longer, 'turns', and that the selection of the next speaker is normally
not an 'open' issue. Thus findings from classroom discourse research reveal that a
'normal' feature of classroom talk is that teachers ask the questions and pupils
provide the answers - Sinclair & Coulthard's (1975) I-R-F (initiation-response-
feedback) pattern. This is a feature which the COLT scheme was able to capture
quite adequately (see 6.6).

The following aspects of this type of research are identified by Mitchell (1985) as follows: teacher talk (Long 1983a; Allwright 1984; Gaies 1978); error treatment (Allwright 1975; Fanselow 1977); native/non-native speaker discourse (Long 1983b; Long & Sato 1983; Hatch & Long 1980; Hatch 1978); the relationship between formal instruction and second language acquisition (Felix 1981; Ellis 1984b, 1985); communication strategies (Faerch & Kasper 1983); and group work (Long & Porter 1985). Underlying all this research is the assumption that variety in patterns of interaction enhances learning possibilities.

Allwright’s (1982, 1984) work on classroom processes marks a significant change from previous classroom observation studies where focus was mainly on the teacher and her effect on pupil performance or achievement. Instead, Allwright focuses on the student, and suggests that the interaction in a classroom determines what becomes available to be learned in the form of learning opportunities which can either be taken up (uptake) by students, navigated, negotiated, or ignored. There is thus a move towards students’ perspectives and contributions in classroom interaction.

6.1.3 Implications of classroom observation research

Specialists in the field of classroom observation research have argued that a balance needs to be maintained between empirical and ethnographic approaches to observation (Long 1980). Hence Allwright (1983) identifies two ways in which a researcher can focus on the micro-processes of the classroom: by direct observation, using fieldnotes, recordings or both; and by introspection, using diaries and self-reflection on the results obtained by self or peer-monitoring activities (p192).

Allwright (1983) further makes the point that research and teacher training make very different demands on the observation tools, as the former is geared towards a
deep and detailed description with a validated instrument, whilst the latter serves as
a checklist for self or peer-monitoring activities. He argues that for the trainee
teacher, the process of obtaining feedback through self-analysis should act to
stimulate ‘productive thinking’ about classroom processes (p198). Similarly,
Delamont & Hamilton (1976) argue that interaction analysis systems may be more
useful as training rather than as research tools as, in training, they may be used
to give direct feedback. Conclusions arising from the present study concur with
this view, in that a simplified form of the observation system used in the research
is suggested for self-monitoring purposes by teachers (see 7.4.2).

6.1.4 Application to the present study

To some extent, the research reported on in this thesis spanned all of the phases
mentioned in 6.1.1, in that, although the main instrument used for the study was
originally designed for process-product research (Spada 1987), the present study
could be described as 'presage-process' as its purpose was to describe, both
quantitatively and qualitatively, teacher practices in the classroom obtained from
the observation instrument, and to relate these to teacher attitudes obtained from
the questionnaire. Furthermore, the research methods used to cross-check and
supplement the data obtained from the questionnaire and observation schedule were
ethnographic in nature, consisting of interviews with stimulated recall and diary
entries. The COLT also managed to examine classroom discourse in some detail,
focusing as it did on organization mode, turn-taking (pupil initiation of discourse,
teacher versus student control of topic & materials), discourse patterns (sustained
versus minimal speech and incorporation of previous utterances).

Two research instruments specifically designed for the second language classroom,
and which presented themselves as feasible options for use in the present study,
were the TALOS (Ullman & Geva 1984) and the COLT (Allen, Frohlich & Spada
1983). Both instruments reflected current theoretical issues in research on second
language learning and teaching. COLT was designed to measure the relationship
between indices of communicative orientation of language teaching and indices of
communicative competence in second language learners. TALOS aimed to relate classroom profiles to various aspects of proficiency in L2 classes. Both endeavoured to provide information on the relationship between process and product. However, because the COLT focused specifically on communicative orientation, one of the main constructs underlying the educational model in the present study, and because its categories represented an attempt to operationalise theories of communication and issues in L1 and L2 acquisition research shown to affect the development of second language proficiency, it was selected over and above the TALOS for the purposes of the present research.

The purpose of the COLT scheme was to indicate the precise differences in methodology and outcomes which distinguish CLT approaches (emphasising more meaningful and natural use of language) from more ‘traditional’ approaches. A ‘list of indicators of communicative behaviour’ were compiled "each of which could be separately observed and quantified" (Allen et al 1983:5). According to Frohlich, Spada and Allen (1985), the COLT observation categories included features of communication typical of classroom interaction as well as of ‘natural’ language outside the classroom (p27). Part A (Activity Organization) categories reflect pedagogical issues in the CLT literature, and Part B (Verbal Interaction) categories reflect issues in L1 and L2 acquisition research. The instrument was designed to describe essential features of the second language classroom which differentiate among various approaches to L2 teaching. It was thus applied to both ESL and French classes. Frohlich, Spada & Allen (1985) report on the findings of their pilot study, in which the COLT was tested to see whether it was capable of capturing differences in the communicative orientation of different language classrooms, in order to ensure that the categories were indeed capable of describing activities in a range of instructional settings. The results seemed to confirm the validity of the COLT as an observation instrument.
6.2 THE COLT OBSERVATION SCHEME: DESCRIPTION AND RATIONALE

The scheme is divided into two parts: Part A describes classroom events at the level of activity, and Part B analyzes the communicative features of verbal exchanges between teachers and students as they occur within each activity (See Appendix 6b for a description of the structure of COLT and the coding sheets).

Part A consists of five main categories: activity type, participant organization, content, student modality and materials. Each of these major categories include several sub-sections. Part B contains seven communicative features: use of target language (TL); information gap; sustained speech; reaction to code/message; incorporation of preceding utterances; discourse initiation and relative restriction of linguistic form. Coding for Part A proceeds according to each separate activity whereas coding for Part B takes place at three minute intervals. Samples of coding carried out for the purposes of the present study can be found in Appendix 6c.

6.3 PROCEDURE FOR ANALYSIS

All the tables referred to in this chapter are in Volume Two appendix 6f. In order to establish a feasible relationship between the COLT categories on one hand, and the attitude categories on the other, each item on the COLT coding sheet was assigned either a high, or a low value in terms of communicative orientation, i.e. the observation categories were translated into an index of communicative orientation. This necessitated dividing each part of the original scheme into two further parts: Part A - categories with high communicative orientation; Part A - categories with low communication orientation, Part B -categories with high communicative orientation; Part B -categories with low communicative orientation (see Appendix 6c: analysis sheets). The rationale for this division will be discussed under 6.4. Coding was performed according to the method outlined by the original authors of the COLT scheme, i.e. Part A (Activity organization) was coded
Global scores were obtained by (a) totalling the number of occurrences of each individual item (event) on the coding sheets and (b) transferring these scores to the analysis sheets which had been divided into high and low communicative orientation respectively (see Appendix 6c). Where the categories were ambiguous as in student modality which could equally well be placed in either high or low communicative orientation, a particular symbol was used to indicate high communicative orientation, i.e. the stroke which was normally used for ticking off items was crossed. Separate scores for each of the four parts of the analysis sheets were then obtained, in order to provide an overall picture of the predominant type of communicative orientation for both part A (Activity Organization) and Part B (Verbal Interaction) (see Tables 10 and 11). Final scores reflecting the communicative orientation of both Parts A and B on the analysis sheets were obtained by combining Parts A and B high communicative orientation, and Parts A and B - low communicative orientation, and obtaining an average (see Tables 12 and 13). As each lesson varied in length from approximately ninety minutes for project lessons to between twenty and thirty minutes for school lessons, global scores for each lesson were obtained by reducing, or increasing, each lesson to a frequency/rate of events per hour. These final scores are reflected on the analysis sheets in Appendix 6c.

Table 14 is a summary of the final COLT Scores for each teacher. The teachers have been rank-ordered from 1 - 4 according to scores obtained in the attitude survey (see Chapter 5). Teachers 1 and 2 were involved in the project only. Teacher 3 has separate scores reflecting both project and school teaching, with the latter being divided into English lessons and other subject lessons. This division for school lessons also applies to Teacher 4. These scores have been presented separately in order to illustrate significant differences in scores reflecting different teaching contexts (i.e. project versus school) and different lesson content (i.e. other subjects versus English lessons). These will be discussed more fully under 6.5.3. A rank order of combined scores for all lessons reduced to an average per teacher,
was the result of this section of the analysis.

To supplement the tabular presentation of scores, a wheel profile was devised to show particular trends in the teachers' lessons. These are found in Appendix 6d Diagrams 1-18. The diagrams have been partitioned into high and low C.O, with low C.O appearing on the right hand side of the wheel (categories 1-33), and high C.O taking up the left hand side (categories 34-87). This division is not according to the order in which the categories appear on the coding sheets as it is merely intended to provide an immediate visual impression of trends and patterns, especially the 'bunching' of behaviours into either high or low C.O (see 7.4.1.2).

6.4 INTERPRETATION OF CATEGORIES: PROBLEMS AND CONSTRAINTS

This section provides the rationale for placing the various categories on the COLT coding sheets under either high or low communicative orientation on the analysis sheets. To some extent, inferencing could not be avoided, but the procedure was still felt to be necessary in order to remain consistent with the specific research perspective chosen. In addition, it was found that the original description (Allen et al 1983) and subsequent definitions of the various categories by the original authors were unclear when it came to decisions regarding both coding and analysis of data. The reclassification of categories was therefore based on the following:

1. the interpretations of categories provided by the original authors

2. knowledge of the literature on communicative language teaching and first and second language acquisition

3. observation of lessons during the study.
**Part A: Activity Organization**

The reclassification procedure in question, especially for Part A - Activity Organization, is open to challenge in a number of ways. For example, T-S/C (teacher addresses individual student/whole class) could be regarded as more, rather than less, communicative in orientation if the teacher is telling the class a story which they have not heard before, thus creating a valid information gap and, also, fulfilling Krashen’s (1983) criteria for comprehensible input (i+1). In the same way, if the ‘content’ focus of the lesson is on "other topics-narrow", which has been reclassified under low communicative orientation and which includes "classroom/stereotype" topics, the student, although somewhat limited by the nature of these topics in terms of the information he is able to convey, may still be providing "new" information to his listeners.

Conversely, it could be argued that even though the students are working in pairs or groups, they could merely be practising newly-learned language in drill-like fashion, which could hardly be regarded as "communicative" behaviour. The original authors appeared to cater for this problem by matching Part A (Activity Organization) of the scheme with Part B (Verbal Interaction) in terms of time, so that specific activities could be checked. However, this would remain essentially a qualitative discussion on the matching or mismatching of Parts A and B in terms of communicative orientation and would still not affect any global indices obtained from the more "quantitative" side of the analysis. These are examples of the types of problems encountered while attempting to reclassify various subcategories according to their potential for communicative orientation, and which finally led to the following determining criteria for all subcategories. It was reasoned that communicative orientation would be higher if:

1. **students** (as opposed to teacher), were conveying the information, either to the class as a whole, or in groups, irrespective of whether the tasks were the same/different (as opposed to working alone/individually, i.e. comb ind).
2. the content focus was off the language per se and was being used as a means of communication rather than as an end in itself, i.e. focus on form. This would include the category implicit which caused some difficulty. It is not explained what is meant by implicit language in the original article, and in the coding sheets appended to an early version of the authors' on their work with the COLT, this category was, in fact, left blank. It would appear from this that even the original authors were in some doubt as to its nature.

However, from the lesson observations during the study, it became apparent that there was a need for a category of this type as it provided an alternative to the category explicit focus on language (form, function, discourse, sociolinguistics). For this reason, any use of language which, of itself, did not focus explicitly on either form, function, discourse or sociolinguistics, but which still provided 'samples' (see Allwright 1976) of language which was to become a focus at a later stage in the lesson (or in a follow-up lesson), was regarded as implicit. Furthermore, implicit language could be regarded as resembling Krashen and Terrell (1983) ‘comprehensible input’ in that the learner’s attention is mostly on the message being conveyed (i.e. on meaning) and not on form. At the same time, the new items to be learned are presented within a context of familiar language so that a challenge is presented to the learners which is within their reach (i + 1) (For reservations concerning Krashen’s theory see 3.4.1). For these reasons, this category was classified as belonging under high communicative orientation.

3. control of topic was either shared by both teacher and student, or mostly given to the student (i.e. learner-centredness, joint negotiation: Breen and Candlin 1980).

4. the four skills were being taught and used for genuine communicative use of the language with information gap, and were integrated.

5. materials were authentic or semi-authentic in the sense that they were either taken from everyday life (such as newspapers, magazines, pictures, etc), or designed to simulate situations from everyday life, and were longer than one or
two sentences so that longer stretches of discourse, whether written or spoken became evident. The term authentic is being used in terms of the source of the materials rather than in terms of the learner’s response to them.

6. the use of these materials were neither rigidly controlled nor limited by the teacher.

Any category that did not comply with the criteria outlined above was placed under low communicative orientation.

Another problem area in terms of the reclassification of categories was that of Materials: text, audio, visual. Again, the definitions of these categories offered by the original authors were certainly not clear, in terms of whether audio could include, for example, tape recordings for listening comprehension and oral narrative (i.e. teacher reading a story aloud), or even the rehearsing aloud of a dialogue for a role play exercise. The category visual also caused problems, i.e. did it refer to both verbal and non-verbal information?

For the purposes of this study, TEXT (minimal/extended) was taken to be a written text unless the category audio was marked. Indication of the length of the text was thus indicated under TEXT itself (i.e. whether minimal or extended). The original authors note that:

in the case of audio or written texts, we note whether they are minimal in length (captions, isolated sentences, word lists), or extended (stories, dialogues, connected paragraphs). (Allen, et al 1983:13).

Non-verbal visual materials such as pictures were then placed under visual. This was done in cases where the pictures themselves were the focus of the activity and not used as mere accompaniments for either audio or written texts.
The only subcategories from the CONTENT: Other Topics classification which were placed under low communicative orientation, were classroom and stereotype as these were considered as having very little information gap potential. This, in fact, was borne out by the lesson data.

Finally, the category Student Modality appears under both low and high communicative orientation according to whether pupils were conveying genuine information or not, whilst practising various skills. This was indicated in the coding by the use of a symbol (x).

Part B: Verbal Exchange Patterns

These categories were not difficult to reclassify under either high or low communicative orientation as they were clearly either ‘communicative’ or ‘non-communicative’ according to current theory on communicative language teaching (see 3.4.1).

It was assumed that, within the particular context being researched, use of the L1 would have a low communicative orientation, and use of the L2, a high one, as these pupils were not normally exposed to the L2. In this case, any attempt at using the L2 would be seen as communicative. In the same way, items were assigned a high communicative orientation if:

1. utterances were extended or sustained; initiated by the students; carried a genuine information gap, and/or were extensions in some way, of previous utterances, i.e. they had real discourse value.

On the other hand, they were assigned a low communicative orientation if:

2. they carried pseudo or predictable information; were minimal and restricted in nature; focused on form rather than on meaning, and did not incorporate previous utterances in any meaningful way.
Finally, the categories "No talk" and "Off-task" were not used in this study as they hardly occurred in any of the lessons observed.
6.5 GENERAL FINDINGS

6.5.1 Comparison of scores for Part A (activity organization) and Part B (verbal interaction patterns) of the COLT coding system

As one of the aims of the initial phase of the project was the evaluation of materials, it was important that all teachers on the project adhere fairly closely to them in their lessons. This, perhaps, could have influenced individual teacher practices in various ways. Teachers who normally would have allowed greater flexibility during the course of a lesson (i.e. allowing deviation from a lesson plan) might have felt constrained to keep a tighter control on the interaction, activities and materials. As the project developed, however, and both teachers and pupils settled into a routine, teachers gained more confidence in taking the initiative regarding the actual presentation of the materials in class. For this reason, perhaps, higher scores for communicative orientation were noticeable in lessons during the latter half of the initial phase, i.e. four to five months after the start of the project.

In general, however, scores for Part A of the coding scheme were lower in communicative orientation than Part B scores (see Tables 10 & 12). This was especially noticeable in the project lessons which adhered fairly closely to the project materials, and activities specified. Individual teacher style became far more noticeable in terms of the ways in which teachers organised (or failed to organise) the various classroom activities, all of which was captured by Part B of the coding scheme, scores for which were far higher than those for Part A.

This increase in scores for Part B could have been due to the fact that categories were coded every three minutes (instead of according to activity type in Part A). In addition, use of the target language (TL) in all lessons pushed up the scores for Part B. It was reasoned that use of the TL led to high C.O whereas use of the L1 did not, as the latter could be used to bridge an information gap which could have been effectively exploited through use of the TL. The fact that English was seen to
be used quite comfortably by the pupils in Teacher 1’s lessons (see Transcripts 1 & 2), lends support to this point.

Matching of Parts A & B for various lessons has been carried out where applicable in the analysis of individual teachers (see 6.6). It provides qualitative information on the various interaction patterns occurring during different types of activity.

### 6.5.2 Project lessons and varying goals

Findings from the data from the lesson analyses confirmed that the communicative orientation of a lesson changed according to the purpose (or lesson objectives) and the nature of the related tasks and activities being focused on. In the case of the project, this was directly related to the position of the lessons according to the Harmer model (1983). The lead-in phase of the lessons, by virtue of its emphasis on elicitation of background knowledge, discussion and exploration of concepts and meanings, tended to be more communicative in terms of the types of interaction that ensued. Table 10 reveals that, in general, scores for Part B of the coding scheme for lessons 1-4 were generally higher than Part B scores for the other lesson types (accurate reproduction and immediate creativity). However, a greater range of lessons for each teacher would be needed in future research of this nature, in order to gain a more comprehensive perspective on this aspect - see 7.5.1). These lessons usually came at the beginning of a unit and generally reflected higher scores for communicative orientation, especially in terms of the following categories: genuine information gap, sustained discourse on the part of the pupils, and greater use of implicit language as the teacher attempted to elicit background knowledge of topic and/or new linguistic items, from pupils. The focus in these lessons was on creating a frame of reference for the subsequent presentation of new language, thereby drawing on fluency activities such as creating a high information gap and problem-solving.

By contrast, the accurate reproduction phase of lessons tended to be more highly controlled, focusing on accuracy of linguistic form and drill work. This was the
case despite an emphasis on pair and group work. Table 10 shows the difference in scores for both Parts A and B between these lesson types (5-7) and the lead-in lessons. Although the methodology appeared to be 'communicative', the focus of the lesson was still mainly on accuracy work and practice of structures. In this respect, one could argue that mere lip-service was being paid to the communicative aspects of the methodology, something which the COLT schedule was able to bring to light very effectively (see 4.3.2.1). In the same way, role play activities in these lessons (which are normally supposed to represent the more 'communicative' end of the 'practice' continuum (Littlewood 1981), tended to involve a fairly restricted use of language. In general, then, accurate reproduction lessons on the project, for all teachers, tended to reveal the following characteristics:

- greater control of topic, task, activities and materials and interaction by the teacher
- relatively high instances of group work and student-student/class interaction although these were fairly structural in orientation
- greater attention to linguistic form and explicit code reaction, with some instances of 'implicit' language (indirect focus on form)
- greater use of choral work, minimal speech and restricted and limited form
- no incorporation of previous utterances unless it involved repetition with a structural focus
- greater frequency of requesting 'pseudo', and giving 'predictable' information
- greater use of 'pedagogic' type materials (contrived specifically for teacher purposes with a structural focus: Harmer 1983). However, the texts used were of an 'extended' nature, with adequate audio and visual support.

It is interesting to note those features that remain constant when the purpose or focus of a lesson changes. These features would perhaps provide some insight into the nature of an individual teacher's style. This would be especially true in cases where a teacher's practices or particular teaching behaviour did not change in response to the demands of the goal (as expressed through the aims and objectives) of a lesson, or the nature of the activities, but remained inflexible and fixed as a
pattern. In these cases, the underlying attitude behind the particular behaviour could more easily be perceived. This was the case with Teacher 3, who was the only teacher observed teaching an immediate creativity lesson (see Appendix 4b Is it in the bucket?). This phase was intended to focus on the communicative (thus, meaningful) practice of newly-learned structures entailing group work, problem-solving and a greater information gap. Teacher 3, however, tended to retain tight control of the lesson with a strong focus on accuracy work in spite of the aims of the lesson. This revealed a certain inability on her part to adapt to the varying goals of different lessons. Table 10 shows her low scores for high C.O, and her high scores for low C.O, for both parts A and B (see Table 10 Lesson 8).

A further point to be mentioned here concerns the manner in which the COLT coding scheme is used for research. It is not a very effective instrument if used only once with a particular lesson. In order for it to begin to reveal a fairly credible picture of the communicative orientation of lessons, or noticeable patterns in teaching practices, it has to be used over time and for lessons with varying objectives.

6.5.3 Project versus school lessons

Comparing project to school lessons may seem a little unfair, as project lessons were generally far longer than school lessons (see 6.3), thus allowing pupils to come to grips with the topic and materials in a way that was not possible in school lessons owing to timetable constraints and pressure on teachers to cover the syllabus. This is why scores for all lessons were reduced to a common denominator of events per hour (see 6.3). There were also far more pupils in school (35-40), than in project lessons (12-15), which naturally affected the interaction patterns occurring in each context. Indices of communicative orientation were therefore generally higher in project lessons, when compared to school lessons (see Tables 10 cf 11 & 12 cf 13). Exceptions to this were the school English lessons dealing with storytelling, reading comprehension and, at times, certain subject lessons, which were characterized by a greater focus on eliciting...
background knowledge from pupils in order to create a framework for ensuing knowledge.

It was because of the discrepancies between project and school lessons outlined above that Teacher 3 was monitored in both contexts. Tables 10 - 13 show that there was not much difference in scores for Teacher 3's lessons (both project and school), for both Parts A and B, and for high and low C.O. In fact, her scores for high C.O for her project lessons (Table 10) were generally lower than those for the school lessons (Table 11), the highest scores being obtained for the subject lessons (Table 11). Conversely, her low C.O scores were higher in the school English lessons (Table 11). The fact that her teaching style revealed similar patterns of fairly inflexible behaviour in both contexts indicates that there needs to be a more fundamental change in attitudes and perceptions before a teacher can adapt her style to the varying demands of different teaching contexts and varying lesson goals.

6.5.4 School English versus subject lessons

Owing to the nature of the school subject lessons, which usually involved establishing a frame of reference for pupils at the beginning of the lesson by eliciting background knowledge from them (similar to the project lead-in lessons), the scores for these lessons compared to the English lessons were generally higher (Tables 11 & 13) as the focus was mainly on content. Thus scores for both Parts A and B of the coding scheme tended to be slightly higher in the school subject lessons than in the English lessons (Tables 11 & 13), perhaps owing to the teachers' attitude that English lessons implied a focus on structure. This usually resulted in a strict focus on form with choral work, repetition and display questions being the dominant methodological techniques. Exceptions to this were the two English lessons mentioned in 6.5.3 above.
6.5.5 Comparison of teacher practices

If one considers Tables 10 and 12, it becomes clear that Teacher 1’s scores for high C.O were higher, and her low C.O scores lower, than the other teachers for both her lessons. Teacher 3’s scores were the lowest for high C.O, where she obtained similar scores for both lesson types (accurate reproduction and immediate creativity). In particular, her score for Part B low C.O were very high. In terms of the school English lessons, Teacher 4’s high C.O scores were generally lower than those for Teacher 3, and higher for low C.O, except for Part A, which were on a par (121 vs 118). Conversely, for the school subject lessons, Teacher 3’s high C.O scores were lower than those for Teacher 4, especially for Part A (see Table 11). In general, Teacher 3’s high C.O scores were higher than those for Teacher 4 (see Table 13), although their combined scores for low C.O were very similar.

Owing to the constraints of the socio-political climate during the period in which this research took place, only one lesson type was observed which was common to all teachers. This was the accurate reproduction lesson Where are the mice? (Table 10: Lessons 5, 6, 7) (the fact that not every teacher was observed teaching different lesson types, which would have provided a stronger basis for comparison among the teachers, was a severe constraint on the present study (see 7.5.1)).

In the post-questionnaire interviews with stimulated recall (Appendix 5d), Teachers 1 and 2 showed awareness of the goals of the lesson and how it fitted into the unit with respect to the other lessons (Qs 1 - 4). Teacher 3 did not show the same level of awareness, merely stating that she always followed the materials fairly closely. This difference in attitude and approach was carried over into the lessons (see 6.6). In spite of the structural focus of this lesson, the following characteristics were also prominent in the lessons of Teachers 1 and 2: an equal proportion of sustained versus minimal discourse; greater pupil involvement in terms of discourse initiation and sharing control of topic in pair work; expansion of utterances by pupils, especially in role-play activities. Both teachers had incorporated innovative
ideas/techniques into their lessons (5 & 6). For example, Teacher 1 had allowed an argument to arise because she recognised the opportunity for genuine communicative interaction and sustained discourse. Teacher 2 had created 'pyramids' by forming larger and larger groups to create a challenge for the pupils and more time for peer interaction. It was these initiatives that led to increased scores for these lessons (see Tables 10 & 12). Teacher 3, on the other hand, adhered closely to the prescribed activities which focused on accuracy work, which led to a low high C.O score, the only high C.O categories appearing in the coding being those prescribed by the materials viz. pair/group work leading to more sustained discourse in peer interaction (see Table 10: Part A scores). Apart from this, her scores tended to resemble those obtained for the school English lessons (Table 11) which reflected high teacher control of topic, interaction and materials, explicit code reaction and exchange of 'pseudo' and 'predictable' information.

A further point of comparison among the teachers relates to Nash's (1976) distinction between deliberate versus non-deliberate behaviour (see 5.1.1.3). The distinction is clearly evident in Teacher 2's conscious drilling for accuracy at certain stages in lessons in order to reinforce the learning of structures, compared to the rote-rhythm, chanting method used by Teachers 3 and 4 in the school lessons, who appeared to engage in drill and choral work as an habitual, non-deliberate behaviour, without necessarily being conscious of the reason for it. This point tends to be supported by the literature on ESL methodology in South African black primary schools (Macdonald 1990a; Chick 1991; Kroes & Walker 1988).

A final issue which emerged from the data was the clustering of certain behaviours around one or other pole of the bi-polar model, i.e. transmission versus generative teaching. This parallels the clustering of attitudes around the poles and is covered more fully in 5.1.1.2 & 7.4.1.1). The overlays of the wheel profiles in Appendix 6e present an immediately accessible image of the differing styles of the individual teachers.
6.6 SPECIFIC FINDINGS : INDIVIDUAL TEACHER PROFILES

The referencing to, and location of the lesson transcripts, Diagrams and COLT categories has been done in the following manner: all lesson transcripts are located in Appendix 6a in VOLUME 2 of this thesis; excerpts refer to separate parts of the same lesson and are numbered in chronological order. Where only a single section of a particular lesson has been transcribed, there are no excerpts; all Diagrams of wheel profiles are found in Appendix 6d in VOLUME 2 of this thesis; the numbers in brackets throughout this chapter refer to the COLT categories as depicted on the Diagrams of the wheel profiles. Finally lines in the transcripts have been referred to as I or II, in order to avoid confusion with transcript I1 which did occur quite often before the convention was changed.

In this section, each teacher will be analyzed in terms of the results of the COLT analysis of her lessons. This will be done in terms of the rank order obtained from the results of the attitude analysis. Transcriptions of parts of lessons can be found in Appendix 6a and the coding procedures for one lesson per teacher have been included in Appendix 6c except for Teacher 3 who taught in both contexts thus necessitating coding procedures for two lessons - one from each context. These are intended as examples of the way the analysis was carried out for each lesson. (Video tapes of the lessons in Appendix 6c are included in Volume 2 of this thesis). In the same way, only transcriptions of portions of various lessons from each teacher were included in order to demonstrate the features under analysis. It was not possible to include full transcriptions of entire lessons (except for lesson 11 on adjectives from Teacher 4) as the project lessons, in particular, were extremely long, which would have made the Appendix unwieldy. An attempt has been made, therefore, to select excerpts of lessons that were varied, and from lessons with differing pedagogic goals, in order to illustrate the analysis.

The results of all the lessons (14 in all), however, have been presented graphically in the form of diagrams adapted from Mackey’s (1965) method.
profile, which provides a fairly holistic picture of the pattern of each teacher's style for various lessons. In this way, trends in teaching style become clearer which facilitates a comparison between different lessons for each teacher, and between different lessons for different teachers. Finally, transparencies of one lesson from each teacher (except for Teacher 3 who has two for the two teaching contexts) have been provided in the form of 'overlays' so that, when laid one on top of the other, they provide an immediate picture of the differences in style among the teachers (see Appendix 6e). The lessons depicted on the 'overlays' were considered to be fairly typical representations of each teacher's style.

The discussion which follows will draw on an analysis of the following: field-notes taken during observation and coding; the results of the attitude analysis in so far as they have a bearing on lesson practices; the results of the post-questionnaire interviews; entries in the teachers’ diaries; observed teacher practices in the classroom and the major focus and goals of each lesson and the nature of the relationship between these and observed teacher practices. Where applicable, reference has been made to the numbers of the various categories in the diagrams of the teacher profiles in Appendix 6d (which appear in brackets as numbers after mention of the specific teaching behaviour under analysis) and to the transcripts of lessons in Appendix 6a. Excerpts from these transcripts have not been reproduced in the text itself as these would be too numerous to include and, in some cases, too lengthy.

6.6.1 Teacher 1

Lesson analysis

It was noted in chapter 5 that Teacher 1’s (T1) attitudes were highly communicative in orientation in all question categories (see 5.8.2.1). She perceived her role as that of facilitator and guide and emphasised learner independence, responsibility for own learning and creativity. These learner-centred attitudes were highly consistent with her teaching practices as revealed by the COLT analysis.
Although only two lessons were observed with this teacher (see Appendix 6d Diagrams 1 & 2), they were fairly substantial, being 135 minutes in toto (55 minutes & 80 minutes respectively) (see Appendix 4d: Sampling of individual teacher’s lessons). This amounted to more than the lesson time observed with Teacher 4 (T4) which totalled 110 minutes for 5 lessons as each lesson in the school was much shorter, averaging between 20 and 25 minutes. The two lessons observed with Teacher 1 differed in pedagogic goal, one being a lead-in lesson (lesson 1: How far is it?) and the other an accurate reproduction lesson (lesson 6 Where are the mice?). The first thus focused on exploration of a picture and, therefore, on fluency, whereas the latter focused on the practice of newly-learned structures and thus on accuracy (see 6.5.2). The lessons are described in detail at the beginning of each transcript in Appendix 6a. In both lessons, the most striking aspect of this teacher’s behaviour was her ability to relinquish control of the interaction by encouraging students to take the initiative through feigning ignorance and/or encouraging controversy. Category 79 (79) in Diagrams 1 & 2 reflect this discourse initiative clearly. This mostly happened in arguments which occurred in both lessons (see Transcript 1 Is 206-259 & Transcript 2 ex 2 Is 19-34). This is consistent with her learner-centred perspective noted above and in 5.8.2.1. In this way, she demonstrated a sensitivity towards the needs of her pupils for a free, flexible environment within which to explore, initiate and create, and an openness to their challenge (cf. analysis of Q 67 in 5.8.2.1) by allowing unrestricted, sustained discourse in their arguments with each other and with her. (see Diagram 1 cats 82 & 83)

This teacher rarely corrected errors explicitly, preferring to model the correct form in response to a pupil’s contribution in a way which furthered the flow of discourse (see Diagram 1 cat 22 & Transcripts 1 Is 58-61 & Is 193-198 & 2 ex 2 Is 5-6 & 2 ex 3 Is 14-20). However, if the lesson focused specifically on accuracy, she would focus explicitly on the error often asking the rest of the class if the pupil’s contribution was correct (see Transcript 1 Is 58-63). Unfortunately in this particular excerpt the teacher herself had confused the children by using an erroneous structure i.e. * How far is the town from here to Bloemfontein? One
of the pupils did, in fact, give an appropriate response (165 - How far is the town?) which the teacher did not accept. However, the principle of peer-correction still pertains to this teacher’s style which tallied with her responses to the attitude questionnaire for this item (see 5.8.2.1 - analysis of Q 68).

The project materials were designed according to Harmer’s (1983) ‘balanced activities’ approach (see 4.3.1.2) and Teacher 1’s teaching practices tended to reflect this balance in both lessons which can be seen clearly in Diagrams 1 and 2 where the categories used appear to be evenly spread according to both low and high communicative orientation. Teacher 1 also demonstrated flexibility in her teaching practices by adjusting her behaviour patterns according to the demands of the lesson objectives. For example, she exhibited very different patterns when asking for information of a factual nature (factual questions), for example, about the contents of a picture, which were fairly simple for the pupils to retrieve, from those revealed when asking for information of a predictive, inferential or interpretive nature (interpretive, exploratory questions). For example, the predominant verbal interaction pattern during factual questioning would include the following categories:

T: request pseudo information (18)/sustained speech (73)/no incorporation (21) or repetition (22) of previous pupil utterances
P: give predictable information (25)/limited form (30)/ultra-minimal & minimal speech (27,28).

Transcript 1 Is 168-210 is a clear example of this type of interaction. On the other hand, when the teacher began asking more exploratory-type questions, the interaction changed to the following:

T: request genuine information (72)/sustained speech (73)/comment, expansion, elaboration of pupil utterances (75,76,77)
P: discourse initiation (79)/giving unpredictable information (80)/sustained speech (82)/unrestricted form (83) comment and expansion of utterances (85, 86).

Transcript 1 is 290-370 is an example of this type of interaction.

During the former factual type of questioning, the interaction appears to follow an IRF pattern (see 2.1) with the dominant class organization mode being teacher addressing whole class (1), (a lot of which was ‘procedure’ (38) and ‘implicit language’ (40) both of which were weighted on the high C.O.side); teacher control of interaction and content (7); use of materials for pedagogic purposes (14) with low information gap (25) and minimal speech on the part of the pupils (28). This pattern is in keeping with a transmission mode of teaching yet it occurs naturally out of the constraints of the lesson objectives, the type of activities engaged in, the stage of the lesson (in the overall plan/unit) and the capabilities of the pupils at that particular stage in their learning. In a ‘balanced activities’ approach, there is a place for this type of interaction. It is when this type of interaction is the dominant mode in a teacher’s daily practices, even when lesson goals and specific activities demand a different teaching pattern, that the approach is no longer ‘balanced’ but shows inflexibility on the part of the teacher (cf Teachers 3 & 4 under 6.6.3 & 6.6.4).

Even with the heavier structural emphasis of the accurate reproduction lessons, there was still a fairly high proportion of sustained discourse (73, 82), comment, expansion and elaboration (75-7 & 85-7), and the sharing of genuine and unpredictable information (71, 72, 80, 81) (see Diagram 2). In fact, the only instances of choral work (2, 23) during Teacher 1’s lessons were during the ‘name game’ played at the beginning of lesson 6 (Diagram 2), where pupils and teacher all sang "Where do you live" together to a particular rhythm (see Transcript 2 ex 1). Nowhere in her lessons (even those focusing specifically on accuracy) did she require the kind of chanting behaviour demonstrated by the pupils in the classes of Teacher 3 and 4 (see 2.1 & 2.2.2 for a discussion of this behaviour). This excerpt also reveals the only instances of an explicit code reaction (20) by this teacher in
her lessons (see Is 5-20 & Is 39-63) as the focus was on accuracy of linguistic form.

Exploratory questioning involving inference and prediction, on the other hand, revealed far more instances of the teacher requesting genuine information from pupils which was open to interpretation (72), and of both teacher and pupils providing unpredictable information (71, 80). It also revealed instances of discourse initiation by pupils (79), and more incorporation of previous utterances in the way of comment (75, 85), expansion (86) and elaboration (77), by both teacher and pupils (see Transcript 1 Is 176-180 & Is 279-282 & Transcript 2 ex 2 ls 4-6 & Is 10-21). Also notable was the way in which this teacher 'went along' with the pupils' interpretations of the pictures according to their own experience (i.e. in the townships most people living in a certain area usually know each other and are therefore not strangers), and did not necessarily impose her own view before she had guided them towards an alternative perspective. For example, in Transcript 1 Is 368-451, the teacher initially makes a mistake in line 368 by asking the pupils what they think mother is saying to father. Now the man in the picture is not the father of the little family going to town, so the teacher then tries to guide the pupils to an understanding of this. Instead of merely telling the pupils that this was the case, she let them explore the issue at great length, thereby facilitating understanding on the pupils' part, and more sustained discourse.

In the same way, Teacher 1 tries to ensure that her pupils have a genuine understanding of the content they are trying to interpret by asking a lot of why? questions (see Transcript 2 ex 2 Is 23-28). This would also improve their reasoning and predictive skills (cf Harlen 1985). Furthermore, during the activity in the lead-in lesson which was designed to help pupils predict the dialogue in advance from a series of pictures, Teacher 1 always accepted the pupils' approximations to the real dialogue, without imposing the 'correct' structure or utterance on them. In a subsequent role-play towards the end of the lesson, the pupils hardly looked at their dialogue on the board but seemed to know it by rote, although they had not once memorised it formally in the lesson. This shows how genuine interest and
enjoyment can facilitate memory, at the same time standing in sharp contrast to the rote-memorization activities of Teachers 3 and 4 (see Transcript 6 Is 33-40 & Transcript 11 Is 25-27).

As Teacher 1 was constrained by the project materials to some extent (as were the other teachers), as they were on a 'trial run', she had to follow the various activities in the order suggested. However, her 'natural' style was evident even under this type of constraint, as she tended to 'flow' with the pupils grasp of the linguistic structures and the topic, allowing them time to express themselves, following up their ideas and encouraging them to challenge her and each other. This meant that she often spent far more time on exploratory questioning and arguing than did the other teachers at similar points in the lesson units. An example of this is the amount of time she spent on ascertaining how many people there were in the first picture for Unit 3 (Catching the bus) (see Appendix 4b) (see Transcript 1 Is 208-262). Yet another example of this is the argument which began in the lesson on Where are the mice? concerning a line drawn in the picture (see Appendix 4b worksheet 3). This line was meant to be the edge of the table but some pupils perceived it as the floor. Seeing an opportunity for the pupils to make more sustained contributions during their argument, she actually encouraged the controversy, thus spending a large proportion of the lesson time on what might be considered a 'trivial' point (see Transcript 2 ex 3 Is 15-75). This behaviour seemed to be specific to Teacher 1 as none of the other teachers on the project encouraged arguments in this manner. It was also consistent with Teacher 1's open and flexible attitudes towards the learning/teaching process (see 5.8.2.1), which corresponded to a generative mode of teaching.

A further feature of Teacher 1's classroom was the lack of physical restraint on pupils' freedom of movement and of speech, which was consistent with her responses to Qs 43-48 of part one of the questionnaire. In both her lessons, pupils spontaneously left their seats to demonstrate the points they were arguing in the pictures (see Transcript 1 Is 227-235 & Is 253-257 & Transcript 2 ex 3 Is 26-38). At other times pupils would stand up in their seats during a heated argument,
possibly to gain an advantage over their opponents. This freedom of movement and speech can be contrasted to the lessons of Teacher 4, where the pupils were made to stand around the room in a semi-circle for the entire duration of the lesson so that the teacher could control them better (see Transcript 11 ls 1-2). Furthermore, the level of laughter in class during Teacher 1’s lessons, and the fact that pupils also used township ‘slang’ such as ‘bluesing’ (Transcript 1 Is 336-344) revealed their level of engagement with, and enjoyment of, her lessons.

A possible criticism of this teacher’s lessons is that the slower pupils could have been ‘left behind’ in the arguments, especially when the more confident, vociferous pupils took over. One could argue, however, that these more talkative pupils were actually providing ‘opportunities for learning’ (Allwright 1984) to the other pupils whose choice it was to either "take them up", or not. In other words, even though the ‘slower’ pupils did not make many contributions, they were nevertheless being exposed to far more English than they were being exposed to in school. By contrast, Teacher 3 would make an adjustment to her pace in order to accommodate the less confident pupils, although her teaching style, particularly in school, was of the transmission mode. Perhaps there is value in both approaches, and what one is witnessing here is a teacher’s natural ‘intuitive’ adjustment to the pupils and the context. It is interesting that Teacher 3 had shown interest in further study for a diploma in Remedia [text cut off].

The generative view of education sees the teacher as facilitator, allowing opportunities to learn and developing communication skills. However, there is also a place for a more traditional ‘didactic’ role, especially if the focus is on accuracy work. This does not, however, need to become pure transmission teaching. As part of a ‘balanced activities’ approach, the two may be complementary, which is what Teacher 1 adequately demonstrated.
Post-questionnaire interview

Teacher 1's responses in the interview revealed an attitude consistent with her responses to questions in the questionnaire and with her practices as revealed in her lesson data (see Appendix 5d for the questions asked in the interview). The lesson portion that was played back to her was taken from her accurate reproduction lesson "Where are the mice?" (lesson 6 & diagram 2). She was fully aware of the goals and focus of the lesson and its position in the sequence of units (Qs 1-4). Her perception of the way she taught grammar and practised structures (Q 5) were accurate when compared to her lesson data, but as she was following pre-specified activities in the project materials, this question was relatively easy for her. She did, however, mention a variation on one of the specified activities which had been her own inspiration, which was giving the pupils different dialogues (based on the one in the unit) to learn and role-play in front of the rest of the class (Qs 5 & 14).

Teacher 1 was confident that her method and style helped pupils to learn more easily, as it gave pupils freedom to explore content and ideas; to express opinion, to challenge and, finally, to learn from each other. She was honest and realistic in her responses to questions directed specifically at her teaching in the video playback. For example, she said that she had not considered the structures specifically, when playing the Where do you live? game, and therefore could not explain why she had begun with the structure Where do...? as an eventual lead-in to Where are...? (Qs 10, 11, 12). On another aspect of her teaching, the researcher had noticed that the pupils had struggled to read the new dialogues she had given them as some of the lexical items were unfamiliar. In response to questions on this (Qs 14, 15, 16), Teacher 1 replied that the situations were familiar and that the pupils had intensive practice with the original dialogue which contained similar structures. She was, therefore, giving them a challenge - Krashen's (1983) (i+1) - out of awareness of the need for a balance between accuracy and fluency work. In fact, in response to Q 19 she noted that pupils were quite capable of working out the meanings of words from the context without the
teacher’s help and that she did not believe in simplifying language because of this.

She was also fully aware of what she was trying to achieve in the arguments that she encouraged among pupils, i.e. to get the pupils talking without interference or imposition of ideas from her. Finally, she showed a willingness to negotiate with her pupils in her responses to questions 20 and 21, which dealt with not having carried out the lesson plan according to schedule, with the result that one student reprimanded her! He had done his homework, as required, and she had focused on other activities for too long during the lesson thus running out of time towards the end. Her response was humble, taking responsibility for his dissatisfaction (she felt "terrible"), and saying that she would have tried to negotiate with the pupils on this issue.

In her interview, then, we see that Teacher 1 was again consistent with her expressed attitudes as in the attitude survey, and with her teaching practices, both of which expressed a generative, inquiring, flexible approach to learning and teaching.

6.6.2 Teacher 2

Lesson analysis

Four project lessons were observed with Teacher 2, three lead-in lessons (Diagrams 3,4,5) and one accurate reproduction lesson (Diagram 6). The lessons averaged 70 minutes each making a total of 280 minutes of observation for this teacher (see Appendix 4d - Sampling of individual teacher's lessons).

Teacher 2’s scores for communicative orientation were not as high as those for Teacher 1 as she tended to keep far tighter control of both topic and materials. This could have been due to the fact that she had designed the materials herself and wanted to ‘test’ them on the pupils during the initial phase of the project. However, in general, her attitudes were consistent with her practices as revealed
by the COLT analysis (see chapter 7 - Table 16). For example, her responses to Qs 66 and 67 of the attitude questionnaire (see Appendix 5c and 5.8.2.2) revealed a learner-centred attitude, seeking to encourage independence and creativity in her pupils. She also stressed the importance of pupils' understanding of materials, content and activities which is clearly evident in her sensitive handling of accuracy work (see Transcript 3 ls 9-22 & 35-50); of exploratory questions guiding the interpretation of pictures (see Transcript 4 ex 2 ls 4-15 & 44-65) and of pupils' spontaneous contributions during a News activity (see Transcript 5 ls 1-24).

Teacher 2 perceived the learning of language skills and the use of 'correct' structures as very important (see 5.8.2.2) and this was demonstrated in her choice of Harmer's (1983) 'balanced activities' approach, as the basis upon which to design materials, as it emphasised both fluency and accuracy. The latter part of the model (accuracy) was very evident in Teacher 2's lessons, even in the lead-in lessons where the main focus was supposed to be on fluency. For example, Diagrams 3, 4 and 5 reveal an emphasis on teacher control of interaction (1) topic (7) and materials (15) (which were also due to the constraints imposed by the materials themselves as they were being tested); an engagement in drill-work and choral response (2,23) and explicit code reaction (20, 31) (see Transcript 1 ls 15-21, 33-34, 40-50 & Transcript 4 ex 1 ls 31-43 & ex 2 ls 22-33). Diagrams 3 - 5 also reveal minimal pupil speech (28), restricted/limited form (29, 30), teacher asking 'pseudo' questions (18) and pupils giving predictable information in response to them (25) (see Transcript 3 ls 1-21 & 21-28 & 55-64). However, in spite of a strong focus on accuracy work, the Diagrams for the lead-in lessons still reveal the major weighting of items to be on the high C.O side (see Appendix 6d).

Teacher 2's accurate reproduction lesson on Where are the mice? revealed the same features in relation to accuracy work as the lead-in lessons described above only to a far greater extent (see Diagram 6) and, in addition, included a focus on language form (4). However, on the high C.O side, this lesson revealed the following features: a great deal of pair/group work (35, 36,37) with pupil-pupil interaction as shown in (34 - S-S/C) where the pupils talked to each other or to the class as a whole, as in presentations or role-play activities; some sharing of control
of the topic (56, 57); discourse initiation (79) and sustained discourse by pupils (73) especially when presenting their findings in the mice game. These features indicated pupil involvement in the lessons of the type not witnessed in the schools. Diagram 6 thus shows more of a ‘balanced activities’ approach even though the lesson focused mostly on accuracy of linguistic form. Furthermore, Teacher 2 demonstrated an inductive approach to the teaching of grammatical structures, where she would provide ‘samples’ and ‘guidance’ (Allwright 1976) rather than launch into a full grammatical explanation (see Transcript 4 ex 1 ls 49-65, 67-76). Compare this to the deductive style of Teacher 4, who provided grammatical explanations before providing examples, sometimes at the risk of confusing the pupils (see Transcripts 11 Is 10-15, 33-35, Transcript 14 Is 38-43). Teacher 3 tended to use an inductive approach (see Transcript 6 Is ex 1 26-40, ex 2 Is 1-10) yet it was frequently reduced to a drilling exercise which negated the effect of discovery learning for the pupils.

Teacher 2 perceived herself as a facilitator and guide in her interaction with the pupils (see 5.8.2.2 - analysis of Qs 66, 66, 68), thus stressing more pupil-talk, and less teacher-talk. However, this was not totally consistent with her lesson data, which revealed an emphasis on the teacher addressing the whole class (except in group and pair work) (see Diagrams 3-6). Furthermore, her attitude analysis reveals that she chose the responses sometimes and never as characterising behaviour linked to transmission teaching (such as drill work including repetition and memorisation (') ( see Appendix 5c Q 68), and yet her lesson data showed a very strong focus on this. This mismatch between her professed attitudes as revealed in her responses to the questionnaire, and her teaching practices, came as a surprise to her when she viewed video tapes of her lessons after the study. This underscored the need for an attitude awareness component in any teacher training course, and as an ongoing part of a teacher’s professional development (Easen 1985).

A year after the study, this teacher was interviewed again (see 5.8.2.1 - 1986 survey) and revealed slightly more ‘realistic’ perceptions of what she actually did
in class with regard to those features representing transmission teaching. Furthermore, the responses that differed from those in the initial survey became more communicative. One of the reasons for this might be found in the analysis of her second observation, which took place at the time of her second interview. She was observed teaching a lead-in lesson on Shopping (see Diagram 4 and Appendix 4b Unit 5) which contained a new element in the lessons: an activity called Behind the Headlines or News during which pupils discussed interesting things that had occurred during the week. This activity was also intended to have a 'therapeutic' function in that it provided a 'safe' forum for the children to share uncomfortable or frightening events which they had experienced that week (as a result of the violence and unrest in the townships during this period of research). This activity thus accounted for a higher communicative orientation in the lesson, especially as revealed in part B of the COLT analysis (see Table 10 Teacher 2 lesson 3 Part B) which reflects a score of 173 communicative events compared to 102, 97 and 81 for the lessons observed a year before. Diagram 4 thus shows far more emphasis on discourse initiation (79) and sustained speech (82) by pupils, with the content focus on family/community (48) (see Transcript 5 for examples of these features). A further point to note (although the evidence is not in the transcripts specifically selected for Appendix 6a) was the occurrence of township slang in this lesson indicating, perhaps, a level of relaxation similar to that experienced by Teacher 1's pupils. Words such as 'buccaneers' (shoes), 'Bogarts' (trousers) and 'hanger-boys' (handcuffs) featured prominently in pupils' spontaneous contributions (cf. 'bluesing' in Teacher 1's lead-in lesson - see 6.6.1).

The weighting of the lead-in lessons on the side of high C.O mentioned above (Diagrams 3 - 5) reflects this teacher's concern for discovery learning where she guided her pupils to an interpretation of content through the use of questions requiring inference and prediction on the part of the pupils (see Transcript 4 ex 1 Is 45-60; ex 2 Is 1-24; ex 3 Is 4-17). To some extent this would lead to a higher information gap with the teacher requesting genuine information (72) and pupils giving unpredictable information (71) (to the extent that the pupils could choose anything in the picture to focus on); to more sustained speech on the part of both
teacher and pupils (73, 82); to unrestricted form (83) and incorporation of both pupil and teacher utterances by way of comment (75), expansion (76) and elaboration (77) (see Transcript 4 ex 2 ls 36-38 and Transcript 5 ls 2-8, 9-10, 16-23, 32-43).

In terms of teaching method and techniques, Teacher 2 possibly had the most sophisticated and versatile repertoire of all the teachers (she had been exposed to more input on ESL teaching (see Appendix 5b - Teacher Profiles), varying her classroom organization mode to suit the needs of her pupils, materials and goals of the different activities in the lesson units. For example, all the teachers were requested to use pair work in the accurate reproduction lesson on Where are the mice? Teacher 2 went further than this, by using a pyramid structure: pupils would first work in pairs, then in small groups consisting of two pairs and then larger groups of 8 pupils. In this way, Teacher 2 ensured intensive peer interaction as each group was challenged by successive groups. Peer correction was her preferred way of dealing with pupil errors, which gave other pupils a chance to contribute to the lesson. However this was done in a sensitive way that ensured no 'loss of face' for the pupils (see Transcript 1 ls 9-17, 25-32, 36-47 & Transcript 4 ex 1 ls 30-35). This stands in sharp contrast to the way in which Teachers 3 and 4 handled pupils' errors, sometimes passing over a pupil's contribution entirely, without any form of acknowledgement, in order to get at the 'correct' answer, or telling a pupil outright that he is wrong without necessarily offering any explanation as to why (see Transcript 6 ex 1 ls 15-25, Transcript 7 ex 2 ls 1-8, Transcript 11 ls 105-109, 135-149, Transcript 14 ls 38-52, 54-68).

Post-questionnaire interview

Questions 1-4 in this interview dealt with details concerning the materials which Teacher 2 had designed herself. She was thus fairly confident in her responses, showing an awareness of ESL teaching theory in keeping with her experience in the field as demonstrated in her responses to part one of the questionnaire (see 5.8.2.2-analysis of part one). In other words, she was clear about the purpose and
focus of the lessons and their position in terms of the units as a whole. Her answer to Q 5 concerning her method of teaching grammar was accurate in terms of the results of her lesson analysis, which showed an inductive strategy, in an attempt to elicit knowledge of forms from the pupils first, before providing answers (if at all). This was reinforced by her answer to Q 6 where she expressed confidence in her teaching style as she felt it allowed pupils to use their own resources as they were guided from the 'known' to the 'unknown' (Q).

Teacher 2 showed an awareness of changes in her teaching style in her answer to Q 7, where she admitted to keeping up with current ESL teaching theory on methodology, and attempted to incorporate new methods and techniques into her teaching as much as possible. She also admitted to changing her style according to the demands and needs of the pupils and the learning/teaching environment, although she felt that she had not been sufficiently flexible in terms of her insistence on correct grammatical structures and intonation (Qs 8 and 9) and in using pair work to drill structures rather than to encourage a genuine information gap (Qs 10-12, 14, 15). It is this kind of awareness that is a necessary step towards analysis of and reflection upon attitudes and teaching practices, and through this activity, towards systemic changes, however small (see 1.1). Teacher 2 preferred a 'balanced activities' approach (Qs 16, 17) believing that different activities achieved different pedagogic goals. She was therefore flexible in allowing a pupil's 'approximations' to a particular structure at certain stages in a lesson but not at others (Q 13). She was also fully aware of the way in which she corrected pupil errors (Q 18) as she wished them to become more reliant on each other as learning resources. This was consistent with her lesson data. Finally, although she felt constrained by the project materials as she was testing them, she still improvised in her teaching (Q 20). A good example of this was where she took the pupils outside the classroom, to a view of the city, in order to drill the structures Where is/are...? and It's...look over there! In sum, Teacher 2's more generative, progressive attitudes (see 5.8.2.2) were definitely visible in her teaching practices to a large extent. However, she still retained tight control of the interaction, especially when the focus was on accuracy work. A year later, she
appeared to have relaxed a little, allowing far more initiative and challenge from her pupils.

6.6.3 Teacher 3

Lesson analysis

Seven lessons were observed with Teacher 3, two from the project and five from the school. Of the five school lessons, two were observed from other subjects (geography and science) and three from the English language classes. This was intentional, as the researcher wished to note any differences in teaching style arising from a difference in subject matter. Teacher 3 was thus observed teaching more lessons than any of the other teachers (which was also intentional as she was being observed in both contexts in order to monitor any differences and/or gradual changes in style), yet the total lesson time observed was less than that for Teacher 2 i.e. 225 minutes of lesson time for Teacher 3 cf. 280 minutes for Teacher 2 (see Appendix 4d - Sampling of individual teacher’s lessons).

In general, Teacher 3’s lesson data and profiles show a strongly transmission-oriented teaching style with emphasis on the teacher addressing the whole class (T-S/C) (1), choral work (2, 23), the use of pedagogic materials (14) and high teacher control of topics (7) and materials (15). In the school English lessons and in particular those on Comparatives and the Present Perfect (see Diagrams 7, 8,), the emphasis was on language form (4) (see Transcript 6 ex 1 ls 11, 13, 15, 17, 20, 24, 31, 33, 36, 40, 44, 46-47, 51, & Transcript 7 ls 4-8, 13-14), classroom topics (5) (see Transcript 6 ex 2 ls 1-22), teacher control of topics (7) and materials (15) (see Transcripts 6 & 7), pupils practising the language skills without communicative intent (8, 9) (see Transcripts 6 & 7), minimal text (13) (Transcripts 6 & 7), teacher requesting pseudo, and providing predictable information (17, 18) (see Transcript 6 ex 1 ls 1,4,6,8,26-29, & Transcript 7 ls 4-8, 10-16), explicit code reaction (20) (see Transcript 6 ex 1 ls 11,13,17-18 & Transcript 7 ls 4-8) pupils giving predictable, and requesting pseudo information (25) (which mainly
occurred in the lesson on the present perfect where pupils were reading and memorizing a dialogue—see Transcript 7 Is 1 - 22), ultra-minimal & minimal speech (27, 28) with restricted form and limited form (29, 30) (see Transcript 6 ex 1 Is 3,5,7,12,14,16,19,21, & ex 2 Is 5,7,10,19), explicit code reaction (31) (see Transcript 6 ex 1 Is 12,14,16,19,21,23,25,32,35 & ex 2 Is 7,12), and no incorporation of previous utterances (32) (see Transcripts 6 & 7). There was also a great deal of choral work (2, 23) in these lessons (see Transcript 6 ex 1 Is 33-35, 36-41, 51-55, 56-58, 60-74).

Diagrams 7 and 8 show that scores for the above features were far higher in the lesson on comparatives than in the lesson on the present perfect. This could have been due to the fact that there was more peer interaction in the form of 'group work' in the latter (S-S/C - 34) as the pupils 'role-played' the dialogue on the board. However, although this led to more 'extended' text (63) and to more activity on the part of the pupils, this was not recorded as 'communicative' behaviour, as the pupils were merely reading the dialogue from the board in rote fashion (the class was divided into two halves with each half reading the words of one of the characters in the dialogue), with rigid teacher control of responses and the pre-selection of structures. This is in sharp contrast to the project lead-in lessons of Teachers 1 and 2, where the pupils interpreted a picture in order to infer, predict and finally create a dialogue of their own (see Transcripts 1 Is 368-373, & Transcript 4 ex 3 Is 1-17). The only features that qualified as high C.O in these lessons were some use of implicit language (40) (Transcript 6 ex 2 Is 1-3), comment (75) (Transcript 6 ex 2 Is 13, 20), the use of visuals (65) and semi-pedagogic materials (66) (which occurred mainly in the lesson on comparatives where the teacher used the pupils themselves as aids for the structures fat, tall and beautiful (!) and three dresses. The use of these aids helped to elicit an opinion from the pupils, which were the only instances of any sort of genuine information gap in the whole lesson (see Transcript 6 ex 2 Is 1-22). In the same way, in the lesson on the present perfect, pupils were asked to substitute their own information when answering the question What have you just done? with the result that there
is some marking for discourse initiation by pupils (79) and for giving unpredictable information (80) (see diagram 7).

The school English lesson on storytelling, however, showed rather a different pattern to the other English lessons described above (see diagram 9). Instances of the transmission-type features described above were far fewer with only one feature being marked above 5 events per hour - pupils giving predictable information (25). This occurred in the beginning when the teacher was asking factual questions about what the pupils could see in the pictures in the storybook (see Transcript 8 ex 1 Is 7,15,19,29). This could have been a direct result of the influence of the project on her teaching, where project lessons often began with a picture for the pupils to interpret as a way of building up a frame of reference for the introduction of new content. For the rest, there was still high teacher control of interaction, topic and materials (1, 7, 15), as in all her other lessons, choral work (23) (see Transcript 8 ex 1 Is 46-52, 64-65, 66-67), minimal speech (28) and restricted form (29) which mainly occurred at the beginning of the lesson where the pupils were interpreting the picture and answering the teacher's questions in not more than one sentence (see Transcript 8 ex 1 Is 7,9,11,15,19,29,34,48,60-61,62). On the other hand, there were far more instances of high C.O features in this lesson, mainly due to the fact that the teacher told the story to the pupils first, thus creating a genuine information gap (71) with pupils listening to extended text (63) with communicative intent (58). She then got the pupils to retell the story of the Pied Piper to the rest of the class (S-S/C - 34 & speaking with communicative intent - 59), and to role-play the story physically (other activity - 62). In the retell and role-play, the scores for discourse initiation by pupils (79), giving unpredictable information (80), and sustained speech (82) with unrestricted form (83) increased, thus weighting this lesson fairly firmly on the side of high C.O (see Transcript 8 ex 2 Is 9-34). Although only one pupil's contribution in the retell was transcribed, four other pupils gave similar contributions in this lesson. Finally, the use of semi-pedagogic materials (66) in the form of a story book, with semi-control by the teacher (68) (the pupils controlled the topic in the retell to some extent), also helped to weight this lesson on the side of high C.O. Pupil
participation was far more prominent in this lesson than in any of the other lessons for this teacher.

The 'other subject’ lessons (geography and science), like the English lessons, also showed a strong emphasis on transmission-type features, especially the science lesson. For example, teacher control of the interaction (1), topic (7) and materials (15 which were pedagogic (14) reached the 20 events per hour mark (see Diagram 11). The same applies to teacher requesting pseudo information (18) and pupils giving predictable information (25), choral responses (23) and no incorporation of utterances (32). Also fairly prominent in this lesson were pupils listening and speaking without communicative intent (8,9), repetition (22), ultra-minimal and minimal speech (27, 28) with restricted or limited form (29, 30). On the high C.O side, there were instances of implicit language (40) on a school topic (49) where the teacher was asking the pupils what they knew about frogs; 'other' activity (62) where pupils role-played the life-cycle of a frog; extended text (63) where teacher and pupils were reading from the textbook; visual aids (65) in the form of a chart on the board; teacher asking for unpredictable information (71) and using sustained speech when attempting to elicit information from the pupils about frogs; and teacher's comment (75) on pupils' contributions.

In the geography lesson, the same features were apparent only to a lesser extent. The transmission-type features were mostly on the 10 events per hour mark, again consisting of teacher control of interaction (1), topic (7) and pedagogic (14) materials (15); choral work (2, 23) (see Transcript 9 Is 40-43, 54-57); giving predictable and requesting pseudo information (17, 18) (see Transcript 9 Is 5, 8-10, 33, 36-40); no incorporation (21) or repetition (22) of previous utterances (see Transcript 9 Is 12,14,19,22,36); some use of the L1 (24) (Transcript 9 Is 49-50); pupils providing predictable information (25) with ultra-minimal (27) and minimal (28) speech and limited form (30) (Transcript 9 Is 11,13,18, 21,31,35); and no incorporation of utterances (32). On the side of high C.O we have the use of procedural language (38) (which occurred mainly with map work where the teacher gave out instructions for the pupils to copy certain areas of the map into their
books - this has not been transcribed) and school topics (49); listening and speaking with communicative intent (58, 59) (Transcript 9 Is 25-35); looking at a visual aid (map) (62, 65); the sharing of (to some extent) unpredictable and genuine information (71, 72, 80) with unrestricted form on the part of the pupils (83) (Transcript 9 Is 25-35); and sustained speech and comment on the part of the teacher (73, 75) (Transcript 9 Is 22-39). It seems, then, that the ‘other subject’ lessons were more ‘communicative’ in orientation than the English lessons, possibly owing to the focus on content, and on the teacher establishing a frame of reference with the pupils by way of an introduction to the topic. She thus spent some time eliciting background knowledge of the topic from pupils which afforded a limited information gap in the sense that the pupils could select any aspect of the topic they wished to talk about, yet the topic, in itself, was fairly narrow, thereby limiting what they could talk about.

The project lessons for this teacher exhibited features similar to the school lessons, with the emphasis being mainly on high teacher control (1, 7, 15); practice of skills without communicative intent (8, 9); minimal speech (19, 28) with restricted form (29); asking pseudo questions (18); repetition (22); and no incorporation of previous utterances (21, 32) (see Diagrams 12 & 13). In both lessons, there was a strong emphasis on language form (4) and explicit code reaction (20, 31) which was expected for the accurate reproduction lesson Where are the mice? but not for the immediate creativity lesson Hiding objects. For example, Transcript 10 ex 2 Is 12-22, 23-30 show the teacher focusing on accuracy of linguistic form and responding to the structure and not the meaning of what the pupil is trying to say. There was even choral work (2, 23) towards the end of the lesson, as the teacher tried to drill the structure no, it isn’t and the short exchange which pupils had to role-play (Transcript 10 ex 2 Is 72-109). On the high C.O side, there was some speaking and listening with communicative intent (58, 59) in both lessons where pupils were asking each other where the mice were in the picture in the accurate reproduction lesson, and where the pupils were listening to the teacher’s instructions about where they should hide their objects at the beginning of the immediate creativity lesson, and further on where pupils asked each other
questions in pairs, which probably caused the marking on diagram 13 for sustained speech (82); giving unpredictable and genuine information (71, 72, 80, 81), discourse initiation (79). For the accurate reproduction lesson, there is more paraphrase (74), comment (75) and expansion (76) by the teacher, and some expansion by the pupils (86) both of which occurred when the pupils were presenting their findings on the Mouse Game to their peers.

In general, then, Teacher 3’s lessons exhibited a transmission-type teaching style, with a major focus being on accuracy work and tight control of the interaction and materials by the teacher. There was some relaxation of this in one of her English lessons, where she told a story, which pupils then retold and role-played, and in the ‘other’ subject school lessons, where she attempted to elicit pupils’ background knowledge about various topics. Her style did not radically change in the project lessons, which revealed similar patterns to those of the school, except for instances of group/pair work which were built into the project materials anyway. Even then, group work was not used communicatively with genuine information gap (Transcript 10 ex 2 ls 45-64) and Teacher 3 was unable to relinquish her control of the interaction (even when it was between pupils - see Transcript 10 ex 2 ls 45-65) or of her focus on accuracy (Transcript 10 ex 2 ls 85-94). Tables 10 and 11 reveal that Teacher 3’s scores for all her lessons, both project and school, were generally lower for part B than those for part A of the COLT coding scheme, and that her scores for low C.O were far higher than those for high C.O. Table 12 shows that her score for low C.O for the project lessons was higher than those for Teachers 1 and 2 (and vice versa for high C.O), and Table 13 shows that her final score for low C.O for school lessons were, in fact, higher than Teacher 4’s score, although her score for high C.O was higher.

When compared to her attitudes as revealed in the attitude analysis (see 5.8.2.3), Teacher 3’s teaching practices were not found to be very consistent with them. For example, Teacher 3 supported a generative, progressive view of education in terms of teaching aims (Appendix 5 c Q 66), and a learner-centred approach to her pupils (Appendix 5 c Q 67), yet her transmission-type teaching practices contradicted
these attitudes. Even when the teaching materials themselves gave her more freedom to enact more communicative teaching behaviours, as in the immediate creativity project lesson, she tended to retain control and focus on accuracy. However, her scores for high C.O in the attitude analysis were not as high as those for Teachers 1 and 2, and for Q 68, Interaction Mode, she definitely responded more positively to low C.O items, which would be consistent with her teaching practices. Although she showed a preference for group and pair work, and certainly made use of it in her lessons for both project and school, the type of interaction that resulted was far from communicative, as pupils merely practised structures under the guise of talking to each other. In this sense, it would seem that Teacher 3 was merely paying 'lip-service' to a new technique and did not really understand the value of this type of activity or its true purpose (see 3.5 for a discussion of this point in relation to ESL methodology in South African black primary schools in general). Thus, although there was some consistency between Teacher 3's attitudes and practices for specific items such as teacher control, focus on accuracy and error correction, in general there appeared to be a mismatch between the fairly high scores obtained for high C.O in the attitude analysis, and her teaching practices as revealed by the COLT analysis.

Post-questionnaire interview

Although Teacher 3 had taught the same lesson in the unit (i.e. accurate reproduction lesson Where are the mice?) as Teachers 1 and 2, her answers to questions 1-4 did not show the same level of involvement in the materials, or the same level of awareness of the principles which they embodied, and/or the relationship among the various lessons in the units, as the other teachers. In fact her comment on the question "Have you introduced this form to the pupils before?" "Yes, but pupils seem to forget what was taught to them previously" is indicative of the kind of teaching (or non-learning) that was occurring (and still occurs) in the schools.

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In relation to Q5, Teacher 3 was aware of her 'previous' teaching style and the change she professed to be experiencing in her teaching through her involvement with the project. For example, she mentioned that her previous pattern for teaching grammar had been deductive and that she had relied heavily on the textbook. After exposure to the project, however, she believed that she approached the teaching of grammar inductively, using examples. This was borne out to some extent in Transcript 6, where she merely modelled the structures for the pupils without explaining them. She also perceived a change in the way she corrected errors since her exposure to the project. Before the project, she used to correct all errors immediately but since the project, she allowed far more peer correction. This perception is not totally consistent with her lesson data where Teacher 3 was observed correcting errors immediately (see Transcript 6 ex 1 ls 10-25 & Transcript 10 ex 2 ls 12-22). She still showed dependency on the materials in her answer to Q6 (which was generally borne out by her lesson data). In answer to Q7, she believed that her teaching style gave pupils the opportunity to "discover things for themselves". Perhaps this is what she believed in principle, but it did not achieve this aim in practice. Teacher 3 admitted to following the project materials closely (Qs 9, 11, 13) especially if the focus was on accuracy. In answer to Q13, she mentioned that one of the aims of the project was to teach pupils the contracted form (it isn't), which she called 'short method'. However, she was flexible enough to switch activities when she realised that the pupils were not responding to it (Q10).

Q14 raised Teacher 3's awareness of different types of practice. She had perceived the Q/A drills as genuine communication and when asked about giving pupils more freedom to choose their own responses to the questions, she said that she had been merely following the materials. Her answer to Q15 was interesting as it revealed the inflexibility of school teaching, and adherence to accuracy at the expense of anything else. She had insisted on the full structure It is on the floor and when asked the reason for this insistence, replied that in school, pupils had to answer their teachers in complete sentences as a sentence was 'wrong' if it had no subject. When asked in which way pupil responses were different according to the
nature of the activity, Teacher 3 answered that the pupils were 'playing a game' and 'thinking' about where the mice were. This seemed to reveal a growing awareness of the effect various activities have on the communicative orientation of a lesson. However, in answer to the question on maintaining tight control even in pair work, Teacher 3 answered that the pupils needed a certain focus, and did not understand what else she could have done in that situation. In answer to Q16, she said that the purpose of the drill had not been to get pupils to communicate, but to practise and reinforce structures i.e. the focus was firmly on grammar. This focus on accuracy was again reinforced in her answer to Q20, where she insisted that pupils should give her the structures she is looking for. Ironically, her answer to Q18 on encouraging pupils' originality was "Let them communicate in genuine interaction" - something which was not borne out by her lesson data. In answer to Q17, she merely stated the principles of child-centredness, i.e. that she, as a teacher, must use pupils' knowledge and experience in her teaching. To some extent she did this in her storytelling, geography and science lessons (see Transcripts 8, 9) but not necessarily in her other lessons.

Concerning the school lessons, Teacher 3 stated that she merely followed the programmes of work and the syllabus furnished by the Department (DET), and that the lessons were not necessarily linked in terms of units (Qs1-4 & Q18). In answer to Q9, however, on the issue of starting from pupils' own experience (which she had done in this particular lesson regarding the pupils' favourite soccer teams), she acknowledged the influence on her teaching of the various projects she had been involved in, viz. SELP (see 3.2.1) and SPEAK (see Appendix 5b). The influence of the projects was also apparent in her answer to Q15, where she did not announce the topic (present perfect) of the lesson to the pupils as she felt that an inductive presentation of grammar was preferable. This was evident in all her lessons. In answer to Q11 on accepting a pupil's 'incorrect' answer, she said that she had wanted to encourage him. This was one of the first signs of a more flexible approach in her teaching style. However, she would not accept errors in written work which she would immediately correct by writing the answers on the board (Q16).
On the issue of memorization (pupils were reading the dialogue from the board and memorizing it at the same time) (Q12), Teacher 3 responded that she was attempting to integrate the skills and to use pair work in order to practise various structures. This lesson was a copy from one she had been given during her involvement with SELP (Q17), which showed that she was attempting to apply newly-learned communicative principles to her teaching, such as structuring activities in a way that maximised peer interaction (in answer to Qs13 & 14). However, these more ‘communicative’ activities were still tightly structured as she believed that the pupils would not have been able to carry on a dialogue without the structures being provided for them. At one point in this lesson she even got the pupils to stand up (while reading the dialogue from the board) as she believed, like Teacher 4, that when they sat down they became ‘lazy’ and ‘disruptive’. When asked whether the drill encouraged genuine communication, she admitted that she had never considered the issue prior to this interview, which lends support to the type of consciousness-raising activity proposed in this thesis (see 7.4.2). In the same vein, she admitted that pupils could have been given more freedom to choose their own responses in this exercise (Q14).

Finally, Teacher 3 chose option (c) as her response to the ‘example’ scenario on prepositions presented at the end of the interview (see Appendix 5d). In this scenario, a hypothetical argument breaks out among pupils and teachers are asked to choose from among 4 options as to what they would do. Option (c) refers to the teacher allowing the pupils to argue for a while, at the same time trying to correct as many errors as possible. (In option (d), the teacher stands back and lets pupils argue). This scenario was a real example taken from Teacher 1’s lesson on Where are the mice? where she had allowed them to argue the issue through (option d). This response was true to her preoccupation with accuracy, as she wished to correct all errors while pupils were arguing, and it was also more realistic than Teacher 4’s response which was option (d).
Teacher diaries

Teacher 3’s diary entries (see Appendix 5e) show her growing awareness of alternative methods of learning and teaching. The influence of SPEAK is clearly seen in her references to the ‘warm-up’ activities which attempted to relax pupils and foster genuine communication (see P1 Playing Games Is 3-10). She also appeared to enjoy the picture activity encouraging predictive and exploratory questions as she was "very pleased to notice that children have their background knowledge and experience. I did not expect such sentences from the children" and "children enjoyed asking questions and answering in pairs" (P3 Children’s Prediction Is 21-24)) and, again, with reference to the Where are the mice? game, she noted that "Children enjoyed asking questions and answering in pairs" (P5 Comments about the lesson 5-8-85 Is 5-10). In her observations about her immediate creativity lesson Hiding Objects, Teacher 3 noted that "Some children had difficulty in asking the question 'What's the name of your object?'". This shows her preoccupation with accuracy, at times at the expense of fluency, which was supposed to be the objective of this lesson. She also appeared to be unaware of this objective as she stated very firmly that "The lesson was successfully conducted because the objectives were reached" (P6 Comments about the lesson 25-8-85 Is 5-6).

In sum, Teacher 3 could be placed at an early stage of Transition in Beeby’s (1986) model. In terms of her reliance on the textbook and materials in both her project and school teaching, of her focus on accuracy work and her use of the ‘rote-rhythm’ method (Macdonald 1990a) with its implications for tight teacher control, chanting and choral work, Teacher 3 was still tied to aspects of Beeby’s second stage, Formalism. However, through the influence of various projects which she had been involved in, she was beginning to perceive alternative approaches to the learning and teaching process, and in this way, would be ready for an exercise in self-reflection leading to increased attitude awareness and a consequent change in teaching practices (see 7.4.2).

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6.6.4 Teacher 4

Lesson analysis

Five school lessons were observed with Teacher 4, three English lessons (Adjectives, Negatives and Reading Comprehension), and two 'other subject' lessons (Health Education and Science). These lessons lasted from 15 to 35 minutes which brought the total sampling time of this teacher’s lessons to 110 minutes (see Appendix 4d: Sampling of individual teacher’s lessons).

The general profile for Teacher 4’s teaching style was strongly transmission-oriented, as she had gained her teaching experience in the school context only (see Diagrams 14-18). She was, however, in contact with Teacher 3, who was head of the English department at the school, and through whom she might have gained insights into alternative approaches to teaching. However, these insights were not evident in her teaching practices in any of her lessons. Like Teacher 3, her lessons were characterised by high teacher control (1, 7, 15), with ultra-minimal (27) and restricted (29) pupil response which was usually of a choral (2, 23) and repetitive (33) nature (see Transcript 11 Is 5,7,19,21; Transcript 13 Is 10,13,22,24,40; Transcript 14 Is 2,4,20,22,24,35,37,53). Pupils gave predictable information (25) to the teacher’s request for pseudo information (18) and practised the four skills without communicative intent (8,9,10,11) (see Transcript 11 Is 33-35, 71-75; Transcript 13 Is 1-15, 22-25, 61-64; Transcript 14 Is 38-53).

The English lessons focusing specifically on structure (Adjectives and Negatives) had the highest scores for low C.O averaging 270 low C.O. events per hour compared to the ‘other subject’ lessons which averaged 182 (see Table 13). The only high C.O. features in these lessons were use of the L2 (which was mandatory as English was the medium of instruction in the school), sustained speech and comment on the part of the teacher (73 & 75), which were still well below 5 events per hour. In terms of low C.O, however, the following features were added to the transmission features mentioned above: focus on language form (4)
presented in a deductive, expository manner and explicit code reaction (20, 31) (Transcript 11 Is 10-18, 22-25, 33-35, 40-45; Transcript 14 Is 5-15, 31-34, 38-52, 68-80). Scores for low C.O for these lessons far exceeded the scores for high C.O ( 308 cf 46 for Adjectives and 294 cf 49 for Negatives - see Table 13).

The third English lesson, Reading Comprehension, was an exception however, (see Diagram 16), showing instances of speaking and listening with communicative intent (58, 59) which occurred at the beginning of the lesson where the teacher asked pupils what type of career they wanted after school (see Transcript 12 Is 1-19). This activity led to some sustained speech (82) (just over 5 events per hour) with restricted and limited form (29, 30) on the part of the pupils. It also led to some genuine information gap (72, 80) and some comment (75) and expansion (76) by the teacher (see Transcript 12 Is 17, 22). Finally, the text was extended (63) with visual aids (65). These features caused an increase in the score for high C.O for this lesson compared to the other English lessons (93 high C.O events compared to 46 and 49 for the other two lessons - see Table 13). There was also more implicit language (40) used in this lesson as attention was on the content/topic and not on structure. Furthermore, the teacher elicited some personal background information from pupils which would have increased the information gap to some extent. In general, however, scores for low C.O. for this lesson still exceeded those for high C.O. (209 cf 93 - see Table 13).

The scores for the 'other subject' lessons were generally lower for low C.O than those for the English lessons (168 & 196 respectively), and higher for high C.O (148 & 76 - see Table 13). Like the Reading Comprehension lesson described above, they had more instances of pupils practising the skills with communicative intent (58, 59) and with unrestricted form (83), visual aids (65), sustained speech and comment (73, 75) on the part of the teacher and genuine information gap (72, 80), particularly in the science lesson (see Diagrams 17 & 18). This occurred where the teacher was again eliciting 'unknown' information from pupils (in the sense that the pupils could offer whatever they wished at that stage in the lesson) in order to establish the context for the ensuing content (see Transcript 13 Is 5-50).
spite of these more communicative features, however, the chanting/chorusing behaviour (2, 23) reappeared again (Transcript 13 Is 63-64, 86-87), with explicit code reaction (20) (Transcript 13 Is 83-90), minimal speech (28) with limited form (30) on the part of the pupils (Transcript 13 Is 10, 22, 24, 31, 36, 41-48). The tight teacher control of the interaction, topic and materials noted in the other lessons is also very visible in the ‘other subject’ lessons.

In general, this teacher followed a purely deductive model in her teaching, especially in the English lessons, attempting to involve pupils in the lesson with the use of flash cards (which was the only time in the lessons where the pupils showed any real interest) (see Transcript 11 Is 155-235). Her lessons, like those of Teacher 3, usually ended with pupils copying down notes from the board into their books. All this was in keeping with the traditional transmission approach to teaching so prevalent in South African black primary schools. Most of her questions were ‘closed’, looking for the ‘right’ answer (see Transcript 13 Is 70-77) and her reaction to pupil error was mostly to either pass over the pupil and ask someone else or to firmly negate the pupil’s contribution without giving reasons (see Transcript 11 Is 71-74, 105-108; Transcript 13 Is 20-23, 30-35, 83-84; Transcript 14 Is 43-52, 57-68). This practice contrasts sharply with that of Teacher 2 who would either wait for the pupil to correct himself or ask others to ‘help’ him (see 6.6.2).

Teacher 4’s fairly positive responses to the high C.O dimension of the attitude questionnaire (see Appendix 5c Qs 66-72 & 5.8.2.4) appear to be very inconsistent with her teaching practices as exhibited in her lesson data which reveal a strongly transmission-oriented style of teaching. However, in her responses to the questionnaire, she had made far more use of the middle options important and neutral thus showing uncertainty in this area. Her exposure to Teacher 3 at school was possibly beginning to make her aware that there were alternative ways of presenting content to pupils and helping pupils to practise the skills to a greater extent through the use of group/pair work, but this awareness was probably in its ‘germination’ stage and had certainly not reached a level where it could be
expressed through her practices in class. For example, she expressed positive attitudes towards developing pupil independence, initiative and creativity and felt that pupils should have the freedom to ask questions and challenge the teacher (Qs 66, 67) and yet she was unable to achieve this in her interactional management of the class. Her high scores for teacher control and minimal pupil contribution in her lessons cast doubt on these attitudes. Although she believed in communicative interaction (Q 68 - 5.8.2.4), there was never any group/pair work, sustained discourse with unrestricted form or incorporation of previous utterances in her lessons (except in those for reading comprehension and science).

Although Teacher 4 disagreed with the statement that pupils should remain quiet, respectful and passive during lessons (Q 70), this is, in fact, the role they played. For most of her lessons, for example, she kept the pupils standing in a semi-circle around the room for the whole lesson, in order to better control them (as revealed in her interview). Compare this to the project teachers' use of physical movement around the classroom in order to encourage relaxation and genuine interactional encounters (see Transcript 1 Is 141-146) and Teacher 3's role-play of a frog in the science lesson and of the story in the lesson on the Pied Piper (Transcript 8).

Post-questionnaire interview

Teacher 4's answers to the first four questions in the interview revealed her general lack of awareness of the principles of selection, grading and continuity in the presentation of content to the pupils. For example, in answer to Qs 1-4, she replied that the purpose of the lesson (on negatives) was to "increase knowledge", that she had intended to present all the forms of the negative in one lesson (Q2), and that there was no continuity between this lesson and ensuing ones (Qs 3 & 4). To some extent this revealed a lack of awareness of the learning burden and resulting confusion (which was evident in Transcript 14) which this could cause the pupils. She was accurate in her assessment of her general method for teaching grammar, which was deductive and expository (see above) with a lot of drill work, and she followed the textbook and work programmes (provided by
the DET through the subject heads) closely (Qs 5, 14, 17). She had taken the idea of
using flash-cards from her teacher training course (Q6) and in this respect was
probably typical of many other teachers in her situation in South Africa (i.e.
unquestioning reliance on superiors, departmental materials and pre- and in-service
training courses).

Her answers to Qs 7 and 8, however, were honest and serious. She admitted that
this particular lesson had not been successful as the children were confused at the
end, yet the only alternative way of teaching this structure, according to this
teacher, was to drill them by getting pupils to act out the instructions or statements
(i.e. the boy is/is not sitting down). She began to show a change in her
responses when the video recording of the lesson was played back to her. For
example, she no longer believed that a deductive presentation of grammar was very
helpful to pupils (Q9) and suggested that she should perhaps present the
explanation at the end of the lesson, after pupils had been exposed to examples.
She admitted to ignoring a pupil's contribution (Q 10) as she had become
'discouraged' at their obvious confusion. She also added that her constant drilling
and choral work were 'habitual' and that she had not really considered them
objectively before this interview. This lack of reflection on her practices also
applied to Qs 11, 12 and 13, where she could not think of another way of
correcting a pupil's 'erroneous' contribution (Q11); admitted to causing confusion
by introducing both interrogative and negative forms at the same time (12) and had
never considered the effect of the different levels of language used in the teacher’s
instructions (or general classroom communication) compared to the structures being
focused on in the lessons (13). With regard to the latter, she was unconsciously
assuming a more sophisticated receptive knowledge on the pupils’ part, which
could have been exploited to maximum benefit in other aspects of her teaching.
She was not satisfied with her pupils' written responses at the end of the lesson
(Q16) and yet believed that her pupils were still learning even though they were
silent most of the lesson (15). Finally, Teacher 4 chose option (d) as her response
to Q 18 on the preposition scenario, which was totally alien to her observed
teaching style. Exposure to Teacher 3 and the current research study could have influenced her response to this question.

Teacher diaries

Teacher 4’s entries in her diary show an awareness of some of the problems in her teaching that was not evident in her interview. For example, she talks about the pupils enjoyment of the reading comprehension lesson (Appendix 5d Teacher 4 P1 ls 5-10) because the topic was interesting and because she was moving from the ‘known’ to the ‘unknown’ (Is 15-18). With reference to her lesson on the negative, Teacher 4 showed sensitivity to the problems that had been encountered in that lesson. She mentions that it not been successful (P2 Is 14-20) but focused on the pupils’ tendency to make errors (P3 Is 18-20, 21-29). However, she did suggest dealing with limited aspects of this structure at a time (P3 Is 30-40) thus revealing an increasing openness to alternative methods of teaching and presentation. Perhaps the fact of keeping a diary (although there were very few entries) made Teacher 4 more aware of her practices in the classroom and encouraged her to move more towards self-reflection. This supports the proposal, which results from this study, that an attitude awareness component should form part of any teacher-training course, and should, preferably, become part of school-centred teacher education (Easen 1985; Stenhouse 1980; Skilbeck 1984) (see 7.4.2).

In this chapter, the various findings from the COLT analysis have been presented in order to create a profile of each teacher’s practices in the classroom. In the following chapter, these findings will be matched with those from the attitude analysis in order to ascertain whether there is a relationship between the attitudes and practices of the teachers in this study, which will then lead to implications for new roles for teachers and future research.
NOTES

1. To be fair, this memorisation of the dialogues was a feature of all the project teachers' lead-in lessons at the recall stage, before the introduction of new material as it had been written in to the materials as 'review of previous unit'.

2. It is interesting to compare this comment about moving from the 'known' to the 'unknown' to that of Teacher 4 in her final diary entry (Appendix 5e). When compared with her actual teaching practices, Teacher 4's comment appears rather superficial. Rather than genuinely trying to tap the pupils' own resources in the form of background knowledge, Teachers 3 and 4 appeared to 'elicit' this 'knowledge' as a means of establishing an interest in the topic i.e. by asking about the pupils' favour soccer stars or clubs. This occurred in Teacher 3's lesson on the Present Perfect where she attempted to establish interest before presenting the pupils with a dialogue on the topic of soccer, and in Teacher 4's lesson on reading comprehension where she also attempted to establish interest before introducing her pupils to the comprehension passage on the topic of a soccer match.
CHAPTER 7: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHER ATTITUDES AND TEACHER PRACTICES

In this chapter, the relationship between teacher attitudes and teacher practices will be examined, which leads to a consideration of a teacher's role and pedagogy in the light of the findings. Two innovative techniques are discussed, and a self-reflective attitude awareness activity proposed, both of which arose out of the present research. Finally, the educational model underlying the research is reappraised in the light of the findings produced by the various research instruments.

7.1 PRESENTATION OF SCORES

The tables referred to in this chapter are in Volume Two Appendix 7a. The COLT categories corresponded most closely to Q 68 of the questionnaire - Interaction Mode - as both the COLT categories and the items in Q 68 focused directly on the teacher's practices in the classroom. Hence, COLT features such as teacher control of interaction (whole class teaching); topic and materials; lack of incorporation of previous utterances (or mere repetition), focus on accuracy versus fluency (choral work, explicit code reaction, attention on form versus content); exchange of pseudo and predictable information versus genuine information; practising skills with/without communicative intent and allowing pupils freedom and spontaneity in the nature and timing of their contributions could be directly matched with the questionnaire items relating to a teacher's practices in the classroom, such as cutting down on teacher talk and maximising pupils' contributions by varying the organization mode of the classroom (i.e. by using group/pair work), by encouraging pupils to ask questions and to challenge the teacher; explaining grammar in a deductive versus an inductive manner; handling errors and pupil contributions, and asking various types of questions (closed versus open) on topics and materials.
The rest of the questions in the questionnaire pertained to those elements in the language learning/teaching context which have a bearing on classroom processes, and which help create the socio-psychological and pedagogical climate within which the various participants operate. Hence, teaching aims, roles, syllabus, materials and general methodological practices all feed into the teaching act, albeit indirectly.

Two global scores were thus correlated - for both attitude sets and practices (teaching events) - which reflected an index of communicative orientation in teacher attitudes as related to an index of communicative orientation in teacher practices. Table 15 contains a summary of both high and low scores for communicative orientation in both attitudes and practices. The attitude scores (raw and percentage) reveal a clear rank order among the teachers for both high and low C.O. The COLT scores, although sharing the same general trend for high C.O., do not show the same internal consistency for low C.O. as Teacher 1’s scores for low C.O. were, in fact, higher than those for Teacher 2 (136 cf.119: a difference of 17). However, as Teacher 1’s high C.O. scores were very much higher than Teacher 2’s scores, (253 cf.183: a difference of 70), it seemed reasonable to retain Teacher 1 in first position in the rank order.

Table 16 separates the high and the low communicative parameters in order to highlight the correlation between teaching events (practices) and attitudes. Figure 7.1 emphasises this relationship in diagrammatic form, separating the scores for high, and low, communicative orientation respectively. Finally, Figure 7.2 shows the correlation (for combined scores) between attitudes and events (practices). The results of this correlation show a clear rank order emerging among the teachers, with Teacher 1 obtaining the highest scores for both attitudes and practices, and Teacher 4 the lowest.
7.2 DISCUSSION OF THE CONSISTENCY BETWEEN SCORES FOR ATTITUDES AND SCORES FOR PRACTICES FOR INDIVIDUAL TEACHERS

As Tables 15 and 16 reveal, there is a marked consistency between scores for high C.O categories for both the COLT and attitude analyses on one hand, and between scores for low C.O categories, for both sets of analyses on the other. Table 15 shows the wide gap between high and low C.O scores for COLT events and attitudes for both Teachers 1 and 2 (T1:85 cf.15 & T2:81 cf.19), which serves to reveal their firmly positive and firmly negative stance in relation to high and low C.O. respectively. Their responses to the attitude questionnaire and their practices in the classroom as revealed by the COLT analysis, reflected stability and consistency. These aspects are discussed under 5.8.2.1, 5.8.2.2 & 6.6.1, 6.6.2 respectively. Both teachers exhibited an awareness of their attitudes towards the LL/LT process and of their practices in the classroom which was consistent with the results of this study. In terms of the proposals for new roles and a new pedagogy set out under 7.4 below, these stages are beyond the first stage of a self-reflective, attitude awareness activity/exercise. However, as Teacher 2 noted in her post-questionnaire interview (see 6.6.2) regarding her tight control of lessons in the early stages of the project, teachers are not constantly aware of the attitudes they hold, or of the effect these may have on their classroom practices and, hence, on the resulting interaction patterns and pupil learning. For this reason, they need to be constantly in touch with any changes they might be experiencing in terms of both attitudes and practices, by "bringing them to the surface from time to time" (Easen 1985) in order to consciously reflect on them.

The gap between high and low scores, specifically for attitudes, for Teachers 3 and 4 was far narrower than that for Teachers 1 and 2 (T3:60 cf.40 & T4:59 cf.41) (see Table 15) and their scores were virtually parallel. As discussed under 5.8.2.3 and 5.8.2.4, these teachers tended to select responses to the various items in the questionnaire weighted on the side of high C.O. However, they also made far more use of the middle options (neither strongly positive nor strongly negative),
FIGURE 7.1 DIAGRAM OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GLOBAL COLT SCORES AND GLOBAL ATTITUDE SCORES FOR HIGH AND LOW COMMUNICATIVE ORIENTATION
FIGURE 7.2  Diagram of correlation between teaching events and attitudes

High Communicative Orientation

Low Communicative Orientation

Teaching events per hour

Attitude scores in percentages

Teaching events per hour

Attitude scores in percentages
which showed a certain amount of caution, hesitation and uncertainty regarding their attitudes on their part. On the other hand, their practices engendered scores that were highly polarised: for high C.O. T3’s COLT scores were 122 compared to 209 for low C.O; for high C.O. T4’s COLT scores were 82 compared to 235 for low C.O. Their scores were thus heavily weighted on the side of low C.O. As mentioned under 5.8.2, through their exposure to the projects and each other, Teachers 3 and 4 were perhaps becoming aware of alternative methods of teaching, and the implications of these for learning. However, there had not been sufficient time, or intervention, for these more ‘progressive’ attitudes to become manifest in their teaching practices. In this sense, an activity in self-reflective attitude awareness, such as that proposed below, might be a very timely intervention, in order to help these teachers, and others like them, to convert their attitudes into effective classroom practice.

7.3 THE HYPOTHESES REVISITED

It was mentioned under 4.1 that the general aim of this research was to examine and determine the nature of the relationship between teacher attitudes and perceptions regarding the LL/LT process, and their practices in the classroom. The underlying assumption was that attitudes and perceptions predetermine, in important ways, the types of interaction occurring in the classroom and thereby influence learning. The following hypotheses (as set out under 4.1) ensued from this assumption:

1) that teachers’ views of knowledge and learning determine what happens in class and what becomes available to be learned

2) that the attitudes and perceptions of teachers teaching in the formal school context would be far less communicatively-oriented than those of the teachers teaching on the project, by virtue of their exposure to different ideologies. This, in turn, would affect their teaching practices in the classroom

3) that, given a different teaching context and exposure to a more ‘progressive’ perspective on education and thus to a different type of language teaching
methodology, a teacher would gradually begin to change her attitudes to her role and task which would then be reflected in her teaching practices.

The results of this study appeared to support hypotheses 1 and 2, but not necessarily hypothesis 3. In general, the study revealed a fairly consistent relationship between attitudes and practices, especially for teachers 1 and 2. It also tended to confirm that the way the teachers in the study perceived education in general (in terms of syllabus and aims), the teaching act in particular, and their own and their pupils’ role in this act, had a direct influence on their practices. Hence, Teachers 1 and 2, who took a more generative ‘progressive’ view of education, as revealed in the results of their attitude analyses (see 5.8.2.1 & 5.8.2.2), exhibited a flexible, sensitive and more communicative teaching style in the classroom (see 6.6.1 & 6.6.2). By contrast, Teachers 3 and 4, who tended to reveal more traditional attitudes related to a transmission mode of teaching (see 5.8.2.3 & 5.8.2.4) exhibited a highly controlling, more inflexible teaching style (see 6.6.3 & 6.6.4).

Hypothesis 3 was more difficult to confirm, possibly due to the time factor involved. As mentioned under 5.8.2.3, Teacher 3’s attitudes tended to favour a more generative view of education, and yet her teaching practices for most of her lessons were not consistent with these attitudes. She appeared to be in a stage of early ‘transition’ (Beeby 1986) in the sense that she ‘defaulted’ to a traditional ‘rote-rhythm’ transmission-type teaching in most of the lessons observed, although she did use more communicative techniques and activities in some of her lessons on her own initiative (eg. group/pair work in the lesson on the present perfect, and role-play and a ‘retell’ activity in her lesson on the Pied Piper), showing that the project teaching was having an influence on her attitudes and, consequently, on her teaching practices. She was definitely attempting to introduce more flexible, learner-centred techniques into her teaching methodology and it was possibly only a matter of time before she began internalising these positive attitudes to a point where they would become evident in her practices.
The above holds implications for the research design followed in this study. Insufficient time was available for monitoring this teacher's attitudes and practices over a longer period in order to observe consistent changes in her practices, as she had left both project and school by the time the researcher conducted a second survey and 'follow-up' observation a year later. (This also applied to Teacher 4). This type of constraint should be taken into account in future research of this nature.

7.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH FOR TEACHER EDUCATION FOR NEW ROLES AND A NEW PEDAGOGY

7.4.1 Innovative Techniques

7.4.1.1 Clusters of specific features

What this study did reveal was that specific attitudes tended to 'cluster' around one or other of the bi-polar constructs comprising the educational model (see 5.1.1.2). Furthermore, clusters or groupings of specific behaviours tended to co-occur during lessons and that these were often related to different pedagogic goals (see 4.2.6.2). For example, when the focus of the lesson (or the teacher) was on accuracy, features such as choral work, repetition, high teacher control, minimal and restricted speech, explicit code reaction, attention to linguistic form and exchanging pseudo and predictable information tended to dominate the interaction. This tended to happen during practice of linguistic structures and asking and answering questions of a factual nature on a topic or on the materials.

On the other hand, when attention was on fluency, features such as exchange of genuine and unpredictable information, incorporation of previous utterances by way of paraphrase, comment, expansion and elaboration, sustained and unrestricted discourse and discourse initiation on the part of the pupils, tended to occur. This was particularly noticeable in activities such as role-play, pair and group work, on the asking and answering of questions on 'extended' texts (audio and written) and
on visual aids such as pictures, charts, etc, calling for prediction and inference and establishing background knowledge by way of introduction to a new topic, found in both project lead-in lessons, and school ‘other subject’ lessons. These clusters or groupings of behaviours or features can be very effectively plotted on a wheel profile which is discussed below.

7.4.1.2 The Wheel Profile

The wheel profile, adapted from Mackey’s (1965) ‘method profile’, is, as far as can be ascertained, an innovative technique (see Appendix 6d Diagrams 1-18). It provides a teacher with an immediate picture of the kinds of practices she engages in during lessons, and it also provides her with a picture of general trends in her practices over a number of lessons and over time. It also provides immediate visual access to the clusters of behaviours mentioned above under 7.4.1.2, and is a useful technique for comparing the practices and general teaching styles of different teachers for similar lessons. In this way, it would prove a useful tool for use in the self-reflective attitude awareness activity proposed below.

7.4.2 A self-reflective attitude awareness activity

This type of activity could be used in any teacher-training course, but would probably be more appropriate as part of general in-service education and teacher development, as the teachers would be experienced in their field, and would have developed certain attitudes towards their work which they could then reflect upon. Although Simons (1986) advocates this type of consciousness-raising exercise in courses offered in teacher-training colleges, novice or student-teachers might find this exercise a little less relevant at that particular stage in their careers (see Morrison & McIntyre 1967). With reference to school-based INSET, Easen (1985) advocates self-reflection and analysis as an important step in the direction of personal change. The activity proposed in this section should also be school-based,
with teachers using it as part of an ongoing professional development programme, which would include attitude analyses, peer observation of lessons, discussions among colleagues and diary entries. It would consist of the following stages, essentially following the research method used in this study.

Step 1: Teachers would be presented with a simplified version of Q 68 (perhaps with items pertaining to high C.O. only, and eliminating the 'middle' response options - see 5.5) which focuses directly on teacher practices in the classroom.

Step 2: Teachers' lessons should be recorded on a fairly regular basis, either using field-notes or, preferably, a recording which could then be analyzed in terms of a simplified version of the COLT scheme, perhaps isolating very prevalent behaviours and omitting the less frequent ones. The lessons could then be played back to teachers and discussed in small groups which should not be large in order to avoid feelings of threat and inhibition.

Step 3: The teachers themselves could then plot their teaching practices on the wheel profile in order to obtain a picture of the various trends and patterns which emerge. These patterns could also be related to class level, the nature of the content being taught and the pedagogic goal. A general discussion of ways in which these patterns might influence classroom interaction and of how they relate to the teachers' attitudes as revealed in the simplified questionnaire on Interaction Mode, might be a useful way to conclude an exercise of this nature, and set the pattern for a new exercise on a different set of lessons.

Step 4: Teachers could set new goals for the new exercise and repeat the process, each time aiming to change behaviour patterns and practices that they, themselves, have realised may be inhibiting genuine communication and learning.

The above activity is in keeping with action research and Easen's (1985) view that curriculum change involves an interplay of two important elements: personal change, involving news ways of looking at things if genuine change is to occur,
and interpersonal change. Personal change would gradually come about through an increased awareness of (a) one's attitudes, (b) one's practices and (c) any resulting mismatch between the two. In attempting to discover the reasons for this mismatch, a teacher gains increasing knowledge of herself, her pupils and her field, that she had never consciously considered before. Interpersonal change would occur through peer interdependence and mutual support during the activity.

Finally, a further stage could be added to this process, one which Easen (1985) recommends as part of an exercise in working on a curriculum issue. He advocates that each teacher should individually reflect upon the process of the activity itself, i.e. while working on the problem, the teacher also reflects on the process of working on the problem (strengths and/or weaknesses revealed). This would correspond to the diary entries required of the teachers in the present study, which served to reveal important insights into the teachers' growing awareness of their practices in the classroom. Easen (1985) calls this self-reflection, generating 'personal knowledge' or 'reflection-in-action' which he regards as 'vital' for learning (p9). Similar research activities related to teacher change are covered in 4.2.6.3.

In sum, as a result of an exercise of this nature, the following elements relating to a more generative, exploratory, flexible approach to education might become apparent:

- the need for learner-centred teaching aims, in order to encourage learner initiative and independence
- critical appraisal of syllabuses and materials in the light of the above teaching aims, and adaptation of these to suit particular objectives and individual needs
- the need for the sharing of control by both teacher and pupils
- the need to encourage interaction patterns which are appropriate to the pedagogic goal of the lesson
- the need to establish common frames of reference between teacher and pupils, which naturally leads to more process-oriented interaction patterns

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- the need for consistent peer evaluation and mutual support in order to discover one's own attitudes, which, in turn, engenders a sense of joint responsibility for one's pupils and their learning, and for the mutual development of each other as teachers.

7.5 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

7.5.1 Research Design

As mentioned under 7.3, the time allowed for proving/disproving hypothesis 3 was not sufficient. This, perhaps, should have been built into the research design, thus allowing time for both an initial, and a subsequent survey of teacher 3's attitudes and practices. Allowance had been made for this initially, but as Teacher 3 left the project and the school in order to study further, it was impossible to monitor her a second time. If the second survey had been carried out after, say, six months instead of a year, new data which might have revealed further interesting insights might have been obtained.

Secondly, a greater range of lesson types for each of the project teachers would have provided a richer basis for comparison among the teachers' styles, by providing insights into the individual teachers' pedagogical practices as related to varying pedagogic goals and lesson content (see 4.4.2.1).

Thirdly, it would be useful to build an 'experimental' element into the descriptive - correlational - experimental loop (Cohen & Manion 1985 - see 4.2.2), which was lacking in the present research design. This would have ensured a trial period for the self-reflective attitude analysis activity proposed under 7.4.2. It would entail revision of the questionnaire, and, perhaps, a simplification of the COLT scheme in order to adapt it to the needs of the teachers at whom it is targeted as it is intended as a preliminary exercise in self-reflection and analysis.
Finally, the results of the teacher's diary entries confirmed the use of this technique in any research of a qualitative nature, as it provides an interesting comparison between a teacher's personal self-reflection and observations on her experiences in the classroom, and the data obtained from the more 'objective' analyses from the questionnaire survey and the more systematic COLT analyses. It also provides a useful supplement to the latter, thereby furnishing a more 'holistic' picture of a teacher's attitudes, perceptions and practices. If all the teachers had made consistent entries in their diaries during the research period, it would perhaps have enriched the findings of the present study to a greater extent.

7.5.2 Pupil attitudes

The present study focused deliberately on the teacher which was deliberate. However, allusions have been made in this thesis to the role and attitudes of the pupil in classroom research. This would be the logical 'next step' for research of this nature, following from the present study. A noteworthy study, investigating both teachers' and pupils' attitudes within an ethnographic research framework using triangulation, was that of Simons (1986). In addition, Allwright's work (1982, 1984, 1988) focuses on the student and on his participation in lessons in terms of compliance, navigation and negotiation, i.e. on the various ways in which learning opportunities are created in the classroom. Cazden (1986) suggests that the most useful way of giving feedback to teachers on their teaching, is to provide them with accounts of their pupils' thought, feelings, utterances and actions, i.e. Elliott & Adelman's (1975) 'hard-line' approach.

7.6 CONCLUSION

7.6.1 The model revisited

The educational model used in this study was useful in discovering and describing a teacher's pedagogical practices in the classroom. However, the data that was
brought to light by the model challenged the absolute polarity inherent in it. Teachers who were considered more ‘generative’ and ‘progressive’ in their teaching, i.e. Teachers 1 and 2, on account of their strongly positive attitudes towards generative teaching, nevertheless exhibited pedagogical practices that were low in C.O, depending on the pedagogic goal of the lesson (lead-in/elicitation phase, accurate reproduction phase or immediate creativity phase), the lesson content (English versus other subjects) and the task activities (group/pair work, discussion of pictures, retelling stories, grammar work, etc). Conversely, Teachers 3 and 4, who were considered to be more ‘transmission-oriented’ in their teaching, exhibited behaviour that was described as high in C.O, again in relation to lesson content, pedagogic goal and task activities. These issues are covered at length in 5.8, 6.5 & 6.6.

Related to the above is the issue of surface similarities in the pedagogical practices of the teachers. The language teaching model essentially functioned at a superficially descriptive level and was not able to probe the deeper reasons or intentions behind the use of various practices in the individual teacher’s classrooms. A good example of this was the use of choral and drill work in Teacher 2’s, as opposed to Teacher 4’s, classroom mentioned in 5.1.3.3. These deeper, underlying reasons for the surface similarities identified by the model only came to light through the use of ethnographic techniques such as interviews, stimulated recall and diary entries. This strengthens the case for a ‘mixed paradigm’ in social and educational research where methods drawn from both rationalistic and naturalistic traditions would serve to cross-check, supplement and reinforce each other.

An interesting issue which the model managed to capture to a certain extent was that of the teachers’ inherent resistance to innovative approaches such as communicative language teaching (CLT). Although a teacher may ‘go through the motions’ of using more ‘communicative’ techniques in the classroom which the model would broadly describe as ‘generative’ near the high C.O pole, the principles underlying the techniques were not fully understood by the teachers,
which only came to light through interviews, diaries and the recall exercise. The model was able to capture this nicely through the use of the COLT which highlighted the discrepancy between a so-called ‘communicative’ activity (such as group work, or an information-gap game) which would have been recorded as such in Part A of the scheme (Activity Organization), and the actual level of communicative orientation during the activity as revealed by various Verbal Interaction categories (Part B), such as minimal and restricted speech patterns, explicit and frequent code reaction, repetition and high teacher control. In other words, non-communicative pedagogic practices were encapsulated within a communicative framework. What is needed here, perhaps, is something akin to Piaget’s principles of assimilation and accommodation, whereby a ‘consciousness-raising’ exercise is engaged in with teachers in order to facilitate understanding of the pedagogic principles behind innovative techniques. This understanding would entail a critical dimension leading to emancipation of teachers, rather than their continual manipulation by innovators and teacher educators.

On the question of internally-guided rather than externally-imposed changes, Feiman-Nemser & Floden (1986) identify two distinct approaches in the literature to the study of teacher development. The first is a "model of changes in teacher concerns" which characterises teachers as passing through a survival stage (Beeby’s stages 1 & 2) in which they are necessarily self-focused; through a mastery stage where they concentrate on their performance (Beeby’s stage 3), to an impact stage where they are concerned about their effect on pupils (Beeby’s stage 4). The higher stages are characterised by increased flexibility, tolerance and respect. The second model is based on "cognitive-developmental theories" and a style of in-service education emphasising a teacher’s own definition of needs and supporting a teacher’s own chosen direction for growth.

This brings us back to Beeby’s (1986) model which carries the implication that teachers logically need to progress through stages 1 to 4 in terms of their professional enlightenment. In this sense, it would be a developmental model.
Conversely, it could be argued that with an appropriate form of intervention, various stages (eg. transition) could be skipped, so that with increasing knowledge and understanding of pedagogic principles, teachers could pass directly from stage 2 to stage 4, i.e. stages that in the past have occurred diachronically, would be synchronically realigned. The historical perspective would thus apply only to the progression from stages 1 to 2. The findings from the present study tend to support the developmental perspective, as it would seem that teachers do need to pass through an intermediate, transition stage before reaching the final stage in which they are able to realise their full potential and creativity. In Piagetian terms, this would resemble a process of 'disequilibrium', in which old belief systems and patterns of behaviour - a teacher's 'schematic knowledge' (Widdowson 1990) or 'scripts' (Diamond 1982, 1985) - are broken down so that they may be replaced by more appropriate and innovative ones. Teacher 3 in the present study was a good example of this (see 5.8.2.3 & 6.6.3).

The research on teacher thinking has called into question the relevance of so-called 'methodology' courses in teacher education programmes with their emphasis on skills and training taught to teachers in 'behaviourist' mode. It has made it clear that teachers need to engage their mental processes when understanding theory. This field of research also brought to light the need for teachers to reflect upon, and attempt to understand their own patterns of thinking and behaviour, which is very different to the imposition of an innovative theory from an external source which teachers are expected to adopt wholesale. Teachers need to be aware of, and guide their own practice rather than letting it be guided for them. In other words, teachers need to be provided with the conceptual tools for understanding their practice, to broaden their knowledge base and to reduce uncertainty (Feiman-Nemser & Floden(1986); Clark & Lampert 1977). The new demands made by contemporary innovations in approaches and methods (eg CLT) do not depend so much on specific trainable skills, but rather on teachers' attitudes and their courage to innovate (Clark & Peterson 1974).
Brown (1990) and Widdowson (1990) contend that a teacher's theory of teaching and learning processes evolves during her professional life, which tends to support the developmental perspective of Beeby's (1986) model. It is also accepted in the literature on teacher thinking that teachers' belief systems contribute heavily to their behaviour at the levels of approach, method and technique. If a teacher relies too heavily, and unconsciously, on her beliefs, the tendency will be to continue to react intuitively to spontaneous and unpredictable events in the classroom. Both Brown (1990) and Widdowson (1990) argue that 'concept formation' or a 'principled pedagogy' has a key role to play in teacher development, in order to help teachers move beyond their reliance on beliefs towards pragmatic mediation of their pupil's learning. It would seem that self-reflection regarding teachers' beliefs and attitudes would be a necessary first step in the progression towards this type of concept formation leading to more principled pedagogic practices and, hence, greater professionalization.

7.6.2 The way forward

In fairness to the teachers, it should be remembered that Teachers 1 and 2 were not working under the DET (erstwhile Bantu Education system) at the time of this study, although they were working with pupils from DET schools. They were thus not constrained by the system in the way that Teacher's 3 and 4 were, and were free to innovate as they wished. Teacher 1, however, had experienced the same type of pre-service training as Teachers 3 and 4 and yet had managed to overcome it. The latter, on the other hand, formed part of the state system and, as such, were totally under its control. As a result, their styles reflected both the micro- and macro-contexts within which they were operating (see 2.2 & 2.3) i.e. the schooling and training they had received and the prevailing ethos of the system, including pressure to conform from school principals, colleagues and the inspectorate. In this sense, the macro-structure of the wider society constrains the possibilities for human action, no matter how flexible and progressive attitudes might be.
It is also inevitable that as long as the 'system' remains in place, with its institutionalised structures such as timetabling, exams and inspectorates, there will be transmission-type teaching in the schools. What can change, however, are teachers' understanding and perceptions of these structures and their effects on their teaching practices and, in turn, the effects of their own agency on pupil learning. If teachers could reach a level of critical awareness of the constraints operating on their attitudes, beliefs and practices, they would be more 'empowered' to take control of them. They would also be in a better position to consider alternatives to their present practices in the classroom. This, in fact, has been demonstrated by Teacher 1 who is a true example of a teacher committed to alternative, more generative ways of learning and teaching. This was demonstrated in her teaching, and in the workshops for other teachers teaching in DET schools which she initiated herself during the period of this study.

Teachers in the DET schools who were teaching pupils who had been selected for the project (see 4.3.1) approached Teacher 1 and asked if she could train them in the 'new methods' as they could not cope with the challenge of the project pupils in the school classroom any longer. This fact has certainly vindicated the cause of the projects and opens up new avenues for moving towards change - the pupils themselves! The project pupils were becoming 'insubordinate' in the eyes of their school teachers, as they were no longer willing to tolerate the traditional 'chalk and talk' methods used in the schools after having been exposed to alternative, more exploratory ways of learning.

Teacher 1 responded by holding the first of what was to become a series of teacher workshops, at which the researcher was present. Instead of providing the teachers with a 'package' of techniques for teaching the language skills, as the teachers had expected, she engaged them in a series of 'consciousness-raising' activities, such as exploring the way they felt about their situation in the schools and vis-a-vis their pupils, exploring their emotions and being subjected to the 'rote-rhythm' method by role-playing their pupils in class. This workshop was highly successful and led to a whole series of them in the townships, as the word, and the demand, spread.

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What is noteworthy about the above is that:

1) Teacher 3 was regarded as a colleague among the teachers, and, as such, had greater credibility with them than an external agency would have enjoyed. Having experienced their current situation herself (when she was teaching in the schools), she was thus sympathetic to their circumstances and thus in the best position to help them overcome the obstacles in it. This fact lends support to the idea that any real and lasting change should come from within, i.e. from the teachers themselves (Easen 1985; Van den Berg 1987).

2) This workshop gave birth to the idea of networking in the townships, i.e. as more and more teachers experience the workshops run by Teacher 1, they, in turn, can introduce the ideas into their own schools, or form ‘teacher groups’ who could run the workshops on a part time basis for other teachers. In this way, a network of workshops is established, which go a long way to relieving the pressure that the projects are experiencing. Furthermore, as mentioned in point 1 above, the teachers would be seen to be helping each other, without any external agency involved.

3) Teacher 1 truly embodied change at the personal level (Easen 1985) which, in turn, enabled her to encourage this type of change in others. Although a slow process, as it involves few teachers at a time, it could become pervasive, especially through networking. In this way, a viable alternative to traditional teaching is slowly spreading its way to the teachers in black primary schools which, hopefully, might help to ‘empower’ them to take control of the situation themselves and not merely remain victims of it. The movement of People’s Education would certainly lend force to this activity.

In the words of MacDonald & Walker (1977):

The real prize is the prospect of developing techniques and procedures which can be used by schools and ancillary agencies. A specialist research profession will always be a poor substitute for a self-monitoring educational community (p181).
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