ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH BY BLACK TEACHERS IN SELECTED AREAS OF THE EASTERN CAPE AND THE TRANSKEI, THROUGH EDUCATIONAL WORKSHOPS AND RESOURCE MATERIALS

DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF EDUCATION
(GUIDANCE IN EDUCATION)

OF

RHODES UNIVERSITY

BY

LORRAINE ZISKOVSKY, B.A., B.Ed., T.E.S.L.(Dip)

SEPTEMBER, 1985

TABLE OF CONTENTS

GLOSSARY

Curriculum	Used in a broad sense to "include the totality of what is taught in the schools, relationships between school subjects, teaching materials, teaching methods, technological and other aids, and the organisation of teaching and learning." (Hoyle (1975)
Cosmology	Reality as perceived through the prism of individual structures of consciousness.
DET	Department of Education and Training.
EPA	Educational Priority Area.
ESL	English as a Second Language. Broad term used to delineate those students of English whose mother tongue is a language other than English.
ESP	English for Special Purposes.
GADRA	Grahamstown Area Distress Relief Association.
INSET	In-service Education and Training, a division of the 1820 Monument Foundation, Grahamstown.
LACOM	Labour and Community Management.

INTRODUCTION

This action research study covers the period November 1983 to August 1985, and is an ethnographic account of what started as a small-scale attempt to assist black teachers of English at the Standard 6, 7 and 8 level, in Grahamstown. During this period, the writer was employed by the South African Council for Higher Education's Grahamstown branch as a part-time English tutor of black and coloured teachers engaged in private study for the Joint Matriculation Board and UNISA. It was under Sached's aegis that the project started, with the writer holding the belief that poor matriculation examination results obtained by blacks were at least partially caused by poor English language communication skills. It was hoped that assistance to black teachers of English as a second language (ESL) at the chosen level (Standards 6, 7 and 8) would be of some help in freeing black students from the necessity of having to achieve academically and linguistically at the same time, in Standards 9 and 10.

There were consultations with black teachers; needs assessment was based on the writer's previous experience in ESL teaching, the opinions of two tutors engaged in the Rhodes University Academic Support Programme, the views of four Sached JMB and UNISA tutors, as well as the expressed needs of the black principal, vice-principal and senior English teacher who formed the original consultative group.

It was decided that the assistance would take the form of fortnightly workshops, which would be part of a range of resource centre services. Other aspects of the Teachers' Resource Centre (TRC) would be access to an ESL reference library, as well as a library for personal enrichment. Raw materials for the making of teaching aids would be supplied, and it

was hoped to build up a small bank of teaching materials produced jointly by the researcher and participants.

The attempt to set up a TRC for Sached, and later attempts to conduct workshops in tandem with INSET (In-service Education and Training, a division of the 1820 Monument Foundation) should be seen against the background of general unrest in the Eastern Cape, and the fact that the target teachers' classes were boycotted for all but 11 weeks in 1984, and 7 weeks in 1985.

Action research was chosen initially for its suitability for what Cohen and Manion (1980) describe as the prime feature of action research: "that it is essentially an on-the-spot procedure designed to deal with a concrete problem located in an immediate situation" (p. 178). The unstable conditions in black education during the period under consideration made the flexibility and adaptability of action research particularly apt. Writing of these qualities, Cohen and Manion (1980) state: "these qualities are revealed in the changes that may take place during its implementation and in the course of on-the-spot experimentation and innovation characterising the approach" (p. 179).

The Sached workshops involved contact with 22 teachers at 19 workshops. Workshops with the INSET team involved contact with 80 teachers at 5 three-day workshops and 2 one-day workshops. School closures made post-workshop evaluation of classroom practice impossible for all programmes other than that of the Transkei project, which is still in progress. The perspective of this study is phenomenological, with heavier emphasis on process rather than product, and for the purposes of evaluation, there has been an attempt at investigator triangulation.

The project started with the idea of general assistance to black teachers, but over time, the realisation that most black teachers were operating at the second stage (formalism) of Beeby's 4 stage model (see Appendix I) carried the implication that there could be no "quick-fix" remedial approach. It would appear that provision of teaching materials based on context-embedded communicative principles can bring about some limited improvement in classroom practice; but unless teachers have internalised the advantages of pupil-centred teaching strategies, such changes are likely to be transitory.

Counselling of participating teachers was not part of the original plan. During the last half of 1983, teachers began making appointments, ostensibly to discuss teaching problems, but the interviews which followed revealed that the real topic of discussion was the increasing stress caused by the disruption in the schools. Thus, some limited counselling developed as a side issue.

Finally, the original aim was to reach as many black ESL teachers as possible. Over time and through experience and collected data, it became clear that aspects of transitional black culture dictated a narrower focus. Black group-consciousness and the need for group approval, for example, brought a reformulation of workshop structures, some of which will, in future, be held for all teachers in a single school, in an English-across-the-curriculum approach.

CHAPTER 1

AN OVERVIEW OF EXISTING PROGRAMMES DESIGNED TO ASSIST BLACK TEACHERS OF ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICA

There are ten organisations, which have as their main concern, the upgrading of the language teaching skills of black teachers of English. Five of these are based in the Transvaal.

S.S.E.R.P. (Secondary Schools English Language Project) falls under the aegis of the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of the Witwatersrand. They are able to offer residential language teaching courses as well as one-day seminars, and cater for teachers from 60 Secondary schools in the Soweto/Alexandra area. S.E.L.R.P. (Schools' English Language Research Project) is attached to the same university, and offers field-based in-service teaching upgrading in English across the curriculum in Soweto Primary schools (Standards 3 to 5).

The Johannesburg-based T.E.L.I.P. (Teachers' English Language Improvement Project) is in the process of devising 8 courses for black ESL teachers. They aim to determine the needs of black teachers, and to structure materials designed to fill these needs. The Council for Black Education and Research has bases in Pretoria and Orlando. Their stated aims (apart from research) are to evaluate existing ESL texts, and to work towards the production of progressive and innovative texts to inspire and motivate black teachers. This organisation is currently concerned with upgrading courses for Primary and Secondary teachers in Pretoria, and Professor Eskia Mphahlele runs a practical English course at the Orlando centre. In 1984, there was contact with 200 teachers in Pretoria, and 30 in Johannesburg.

The ELTIC (English Language Teaching Information Centre) programme is based in Braamfontein, with a regional office at Alice, in the Ciskei. This organisation serves as an ESL information centre, and attempts to promote a sense of community among black teachers. It also gives practical advice and exposure to developing ESL methodology. They have produced study guides for literature setworks. Current programmes include field-based in-service training programmes in 16 black schools (Standards 2 to 6) on the East Rand, as well as an enrichment course at the Johannesburg College of Education.

A.V.E.L.C. (Anglovaal English Language Centre) is Durban-based. Their efforts have focused on the needs of black teachers of Standards 6 to 8 in 16 schools (The Mpumalanga Project) and of black teachers of Standard 5, from 17 schools (The Kwa Mashu Project). They assist at English courses conducted at the Umlazi In-service Training Centre, as well as conducting a monthly workshop, and follow-up visits to classrooms. Additional reading materials are provided, and teachers are encouraged to form co-operative structures in their areas.

In Cape Town, the Language Education Unit falls under the Department of Education of the University of Cape Town. It promotes research into ESL teaching and learning, functions as a resource centre for language teachers, and conducts "socially relevant" teacher upgrading projects for language teachers.

C.E.N.C.E. (Centre for Continuing Education) falls under the aegis of the University of Port Elizabeth. Their current target groups are black ESL teachers of Standards 6 to 10, and coloured Primary school teachers. They aim for improvement of language teaching methodology, and their emphasis is on in-service workshops. They hope to serve as a focal point

of ESL activities in the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage areas.

Grahamstown is the base for I.S.E.A. (Institute for the Study of English in Africa). I.S.E.A. falls under the aegis of Rhodes University, and has a regional office in Braamfontein. Grahamstown is the Head Office for the Molteno Project under Professor L W Lanham, which aims to improve the teaching and learning of English in black Primary schools, with special emphasis on reading skills. It employs a modified Breakthrough Scheme for Sub A, and has developed Bridge to English for Sub B. Language experience and child-centred methodology are stressed in the Bridge to English package, which aims to provide initial English teaching for pupils and teachers of Sub B to Standard 2. This project operates in areas of the Transkei, Lebowa, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Kwa-Zulu and the Western Cape.

I.N.S.E.T. (In-service Education and Training) is one of the many concerns of the 1820 Monument organisation, which is also based in Grahamstown. I.N.S.E.T. came into being in 1983, with the general aim of assisting teachers of English as a second language.

I.N.S.E.T. now employs two full-time educational officers with post-graduate ESL training and experience, and is currently equipping an ESL resource centre. Teaching materials have been adapted to meet the syllabus and the classroom requirements, and original materials developed for the teaching of prescribed books. There is school-based training for Secondary ESL teachers in the Albany area, and conference/workshop in-service training for ESL teachers from the Eastern Cape, Ciskei and the Transkei.

Sached's (South African Council for Higher Education) organisation is described in depth in Chapter 2.

Research literature.

ESL in South Africa can be divided into 3 phases, namely, the missionary phase, Bantu Education and the post Bantu Education or intervention phase.

Lodge (1983) states: "Before 1955 most African schooling was run by missionary societies. Schools could qualify for state financial aid if they registered with the Provincial Education Department. Registration required conforming to syllabuses laid down by the Department but the day-to-day administration of the school was in the hands of a school manager or superintendent, usually a white missionary. Schools which did not receive a government subsidy determined their own syllabuses and trained their own teachers" (p. 366). In this elitist phase the numbers of black scholars who reached High school or university were so small that intensive teaching from highly motivated, native speakers of English was possible.

In 1955, the Bantu Education Act transferred control over black education to a government department. During this phase, also known as the mass education phase, the teaching of English was taken over by black teachers. Thembela (1984) writes: "pupils began to come from families who were at various levels of transition from traditionalism to modernism. The heterogeneity of social background of the pupils made it very difficult for the teachers to uphold a consistent value system. The teachers themselves did not understand the educational implications of the social dynamics because of their own background and poor qualifications. The consequence of this situation was that school education became concerned merely with the imparting of bare facts of the subject matter which were hardly related in any way with

the daily lives of the people" (p. 30).

Thembela also mentions social and cultural factors which affect black education: "The Western societies school education promotes middle class norms. Pupils from the lower classes have always found it difficult to do as well as pupils who come from middle class homes. Black people in South Africa not only come from a culture in transition, but are also at the bottom of the South African social structure, which happens to be determined by race as well" (p. 31).

Ivan Reid (1978) notes that poor areas have poor schools, and adds that: "given that schooling and examinations represent in large measure the dominant culture of society, working class culture can contextually be viewed as relatively deficient to the extent that it is not as directly related to these particular institutions as middle class culture" (p. 199).

Speaking of EPA areas, Bernstein (1971) notes that: "all that informs the child, that gives meaning and purpose to him outside of the school, ceases to be valid or accorded significance and opportunity for enhancement within the school. He has to orient towards a different structure of meaning, whether it is in the form of reading books...in the form of language use and dialect, or in the patterns of social relationships" (p. 65). Bernstein and Reid refer to English working class children. For the majority of blacks in South Africa the problems are compounded by the fact that the medium of instruction is a language not their own: it is also a language which neither they nor their teachers use outside the classroom.

Thembela (1984) mentions a specific cultural difficulty: "Whereas all

societies accept obedience to and respect for authority as a virtue, traditional black societies have absolutised these norms. A child is expected to obey his supervisors without question...In a school situation this tends to suppress creativity, initiative and originality. In classroom practice this is translated into rote learning and teacher-centred instruction" (p. 32). Like much of black culture, this aspect is in rapid transition, but still has a bearing in rural areas.

The third phase is known as the post-Bantu education or the intervention phase. Bantu education caused much resentment, and had a low success rate. That changes are being initiated is evidenced by the Education and Training Act of 1979, and the 1981 De Lange Commission's probe of education in South Africa, which emphasised the critical importance of linguistic skills. In the Cape Times of October 6, 1982, De Lange himself stated: "that there is no doubt that a single, macro-level education policy aimed at parity and relevance is on the way." However, many researchers believe that equality of educational provision will not be a panacea or an automatic passport to better earnings for those on the bottom rung of the social ladder. Bill Nasson (1984) comments that through the 50's, 60's and 70's it has been "an important truism that lack of education inhibits the occupational prospects and earnings of vast numbers of people. Deprivation, unemployment...and low status could all be countered as long as the poor are given unlimited access to educational resources of good quality. Right up to the 80's, this optimistic belief has informed Third World investment in education, even though expanded schooling had proved largely ineffective as a weapon against income inequality and poverty in Britain and the United States" (p. 1).

This view is echoed by the 1975 report of an Australian Government

Commission of Inquiry into Poverty and Education: "Our investigation of the outcomes of schooling has revealed that success in school and in the competition for rewarding careers is largely determined by such factors as social class, ethnic background and geographic location. Far from being a way out for poor people, schools act as a sorting, streaming mechanism, helping to maintain the existing distribution of status and power" (p. 227).

V B Galloway's 1983 article in the Modern Language Journal sets forth the goals of many interventionists. He feels that "restructuring teacher-student relationships can maximise practice time while increasing attention and involvement, reducing tension and inhibition for students... Efforts must be aimed at helping teachers become more effective at contextualising language activity, and at converting course to resource. Focus must be shifted from the table of contents to the desired outcomes of instruction in terms of student performance" (p. 347).

In a 1984 UNISA article on black English in South Africa, A Mawasha writes: "What is needed at the moment is not a teaching corps of mother tongue English teachers but rather teaching strategies and material geared towards teaching larger classes and to be utilised by non-native speakers of English. This is a realistic approach to a real problem" (p. 16).

Patrick Charadeau's work calls for a new attitude towards the learner and his needs, which will result in a "functional and communication approach. There is a new social situation owing to the growth of the school population and the number of people requiring training: its main characteristic is a change in the symbolic social function of education. The institutional character of education is no longer the same, and differs from one cultural context to another. In some countries the task

may be to promote an active form of learning by participating, in others, social customs will require teaching to be conceived as a 'show'. The approach will depend ultimately on the society's image of the role and power of the word" (1983, p. 33).

Inter-cultural issues receive attention. Hughes-Daeth (1984) states that "structural drills are so much part of the teaching habits of these teachers that they should be kept. We do not wish to frighten our teachers away with a completely foreign methodology...but to create an awareness that there must be an extension from these pre-communicative activities (drills) to communicative activities to complete the task."

Interventionists do not see their efforts as a panacea, as the deep causes for the problems they face originate in the socio-economic-political (macro) sphere outside the classrooms.

Bill Nasson (1984) states: "for many of those most disadvantaged, educational opportunities continue to represent the greatest hope for individual mobility. Lack of education will undoubtedly destroy life chances and opportunities at an individual level. To ignore the merits of an interim strategy which brings expanding remedial resources, special programmes to improve the learning rates of children from low-income families, and drastically improved teacher-training programmes, is to deny the possible fulfilment of human needs and human will" (p. 15).

This study concerns an 'interim strategy' to provide remedial resources in the crucial field of English language learning.

CHAPTER 2

THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

S.A.C.H.E.D.- national and regional organisation.

The South African Committee for Higher Education (SACHED) is a private non-profit organisation, which came into being in 1959. Sached's formation came as a response to The Extension of Universities Education Act which became law in 1959, which closed white universities to all black students and provided for the establishment of ethnic university colleges. Initially, the aim of the organisation was to provide access to alternative tertiary education for young, black people, which would be outside the apartheid framework, but within the law.

The project originated in Johannesburg, and now has additional branches in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahamstown and Durban/ Pietermaritzburg. In a policy statement, Sached's Director, Mr John Samuel stated: "The guiding concept in the movement for life-long education is that education should be made available with maximum flexibility, to assist all individuals wishing to respond to whatever opportunity or demand that presents itself at any stage of their lives."

This 'maximum flexibility' has resulted in the development of a variety of projects that have, over the years, broadened and diversified Sached's scope.

Below is a list of Sached's projects, and the names of the Board's trustees:

Projects of the Sached Trust:

Bursary Project, Labour and Community Resources Project, Publishing, Upbeat, Turret Correspondence College, Teachers' Resources.

Sached Trustees:

Dr E P Bradlow, Bishop D Tutu, Archbishop P Butelezi, Bishop M Buthelezi, T W Kambule, Professor G R Bozzoli, G Pitje, Dr E Maurice, Ms A Moore, A Morphet, D Cobbett, Dr K Hofmeyr, Dr K Ginwala, D Adler, M Mayler (Trust Secretary).

Unmentioned is the Khana College Project, which is to come into operation in January 1986. This college, in association with the University of Indiana, will provide first-year level courses for full-time students from all over South Africa at campuses in Johannesburg and Cape Town. There will be an initial intake of 80 students as a pilot project. In the paper which was circulated inviting applications for posts at this college, it was stated that the "college will seek to relate and locate university education in the context of South African reality" ... and that "Project Heads are to initiate and implement programmes which enhance the critical faculties of students and sensitise them to the needs of the community."

The Bursary Project refers to the assisting of students studying for UNISA degrees. There are no cash grants. The assistance is in the form of tutorials, library facilities, textbooks and study premises. Upbeat refers to a monthly magazine for young, black readers. Apart from the aim of improving English skills, the magazine hopes "to give black children the opportunity to build up a world picture that encompasses values, histories, attitudes and modes of living and operating other than only the 'Western' patterns." Because of financial constraints, circulation was fixed at 40 000; it is estimated that the magazine reaches 2½ million readers.

Sached has also published READ WELL and WRITE WELL (with accompanying Teachers' Handbook) which are textbooks designed to help ESL teachers. The newest publication is Chalk and Talk, a journal put out by the newly-established Teachers' Resource Centre in Johannesburg.

The Labour Education and Community Resources (L.A.C.O.M.) is a growth point in Sached's programme. There are training programmes for trade union officials; basic book keeping and Treasurers' courses for shop stewards and factory committees; and formation of co-operatives, book keeping and administration for community workers.

The Joint Matriculation Board (JMB) project is a major programme at all centres. It caters for working adults seeking matriculation certification. Sached believes that blacks regard the JMB matric has having high academic status, and as being free of the taint of 'Bantu education'. For R40,00 per subject, working adults are provided with Turret Correspondence College work books, a place to study, and tutorials. The entry requirement is a Standard 8 certificate.

Sached's Head Office and administrative centre is situated in Johannesburg. The budget for 1983 was R1 289 202,00 and the chief financial contracts for that year were World University Services; Misereereor; Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation and the Chairman's Fund. The Board of Trustees meets four times a year. Regional Directors of each Sached branch also travel to Johannesburg four times a year for discussions of general policy. However, each branch enjoys considerable autonomy, and the different centres show great variation in size and in the scope and emphasis of their programmes.

For example, Cape Town has 10 full-time staff members, 33 tutors, a part-

time counsellor and librarian. They are able to provide residential weekend workshops, and their film unit has produced films which they have been able to sell to overseas T.V. stations.

Sached's Grahamstown branch.

The Regional Director is the only full-time member of staff, and there are 11 tutors. There are 22 UNISA students, and 11 people in the JMB programme. The majority of these students are full-time teachers in Grahamstown's black schools. The offices are situated at 135A High Street, which is an old Settler house. A shop occupies the front of the building, with Sached's quarters tucked behind, the only access being down a side alley. The premises consist of the Director's office - a small room which houses both the photocopier and the library. There is one large room, which can seat 16 people, and two small tutorial rooms. The kitchen (which has one cold water tap) is sometimes pressed into service as a tutorial room when all other space is taken. There is also a disused bathroom, and one toilet. The building is dilapidated, and the electric wiring system is unpredictable. Yet visitors from the sophisticated Sached centres of Cape Town and Johannesburg consistently remark that the atmosphere is snug, cosy and home-like. Being so close to Rhodes University, tutors pop in for a chat, as do a variety of other people engaged in community work. The rooms are usually occupied by students studying singly or in groups, and the kitchen, equipped with a large table and chairs, sees heavy use. The Director maintains a supply of tea, coffee, sugar and milk. Students bring packaged lunches, and, during school holidays or periods of school closures they spend the whole day at Sached. Towards examination time, the building is heavily utilised over the week ends as well. The Director furnished Sached on

a shoe string budget. Curtains were home made, desks bought at auction sales and trestle tables carpentered by a Rhodes University Mathematics tutor. However, everything is clean, comfortable and convenient, and stacking chairs facilitate quick and easy group formation, even in the confined space.

Reid (1978) notes that researchers neglect to mention the material environment: "While not prescribing how schools, teachers and children function, the buildings, their facilities and equipment certainly affect them" (p. 45).

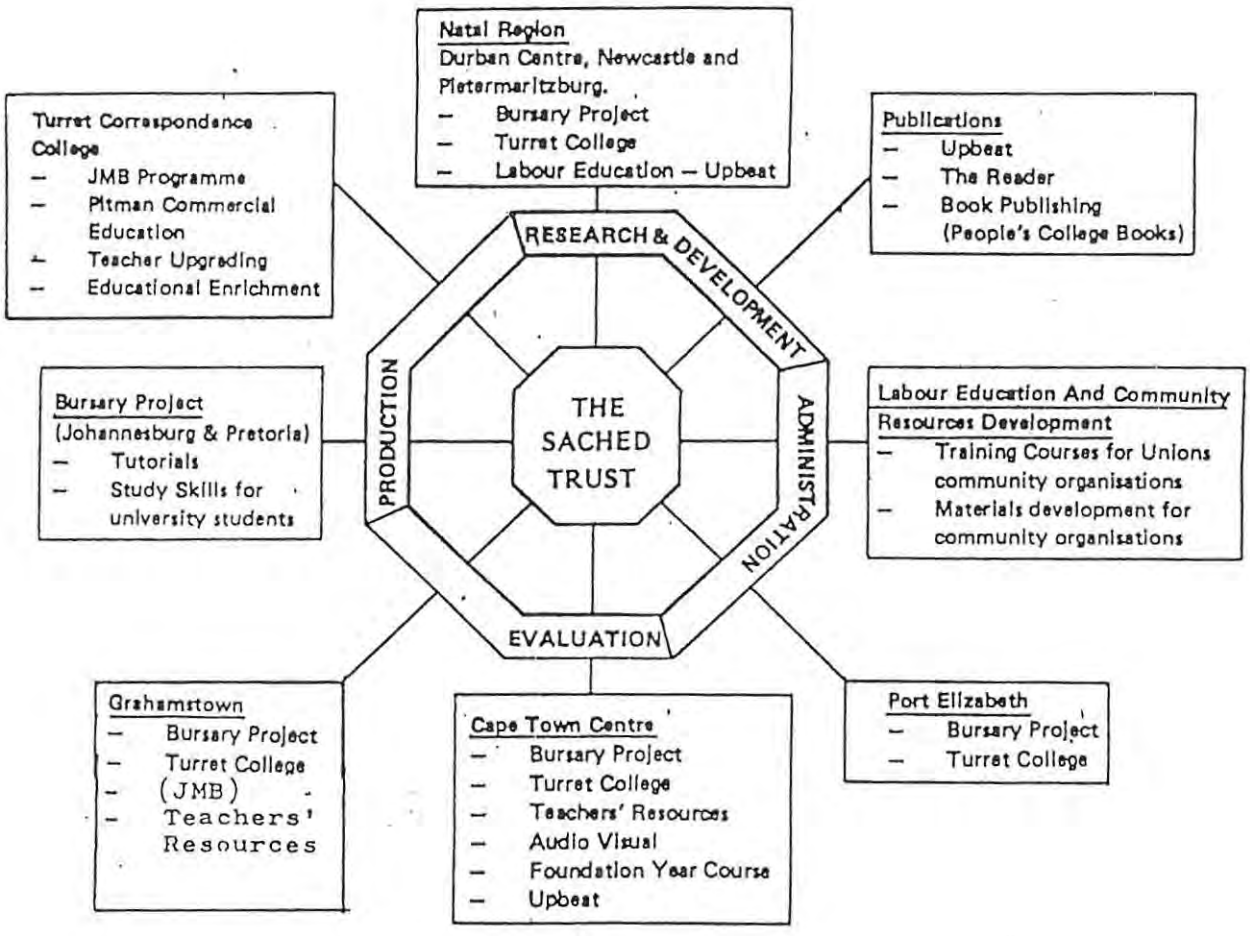
The tutors are appointed by the Director, and those who do not fit in with Sached's caring, affirmative style have been eased out and replaced. It is not easy to describe ambience, particularly when it is multi-faceted. Sached is a true learning environment, giving quiet and space to those whose home conditions can supply neither of those commodities. The kitchen area has the atmosphere of a club or a secure hideaway where blacks can meet in a safe and relaxed atmosphere. During the times of unrest, black teachers use Sached as a haven and a refuge from the conflicting pressures to which they are subjected. Students say that their association with Sached is valued because they are treated with respect and friendliness.

Unlike most of Sached's other centres, Grahamstown has no LACOM programme.

Grahamstown's Sached branch is four years old, and it has been a struggle for the Director to establish the climate of trust which Sached now enjoys. In September 1984 the ownership of 135A High Street changed hands. So far, there has been no threat of eviction. In 1985, Sached took a year's lease on another room on the top floor of 94 High Street. The plan was to use this room as a Teachers' Resource Centre, and to house

approximately R5000,00 worth of television, video and video camera equipment which have been donated to the TRC by the British Council and the Canadian Government.

THE SACHED TRUST PROJECTS



The participants.

Those black teachers who teach above the level of Standard 2, "officially" use English as the medium of instruction. Proficiency in English of teachers and students therefore has across-the-curriculum relevance.

The general unrest in black schools (at the time of writing) is eloquent testimony to the crisis in black education. According to Sached's estimates, 1983 was the fourth successive year in which about 50% of pupils failed their matriculation examination, and many of those who do manage to gain access to a university find themselves incapable of handling the demands of work at that level. On the one hand there is massive black unemployment, and on the other hand there is a critical shortage of skilled people, and expensive overseas recruiting occurs.

Black children seldom enter the education system equipped with the same knowledge as their white counterparts. It is estimated that 60% of all adult blacks are illiterate, and illiterate parents are unable to provide adequate informal educational experiences. Hopson and Scally (1981) state: "It is easy to see how much learning occurs...from television; at home; from magazines; comics; newspapers; restaurants; from holidays and travel; from colleagues and workmates; from church and community groups; in leisure activities with others; and from special interest groups like literary and music circles, canoe clubs, philatelist groups, pigeon fanciers, debating societies, Cubs, Scouts and Guides and so on" (p. 44).

Black parents have no access to many of these informal learning contacts, and the lack manifests itself in a lack of 'school readiness' when black children enter school.

The issue of the effects of poverty on language development is contentious, but writing on the language of children reared in poverty, Ovando (1982) states that conditions of poverty: "poor residential areas, high unemployment rates, health problems, marital and social instability, and rejection by mainstream culture are blamed for lagging language development. The style of communication in poor families tends not to be the interactive discourse that plays such an important role in children's language development and in their later school achievement" (p. 150).

Once in the system, the disadvantages mount. According to Sached's Johannesburg-based research division, in the better schools of Soweto the pupil-teacher ratio is 42:1. In poorer areas it is much higher. Schools are over-crowded and under-equipped, and there are often few suitable textbooks and teaching materials. The Department of Education and Training itself states that fewer than 30% of black students have a desk and lamp for home study.

The circumstances of black teachers are equally gloomy. 1983 Sached figures estimate that 78% of black teachers are under-qualified and 69% have not even passed matric. These under-trained teachers face a succession of 6 or more classes per day with over 40 in each class, in a language which is not their own, and which they seldom have an opportunity to speak outside the classroom. Parents blame teachers for high failure rates, and in times of unrest, teachers are accused of being 'sell-outs'. The teachers themselves entertain doubts about the system in which they are working and they encounter abuse from both pupils and parents.

These constraints and pressures, among others, influence the teaching

of black teachers. Macdonald's (1981) study has shown that: "Black teachers do nearly all the talking in black classrooms, that the teaching style is authoritarian, with direct teacher instruction to the pupils, and pupil participation and initiative being limited very often to rote memorisation" (p. 36).

The teachers model themselves on their own school experience in which they were passive and deferential learners, and where their teachers were engaged in 'packing in the factage' and their role as learners was sitting down and keeping quiet.

It is possible that cultural factors are involved in the passive and uncritical learning style which is so common. In Africa Insight, Vol 14 No 2 of 1984, Elliot mentioned that his research revealed that more than half of the medical students at Ga-Rankuwa's Medical University of South Africa still believed in witchcraft. He wrote: "The possibility arises that adherence to superstitious beliefs may inhibit some aspects of cognitive development, stifling curiosity. Surely there is a danger that a questioning approach, so characteristic of the scientific tradition, may be blighted" (p. 16).

In the compact and intimate life of a collective society with set beliefs and 'received wisdom', the recognition of separated identity becomes blurred.

Andrew Tracey, Director of the International Library of African Music at Rhodes University, believes that his intimate knowledge of African music gives him a direct line into black thinking. In an interview with the writer, he quoted an Nguni proverb: "umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu". Roughly translated this means: "to an African, a person is a person only by virtue of other people". This is in contrast to Western culture where

the accent is on individualism.

In people who are not conscious of their unique and separate identity, the present becomes a mere link between the past and future - they experience themselves as dependent on external forces. But awareness of one's unique aloneness and the recognition that time is absolutely limited for each of us, is what gives rise to creative innovative thinking, an intellectual venturesomeness, and a willingness to take charge of oneself and one's life.

Hopson and Scally (1981) state that: "dependency is learned at a very early stage, and takes a great deal of unlearning, if ever it can be. A dependent attitude to learning has far ranging effects. 'It is somebody else's responsibility that I learn' is the first step to 'it is somebody else's responsibility that I eat, am clothed, and housed, that my children are provided for', and so on" (p. 49).

This dependent attitude with regard to providing for children points to another factor which may be viewed as culture lag in a society in transition. Very large families, both necessary and manageable in an agricultural rural traditional setting, with extended family links, are no longer appropriate in an urban setting.

Demographic realities cannot be overlooked. Conservative projections tell us that 270 000 new job seekers enter the market each year. In order to achieve parity with whites in the pupil-teacher ratio of 30:1 by the year 2000, about 250 000 black teachers would have to be trained - clearly an impossible task. The resources of any country are limited, and the pressure of ballooning numbers dilutes any progress made. Unless blacks begin to limit the size of their families, it will indeed be a race between education and catastrophe.

For those wishing to intervene in some aspect of black education, these residual elements of traditional culture cannot be ignored.

All the factors mentioned above are compounded in Grahamstown by the under-development and poverty in the Eastern Cape in general, and Grahamstown in particular. According to figures obtained in an interview with GADRA's Chairman, 40 000 people in Grahamstown are poor by any standards, and half of those live below the poverty datum line. Grahamstown is close to the impoverished Ciskei, and people trying to escape from there to metropolitan areas are prevented from doing so by influx control, and get 'bottle-necked' in the townships here. Half of Grahamstown's black population are children under 15, 1 in 10 is aged, and there are 2 000 disabled black people. 60% of employable blacks are unemployed, and malnutrition and tuberculosis are rife. Grahamstown has very little industry, and domestic work is the chief source of employment. This poverty is reflected in most of Grahamstown's black schools which lack space, equipment and suitable teaching materials.

A classroom crammed with heavy desks, and a period of only 35 minutes militate against group work and peer learning. In addition, black students, conditioned by years of passive learning, tend to regard their teachers as being the only fount of knowledge. Teachers stepping outside this framework could be regarded with suspicion as 'not being a proper teacher'.

Thus, black pupils depend on teacher and textbook for acquiring English skills. Teacher deficiencies have been mentioned, and there are problems with the textbooks. Administrative snarls sometimes mean that the textbooks arrive late, and in insufficient numbers. There have been some recent improvements, but by and large, the books are unsuitable, or at best, uninspiring, and an uncongenial mode of presentation has an

adverse effect on pupils' learning attitudes toward the language they must acquire to pass their examinations.

Field notes concerning one of the participating TRC teachers serve to illustrate some of these factors which affect the working lives of black teachers.

Profile of Ella:

Ella is a single parent, head of the household, and sole wage-earner of an extended family of eight. She has four children of her own, and four other dependents, including an elderly and disabled aunt. Ella has a matriculation certificate and had two years of teacher training. She mentioned that she had few opportunities to speak English outside the classroom during her education, and that her students never speak English outside the environs of school. She says that her school does have a library, but complains that her students never read.

Ella herself has "no time to read." She has intermittent child-minding problems, and in May this year, a three-year old child of the household swallowed paraffin. The child was rushed to hospital in a critical condition, but survived.

Ella teaches English to Standard 10 at a Secondary school, where her duties include teaching Thomas Hardy's Mayor of Casterbridge to a class of 60. Apart from the usual tasks of marking and preparation, Ella helps to train the school choir. She is involved with a women's group connected with her church. Family members help with domestic chores, but Ella is responsible for the management of the household, and shopping for food. She has no transport of her own.

In spite of this awesome workload, Ella decided to join Sached's UNISA programme, and to attend the TRC. After 4 sessions, Ella dropped out of both programmes when her daughter in Standard 7 had a baby, bringing the number of her dependents to nine.

Research methodology.

"Action research is small-scale intervention in the functioning of the real world and a close examination of the effects of such intervention" (Cohen and Manion, 1980).

Action research falls within the Hermeneutic-dialectical tradition, and is variously described as idiographic, qualitative or interpretive. Action researchers see human actions as continuously recreating social life, and take the phenomenological view that reality is a social construct. Their aim is holistic understanding, their focus is on process in a natural setting, and their theory arises from the data, leading to change or improved practice in a specific situation. In times of rapid change, the qualitative and relatively unfettered approaches can deal with constantly changing people, and non-precise phenomena.

Action researchers start with a broadly defined area and some sensitising concepts. They move from reconnaisance into the spiralling sequences of action, reflection and formative evaluation. (For a diagrammatic representation of these sequences, see Appendix II.)

Advantages of action research.

The feedback cycle of formative evaluation means that new insights can give rise to shifts as the work progresses, and there can be progressive

focusing as the key issues emerge. Theories that emerge from interpretative research are rooted in and arise from the actual data, in accordance with Glaser and Strauss' (1967) Grounded Theory. These data-based insights will form "small, slow additions to a growing body of considered experience" (p. 67).

Action research affords the researcher an opportunity to integrate theory, research and practice, and necessitates an understanding of the power structures of the setting. The assumptions of all participants come up for scrutiny, and the "hidden curricula" are exposed. Action research places the researcher right within his work, and from this vantage point, he tries to get "inside the skin" of all aspects of the situation, as well as that of all participants.

Disadvantages of action research.

There may be large amounts of difficult-to-analyse data, and learning the participant culture, as well as negotiating the research bargain, may be time consuming, and there is a danger that there will be a mismatch of expectations between researcher and participants, or that the researcher will lack the skills to fit into the setting.

Other dangers are that the meaning of an act has one meaning for the actor, and another meaning for the researcher, or the researcher might impose conceptual order upon empirical chaos.

Unintended outcomes which may prove harmful, or have unlooked-for effects are a risk that action researchers must face, as well as severe strain as the researcher tries to straddle the areas of participant and observer. There are no built-in guarantees of reliability and

validity, and very little commitment to generalisation.

With regard to the question of reliability and validity, this disadvantage may be at least partially countered by triangulation, which Cohen and Manion (1980) define as "the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour" (p. 208). These writers list 6 types of triangulation used in research, one of which is called 'Investigator Triangulation'. This "refers to the use of more than one observer (or participant) in a research setting" (p. 213).

Action research is not always regarded as academically respectable. The procedures and methods are relatively amorphous, providing only a weak structure for the work; this weak structure, the fact that action research is non-replicable and the previously mentioned factors, have sometimes caused ethnogenic research to be labelled 'soft science' or 'journalism'.

Finally, writing on the particular problems of research on planned organisational change, Hoyle (1970) states: "Fundamentally, the problem lies in the choice between 'pure' and applied (action, operational) research. The former may supply verified but useless knowledge; the latter unverified but relevant knowledge. This is the dilemma which faces the social scientist who would act as a change agent" (p. 22).

CHAPTER 3

BACKGROUND TO THE WORKSHOPS

Flexibility is one of the strengths of action research, which has, as one of its tenets, that there be no predetermined focus. In this study, what started as an idea of general assistance to black teachers of English, emerged through time and progressive modification as an attempted innovation concerning both the form and content of the methodologies of participating teachers. Nisbet's (1974) definition of the word 'innovation' refers "to any new policy, syllabus, method or organisational change which is intended to improve teaching and learning" (p. 2). Using the term 'curriculum' in the broad sense (see Glossary) any attempted innovation involves curriculum change. Stenhouse (1973) describes two kinds of curriculum change: "Curriculum renewal is a matter of updating materials, of keeping pace with developments of knowledge and techniques of teaching. Curriculum innovation involves changes in the premises of teaching - its aims and values - and consequent changes in the teacher's thinking and classroom strategies" (p. 11). The Sached workshops, and the combined Sached-Inset workshops started as curriculum renewal, but the process of the project brought the realisation that long term benefits necessitate curriculum innovation.

General consideration of change.

Hoyle (1975) defines planned change as "a deliberate and collaborative process involving a change agent and a client system which are brought together to solve a problem, or, more generally to plan and attain an improved state of functioning and applying valid knowledge" (p. 296).

In this study, the "change agent" was the writer, initially alone, and later as part of the INSET team. The "client system" was just over 100 black teachers of English from the Eastern Cape, Transkei and Ciskei, and the "problem" was, and is, across-the-curriculum difficulties with English experienced by black students. The "improved state of functioning" that was planned was an attempt to help teachers reach the necessary competence to enable them to develop in their students the functional language needed for all areas of the curriculum. The "valid knowledge" was the promotion of the communicative approach to ESL language teaching, which is the current state of the art.

It is a truism to state that educational institutions are resistant to change. After over two decades of curriculum development in Britain, it is significant that the Open University's (1975) reader on Curriculum Innovation should contain, in the introduction, the warning that "anyone contemplating jumping on the bandwagon of innovation should consider its potentialities as a hearse."

The Sached project.

On 28 November 1983, a meeting was held with three Grahamstown black ESL teachers of some standing - the Headmistress of a Lower Primary school, the Deputy Headmaster of an Upper Primary school and a senior teacher of English at a Secondary school. The workings of a TRC were explained and discussed, and the idea was well received, with the teachers pressing for the Centre to serve all Standards from Standard 3 upwards. With a part-time staff of one, the decision was taken to start with teachers of Standards 6, 7 and 8 early in 1984, with the hope of including teachers of Standard 5 at a later time.

Sached's large tutorial room was made available as the venue for the TRC workshops, with the teachers having access to the ESL reference library. This library consisted of 150 books by the first quarter of 1984. These books were donated by the British Council and the J W Jagger bequest. The British Council also donated T.V. and video equipment, and the Canadian embassy donated a video camera with accompanying video set.

Although it is not Sached's policy to co-operate with the Department of Education and Training (DET), the Regional Director of Sached called on the Circuit Inspector of the DET, Mr Theron, to inform him of the project, as his permission would be necessary for future evaluative classroom observation of participating teachers. Sached's Head Office was informed of this visit, but made no comment. Mr Theron's comments were that his teachers of English needed all the help they could get, but he doubted whether any teachers would attend on a voluntary basis. He also said that each visit to any school under DET control would require special written permission from Mr Merbold, Regional Director of Education and Training.

The writer had hoped to field test new ESL teaching materials in the classrooms of Grahamstown's black schools, but in view of Sached's policy, the decision was taken to rely on teacher-feedback for evaluation; this was later found to be unsatisfactory. Planning the assessment of educational innovations is problematic. An example is quoted in Corbett's (1975) study concerning the Schools Council - the major innovation body in education in Britain. She quotes the Council's Research Director, Professor J Wrigley, as saying: "that if the Council had stopped to work out fundamental problems - criteria for development, the role of

evaluation...it would never have got off the ground" (p. 92).

Perhaps the fact that attendance of the 19 Sached workshops was entirely voluntary was the most significant feature of the project. There were no records of attendance, and no official recognition given to those who did attend. The workshops took place after school hours. There are possible implications for this voluntary attendance. The Karmel report (1973) states: "The effectiveness of innovation...is dependent on the extent to which the people concerned perceive a problem and hence realise the existence of a need" (p. 125). Voluntary attendance was in contrast to all the combined Sached-Inset workshops and the Transkei project, where teachers were obliged to attend. Those workshops took place during working hours, having been arranged in consultation with the education authorities concerned, so that there was a degree of coercion.

Chin (1967) lists 3 strategies of change. When change occurs via the deliberate restructuring of the situation by a superordinate having the necessary authority, it is categorised as power-coercive. Normative-re-educative strategy is concerned with changing people - their perceptions, attitudes and behaviours, by group techniques. The rational-empirical approach is characterised by Chin in the following terms: "The primary task is seen as one of demonstrating through the best known method the validity of the new mode in terms of the increased benefits to be gained from adopting it" (p. 295). Thus, at the centre of this third strategy, is the concern of all parties to resolve a particular problem, and the belief that people respond rationally to the demonstrated superiority of an innovation over previous practice.

The workshops took the form of group discussions and peer teaching of materials based on the communicative approach, so that aspects of both

the normative-re-educative and rational-empirical approaches to change were employed.

The teaching materials consisted of a total of 40 teaching packs, and 45 related wall posters. Each 'pack' consists of a large brown envelope with a sample worksheet pasted to the front, and containing 55 copies for students, and a teacher's guide. Each guide suggests several student activities based on provided visuals or other material, as well as language games and suggestions for group work. The packs were not regarded as finished products. The hope was that there would be considerable teacher feedback and input, and that the combined ideas of teachers and researcher would be honed by discussion and field-testing.

Rationale of the communicative approach to ESL.

Among both practising language teachers and applied linguists there is an increasing awareness that successful second-language learning is far more a matter of unconscious acquisition than of conscious, systematic study. Krashen (1981) goes so far as to say that: "The major function of the second-language classroom is to provide intake for acquisition" (p. 53). Just how this acquisition occurs probably varies from individual to individual, but Andrews (1984) describes the process this way: "It seems that what actually happens is that the human brain has a system for recognising situations, and then correlating the situations with the words that are being used by others at the time. After several encounters with the situation and the new word, the person may try the new word out - feedback from the people he is trying the new word out on, guides him to the word's acceptable usage, and tells him if he has got it wrong or only nearly right" (p. 57). This necessity for the learner "talking to learn", adjusting his attempts by feedback, was

recognised by Lennenberg as early as 1967. He wrote: "Language learning appears to be a process that involves not only the acquisition of symbols and their meaning, but the induction, testing and application of underlying principles, a procedure analogous to scientific investigation" (p. 135). The inter-active requirements of language learning are also stressed by Long (1981) who states that "the system of language is acquired through meaningful experiences and conversational exchanges rather than through practice of isolated structures and forms" (p. 259).

Black teachers rely heavily on the teaching of isolated structures and prescriptive listen-repetition drills, or teacher-made dialogues which are repeated by students. These activities may teach the structures, but stop short of allowing the pupils to use the structures for communicative purposes. Pupils are denied the opportunity to say an interesting 'something' to an interested 'somebody'. They are not mentally involved in what they are hearing or saying; there is no personal investment in the activity.

Twenty years ago, Prator (1965) had decided that the audio-lingual approach failed to get learners to communicate in the target language. He suggested that teachers would have to begin to move their students from manipulation to communication by devising drills and exercises that were more creative than the usual audio-lingual procedures.

Breen and Candlin (1980) describe "the learner's role within a communicative methodology as negotiator between the self, the learning process and the object of learning...the implication for the learner is that he should contribute as much as he gains, and thereby learn in an interdependent way" (p. 112). Savignon's (1972) findings were that language classes doing communicative activities achieve higher levels of perform-

ance than classes using audio-lingual materials.

Thus, the broad aims of the materials were to move the teachers towards regarding themselves as resource persons or as floating consultants, available to working groups, rather than merely knowledge-givers, and to move the language lesson towards interactive, context-imbedded communicative activities, rather than teacher-centred activities, and mechanical-manipulative drills.

This approach, with the focus on the pupil as learners, who must have many opportunities to experiment and make many faulty attempts to manipulate language, involves a reassessment of the role of both teacher and pupil, and has large implications for teaching method.

Group work becomes essential to maximise pupil-talk in information gap activities. Each group (for example) is given a simplified map, possibly of their own town, and is asked to give directions to a stranger who wishes to walk from a shop near the school to the Post Office. Another example would be that the group is given a weather chart of an area. The group decides what they would expect to do, and what clothes to take if holidaying in that area. Information gap means that the information being processed is first-hand. Faulty manipulation of language might be self-corrected or peer-corrected - mechanisms seen by pupils as less threatening than teacher correction in front of a large class.

This pupil activity frees the teacher to move from group to group, answering specific questions, encouraging, guiding or clarifying. At a predetermined moment, the class reconvenes and a spokesman for each group offers the group's response. The teacher can then decide whether the particular principle or rule around which the material was designed

has been understood. This inductive method, when the structure is presented last, more nearly approaches the way in which the mother-tongue is acquired. Other teaching strategies are role playing and simulation, dramatisation, dialogues and communicative games. Another important aspect of a communicative approach is that the tasks pupils are asked to perform and the materials which are provided should approach the real thing as closely as possible, a factor referred to as 'replication'. For example, a teacher might bring to class 5 objects taken from someone's room. (These items might be a football jersey, a poster of a pop star, a camera, a cassette and a hat.) Each group would be asked to say or write something about the size, age, sex and interests of the owner of the articles.

Negotiating the research bargain.

"The ethnographer must negotiate a bargain which facilitates his research. Participants may require various kinds of services in return, some minor, some more difficult and costly in terms of the research project. Decisions trading off the various considerations involved may sometimes have to be made on the spur of the moment...There is no 'natural' bargain. The bargain which emerges is simply a product of negotiations over the course of the fieldwork" (p. 163, Open University, 1979).

Perceived characteristics of innovatory methods and materials are likely to be judged differently by the change agent and the client system. According to Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) the users' first concern is with relevance. Their second concern is with "the perceived compatability of an innovation with existing values and practices in a user system" (p. 281).

Both these factors caused some bargaining and compromise over the contents and make-up of the workshops and the teaching packs. Everything had to be shown to be directly linked to the syllabus, and one of the written activities had to "prove to the inspectors that I have covered that part of the syllabus" was the remark of one of the participants. This teacher-attitude was consistent in all phases of this project, particularly among the black teachers. The coloured teachers' attitudes were more flexible, as will be mentioned later.

A specific example of necessary compromise concerned a pack developed with the purpose of developing the capacity to distinguish between fact and opinion, a capacity perceived by the researcher as valuable. The pack was rejected without examination because "this skill is not mentioned in the syllabus." The pack underwent some minor modifications, and was then placed in a new envelope with the title 'Active and Passive Voice' (an aspect which was contextually imbedded in some of the activities suggested by the materials provided). The modified pack was then accepted. Thus, the development of packs had to be shown to cover discrete, structural items which were the teachers' main concern, while emphasising the communicative value, which was the researcher's main concern.

Prator (1965) was the first to suggest that ESL teaching materials lie along a continuum, with the traditional manipulative and teacher-oriented approaches at one end, and the communicative, pupil-oriented approaches at the other. The necessary cognitive bargaining meant that at least one of the activities suggested in each pack was closer to the manipulative than the researcher would have liked. If teacher expectations were not at least partially fulfilled, they would have withdrawn, and the venture

would have folded.

The gap between teacher as "knowledge giver", lecturing passive and silent pupils, and teacher as "floating consultant" is wide, and had the compromise not been made, it is likely that the teachers would have found the methodology too foreign to their experience and have become alienated. This is not to say that the role of teacher as knowledge giver is confined to black teachers. James Ward (1984) estimates "that in the average American setting, teacher-talk amounts to 75% of classroom time" (p. 11). The aspect of possible alienation is detailed here because the materials developed at the Sached workshops were also used at the Sached-Inset workshops, the CENCE workshops and the Transkei project. Hoyle (1975), writing about innovatory materials, states that "tissue rejection" occurs when the materials are too radically new, as far as the adopting teachers are concerned (p. 336).

Establishing the research bargain also entailed telling the teachers that their evaluation of, and contribution to, the development of teaching material was hoped for, and that workshops would entail peer-teaching. It was explained that setting up the resource centre was a pilot project for Sached, and that the Regional Director would be sending monthly and quarterly reports to Head Office. It was also explained that the project would be the basis of the writer's dissertation, but that their anonymity was assured.

Differences between the reactions of black and coloured teachers.

By the end of the first workshop, it was apparent that the ESL/TRC, as originally envisaged, would need adaptation, as would the attitudes of the participant/researcher. What had not been foreseen was the tremendous

range of competence in the attending teachers, or that this range would fall along racial lines. The coloured teachers showed an immediate grasp of the 'why' and 'what' of the materials. Two had brought teaching aids of their own design to the second workshop and one had 'extended' one of the teaching packs in an effective way. They were willing to teach unseen new packs, and did so with flair. Unlike the black teachers, they had access to tape recorders and copying machines, and Mr S had prepared his own lesson, incorporating the principles of the communicative approach, based on a popular song.

At the other extreme, we had black teachers who made heavy weather of the material (designed for Standard 8) and it was clear that this was their first encounter with the communicative approach, and probably any approach other than that of passive listening to chalk and talk.

These teachers were frank about their lack of confidence in their own English language competence - and stressed that their pupils felt so unconfident that they were reluctant to speak in English at all. During the course of some of those first 'lessons' it was observed that reading was slow, with a tendency to become fixated on individual words and sentences, at the expense of obtaining an overall understanding of the text, and some of the participants found difficulty in expressing themselves orally, as well as in the brief written answers which were required. The black teachers were unwilling to teach a pack - remarking, "this is my first time at a workshop" or "let S do it, he makes us laugh". Although the atmosphere at the early workshops was friendly and almost festive, it seemed that the black teachers were slightly over-awed by the presence of the coloured teachers.

Consultations and counselling.

This awkward situation resolved itself in an unexpected way. With the

exception of Mr S, who seemed to have a special relationship with the black teachers, the coloured teachers chose to use the TRC in a different way. They would call in after school, to borrow reference books, to return packs and look over new packs and posters, and to ask for an appointment to consult privately. These interviews would start with the discussion of ESL teaching but it became obvious that a range of personal matters needed a sympathetic hearing. Mrs Y's car was attacked on Raglan Road. Her husband and son were slightly injured. She needed to express her fear and anger about the attack, as well as her sympathy for the living conditions of her attackers. Mrs F made an appointment to discuss the feasibility of translating some of the packs into Afrikaans. When this had been dealt with, she explained her personal difficulties concerning conflicting domestic pressures. Her in-laws were pressing for a grandchild, but she and her teacher husband wished to delay having a family until they had "paid off the car and the furniture". Other consultations were more concerned with vocational guidance - for example, whether Mr C could undertake UNISA courses without neglecting school, family and church obligations - and whether Mr A's family could manage on one salary while Mrs A did a B.Ed. course at Rhodes University.

The visit of Mrs L B M Jones, National Subject Adviser (English) for Coloured Schools.

In August, 1984, the national English Subject Advisor for coloured schools, visited Grahamstown in the course of her duties. She found materials developed at Sached being used at the Mary Waters Secondary School, and later called at the Sached office. She made photocopies of all the available packs, and asked for photocopies of all future

packs, for use at other schools in her areas.

As a result of this visit, we had requests (from two schools in other areas) that packs be sent by post. 8 Packs were posted and eventually returned, but this development was cut short by the school closures which took place in September.

The Sached workshops with black teachers.

By the fifth workshop, the participants were all black teachers, with the exception of Mr S, who seemed to be very well accepted, and who very tactfully hid his light under a bushel, so that no one was over-awed. The black teachers were still unwilling to teach, so that Mr S and the writer shared the teaching role. He soon realised that a certain style was being modelled, and he was quick to conform. Indeed, his easy relationship with the black teachers, and his capacity for jokes helped to create the relaxed atmosphere that was aimed for.

Wang Cai-ren (1985) states that: "No learning is so emotionally involved as language learning, because language is such an intimate part of us and we risk having a part of us made fun of. Because of the constant interaction between the students and the teacher, and among the students themselves, their self-esteem is constantly subjected to the impact of their teachers' and their peers' words and actions" (p. 35). Establishing a climate of trust, in which teachers knew that if there was correction it would be without rejection, that they would never be subjected to ridicule, and that efforts would always be recognised and praised, was an essential part of what was modelled and preached at every workshop.

Attendance problems.

The Regional Director had warned that pressures of time affected Sached's clients, but it wasn't until discussions before and after the first workshop, that it was realised how acute that pressure was. The teachers are all employed full-time as English teachers, with huge classes involving lengthy marking and preparation time. All are husbands or wives. As more than half of those attending were women, after-school-hours domestic duties absorb much time and energy. The male teachers seem to have heavy sports commitments. In addition, all are parents, and some have complicated child-minding arrangements. At one school there was a sudden timetable change and teachers had to teach every afternoon except Wednesday, and the women teachers were reluctant to give up their only free afternoon. At some workshops, four completely new faces would appear, and it also became clear that teachers were asking colleagues to pick up teaching packs for them when they were unable or unwilling to attend. Our attendance fluctuated between four and ten, with a core of about five regulars beginning to emerge by June. It became plain that there could be no orderly progression through a planned 'course' lasting about eight months, after which those attending would be 'launched', and there could be a new intake. Our attendance problems nullified that intention. Each workshop would have to be treated as an entity, and on an ad hoc basis.

With these factors in mind, it seemed too much to expect teachers to grasp a new approach, and simultaneously produce materials based on this approach, in very limited spare time. The researcher decided to continue to produce ready-made teaching packs, obtaining teacher ideas for the step-by-step teacher's guide which accompanies each pack, though the writer was aware that harrassed teachers might choose the soft

option of the 'predigested' lesson, and that tutor-dependence might arise.

Transport problems.

Transport problems play a major part in our attendance problems. There has been consideration of taking the workshops to a black school, after school hours, but this was decided against because Sached has a definite policy that it prefers its own building to be utilised for Sached activities whenever possible. Exceptions are made - for example, laboratories at St Andrew's College have been borrowed for biology students, but Sached's premises are adequate for TRC purposes.

In March, 1984, we were visited by a Lt. Kromhoud, of the SADF, who offered to look into the provision of Army Land Rovers as transport. When this was mentioned to the teachers, they rejected the offer, saying that if they were seen in army vehicles, they would be stoned. Transport is likely to remain a problem, particularly since more than half of the buses were burnt in August. Even when the bus service was running normally, teachers used to complain that they were unreliable, crowded and dirty. The women teachers said that they were singled out for abuse by bus drivers. Miss F: "If we don't have the right change, the bus driver shouts so that everyone can hear - 'if you are a clever teacher, why can't you have the right change? Do you think I'm a bank?'"

It said much for teacher motivation that some were prepared to walk both ways. In winter, the return journey was made in the dark.

Cultural factors.

Cultural factors affected the running of the workshops. In times of rapid

change, there are collisions between modern and traditional elements of cognitive style, as well as the organisation of knowledge. Teachers are at the interface, and experience conflict as their own cultural assumptions interact with the Western cultural assumptions which underly part of the system in which they teach. The conflict causes reality to be redefined, and belief-systems come under attack.

Mr W, a Deputy Headmaster, frequently mentioned his 'modern' views, and particularly his belief in the equality of women. Yet, when Mr W wishes to attend a workshop, he always makes his way down the alley about five minutes after the workshop has begun. As he passes the tutorial room, he checks to see whether any female members of his staff are present. If there are, he moves next door to the Director's office to "discuss some urgent business." If not, he does a quick about-turn, and joins in. A reasonable guess is that he would regard being 'taught' by one of his female staff as infra dig.

Many black women have been taught to be subservient, modest and supportive, so they seek social acceptance rather than individual achievement. Consequently, they face a serious conflict when entering a career. The qualities that make them acceptable as good women in traditional terms, often undermine their self confidence and ability to assert themselves. On several occasions when only women teachers were present at a workshop, they were noticeably more forthcoming. When reasons for this factor were discussed, Miss C summed up the group's views by saying: "The men don't like it if we are better." This means that black women may be doubly hampered in esteeming themselves. As Hoffer (1963) has stated: "In underdeveloped countries the poignant awareness of backwardness keeps even the exceptional individual from attaining the 'unbought grace

of life' that is the unquestioned sense of self worth. Individual self respect cannot thrive in an atmosphere charged with racial discrimination. The oppressed are corroded by an inner agreement with the prevailing prejudice against them" (p. 93).

Cultural factors may have been involved in the difficulty experienced in getting teachers to give a critical evaluation of the materials. Teachers were 'too polite' to say anything that could be thought derogatory, or perhaps feared that the supply of packs would dry up. When pressed, teachers would present an anecdote, of which the following are typical:

> Mr W: "When I walk into the room with one of your brown packets, they move their necks (demonstrates) and they want me to hurry up and give them their papers."
>
> Mrs E "When we played that game about the mice, the children laughed till I thought the Headmaster would come."

Field notes record the following exchange between the researcher/participant and Mrs F.

> R.P.: "It would really help us if you told me which activities in that pack went well, and which were not successful."
>
> Mrs F: (admonishing tone): "In our culture we do not criticise gifts."

Valuable feedback was lost as a result, and plans were being made to make the 'price' of the next borrowed pack to be a completed questionnaire of evaluation, when the September school boycotts ended the workshops.

Dislocation in the developmental lifetasks of teachers due to school unrest.

A teacher's ability to teach English cannot be seen in isolation, divorced from the whole persona of that teacher. In 1984, the teachers had 55 working days in the classroom. At the time of writing, teachers have had 35 working days. They are the employed unemployed.

Jourard (1974) comments that if a person is coping effectively with his basic needs, his energy and thoughts are freed for other interests and other people. "When a man ceases to be a problem to himself because he has fulfilled his needs for security, love and status, he will begin to see the world in a manner which differs from the way deficiency-motivated persons see it" (p. 89).

Each human being, at every developmental stage in his life must somehow come to grips with what Gilmore (1973) has called Relationship and Aloneness or Being. She states: "At any point in a person's life, the extent to which he views himself and is viewed by others as constructively coping with life, depends heavily on what and how he is doing (work) moving (relationships) and being" (p. 5). Gilmore's chart of the Life Tasks at various developmental stages follows. (p. 6).

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES

	Infancy and Childhood	Adolescence	Early Adulthood	Middle Age	Old Age
WORK	Explore and manipulate the world around Acquire language and concepts	Help at home Cope with school work Vocational exploration	First job and/or continued education Continued vocational planning	Possible job change Re-enter school Redefine vocational aspirations Prepare for retirement	Retirement Alternatives to remunerated activity Cope with real and arbitrary limits
RELATIONSHIP	Approach others Allow others to approach Differentiate family, friends, strangers	Reciprocity or "taking role of the others" Share outside family group Sexual identity Cooperation and competition	Marriage and family Friendship Coworkers Community relations	Break-up of family with loss of children Change roles in marriage Importance of friends and coworkers	"Generation gap" Share the wisdom of experience Cope with loneliness
ALONENESS	Allow "mothering one" out of sight Stand and walk alone Separate sense of "me-ness" Self-initiated play	Uniqueness and accountability of self Relationship to higher order of meaning (Religion, Humanity, etc.)	Ability to maintain oneself and help care for others Tolerate being misunderstood Carve out personal philosophy of life	Loss of parents Meaning of physical suffering and death Continued integration of philosophy of life	Face one's own death Loss of spouse Loss of friends

The teachers who used the TRC could be compared to young adults. It is reasonable to speculate that in two areas, the teachers are being blocked in their completion of developmental tasks by the conditions that led to the boycotts in September 1984, and which have continued for most of 1985, up to the time of writing.

Firstly, in the area of work, in addition to pressures already mentioned, teachers have to spend each working day from 8 a.m. to 12 noon in the empty schools. Secondly, in the area of relationships, teachers say they are viewed by the community as 'sell-outs', or at best with suspicion.

These matters are not often mentioned by the teachers. What is discussed is matters of health, and there seems to be general ill-health among the teachers. Severe headaches, fatigue and sleeplessness are the symptoms most

frequently mentioned, followed by back-ache, chest pains and skin irritations. The discussion of visits to the doctor (Mrs T sees both a skin specialist in Port Elizabeth and a local witchdoctor, as her skin condition is so severe that she feels she may have been bewitched) is the most prominent topic of all conversations. It seems reasonable to speculate that some of this ill-health is stress-related, and that the causes of this stress are beyond the scope of ordinary counselling. In addition, there are language and cultural barriers which indicate that counsellor and counsellee should share a conceptual framework, or cosmology.

CHAPTER 4

SACHED-INSET PROGRAMME

In January 1985, the writer was approached by David Meyer, an education officer of the 1820 Foundation, concerning the possibility of joining the INSET team for a series of ESL workshops which was being planned.

Mr Meyer had joined INSET in 1983, had sat in on some of Sached's workshops, and had examined our teaching materials. His colleague, Mr David Segatle, Mr Meyer himself, and the writer, all have post-graduate ESL qualifications, and have similar views concerning the desirability of pupil-centred communicative approaches to the teaching of English as a second language. Mr Meyer assured the Regional Director of Sached that the writer would be identified as a Sached tutor, and that all materials which had originated in Sached, would bear the Sached imprint. INSET would pay the writer's travelling expenses, plus the cost of reprinting and assembly of Sached-developed materials. Head office was duly informed in January, and again in February, as the plans and negotiations for the joint venture continued.

Joining the INSET team was welcomed. The Regional Director had often expressed concern that the Sached programme had not reached black teachers in the rural areas, where she felt the need was greatest. The INSET programmes were to offer services to teachers in rural and township schools, and would thus cover the same teachers who had attended the Sached workshops. Target teachers were located in the Ciskei and the Transkei, as well as the Albany area. As the educational aims of Sached and INSET were similar, it seemed logical to pool resources.

Hoyle (1970), writing of educational innovation, states that: "in

some situations where the problem is limited and highly specific, the necessary functions could be carried out by one person but in most cases it is likely that a team would be required" (p. 12). The writer had initiated the project with the idea of offering assistance in limited and highly specific areas of ESL teaching. Experience gained in the Sached workshops had shown the problems to be deep seated and widely permeated; assistance for long-term benefits would be beyond the capabilities of one person employed on a part-time basis.

The decision for this major shift was taken against the background of unrest and uncertainty concerning school attendance. It seemed unlikely that the Sached workshops for black teachers would resume. The coloured teachers were continuing to use the resource centre in ways already described, but had the shift not been made, it was feared that the frail contact which had been established with the black teachers, would be lost.

The Sached-INSET programmes.

There were four Sached-INSET programmes between 18 March and 18 April 1985, involving contact with 100 black teachers of Standards 5, 6 and 7, and 12 teachers of Standard 10. There were two 3-day workshops in Butterworth, Transkei, and two 3-day workshops at the Monument, Grahamstown. David Meyer and the writer gave two 1-day workshops in Port Elizabeth for CENCE (the Centre for Continuing Education) which falls under the aegis of the University of Port Elizabeth.

The workshops at the Monument and CENCE.

Skilbeck (1984) states that: "it is arguable that the greatest single inhibitor of...curriculum development is the hold of public examinations...when questioned...teachers commonly blame the examinations

either directly or indirectly" (p. 4). The combined Sached-INSET workshops (which now included many of the teachers who had attended the original workshops) and the workshops held at CENCE, now consisted solely of black teachers. Their reactions were in line with Skilbeck's comments.

The team could now combine to press the teachers for evaluation of the method and materials. Workshop attendance was not voluntary, and attendance registers were kept, so that teachers could not withdraw from evaluation sessions. The teachers' own enjoyment of the demonstration lessons was evident, but when they were asked about the workability of the approach in their classroom situations, the following field notes of their comments are revealing.

"If we played word Bingo, the class would make noise and the Headmaster would come."

"These new methods take time and I might not cover the syllabus."

"These methods would encourage pupils to talk, but they only have to write, for examinations."

"Parents would be angry if they heard students were playing instead of preparing for examinations."

This almost unanimous concern with the syllabus and the examinations was acute. The team was to find precisely the same concerns expressed as the Transkei project developed, perhaps indicating that the black teachers under consideration have not emerged from the second of Beeby's 4 stages of education, a concept which is developed later in this chapter. (For Beeby's 4 stage concept, see Appendix 1.)

Skilbeck (1984) further states: "to focus on the examination issue would be to overlook structural, attitudinal and resource questions:

do teachers have the time, the capacity, the competence and the disposition to do curriculum development?" (p. 4). Based on our contact with participating teachers, the opinion of the team is that the answer to Skilbeck's questions is "no", and that teachers will need a long period of support.

The Butterworth, Transkei project.

The planning for the Transkei project followed the model for educational change described by Stufflebeam (1971) as the problem-solving, task-consultant model, with rational-empirical assumptions. This model entails "the outside change agent who seeks to help a school with a specific task, employing a cyclic, problem-solving strategy: felt need: problem diagnosis: resource retrieval: application: evaluation: restart of cycle." (p. 278).

The programme had 3 initial phases. Mr Meyer had visited Butterworth twice. During those visits, time was spent in classroom observation of some of the 40 teachers from the 10 schools in the Butterworth area, who were to be the target group. The teachers were consulted at length as to their needs and areas of difficulty. In addition, Mr Meyer negotiated with the English subject advisor for Junior Secondary schools in the Transkei, as well as with teacher-trainers, ward inspectors and the Circuit inspector. Arrangements were made with 4 of the target teachers to act as panelists and teacher demonstrators. This first phase gave the Butterworth project two advantages: There was time and opportunity for a detailed needs assessment based on direct observation, and teachers were extensively consulted. Nisbet (1974) states that: "if any innovation is to have any hope of being anything more than a passing novelty, then the teachers concerned must be in-

volved from the start" (p. 9).

Mr Meyer returned with extensive field notes, which were used as the basis for team strategy discussions, which took place throughout the last week of February and early March. His observations echoed the findings of Mr David Segatle and the writer: with a few notable exceptions, the existing approaches were teacher-centred, involving teacher-talk, chalk and textbook. Pupil-talk consisted of chorus responses and there was no opportunity for the essential multiple and possibly faulty attempts to manipulate language, because over-correction by teachers had reduced pupils' willingness to speak. Mr Meyer also noted that some classes consisted of ninety pupils, sitting four to a desk, and "sharing" 20 books or worksheets. The overall picture of the target teachers seemed to place them at the second stage, the stage of formalism, in the Beeby 4 stage model. Griffiths and Howson (1974) describe this stage as: "characterised by the highly organised state of the classroom, the rigid syllabus, the fixed textbook and the emphasis placed on inspection" (p. 63). For details of Dr Cecil Beeby's (1966) 4 stage model, see Appendix 2.

Concerning the crucial role of the teachers in any innovatory curriculum change, Griffiths and Howson (1974) state: "No matter how distinguished the members of a project team are, how carefully structured a new course is, how brilliantly the various educational media have been exploited, the success or failure of any innovation ultimately hinges on the receptiveness and flexibility of the classroom teacher" (p. 62).

As the details of the programme and the teaching materials were being thrashed out, the aspect of teacher-acceptability was given much consideration, as well as such practical concerns as expense, size of classes and lack of electricity in most schools. Finally, a programme

was set, but with general agreement that it could be adapted and modified by the dynamics of the workshops themselves.

The second phase of the Transkei programme was the Butterworth workshops, which ran from 8.00 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. and 2.00 p.m. to 5.00 p.m. daily, on March 18th, 19th and 20th. About 40 teachers from 10 schools gathered at Langeletu Junior Secondary School, which is situated 10 kms from Butterworth. Numbers varied, with some teachers arriving late or leaving early because they had to travel considerable distances, and because members of the inspectorate, and teacher trainers, came and went as their duties permitted.

After some initial stiffness and wariness, the team was enthusiastically received. The age/race/sex mix of the team (55, 35, 25: two whites, one black: two males, one female) seemed to be reassuring to the teachers, and team members were supportive of each other. Group work, discussions, dramatisations and language games kept the workshops moving. Lunch hour and tea breaks were used by the teachers for discussion of individual problems with the team members.

The great advantage of having the workshops in a school became apparent when teacher evaluations were called for. For example, a frequent comment was: "my students cannot play that game because they are not able or willing to speak English." The team's response was to request that a class be brought in for a demonstration lesson. The class could, and did, speak enough English to play the communication game with evident enjoyment, even when the Hawthorne effect of being observed by a large group of unfamiliar people was taken into account.

T.V. and video equipment which had travelled with the team was linked to a borrowed generator, and the film "Macbeth" ("Tales from Shakespeare"

is a prescribed book) was shown as a finale. The date for the follow-up visit, the third phase of the programme, was set for July. The purpose of this third phase was twofold: Teachers had requested a two-day poetry workshop, and the team would spend three days observing the classroom practice of those teachers who had attended the workshop, to obtain feedback on the effects, if any, of the March intervention.

The visit of Sached's Director, and Cape Town's Regional Director.

"The ethnographer is a marginal participant: he lives simultaneously in two worlds. This is an uncomfortable position to maintain, involving problems of physical and psychological survival, from vulnerability to physical attack...to self doubt and a sense of betrayal" (Open University (p. 163).

After each of the joint Sached-INSET programmes, a full report of the proceedings had been sent to Head Office. These reports were in addition to letters of intention which had been sent in January and February. On the 22nd April, the local Director was telephoned and told that Sached's Director, and Cape Town's Regional Director would be visiting Grahamstown on the following day. They requested a meeting with the local Director and the writer.

In a terse interview, it was said that Sached could not be seen to associate with organisations such as the 1820 Foundation or the Urban Foundation. Sached viewed such organisations as merely reformist, whereas Sached favoured action for total structural change. In their

view, the writer's association with the INSET team would damage Sached's credibility, and perhaps cause the Grahamstown premises to be burnt or stoned. Finally, it was stated that an additional education officer would be appointed, to assist with the making of future decisions with political overtones. The Sached Teachers' Resource Centre was put into abeyance.

The local Director, who had run Sached's Grahamstown branch for 4 years, felt that there had been an ideological shift at Head Office, and resigned. The writer returned to Butterworth in July with the INSET team, in a private capacity.

It became apparent that there was now a mismatch of expectations concerning the innovation, between Sached's Head Office and the Regional branch. Up to the time of the visit, Head Office had seemed to comply with our reformist perspective. After the visit, it was made plain that what Head Office had in mind was what is called in French 'l'innovation sauvage', the perspective of which Nisbet describes: "their true aim is to destroy the citadels of reaction, to clear the ground for the building of a new and better structure of education, and a new and better society" (p. 3). If those attempting 'l'innovation sauvage' are neither prepared nor equipped for the effort of building a permanent system to replace the one they seek to destroy, the question contained in the title of Nisbet's article, from which the quotation is drawn, strikes a warning note: "Innovation - Bandwagon or Hearse?" (1974).

CHAPTER 5

EVALUATION AS AN ONGOING PROCESS

Nisbet (1974), postulating that a school in crisis lacks the qualities to sustain an innovation, writes: "it may be very unwise for a school to attempt an experiment as a solution to some crisis. If there is already a feeling of tension among the staff, or between staff and students, you can be sure that this will be aggravated as the experiment gets under way" (p. 3).

It must be said at once that the best-laid schemes can go awry. Unforeseeable school closures nullified the chance of conventional evaluation of the innovation under study, for all aspects of the work other than the Transkei project. Even in the Transkei, where school attendance is normal, the curfew and state of emergency regulations may be indications of an incipient crisis situation. There can be no denial of the fact that in black education, innovatory curriculum development is urgently required; the research literature is beset with cautions that only those school systems which are enjoying "organisational health" can sustain innovations. In a situation where school unrest is likely to be endemic, it is a 'Catch 22' situation.

The extent of the unrest.

As the projects to be evaluated were attempted during a time of crisis, some detail as to the extent of that crisis must be set down. In an interview in September 1985, Mr Gunter Merbold, Director of Training and Education in the Cape Province, stated that the main problem areas in his region were Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Grahamstown, Port Alfred

and East London. He estimated the cost of damage to 150 classrooms and 30 administration blocks as R6 million. 50 000 pupils are boycotting classes. 1 360 teachers have been affected, and Mr Merbold feared that many of the more highly qualified teachers were leaving the profession because, in his words, "they can't stand it anymore."

Attempt at Investigator Triangulation.

With that said, an attempt has been made to use what Cohen and Manion (1980) describe as Investigator Triangulation, "which refers to the use of more than one observer (or participant) in a research setting. Observers and participants working on their own each have their own observational styles, and this is reflected in the resulting data" (p. 213).

1. Evaluation of the Sached workshops by two trained observers.

   Mrs Jill Helm and Mr David Meyer sat in on 1984 workshops. Mrs Helm's reaction was that the workshops were "filling an urgent need". As a direct result of her observations, she attempted to set up workshops for black teachers of Standards 1, 2 and 3. These workshops later closed because of attendance difficulties. Mr David Meyer's observation of the workshops and examination of the materials developed at Sached led to his proposal of the Sached-INSET merger.

2. Evaluation of the Sached workshops by Headmasters.

   The workshops were attended by 3 Headmasters. Mr E, principal of a coloured school, attended 6 workshops. His home language is English and he is well qualified and experienced. His pupils are

all ESL learners. When his school was able to buy their own photocopier, he photocopied all the materials, and put them into use in his school. Teachers from his school have said that he is making his own teaching packs and display materials. He calls in occasionally to look over any new material, and collect copies for photocopying.

The Headmaster of Ntsika school telephoned the Regional Director to say that since his teachers had attended the workshops, the attitude to English teaching had improved, and that "classes were livelier."

The principal of the N V Cewu school attended 3 workshops himself. He arranged to send a class and two teacher observers to Sached during school hours for demonstration lessons. This happened once, and plans were being made for weekly visits, when boycotts closed the schools in September. This single lesson gave the writer a valuable opportunity to field-test one of the teaching packs, and to model the pupil-centred approach. The Standard 7 class involved responded well to the various activities, particularly the communication game, and spoke freely. However, the unnatural setting of the lesson probably created some Hawthorne effect. The two teacher-observers remarked that, "we are surprised that they will speak English to you the stranger, when they will not speak English in our classroom."

3. Evaluation by teacher-participant (coloured).

One of the participants, Mrs Y, was doing her HDE at Rhodes University. For each of her teaching practicals, she borrowed teaching materials from us. On the first occasion she translated

the material into Afrikaans, and received a good grading from her tutor/observer. On the second occasion, she used the material to teach English with equal success.

Mrs Y stated that the materials had increased her confidence.

Below is a document obtained from one of the participating coloured teachers:

REPORT ON THE USE OF TEACHING AIDS SUPPLIED BY SACHED

The teaching aids are used for remedial work in Standards six, seven and eight.

We have found that the simple, well-illustrated exercise sheets help the pupils to understand certain difficult concepts better, sometimes without much drilling, e.g. time concept (tenses). Having these alternative texts, makes the work much more interesting for the pupils and for us, the teachers, who previously had to rely heavily on the one text book.

We also find that the pupils - at last - look at the visual aids, not just because they are colourful and eye-catching, but because they identify with the pictures on the charts.

Mrs Coetzee suggested that future workshops should concentrate on the thematic approach in teaching second language because our subject advisor seems to favour this.

Y D Valentine. Mary Waters Sen. Sec. School, Grahamstown.

4. Evaluation by an ESL expert.

Mention has been made of visits to Sached by Mrs Loretta Jones, National English Adviser for Coloured Secondary schools. Her

evaluation follows:

869 Marine Drive
Brighton Beach
Durban.

26 February 1985

To whom it may concern.

Sached in Grahamstown are promoting the study of the Second Language through experience. Teaching aids accompanied by detailed instructions to teachers are prepared by the office for distribution in the form of "lesson packages".

My impression is that valuable work is being done at a grass roots level where the focus is on the acquisition of basic skills for both speaking and writing are advocated through stimulating drills. The dynamic presentation of the subject matter through VISUAL AIDS, is fundamental to the acquisition of linguistic competence.

I am grateful for the direction teachers are being given here in Grahamstown, in the teaching of the grammar which up until now has been textbook oriented.

Yours faithfully

L B M Jones
(Subject Adviser - English)

In July 1985, Miss Jones contacted the Mary Waters school and said that she was not going to make her annual visit, as the teachers there "were now on the right road and had access to Sached's TRC", and that other schools needed her attention more.

5. The following document is an evaluation from one of the coloured schools who requested that teaching packs be sent by post. There

were other evaluations in similar vein, but only one is included here. The packs were sent with a covering letter explaining the communicative approach principles which underlay the design of the packs, but the compromise was unsatisfactory. There is much tacit knowledge entailed in this approach - matters of tone, the establishing of a non-threatening atmosphere, and attitudes towards the roles of teacher and learner which need face-to-face contact.

MINUTE

Office of the Umbilo Road Senior Secondary School
Umbilo Road,
Congella
Durban.

3 October 1984

Mrs L Ziskovsky
Inset Correspondence College
135A High Street
Grahamstown. 6140

I am extremely sorry that the material has not been returned within 10 days as requested. The lessons arrived on the penultimate day of school. Although we perused during the vacation we decided against returning any packs without the feedback.

Lessons resumed yesterday. Elvis Presley - Part One was done then. Elvis Presley - Part Two was completed today.

Past lesson review: (1) Was extended with a written work lesson. It was pointed out that all the events began with 'Elvis'/ 'he'. Discussed style/techniques at our disposal to improve style - e.g. using passive voice. Adverbs

and Adverbial phrases seen as such a technique. Homework: pupils asked to write their autobiographies (short paragraphs) and use adverbs/adverbial phrases to begin sentences differently.

(2) The lesson actually began with No 2 instead of No 1. Having read, the class were invited to give their opinions. It became apparent that these differed. Explained why opinions differ - facts are CONSTANT. During discussion it emerged that the life of Elvis does not have much appeal. However, this had stimulated interest in magazine articles of this nature. Next, they will be doing Priscilla Presley, now popular because of Dallas.

(3) The e.g. 'his parents were poor and they... Suggestions: To avoid confusion between possessive adjectives and pronouns, the sentence might be replaced by one with 'pure' pronouns only. Unless, one of the objectives of the lesson is to teach pupils to distinguish between these 2 parts of speech. In that case the example should include both these. As it stands the exercise only questions on pronouns.

Past lesson review: (3) Paragraphing - logical sequence. Notes at the side made this lesson very exciting! They will be encouraged to make notes for a composition and these will be checked and marked before they are allowed to proceed with actually forming their topic sentences. Pupils

were delighted to find that, instead of beginning every paragraph with a topic sentence - it is permissible to begin one paragraph with a question such as the one in paragraph 3. 'What were the reasons for his success?'

Part one of part 2 will be done tomorrow (Thursday)

Part two of pack 2 will be completed on Friday.

Both packs will be returned then, with P.L.R. enclosed.

Thank you very much indeed!

Yours sincerely
D M

6. Evaluation by black participants.

The uncritical acceptance of the teaching packs by black teachers has already been mentioned. In the writer's view, black teachers patronised the workshops to obtain the packs, regarding attempted discussions of the methodology as the 'price' of the packs. They were quite open about the fact that many teachers who had never attended a workshop were borrowing packs. The following field notes concern an exchange that, with minor variations, was constantly repeated:

PR: "How did that pack go?"

Mr TZ: "Oh!, it went well. They enjoyed it!"

PR: "Did any section go particularly well?"

Mr TZ: "It all went well. Has that pack about the deaf granny been returned yet? I want to borrow that pack".

The teachers were simply not interested in the analysis of a successful lesson. Their attitude was, "it worked, and who cares why?" Black teachers are not alone in this attitude. Writing of his study of school teachers in America, Jackson (1968) states: "the focus of the teacher's concern is his concrete experience with a particular group of students. Teachers are unusually willing to accept things as they are without probing too deeply into the whys and wherefores. Indeed, many classroom phenomena are so unexpected...that teachers tend to treat them as minor miracles...but this response is unlikely to be followed by an analytic scrutiny of what has taken place. When good fortune strikes, the teachers seem to be saying it is best not to ask too many questions" (p. 144). The difficulty is that without such analysis, the teachers cannot prepare their own teaching materials, which answer the specific needs of their particular students.

It is significant that none of the 62 ESL library withdrawal cards were signed by black teachers.

7. Evaluation by the participant researcher.

The resource centre concept at Junior Secondary level for black schools in South Africa is comparatively new. After lengthy experience in this field in Britain, Nisbet (1974) writes: "we train people for educational research, and we train people for teaching, but between the two is a 'middleman' role which has been seriously neglected...at present there is a group of research workers at one extreme, the body of teachers at the other end, and very few people, stretched beyond their capacities and in-

sufficiently supported by resources, in between" (p. 8). The writer sees this project as a first step in the direction of establishing this 'middleman' role, for the particular teachers in the specific areas under discussion.

Evaluation of the teaching packs.

There is a possibility that, because of the black teachers' uncritical acceptance of, and attitude to, the packs, they followed the teacher's guide contained in each pack. If this was the case, it is possible that while the teachers were using the packs, their pupils were exposed to teaching methods other than chalk, talk and textbook. The writer is making a tentative claim that the packs were cost-effective. The total cost to Sached of the development of 40 packs and the writer's services at the 19 Sached workshops was R580,00. (Sached pays part-time tutors R10,00 per hour; materials used in the manufacture of wall displays were donated, as were many hours of the writer's time.) These packs saw heavy use in all sectors of the project under discussion, involving contact with over 100 teachers. Even given the periods of school closures, and using the average number of pupils in a class as 40, a conservative estimate of the number of black pupils reached by the materials is 4 000.

The claim is tentative because it is well established that no materials are teacher-proof. Caston (1971) states: "whatever instructions are written down in the manual, however carefully structured the pupils' work cards may be, what is learned is inevitably the product of teacher-learner interaction...pupils take their cues from the teachers, not the materials" (p. 54).

Evaluations of the Sached-INSET workshops at the Monument and CENCE.

All the strictures already mentioned concerning the absence of post-workshop observation apply equally here. The teachers were drawn from widely separated areas, and only English teachers were invited, so that post-workshop support from their own staff colleagues was unlikely, and there was risk of isolation. As Evans (1984) states: "it is a truism that very frequently teachers are fired with enthusiasm at the end of an in-service activity but return to their schools to find they can do little by way of implementing the new ideas in the face of old constraints of time, school organisation, and the like" (p. 260). The research literature on educational innovation is dense with cautions that large classes and a hierarchical system of authority mitigate against successful innovation, and one is mindful of Nisbet's (1974) warning concerning attempting innovation at all, during times of school crisis.

The question emerges as to whether these workshops had any value at all. In Merbold's (1985) view, they did. He states: "perhaps the only benefit the boycott has had for the department...is that it has enabled teachers to embark on all-round in service training...we are keeping teachers busy putting them through teaching...courses. They are getting the chance to upgrade and update themselves in informal work groups so that they can pool their knowledge and discuss issues with each other." The writer's view concerning the workshops is in accord with that expressed by Nisbet (1974): "Innovation...is our means of survival in a rapidly changing environment. Without change, unless we sustain an evolutionary growth in education, our schools will be like the dinosaur, unable to survive because it was unable to adapt" (p. 6).

8. Evaluation of the Transkei project.

Stenhouse (1984): "What is required of the universities is that they recognise forms of research alternative to the still dominant tradition of scientific positivism with its emphasis on experimental and survey procedures conducted on samples...and giving rise to 'results'" (p. 241).

Nisbet (1974): "Generally, innovators tend to be suspicious when one talks of the need for evaluation. Educational experiments seldom have the dramatic pay-off which one can get in medical... or technological research" (p. 6).

One of the strengths of the Transkei project was Mr Meyer's painstaking and time-consuming preliminary visits. The consultations with, and observations of, the participating teachers gave them a personal stake in the workshops which followed. The workshops and teaching materials could be tailor-made specifically for a particular group with particular needs, rather than the 'generally felt' needs of previously discussed workshops. The 40 teachers were drawn from 10 schools in the Butterworth area. Thus, this workshop group was more homogeneous than had been the case in the Monument and CENCE workshops.

Attendance at the workshops was not voluntary, but the impression gained by the team was that being "invited" (and released from classroom duties for 3 full days) was perceived by the participants

as a privilege. It was constantly remarked how "lucky" the teachers felt, and "how jealous" their uninvited colleagues were. Miss Ch. remarked how everyone was "dressed up". The host school had made a welcoming banner, and instant pot plants (a flower or spray of leaves stuck in a sand-filled jam tin) were placed on every window sill. The workshops took on the air of a working festival, and the participating teachers did not appear to be unduly in awe of the subject advisor and members of the inspectorate who were present. Mr Meyer's pre-workshop visits meant that the workshops were not foisted on the teachers, so that there was no discernible resentment of the team. We felt like welcome guests.

Hoyle (1975) sees one of the key issues determining the success of an innovation as: "the degree of initial investment made by the teachers" (p. 336).

The fact that the Butterworth schools were enjoying full attendance was the factor which emerged as another strength of this project. Freed of the kind of anxiety that was evident in teachers at previous workshops, this group was more receptive. The usual reservations expressed, such as, "my class is too big for group work", or, "my students are not willing/able to speak English", could be countered by the team calling for a class for an immediate demonstration lesson. It is interesting to note that the level of interest shown during the lesson dropped during the analysis which followed, of why the children had been so willing to speak, or that group work had shown to be productive. One particular lesson took place just before a tea break. The writer spent the break chatting with various teachers who said they

were "amazed" or "couldn't believe" how the class had responded. Yet the writer observed one of those same teachers dozing throughout the discussion which followed, while another spent the time writing the name of his school on each of the 55 worksheets of a teaching pack he had been given. These actions confirmed again the impression that teachers are preoccupied with the immediacy of the classroom rather than principles which underly a particular methodology.

By the same token, the value of change agents teaching a real class is another factor indicating that school-based innovations are more effective. Writing of teacher-perceptions of outsiders who are not themselves involved in teaching, Hoyle (1970) writes: "there is a strong tendency...to believe that only those who are involved in the day-to-day operation of a school can fully understand its problems" (p. 15). The Butterworth teachers were clearly more impressed by the "showing" rather than the "telling".

The team returned to Butterworth in July, and visited 4 of the participating schools. The writer was impressed by the skilful manipulations which reduced observation time. Team relations with the teachers in this ongoing project are crucial: thus, it was impossible to refuse to visit a new typing room, or to hear the school choir sing and so on. In addition, what could be observed were external factors. The real issue is, of course, whether observable external factors indicate a real attitude-change of teachers, with regard to their role in the new pupil-centred approach.

Mr Meyer's pre-workshop field notes revealed that teacher talk had occupied 90% of observed lessons. The July observations showed that teacher talk had been reduced, at least for the periods under observation. Some of the teachers still accepted only teacher-structured responses. Field notes from the writer's observation of one lesson illustrate the point.

Miss L : "What were you doing at the weekend?"

Margaret : "On Sunday I was going to church. (Margaret corrects herself) - On Sunday I went to church.

Miss L : "We are doing the Past Continuous tense. What were you doing at the weekend?"

Margaret : "On Sunday I was going to church".

Miss L : "Good".

It would not be fair to say that this unfortunate exchange was typical. Miss L acknowledged 19 correct responses with the word "Good". In another lesson, Miss Ch. acknowledged 22 responses with a nod or smile, or the word "Good". Mr Meyer's field notes had revealed an absence of positive reinforcement of student effort. The necessity for positive reinforcement had been heavily stressed in the workshops. There was evidence of many positive reinforcements in the observed lessons.

Teachers had prepared their own teaching aids with varying success. Miss Ch. had a wall display concerning Adverbs: three of the items were effective, the fourth depicted two well-dressed black women, and bore the caption: "the ladies converse

lively". Mr Meyer had presented each teacher with a Reading and Comprehension Box, containing self-correcting work cards. Several teachers had made many more workcards of their own, which were well prepared.

In one observed lesson, the class had been carefully grouped, but neither students nor teachers seemed to know the reason for what was obviously a first-time arrangement. Yet, in another lesson, when Miss Ch. said: "Get into your groups", it was something the pupils did quite naturally; each group had a scribe and a spokesman, and group consultations were obviously a practised procedure.

Informal discussion with teachers disclosed some revealing remarks:

Mr T : "We used to think that these methods were only for little kids".

Mr E : "You all tell us that we must teach the kids to ask questions. Mr Segatle should know that in our culture, children do not ask questions".

The team agrees that one particular school holds most promise for real and permanent change. Two of the teachers here (one of them the headmistress), have had Molteno Project training, which, though presently restricted to lower primary levels, also embodies, and pioneered, the language experience and pupil-centred approaches. These same approaches for higher levels have now received official sanction, so that a foundation for the Transkei project already existed in this school, and there is built-in support for those teachers who attempt to

implement the innovation.

To sum up, it can be safely said that the involved teachers have been made aware of alternative ESL approaches. There has been a first step made in the objective of moving the teachers toward a more pupil-centred approach. For consolidated change, much further support will be needed.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY

This study is initially concerned with an attempt (under the aegis of Sached, Grahamstown) to improve the English language teaching skills of black teachers of English of Standards 6, 7 and 8. The starting point was to provide a Teachers' Resource Centre with a library of ESL reference books, books for personal enrichment, and a venue for teachers to meet informally. These material goals were achieved, and over time, television and video equipment were donated to the Centre.

It is generally accepted that most black classroom teaching is teacher-oriented, with students passively absorbing knowledge from an "all-knowing" authority figure, with heavy use of rote responses and memorisation by pupils. 19 workshops were held, involving contact with 22 black and coloured teachers. The purpose of these workshops was to preach and model a communicative, pupil-centred approach, and to introduce teaching packs and materials which embodied this approach.

The participating coloured teachers attended 2 or 3 workshops, and then began to use the Centre in an informal and independent way. They borrowed the ESL reference books and teaching materials, and called in for consultations about materials they had adapted, or advice about materials they were preparing themselves. In the opinion of the Headmaster of the Mary Waters Secondary School, and the National Subject Advisor for English, there was "real progress" in the teaching of English at that school.

With one exception, the attending teachers at the last 16 workshops were all black. They made heavy use of the teaching packs, but workshop

discussion revealed that the principles embodied by the materials had not been internalised, and there was no evidence of transfer. Black teachers neither utilised the library nor asked for materials to make their own teaching aids. Workshop attendance was problematic; Sached's policy of non-cooperation with the Department of Education and Training and school closures, made post-workshop observation of classroom practice impossible. The November school closures caused workshop attendance to fall to nil; later, Sached's TRC was put into abeyance by Head Office for political reasons. There was contact with 42 black teachers at workshops held at the Monument, and 30 at CENCE, by the combined Sached-INSET team. The content matter of these workshops was based on needs assessment, but school closures prevented post-workshop observations of the classroom practice of the participants.

The observations in the classrooms of teachers who had attended the Butterworth workshops revealed some shift away from teacher-centred approaches, but observed differences largely concerned externals, rather than an internalisation of the innovatory pedagogic principles. Teachers had grasped the form rather than the substance. For example, classes were carefully grouped, but the advantages of group work (peer learning, peer correction and opportunities to make and correct mistakes in the process of language manipulation) were not always exploited. There was still over-correction, though there was positive reinforcement of student effort. Teacher talk had been cut down considerably, but pre-structured responses now filled up most of the pupil-talk time, rather than the desired information gap-communication.

It had been realised that all institutions are slow to change, but each cycle of reflection in this action research has added to the growing awareness that there are deep cultural issues to be confronted, not

only in the improvement of English language, but also in its matrix of black education in general, for the innovatory programmes to have lasting results.

Thembela (1985) believes that: "even if you removed the socio-political problems immediately, even if you provided all children of this country with equal facilities and equal access to these facilities, you would still remain with serious problems of a socio-cultural nature" (p. 35). Confirming this view, and arguing that development assistance has to help people confront cultural dilemmas, Russell (1985) states: "that the immediate challenges are cultural" (p. 32).

Recent figures published by the Zimbabwe Minister of Education may have a bearing on Thembela's views. The Zimbabwe government has "invested massively in education" in their efforts to provide equal educational opportunity for all, yet experienced a 60% failure rate in the 1984 GCE "O" level examinations. The Minister, Mr D Mutumbuka, in an article published by the Eastern Province Herald in September this year, calls for education to be structured so that "every child will be given a diet he or she can digest."

1. Conclusions.

Griffiths and Howson (1974) argue that: "the more qualified and better trained teachers are, the easier it is to effect curriculum development...The rate at which change can be assimilated into an educational system depends on the teacher" (p. 62). This statement was confirmed in the study when black and coloured teachers reacted differently to the services offered by Sached's TRC.

Mary Waters is the only coloured secondary school in Grahamstown. There are 3 graduates on the staff, and two more teachers will graduate at the end of this year. The other teachers are all matriculants who hold a teaching diploma. Class size varies between 30 and 40, and the school is better equipped than all but one of the black schools. Teachers are concerned about "covering the syllabus", but enjoy considerable autonomy in their classrooms. Their English National Advisor regards herself as a collaborator rather than an inspectress. These features probably mean that this school has reached Stage III - the stage of transition - in Beeby's 4 stage model, so that they were ready to receive teaching materials and strategies that promote meaning and understanding, and cater for individual differences - which are characteristics of Stage IV - the stage of meaning. Writing of the problems of education in developing countries, Dr Beeby argues that an educational system must pass through four stages, and that it is not possible to omit any one of these stages.

Griffiths and Howson (1974) in their consideration of Beeby's hypothesis, state: "If this is true, then the implications are far reaching for the developing countries, where teaching is still at the stage of formalism (Stage II). Attempts have been made to hustle a system from Stage II to Stage IV omitting Stage III en route, but it must be admitted that so far no counter-examples have emerged to disprove Beeby's hypothesis" (p. 63).

This reasoning sounds a cautionary note for interventionists who are attempting to coax black teachers into adopting Stage IV teaching strategies.

2. There are 10 organisations in South Africa which have ESL language skills as their main concern. They are divided by sensitivities about funding, and willingness or unwillingness to co-operate with the DET. There is a need for greater co-operation among these organisations. Together, they could form a pressure group to help negotiate changes in black education: these changes might include, as a priority, counselling services for teachers suffering from existing and future unrest-related stress. Field-tested teaching materials generated by these bodies could be assembled in an organised Resource Bank, to prevent duplication and "the re-invention of the wheel".

   Swales (1980) states that: "there has been heavy duplication of much basic work, and certain types of insight have been painfully and independently gained in many an isolated institution" (p. 11). The writer is not postulating that Resource Bank materials should replace textbooks, but is arguing with Swales that textbooks be retained to provide: "a grammatical/lexical/functional continuum to the course...to be supplemented by materials more suitable to particular students' needs" (p. 22).

   In South Africa at present there are 11 educational systems, 53 colleges of education and 13 universities with an education department. There is an obvious need for the formal and non-formal educational organisations engaged in in-service teacher training, to co-operate closely with those engaged in initial teaching training, as well as the provision of training to teachers in the field.

3. Consideration of aspects of black culture has caused doubts about

the efficacy of workshops involving one or two teachers of English drawn from various schools scattered over a wide area. Teachers who have been exposed to methods and materials geared for Beeby's Stages III and IV, leave the workshops and return to the formalism of a Stage II working environment. If they attempt to put the innovatory ideas into practice, they run the risk of isolating themselves. Such innovations may be seen, by other members of staff, according to Russell (1985) as "almost subversive; it is somehow destabilizing to group consciousness, group loyalty and group co-operation" (p. 30). Faced with the prospect of the withdrawal of group approval, it is likely that the teachers will soon allow new approaches to fade out.

This is not to say that fading of workshop effects is confined to black teachers. Hoyle (1970), writing of educational innovation in Britain, states: "the relevance of the work group as the target of change can be substantiated by any teacher who returns to his school after attending some course, full of enthusiasm for the new approach which he has acquired, only to be rapidly deflated by the scepticism and resistance of his colleagues who did not attend the course" (p. 5).

When the INSET team returns to Butterworth in October, some of the workshops will be single-school based, involving all the teachers in an English-across-the-curriculum approach. At the time of writing, a farm school in the Albany district is being considered as the focus for a similar effort. Such approaches could be labelled 'elitist', but this disadvantage is outweighed by the fact that participating teachers will be able to support each other. In their efforts to promote a more pupil-centred approach to language

learning, ESL interventionists must aim to effect change in whole schools, not just individuals.

4. Expectations about the rate of change must be realistic. After nearly two decades of educational innovation in Britain, Owen (1974) warns would-be innovators to be aware of the history of educational change, and "to know that it is unreal to expect rapid change or to assume that people will take on fresh attitudes overnight. And they will also know that to stand back - aghast, apathetic and lethargic - will achieve nothing" (p. 44).

5. The fact that this innovatory project was, and is being, attempted against a background of unprecedented community violence and social upheaval, simultaneously increases the urgency of the task and decreases the chances of success.

CHAPTER 7

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

1. Involving black parents in the education of their children.

The teacher participants in this study were in general agreement that black parent interest in the education of their children is limited to the results of examinations; as a result, pupils are only interested in "recipe" knowledge. There is an urgent need for examination of ways and means of ensuring that black parents become both enlightened and involved in every aspect of the education of their children. This is likely to be problematic. Evans (1984) notes: "the evidence so far is that, in most schools, the rhetoric of community involvement...is ahead of the practice" (p. 257).

As Hopson and Scally (1981) postulate: "we see schooling not simply as a contact between teachers and students, but much more as a partnership between teachers, students, parents and the community. Any development in any area of that partnership will have implications for the rest" (p. 238.)

2. The fostering of cultural literacy.

Writing of what he labels the African dilemma, Russell (1985) sees black culture as: "caught someplace between the awful compulsion under which Western man exists, and the time when one simply lived by whatever fruits nature brought forth" (p. 28). He argues that education and training does not necessarily enable initiative and personal accountability to counter cultural con-

ditioning. He mentions disabling effects such as the lack of personal autonomy of such cultural hold-overs as: "the old fatalism that accompanied a time when there was a real oneness with nature...when the past blended into the present, when collective identity and solidarity was more prevalent and important than individualsim, when absolute authority and leadership were one and the same, and when status, daily routine and fate were simply inherited givens" (p. 28).

Thembela (1985) sees attitudes resulting from culture lag as: "the fundamental cause of our problems...Black teachers and black parents are in a particular state of mental bondage...when a mind is locked up in a small jail, it becomes incapable of thinking clearly, incapable of reasoning logically, judging properly and acting accordingly" (p. 36). Thembela sees attitudes to women, nepotism and inefficiency as manifestations of culture lag, which he also blames for lack of initiative, self confidence and self sufficiency.

There is a pressing need for investigation into how teachers and students can be assisted to dereify and decode those cultural assumptions which are disabling, with regard to their own development goals.

Without such assistance, Bowers (1974) feels that students will remain in a state of dependency. "What is needed in schools is the development of new curriculum materials that provide the student with an opportunity to develop the awareness and skills necessary for decoding how his culture influences his existence" (p. 115).

It must be argued that in a multi-cultural society, the concept of cultural literacy applies to all teachers; for black ESL teachers it is crucial. As Kaplan (1985) states: "English constitutes a mechanism for technological transfer and development...Applied linguists and language teachers must strive to attain recognition of the importance of language activities not as the esoteric activity of ivory-tower theorists, but as vital in development and modernisation" (p. 6).

APPENDIX 1

BEEBY'S 4 STAGE MODEL

Stage 1. The 'Dame School' stage: at which the teachers are neither educated nor trained.

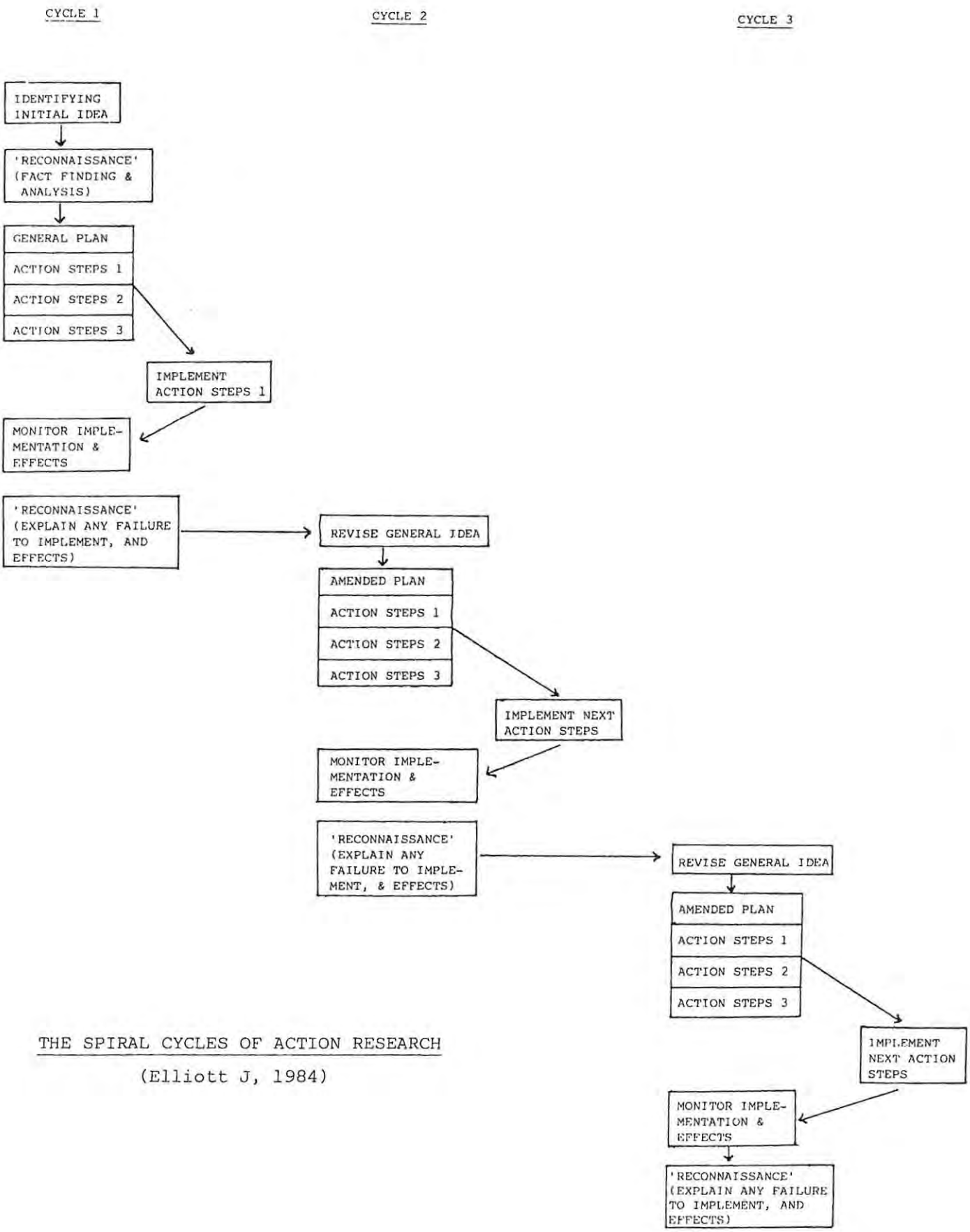
Stage II. The stage of formalism: at which the teachers are trained but poorly educated. This stage is characterised by the highly organised state of the cl - room, the rigid syllabus, the fixed textbook and the emphasis placed on inspection. It is the stage found in England around 1900.

Stage III. The stage of transition: at which teachers are trained and better educated but still lack full professional competence. The aims are little different from those of Stage II but the syllabus and textbooks are less restrictive. Teaching is still 'formal' and 'there is little in the classroom to cater for the emotional and creative life of the child'.

Stage IV. The stage of meaning: at which teachers are well-trained and well-educated. Meaning and understanding are now stressed, individual differences are catered for and the teacher is involved in the assessment of his pupils. He may now be so confident as to reject any curriculum but his own.

(Dr Cecil Beeby's (1966) 4 Stage Model of Education, quoted in Griffiths H B and Howson A G (1974)

APPENDIX II



THE SPIRAL CYCLES OF ACTION RESEARCH

(Elliott J, 1984)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrews D (1984) — The IRG solution. London: Souvenir Press.

Beeby C (1966) — The quality of education in developing countries, in Mathematics: society and curricula, Griffiths H B and Howson A G (1974), Cambridge University Press.

Bernstein B (1971) — Education cannot compensate for society, in School and society, Cosin B (1971) et al (ed). Open University, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with Open University Press.

Bowers C A (1974) — Cultural literacy for freedom. Oregon: Elan.

Breen M and Candlin C (1980) — The essentials of a communicative curriculum, in Language teaching: applied linguistics. 1, 2, p. 89.

Cai-ren W (1985) — Fostering students' self esteem in EFL classes, in English teaching forum, Vol XXIII No 2, April 1985.

Caston G (1971) — Journal of curriculum studies, Vol III No 1, May 1971.

Charadeau P (1983) — Cultural attitudes to teaching and learning. UNESCO Courier, July 1983.

Chin R (1967) — Basic strategies and procedures for effecting change, in Curriculum innovation, Harris A et al (ed). Open University, Croom Helm, London.

Cohen L and Manion L (1980) — Research methods in education. London: Croom Helm.

Commission of Inquiry into poverty and education in Australia (1975) — 5th Main Report, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Craft A and Bardell G (1984) (eds) — Curriculum opportunities in a multi-cultural society. London: Harper and Row.

De Lange Commission (1981) — Quoted in Cape Times, October 6th, 1982.

Elliot Dr J (1984) — Africa insight, Vol 14 No 2, 1984.

Elliott J (1984) — Triangulation as a method of initiating self-monitoring, in Flanagan, Breen and Walker (eds), Action research. Cape Town: University of Cape Town

Evans G (1984) — The school as a centre of professional development, in Skilbeck M, 1984 (ed), Readings in school-based curriculum development. London: Harper and Row.

Gilmore S (1973) — The counselor in training. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Glaser B and Strauss A (1968) — The discovery of grounded theory. London: Weidenfield and Nicholson.

Griffiths H B and Howson A G (1974) — Mathematics: society and curricula. Cambridge University Press.

Harris A et al (ed) — Curriculum innovation. Open University, Croom Helm, London.

Hoffer E (1963) — The ordeal of change. London: Sidgwick and Jackson.

Hopson B and Scally M (1981) — Lifeskills teaching. London: McGraw Hill.

Hoyle E (1970) — Planned organisational change in education, in Research in education, Vol 3, May 1970.

Hoyle E (1975) — The creativity of the school in Britain, in Curriculum innovation, Harris A, et al (ed), Open University, Croom Helm, London.

Hughes-Daeth A (1984) — In a paper presented at the November 1984 ELTIC Conference in Johannesburg.

Jackson P W (1968) — Life in classrooms. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Jourard S (1974) — The healthy personality. London: Collier-Macmillan.

Kaplan R (1985) — Applied linguistics, the state of the art, in English Teaching Forum, Vol XXIII No 2, 1985.

Karmel Report (1973) — Australian Schools Commission on Schools in Australia. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Krashen S (1981) — Second language acquisition and second language learning. New York: Wiley.

Lennenberg E H (1967) — Biological foundations of language. New York: Wiley.

Lodge T (1983) — The parents' school boycott, in Town and countryside in the Transvaal, Bozzoli B (ed), Braamfontein, Ravan.

Long E (1981) — Input, interaction and second language acquisition, in Native language and foreign language acquisition. Winitz H (ed), Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 3789.

Macdonald A M (1981) — The effect of new science materials and in-service training on teaching styles in the Ciskei, South Africa. Unpublished doctoral dissertation: Oregon State University.

Mawasha A (1984) — Your English, our English: English in black South Africa, in English usage in Southern Africa, Richmond K and Swemmer D (ed), Vol 15 No 2, 1984. University of South Africa.

Merbold G — Quoted in the Eastern Province Herald on September 25th, 1985.

Mutumbuka D — Quoted in the Eastern Province Herald on September 18th, 1985.

Nasson B (1984) — Ambiguous hope: education and poverty, in Social dynamics, Vol 10 No 2, 1984, University of Cape Town.

Nisbet J (1974) — Innovation - bandwagon or hearse, in Bulletin of Victorian Institute of Educational Research, 33, 1974.

Open University (1979) — Research methods in education and the social sciences. London: University of London Press in association with the Open University.

Ovando C (1983) — Bilingual/Bicultural education, in Phi Delta Kappan, April 1983.

Owen J G (1974) — Curriculum development in England, in Harris A et al (1975) (ed), Curriculum innovation. Open University, London: Croom Helm.

Prator C (1965) — Development of a manipulation-communication scale. NAFSA Studies and papers, English Language Series No 10.

Reid I (1978) Sociological perspectives on school and education. Somerset: Open Books.

Rogers E M and Shoemaker F F (1971) Communication of innovation: a cross cultural approach. London: Collier-Macmillan.

Russell D (1985) Needed: more enlightened development, in Paidonomia, Journal of the Faculty of Education, Vol 13 No 1, University of Zululand.

Savignon S (1972) Communicative competence: an experiment in foreign language teaching 6,3. Philadelphia: The Center for Curriculum Development.

Skilbeck M (1984) (ed) Readings in school based curriculum development. London: Harper and Row.

Stenhouse L A (1973) Innovation and stress. Times Educational Supplement, January, 1973.

Stenhouse L (1984) The teacher as focus of research and development, in Skilbeck M, 1984 Readings in school-based curriculum development. London: Harper and Row.

Stufflebeam D et al (1971) Educational evaluation and decision making. Illinois: Peacock Publishers Inc.

Swales J (1980) ESP: the testbook problem, in The ESP Journal, 1,1.

Thembela A J (1984) The social and cultural difficulties that affect the education for blacks in South Africa, in Reality Vol 16 No 6, 1984.

Thembela A J (1985) Mental liberation, in Paidonomia, Journal of the Faculty of Education, Vol 13 No 1, June 1985. University of Zululand.

Ward J (1984) The teacher, the student, the classroom and communication activities, in English Teaching Forum, Vol XXII No 3, July 1984.