

**MEDIATION AND THE NATURE OF COGNITIVE SOCIALIZATION IN  
THE CRÈCHE AND THE HOME IN A BLACK RURAL CONTEXT**

Submitted in fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts  
to Rhodes University

by

**MARY BOUDINE VAN DER RIET**

**January 1993**

## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines socialization in the homes and crèches of a rural area in a time of change. Change which is controlled and initiated from outside the local context, creates a dilemma for socialization agents when it introduces a knowledge paradigm different from that operating locally.

Rural South African communities frequently experience exogenous change. The introduction of rural preschools, locally known as crèches, provides one example of such change challenging local socialization agents. While rural residents may not operate within knowledge paradigms to deal effectively with such change, they are not necessarily defeated by it. They "grapple" with the uncertainty, developing ways of coping and containing the change. This forms the focus of this thesis.

Vygotsky's concept of mediation and conceptualization of the individual/society relationship, informs the examination of "grappling" with change. Two central questions are addressed: In an unfamiliar situation, what is mediated and what resources are drawn on?

The research was designed around the recognition of the process nature of research, the constructivism inherent in research and the significance of the social context. Two central mediators, the mother and the crèche teacher, and the broader social context of the home and the crèche, were examined. Three levels of investigation were utilised. An analysis of mediation in dyads working on an unfamiliar task provided insight into the social/psychological dynamics. Interviews with residents highlighted socialization beliefs and practices and the social context. Analysis of verses and stories taught to children revealed the inherent ideology of socialization.

The main findings of this study are that: Rural residents "grapple" with social change by drawing on their own resources; in "grappling" with the unfamiliar what is mediated is an adult/child interactional status based on the inherent ideology of socialization and the dominant resource drawn on is the "culture of orality".

It is argued that in the situation of neither mastery nor defeat, rural residents have used intermediary strategies of coping and containing the effect of the preschool as an agent of exogenous, social change. Recommendations are made for integrating "socialized" and "learned" knowledge from the home and the crèche.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the following people for their invaluable support in conducting this study and completing this thesis:

My supervisor Professor A.J.Gilbert for challenging discussions and guidance.

Gugile Nkwinti for support, encouragement, "acculturation", and making learning the social process that it is.

Shelly-Ann Williams for sharing the difficulties of the fieldwork process.

The residents of the Amatole Basin, parents, crèche teachers and preschool children, for their co-operation and for facilitating my exposure to a different reality.

Siyabulela Manona for assistance in translation of the interactions. Fundiwe Nkwinti, Douglas Mlungisi Rwentela and Gugile Nkwinti for assistance in interpretation of the verses and stories of the Amatole Basin.

Shafeek Sha for technical assistance.

Family and friends for their support during this time.

The financial assistance of the Centre for Science Development towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this publication, or conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the Centre for Science Development.

*We cannot try to teach them our way because we are suppressed. We cannot teach them in the ways of today. We did not learn these things.*

*(Amatole Basin, resident)*

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This thesis attempts to address the question of cognitive socialization by rural parents in the context of externally generated and rapid social change. The setting which is examined is that of the crèches and homes in a deep rural area. Within a particular society there are long-standing norms into which people are socialized. Cognitive socialization equips people with the necessary skills and knowledge to be competent members of that society. It is against the norms of that society that the magnitude of change is measured.

Social change can assume a number of characteristics which are dependent on its source. It can be endogenous, generated from within, or exogenous, generated from outside. Change initiated within a particular society is not necessarily disturbing, because it is planned and executed within the existing social disciplinary norms and pillars of that society, it occurs at a tempo which is conducive to that society and it is under the control of people in that society. Exogenously generated change on the other hand may cause fundamental social disturbances by destroying the existing social disciplinary norms and pillars. It is this change which is the concern of this thesis.

Whether change is endogenously or exogenously generated it cannot be ignored and people in the affected society will attempt to manage it in some way. This management might have various forms depending on the source of change, but might not be clearly mastery of, or defeat by, the change. The nature of the change determines how it is managed by the people in the affected society. As described above, change that is exogenous causes a greater disturbance because it is externally controlled and has a different tempo from that of the affected society. This change also originates in a context characterised by particular skills and knowledge which differ from those of the affected society. The experience, resources, skills and knowledge characteristic of the society of the source of change might be said to constitute a particular knowledge paradigm, whilst that of the affected society characterise a different knowledge paradigm.

Exogenous change introduces new tasks and problems to the affected society which must be managed. The difference between the knowledge paradigms of the change-generating society and the affected society has the potential to create a dilemma. The members of the affected society are unfamiliar with the resources, skills and experience necessary to meet the demands arising as a result of exogenous change. Mead (1978) argues that in less rapidly changing societies, what she calls post-figurative societies, parents' preparation of their children for life, an integral part of the child's cognitive development, is handled on the basis of a history of generations of experience. In pre-figurative societies (ibid), particularly when the origin of change is foreign or exogenous to the immediate setting, parents cannot necessarily draw on past experience in preparing their children for life. Socialization agents in the society are therefore confronted with different knowledge paradigms and are not necessarily equipped to deal with the "new" knowledge paradigm. They have to deal with the discrepancies which arise between what they know and what the situation demands.

The ability to deal with the demands of task from a particular knowledge paradigm is based on the individuals' familiarity with different knowledge paradigms. Exogenous change generates different levels of understanding of the demands of the task and therefore different levels of uncertainty, particularly for agents of cognitive socialization. This situation generates the following question which forms the basis of the study: How do the social actors grapple with the differences and tensions between knowledge paradigms which arise out of rapid social change?

For example, if a form of education is introduced as an element of exogenous change from outside a particular society it gives rise to possible differences between the knowledge paradigms characterising the different learning-teaching milieus in that society. For example, the learning-teaching milieus of the non-formal home environment and the more formal school environment will not necessarily have the same purpose. They will be characterised by different knowledge paradigms, with the formal school institution drawing on unfamiliar resources, skills and experience rather than local knowledge, resources, skills and experience. In Mead's (1978) post-figurative societies the learning-teaching milieus of the home and school generally have a common purpose and unity whereas in pre-figurative societies the common sense of

purpose within milieus of the home and the school is not necessarily present.

In a situation of endogenously initiated change the fact that the change is at the pace of development in that society means that members of that society are likely to manage it with confidence and have a clear strategy to address the process of change. With exogenous change intermediary strategies are necessary because of the lack of control over the tempo and process of change which results in uncertainty. This uncertainty is referred to by Sinha (1984) as being inherent in a process of rapid social change. The term "grappling" was used by a participant in the study to explain how she refused to be defeated by, but struggled to master, the problems of socialization in changing milieus. This study uses the term in the same way. Thus, intermediary strategies used to manage the change are ways of "grappling" with the emergent differences between knowledge paradigms. Amongst these intermediary strategies are those of containment and coping which do not necessarily mean that the change is mastered, or that the members of the affected society are defeated by the change. For example, the members of the affected society could resign themselves to the change and cope with it regardless of its different demands, or they could attempt to contain it, that is not allow it free reign, yet not master the change.

Piaget's (1977) genetic epistemological approach informs an understanding of the management of change through grappling . Piaget posits that within the system of knowledge knowing develops through the interaction between existing knowledge and the "object of knowledge" which may be an unfamiliar task. Craig (1985) comments, more specifically, that this occurs when a non-balance arises between what the subject knows and the knowledge required for the task - which is the situation when two different knowledge paradigms meet. From this position, Piaget argues that the conditions for cognitive change are a) the presence of a non-balance, or conflict, between the existing knowledge of the learner and the demands of an unfamiliar task and, b) the presence of resources to surmount the conflict.

However, this understanding of conditions for cognitive change is insufficient to explain the mechanisms of grappling with change. It neglects to explain how the non-balance arises and how the necessary resources are provided. The missing element is an approach which addresses the dynamic interaction between the individual and society, because it is only this addition which can explain cognitive socialization in times of rapid social change. By explicating the relationship between society and the individual, this approach provides a

framework for understanding the conditions necessary for cognitive change and the concepts necessary to understand the management of change through grappling .

Vygotsky's (1978) socio-historical approach provides the "grounding" (Craig, 1990a) necessary for Piaget's concepts by emphasising the path of knowledge which passes through another person. Within this approach, the conditions of cognitive change are essentially brought about by a social actor, the mediator, whose action of mediation "exposes" the non-balance and provides the resources to overcome it. Bruner (1984), in contextualizing Vygotsky's work, states that for Vygotsky,

realization of one's individual powers through the utilization of knowledge and shared consciousness depended not on the individual child, but on society's capacity to provide the child with the symbolic tools that the child needed in order to grow: on providing opportunity for the child to enter into a relationship with somebody wiser or abler than himself who would provide the necessary concepts and consciousness that would enable him to make the epistemic leap forward. (p.96)

Vygotsky thus places development, through the learning-teaching dialectic, in a social context emphasizing the link between society and the individual which effectively illuminates Piaget's theory.

Vygotsky (1978) explicated the process of the social formation of mind, the development of psychological functioning through a social actor, as follows:

Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological), and then inside the child (intrapsychological) ... All the higher functions originate as actual relations between human individuals. (p.57)

Thus, Vygotsky posited that the external reality, or social interaction between people, transforms during the process of internalisation into the plane of functioning within the individual giving the higher mental processes a quasi-social nature. The process of internalisation is regulated by another person. It is in this sense, that the form of social interaction has a powerful impact on the form of intrapsychological functioning and that social relations, or relations among people, genetically underlie all higher functions and their relationships. In the context of Vygotsky's theory,

cognitive socialization is the move from the interpsychological to the intrapsychological and the mediator is the agent of socialization.

It is this concept of mediation - the role of the other in the grappling and knowing - which informs the process of cognitive socialization in times of rapid social change. In familiar situations, or situations where there are no differences between knowledge paradigms, the conditions of cognitive change are present: the non-balance exists, the mediator is familiar with the knowledge paradigm of the situation and therefore has the appropriate resources to deal with the mediation of overcoming the non-balance. S/he can thus, as the more experienced individual, play an intervening and structuring role (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1985) in relation to the learning of another. In situations of dealing with an unfamiliar task as, for example, in times of rapid social change, the non-balance may be present, but the mediator is not familiar with the knowledge paradigm in which the task is embedded. S/he therefore does not have the appropriate resources to deal with the cognitive non-balance. What is mediated in this situation, and what resources are drawn on? This study examines a situation of mediating the unfamiliar because it is this situation which arises in the context of times of rapid social change.

A central component of Vygotsky's theory is that mind is formed by the material conditions of existence. This social formation of mind results in different understandings, particular competencies, and skills within particular eco-cultural circumstances, and the knowledge one brings to a situation will therefore be constructed from one's social experience. In order to understand mediation and resources, it is necessary to look at the broader social context of the mediation, to understand the individual in relation to others in society. Vygotsky argued that "in order to understand the individual, one must first understand the social relations in which the individual exists" (Wertsch, 1985, p.58). It is in understanding the link between the social and the individual that the make-up of the mediator and the nature of the resources s/he will draw on in a situation of unfamiliarity, can be understood.

Craig (1985, 1990b) investigated a situation of the meeting of different knowledge paradigms with a focus on the adaptation of the individual's knowledge paradigm to meet the demands of a particular unfamiliar task. She

found that in adapting to a different, Western system of knowledge, individuals bring their own "lay" theories of learning to the situation. This study investigates the process of grappling with the differences between the unfamiliar knowledge paradigm and the familiar knowledge paradigm. The mechanisms of the grappling with are explained using the theoretical concepts of cognitive change and mediation embedded in the social context in which this grappling occurs.

This study notes that rapid, exogenous, social change creates a disturbance in a society because new processes which require new approaches are rapidly introduced, often from outside. A different set of knowledge and skills which constitute a particular knowledge paradigm from that which sustains the norms in that society, is introduced. The unfamiliar nature of the processes and the new approaches which are demanded create uncertainty within the affected society. The existing knowledge paradigm does not necessarily contain the skills and experience demanded by the new knowledge paradigms. This is potentially the case when preschools are introduced into rural areas, from an urban framework. There are potentially vast differences (in knowledge, practice and experience) between the framework in which the preschool operates and that which characterises the environment of the rural residents.

The broad context of the research, South African society, is characterised by rapid social change which has immediate and long-term implications. In rural areas change is frequently exogenous and often from an urban context where the pace of development is faster than that in rural areas. Rural communities, because of their position in the society, are essentially more vulnerable to this rapid social change. They are peripheral to action by major social movements whilst social change frequently originates from outside the rural context, is of a faster tempo and is externally controlled. In addition, rural communities' experience of extreme inequalities in social, educational and economic provisions weaken the resources needed to deal effectively with social change. There is evidence that rural communities are not simply defeated by this situation, but neither do they master it. For example, Gilbert, Nkwinti & Van Vlaenderen (1990) found that farmworkers in Adelaide in the Eastern Cape assume a coping attitude in which schooling becomes a means for their children to escape the reality on farms. Thus, through attempting to cope with the change, and attempting to contain it, rural

communities can be said to grapple with the differences which are generated by the meeting of different knowledge paradigms.

The focus of this study is the introduction of exogenous change to rural areas through the agency of preschools which gained such popularity with Western educations in the sixties (Short, 1984). The emphasis on preparation of the child for formal schooling through the preschool has resulted, over the last decade, in the rapid introduction of preschools into rural areas in South Africa (Rudolph, 1991; Border Early Learning Centre, 1991). The local term for the non-formal education institution for children between three and six years of age is "crèche". The word is not used in its conventional sense, that is, "a public day-nursery for infants; nursery school" (Little Oxford English dictionary, 1969). Rather it is used in the sense of a pre-school structure - a place where the child undergoes some form of education before s/he enters school. In this study, the two terms are used interchangeably.

The dynamics created by the possible differences between the learning-teaching milieus of home and crèche illuminate two concepts which are fundamental to an understanding of the psychology of child development in social context: the nature of cognitive socialization and mediation. The resulting dynamics of the meeting of different knowledge paradigms can be examined at the interface between the informal milieu of the home and the non-formal milieu of the crèche. The crèche can be defined as a "non-formal" education institution in the sense of it being more formal than the "education" which occurs in the home, but less formal than that which characterizes education in the institution of the school. In nature, content, aims and practices, these crèches have more in common with the formal school institution than with the informal context of the home. The terms informal, non-formal and formal have been used by Ahmed and Coombs (1974) to acknowledge that education occurs in all of these contexts and to differentiate between the types of educating which occur in each.

In particular the study is concerned about how the dynamics between the different knowledge paradigms characterising the two different learning-teaching milieus are grappled with by the actors in these communities. These dynamics are exposed in the process of transference of knowledge and skills, that is, the socialization process, for it is where knowledge is transferred

that it can be seen. As noted above, a potential problem with the process of socialization occurs when the past world of the parent is not the same as the future world of the child. In this situation the knowledge of the past does not necessarily help parents in their task of mediating in the socialization process. Change in society can be said to change the goals of socialization and may render aspects of the process of socialization used by the parents inappropriate.

The research focuses on a study of two particular mediators, the preschool teacher and the mother, and their role in the cognitive socialization of their children. A window onto the process of mediation details how these social actors grapple with the unfamiliar. On a broader level, the social context which forms and informs these mediators is examined, as well as the ideology of socialization which informs the socialization beliefs and practices of rural residents in grappling with the unfamiliar.

It must be noted that this study does not attempt to understand the development of the individual adult or child in the process of mediation. It also does not attempt to measure the behaviour of the actors against a standard or perceived norm of mediation such as that contained in many accounts of the process of mediation, for example Rogoff (1989), Rogoff & Gardner (1984), Valsiner (1984) and Wertsch (1984). Indeed, Rogoff (1990) suggests that the present literature on the mediation process is based within a particular Western framework and particular perceptions of the adult-child relationship and that this does not necessarily address the important differences between social contexts which might impact fundamentally on an understanding of mediation. In this sense, this study does not attempt to "test" the theories of mediation, but rather uses these theories as a tool to inform the problem and its resolution whilst taking cognisance of the particular social context of this mediation.

The thesis has the following structure: the Vygotskian concept of mediation and its role in development (Vygotsky, 1978) is discussed in Chapter 2. This provides the framework for understanding the dyadic interaction between adult and child on an unfamiliar task which is symbolic of the situation faced by adults in rural areas in times of rapid social change. The nature of cognitive socialization in the dynamics of grappling with differences is outlined in

Chapter 3. The dyadic interaction provides a model of the nature of the conditions of cognitive change - mediation and the use of resources - in an unfamiliar scenario. The central question "what is mediated and what resources are drawn on?" is discussed. The interaction as a model is then extended into the reality of the preschool and the home contexts in rural areas. The three levels of investigation in the study are outlined.

The approach, framework, design and methodology of the study are outlined in Chapter 4. These are placed in the context of the particular rural setting. The constraints on the study as a result of the social, economic and political dynamics of the setting are discussed. The results of the study from the three levels of investigation are discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 5 contains the results of the study of mediation and use of resources in the dyadic interaction which provide a window onto the inter-relationship between the individual and the social. Chapter 6 contains the results of interviews, discussions and observations in the contexts of the crèche and the home. These outline the socialization beliefs and practices of the social actors in the study. Chapter 7 contains an analysis of stories and verses collected in the research area which highlight the underlying ideology of socialization pertaining in this rural area. The theory and approach of the study forms the framework for the discussion in Chapter 8 of the findings of study and the study as a whole. Chapter 9 concludes the study and contains recommendations about studying grappling with differences, preschool education and further research.

## CHAPTER 2

### MEDIATION

Vygotsky (1978) proposed the concept of the *social* formation of mind, operationalising this through the concept of mediation - the process whereby the cultural tools of society are internalised resulting in the cognitive development of the individual. Central to this process of mediation are the mediators who carry with them the goals, and an understanding of the process, of socialization.

A focus on the process of mediation explicates the nature of the link between society and the individual, and reveals the role of social experience in the nature and form of mediation. It is by examining the nature of mediation that one can gain insight into the goals and processes of socialization.

Mediation is defined as the structuring of a situation by a more experienced individual, to allow for learning. Vygotsky (1978) introduces the notion of a zone of proximal development (ZPD), defined as the "the dynamic region of sensitivity in which the transition from interpsychological functioning to intrapsychological functioning can be made" (Wertsch, 1985, p.67). This is created in interaction with a cultural guide and facilitates development. The creation of this zone enables development and change in the cognitive processes of the child. The ZPD differentiates between the actual developmental level of the individual acting independently and the potential level of development as a result of interaction with others on the plane of interpsychological functioning. Vygotsky (1978) stated that it is particularly the form of instruction, and the child's level of development, which creates the ZPD. It is in this sense that the ZPD at once awakens within the individual an entire series of internal processes of development, and serves to restrain the individual, in that development is only possible with interaction.

The process of mediation can be most appropriately exposed through an

investigation of the dyadic interaction. As Craig (1990a) comments:

Vygotsky proposed that the instructional process between adult and child is a "cell" which provides access to "social psychology" as a whole... The adult-child as a role unit in society may be regarded as paradigmatic for the relationship between the psychological and the social. (pp. 11-12)

The transactional nature of this unit means that it becomes the "point of fusion between (social) history and (psychological) cognitive development" (ibid.).

## 2.1 The dyadic interaction

Literature on the dynamic of the dyadic interaction can be differentiated according to how it addresses, at the conceptual level firstly, the creation of a non-balance and how this is overcome; secondly, an account of the process of internalization (the move from inter-psychological to intra-psychological); and thirdly, the factors affecting the learning-teaching situation (setting, background of the mediator, techniques used by mediator).

The first category relates to the more philosophical issues of the attainment of knowledge and cognitive change discussed in the previous section (Craig, 1985, 1989, 1990a; Miller, 1989; Piaget, 1977; and Vygotsky, 1978). There is relatively little literature on the second category, that is, the actual process of internalization (Wertsch, 1979, 1984). Current, predominantly American, research on adult-child interaction seems to focus on the third category (Griffen & Cole 1984; Rogoff, 1990; Rogoff & Gardner, 1984; Rogoff & Wertsch, 1984; Rogoff, Malkin & Gilbride, 1984; Saxe, Gearhart & Guberman, 1984; and Valsiner, 1984). This study does not attempt to evaluate the teaching-learning situation on the basis of an ideal standard. It acknowledges that there are bound to be factors affecting the learning-teaching situation in negative and positive ways, as well as particular phenomena within the interaction which need more specific explication and definition, such as those mentioned by Rogoff and Gardner (1984) - transfer of responsibility and joint participation.

Rogoff (1989) comments that research on the dyadic interaction has been conducted primarily in Western contexts with middle-class adult-child dyads. She notes that, in this setting, the prototype of socialization is explicit instruction from parents which influences how researchers have conceptualized the social context of cognitive development. There is, therefore, the need to examine what is done in interactions in different contexts and, as argued by Serpell (1992), how these interactions are informed by specific social contexts. For example, the differences between contexts may relate to broader issues such as the interactional status of children and the extent to which different cultures adapt situations to children or adapt the child to the normal situations of the culture (Rogoff, 1989). It is issues such as these which are examined in this study.

An understanding of the "social force" in development, in the form of the nature of mediation (the make-up of the mediator, the setting and the goals), assists an analysis of the dynamics between social actors and the tasks they face - the grappling with differences. It is important to acknowledge that it is particularly the fact that Vygotsky drew from an analysis of the interaction between society and the individual that his theory illuminates Piaget's theory.

The mediation concept essentially establishes what is necessary on an inter-psychological plane of social interaction, for development to occur. It will be examined in relation to the conditions of cognitive change.

## 2.2 The mediation process: a framework for a micro-analysis of the teaching-learning interaction

A detailed account of the interaction process provides a window into the functioning of the mediator. It explains whether and how the mediator provides for the conditions of cognitive change: how resources are provided, and how the form of interpsychological functioning affects the form of intrapsychological functioning. It also records the process of internalization and change, making the mechanisms of the learning-teaching dialectic explicit and exposing the generative mechanisms behind the social formation of mind.

The type of interaction referred to in this study is an adult-child dyad working together to complete a puzzle-like task (Wertsch, 1980).

Wertsch (1984) elaborates on what constitutes problem solving under adult guidance through the concepts of situation definition, intersubjectivity and semiotic mediation. The framework which will be used to analyse the interaction or social learning in the zone of proximal development, especially how the situation is defined and how participation in the task is negotiated, draws on these concepts. These concepts emerge out of Wertsch's (1979) proposal for the resolution of the paradox in the process of instruction. This is based on the Meno paradox which states that "a man cannot inquire either about that which he knows, or about that which he does not know; for assuming he knows, he has no need to inquire; nor can he enquire about that which he does not know, for he does not know about that which he has to enquire" (Miller, 1989, p.155).

Wertsch (1984) argues that when operating in a setting, humans actively create a representation of the situation. Collaboration in the ZPD usually involves the adult and the child representing, and perhaps understanding, the objects and events in different ways, which means that the adult frequently uses directives which are uninterpretable to the child. The crux of his argument is that there are, in any situation, different intra-psychological definitions of the situation which result in different actions.

Miller (1989) argues that understanding cannot come purely from teaching, because the learning paradox prevents communication and therefore shared meaning. He questions how one can teach a person to experience a situation, or understand a phenomenon in a particular way, when nothing in the situation provokes the experience and previous learning may obstruct the new experience or understanding. He thus locates the problem in what the individual brings to the task, stating that in order

to change his/her cognitive structures the young child must not only acquire new structures or ways of understanding but also unlearn the rules or unseat the cognitive structures that govern his/her existing understanding. (p. 155)

New ways of understanding a task must involve a construction, on the part of the learner, which must be based on something other than the information

provided in the situation. Action, in the sense of any kind of activity mental or physical that changes the way a situation/task is experienced, is what allows for the construction and precedes understanding. Wertsch (1979) highlights the central role of activity in the move from inter-psychological to intra-psychological by saying that

*carrying out the appropriate behaviours* [italics added] (even under someone else's guidance) in connection with a directive is a way that the child can make sense out of the directive and its associated definition of situation. (p. 21)

That is, the child comes to share the adult's definition of situation because s/he carries out the task. In these cases, the child does not perform the requested behaviours because s/he understands the directive with its associated definition of situation. Rather the child comes to understand the directive with its associated definition of situation because s/he has performed the behaviour.

Miller (1989) argues that the source of this action is another person, that is,

it is because our actions can be regulated by others (including mental actions), that the person/learner, can begin to experience the world in new ways. In other words, instead of viewing teaching as the direct transfer of understanding between people, we can view it as the regulation of actions that will enable the learner to construct understanding. (ibid. p.156)

This other-regulation is the source of ultimate self-regulation because at the same time as enabling the child to experience the problem in a particular way, it provides the child with a set of actions/rules/regulations that may be applied to other problems. For Miller, this is the socialization inherent in this situation, for it is regulation that leads to the internalization of a set of rules that prescribe or define the set of roles that characterize the society in which they live.

This study will investigate what forms of activity on the part of the child, are facilitated by the adult under the constraints of unfamiliarity. Other-regulation and the facilitation of "unlearning" seem to presuppose that the adult has an understanding of the situation, and can provide the child with, and lead to the internalisation of, a set of actions, rules, and regulations

that may be applied to other problems. The study will examine the forms of activity used to grapple with differences and how the constraint of unfamiliarity affects the use of activity in the learning-teaching situation.

Wertsch (1984) argues further that the child must fundamentally redefine his/her definition of the situation in order to change, because the steps used by the adult and the child in resolving the problem cannot merely supplement each other. This means that developmental transition cannot be conceptualized in terms of quantitative change, qualitative transformation is involved. This process occurs through establishing intersubjectivity which exists when "interlocutors in a task situation share, the same situation definition and know that they share the same situation definition" (Wertsch, 1984, p.12).

Negotiated intersubjectivity, where communication becomes possible, may occur through semiotic mediation. During this process the adult temporarily relinquishes his/her situation definition to represent the situation in a manner which is understandable to the child, and results in the child understanding the objects and events in the setting differently and therefore redefining the situation. For example, whilst working on a task, an adult may provide a non-explicit directive reflecting her definition of the situation, but accompany this by physically indicating the piece to be fitted. She thus uses her own definition of the situation, and temporarily adjusts it, to establish a negotiated intersubjectivity with the child. McIlleron (1991) outlines the interrelationship between Wertsch's concepts aptly by stating that "from this negotiated intersubjectivity resulting from situation redefinition, her semiotic mediation (eg. pointing) is interpretable to the child" (p.11). The child's role of establishing coherence between his/her actions and the directives (verbal and/or nonverbal) of the mother, is thus enabled, and s/he can begin to define the situation differently and begin to adapt to the formerly unfamiliar reality of the adult.

Wertsch (1984) comments on the asymmetry in this negotiation in that the adult does not change his/her understanding of the most appropriate representation. Whether or not, and how the adult does this, is an indication of the adult's ability to do, and flexibility in doing, what is necessary to carry out the communicative task at hand. Cognitive development on the part of the child necessitates that a redefinition of the situation occurs. The central point

is that the adult is in control of the understanding and redirection of the situation with a knowledge of the task beyond that of the child. Generally therefore, the adult might take his/her own situation definition into account, but indicate a type of semiotic flexibility that is not merely returning to the child's definition. Instead it reflects an attempt to re-establish intersubjectivity while simultaneously encouraging the child to participate in all aspects of the action.

A central issue raised by the above understanding of collaboration in the interaction is why adults choose particular bases from which to work, for example their own situation definitions rather than the child's. Wertsch (1984) suggests that either the adult's own definition reflects his/her own understanding and, as a result, s/he may slip into communicating on the basis of his/her normal understanding of what the objects and events are; or, it is an invitation to the child to redefine the situation on the adult's terms, which is not always successful. The point is that directives, used by the adult because of a particular approach to the task, can serve as an impetus for change in the child's understanding of the situation.

There are certain crucial questions which are not addressed by Wertsch. For example, how the adult becomes aware of the difference between the types of directives; what happens when the adult does not have the appropriate definition of the task as a result of her "social experience" and degree of familiarity and/or unfamiliarity with the task; how s/he perceives the motive of the task and consequently defines the setting; and what resources does the adult bring to an unfamiliar task. The particular focus of this study is what occurs when the differences between knowledge paradigms are significant and there is, therefore, unfamiliarity in the mediation situation. If the actors are not familiar with the demands of the task in this situation what is mediated and what resources are drawn on?

### 2.3 Central concepts in a micro-analysis of dyadic interactions

The study recognises the importance of understanding what adults do to grapple with differences in particular interactions and how this is informed by

specific social contexts. It is therefore necessary to isolate concepts in the framework for a micro-analysis of the dyadic interaction so that they can be applied to this particular rural setting. The following concepts emerge from the framework presented above.

### 2.3.1 Defining the situation

According to Wertsch (1984), the actors in the adult-child dyad in the zone of proximal development (ZPD) bring different situation definitions of task settings. They have to share a definition of the situation in order to establish and maintain inter-subjectivity. "The challenge to the adult is to find a way to communicate with the child such that the latter can participate at least in a minimal way in the inter-psychological functioning and can eventually come to define the task setting in a new, culturally appropriate way" (p.161).

Generally, theorists building on Vygotsky's theories, have commented that interpsychological functioning in the zone of proximal development may vary widely depending on the social institutional contexts in which this functioning occurs. Saxe, Gearhart and Guberman (1984) argue that most tasks in the ZPD are socio-culturally specific, and therefore it is important to understand the context in which the ZPD operates. Thus it is not merely congruence between the adult and the child's situation definition which is of importance, but the broader definition of the situation attributed to the setting, which is based on the actors' previous experience and understanding of the task.

Wertsch (1985) comments that a study of other-regulation, or mediation, by mothers and teachers of a child's engagement in a task conducted in Brazilian rural areas, revealed that this mediation differed particularly in relation to the setting of the activity, the goals and, therefore, the selection of activity. Generally, each setting seems to provide a framework which gives rise to certain motives or goals which, in turn, determines the degree of responsibility taken by the adult in the task. In Wertsch's study the mothers took more responsibility for the activity because they saw the setting as a "labour" setting and labour activity most often characterized the

day-to-day tasks of the mother with the child. According to Wertsch, their organisation of joint cognitive functioning made perfect sense given the particular activity setting. The teachers, on the other hand, gave the responsibility for the activity to the child because the setting was seen as an "instruction" setting. Thus, a definition of the situation depends on how the actors perceive the setting. This, in turn, affects the mediator's understanding of the nature of the task and its goals. This affects the sharing of the situation definition which determines the form of the mediation, and influences the interrelationship between the adult and child.

Wertsch relates the difference in definition of the activity setting to the "level of experience the adults in the groups had had with various *social institutional contexts* [italics added]" (ibid. p.214). This could extend to the level of experience the adults have had with the specific tasks used in the particular situation, that is the degree of familiarity or unfamiliarity. Thus "social experience", as a product of contact with various social institutional contexts, plays an important part in the nature of mediation.

The notion of the setting of the activity, and its perceived goals, provides the means for relating the social institutional and individual psychological phenomena. For the mediator, the experience with setting is the basis of her interpretation of the situations. It structures the form of inter-psychological functioning, and it affects the intra-psychological functioning of the child. The adult is not necessarily conscious of the assumptions she makes about motives in relation to setting, and therefore does not make this explicit. This will create constraints on how the child in this situation comes to master the setting. A further constraint on the child's cognitive mastery of the situation is his/her experience of different mediators, for example the mother and the teacher, who because of their different understandings of the setting and goal of the task, might pose different definitions of the situation to the child.

This analysis of the significance of the setting and nature of mediation serves to emphasize, as Goodnow (1988) argues, the need to look more broadly than the face-to face interactions of the mother-child and teacher-child dyads, to the external forces at play for an explanation of the dynamics between "social experience" and "demands of the task". It is this broader

perspective which provides an understanding of the reasons behind the grappling with and suggests ways to overcome the gap between paradigms of knowledge and social experience brought to the mediation situation.

### 2.3.2 Negotiating participation

Theorists have argued that cognitive development occurs because adults appropriately arrange the learning situation for children. Rogoff, Malkin and Gilbride (1984) comment on the role of others, particularly adults, in the learning-teaching interaction. They comment that:

adults facilitate children's learning both by arranging appropriate sequences of materials and tasks for the child and by transmitting information and strategies to the child as they participate together in an activity. Adults provide access to activities, adjust children's participation to an appropriate level, and modify children's responsibility as expertise grows... During communication in the ZPD, the adult assesses the child's current understanding of the material and adjusts the scaffolding to support the child's developing skill. The child simultaneously adjusts the pace of instruction according to his or her needs and guides the adult in constructing the scaffold. (p. 33)

In effect, they argue that cognitive development is fostered by the arrangements that adults make for children's learning environments, and by the child's guided participation in an activity. Rogoff (1989) asserts that the adult may select and arrange activities and materials for the child's use without the intention of providing a specific learning experience, but that this choice may be designed for "the socialization or education of the child" (p. 65). The parents, perhaps unwittingly, exercise their power in their assignment of their children to specific settings, a fact which she argues "has important consequences on the development of habits of interpersonal behaviour" (ibid. p. 66).

Ideally there is a gradual transferral of responsibility for managing the problem-solving from the adult to the child. Rogoff (1989) comments that such decisions require knowledge (which may be tacit) of what skills and knowledge

are needed in order to be able to independently handle the situation. This is facilitated by knowledge of the course of development of the skill in handling that particular situation/problem. Given that the adult's understanding of the task is so central to his/her structuring of the learning situation for the child, what happens when the task is unfamiliar? Much of the literature on cognitive development through interactions (Rogoff & Gardner 1984; Rogoff, Malkin & Gilbride, 1984; Valsiner, 1984) argues that independent functioning as encouraged by adults is crucial for the transition from one plane to another. The degree to which this is encouraged varies in terms of cultural and socio-economic factors which relates to the norms of social relations in that particular environment, for example the interactional status of adult and child. A consideration of constraints which arise out of situations of unfamiliarity, as well as those which are inherent in the social context, are crucial.

### 2.3.3 Use of resources

Rogoff and Gardner (1984) argue that successful resolution of the problem faced in the interaction is gained by the creation of a common framework for the coordination of information, that is, the establishment of an intelligible context of interaction, because new information must be made compatible with current skills and knowledge. Ideally, the adult in a situation of "guided participation" (Rogoff, 1989), provides the bridge between the familiar skills and information, and what is needed to solve the new problem. In a situation of unfamiliarity, and one which is defined by specific patterns of social relations, the issue is what the adult draws on in the form of resources, familiar and unfamiliar.

Rogoff and Gardner (1984) suggest that in the conflict between the familiar and the unfamiliar, the learners and teachers draw on their own knowledge or resources:

when faced with a new problem, individuals weave what they know about solving other problems and information about the new problem into a coherent approach which transforms the novel problem into a more familiar problem. The thinker makes use of whatever is familiar in the context of the new problem to apply information and skills available

from familiar problems in bridging a solution to the novel problem.  
(p.96)

The study will investigate the use of knowledge about the familiar to grapple with the situation of unfamiliarity.

Rogoff (1989) attributes differences "across culture" to a number of factors which are relevant to this study. For example, she comments on differences in the skills and values (and implicitly the goals of development) promoted in a particular context which are a function of the tools and means of subsistence of the community. For the purposes of this study, this could be referred to as what constitutes the "ideology of socialization" in that context. She also refers to differences in the means of communication used between care-giver and child. This study examines these differences across culture in terms of the status of, and relationship between, adults and children in the particular research context. Rogoff (1989) also comments on the differences as a result of the extent to which communication is simplified, responsibility is passed on to the child, and opportunity is given to the child to participate in the adult world. This relates to the interactional status of adults and children, as well as the expression and management of knowledge in this particular context.

Briefly, the issues in the process of mediation which are relevant to this study are defining the situation, negotiating participation and the use of resources. These are all affected by a situation where the knowledge paradigm of the individual does not meet the demands of the task, that is, there is unfamiliarity. The central questions which are raised are: what is mediated, and what resources are drawn on? Issues such as these will be explored in the study to illuminate the process of grappling with. The dynamics in the particular context chosen in this study, in relation to grappling with differences, will be outlined in Chapter 3.

## CHAPTER 3

### GRAPPLING WITH DIFFERENCES

As outlined in the previous chapters, cognitive socialization usually equips people with the necessary skills and knowledge to be competent members of society. It was argued that in times of social change different sets of knowledge and skills are inevitably brought into contact. The effect of this is uncertainty about whether the knowledge and skills of cognitive socialization are appropriate. It was suggested that the actors grapple with these differences even though the unfamiliar nature of the situation affects the mediation process and the resource which the actors draw on. Given the role mediation has in cognitive development, unfamiliarity in a situation would therefore affect the process of cognitive socialization.

#### 3.1 The dynamics of rural areas: the meeting of paradigms

The broad context for this investigation is rural areas. This is an appropriate site for the examination of these issues because of the position of rural areas in relation to social change. The isolation and marginalisation of rural areas means that they are usually in a different sphere of operation from urban areas. Seidman and Anang (1992) argue that urban-rural dynamics globally have ensured that the pace of development is set in urban areas and it is this pace which, more often than not, rural areas are expected to follow.

Harrison (1981) argues that the urban and rural areas are locked into an unhealthy interdependence and relations of development and underdevelopment. At the centre of these relations is an economic imperative which favours the development of urban areas. The effect of this is that the rural areas are depleted of resources and they have a weak, almost non-existent infrastructure which can only maintain a subsistence agriculture. This forces rural inhabitants to seek work in urban centres and enter the migrant labour system. In addition, the education institutions in rural areas are orientated towards an urban environment and compound the lack of development in rural areas. In fact, Christie and Collins (1984) argue that the ideological thrust behind

schooling in rural areas, particularly the South African homelands, is to build a rural-urban mentality with the consequences of depriving rural areas of their own resources and thus provide a source of cheap labour for urban areas. In addition to these urban-rural relations, rural communities in South Africa have to contend with imminent major structural changes.

The relatively "underdeveloped" (Harrison, 1981) nature of rural areas and their historical position in relation to the origin of change, means that rural residents have very limited social and material resources to draw on. The resources present in rural areas are appropriate for that particular environment, but not necessarily appropriate for the changes which they have to confront. The rural context is one where local (and often traditional, or accepted) methods of doing things are brought into contact with "new" tasks which involve "new", or other, methods of doing them and is therefore a site of the meeting of different knowledge paradigms. These terms are not meant as value judgements. The old, accepted ways of doing things, emerge out of the nature of the context of rural areas which requires adaptation to physical and natural environmental conditions, as well as developing a way of coping with political and economic constraints introduced over time. This type of existence within the context of social, economic and political forces of change results in people building up resources to deal with familiar things in their environment and in their daily experience. These resources - material, practical and as a result of "experience" - have been described as local knowledge (Bruner 1990; Gilbert, 1989; Goodnow, 1988; Serpell, 1992), knowledge which people possess because of their daily activities and interaction with their environment.

The gap between the "old" and the "new" is greater for rural residents than for any other sector in South African society. The "new", or other ways of doing things, relates to the ideas and concepts emerging from an industrialized, technological, usually urban framework which is often brought into rural areas under the guise of "modernisation" (Samoff, Metzler & Salie, 1992, p.106). This exerts a pressure on the accustomed ways of doing things to change as the following statement by a rural resident indicates:

When western culture arrived in this world, that is where the trouble started. We neglected our norms and values, we accepted other nations' norms and values.

This study recognises that the meeting of the "old" and the "new" is not necessarily a passive process. The issues generated by this meeting are constantly challenged, assessed, changed and adapted as people attempt to grapple with the situation. The word "grapple" is used intentionally to indicate the essential dynamic nature of these situations which are not necessarily accepted unquestioningly by the residents in rural areas. The meeting of local knowledge and new knowledge produces a situation in which the social actors in the environment grapple with what they see is the best way of resolving the differences. Rural areas are a site of the meeting of different knowledge paradigms which inevitably results in the mediation of the unfamiliar, especially in times of rapid social change.

### 3.2 The unique position of rural preschools

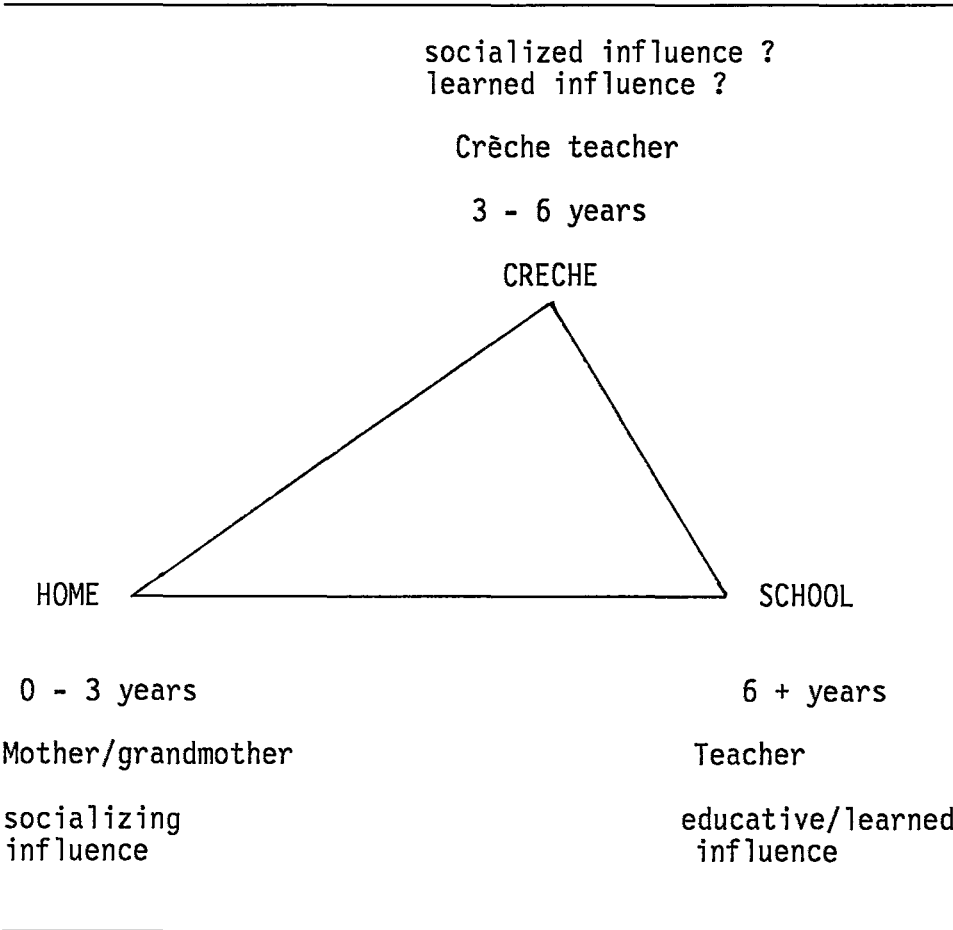
Rural preschools are a site of the meeting of different knowledge paradigms for two reasons. Firstly, because they are introduced as non-formal institutions from outside the rural environment and secondly, they are in a particular position between the home and the school. The fact that the concept of preschool education is not organic, but rather originates from a western, urban context where formal schooling plays an integral role, means that it can be considered an element of exogenous social change. That is, preschools are "foreign" and from a knowledge paradigm unfamiliar to rural contexts. Preschools are an extension of the process of more formal schooling in that they aim to ease the child's transition into primary school. This study does not claim that the introduction of all preschools creates this dynamic. Preschools in urban areas might draw on a knowledge paradigm familiar to that of the home environment. Rather, it seeks to explore the dynamics which result from the introduction of preschools with a curriculum and approach which are not indigenous and do not tend to draw on the context as a source for learning-teaching. It is these preschools which are the focus of this study.

The position of the pre-school is unique and provides an apt example of a situation in which the social actors grapple with the differences and disjunctures produced by the impact of rapid social change. The preschool is poised between two different realities viz. the home and socializing influence

of the parents, and the school and an educational influence primarily imported into the rural environment. It is argued that the position of the pre-school potentially forces the social actors into choosing between these two realities. The study deals with the question of how the central mediating figures in the child's life, particularly the mother and the preschool teacher, grapple with the uncertainty generated by the introduction of this element of exogenous change.

The introduction of this non-formal institution of learning into the environment gives rise to certain dynamics between the home, crèche and school which are represented in figure 1.

Figure 1. Dynamics between institutions: home, crèche and school.



The parental figure is the most prominent figure in the child's life before the child enters the pre-school at the age of three. This person is usually the mother, but frequently the mother is forced by economic necessity to seek employment in urban areas (Bekker, De Wet & Manona, 1981) and the care-giver role may be assumed by the grandmother. The mother/grandmother has helped to construct the social experience of the child and is integral to the child's cognitive socialization. The period from birth to six years of age is significant in that it is the most formative period of a child's development (Sprinthall & Sprinthall, 1977). It is a time where the infant becomes a child by learning the major social activities which characterise being human: to walk, speak, think and to act independently. Wood (1988) argues that the choices that are made at this stage, in terms of the education and socialization of the child, will fundamentally affect the child's formation of mind.

Entering the crèche is the child's first step outside the home environment and his/her first contact with the "outside" world, its demands and its tasks. The reality is that pre-schools are based on experience in middle-class western communities (Short, 1991; Vumani Pre-school Project, 1991). The child brings to this environment the knowledge gained from his/her experience in the home. At the pre-school this knowledge comes into contact with the tasks and demands of a different environment, which is mediated by someone other than the mother, the crèche teacher. During this process, the child experiences the meeting of two different paradigms of knowledge, that which s/he brings to the task, and that which the pre-school environment demands.

It is where knowledge is transferred that it can be seen. Craig (1990) comments that "in the case of children, the open and implicit project of socialization equips them, over time and maturation, with the necessary pre-understanding and understanding for familiar tasks" (p.9). The patterns of socialization can be seen in social interactions and in institutions. Social interactions occur, for example, between mother and child, and teacher and child. This interaction can be seen as a "cell" showing the relationship between the social and the psychological.

Institutions which exhibit patterns of socialization are, for example, the school, the home and the preschool. The question of what patterns and content

of socialization are (and should be) followed in this context, those of the home, or those of the formal education setting becomes an important choice. The content of the mediation, and the manner in which the parents and teachers of these children in these contexts mediate, become crucial questions. These questions can be explored through an investigation of the link between the mediation and socialization in the home and that in the school.

In addition, the role parents have in educating the child in the context of the school and preschool, which are based in the unfamiliar, is also important. For example how do the socialization practices of the home equip the child to cope with, and develop in the preschool? What role does the culture of rural parents, and that of the formal school system, play in the content of the pre-school education? What is the relationship between the home environment and the school environment? This position of being poised between the home and the school in terms of degree of "formality" means that the pre-school becomes in itself an arena for choice. The non-formal nature of the crèche and its position in the community creates the possibility of a creative resolution of the differences.

The study will explore the extent to which, in the context of rapid social change, the mediators provide for the conditions for cognitive change, and in particular, cognitive socialization. The research aim is to investigate a point of the meeting of different knowledge paradigms and, within this, to discover how actors grapple with the differences. The two contexts of the crèche and the home form the basis of the investigation.

### 3.3 The dynamics of the dyadic interaction

In certain situations, it is evident that the knowledge brought by the individual and the knowledge necessary to handle a particular task or environment, do not connect. The knowledge of each seems to come from different paradigms or have different sources. Times of rapid social change expose these scenarios of differences and conflicts between paradigms which need to be resolved. Research by Craig (1985, 1990b) investigating the entry of "non-westerners" into "western social forms" propose the adaptation of the

knowledge of the individual to the knowledge paradigm of the task in the situation. She refers to the "dual directionality of exchange between two transacting systems", but her focus is on "becoming familiar with western social forms" (p.281). This study proposes that the dynamics created by the meeting of knowledge paradigms, and the way in which the differences are resolved or grappled with, merits examination.

The conditions for cognitive change outlined in chapter 1 provide the structure on which to examine this grappling . In short, it is assumed that there is the potential for cognitive change to occur in any situation where:

- a) there is a non-balance between the subject and the object of knowledge and it is made explicit;
- b) there are the resources to overcome the non-balance;
- c) there is a mediator to facilitate the provision and use of the resources.

In order to explore the process of interaction, it is necessary to understand the state of each element in the interactional system: the mediator, child and task. It is acknowledged that separating the elements is an artificial process, for they exist primarily in interaction.

It is assumed that in any dyadic interaction with a task the mediator has a particular perception of what the goal of the task, in that particular setting, is. In a situation of familiarity the mediator possesses knowledge based on previous experiences, her own social formation of mind, and therefore resources. She has a particular perception of appropriate ways of doing the task, that is, how to apply her knowledge. The knowledge she holds and the knowledge paradigm in which the task is embedded, are the same.

The child, in the dyadic interaction with the familiar, has a willingness to learn and an ability to engage in the task. S/he possesses knowledge based on limited previous experience, therefore particular resources and a particular perception of the task. The knowledge s/he holds and the knowledge paradigm in which the task is embedded are the same.

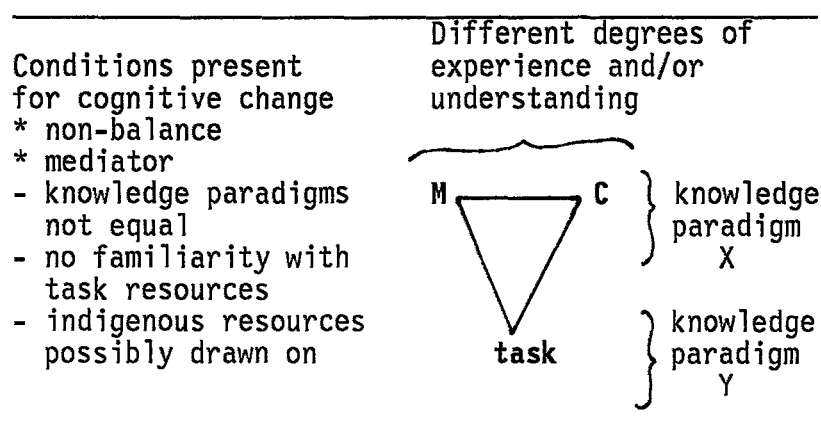
In a situation where the task (for example embedded in knowledge paradigm Y) is unfamiliar to the social actors in the interaction, "correct" execution of

the task requires the application of certain knowledge which is different from that which the social actors have (for example, embedded in knowledge paradigm X). It demands certain "ways of being" and "ways of doing" for resolution and thus sets boundaries for the interaction. It is suggested that, despite the unfamiliarity, the actors each bring to a situation knowledge, an approach to the situation, ideas about the goals of the interaction and ways of doing the task.

### 3.3.1 The particular dynamics of the unfamiliar scenario

In a situation of unfamiliarity, in terms of the conditions for cognitive change, the potential for non-balance is present. However, the non-balance is qualitatively different because the individual and the task are embedded in different paradigms of knowledge. The mediator does not necessarily have the appropriate resources to handle the non-balance in the sense of exposing and overcoming it and, therefore, the mediation relationship will be different. Assuming that the task used in the situation in the study is executed, the central questions which arise are: What is mediated in this scenario and what resources are drawn on? It has been argued that the mediator has "indigenous" resources based in local knowledge. Are these the resources which are drawn on in the resolution of the task? Figure 2 represents the relationship between the elements of the interactional system and the dynamics of conditions of cognitive change in an unfamiliar situation.

Figure 2. An unfamiliar scenario: the possible rural preschool dynamic and the situation captured in the research interactions.  
M = mediator; C = child.



In a situation of familiarity, for example in the learning-teaching milieu of the home, the non-balance would be present but the mediator's knowledge would come from the same paradigm as that of the task and therefore there would also be familiarity with resources. For example, if the task had been to construct a model ox from clay, an activity which is familiar to both the adult and the child in rural environments, the adult would have the necessary resources to manage and mediate the task. Familiarity provides confidence and fluency on the part of the mediator and could facilitate creativity and independence on the part of the child. If the mediator does draw on "indigenous" resources, how the familiar is handled would illuminate the handling of the unfamiliar. The mediation of the familiar is not explicitly dealt with in this study.

### 3.3.2 Possible arena of choices and resources available to the actors in the interaction

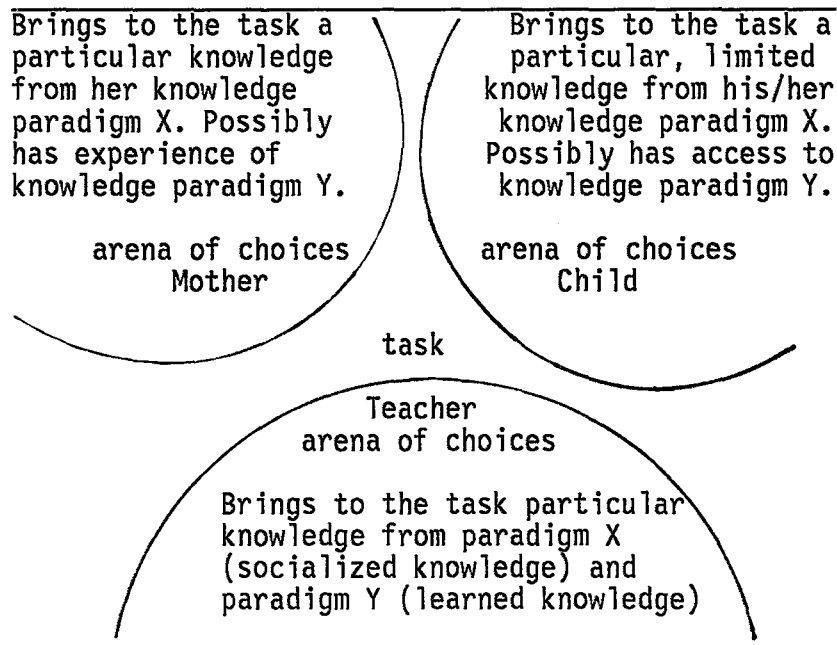
The interaction central to the research is an instructional process between adult and child. The adult actors in the interaction are the mother and the crèche teacher. It is assumed, that because of the exposure to training in non-formal education the teacher has received, she has access to a different spectrum of resources. She has access to knowledge paradigm X "socialized knowledge" as a result of her socialized education in the rural context. She also has access to knowledge paradigm Y, "learned knowledge" and that in which the task is embedded, as a result of her training as a crèche teacher.

It is assumed that the mother, on the other hand, does not have the resources resulting from training and her choices are limited. Parents hold theories about learning which they use in the socialization of their children. These "lay theories" are different from the "expert theories" (Craig, 1985) of educationists which develop from the philosophy of the educational process. These "lay theories" are the primary basis of the mother's resources. An array of choices will emerge if the mother has had experience outside of the single social institutional context (Saxe et al., 1984; Wertsch, 1985) in which she was socialized. For example, her experience may be predominantly rural (and embedded in knowledge paradigm X) in that she has not ever lived outside of her rural birth place. Or, it may be constituted, in part, of urban experience in that she has lived and worked in urban areas and therefore she has access

to knowledge paradigm Y. The child's choice is limited by his/her relative age and experience. However, the experience of the crèche-going child is potentially broadened by exposure to two different sources of information in the form of the mediators, the mother and the crèche teacher. Thus the child's knowledge may be embedded in knowledge paradigm X and, depending on the teacher and the nature of the mediation process in the crèche context, the child may have access to knowledge paradigm Y.

These dynamics, indicating the arena of choices in the sense of the constraints and resources which are faced by the actors in the task are represented in figure 3.

Figure 3. Arena of choices: constraints and resources



These choices and resources are constrained by various factors. For example, the implication of the greater scope in the teacher's arena of choices depends on the extent of her adaptation to knowledge paradigm Y. Her capacity to inculcate the knowledge needed to work with the task demanding knowledge paradigm Y, and the extent to which she relates knowledge paradigm X and Y will, in turn, reflect on whether the child learns/how child learns and the degree of transformation that will occur. In addition, the reality of the teachers' implementation of her training might be different from the perceived picture of her greater scope of resources.

### 3.4 The levels of investigation

Three levels of investigation were necessary to explore the issue of grappling with the meeting of different knowledge paradigms generated by rapid, exogenous, social change. The path of exploration of this study examines this issue initially with a narrow focus and then with a broader focus. This approach incorporates an examination of the actions of the individual and an examination of the broader context which frames and informs the actor's actions.

Craig (1990) highlights Vygotsky's (1978) assertion that the instructional process between adult and child is paradigmatic for the relationship between the psychological and the social. It is the mediation process within this "cell" which illuminates how the adults grapple with differences within a particular situation and which potentially reflects how these people grapple with the differences generated by rapid social change. It is this investigation of the relationship between the psychological and the social which forms the first level of investigation.

On the second and third levels of investigation, the nature of the social context which informs the social actors' responses to rapid social change is investigated. This broad focus creates a picture firstly of the explicit nature of cognitive socialization (the second level), and secondly of the implicit elements of this process of cognitive socialization (the third level). The relationship between these three levels and their corresponding methods of investigation will be outlined in chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE STUDY

The research upon which this study is based was conducted in 1991 in a fairly remote rural setting, the Amatole Basin, Ciskei. The residents in the villages of the Amatole Basin are largely dependent on migrant labour remittances supplemented by small-scale subsistence agriculture. The focus of this study was the major socializing agents of children, the parents and the crèche teachers, in five of the villages in this area. The design, setting and methodology of the study were informed by the following conceptual framework.

#### 4.1 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework for this study is informed by: the need to relate the research problem to its context of social relations and representations; the recognition that the research process is a constructivist one and develops in interaction between theory and data; and the view that research is a process always "being formed" and informed.

Greenwood (1991) comments that if social psychological scientists are to declare explanations of socially meaningful actions they must be concerned to establish that

the social relations and representations that constitute diverse behaviours as forms of action are present with respect to the particular actions that are the focus of their particular empirical and experimental enquiries. (p.19)

He substantiates this by arguing that many actions and social practices are relational in nature and therefore non-atomistic. Their identity is determined by their relation to phenomena extrinsic to them, as well as intrinsic relations. Briefly, he argues that behaviours are constituted as actions and social practices (a) by their location in social relational contexts, (b) by participant agent representations of the intentional direction of the behaviour, and (c) by collective representations of the social significance of certain forms of behaviour according to a local convention (ibid.).

The traditional empiricist emphasis on the observable, as found for example in experimentation, negates the seemingly obvious and logical appreciation of the relational nature of actions and social practices. Greenwood (1991) comments on the desirability of experimentation for science and defines it as "the ability to create, through intervention, situations that enable observers to isolate causal factors and evaluate competing causal explanations" (p.5). This technique, as well as the approach of following a model which is favoured in the conventional research process, are unrealistic. It is very difficult to reproduce a "real-life" situation in an experimental environment and for phenomena to retain their identity, because the activity of isolating actions and practices tends to alter or transform the very phenomenon being investigated.

One of the dilemmas faced whilst doing research is that of integrating the reality of the interpretative process with the process of representing the ideas in a written form. This implies a process of drawing out, or abstracting, the data into a presentable form. Mouton and Marais (1988) outline the convention within research of abstracting the research process into a model, which can be neatly drawn in diagram-form on paper. Hoos (1981) comments on the tendency to become more interested in the model than in the real world "effectively (ruling) out consideration of the subjective, the intangible, the immeasurable and unaccountable factors that prevail in real life" (p.43). This comment is directly applicable to the research process where a technical model may become completely unacceptable to the actual process of critically examining and interpreting the problem. The model may become restrictive, and possibly prescriptive, in that the way in which the model was conceived influences the emphasis and direction of the research and, consequently, its conclusions.

In reality, the research process is a constructivist one. It is not pre-formed, and it does not pre-exist, but develops in interaction between theory and data. In principle a "rigorous logical linkage" between theory, hypotheses, and observations (Manicas and Secord, 1983) is ideal, but does not necessarily occur in practice. One needs to acknowledge this constructivism in that, for example, the themes or concepts central to the analysis arise out of the process of analysis and do not pre-exist. It is the continual negotiation between theoretical constructs and data which results in a frame

through which the research can be viewed. As Greenwood (1991) notes, "the meaningful contents of our descriptive discourse about human actions are themselves socially constructed and negotiated" (p.42)

Vygotsky's (1978) methodology was based on the need to study the genesis of a problem, its causal-dynamic basis, thus emphasising the significance of explanation versus description. He posited that "mere description does not reveal the actual causal-dynamic relations that underlie phenomena" (p.62). An acknowledgement of the "process" nature of research is essential to an understanding of the generative mechanisms of phenomena. Research is never static, it is always "being formed" and informed.

The relational nature of many actions and social practices, and the constructivist and process nature of research ensuring a continual negotiation between theory and data, are the central concepts which informed the structure of the research process from its conceptualization, through its methodology, to its written representation. The broad design and methods used in the research process will be outlined.

#### 4.2 Broad research design

Mathison (1988) argues that triangulation is "a technique which provides more and better evidence from which researchers can construct meaningful propositions about the social world" (p.13). It is based on the belief that several levels of evidence are required for the researcher to construct plausible explanations. The research design was not for the purpose of triangulation per se, however, reliability and validity are improved by the use of different methods. These several levels of evidence are provided by the three methods of data collection used to address the three levels of investigation described in chapter 3. These three methods were: dyadic interactions working on a task; interviews, discussions and observations; and the collection of stories and verses. The relationship between the three levels of investigation and their corresponding methods constitutes the research design which is represented in figure 4.

Figure 4. Research design: levels and methods of investigation

LEVEL OF INVESTIGATION	METHOD
THE INSTRUCTIONAL PROCESS: CELL OF SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL	DYADIC INTERACTIONS WITH TASK
SOCIAL CONTEXT; SOCIALIZATION CONCEPT AND PROCESS	INTERVIEWS, DISCUSSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS
THE IMPLICIT IDEOLOGY OF SOCIALIZATION	STORIES AND VERSES

The dyadic interactions provide a window onto the instructional process between adult and child which is paradigmatic for the relationship between the psychological and the social (Craig, 1990). Twenty-four mother-child and teacher-child dyads participated in completing a puzzle-like task (Wertsch et al, 1980). The mediational processes in these dyadic interactions symbolise the handling of the unfamiliar in times of social change.

These dyadic interactions were embedded in their social context through interviews and discussions with residents, parents, and crèche teachers in each of the five villages. Observations of rural life, as well as of the activities of the rural crèches, contributed to an understanding of the social context. Together these interviews, discussions and observations outlined the fabric of socialization beliefs and practices.

Aspects of the ideology of socialization inherent in this way of life were exposed through an examination of stories and verses told to children by parents and crèche teachers.

A further source of information which contributed to an understanding of the research process and contextual issues was the fieldwork reports which highlight the social and political context of the research. The value of the contribution of these reports to a more sensitive perspective, and therefore a more informed research framework, will be shown in a description of the research context, constraints and resulting mode of operation.

### 4.3 The research setting

A description of the research setting highlighting some of the significant social, political and economic factors as experienced directly and indirectly during the research process, follows.

The Amatole Basin is fifteen kilometres from the nearest small town of Alice and is relatively isolated geographically from the outside world. The thirteen villages in the Basin were small, offering minimal wage or salaried employment. Most of the economically active Amatole Basin adults migrate to towns and cities in South Africa to obtain an alternative source of cash income. The effect of this is that the majority of residents in the Amatole Basin were either older than sixty or under twenty (Bekker, De Wet & Manona, 1981). The effect of migrant labour is that households are run predominantly by women and the number of children cared for by grandparents in the absence of working parents is high.

With respect to land tenure residents either own land or, at a nominal fee, rent land. Fifty percent of the residents are dependent on income in the form of migrant labour remittances, pension and disability grants. This is supplemented by small-scale subsistence agriculture. Although most residents prefer employment to agricultural pursuits or self-employment, a number of residents are active in field cultivation. This is hampered by restrictions on land designated for cultivation, the regulation of the number of cattle allowed on the land and limited resources - in the form of labour, means of ploughing and capital - to work the land (ibid.).

The rural reality is harsh and the struggle for basic needs predominates. For example, a report of research conducted in this area prior to this study (under the auspices of the Education and Development Research Project, Rhodes University), and which formed the basis of the introduction of this study, was presented to the residents in community meetings. However, the reality of hunger and basic needs affected the researcher's intention to report back, and engage the residents in the research process. In response to the query as to whether they had read the report, a female resident of one of the villages responded:

We read it, but we are hungry and it comes and it goes. We read because

we are afraid of you, you are coming next week. There is no concern. Everyone knows about this meeting, but people don't come. People see us sitting here and they see us as the crèche people, the Resident Association people. When something good happens they will come.

Rural village life for the Xhosa-speaking residents of the Amatole Basin is maintained by a rich fabric of beliefs, customs, rituals and expected ways of being. There is cohesion and collective action around key events and ceremonies in this communal lifestyle. It is a small village context and the residents operate collectively rather than individually. For example, a death in the community is not a one family affair, it involves a large part of the community. On inquiring about the relationship between the Chair of the Resident's Association and a recently deceased resident in one of the villages, one of the residents commented "We are all family". Arrangements around these events dominate activity in the village and for long periods of time all other activity is suspended. For example, as a result of a death in the abovementioned village, residents delayed for a three week period the filling in of forms given to them by the research team for application for funds to build a crèche. Meetings with residents in one of the other villages were postponed because of a death in the community.

Ciskei is one of South Africa's so-called "independent homelands". The political climate prior to, and during, the period of research was very tenuous and ironically, given the framework of the research question, epitomised a time of rapid social change. In March 1990, Lennox Sebe was ousted as military leader and Brigadier Qozo took control of Ciskei. This was initially met with jubilation, however, the Brigadier's vacillation in political affiliation and the passing of severe legislations soon brought home the reality of his conservative military leadership. Political tension around the control of villages arose out of Qozo's initial support for the introduction of a Residents Association system to replace the headman system, and then six months later his issuing legislature re-instating the headman system. Administrative chaos resulted in lack of payment of pensions and wages for civil servants. This administrative chaos, general instability and confusion (Manona, 1991) was felt by residents throughout Ciskei. An Amatole Basin male resident made the following comment: "We are like a country

without a government". This was indicative of the effect these political changes had on the basic fabric of life in the villages.

The research was conducted at the time when the adjustment to this "new order" was taking place. During the course of fieldwork there were reports of dissatisfaction with wages in the Civil Service and lack of pension payments which resulted in union organised strikes of which the crèche teachers were part:

The crèche teacher explained that very soon after we had left the last time (February 26 1991), they had received a message from Mdantsane telling them to close the crèche because people had not been paid. They had therefore joined the long-standing strike. At present they were meant to be back at work but they had still not been paid. (Fieldwork report 5/3/91)

Ultimately the political climate had a direct effect on the crèches in the form of increased monitoring, retrenchments of crèche teachers and a restriction on resources/funds. One of the fieldwork reports reflects this scenario:

The crèche teacher seemed anxious and commented that they were "a bit busy...they are closing the crèches". She said that (the Government) had been inspecting the crèches and that they had been in Alice the previous week. Ten crèches in Peddie and five in Middeldrift had already been closed. The crèches were assessed on the basis of "cleanliness, time (whether the teachers and children were punctual), indoor equipment, and outdoor equipment" and their progress with building a crèche structure. She related an incident of a crèche being closed because the teacher had not arrived by 10h00. When asked why they were closing the crèches, she said that it was not because of a lack of money. "The main thing they say is that we are not working". She related another incident where a schoolgirl is the supervisor of a crèche. During the day she attends school, and at the end of the month she collects her money. (Fieldwork report 23/7/91)

These tensions on a political level created an environment of fear. This lack of an "enablement-friendly" (Nkwinti, 1992) environment did not provide the context for change. This was expressed by one of the residents at the very

first residents meeting held during the research: "We don't want to be seen to be breakaways... With the coup we don't want to be seen to be part of devious things" (Fieldwork report 26/2/91). This was the context in which the crèche operated, and in which the research occurred, and it had its impact on both.

#### 4.4 Preschool education in the Amatole Basin

One of the areas of focus in this study is the educational structures of the preschools, specifically those which have been introduced into rural areas from different contexts. Over the last seven years (1985-1992) preschool structures have been introduced at a rapid rate into rural areas of South Africa. The Amatole Basin is one of these rural areas where preschools (locally known as crèches) based predominantly on a eurocentric, middle-class, urban style of educating, in form and content, have been introduced.

Preschool education was introduced by the Ciskei government, under the Department of Agriculture, to the Amatole Basin in 1985. Over a five year period crèches had developed in every village in the Basin.

The teachers at these crèches are residents of the villages and salaried employees of the Ciskei government. They are supervised by two government employed fieldworkers, one a resident of the Amatole Basin and the other born in Natal. The fieldworkers monitor the activities of the crèche and conduct the training of the teachers.

The work of the teachers is hampered by the fact that the present crèche buildings are owned by individual residents, and are not official crèche structures, which restricts the scope of development of the crèche.

At present the crèches are loosely connected to the Border Early Centre through the Ciskei Early Learning Centre in Zwelitsha. The fieldworkers and one of the crèche teachers have attended courses in educare training run by the Border Early Learning Centre. The curriculum used in the preschools is based on British and Montessori models with the proviso that "material is to

be adjusted to local conditions" (BELC, 1991, p.11). The BELC report makes frequent reference to the need to adjust these models to the particular reality:

We do, however, continually adapt all of this to our own local conditions, which are predominantly rural... Our starting point then is the rural village. Thus all of our materials are: pictorially descriptive as far as possible; in Xhosa as well as in English; suitable for all types of caregivers e.g. young teenage mothers, older siblings, parents, grandparents and educare workers. (BELC Annual Report, 1991, p.11)

Although none of the training courses were examined, the main products of this training visible in the methods and approach of the fieldworkers in the Amatole Basin were various home-made toys and charts and a crèche programme. The crèches operate on a Daily Programme of periods of instruction punctuated by breaks for "free choice activities" and meals for the children. Appendix D contains an account of the Daily Programme of the crèche as observed on a field visit and there is more information in chapter 6 about the activities in the crèche.

However there is evidence that many teachers do not, or cannot, identify with material, or adhere to the programme. For example, during a visit to one of the crèches the teacher brought out a chart containing a number of blocks with pictures of objects (depicting for example, a dustpan, a sandcastle, a puppy). The pictures had been very neatly coloured in but she could not correctly identify the pictures. Another example was that most of the crèches had labels on the walls identifying particular "areas" of activity viz. "make-believe area"; "display area". These were suggested by the fieldworker as a result of her training course. The labels were in English and throughout the period of research there was very little evidence of their use other than on the formal presentations of the crèche programme to the researcher by the fieldworkers. Another example was that although the crèche teachers spoke of the official Daily Programme when asked what is done in the crèche, this did not seem to be adhered to particularly in the more isolated villages.

The fact that the official programme of the crèche was not implemented could be attributed to a number of factors: there is insufficient training and

acculturation to this material; there is ineffective mediation by the fieldworkers of the material; the material is too foreign and too "urban" in nature (as implied by Short, 1984) because the preschool's primary aim is to prepare children for the formal school environment irrespective of the form and content of home education.

Thus there is no evidence in the Amatole Basin of the many intentions of being relevant. There is particularly no evidence of drawing parents' comments into the construction of the curriculum. Rather, individual members of the community are drawn into training programmes outside of the context of the rural area. There is no evidence in this particular area of a strategy to build on the resources and knowledge which exist in the community. This serves to reinforce the "foreignness" of the crèche education and create the impression that the "teaching" of the home environment is lacking.

Parental involvement in the crèche is restricted to a practical level (making toys and outdoor play equipment) and financial level (for example, fundraising for a crèche building). Their involvement in the crèches is not on a level which affects the content of the crèche programme.

The context described above created certain constraints in which the research was conducted. These issues, and the resulting mode of operation, are outlined below.

#### 4.5 Contextual constraints and resulting mode of operation

This study developed out of an investigation in 1990 (Van der Riet, 1990) of the conditions of five of the crèches in the Amatole Basin. With this as a base for the present study, most of the communication with residents in each village was conducted through the crèche teacher. Due to the rapport built with villages on this previous occasion, the mode and point of access into each community varied, affecting the sampling procedure.

#### 4.5.1 The intrusion of an "outsider"

The difficulty of an "outsider" entering this context was expressed by one of the residents, in an informal discussion of his own initiative, to one of the members of the research team. He acknowledged the difficulty of the type of work the research team was doing and commented on the uncertainty of either a hostile, or favourable reception from the residents. He pointed at the forest at the top of the hill opposite the village and said:

You see, what you are doing here is like chopping poles in that forest and then trying to draw them into the village. You have no oxen or truck to carry them here. You have to ask someone who has oxen to draw the poles for you to the village. But you must first have two big pots (of traditional beer) in order to attract people to help you. That is how the village works. The people want something before they can do what you ask them to do here . (Fieldwork report, 17/5/91)

He went on to say that the people of the village

do not know you, and working here from village to village means that you may even be killed by these people. But you are doing what you do because you want to help us here. The people here do not understand that now we are building a new world. They see you come here with these "white children" (students), and to them it is like spanning a cow and a horse. You must understand what is happening. Some people may think deep that they have been eating mealies because of whites and just take a knife and kill someone.... (However), people are still living in the dark here. Your presence here is like lighting a lamp in the middle of a dark room at night... You have got to be patient Jerusalem was not built in a day. The people here do not know you, but they know how they live. They are very slow. (ibid.)

This introduction of a "foreigner" in the form of the researcher could create particular dynamics. For example, the researcher is assumed to an "expert" and her presence is assumed to involve an evaluation of the residents, therefore there is a need to protect the community and to ensure that a good impression is made. Access to residents was also controlled by key actors in the community. This seemed to be an attempt to control the image of the village portrayed to the researcher. For example, the crèche teacher in one of the villages selected which mothers and children would participate in the research

despite attempts on the part of the researcher to use a particular sampling procedure.

The researcher had to take cognisance of the fact that the different cultural context, milieu and customs created a particular environment for the research. For example the practice of particular social customs (such as respect for ones' elders) which affected access to some of the residents (for example, the grandmothers), and the way in which interviews were conducted (younger deferring to older; females deferring to males). Access to individual residents was affected by the fact that it was difficult to take time off to participate in the research. For example access to mothers was restricted by their work commitments (household, and formal employment). It is in this sense that the "rapport" (Van Vlaenderen & Nkwinti, 1991) between researcher and those involved in the interaction becomes a central factor in the response of the residents to the research and the behaviour of the actors in the research process.

#### 4.5.2 The foreignness of the concept of research

The techniques and demands inherent in the research process were unfamiliar to residents. The technique of verbally trying to access things done on an everyday, unconscious level through asking questions was experienced by the mothers/grandmothers as "difficult" and there was a noticeable reluctance to engage with the researcher in any activity after the interviews. The lack of practical benefit of research, and the concomitant lack of desire to be questioning, was expressed by one group of residents who said that they had not discussed the report because "all the information is in it and we did not see the point of us meeting". The constraints on the time spent with the residents did not facilitate the familiarisation with research techniques. The nature of the political climate in this particular context also restricted the questioning approach inherent in the research process. The residents live under very real constraints as expressed by one of the residents:

There is confusion now in these villages. A relative of the Chief (of the Basin) has been killed and cut all over the body. People are confused, they do not know what to do.

Research conventionally relies on the ability to create an isolated experimental environment which restricts "unwanted" variables. However, this is unrealistic. For example, it was very difficult to isolate dyads used in the research process. Strict isolation was unnatural in the nature of social relations of this environment and therefore the presence of others in the interviews, and in the dyadic interactions, formed the framework of investigation. The advantage of this is that the research problem was seen in its entirety and factors which would have been excluded by a more "experimental and controlled" environment, for example the centrality of the social nature of learning, became visible. The investigation aspect of research occurs in a context of social relations and representations, and one cannot recreate specific environmental conditions which are ideal only for such problems.

In the light of the above constraints, the research was characterised by a particular mode of operating which sought to deal with the problems which arose and to ensure sensitivity to the realities of the context. Regular and intensive contact with the research area and community was maintained in order to create and maintain rapport. A broad perception of sources of data was adopted in which information, and an understanding of the research area, were seen to be obtained through the "official" processes of data collection (such as interviews and filming interactions), as well as unofficial sources, (such as informal communication with residents; noted observations of actions; comments of the residents which reflect the social dynamics of the area; and an assessment of the socio-political situation in the research area). Consistent writing of reports after each field visit served to reflect on the research process and context, for example how the research and researcher were being perceived by the community. Discussion and analysis of the research process with others working in the same, or related, areas of concern served as a forum in which to examine these issues and to consider adjustments to the research process.

#### 4.6 The sampling process

The sampling process had to take cognisance of the constraints of the social context whilst meeting the requirements of the three levels of investigation.

Five out of the thirteen villages in the Basin were chosen on the basis of contact established through previous research (1989-1990) which ensured that a certain level of rapport existed with the residents. These villages are referred to as follows: village (N) village (K); village (C); village (Md); village (Mk).

The selection of the five villages was an attempt at representing the range of physical and geographical conditions which exist in the area. Village (K) is situated in the centre of the Basin (physically and administratively); village (N) is situated on the eastern extreme of the Basin; village (Mk) is situated on the western boundary of the Basin, on a mountain ridge; village (C) is situated in the southern section of the Basin; village (Md) is situated in the northern section of the Basin. Each of these villages also had a operational crèche.

##### 4.6.1 Introducing the research

Meetings were held with the residents of each village to introduce the research concepts, process, and to outline and request participants in further processes of the research viz. interviews, and the interaction. The content of these discussions is represented in the results of the interview. Appendix A contains the guidelines used in this discussion.

It was evident that many mothers in this rural area sought employment in urban areas. This urban migration resulted in the grandmothers assuming the care-giver role. It was for this reason that the study involved mothers and grandmothers as key socializing agents of the children. At the general residents meeting, the researcher asked for the participation of two mothers and two grandmothers who could meet the following criteria: the care-givers of children approximately five years of age who were in attendance at the crèche. The total sample from each village was to contain two male children

and two female children. These mothers and grandmothers then formed the groups which were interviewed as mothers. At the resident's meeting the crèche teacher of that village was asked to participate in an interview.

After each interview, the puzzle-like task and the fact that it was to be filmed were explained to the mothers/grandmothers and teachers. Each teacher was to be filmed with a child age 3 years, 4 years, and 5 years, selected from a list of crèche children identifying their major care-givers, age and gender. Fewer teachers than mothers/grandmothers participated in the study and teachers were therefore filmed participating in the task with three separate children so that consistency in their behaviour could be assessed. These mothers/grandmothers and teachers were then, considering all constraints, the participants in the adult-child interactions.

The total number of adult-child dyads filmed was twenty-four. An attempt was made to follow the criteria as set out above, but this was restricted by the fact that some of the crèches had more male children than female children and thus the gender balance was not always adhered to. In addition to this the age-representation of children at each crèche varied and thus the age criteria was not always adhered to. In the final data analysis the focus was on the children aged five years.

The realistic constraints on defining the sample were numerous and created a distinct difference between the idea of the sample in theory and the sample in practice. The constraints and the actual process of the sample definition will be outlined so that the difficulties are appreciated and the divergence from the intended sample is documented. It is not suggested that this invalidated the research. Rather, it is acknowledged that the sample is less than ideal and that the real-life conditions in which the research was conducted pose problems for attempts to isolate variables and factors. The social context which exists and the examination of the research problem in this context provides a perspective on the relational nature of actions and social practices referred to above, which would not have been revealed in an "experimental" setting.

#### 4.6.2 The procedure of defining the interview and interaction sample

In (N), the first village in which the research question was officially raised, the residents participated in the general interview. During this meeting the residents expressed the fear of acting independently of the other villages and requested that the researchers make contact with the other villages as well as with the officials responsible for the monitoring of the crèches. In appreciation of their position, the researcher decided to develop contact with the other villages and subsequently drew on these villages for participants in the interviews and interactions.

In village (K), after the initial meetings with residents, the crèche teacher selected five adults (three mothers and two grandmothers) who would participate in the interviews. After the compilation of a list of all the children in attendance at the crèche (detailing their ages, gender and primary care-giver), an attempt was made by the researcher to request particular dyads, who fulfilled the criteria, for the interactions. However, only two of the original five interview participants participated in the interactions. A number of reasons are suggested for this. Firstly, the mothers/grandmothers experienced the interviews as "difficult" and were very reluctant to continue to participate in the research. Secondly, two of the adults were affected by external factors (family bereavement; work constraints) and, thirdly, after the interview, the crèche teacher again exerted control over the process of selection of mothers/grandmother. She did not facilitate access to those adults who had withdrawn and introduced two different mothers to the research sample. One of these mothers was a primary school teacher. She also selected the children who were to participate in the teacher-child interactions. The crèche teacher was present during the interactions of all except one mother, and on each occasion she frequently intervened and directed the adults and children. The crèche teacher performed the task with four children.

In village (C), after the initial meeting with residents, access to mothers was gained through a key individual in the community. The crèche teacher was not very central in this process. Mother-child, and teacher-child dyads were chosen by the crèche teacher together with the researcher after a list of all the children in attendance at the crèche (detailing their ages, gender and primary care-giver) was compiled. Contact with the interview participants

after the interview was difficult. Arrangements to meet the mothers and film the interactions were not kept and contact had to be made informally and unannounced, directly to the homes of two mothers. The third mother was not very willing to participate in performing the task and "put off" the researcher's requests three times. The fourth mother was unavailable. The teacher performed the task with three children.

In village (Md) contact was made with the residents as a whole on the basis of discussing the crèche facilities. After this discussion, and a general explanation of research, the researcher requested participants to do the task and there were immediate volunteers (two grandmothers and one mother). These volunteers fulfilled the criteria. On follow-up contacts, one more mother volunteered which completed the sample of four adults. This atmosphere of willingness and eagerness was very different to that of the other villages. The teacher performed the task with three children.

In village (Mk) contact was made with the residents as a whole on the basis of discussing the crèche facilities. The research process in this village was slower than in the other villages and the researcher did not therefore request the participation of mothers/grandmothers in the interactions. The crèche teacher was asked to perform the task, but was given no prior warning of the visit and no translator was present. Teacher-child dyads were selected by the crèche teacher together with the researcher, after a list of all the children in attendance at the crèche (detailing their ages, gender and primary care-giver) was compiled. The teacher performed the task with three children.

#### 4.7. Data collection procedure

Data collection using three different research methods, to parallel the three levels of investigation outlined in the research design, were used.

##### 4.7.1 Interviews, discussions and observations

The interview schedule of the general discussion with residents was the most flexible and unstructured of the interviews and was developed in the process of the meetings. Interviews with mothers/grandmothers and teachers were

conducted according to an interview schedule. Flexibility in following the process of the discussion and the different issues raised was seen to be an important part of facilitating rapport in the interview setting. All interview schedules and guidelines for the residents' meetings are attached in Appendix A.

Many meetings were held throughout the research process to deal with numerous issues not directly related to the context of the research but which facilitated the overall process of engagement with the community. Reference is made only to those meetings which served the particular function of introducing the research. The general discussions were conducted in meetings called by the Residents' Association. All residents were invited to attend. In village (N) one meeting was held and six women and one man attended. In village (K) two meetings were held. The first was attended by eight women and four, and the second by six women and three men. In village (C) one meeting was held and ten women and four men attended. At village (Mk) one meeting was held and five women and four men attended. In village (Md) two meetings were held. The first was attended by twelve women, and the second by seven women. Meetings were conducted in the crèche building in three of the villages, in the open air in one village, and in the community hall in the fifth village. The first general discussion was held in village (N), and this laid the basis for interaction with all the other villages in terms of themes. It was at this meeting that the residents' suggested that the researcher make contact with the fieldworkers and raise the issues concerning crèche education with them.

In these discussions, female residents deferred to male residents, and younger residents deferred to older residents, with the result that older male residents tended to be more vocal. However, in some of the villages, there was a majority of older, female residents in attendance at the meetings, due to a greater mortality rate for men and an absence of younger (particularly male) residents due to migrant labour.

### Mothers and grandmothers

The original intention was to hold separate individual interviews with each mother/grandmother. However, the mothers/grandmothers preferred to participate in group discussions. The effect of this was that it was difficult to obtain

individual viewpoints, and/or, differences in viewpoints between mothers and grandmothers. There was also a deferral on the part of the younger mothers, to the older women, although those women with more experience outside of the Amatole Basin were more confident in stating their views, and did not always defer.

In all of the villages, the discussions were held in the crèche building which was not very secluded and other adults would contribute their views (the fieldworkers, the crèche teachers). Thus it was difficult to maintain the identity of the group as that of mothers/grandmothers. An individual interview was conducted with one mother because she was not available at the time of group discussion and the crèche teacher (village K) encouraged the researcher to make contact with this individual who was a primary school teacher. Although she participated in the research as a mother, she was not very representative of mothers in the village, and her insights as a more trained professional are included in the views of the teachers.

### Teachers

Three teacher interviews were conducted. In village (C), the interview was conducted with the teacher and her helper, with the fieldworker present for the latter half of the interview. One of the mothers who was fluent in English acted as translator. In village (Md), the teacher and her helper were interviewed in the presence of other mothers and the fieldworker acted as translator. One of the interviews (village K) was conducted with the teacher alone, mostly in English with Xhosa responses tape-recorded and later translated. This teacher also submitted a written response to some of the questions.

### Fieldworker

This interview followed from the initial residents' discussion (village N) where seemingly contentious issues were raised, and the researcher was requested to make contact with the fieldworker as the "official" voice on crèche matters. An interview with one of the two fieldworkers responsible for the Amatole Basin was therefore conducted. The full transcript of this interview is in Appendix C.

## Observations

The data from these interviews and discussions was supplemented by predominantly unstructured observations of the activities in the crèches. A more structured form of observation occurred on one occasion when the "Daily Programme" of the crèche was enacted by the fieldworkers and one of the teachers. A form of "observation", in the broadest possible sense, of life in this particular rural was captured in the notes taken during fieldtrips and the subsequent reports written on visit to the research area.

### 4.7.2 The dyadic interactions and the Wertsch Task

After the interviews, mothers and teachers were requested to participate, with their child, in doing a task which was to be filmed by videocamera. In order to accustom the adults to the camera, informal activity was recorded and played back to them. Where possible, children were accustomed to the camera in a similar way.

The Wertsch puzzle (Wertsch, 1980) was chosen as the task for the dyadic interaction for two reasons. Firstly, the level of difficulty of the task necessitated the adult's assistance of the child. Secondly, as a result of its "foreignness", the dyads' interaction with the task, and each other, was similar to a situation in which they would have had to confront the unfamiliar, and grapple with the differences between their knowledge, and that required to meet the demands of the task.

This unfamiliarity resided in two aspects of the task. Firstly, the demands of the task: that of performing a task involving a process of using a model to complete a copy of the model. Thus, the task might have had familiar parts i.e the nature of the object to be constructed was familiar (the recognition of the picture as a "truck"/ "lorry"/ motor vehicle of some sort) but the unfamiliarity lay in the use of a model and copy. Secondly, the task, in the form of a wooden puzzle where pieces are used to construct a picture of a truck, was also essentially unfamiliar to the actors in this interaction. This unfamiliarity stems from the relatively little, or complete lack of contact the actors have had with a puzzle of this kind - as a toy, educational

material, or in any other form. The majority of homes and pre-schools in this rural context do not contain many manufactured toys or games similar to this puzzle. This degree of unfamiliarity is in sharp contrast to the degree of exposure to this sort of material, experienced by actors in previous studies. The contexts of previous studies have been essentially urban and/or western environments (Wertsch, 1980; Craig 1985) where access to manufactured "puzzle-like" tasks such as this one, was potentially greater.

The task in this study required the dyad to complete a puzzle in accordance with a model which depicted a truck (see figure 5). The wooden template of the copy was 32 cm X 42 cm, with the figure of truck measuring 20 cm X 32 cm in total. The measurements of the template and truck on the model were identical to those on the copy. The pieces making up the copy fell into two categories. First there were pieces which could fit into only one space in the puzzle. These were the "non-cargo" truck pieces (pieces 1-5) which depicted parts of the truck such as the windows, headlight, wheels, and truck body. The second set of pieces (pieces 6-15) were different shapes and sizes and made up the "cargo" section of the puzzle. The correct decision as to where the pieces were to be inserted in the copy could be made by consulting the model. The instruction at the beginning of the task read out to the adult in Xhosa, was as follows:

*Oluphando luqulunqelwe ukwazi ukuba wena no .... niyisombulula njani na ingxaki. Ungamncedisa u.... kwisisombululo kodwa ndifuna azenzele ngokwakhe.*

English translation:

This study is in order to learn how you and (the child) together solve puzzles. You can assist (the child) on this, but I want (the child) to do it him/herself.

Biographical information of the adult participants in the interactions was recorded on a data sheet and is presented in table 1. Each dyad was coded according to their status - mother (M), grandmother (G), crèche teacher (T) in the order of appearance on the video cassette of the interactions. Thus the eighth adult to be filmed was a teacher and her code is T8. The first adult on the video is an exception because, although she participated in the study as a mother, she is a trained primary school teacher. It was deemed necessary that her code reflect this combined status. She is therefore coded as M/T1.

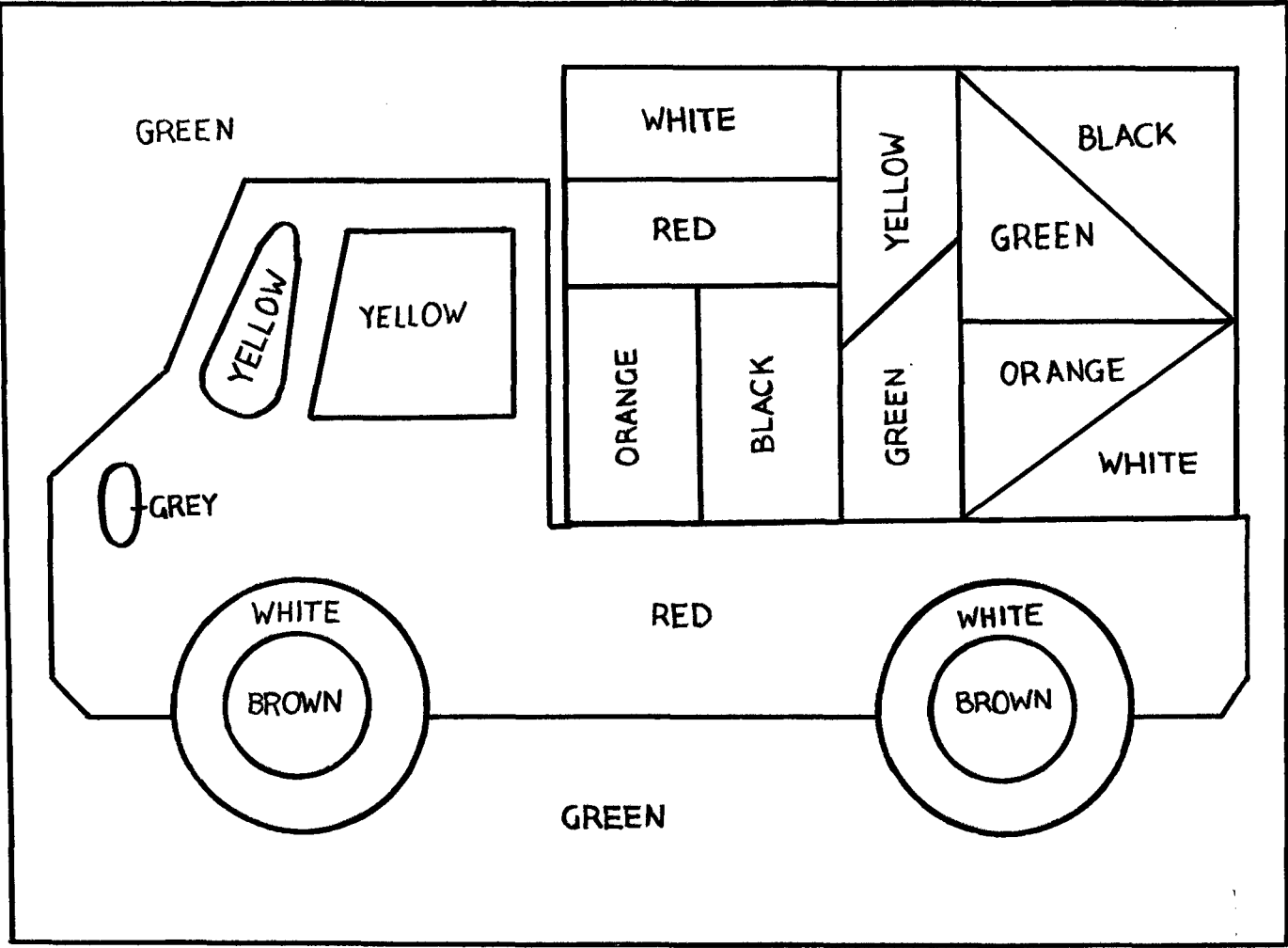


Figure 5. Diagram of the truck puzzle

Table 1. Biographical information of adult participants in dyadic interactions with corresponding child

Information		Village	Age	Birthplace	residential history *		Std	Place of schooling	employment history *	Child in interaction	
Interaction					all or mostly rural	mostly urban				gender	age
Mothers/ Grandmothers	G2	K	76	AB	AB		5	AB	3:AB domestic 2:AB Child-caring	M	5
	M/T1	K	35	M/d		25:M/d 10:AB	8; PTC	M/d; Ldale	16:Teacher	M	5
	M9	C	24	AB	AB		8	Kkh	-	F	5
	M10	C	30	AB	AB		5	AB	-	M	5
	M11	C	33	AB	AB		8	AB	-	M	5
	M15	Md	39	Kkh		urban	7	Kkh	self-employed	F	5
	G16	Md	63	M/d		urban	4	M/d	pensioner	M	5
	G17	Md	75	M/d		PE	1	M/d	6:PE domestic; pensioner	F	5
Teachers	T8	K	42	AB	29:AB 13:Mdnt		7	AB	7:EL factory; crèche	M	5
	T12	C	36	KWT	31:AB 5:KWT		6	PE	3:AB shop; crèche	F	3
	T21	Md	39	KWT		21:KWT 18:AB	6	KWT	3:AB govt. labour 5:crèche	M	5
	T22	Mk	44	?	?	?	?	?	? crèche	M	3

Abbreviations

Mk  
K  
C  
Md  
M  
G  
T  
std  
PTC  
govt

} villages  
= mother  
= grandmother  
= teacher  
= standard of education  
= Primary Teacher's Certificate  
= government

Place abbreviations

AB = Amatole Basin  
EL = East London  
Kkh = Keiskammahoek  
KWT = King Williams' Town  
L/dale = Lovedale  
M/d = Middledrift  
Mdnt = Mdantsane  
PE = Port Elizabeth

\* numbers in these columns represent number of years

### 4.7.3 Stories and verses

Verses were collected informally during observations of the crèche activities and programme, as well as whilst waiting for meetings. These verses were recorded in written form (a few on video-tape) and translated by a mother-tongue Xhosa person. Stories were requested at the general meetings with residents. These requests were usually met with laughter, perhaps because the forum in which the request was made was inappropriate, or because people wondered why their stories were of importance. Two written responses were obtained, one from a Resident Association Chairperson, and one from a crèche teacher. Interpretation and translation of these verses and stories was conducted by one bilingual Xhosa mother-tongue individual and were cross-checked by another two bilingual Xhosa individuals.

### 4.8 Translation

The interview questions for the mother/grandmother and teacher interviews were written in English and Xhosa. The interview schedules were translated from English into Xhosa by one bilingual (Xhosa-English) individual. The Xhosa version was then cross-checked against the English version by another (Xhosa-English) bilingual individual.

All interviews were conducted in the presence of an individual who was able to translate Xhosa into English and vice-versa. In the majority of interviews this was a member of the community (a student, the fieldworker, one of the office workers, one of the mothers), which was the preferred situation, except for the initial resident's discussion at village (N), where the translator was a member of the research team. Emphasis was placed on the individual's role as translator and not as interpreter. All the interviews were tape-recorded and recorded in written form. Excerpts of the tape-recordings were back-translated to check for reliability of the translation. The written notes and the tape-recordings were used to compile transcripts of the interviews.

## 4.9 Data analysis

In the 1920's Vygotsky (1978) wrote that "the situation in contemporary psychology is such that the problem of analysis itself must be discussed" (p. 61). Although he was commenting on the use of the stimulus-response framework for constructing experimental observations which was restricted to the determination of quantitative variation, his comment is applicable to the problem of analysis in this study.

The process of analysis used in this study is embedded in the conceptual framework outlined in the beginning of this chapter. It draws on the central concepts of the need to relate the problem to its context of social relations and representations; the recognition that the research process is a constructivist one and develops in interaction between theory and data; and the acknowledgement that the process nature of research is an essential characteristic.

### 4.9.1 Analysis of the interactions

It is in the analysis of the dyadic interactions that the issue of a "rigorous logical linkage" between theory, hypotheses and observations referred to in the section on the conceptual framework, becomes most pertinent. As a "slice of life" (Craig, 1988) form of data recorded on video-tape, these interactions constituted the most complex level of investigation. The layers of "happenings" in the interactions required an extremely involved process of analysis in order to reach any sort of explanation of the data.

Previous research on dyadic interactions of this nature (Craig, 1985) has generated and utilized ideal mediational operators against which the mother-child interactions were measured. The goal of this study was to explain what the adults do in a situation where they have to grapple with differences in knowledge paradigms between what the individual brings to the task and what is required for completion of the task. A deliberate attempt was made not to place the dyadic interactions against a standard of any sort. It is recognized that no researcher can be neutral in any stage of the research process, and that there are standards inherent in the researcher's thinking which

operated in this context. The process of analysis described below was, however, an attempt to explain the interactions as they were as much as possible. It was out of this process that the operationalization of the workings of the conditions for cognitive change (mediation and resources) became explicit and an attempt at a connection between the theory and the data could be made. This process was not faultless and needs to be seen as an attempt at constructing the frame through which the data and theory can be observed. The essential goal was to explain ways in which people grapple with differences between knowledge paradigms.

This method of analysis, which was a process of making sense of the data, is partially based on "letting the data" determine the categories, but requires the researcher to be familiar with the data in many forms (for example as audio-visual material, and in the form of transcripts) and to decide on the specific aspect to be focused on and therefore drawn out. This decision about a conceptual framework was based on theory. There are many possible "structures" which can be drawn out of the data, for eg. making sense of eye-contact/movement; the child's role in initiating action; the affective dynamics at play in the interaction etc. This analysis, however, focused on the process of mediation. It is the theoretical base of the research which directs the construction of this conceptual framework.

MacKinnon (1989) comments that

verbatim transcriptions of interviews and teaching episodes ...are not meaningful until they are seen in the light of a conceptual framework; they do not speak for themselves, and yet they have the potential to stand for many things. In order to become meaningful, data must first be given conceptual shape and said to represent a pattern or fall into a category. (p.47)

However, in writing about the dangers of defining these "patterns", he questions whether they are "pre-conceived" or "emergent" and whether they arise from concepts or from the transcripts themselves.

Surely the answer must be neither. There is a danger of relying on one or the other as an ultimate source. In the case of relying too heavily on fixed, a priori associated conceptual frameworks, there is the danger of "seeing" in generic phenomena things that are simply not there, the danger of being charged of "reading into the data". (ibid. p. 48)

On the other hand, he argues that without the guidance of a carefully articulated conceptual framework or analytic scheme, there is the danger of meandering around in the transcripts with the unwarranted expectation that what is "identifiable" is waiting there to be "discovered". A further danger is believing, in the end, that the identified patterns were "really there" all along without acknowledging the role of a conceptual framework in their identification. He argues that to account satisfactorily for the source of patterns and identifiable events that are sought after, one might think in terms of "an interdependence - even a tension that is played out" (ibid.) between the data and the conceptual framework.

The research goal was to identify what the adults do when grappling with differences, that is, to understand the mediation processes in the interaction which could be paralleled to encountering unfamiliarity in a time of social change. "What is done" by the adults could be merely described, but an explanation of "what is done" is far more beneficial.

The process of analysis used in this study drew generally on Craig's (1985) coding categories for micro-analysis, Craig's (1988) method of analysing human transactions recorded on video-tape and Strauss' (1987) coding paradigm. However, the specific techniques or categories were not used. The process of working to-and-fro between theory and data took the following steps:

Step 1: Working with the raw data on video-tape:

- a) Translating and transcribing the video-recording of the interactions. Each interaction was viewed by a Xhosa mother-tongue person together with the researcher. At this viewing, draft copies of transcripts of the interactions were compiled in English.
- b) The interactions were viewed for a second time and the draft transcripts were checked, connecting verbal comments and physical actions.
- c) The tapes were viewed by a team of three people (the researcher, her supervisor, and the research assistant from the Education and Development Research Project who was also a Xhosa mother-tongue person). At this stage, tentative interpretations of aspects of the interactions were made.

A videotape of compiled interactions is retained in the Psychology Department of Rhodes University.

#### Step 2: Working with the transcripts

The transcripts were examined in stages. Firstly, summaries of each interaction were drawn up. These reflected the main stages of each interaction in the sense of steps within the process of the task. These summaries also contained comments on the significant issues pertinent to each interaction arising from an understanding of all of the interactions, their distinguishing features and their commonalities.

At this point analysis of the interactions that were not primarily dyadic (due to an extreme degree of intervention from others, and joint participation: M3, M4); or not technically clear enough to proceed with (M3, M4); or did not meet the required criteria (M18 - mother with child not her own), did not proceed. There was no indication of significant changes in the behaviour of the teachers in their second and third interactions and an analysis of the teacher-child interactions with respect to the children's ages was not central to the study. Therefore an analysis of these interactions did not proceed (T5,T6,T7; T13,T14; T19,T20; T23,T24).

Secondly, each line of the transcripts was examined and its constituent parts coded. This "coding" was not for purposes of enumerating the occurrence of each form of behaviour, but rather revealed overall patterns, and distinct stages within each interaction. The coding categories were drawn, in part, from Craig (1985) with additions and adjustments (eg. questions; directives; executions of action; drawing the link between the component parts; demonstration; confirmation; negation; restricting; controlling; assisting; other). An abstract of each interaction was compiled from this process.

### Step 3: Developing the conceptual level

The significant issues highlighted in the summarizing process, and the overall patterns highlighted in the "coding" process provided the basis for establishing key areas of focus. These key areas were developed and refined into categories through a lengthy process of working and re-working so that they achieved the function of describing the interactions, as well as beginning to explain them. The process contained the following parts (which are not represented chronologically because of the intricacy and repetitiveness of the process): positioning the interactions in relation to each other; drawing on the original theoretical framework of mediation and cognitive change; isolating examples to illustrate these key areas of focus from the transcripts; cross-checking these examples and key areas in discussion with another person (the researcher's supervisor); referring, again, to theoretical concepts to construct the conceptual frame; lastly, defining the categories.

#### 4.9.2. Analysis of the interviews

The data was analysed through a process of examining all of the transcripts of interviews and drawing the data together under themes which dealt with the social context and the ideology of socialization.

Examination of the data led to the emergence of a picture of the dynamics of the context. Because the quantity and scope of the data could not be done justice in this study, the data was refined in an attempt to answer the key question: What is the context of the study, in particular, the dynamics between the nonformal crèche institution and the informal institution of the home.

The interviews were an attempt to access information on each of the two institutions which were important to the study viz. the home and the crèche and the parents' and teachers' experience of these. There was no attempt to quantify information.

#### 4.9.3 Analysis of the stories and verses

A content analysis and interpretation of the translated versions of the verses and stories were discussed with one person of Xhosa origin, and recorded in writing. The translation, interpretation and analysis were then discussed with two other individuals of Xhosa origin. One of these people was a trained court translator and the other person was a teacher of Xhosa at secondary and tertiary level. These stories and verses are presented in relation to issues which emerge from the interactions and the interviews and to the issue of orality as a mode of socialization.

The results of the study will be examined in terms of the three levels of investigation described above and they will be presented in three separate chapters. Chapter 5 contains the results of the dyadic interactions. Chapter 6 contains the results of the interviews, discussions and observations. Chapter 7 contains the analysis and interpretation of the stories and verses.

## CHAPTER 5

### RESULTS: INTERACTIONS

In line with the conceptual framework presented in chapter 4, the constructivist nature of the research process is most evident in the process of analysis. For example, the dyadic interactions were analysed through a process of reflection on data-theory-data. As McKinnon (1989) comments, the framework for analysis is neither within the data waiting to be discovered, nor does it pre-exist in the theory. It is for this reason that it is necessary to construct a frame to analyse the data.

An examination of the data with referral to the theory outlined in chapters 1, 2, and 3, lead to the construction of a frame through which the interactions was examined. This frame drew on the theoretical concepts of conditions of cognitive change as expressed in mediation and resources. An attempt was made to address the questions: what is mediated, and what resources are drawn, on in grappling with unfamiliarity.

Dyadic interactions capture an instructional process between adult and child and are paradigmatic for the relationship between the psychological and the social (Craig, 1990). An examination of the interactions between mother-child and teacher-child dyads, working on an unfamiliar task, will attempt to explain the mediational processes underlying the interactions.

Mediation refers to the processes initiated and facilitated by the mediator, the actor in the interaction with greater experience (and possibly greater knowledge). In this interaction, the adult assumes the role of mediator because of her greater experience in relation to the child. Mediation was examined in terms of the following broad categories: how the situation was defined by the adult; how the adult negotiated participation; how the adult managed error on the part of the child. Use of resources examines the use of internal and external aids to assist the completion of the task. Resource use was examined in terms of use of model, use of "banked" knowledge, use of others, implicit use of resources and alternative use of resources. The analysis of the interactions is structured in terms of these two concepts

(mediation and resources) and their component sub-parts. The results of the interaction will be presented predominantly in the form of excerpts from transcripts. The following symbols have been used:

( ) for all actions, everything else is direct speech

[ ] for intervention by individual/s outside the dyad

{ } translation notes

\* \* \* to mark the beginning and end of extracts

.... within the columns to indicate that a section of the transcript had been omitted

Numbers in the central column reflect the line numbering in the full transcript and indicate the position of the excerpt in relation to the whole interaction.

## 5.1 Mediation

### 5.1.1 Initiating action

Initiating action refers to the point of engagement with the task, that is, after the instruction has been read to the adult and the adult and child are left to do the task. How the adult perceives, defines and explains the nature of the task demands is revealed in how she introduces and defines the goal of the task to the child, and how she structures the engagement of the child with the task. The actor's initial engagement with the task in the interactions will be described and various aspects will be highlighted. The aspects of this category will be represented firstly in table form and then in the form of excerpts from the transcripts as examples of these aspects.

There are three sub-parts which form a frame to investigate initiating action. Firstly, the adult's attempts at defining the nature of the task. There are two aspects to this: she identifies what the puzzle represents (eg. with the use of a label); she identifies two elements to the puzzle and draws the child's attention to their relationship, and she might verbally refer to the

dismantling of the copy which reinforces the nature of the task. Secondly, the adult's attempts at defining the goal of the task: she might verbally define the overall goal of the task (the construction or making of a vehicle); or she might define a specific action only, either verbally or physically. Thirdly, the adult's attempts at structuring the initial engagement of the child with the task. She might draw the child in verbally (directing; questioning), physically, or verbally and physically. If she does not draw the child in the following might occur: the adult acts; the child acts; or, both the adult and the child act, but the adult takes over.

The following table (table 2) indicates the occurrence (indicated by \*) of a particular element of "initiating action" in the form of defining the nature and goals of the task, and structuring the child's engagement in the task. The order of interactions is not sequential, but it is also not arbitrary, for it follows from the pattern which emerged during analysis.

Table 2. Initiating action: elements of defining the nature and goal of the task, and structuring the child's engagement with the task

INTERACTION		M15	T21	M/T1	G16	M9	T8	M10	T22	T12	G2	G17	M11	
ELEMENT														
Defining the nature of the task	labelling the puzzle	*	*	*	*									
	identifying model & copy and their relationship	*	*	*	*		*							
	dismantling	*	*	*										
Defining the goal of the task	overall		*	*	*	*								
	specific action	verbally					*	*	*					
		physically									*			
Structuring the child's initial engagement in the task	child drawn in	verbally	*	*	*	*	*	*						
		physically								*				
		verbally & physically							*					
	child not drawn in	adult acts						*				*		
		child acts											*	
		both act: adult takes over												*
	exception						*				*			

From the table it is evident that there is a distinct difference between those who define the nature and goal of the task, and those who do not. The following examples from the transcripts of the interactions reveal how defining the nature of the task occurs though: labelling what the puzzle represents; identifying the two elements of the puzzle, and a general reference to the dismantling part of the task (M15, T21, M/T1, G16). These adults also define the overall goal of the task.

M15 identifies what the puzzle represents (lines 2-7); identifies two elements and their relationship, using questions and physically drawing link (lines 10-12); refers to dismantling process (lines 13-17).

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

M15 Mother age 39 and child age 5, female: Mother volunteered to do the puzzle in front of other mothers and teachers in the crèche. Filming began with model and copy (full) set out in front of mother and child.

Mother	Child
	1 (Looks at camera)
Can you see that this is a car? (Touches copy, looks at child)	(Looks at puzzle) (Nods)
Can you see that this is a car? (touches model, looks at child)	(Nods)
Say: Yes, Aunty (looks at child)	(Leans up shyly against mother, nods)
Can you see that this is a car? (touches model) And this is also a car (touches copy)	(Watches)
Can you see ? We are now going to dismantle it (takes 15 pieces out, neatly, ensuring that all face upwards)	(Watches)
*	*            *            *

T21 identifies two elements and their relationship through questioning the child (line 5, 17-18); refers to the dismantling process (lines 6-11); outlines the goal of the task implicitly through reference to the "construction" aspect of the task (lines 7-8; 11-12).

\* \* \* \* \*

T21 Crèche teacher age 39, and child age 5, male

Teacher	Child
Can you see it ?	5
We are going to dismantle it (indicates copy). That is how you should make it. We are dismantling it now (tips copy over. Sets puzzle out)	(Nods)
You can see how its constructed, can't you? (hands body piece to child)	(Nods)
Do it now	Yes
Start with these (sets some 15 pieces out)	(Takes body piece)
You should copy from that one (indicates model)	(Places body)
* * * * *	* * * * *

M/T1 (the primary school teacher) provides a unique example of very thorough identification of the nature and goal of the task. She identifies what puzzle represents through labelling of parts, their function, size and relationship to the whole puzzle (lines 1-22); through questioning (lines 3-4, 10-11, 18); identifies the two elements of the puzzle (lines 1-6, 19-22, 23-27); refers to the dismantling of the puzzle (lines 24-26); and clearly states the goal of the task (lines 24-28). She treats the dismantling of the task as integral to the task and draws the child in during the process. Unlike any of the other adults she invites the child to think about the procedure of doing the task. The child's role is thus more involved than in other interactions with the mother playing the role of guide/overseer.

\* \* \* \* \*

M/T1 Mother age 35, child age 5, male: Puzzle (completed) set out on two benches pulled together. Mother stands on one side, child on the other.

Mother	Child
What are these parts ? What 1 are they ? (touches each wheel on copy) These parts of the car ?	(Watches)
Are they the same size as 5 these? (touches wheels on model) Do they look the	They are wheels
	Yes

same?	Yes (Looks at camera)
What part is this part ? 10	
This one ? (touches front part of truck on copy)	(Feels the front part)
The head ! (laughs) The head of the car.	The head
And this one ? (feels cargo 15 section on copy) What part is it ?	It's the back
Is it the back of the car ?	
With what does the car go ?	With wheels
These (touches wheels on 20 copy)	
They are the same as those ? (touches wheels on model)	(Nods)
If I dismantle this car (touches copy) can you be 25 able to put it together so that it looks like that one? (touches model) Can you ?	(Nods) (Nods)
*	* * *

G16 identifies what the puzzle represents (lines 5-6), identifies the two elements of the puzzle (lines 3-4) and identifies the goal of the task (line 5). She, unlike the other adults in this group, does not refer to the dismantling process.

\* \* \* \*

G16 Grandmother age 65, child age 5, male.

Grandmother

Child

(Turns copy over and sets 1 puzzle up)

You should look here first (points to body on model)

Construct the car first 5 (touches body space on copy)

(Pushes the child back, turns pieces over)

(Peers at model)

(Peers at pieces pile)

\* \* \*

The following examples reveal that those adults who do not define the nature of the task also do not define the overall goal of the task. Rather, they define a specific action, either verbally (T22, lines 3-6), or physically (T12, lines 15-19). T8 is an exception in that she does identify the two elements of the puzzle, but verbally defines only a specific action in the puzzle, rather than the overall goal of the task.

\* \* \* \* \*

T22 Crèche teacher age 44, child age 3, male: Filming starts with puzzle with most of pieces in it. Child sits some distance away.

Teacher	Child
Here we are going to fit in a piece for this area (circular motion with finger 5 in wheel part of copy)	(Watches)
*	*
	(Looks down at piece)
*	*

\* \* \* \* \*

T12 Crèche teacher age 36, child age 3, female.

Teacher	Child
Look (Picks up body piece 15 and places it in copy. Takes child's hand and pulls it towards copy. Drops hand and fits body into copy. Pats it.)	(Moves closer to copy)
*	*
	(Looks at teacher)
*	*

One of the teachers (T8) handled the introduction of the task, and the task as a whole, in a completely different way. She seemed to identify her role as that of demonstrator, performing the whole task first whilst explaining her actions and decisions to the child who had an observer role. On the second round the child was requested to complete the task himself. Full transcript appears in Appendix B. T8 identifies two elements to the puzzle (lines 16-19, 23-26); verbally defines a specific action (lines 17-19, 20-26).

\* \* \* \* \*

T8 Crèche teacher age 42, child age 5, male: First interaction filmed, camera moves around. Teacher's first time, very soft. Filming begins with puzzle set out, teacher taking pieces. Other children also watching.

Teacher	Child
[lighting poor] Now we look there (points to model) then we fit this one (fits small window, pats)	(Watches)
*	*
*	*

The table also indicates that those adults who define the nature and the overall goal of the task tend to verbally structure the child's engagement in the task, for example, M/T1.

M/T1 draws the child in through verbally questioning him (lines 66-72). The child responds verbally to questions.

*	*	*	*
M/T1 Mother age 35, child age 5, male.			
Teacher		Child	
.....			
	65		
We are going to make this car again, not so ?		(Sits down on bench)	
Which one are we going to begin with ? Where do we start now ?	70		
With this part ? (touches piece) Fit it in.		(Picks up body piece and holds it out)	
		Yes	
	75	(Places body. Looks at pieces on bench)	
*	*	*	*

An exception is M9 who verbally draws the child in (lines 12-15) and defines the overall goal of the task, but does not define the nature of the task.

*	*	*	*
M9 Mother age 24, child age 5, female.			
Mother		Child	
.....			
Do the fitting in as well (picks up headlight, gives to child)		(Takes piece. Moves to put in)	
Fit in here, fit in here (points to headlight place on copy)	15	(Puts in headlight)	
*	*	*	*

From the table it is evident that those adults who do not define the nature and the overall goal of the task, tend to define a specific action and draw the child in physically, or not at all (T12, G17, M11). Some of these adults tend to act themselves, or take over the child's actions (G17, M11). There is a group of adults who do not always clearly define the nature and goal of the

task, but do draw the child in. For example, T22 draws the child in verbally and physically (lines 8-13), but does not define the nature or overall goal of the task, whilst T12 physically defines a specific action, and physically draws the child in (lines 15-20).

*	*	*	*
T22 Crèche teacher age 44, child age 3, male.			
Teacher		Child	
.....			
Fit in the white one.		(Does not move)	
Hey you, (harshly) fit in			
the white one (Takes piece 10			
in child's hand. Draws			
child's hand to copy)			
Fit in, here that's right.		(Places the wheel)	
*	*	*	*

*	*	*	*
T12 Crèche teacher age 36, child age 3, female.			
Teacher		Child	
.....			
Come, Latula, should I 10		(Watches)	
assist you ? (Looks at			
child. Fits body piece into			
copy. Takes it out again)			
Look, look, Latula. 15		(Watches)	
Look (Picks up body piece			
and places it in copy. Takes			
child's hand and pulls it		(Moves closer to copy)	
towards copy. Drops hand and			
fits body into copy. Pats 20			
it.)			
(Looks at child)		(Looks at teacher)	
*	*	*	*

There are two adults who make not attempt to draw the child in. M11 does not define the nature or the goal of the task. Both the adult and the child act, but the adult takes over the action (lines 6-8). G17 does not specifically draw the child in, rather the child initiates action (lines 1-5).

\* \* \* \* \*

M11 Mother age 33, child age 5, male.

Mother	Child
(Picks up green triangle. 1 Places it in copy next to black triangle. Looks at model.)	
	(Picks up red triangle. 5 Moves to place in copy)
(Takes piece from child and places it tentatively beneath the other two triangles.	(Picks up white rectangle)
.....	
[Translator: Let him do it 30 by himself]	(Struggles)
(Watches. Eventually puts hand over child's and tries to fit piece in.	(Withdraws hand
Turns it around. Fits it in 35	Watches)

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

G17 Grandmother age 75, child age 5, female.

Grandmother	Child
(Sits back, watches)	1 (Places headlight)
(Looks at model {checking})	(Picks up white rectangle Places correctly in cargo section)
(Watches)	5 (Picks up wheel Places wheel)
....Inaudible....	(Picks up hubcap, places)
* * * * *	* * * * *

T8 is an exception in terms of approach and the structuring of roles. In the very first interaction filmed, she used the strategy of dividing the task into two distinct stages, with the adult actor in the first stage and the child as actor in the second.

## Summary of results

In a very general sense, a distinction can be drawn between those adults who define the nature and goals of the task, and those who do not. This also relates to structuring the initial engagement of the child with the task. M15, T21, M/T1, G16 all label the puzzle and identify the two elements of the task (the model and the copy) and their relationship. They, along with T8, also all refer to the dismantling process which reinforces the point of the relationship between the two elements of the task. T21, M/T1, G16, M9 all refer to the overall goal of the task. M/T1 handles all of this uniquely in her technique of questioning. There is a conspicuous absence of any of these aspects of defining the nature and goal of the task in T12, T22, M11, M10, G2, G17. T22, M10, T8 partially compensate for this by verbally defining a specific action, with T12 physically defining a specific action.

In terms of structuring the child's engagement with the task, the same groups of adults differ in their approach. M15, T21, M9 and G16 verbally draw the child in by directing. M10 does this, but without guidelines. M/T1 does this through questioning, T12 physically and T22 verbally and physically. In comparison, adults M11, G2, G17 do not specifically draw the child in. In G2 the child's engagement with the task occurs through the adult acting in the first stage and the child in the second. In M11 the child is not drawn in at all. The child acts, but is undermined when the adult takes over. In G17, there is a unique case of the child initiating her own engagement with the task.

It seems as if M15, T21, M/T1 G16 are similar in their approach to initiating action (possibly more familiar with task, confident, and therefore handle it in this way). All of them engage the child in the task in a specific way because of this. T8 has a rather unusual style and approach to the puzzle as a whole. M11 shows an extreme case of adult's ability to take over the task.

### 5.1.2 Negotiating participation

The process of negotiating participation establishes the context of mediation in relation to the nature and demands of the task. There are two parts of negotiating participation which will be examined: the degree of control allowed to the child as shown in directives and, more generally than directives, control through the management of the task shown specifically in control of procedure.

Negotiating participation is operationalised as the degree of control the child is allowed within the task and reflects the degree of responsibility the child is allowed for defining the situation. This will be shown through an analysis of the adults' general style of mediation and specific examples of detailed directives. The analysis of general styles of the expression of control in the mediation process was obtained by examining the initial steps of completing the cargo section of the puzzle. These descriptions of general styles were cross-checked with line-by-line analyses and summaries of the transcripts, for any extreme variations in the style represented by that of this particular stage of the task. The analysis was thus not obtained by quantifying the number of times each actor performed specific actions or made particular comments.

Directives are defined as the instructions (mostly verbal) given by the adult in relation to the placing of one piece: from the moment the piece is identified to its placement. There is a clear distinction between directives which require the child to engage in thinking about the task (through, for example, questions, abstract directives, identifying piece through model) and directives which result in the child merely acting out the adult's instructions.

The central questions are: how are directives used by the adult in mediating the placing of a piece; and what is the child allowed/ required to do in the process of identifying and placing a piece.

The role the adults assume in the task differ and affect the role subsequently played by the child. As can be seen from table 3, the adult and child roles are almost inversely related.

Table 3. Negotiating participation: roles of adult and child

Adult's role	Interaction	Child's role
Adult does nothing	G17	Child acts
Adult makes child think and engage in the task	M/T1, M15, G2, T8	Child very active in actions
Adult directs and instructs	G16	Child involved in selecting and placing pieces
Adult identifies piece and gives it to child. Adult identifies place and positioning	M9, T12, T22, T21	Child acts on directives. No independent action.
Adult very directive and controlling	M10 M11	Very little action performed by child. Child frequently undermined

Examples from the transcripts of each of the above degrees of activity and role played by the actors as represented in the table will be given.

As can be seen from the table, G17 provides a unique example of participation. The child starts independently whilst the grandmother observes cautiously, giving minimal directives and assistance. The grandmother controls the pace of activity and "rounds off" the child's actions. When the grandmother is unsure, and other mothers direct and encourage the child, the grandmother takes the piece from the child.

\* \* \* \*

G17 Grandmother age 75, child age 5, female.

Grandmother		Child
.....	35	(Picks up green triangle. Places arbitrarily in cargo section
No, no (looks at model)		Moves piece around. Lets go)
(Pushes piece into corner. Pats down slowly. Looks at model)	40	(Picks up red triangle
(Puts hand on child's arm.		Places in space
		Turns piece around)

Looks at model. Looks at pile)		
Wait (takes red triangle out) ..inaudible... (touches pieces, points to cargo section copy)	45	(Stops turning piece. Looks at grandmother turning over pieces)
That's right	50	(Picks up irregular yellow Places correctly Picks up irregular green Places correctly)
(Watches. Looks at model, pushes piece in)		
(Watches)	55	(Picks up red triangle. Holds it Moves slowly into space Turns piece around. Leaves it next to green)
(Looks at model, takes piece out, tries to place it, looks at model, takes piece out, looks at model)	60	
*	*	* * *

As can be seen from the table, in interactions M/T1, M15, G2 and T8, the adult posed the situation in such a way that child was forced to think about and engage in the task (eg. questioning; directives such as 'Find one like ...'; using the model).

As noted in the section on initiating action, G2 and T8 need to be highlighted for the unusual way in which they approach the task. In the process of negotiating participation, they seem to be very controlling, but through their two-stage approach they manage to engage the child in actively thinking about the task. During stage I the child is strictly an observer. The teacher addresses the child and the grandmother only addresses the child when instructed to. In this example, from stage II, the child begins independently. The grandmother directs the child when told to by the teacher and the teacher corrects the child's actions. When the teacher leaves the room, the grandmother directs and corrects child who tends to obey directives and adjusts to the grandmothers's choice of pieces.

Altogether, these adults (M/T1, M15, G2 and T8) permitted the child's actions, but regulated this activity. The child was very active in the interaction. For example, M/T1 shows a unique technique of frequent questioning, demanding responses from the child. The child is one of the few children who makes any verbal contribution in the task, even if it is in response to questions by the adult.

*	*	*	*
M/T1 Mother age 35, child age 5, male.			
Mother		Child	
.....			
Which part is short {missing} now ?		(Looks at copy) It's here	
	115	(Touches cargo section on copy)	
This back part. This back part (touches cargo section on copy)		Yes	
		(Reaches to cargo pieces pile)	
Wait, let me do it first for you (picks up black triangle and places it)	120	(Watches)	
That's right. Fit in your own now, as well.			
	125	(Picks up white triangle. Places next to black triangle)	
Look there. Look there (points to model)			
Where is this part, there? (touches white triangle on copy, points to model. Holds model up)	130	(Looks at model)	
		(Takes piece out, returns it to pile. Picks up irregular green piece)	
	135	(Places next to black triangle - incorrect)	
That's right		(Picks up white rectangle. Places next to irregular green)	
Look, look here where that white part is (touches model, still held up, obscures camera view)	140	(Removes piece. Looks at model)	
What colour is this? (looks at piece in child's hand)		It's white	
Where is the white part there? (points to model)	145	(Places white rectangle on copy - almost correct)	
Is it there ? Look ? Is it there ? (points to model)		(Touches white rectangle on model)	
Where is the white part? (Puts model down)	150		
That's right			
Put it. Put it where it is there (points to model)			
There, at the corner (touches piece on model, touches corner)	155	(Places rectangle)	
You should attach it. You should attach it.			
That's right			
*	*	*	*

As can be seen from the table, in G16, although the child is involved in selecting and placing pieces, the adult directs and instructs. In effect, the child's role is defined through the adult's directives and actions. This child is thus not essentially involved in thinking about the task, but is still required to perform the actions. It seems as if the child struggles to comprehend the adult's definition of the situation which hampers the negotiation of roles. The child does eventually carry out action when directives are very specific. The grandmother demonstrates the direction of pieces and leaves them for child to execute. The child tends to follow directives literally.

*	*	*	*
G16 Grandmother age 65, child age 5, male.			
Grandmother		Child	
.....			
Can you see now ? (looks at pile, looks at model) Look 145 here, look here (taps orange rectangle on model)		(Moves to model)	
(Restrains child with hand) Sit here ! Fit in something like this 150 (touches white rectangle on model, touches place on copy)		(Picks up white rectangle from pile Moves slowly to put it in)	
That's right Look, look, there where it 155 is places (points to white rectangle on model)		(Uncertain) (Hovers over copy)	
Put on this space (touches place on copy) it should be 160 upright)		(Moves to place piece Places vertically Withdraws)	
Place it horizontally (turns piece around)			
*	*	*	*

A number of adults (M9, T12, T22, T21) structure the situation in such a way that the child merely acts out directives such as "Take this one. Put it here". The adult tends to identify pieces, gives them to the child and then identifies the place and positioning of the piece. In addition, some of the adults actively undermine the child's actions by, for example, restricting the child's actions, taking over the child's action, or taking pieces out of the child's hand. For example, M9 tends to be very controlling. She identifies the pieces and their places. She retains control of the task by giving no

explanation and by not explicitly drawing the link between the model and the copy. The effect of this is that the child can only execute the actions on directives. The child tends to be very dependent and requests information.

*	*	*	*
M9 Mother age 24, child age 5, female.			
Mothers		Child	
<p>.....</p> <p>(Picks up orange rectangle. Holds out to child. Looks at model. Drops piece. Sorts through pieces. Picks up red 30 rectangle. Gives to child)</p>		<p>.....</p> <p>(Makes as if to pick up a piece)</p>	
<p>Fit in this one, here (points to place on copy) Here on this spot. 35</p>		<p>Here ?</p>	
<p>(Moves piece horizontally)</p>		<p>(Places piece vertically)</p>	
<p>(Sorts through pieces. Picks up orange rectangle, taps 40 child on elbow) Fit in this one (gives child piece) (Touches place on copy) (Presses pieces down )</p>		<p>(Feels piece in horizontal position)</p>	
	45	<p>Where ?</p> <p>(Takes piece)</p>	
<p>(Sorts through pieces. Finds black rectangle. Puts in hubcap)</p>		<p>(Places piece vertically, in correct position. Presses in)</p>	
<p>(Taps child on elbow) Fit in this one (gives black 50 rectangle) Here it is, here (touches place on copy)</p>		<p>(Takes piece. Fits tentatively)</p>	
<p>(Picks up irregular yellow. Sees child struggling. Fits black with hand over 55 child's)</p>			
*	*	*	*

The final group of adults (M10, M11) can be identified by the extreme degree of control they exert over the child. In these interactions the adult tends to perform most of the actions in task and also tends to actively undermine the child. In M10, for example, the child is allowed very little independent activity. He is often undermined. The other mother present at the interaction draws the child into the task. The other child present at the interaction comments on the child's actions. On occasions when the child is allowed to perform actions, it is evident that he can do parts of the puzzle. Further

examples of this extreme degree of undermining throughout the task are evident in the full transcript which is attached in Appendix B.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 M10 Mother age 30, child age 5, male: the interventions of the other mother and the other child's are enclosed in [ ].

Mother	Child
.....	
As you are not fitting in, it is said that you are going to fit it in by yourself. Did you hear? Fit in, fit in.	(Reaches over to pick up red rectangle Almost places piece)
110	
Wait (takes piece from child's hand) Lets fit in this one (fits red rectangle)	
115	
Oh, the main reason why she wants us to sit down is because she wants to take photographs of us.	
.....	
(Looks at model)	
A green one now, green (picks up, removes child's piece, places irregular green)	(Picks up red rectangle places in cargo section)
455	
[And then a yellow one] (picks up irregular yellow)	(Picks up white rectangle, places in cargo section)
No, no, this one. Fit in the yellow one (takes out white rectangle, holds out yellow piece) Here it is	(Takes irregular yellow piece
460	Places horizontally)
[Further up]	
Should it move further up?	
(Takes piece from child's hand, turns it around and tries to fit)	(Takes piece out, turns it around. Lets go Watches)
465	
[Turn it around, turn it around] (turns piece and fits) Can you see?	
470	
That's right (looks at model)	(Picks up a piece Holds piece, almost places Drops piece)
Where is the black one? (reaches to picks up black rectangle) This is a black one, isn't it? It is a black one now, Siseko (holds piece out)	
475	
[No, no, lower] (Moves piece	(Takes piece Places horizontally in space Moves piece with mother)

to bottom of cargo section, 480	
still horizontal) [It should	
be upright] Should he put it	(Picks up orange rectangle)
upright ? (turns piece	
vertically)	(Fits orange rectangle)
Fit in by yourself kaloku, 485	
Siseko	
*	* * *

M11 also provides an example of extreme undermining of the child's actions. This example is unique for its lack of verbal directives and the very little guidance given to the child by the mother. The mother tends to take pieces from the child. In stage II, initially the child is the actor with the mother assisting practically and physically, but the mother tends to take over on correcting the child. Eventually the child tends to surrender his pieces to the mother.

*		*		*		*
M11	Mother age 33, child age 5, male.					
	Mother		Child			
	.....					
	(Glances through door, outside. Watches child					
	Takes piece over. Hesitates. Takes piece out) 40		(Picks up white triangle and hesitantly tries to place it in space in cargo section Lets piece go)			
	(Picks up irregular yellow piece. Places it in correct places. Turns it around so that it fits)		(Watches)			
	(Watches) 45					
	(Picks up black rectangle. Places next to orange rectangle. Pats down. Picks up headlight and places it 50		(Picks up orange rectangle. Places it in correct place Watches)			
	Pats copy)					
	(Picks up white triangle and turns it over in her hands. Hesitates. Drops it. Moves one of the pieces on copy. 55		(Watches)			
	Picks up white triangle. Tries to place it. Puts it down)		(Tentatively picks up green irregular piece. Holds piece. Waits. Watches)			
	(Takes green piece from child's hand. Moves pieces 60		(Watches)			
	on copy. Takes out red triangle. Places green piece. Pats copy)					
	(Takes white triangle) 65		(Picks up white triangle. Waits. Watches)			
	*		(Holds out white triangle to mother)			
	*		*			*

The second part of negotiating participation which was examined is that of the adults' control of the task through its management, shown specifically in control of procedure. This reflects the flexibility of the adult in negotiating a definition of the situation. Control of the order of procedure can be seen in control exerted over the next step, or, more frequently, control exerted over the choice of the next piece, with the adult more often than not insisting on her choice of piece and the child adjusting to the adult's choice. The adult's definition of the situation usually prevails indicating that some adults manage the task by being very directive in choice of piece, pace, order of procedure, placing of piece. The child tended to obey these directives and adjusted to the adult's choices.

Control of procedure was expressed in a number of different forms. For example, control of the general order of procedure (eg. M/T1, T21, M15). Adults also exhibited implicit control of procedure, shown through the selection and physical laying out of pieces (eg. G2) and through not providing any explanation of actions to the child (eg. M9). Some adults controlled the procedure of the task through the use of physical restraint (eg. G16), or through, more generally, not allowing the child to act (eg. M10, M11). These last two adults controlled the task to the extent that they undermined the child. The control of the pace of the task was also a means of managing the task (eg. G17, M/T1). Some adults controlled the pace and procedure of the task by identifying pieces and their corresponding places. The child was expected to adjust to the adult's choice of selection of piece (eg. T22, T12). The two-stage approach to the task, with its clear distinction between the roles of actors in each stage, suggests an attempt of the adults' part to control the structure of the procedure. Three examples of some of these forms of control are given below.

In the following example the mother clearly controls the pace and order of procedure of the task (lines 36-38; 91-92), but the child is allowed to participate in selecting pieces and identifying their corresponding places in the copy (lines 90-93).

\* \* \* \* \*

M/T1 Mother age 35, child age 5, male.

Mother	Child
<p>.....</p> <p>Dismantle it, dismantle it. 35            Don't take out both windows.            Wait, wait (holds hand out            to stop child) Let us first            dismantle the back and put            this {cargo pieces} here 40            (indicates where cargo piece            should go)            Do you understand ?            Let us put them here, these            parts of the back {put all 45            cargo pieces in one place}            That's right. Do you            understand ?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>What part is that? (touches            window in copy)            Is it the window ?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>No, lets finish this part,            first. 90</p> <p>That's right</p>	<p>.....</p> <p>(Dismantles wheel parts.            Puts them in a separate            place from others. Starts            taking out windows)</p> <p>.....</p> <p>(Takes out cargo pieces and            place them on same pile as            mothers)</p> <p>.....</p> <p>It's the window</p> <p>.....</p> <p>(Nods)            (Reaches to pile of cargo            pieces)            (Picks up window)            (Fits window)</p>

\* \* \* \* \*

In the following example, the grandmother sets out the piece and instructs the child to place it. The child is not responsive. The grandmother identifies the piece through the model and has to use physical restraint to get the child to understand her definition of the situation.

\* \* \* \* \*

G16 Grandmother age 65, child age 5, male.

Grandmother	Child
<p>.....</p> <p>Look here, look here (points            at model)            [Other women laugh] (Shakes            child's arm, pulls child            back) 25            [Crèche teacher also            restrains child] Sit here.            Put, put the car this way            (picks up body part, places            it) 30</p> <p>Put the wheels (touches</p>	<p>.....</p> <p>(Moves around to model)</p> <p>.....</p> <p>(Watches)</p>

wheels on model)		(Moves to look at model)	
(Restrains child) Look, here			
they are (picks up pieces 35			
from pile and lays them out			
for child)		(Peers at copy)	
*	*	*	*

The following example is of an adult's implicit control of the procedure of the task through selection of pieces. The child selects a piece, but the teacher insists on her choice of piece. The child adjusts to the teacher's choice.

*		*		*		*
T12 Crèche teacher age 36, child age 3, female.						
Teacher			Child			
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Take another one now			(Returns to pieces pile)			
		290	(Picks up green piece)			
This one (taps red rectangle			(Drops green piece. Picks up			
on board)			red rectangle)			
That's right		295	(Tries to place it)			
*	*		*		*	*

Summary of results

There are fundamental differences in approaches to the child's role as actor and the form of mediation provided by the adult. The roles of adult and child can be seen to fall into a continuum. M/T1, M15, G2, T8 can be categorized as defining the child's role as thinker and actively allowing his/her engagement in the task. In G16, the child's role is defined through the adult's actions. The child is involved in selecting and placing pieces, the adult directs and instructs. T21, M9, T22, and T12 are similar in the way in which they identify the piece, place and position. The child, in these interactions has the role of acting on directives rather than acting independently. In M10 and M11, the adult performs most of the actions in the task. These two interactions also include extreme cases of undermining the child.

The adult's management of the task, particularly at the point of control of the order of procedure, reflects the flexibility of the adult in negotiating participation. It can be seen that the adult's definition of the situation frequently prevails.

### 5.1.3 Managing error

Management of error is perceived as a category in its own right because of the significance it has for the mediation process. Occasions of error on the part of the child provide opportunities for different types of mediation. Furthermore, how the adult handles the error reveals her understanding of the situation. Managing error consists of three subparts: Highlighting the error; correcting the error; and preempting error.

Highlighting of error occurs through: reference to the model; reference to certain characteristics of the pieces; questioning the child; demonstration by the adult; or, through a general comment that an error has been made. Correction of error occurs through: the child acting on the adult's directives; the child performing the correction with assistance from the adult; or the adult's actions. Preemption of error occurs through: reference to the model; reference to certain characteristics of the pieces; the identification of the piece and its place and position in the copy; physical restraint of the child by the adult; demonstration by the adult. Table 4 indicates the adult's management of the child's error in each of these subparts. Excerpts from the interactions are provided as examples of the type of error management represented in the table.



The following example, as can be seen from the table, shows the distinct use of highlighting, correction and preemption of error. In this case the child is the central actor in the correction. M/T1 highlights the error through the model (lines 139-142; 145-146), questions (lines 148-150) and identifies characteristics of the pieces (lines 143-144). She corrects the error by directing the child to act (lines 153-159), and preempts further error through reference to the model (lines 160-166) and characteristics of piece (lines 167-170).

*	*	*	*
- M/T1 Mother age 35, child age 5, male.			
Mother		Child	
Look, look here where that white part is (touches model, still held up, obscures camera view)		(Picks up white rectangle. Places next to irregular green)	
What colour is this? (looks at piece in child's hand)		(Removes piece. Looks at model)	
Where is the white part there? (points to model)		Its white	
		(Places white rectangle on copy - almost correct)	
Is it there ? Look ? Is it there ? (points to model)			
Where is the white part? (Puts model down)	150	(Touches white rectangle on model)	
That's right			
Put it. Put it where it is there (points to model)			
There, at the corner (touches piece on model, touches corner)	155		
You should attach it. You should attach it. That's right		(Places rectangle)	
Look, look where (taps model) is the part you have picked up.	160	(Goes to pile)	
Which one is that one? (Points to yellow piece)		(Looks at model)	
Which one is that one there? (touches piece on model)	165	(Picks up irregular yellow piece)	
No, no. Where is that colour (touches piece on copy) there? (Touches yellow on model)		(Tries to place piece)	
Fit it in	170	(Points to piece on model)	
That's right		(Fits piece)	
*	*	*	*

The following interaction exemplifies highlighting of error through a general comment (line 27). There is no preemption of error. Correction of error occurs by the adult assisting the child (line 30) and the adult acting (lines 39-41).

*	*	*	*
G17	Grandmother age 75, child age 5, female.		
	Grandmother		Child
	.....		.....
			(Picks up orange rectangle. Places horizontally under red
No, no (turns piece vertical)			Removes piece and turns around
(Places piece with child)	30		Places piece) (Picks up black rectangle Places next to orange rectangle)
(Looks at model) That's right			
		35	(Picks up green triangle. Places arbitrarily in cargo section) (Moves piece around. Lets go)
No, no (looks at model) (Pushes piece into corner. Pats down slowly. Looks at model)		40	(Picks up red triangle Places in space)
*	*	*	*

The following example indicates the use of an overall style of preemption. T8 uses the strategy of demonstrating her process of trial-and-error to effectively preempt error. During stage I she explains to the child why an action is incorrect and highlights certain characteristics of pieces. During stage II she highlights error through general comments (lines 213, 218). Error in this stage is corrected through her direction of the child (lines 219-221, 233).

*	*	*	*
T8	Crèche teacher age 42, child age 5, male. (Stage II)		
	Teacher		Child
	.....		.....
		210	(Picks up white rectangle Places in space between orange and black Removes black rectangle and holds)
No, it doesn't fit that way			
		215	(Removes white rectangle Places black rectangle in

No, no, it doesn't fit. Those two are going to fit below, take them out (points at piece in copy)			its place) (Removes black and orange rectangles. Looks at piece pile) (Picks up red rectangle Places in space
Yes (Looks at model)	225	Picks up white rectangle, places beneath red)	
	230	(Picks up black rectangle, places horizontally under others)	
(Looks at model) Place it vertically		(Moves piece vertically)	
That's right	235		
*	*	*	*

The following interaction is an example of correction of error in the absence of highlighting. M9 corrects the error by assisting the child (lines 204-205). She preempts the error by identifying the pieces, their places and their positions (lines 199-202, 207-212, 238-242), but she does not give any explanation of the error.

*	*	*	*
M9 Mother age 24 and child age 5, female.			
Mother		Child	
.....			
(Picks up irregular yellow) Fit this one now (Gives to child) Here, on top (Touches place on copy)	200	(Takes piece) Where ?  (Places piece horizontally on spot) (Moves piece to point down)	
No, no, move it down {to point down} That's right	205		
(Picks up irregular green) Fit in this one (holds out piece, does not release it) It should be like this (hands child piece indicating direction)	210	(Takes piece) Where ? (Places) Like this ? (Leaves piece)	
Here Yes	215		
.....			
(Picks up red triangle. Gives to child) Fit in this		(Drops green triangle	

one.		Takes red triangle) Where ?
	240	(Sighs)
Fit in here (touches place on copy)		Here ?
Yes		(Places piece wrong way)
No, no (takes and turns)		
Like this (drops piece on board, the right way round)	245	(Picks up and places Pushes piece in)
That's right		
*	*	* * *

The following interaction is an example of very active preemption of error, which is corrected by the adult. T12 does not highlight the error, but corrects it (lines 149-152, 158-165). She preempts further error by identifying a piece and its place and position in the copy (lines 141-144, 154-156).

*	*	*	*
T12 Crèche teacher age 36, child age 3, female.			
Teacher		Child	
.....	140	.....	
You take this one now (Picks up yellow piece, holds it out for child) and you fit it here (touches place on copy)	145	(Takes piece from hand and places it in the indicated place, uncertain of direction)	
[Toddler leans forward to join in. Teacher waves an admonishing finger at him] (Puts her hand over child's and turns piece around into correct position) This is what we do. That's right.	150	(Withdraws own hand Watches)	
We take this one now (picks up green triangle. Gives piece to child)	155	(Takes piece from hand and tries to fit it, uncertain of direction)	
Handle like this (Puts hand over child's, changes the way child is holding piece)	160	(Withdraws hand Looks at camera Takes piece again, places it)	
(Keeps hand over child's. Assists child to put piece. Leaves piece arbitrarily) (Sighs)	165	(Withdraws hand)	
*	*	*	*

M10 provides another example of correction of error by the adult. In this interaction, the error is not highlighted.

*	*	*	*
M10 Mother age 30, child age 5, male. The interventions of the other mother are enclosed in [ ].			
Mother	Child		
.....	.....		
Fit in a green one, this one, take (picks up and holds out green triangle), 420 here	(Moves to picks up a piece, drops piece Takes piece)		
Next to that one	(Places next to black triangle, incorrect direction, removes, turns, tries to place)		
[No, no, upwards]			
Turn it around, like this 425 (takes piece from child, turns and places) (Straightens pieces)	(Places piece with mother)		
*	*	*	*

Summary of results

As can be seen from the table, those adults who highlighted the error, tended not to preempt the error. If they did preempt the error, they tended to do so through reference to the model, characteristics of the piece, or demonstration, rather than identifying the piece. Those adults who made general comments about the error (G17, G2, T8) also tended not to preempt. T8 is an exception to this in that her whole approach to the task could be seen as an attempt to preempt error.

Of the adults who highlighted the error (M/T1, T22, T21, G16, G17, G2, T8), four adults let the child perform the action (M/T1, T21, G2, T8), while directing the correction, and two adults (G16, G17) assisted the child in carrying out the action. Of the five adults who did not highlight the error (M15, M9, T12, M11, M10), four tended to correct the error themselves. M15 corrected the error, but also assisted the child. M9 allowed the child to perform the correction, and assisted her.

Preemption of error could be taken as an indication of controlling the degree of "wrong" allowed. The most common strategy for preempting error was to

identify the piece, place and position. Other techniques used were reference to the model (M/T1, G16, M15), reference to characteristics of the piece (M/T1, T21), physical restraint (G16, M15, M11) and demonstration (M/T1, G16)). Those adults who tended to preempt error by identifying more than just the piece (they identified the place and position as well), made infrequent use of the model in managing error (M15, M9, T12, M11). They also did not tend to highlight the error. Three adults (G17, M10, and G2) did not preempt error at all.

## 5.2 Use of resources

This section examines the use of internal and external aids or resources to assist the completion of the task. The types of resources used by the adults to mediate the task for the child, are examined. These include: the use of the most obvious resource present, the model; the use of "banked" knowledge; the use of others; the implicit use of resources; and examples of alternative use of resources. The resources used by adults to mediate the task for the child are represented in table 5.

Table 5. Use of resources

	Model			"Banked" knowledge	Use of others	Use of alternative resources
	Frequently	Infrequently	no use			
M15	*			*		
M/T1	*			*		
G16	*			*		
T21	*			*		
G2		*			*	
M9		*		*		
M10		*		*	*	
T8		*				*
T22		*				
T12		*				
G17			*		*	
M11			*			

### 5.2.1 Use of the model

The use of model is defined in terms of mediation by the adult of the child's actions and not the use of the model by the adult for her own understanding of the task. Detail of the use of the model as a resource for the child examines the frequency of its use, when it occurs (initial orientation; to initiate next action/directive/placing of piece; after child's error; after mediation by another), and how it is used.

The model was often used together with the use of "banked" knowledge. This term banked knowledge refers to the use of common knowledge, or information from past experience - knowledge that has been built up and stored. For example, certain characteristics of the pieces (shape, colour, geometric label) form part of this banked knowledge. Terms used to identify the functions of pieces, for example the "window", or terms used to label the task as, for example, the "construction of a car/truck", also draw on a stored knowledge developed from other contexts and processes. The use of banked knowledge assisted the building of a shared meaning of the task because of the use of the familiar with the unfamiliar.

Some of the adults explicitly highlighted the model as source of reference, drawing the link between the model and the copy. In addition, some of them requested that the child physically engage in drawing link themselves. The model-copy relationship was also used in explaining a method of verifying an action. For example, identifying a characteristic of the piece on the model for its correct placement in the copy. Other uses of the model as a source of reference were: labelling the piece and establishing a common reference point (for example "wheel"; "window"); stating the operational characteristics of pieces (for example, "it is for lighting").

The degree of frequency of use of the model during the course of the task is represented in table 6. Table 7 indicates how, and for what purpose, the model is used by the adults who make frequent use of it.

Table 6. Frequency of the use of the model

Frequency	Dyad
0	G17, M11
1	T12, M9
3	G2, M10
4	T22
5	T8
15	M15
19	T21
23	M/T1
31	G16

Table 7. Frequent use of the model: example of manner and purpose

Interaction	An example of how the model is used in a directive	The purpose of use of the model
M15	points to model, coupled with shape reference	specifically to identify a piece
M/T1	points to model, coupled with colour reference; gets child to physically link the piece to the model	to position a piece
G16	points to the model, coupled with colour reference	to identify the piece and its position
T21	points to the model, coupled with reference to shape and colour	to identify place and position of the piece

Examples from transcripts of the adult's use of model and banked knowledge are provided below.

M15 specifically and explicitly draws the link between the model and the copy when outlining the general procedure of completing cargo section (lines 99-102). She links this reference to the model with a reference to banked knowledge with term the "boxes" (lines 105-107). An example of her reference to the model in introducing the task can be seen in the section on initiating action.



The adult in the following example makes explicit use of model on identifying, and directing the child to choose, a piece (lines 185-187). The excerpt in initiating action shows how the child initially follows this reference literally. The adult also draws the link between the model and the copy in combination with a reference to colour to identify a piece (lines 203-205).

*	*	*	*
G16 Grandmother age 65, child age 5, male.			
Grandmother		Child	
.....			
Take now one like this 185 (touches orange rectangle on model)		(Looks at model Looks at pieces pile)	
Here they are in front of you, take one like that 190 (touches pieces and collects them)		(Picks up orange rectangle)	
That's right. That's right. No, no, no		(Places slowly Places horizontally Withdraws piece and hovers over copy)	195
Move piece vertically Can you see that there (touches model) it is upright?		(Pushes piece down, doesn't change direction Slowly moves piece into place)	200
Push it downwards. Helps by pushing child's hand			
Wait now. Take one like this (touches black rectangle on model), a black one 205 That's right		(Picks up black rectangle)	
*	*	*	*

The adults who made infrequent use of the model (G17, M11, T12, M9, G2, M10, T22, T8) emphasised directives and frequently identified the piece and its corresponding place. For example, M9 who made an indirect reference to model to identify the place of a piece once, mostly directed the child to act, often identifying pieces and their corresponding places. The child in this interaction was very dependent on the adult in that she requested additional information in order to carry out actions. Although T12 did place a piece on its corresponding place on the model, altogether she gave very little explanation of actions. She made very little use of labelling terms, rather using reference terms such as "this" and "here". This adult made frequent use of demonstration, without explicit reference to model. She was seen to "self-

mediate", that is, to refer to the model for herself. Another adult who tended to identify pieces and their corresponding places for the child (T22) made reference to model as general procedure only on the third attempt at the puzzle.

### 5.2.2 Use of others as a resource

A significant correlation with infrequent use of the model was the use of other adults as a resource. Some adults expressed lack of certainty by hesitating, asking rhetorical questions, self-mediating and self-correcting. These adults (G2, M10, G17) used others around them as a resource. For example, G2 requested information from the teacher (line 167), but directs the child's correction (lines 173 -175).

*	*	*	*
G2 Grandmother age 76, child age 5, male: Teacher present, mediates for grandmother and child.			
Grandmother		Child	
.....	160	(Picks up irregular green Places)	
	165	(Moves black piece around)	
(Touches black rectangle in copy) Is it right ?		(Takes piece out. Picks up window)	
[No, no]			
(Shifts piece around; leaves it)	170	(Places window)	
(Hesitates; taps child on arm) Take this one out		(Turns piece around Struggles to fit)	
Fit in now.	175		
[Teacher leaves the room]			
(Sighs)			
*	*	*	*

Another example of the use of others as a resource is M10. This mother frequently draws on another mother present during the duration of the task for

advice. This other mother, M9, had already completed the task and M10 frequently questioned her (M9) about her experience of the task. These questions ranged from the context in which she (M9) had been in and the techniques that she (M9) had used, to more general questions about what M9 thought the meaning, or intention, of the task was. M10 frequently requested assistance and M9 responded, mediating the task for M10. M10 used the model as reference only after the researcher drew the link between the model and the copy, and M9 reinforced this link. M10 made some use of colour labels. She frequently self-reflected, made rhetorical comments and requested confirmation from M9. M10's unfamiliarity with the task and her resultant uncertainty meant that the child was instructed to act, but given no guidance. On one occasion, M9 acknowledged the child's knowledge and commented on M10's lack of knowledge. The full transcript of this interaction is in Appendix B.

### 5.2.3. The implicit use of resources

Some of the adults made implicit use of resources in the sense that they did not verbalise their decision processes, or communicate any resource information to the child. For example, M11 made no verbal comment to the child throughout the duration of the task. This was the most extreme version of absence of verbal communication with child. This can be seen in the excerpt in the section on negotiating participation.

### 5.2.4 The alternative use of resources

One of the teachers, T8, did not specifically make the child aware of the model as a reference point. Her unique style of demonstration, explaining every step in the decisions she made, served to establish herself and her actions as the reference point, an alternative use of resources. She did refer to the model in this process, but infrequently. The full transcript of this interaction can be found in Appendix B.

## Summary of results

As can be seen from table 5, the distinguishing factor in resource use is whether the model is, or is not, used. M15, M/T1, G16, T21, and G2 all used the model frequently and tended to use it together with banked knowledge, for example reference to colour, shape, and function of pieces. With infrequent, or no use of the model (G2, M9, T22, M10, T12, M11, G17, T8), there tended to be an emphasis on directives but a variety of other resources were used.

G2, G17 and M10 made use of other adults present during the interaction, for their experience and intervention. T8 exposed an alternative use of a resource by establishing herself as a source of reference. That is, her solution to the problem, and the one she presented as a resource to the child, was to "look at me". She did thus not make the child solely dependent on the model as a source of reference. M9, T12 and M11 do not make any explicit use of resources. M11 and G17 did not refer to the model at all.

Chapter 6 will deal with the results from the interviews, discussions and observations.

## CHAPTER 6

### RESULTS: INTERVIEWS, DISCUSSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

This chapter contains the results of interviews, discussions and observations conducted in the contexts of the crèche and the home. Whereas the interactions focused on the relationship between the psychological and the social, the interviews examined the social context of cognitive socialization; the setting of the interaction, the social relations in that setting and the unfamiliarity of the crèche. The resident's views on the nature of this unfamiliarity, and how it is grappled with through mediation and choices of resources, forms the basis of this chapter.

The themes which emerged from an analysis of the interviews, discussions, and structured and unstructured observations, form the framework of this chapter. In the context of the crèche these themes are: perceptions of the crèche; and the actual practice in the crèche. In the context of the home the themes are: the context of socialization, the role of the mother/grandmother in socialization, the teaching of non-formal skills; "ways of being and doing"; the oral mode of socialization; and the underlying ideology of socialization.

Verbatim excerpts from the transcripts of the interviews and discussions are notated with the village reference used in chapter 4 (viz. K, N, Md, C and Mk). The following symbols are used to indicate the status of the speaker: M=mother; G=grandmother; T=crèche teacher; Fw=fieldworker; Chair Res.=Chair of the Resident's Association; Chair Crèche=Chair of the Crèche Committee; and PST=Primary school teacher. Those adults who participated in the general meetings, and who were not necessarily parents, are described according to their gender. Comments that were summaries of a discussion, or general comments which the translator attributed to the group as a whole, are identified as being made by "residents".

## 6.1 The crèche

### 6.1.1 Perceptions of the crèche

The general view of parents, although not static, was that the crèche was enlightening. This was summed up by one of the parents: "We had been staying in the dark until the advent of the crèche... six years with the child, until the preschool" (Mk: Female). During the initial stages of the research process there was evidence of dissension amongst the residents as to the value of the crèche. In the words of one of the government workers: "Some of them are more traditional and they question why other people should look after their children" (K:Agricultural Development worker). Although an attempt was made to raise a critical awareness of the nature of this education, the intervention of the researcher, particularly in developing the infrastructure of the crèches, was seen as promoting crèche education. Notwithstanding the fact that dissension about the benefit of crèche education became diluted over the total two year period of the research, towards the end of the research period there was evidence that some of the residents were not convinced of the importance of the crèche. For example, in village (Mk), the researcher was asked by the residents to address a meeting during the Christmas period when the migrant workers had returned, to explain to the larger community the importance of the crèche. This request for mediation of the concept of crèche education to those who had been absent is significant in that it demonstrates an attempt on the part of the community to achieve consensus on the importance of the crèche.

Teachers, as a result of their exposure to formal training, gave a relatively more "expert" view of the crèche. They were generally more detailed and eloquent in outlining the role of the crèche. Their perception of the importance of the crèche in relation to the home was expressed in the comment that teachers were an (almost omnipotent) source of knowledge: "The teachers, they know everything" (C: T). On the level of more formal schooling the mother, who was also a primary school teacher, did not seem to comprehend why the crèche would not be seen as important. She dismissed this by saying that the parents were merely ignorant if they did not see the importance of crèche education.

## The role and nature of the crèche

Parents felt that the crèche assisted development and broadened the mind of the child. Through crèche activities such as drawing, music, learning how the body works, teaching an awareness of time and basic hygiene, and playing on outdoor equipment, the crèche was seen to help the child's emotional, social, mental and physical development and develop his/her ability to discern right from wrong. This was stated by one of the residents as follows: "Since the advent of the crèche, our children, now their minds are very broadened" (Mk: male).

A dominant expectation parents had of the preschool, and one which was not commonly referred to by teachers, was that it would reinforce the socialization patterns of the home. The preschool was expected to "train" the children in social skills and expected forms of behaviour:

It is very important because it is where the child is being trained to respect elderly people... (Mk: female)

It is the same thing as school. We want the children to be taught that when they see an older person they say "*Mo lo, Mama*"; when they return from school, they greet you; they say "thank-you". They are taught this at home, but this is the connection with the school, teacher and the parent. (N: female)

Besides the general training children received at the crèche, parents emphasised its practical advantage as a day-care service,

The crèche is important especially for those parents who are working. If the parents are away from home, the child is at the crèche. (Mk: female)

The teachers and fieldworker were in agreement with the parents in understanding the role of the crèche in assisting the child's development in all spheres:

The crèche is very important to them because children learn to play with others and the crèche is also important because the children develop mentally, physically and emotionally through the educational toys and creative activity as well. (Md: T)

The fieldworker stated that the content of the crèche education taught children

basic information and vocabulary using weekly themes (for example, the body, animals). Information was broken down to meet the child's capacity in order "to make the child ready in body and in mind (for schooling)". This role of the crèche in preparing the child for school was a dominant theme in discussion about the value of the crèche.

The official custodians of the crèche, the teachers and the fieldworkers, all highlighted the role of the crèche in the diagnosis of the abilities and disabilities of the child. This was not mentioned by any of the parents:

(The crèche is a place where one gets)...to know their problems and their illnesses (who is deaf). If you keep a close watch on the child you can detect these things. (N:T)

In the crèche if you want to play with toys, blocks, (there is an) educational area, art, make-believe .... If he arrives today, he goes to the to the blocks because he likes that area and we take care of him. Sometimes when he arrives at home, he uses that area and parents don't use the care of him.(K:T)

You see, and observe, whether the child can retain what you told it yesterday, you are checking memory. There are also physical defects which you can detect eg. weak eyesight. You can watch the child draw, and find that the child is semi-blind. (Fw)

### The crèche as preparation for formal schooling

Parents and teachers agreed that the crèche's primary role was to prepare the child for school. Parents said that this preparation happened in training the child in the appropriate behaviour for interaction with the schoolteacher:

The preschool is the first for education. When he is going to school, he is not difficult for the teacher. (K: Chair Res.).

They also said that the crèche accustomed the child to separation from his/her parents:

Even if the child does not understand anything about the school, the child comes to the crèche, he is being prepared to be in a position to attend

school, and for him or her to acquaint him or herself to a situation where he or she is separated from his parents. Now he or she is going to attend school where the teacher or somebody is going to stand there. (Mk: male)

Besides these transitional adjustments, parents mentioned that the crèche had become necessary for access to further schooling:

They must go to crèche first because at school they do not admit the children without a certificate of the crèche. (C:M)

It was evident that some of the parents believed that the crèche made primary school easier for the child: "I want him to be educated so that he cannot get difficulties at primary school" (K:G), although they could not identify exactly what made the difference:

There is a difference between the child who attends the crèche and those who do not attend the crèche. Even at school this becomes very, very apparent because the one who had attended the crèche doesn't have any problems when he starts attending schooling at the primary school. He or she just passes, he just goes through. (Mk: male)

It was evident that some parents had very high expectations of crèche education. For example, although the teaching of formal skills was not officially part of the role of the crèche, some of the parents seemed to expect the crèche to teach the skill of writing. This reinforced the general perception of the crèche as a "magic" environment, with "omnipotent" teachers who teach all the things parents are unable to teach:

We thought that by sending the children to the crèche they will learn a few things, at least how to make an "X". But now the children are just sitting, not doing anything. (N: female)

Generally, the crèche was seen by the teachers to link to the formal school institution through teaching a basic understanding of concepts. The crèche was seen as a place where the child received their "initial stages of training before they go to school" (K:T).

The teachers were more specific than the parents in the details of this preparation of the child for school. One teacher acknowledged the difference in the developmental ages of the crèche child and a school-going child: "The mind

of the crèche child is more delicate [at its early developmental stage] than that of a school-going child" (K:T) and outlined the aspects which were necessary for the child's school readiness. In her view the child needed the crèche to assist in the emotional adjustment to the school. The crèche also provided training in the basic motor skills needed for formal skills. She emphasised that the crèche also allowed for activity which was not catered for in the school. This teacher emphasized the socializing role of the crèche in teaching the child respect, to distinguish between status in ages and to perform domestic tasks:

The crèche is important (because) when the child goes to school without having the crèche, she or he is a problem at school, crying and wanting to go home. And here at the crèche, we are showing how to hold a pen, and exercises for hand muscles, bones; playing with water and sand; writing, talking, painting. At school there is not that chance, the chance is here to do those things. (We teach them) to know the old ones, to know this one is junior, this one senior, to talk. (We) teach them cleanliness, to wash the dishes, to serve the others. (For example) you just dish up the food and give it to them to serve; and to collect the dishes, and to wash the dishes themselves (K:T)

This teacher was the first teacher to outline the role of the crèche in discovering the child's interests and informing his/her parents:

Here (in the crèche), when he or she is playing with blocks, always playing with blocks, you tell their parents that they must look after her, he or she is always playing with blocks, making houses. You must look after her. (K:T)

An implicit aspect of the crèche's role in preparing the child for school was that it made the task easier for the school teacher. This was shown in how parents and teachers tended to define school-readiness in terms of the ability to communicate, with emphasis on being obedient. This preparation of the child so that s/he is not "difficult" for the teacher was borne out by the mother who was also a primary school teacher. She commented that the crèche turned the step from home to school into two stages and made it easier for the primary school teacher because, through the crèche, the child is familiarised with certain concepts:

Before there were pre-schools it was very difficult for us. They were crying, wanting to go home during school time and all those problems now are done. (The problem then was that) it was just from home to school and then they found the school and other kids they are not familiar with. Now from preschool to crèche, preschool to school, it is just more or less the same. They are familiar to stay with it... I don't know how they (the crèche teachers) do these things, but we find no problem with these children. We are so thankful that we have these pre-schools, they help us a lot (K: PST)

As the recipient of children who have been through the crèche process, this primary school teacher had had a practical experience of how the crèche could equip the child for formal schooling. It is important to recognise that her opinions are more "expert" than that of the parents and those of the crèche teachers, and are therefore not necessarily part of a common understanding amongst the residents. For example, her explanation of how the crèche prepared the child for school addressed the social and cognitive aspects of this preparation:

The crèche is there so that he can get pre-education before he goes to the school... They are helped there to be ready for school in many ways. They are being taught good habits like: washing hands when they are from the toilet; and to talk to people - "Yes, Mother", not just "Yes", that is, to ask things in a polite way. So they are helped there in many ways... Yes, and when they attend school they are familiar with those things, no problem... They do not find school difficult. They are familiar with new interests, no crying, correct handling of new school utensils like pencils and everything. They are ready when they are from preschool. At preschool they are not taught to write or read. The only important thing at preschool, is that they are taught: to speak correctly; and to handle those lead pencils, in fact they handle crayons. They can draw, which leads them to write words. They can see the differences, especially in maths, between "big" and "small". They are also taught the shapes, "this is round, this is square", and "this is not equal", "many" and "few". Then from those shapes they were making in preschool it's easy to make... to write words from those shapes, those round shapes. Those straight lines they are doing at preschool lead them to correct writing and to correct spacing of words. (K: PST)

## Institutional links and relationships

Considering the parents' and teachers' perceptions of the role of the crèche in relation to the school, an attempt was made to understand the nature of the link between the institutions of the home and the crèche. Questions focused on the differences between the two contexts of the crèche and the home, and the link between these two institutions. The issue was also addressed through descriptions by mothers and teachers of their roles in the child's life.

There was a wide range of views on the crèche-home link amongst parents. There was some discrepancy between whether or not a difference between the two contexts existed and whether or not it was advantageous. Generally the question was responded to in three ways. Firstly, the difference was not really seen as an issue because parents felt that the crèche and the home had a common sense of purpose in that discipline and respect were taught in both contexts. Secondly, the difference between the two institutions was welcomed because it gave the child access to an environment broader than that which constituted life in a rural area. For some parents, the fact that the content of crèche education was different from that of home was acceptable because it was seen as "the start of education". It was seen as a place where the child learnt about things foreign to the rural environment and developed his/her interests:

In the crèche the teacher does not teach things that we teach at home. We already said that this is the start of education. There they are learning about trains which are not here in the Amatole Basin. We welcome the education at the crèche because they are learning about things that are not present in the Amatole Basin. (K:Chair Res.)

Thirdly, the crèche was seen as an institution superior to the home because it bettered what the parents could do. It is significant that some of the parents, as expressed in the perception of the crèche as "enlightening", viewed the crèche as bringing light into "the darkness" of their existence. This perception of the crèche as superior is captured in the way in which one of the grandmothers attributed the development of the child's ability to communicate to the crèche. In doing this, this grandmother attributed an extraordinary amount of power and influence to the institution of the crèche:

There is a difference between home and crèche. When she is at home she can't talk properly with me, but here (in the crèche) she can. (K:G)

The perception of the crèche as a source of all skills and the home as lacking any contribution to the child's development was expressed as follows:

When (the child) is at the crèche, she can write and do everything, but at the home she can do nothing. (C:female)

The fact that the crèche provided things that were not available at home was not seen solely in terms of "superiority" and "inferiority". Rather, it was also related to the economic constraints of rural residents in that they needed to be absent from the home in order to work. This meant that parents did not always have enough time to attend to the child's development and the crèche therefore assumed this role. One group of mothers commented that the crèche facilitated learning because it had equipment and the teacher has the time to focus on the child:

There is a difference between teachers and mothers, because here at the crèche, as you know the children learn by seeing, they learn by doing. Here we have all those things - we have got puzzles, educational toys, and equipment. So they also learn about their body which is... at home I haven't got time to do all these things. So that is why there is a difference. (Md: M)

In the light of the possible difference between the environments of the home and the crèche, the nature of the transition from the one context to the other was explored. One of the parents saw the transition from the home to the crèche as "natural" in that the crèche teacher merely assumed the place of the mother and no major separation between the home and crèche contexts was seen to exist. The initial responsibility of the parents was merely assumed by the crèche teacher. For example when the child repeated various forms of training s/he had learnt at home in the crèche, s/he was encouraged by the crèche teacher:

The crèche is like a foundation for school. Before the child goes to the crèche, which is the responsibility of the teacher, you do a number of things ... When the child goes to the crèche, the child will try to put the lunch container on the table and the teacher will help. These are the building blocks. What you do at home the teacher builds on. (N: Female)

Most of the teachers tended to assume that the transition from the home to the crèche was not problematic:

Teaching starts at home. Then from that teaching that the child gets at home, we add more, more is added at preschool, and then we at school, we add more, until he grows. So mother is the first teacher of the child.  
(K:PST)

If there were any problems, the teachers attributed these to parental neglect of the child. For example parents were seen to care for their children in different ways and this, rather than the difference between the contexts, was seen to be the primary cause of problems in the transition from the home to the crèche. The primary school teacher commented that whereas some parents familiarised the child with concepts used at school, others were indifferent to what their child did at school. The problem was thus not seen as a structural one, but identified as the way in which parents assisted, or did not assist, their child by familiarizing him/her with "school-like" concepts. The fact that parents failed to assess and develop on their child's interests was also seen as parental neglect.

The belief that parents neglect to accustom the child to a more formal education environment must be seen in the context of the teachers' understanding of the parent's role in the crèche. Teachers commented that the role of parents in the crèche was practical (contributing to food for the children) and implied that parents had observer status only (they were shown the Daily Programme). There were numerous references to the role teachers had in instructing parents on how to raise their children. The ability of the parents to contribute to familiarising the child with "school-like" concepts, needs to be seen in the context of their limited knowledge about, and experience of, the crèche:

The connection (between the home and the crèche) is the parent and the teacher. They must connect about food - the children bring lunch to the crèche, and sometimes we call the parents to listen to the programme of the crèche... (N:T)

The teachers acknowledged that the content of crèche education did not include any contribution from parents. This was attributed by one of the groups of residents to the official constraints on the content of crèche education which

was meant to focus on preparation for formal schooling. For example, one of the teachers commented that if she taught local customs and traditions in the crèche, the fieldworkers would say that she "will be 'overdosing' the children. We only prepare the children for school, it is a pre-school."

The fieldworker did not openly object to contribution from parents of a variety of different ideas, but there were evident contradictions in her comments. She said that the crèche syllabus was not static, but implied that it was established and that parents were allowed to "view" it, and to contribute in specific places. Parental involvement was thus superficially encouraged, but restricted to further entrenching the link between the crèche and the school. She stated that any contribution by the parents to the crèche would be controlled and edited in terms of when, how it occurred and what it involved.

The parents' participation in and support of the crèche is a complex issue. To a large extent they are restricted in their access to education in the crèche, yet they consider it necessary for their child's future education - a situation creating advantages and disadvantages. To a certain degree the distinction between the two contexts is overt and unavoidable because the nature of education in the crèche is more formal than that which occurs in the home. However, the overwhelming emphasis on the crèche's role in preparing the child for formal schooling, and the critical attitude the teachers and fieldworkers have of the parents role, seem to emphasise the move away from the home environment and its patterns of socialization. The dynamics of this dilemma will be examined in the next section.

#### 6.1.2 Actual practice: the crèche programme and the crèche

This data was obtained through interviews with the teachers and the fieldworkers. It was supplemented with data obtained from observations of the activities of the crèches carried out during the course of this study and during research conducted in 1990 (Van der Riet, 1990). Detailed notes on a presentation of the crèche's daily programme to the researcher are contained in Appendix D. This information was based on the crèche in the central village, which was the crèche with the

most resources and the closest monitoring by, and access to, the fieldworker. This presentation was pre-planned by the two fieldworkers and the teacher and consisted of input from all three of these people. It must therefore be noted that this presentation was not necessarily an accurate representation of what normally occurred in the crèches, or what might have occurred in the other four crèches. It is an indication of the official view of the crèche programme and activities. There was evidence of a discrepancy between the official programme of the crèches and the actual practice of this programme in the crèches. A general description of how the crèche operates will be followed by a description of the programme of the crèche as observed during the research.

Each of the five crèches in the study had one teacher and a helper. Two teachers said that they were motivated to be crèche teachers by their affinity for children. One teacher added that she became a crèche teacher because she wanted to help the community. Another teacher commented that being a crèche teacher was a form of employment (in an area where there are very few opportunities). The average age of the teachers was 40 years and their average level of education was standard six. Each crèche had an average of twenty-four children between the ages of 2 and 6. The crèches were officially meant to accept children only from the age of three. However, this was not adhered to as in all of the crèches there were children younger than three years of age under the care of the teacher.

Most of the crèches operated from a single room usually on loan from one of the residents in the village. At the start of the research process no crèche structures had been built on the sites officially allocated to the crèches. The Ciskei Government had pledged to contribute to the building of the crèches, but the residents of each village were expected to raise a major portion of the finance. This was hampered by the fact that the majority of the residents were dependent on remittances from migrant workers and, or, pensions. During the course of the research, with external financial assistance, one official crèche structure was erected and negotiations about the building of a further two crèches were in progress. The crèches obtain soup from Operation Hunger and this forms the basis of the meal provided for the children during their time at the crèche. This soup is occasionally supplemented with bread or mealie meal. Teachers commented that this was insufficient and expressed a desire, when they

were housed on the official crèche site, to cultivate vegetables to supplement this food.

Parents were meant to pay a nominal fee for the crèche, but teachers complained that they failed to pay this fee. Teachers said that the lack of funds for the crèche means that they struggled to buy equipment for the crèche and frequently had to use their own salaries. One teacher commented that "the government wants one cent for one cent, but the people in the village don't see the need to pay. The parents see it as 'my' crèche, not the government's" (K:T). The economic constraints experienced by parents and which contribute to this situation, are exacerbated by the fact that many children in the Amatole Basin are under the care of grandparents who are dependent on meagre pensions. These pensioners cannot, therefore, easily pay the crèche fee. In addition they might not see this type of financial contribution as their responsibility as grandparents, but rather the responsibility of the child's parents.

#### Crèche programme and structure of activities

The crèche teachers received no direct training themselves, but were trained by two fieldworkers who were trained by a preschool educare centre. The fieldworker was critical of how the crèches operated before she was employed and saw a definite distinction between herself and the teachers. Her training was passed on to the teachers in a process during which she said the teachers "must be like children". During the first three months of the research, these fieldworkers ran "training sessions" for the teachers about how they should structure the day at the crèche, how they should structure the crèche room into various activity areas and how they should make various toys from waste material. These "training sessions" fell away after the three month period and no further supervision or monitoring of the teachers by the fieldworkers was observed.

The "Daily Programme" which structures the day at the preschool was devised by the preschool educare centre. It consisted of three sections: learning sessions; free choice activities/unsupervised play; and meals/resting time. The activities which were observed in these learning sessions, or "Morning Rings" included: the use of picture charts to question the children about themes; singing sessions

with instruments; oral recitations of verses; story-time; and drawing sessions, which were called "art lessons". Most of the crèches had labels on the walls dividing the room into various sections viz. "Make Believe Area"; "Educational Toys"; "Discovery Area"; "Theme Table Area". However, the only reference to the use of these "concepts" was when one teacher mentioned that each week she chose a different "theme" for the Morning ring, for example, "The Cow", "The Sheep", or "The Pig".

The crèches generally had very few resources. All of the crèches had charts and pictures available although very few of them were attached to the walls. Some of these were distributed by the preschool educare centre, others were handmade using magazine pictures. There was evidence that teachers did not know how to use the formal material from the educare centre. For example, one of the teachers could not identify one of the pictures on the educare centre chart. The crèche in the central village had a few childrens' books. The toys in all of the crèches were mostly handmade from cardboard, or they were secondhand toys and in poor condition. These included dolls, cardboard structures (of houses, television sets and stoves) and musical instruments. The few crèches which had educational toys had obtained them unofficially through family members in urban areas. Some of the crèches had drawing material (wax crayons, powder paints, paint brushes and scrap paper) although these were usually in poor condition. All of the crèches had wooden outdoor play equipment which was erected by the residents. This usually consisted of an A-frame ladder, swings, a slide and netball poles. One of the crèches used old basins and plastic bottles for water activities.

The structure of the day's activities, the way in which the teachers interpreted the directives of the fieldworker, and the way in which they implemented the "Daily Programme", varied from crèche to crèche. This seemed to be dependent on numerous factors such as when the children arrived in the morning, the weather, whether the teachers had prepared the learning tasks, the types of resources available, the availability of food and the initiative of each individual teacher. For example, one of the teachers actively engaged with the children in a ball game. She was the only teacher who referred to the importance of the physical development of the child, saying that "the game builds muscles." Another example of a difference between the crèches was that the songs (which formed part

of the "recitations") at one of the villages had a strong Christian emphasis and were more complex in terms of rhythm and melody than those sung at the other crèches.

A practice common to all of the crèches was the teaching of particular social skills through the reinforcement of particular social behaviour. For example the way in which the children were taught to pray, and to accept food. These teachings and forms of behaviour contained implicit rules about behaviour (for example, be obedient, do not question, follow instructions) which facilitated order within the crèche room.

There were common elements in the nature of teaching in all of the crèches. The emphasis on memorisation as a learning technique was evident in the process of "recitation" which involved learning various stories or verses through singing, or saying and actions. The content of these verses was common to all of the crèches and contained strong references to expected ways of behaving.

The crèche teacher in all of the crèches assumed the role of a source of knowledge, appraisal and correction. For example the following observation of an "art lesson" at one of the crèches implies that the teacher seemed to have very particular expectations of what the children should and should not do, and incorrect work is dismissed without explanation. The children were told to draw a particular figure and they were referred to a picture on the wall depicting this figure. During the drawing process the children's work was observed by the teacher and various comments were made. On completion, the children took their work to the teacher who seemed to "mark" it. The teacher was observed to cross out the work of one child and place it to one side saying that it was "wrong". This emphasis on being either correct or incorrect was also observed in the "Morning Ring" sessions of the "Daily Programme" where the memorisation of facts was inevitably evaluated as either right or wrong.

In all of the crèches the children were taught as a group, rather than in a one-on-one situation with the teacher. In these situations one child would be the focus of attention, and the other children were expected to learn the rules around the tasks seemingly through observation. The teacher would then change the

focus of learning to another child who would be expected to know how to perform the task without being given any further guidance. This technique of teaching to groups of children could be because of the teacher-child ratio, meaning that teachers generally did not have time to monitor all the children, prepare the meals, play with the children, and engage in educative games. Another possible reason was that village life emphasised the collective rather than the individual and this filtered into the teaching style in the crèche.

The discrepancies between the official crèche programme and what was taught in the crèches needs to be seen in the context of the isolation of teachers and crèche institutions in this rural area. Inefficient monitoring and support of the crèche teachers by the fieldworkers contributed to the discrepancy between intention and practice. It was evident that the limited training received by the teachers made some of the teachers feel that they were not necessarily doing the approved thing. One of the crèche teachers said that she had not been on the training course herself but that she would be "put in line".

However, the teacher's lack of familiarity with the educative material supplied by the educare centre implies that the content was perhaps inappropriate for this context. The teachers were all rural residents themselves and had not, except for one teacher, had much experience of a context other than the rural villages. The effect of the lack of familiarity with the material fostered a dependence on the outside agent of the fieldworker as a resource. The teachers seemed to lack confidence in their own skills and resources and tended not to draw on the resource of the community. However, the predominant perception of "recitations" as the major form of teaching in the crèche emphasises an oral mode of instruction and is an example of the use of local resources. For example, when asked what she taught the children, one of the teachers emphasised techniques and content which were oral:

I teach them stories - Bible stories; not to write; recitations; short lessons which are not written in books but given orally. For example, this is a story which I learned from the teacher at school: There is mother coming from the field, coming with a pumpkin, prepare the food, food is nice when it is cooked. (N:T)

This suggests that although there are difficulties in implementing the intended programme in the crèche, and this programme might not be completely appropriate for this context, the teachers do utilize the resources inherent in their way of life. The use of oral means and content of teaching will be examined in chapter 7. The use of these resources is, however, not an uncontended issue. The constraints placed on the teachers by the official view of the aims and context of crèche education will be examined below.

### Constraints and controls on the education of the non-formal crèche institution

The goal and purpose of the crèche is decided on by external bodies. The strict and narrow focus on preparation for the formal school context was diligently adhered to by the fieldworker, and nothing else was seen to be of value. The appropriateness of the content and style of teaching methods and resources developed in urban, more middle-class environments, was not questioned. The contribution of parents to the content and style of this teaching-learning milieu and not just practical and financial assistance, was not ever considered.

These dynamics were very clearly illustrated by the parents' comments on the realistic constraints on crèche education, the clear delineation of roles between more formal institutions and home, and the residents' general lack of control over these institutions. Structurally and policy-wise the parents are given no say in the planning of the content and programme of the crèche. Rather, it is the decision of the government via the structure of the Early Learning Centres which train the fieldworkers and the teachers.

Our main problem in the school and the crèche is that all you are required to do is send the child. The parents don't provide anything. The government decides on the programme. (N:T)

It is true, the crèche was introduced by the government. It is the government who pays and who must control. (N:male)

This problem of the residents' lack of control over the crèche continued to be an obstacle in discussions about their involvement in the crèche to the extent that the residents began to express concern about "upsetting the boat". This

feeling of lack of control extended to lack of control by the community over their own lives, directly related to the introduction of the crèche:

The problem is being ruled, being controlled. In the past we used to do what you are talking about. Even asking the child to write. Now we are told to do this or that. (N:T)

This reality and the repressive context in which the residents lived, outlined in chapter 4, accentuated this lack of control and increased the fear of acting differently to instructions and differently from others. The following dialogue, conducted predominantly with the crèche teacher during one of the resident's meetings, shows this very clearly. It is also indicative of the fact that there is initiative and creativity by individuals above and beyond crèche programme ("I" represents the interviewer):

I: If you could build your own programme?

Where would we implement it?

I: In the crèche.

We can't, we already have a programme.

I: What about within that programme, during the story-time?

I think of stories myself.

However, there is a clear sense of who is "in control" and fear about being singled out:

I: Can't you collect stories from the village and tell them in the crèche?

If the fieldworker arrives and finds me teaching another programme, where will I say that I got this from. We are controlled from Middledrift. It would mean that (village N) would have to break from the others.

On another level, the residents showed their dependence on government structures, not identifying any internal resources:

I: What would happen if you were to build the crèche yourself, without government money. What would you teach in the crèche?

We would still teach what the fieldworker says because we need the money.  
(N:T)

There was some willingness to use their own material and some evidence that, although the process might be against them, they still do "their thing" in practice, but unofficially. They did admit that changes can be made:

You can collect stories and we will teach them in the crèche. Even the women can collect stories. (N:Assistant T)

In these meetings you are not asked what you want, just told what has been decided at Bisho. The fieldworkers just implement this. We can teach them stories about marriage and simulate weddings. We do these things. (N:T)

The following excerpt from the interview with the fieldworker (full interview in Appendix C) highlights her perception of her role in the community, and the role parents need to play in the crèche. At the mention of including parent's input in the content of the crèche programme, she revealed the strict control she has over this in the sense that the parents need to relate to the crèche in a structured and bureaucratic way. Her key comments came at the end of the interview when she insisted that she would have to "pass" anything before it was used in the crèche. We mentioned that we could produce stories, or a book, from our work. She responded:

In the crèche you must select the stories/songs. They must not be about violence. One must teach constructive songs. I would assess the stories (in the book) and subtract/add. Even if you were to bring story-books, I won't just use them.

We explained that the stories and verses that we would put together would originate from the Amatole Basin, as we had heard them in the villages. Her comment was:

The crèche songs are not difficult, one does not have to sit down and think. They are from the people. As a teacher you must be creative, not like the parents, sticking to what went before. If a teacher goes to (village Md), and sees the children singing "Unomaza" (see Appendix E), she must be creative, and move on.

I: Are the teachers more influential than the parents?

Yes, but we must try to draw them in. When the parents say that they have a nice song, the teacher must say whether it is right or not. Parents should have a contribution.

The researchers commented on this tension between what the parent offers, and what the teacher can edit.

It's true, but the parents cannot teach songs. The teacher must edit them

carefully, if for example there is a line with something violent in it. One must not despise the parents. They are easily disappointed. One must talk carefully and persuasively, and then the parents will understand.

Her attitude towards the parents and their involvement in the crèche, is that they can be used to further entrench the link between the crèche and the school, rather than the crèche and the home. Her approach seems to be one which seeks to correct the parents' way of socializing their children, rather than valuing their contribution to the education of their children.

In summary, the residents see the advantage of crèche as exposure and access to different resources. The disadvantage of the crèche was said to be that it highlights the lack of resources in rural areas. The dilemma is that education is a crucial element, especially for economic survival. There have been attempts to change this "foreign" factor, that is, decreasing its foreignness and unfamiliarity through the use of the oral mode of teaching, and recitations. The problem is based in the foreign nature of the institution and the way it has been introduced from the outside. This is exacerbated by continuing control and dominance by an external body which makes residents powerless and they will not readily admit to using their own resource for fear of recrimination, or they do not feel that they have any resources, because they have been undermined.

## 6.2 The home

The questions investigating the home context attempted to draw out how adults in this context mediated more familiar tasks and activities. The process of transferring knowledge, in the form of the socialization of children by adults, was examined. This examination also revealed the underlying patterns, or ideology, which inform the socialization process. This information was obtained specifically from the interviews with grandmothers, mothers and teachers although relevant comments made by parents in the general residents meetings have also been included.

In the broader residents' discussions the question of role division in the family between mother and father was raised. A grandmother and a teacher commented that training the child tends to be the mother's role because the father is not often present. The mother therefore knows the child better and is closer to the child. The role of the mother in the child's socialization was therefore an appropriate focus. In the words of one of the parents "the mother is the only one who knows what is needed by the child, and can care for the child's basic needs" (K:M).

### 6.2.1 The context of socialization

Both parents and teachers commented on the effect of "changes in the times" on the process of socialization. One group of mothers referred specifically to the role the school played in this dynamic. This is a direct comment on their experience of grappling with the differences which arise out of the meeting of two different sets of knowledge.

The mothers commented that there is a change in socialization, viz. in the past the child was not told certain things which these days s/he is told. One group of mothers commented that the school created an environment where "other" things were learnt. The mothers expressed that they found it difficult to measure up to the teaching of these "other" things:

It is hard to learn (teach) the children difficult things, although we know that at school there are some books like Biology ...er.... and some books...but they know everything there at school, but it is hard for us to us to teach the children how to do this. (C: mothers)

The "change in the times" was supported by the mother who was also a primary school teacher. She commented on how one needed to adapt socialization patterns to the prevailing conditions:

We are young parents, our parents are the old parents, so what we have done, our children they can't do otherwise. Times are like this, so we tell them things as they are, for example, if I have a thirteen year old daughter, my mother, who is a grandmother to her won't tell her "My child, you are entering an adolescent stage, so you will do this, or that". The grandmother won't tell the child that because she will feel that "That is too much for my child". But I know that the child must know, so that she may not get into trouble. So even in many other ways, our grandmothers are shy to tell these children. But they come across things in the streets with friends, in your absence. So you must tell them the correct thing. (K: PST)

## 6.2.2 The role of the mother/grandmother in socialization

### "Training for life"

I am bringing them up in a manner that will make them successful in life, even when I am dead. I want to leave them with heritage that can never be taken away from them. (C:G)

This necessity of training children, particularly to perform tasks which would ensure their survival was a dominant response to the question of the mother's role. This entailed training children to do tasks around the house, or teaching them basic skills such as how to hold a spoon. In the words of one mother, this was helping the child to "help himself".

At home children learn to become independent for their own existence.  
(Mk:M)

This was echoed by one of the grandmothers in response to a question about what else, besides training, is taught by mothers. She defined the needs of the child in terms of training in practical skills implying, rather indignantly that to train your child and to prepare him/her for independent life is what it means to love your child. The other mothers present in the interview agreed with her:

Is there any difference between doing these things and love? ... Is there any difference between these things and love and feeding? The major thing is that this is also love because the child learns everything ... If you do not learn children these things, you do not love him. (K:G)

When asked about their role in the child's socialization, as well as providing the basic necessities (eg. food, clothing, medical care, providing toys), mothers and grandmothers emphasised that what the child needs is knowledge of domestic and agricultural task, and religion:

Their needs are education, to look after cows when the child is a boy, when a girl, domestic jobs like washing, cooking, ironing, going to the forest. They must know the religion, going to the church. Making tea falls under cooking. How to milk a cow. The boy must learn to plough. (K: G)

In support of all of this, one of the mothers gave a detailed account of the content and process of training a young child at home, commenting that this was the basis onto which the crèche teacher builds:

The crèche is like a foundation for school. Before the child goes to the crèche, which is the responsibility of the teacher, you do a number of things: firstly, the child is on your lap and it wets you. You smack the child (she tapped her arm) and put it on the ground. When the child breast-feeds it might bite you, and smile while it is doing this. You smack the child, to show that you do not approve. When the child starts to crawl and it goes near a lamp, you say "*Hata*" (you are going to burn), but you do not stop the child. The child crawls to the lamp, burns him/herself. Next time you give the child the lamp, the child refuses to take it, it has learned. It is the same for cold water. You let the child get into the cold bath and learn. When the child begins to stand alone, the child imitates you, the child learns to stand. The child stands, you move your legs and say "*Hamba*" (walk). The child learns that this is walking, and starts walking. You want to wean the child because s/he has to go to the crèche and you do not want him/her to trouble the teacher. You make a fire and give him/her the milk bottle and ask him/her to throw it into the fire. S/he sees it burn in the fire. When s/he wants the bottle to suck milk and starts crying, you remind him/her that s/he burnt the bottle. You will hear the child say this him/herself next time. You may have to smack the child if s/he insists and say "You burnt your bottle yourself". With food, you teach the child to take the dish and put it on the table. When the child goes to the crèche, the child will try to put the lunch container on the table and the teacher will help. These are the building blocks. What you do at home the teacher builds on. (N:female)

In summary, the content of socialization referred to by the mothers and grandmothers in the discussions can be divided into two categories. Firstly, training directed at infants and toddlers aimed at self-sufficiency: weaning; toilet training; holding utensils; awareness of danger; washing oneself; how to walk and how to talk. Secondly, training directed at young children in performing household tasks: washing dishes, cleaning house, making beds, cooking and fetching wood. In the words of an Adelaide farm labourer:

These are ways of putting the child in the road so that she should know a bad and a beautiful thing. (Education and Development Research Project)

### 6.2.3 The learning-teaching process of informal skills

The difficulty of operationalizing "how parents teach" was reflected in the statement by one of the grandmothers implying simply that teaching is not a thought-out process, it is "part of living". It was, however, possible to draw out the dominant characteristics of the descriptions of the training process. There were patterns in the way the adults professed to train, instruct and, or socialize children. It is significant that these patterns are also reflected in the analysis of the interactions and that parents and teachers reflected similar understandings of the process. This data was drawn from discussions and interviews with parents generally, and mothers/grandmothers and teachers specifically.

#### Examples of common tasks taught to children

One of the mothers explained how she would teach her child to wash dishes. The central elements of this process were: to demand the child's attention; to demonstrate; to draw the child into the task; to instruct and direct the child as to how the task is done; and to allow the child to perform the task on a future occasion:

If a child is going to wash a dish, you are going to tell the child: (with accompanying hand movements) "Take a dish and put it here. Take a cup or a mug and bring the water. Pour the water in a dish (bowl). Take a soap", Sunlight soap, or Dishwasher (dishwashing liquid) if you have got Dishwasher. "Take a swab and Sunlight in a swab, and wipe the dish". After that you then say: "Dish... (incoherent) ... wiped nicely and put the dish away..." On the first time, the child doesn't know how to do this (murmurs of agreement from the other mothers). So you are going to sit here, and you say: "Take this, take this, and do like this (motions with hand)...." And the next time, you are going to leave him, and (he will) do it himself (C:M)

The primary school teacher provided another example of how a child is taught to wash dishes. The main elements in this teaching process were: teaching through demonstration; drawing the child into the task and engaging in joint activity; encouraging imitation on the part of the child; setting an example:

Maybe the thing you teach is washing dishes. So you call her "Let us wash dishes". Then you take water, pour the water in the big dish, take soap, wash them, and then you wash with her. Then you take the towel.. (she took an imaginary towel and made as if to put it in interviewer's hands) "Try to do what I am trying.. try and imitate what I am doing". Then he is learning.

I: And this happens with all the things you teach ?

Yes, imitation... You, the parent must do the correct things, in the right way, so that the child will not be mistaken. He must imitate what you are doing as teachers, you as a parent, or as an adult. They can even imitate wrong things if you do wrong things. They learn by imitation. Even the young children, the young daughters, they like to wear our clothes, and the *doeks* (headcloths) as if they are mothers. So they want to be adults. They want to be adults. It is as if they know that sometime they will be adults. (K:PST)

One of the mothers provided an example of how she would teach the child to collect wood. The other mothers present in the interview agreed with her description. The central elements of this process are: demonstration and the importance of beginning the training while the child is young.

Mothers walk with them to the forest and then (they) can break the wood. Sometimes you chop the wood with an axe. So you put the lines here, down here (indicating how the cloth which ties the bundle are placed on the ground), and put the wood, one by one, nicely, nicely... (laughter) ...

I: And then, getting it up here? (indicating that the bundle is placed on the head)

Yes (Laughter)...

I: It is difficult, how is it done?

No! ... (laughing and tongue clicking)... (the mother proceeded to demonstrate with actions and accompanying directions in Xhosa and English) Like this (she demonstrated tying the wood), take a towel (she folded the towel) ...

I: Yes, on the top of the head, yes ...

... do like this (she placed the towel on her head, and lifted the imaginary bundle of wood). Yes... (Laughter and comments from the other mothers).

I: At what ages do girls learn that ?

Even the two year old child (other mothers: yes, yes) can go and take two small woods...

I: Also on the head ?

So (she demonstrated how the wood is lifted), and put it (she demonstrated how it is positioned on the head). (C:M)

Another mother, the primary school teacher, explained how collecting wood is taught through allowing the child to observe the adults' actions and then imitating them. The child is then sent independently of the adult, with other children, to perform the task:

They go to the forest with their mothers and they watch them collecting wood, making the bundle, wrapping it, putting it on the head. Then they imitate. Then sometimes you tell her, "Go and fetch wood from the forest". She can go with others and they can collect themselves, fasten the bundle and put it on the head, and come back with wood. (K: PST)

One of the mothers provided an example of how an infant is taught to speak. Her example indicates the centrality of encouraging imitation on the child's part:

This baby (sitting on her lap), I teach her how to talk. "Say 'Mama', 'Dada' (the baby shouted 'Da..da..da !') Ja, like that! (laughing). (The other mothers laughed and agreed). So every time when I say 'Mama' (the baby said 'D..d..do'), so he tried, he said 'B..bamba'. (C:M)

The dominant factors in the "how" of this training seems to be the adult directing and instructing the child about what to do. This is accompanied with demonstrations and the adult performing the task while the child observes. Imitation of the adult by the child is encouraged. Other elements of this teaching process are: discipline; warning; allowing learning through experience; and building on the child's initiative.

#### 6.2.4 Teaching "ways of being and doing"

Several questions attempted to access the knowledge and mode of transfer that was not the transfer of formal school knowledge in the formal school context and which was not training the child to perform tasks. The focus was on local knowledge, concepts about "ways of being and doing" which were particular to this

area. The concept used in the question "community". It was presented in the form of the question "How and where do children learn about community?". The terms used to elaborate on the concept were: ancestors and history; village; home; culture; customs; traditions. It was a difficult concept to operationalise and difficult to respond to, as indicated by a comment from a teacher:

The questions are difficult (laughing). When the adults are doing this, the child is looking, that is how they learn. (K:T)

However, the responses indicate the following: what was seen to be important to teach children; where that teaching occurs; who the agent of this teaching is; and what the process of transferral of this knowledge is. The responses also illuminate the dynamics of the context and institutional links referred to in the previous section.

Some of the adults were certain that the responsibility lay in the teaching-learning milieu of the home and general community, rather than the more formal institutions. Thus, parents and elders were seen as being responsible for this aspect of the child's education. For example, a parent commented that:

The Xhosa says you will never bend an old tree, you must bend it *wugobe use lula* (while it is capable of being bent). *Gangca!* you hold it and bind it here [indicating with his hands bending a thing, and bringing its two ends together] If you try to bend it old, it will break in the middle .... because it can no longer bend. I mean, then, you have to start a child small. (Education and Development Research Project)

Various forms of social activity such as family gatherings, events such as funerals and the practice of customs, were seen to be the occasions on which these issues were addressed with the child. One teacher commented on the importance of responding to a child's queries so that the child has the knowledge for the long-term. She also acknowledged that parents differ in their methods and therefore children will differ:

When such a custom, maybe a circumcision custom is taking place, then the child will ask:

"What is being done there? Why is such a boy going to be circumcised wearing a blanket, not clothes?"

Then you must be clever in telling him those customs. But he must know, as he is going to see them now and then, so you must tell your child "Oh,

that is a funeral. The grandfather of Unathi has passed away."

"Where is he gone?"

"No, we shall never see him again, he has gone to heaven."

"Where is heaven?"

Such questions. There are such questions (asked by the child):

"Where is heaven?"

"We see heaven when we have died."

"Am I going die?"

"Yes, if God loves..likes you, you are going to die."

"And you, Mother, are you going to die?"

"Yes, I'm going to die sometime, although not now", so that he must not be afraid. In fact children differ. Some children do not ask questions, they are shy. Others ask questions and won't stop until he is satisfied by your answers. So that is why I say you must be clever, if you know that this child is clever, so tell him the right thing so that he knows or she knows for the rest of his life. Because sometime he will find that his mother was lying and that is not right... We differ, we parents. I like to tell, so that he may know what is taking place. Some parents don't tell children as they don't ask, and there is a difference between those two children. The one who is told knows a lot and is a bit cleverer, he knows more than the one who is not told. (K:PST)

Parents expressed a lack of confidence in what they are capable of doing. They attributed the responsibility of teaching their children about "community" to an outside agent, as if parents were incapable of teaching any of these concepts. The process was seen to be within formal institutions where it is seen as a school subject. This delegation of the responsibility was possibly a result of their lack of confidence:

We have got no person to teach the children about community... Themselves... But there by the Secondary School, there is some...someone from...outsiders, such as maybe Uitenhage, King William's Town... So they know about community, so they can learn there.

I: So the child doesn't learn about that at home?

No. (C: M)

There were some adults, the primary school teacher in particular, who thought that this teaching could occur in the school and the crèche. Some parents clearly

stated that this should occur in the crèche, but that the curriculum constraints did not allow the teachers to teach "these things". One of the crèche teachers added that these traditions and customs should be taught at the crèche and not only in the home because they are "small". A parent gave an example:

When a boy child starts walking, there is a tradition that a man walks with a stick, therefore I give the boy a stick. That should be taught at the crèche." (N: male)

Thus the residents may want customs and traditions to be taught at the crèche, but this is restricted by institutional regulations.

In an attempt at gaining access to another perspective on informal teaching, the question of how the child learnt the concept of respect, was also asked. Respect was acknowledged as a crucial part of the informal training which constituted a "way of being":

Childhood is respect, because even if I'm old, without discipline, I am the same as the child'. (Md: G)

However, the parents seemed to expect the notion of "respect" to be taught to the child in the crèche as part of teaching "social relations". The majority of teachers seemed to expect this "respect" to be taught by the parents, because their own focus is on formal education:

I: How do children learn respect ?

By being taught at home in the first place. (K:T).

#### 6.2.5 The oral mode of socialization

The difficulty faced in operationalising the concept of teaching "ways of being and doing" led to an examination of oral means of socialization.

In one resident's meeting, the question "In your homes there is a knowledge, there is a history of your family, of your people - where does the child learn this?" was asked and many comments were made. The chairperson of the Resident's Association responded simply: "Stories", thus highlighting the oral mode of

transfer of knowledge. When asked to explain how stories transmitted local knowledge, the response was:

(Laughing) The way we do stories is at night. We tell them ancient events and stories, about Jacob speaking. All these things are done at night, when they are all present. (K:Chair Res.)

When he sat down he smiled and the residents laughed with him.

The use of stories in teaching children "ways of being" was then raised with the residents of other villages. Stories were seen as modes of instruction containing advice, direction and guidance for children. This reinforced the idea presented by the first village:

They are learning stories. The children must know how the stories help them. (C:Chair Crèche)

Mothers were seen to be central to this story-telling procedure because "it is the mothers who are always with the children" (C: residents).

These stories contain practical information about the environment:

We tell stories about the cow: you can plough with the cow, you get beef, and milk. Another story about the Matola River. This river comes from the Lebombo Mountains. The branches of this river are Keiskammahoek and Alice. These are branches of the Matola which go to Middledrift. (C: Chair Crèche)

The stories contain knowledge and are passed on through the generations indicating continuity in time. For example, when asked about the origin of these stories, the residents of one village responded that these were stories from their parents. These stories teach the children about their history and are therefore part of the child's education. For example, in response to a query about what parents do with their children in evenings, a mother responded:

I tell them stories of the past and make them laugh. For instance I tell them that in the past we only wore blankets and not clothes. These stories of old may help them at school because they are part of history. (N: M)

The use of stories and verses seemed to be an implicit method of transferring local knowledge, and socialization. This issue was examined in the third set of data, stories and verses, presented in chapter 7.

### 6.2.6 The underlying ideology of socialization

Generally the mother's role was seen by parents in relation to the difference in status between adult and child. This difference between adult and child was described as a difference in abilities in that the child could do practical and responsible tasks but the adult could. Children were seen not to have certain essential skills such as making food, cleaning and washing themselves. The difference was also seen to be in taking responsibility for what needed to be done. The child's main concern was play and his/her own needs, whereas the adult needed to be the provider even at times when s/he did not have the material means to provide.

There was also seen to be a difference between the adult and child in their respective abilities to distinguish between right and wrong. One of the mothers commented that "a child doesn't know the real thing which is right, unless you can tell him or her" (Md: M).

This was supported by the response to a question about childhood:

Childhood is the exposure of a young person to the norms and values of humanity. It involves the intervention of an adult to teach the child about things that will build his personality. The aim is to take him away from wrong things so that he can become an independent adult. (K: male)

This clear differentiation in the roles of adult and child was supported by the teachers who attributed this difference between adult and child to experience and age:

The knowledge of the adults is from their age, their growing, things happening. But the child, things are so little, because they are so small. (K:T)

The role of the adult as guide in the context of these differences between adult and child, was expressed by the primary school teacher:

You have to proceed with your child, together, and explain what is wrong and what is right.... You have to sit with your child "My child, if you have sex with a boy ..... you are going to be pregnant" ... "My child, if you don't want to be pregnant, the best way, you can go to the clinic, to have some tablets, and injection to prevent pregnancy. And that's the way to solve the problem". (Md:T)

As a result of this difference in knowledge and understanding, parents saw the mother's role as being to distinguish between right and wrong for the child. The mothers in one village seemed surprised at the suggestion that a mother could teach her child the things an adult knows. Their disagreement with this view seems to be based on the assumption that "adult knowledge" was primarily knowledge about "sex". In spite of this view, some of the comments that were made about teaching the child to become an adult were relevant to the more general question of the difference between adult and child. The status and role-expectation inherent in the adult-child division forms the basis of the pattern of interrelations between adult and child in the process of socialization.

Four mothers referred to the difference between the adult and the child in a way which reflected the status and role of adults and children in this context. This "difference" was primarily in relation to "having" or "not having" knowledge:

A child doesn't know everything an adult knows. (Md: M)

This status in relation to knowledge was reinforced by the rigidity in the roles of adult and child where the child's role is strictly that of learner:

The child can go to the mother, but the mother cannot go to the child  
(C:T)

This attitude to the status and role of children in this social context is summarised in the following response to a question about childhood:

Childhood is a young person who listens when an elder speaks; one who can be moulded and taught; one who has not yet reached adulthood, treating him according to his age. One who is being taught the difference between adult and child life. (K:G)

The unidirectional process of learning between adult and child was reflected in the interactions and will be discussed in chapter 8.

## CHAPTER 7

### STORIES AND VERSES

Stories and verses taught to children by adults in this rural context outline fundamental socialization beliefs and teachings. As a data source, stories and verses within their oral mode of teaching, provide a window into issues not directly referred to when questions around socialization were asked. This deeper level of data can be referred to as the "ideology" of socialization apparent in this context. In the presentation of this data, two aspects will be addressed: the oral mode of the transfer of knowledge; and the content of this knowledge. All of the stories and verses collected during this study are contained in Appendix E.

#### 7.1 The oral mode of the transfer of knowledge

The prominence of recitation in the daily programme of the crèche, and the reference by parents to the importance of stories in socialization, revealed a process of cognitive socialization which emphasized an oral mode of transfer of knowledge. Ong (1982) defines primary orality as the orality of cultures untouched by literacy. However, he cautions that this culture barely exists since every culture knows of writing and has some experience of its effects. Its use here is in the sense of oral, as opposed to a written means of communicating information, and the transfer of knowledge in particular.

Gilbert, Van Vlaenderen and Nkwinti (1991) have found that child-rearing methods across four different types of rural areas in the Eastern Cape (Sidbury, Adelaide, Healdtown and the Amatole Basin) are very similar. It is interesting to note that the mode of transfer of knowledge also experiences continuity across location and time. Verses recorded in the Amatole Basin are the same as those used in other places, for example Uitenhage, Grahamstown and Cradock, in present times as well as forty years ago (P. Mtuzze, personal communication, October 10, 1992; G. Nkwinti, personal communication, March 20, 1992). The oral tradition, as a means of communication, teaching and learning, is central to the culture of the rural communities in this study.

The conservatism implicit in this mode of transferral of knowledge, and its

inherent consequences, needs to be acknowledged. Ong (1982) comments that since in a primary oral culture conceptualized knowledge that is not repeated aloud soon vanishes, oral societies must invest great energy in saying over and over again what has been learned arduously over the ages. This need establishes a highly traditionalist or conservative set of mind that, with good reason, inhibits intellectual experimentation. Knowledge is hard to come by, and precious, and society regards highly those wise old men and women who specialize in conserving it, who know and can tell the stories of the days of old. (p. 41)

## 7.2 The content of this "oral" knowledge.

The verses and stories collected in the Amatole Basin are heavily laden with serious teachings and an implicit ideology of socialization. Their strength and familiarity lie in the fact that they draw on values, customs and expectations which constitute the "ways of being and doing" in this particular context.

The general themes which can be identified in the stories and verses are: the expected ways of behaving, and respect of elders in particular; a particular adult and child status in relation to knowledge (the adult knows and the child does not know); a reflection of the immediate environment (dangers) and way of life (beliefs and customs; subsistence agricultural existence); and the teaching of life skills. The verses and stories use real life events and animal imagery to carry their "teachings". Evidence of these themes in the stories and verses will be examined.

Two of the stories collected in the Amatole Basin reflect the residents grappling with the harsh reality of the natural environment using real-life events as "teachings". This supports Ong's (1982) contention that unlike writing or print culture which can distance, abstract and denature the human, oral culture is close to the human lifeworld:

In the absence of elaborate analytic categories that depend on writing to structure knowledge at a distance from lived experience, oral cultures must conceptualise and verbalise all their knowledge with more or less close reference to the human lifeworld, assimilating the alien, objective world to the more immediate, familiar interaction of human beings. (p.42)

### 7.3 Story-telling

In chapter 6, it was mentioned that the issue of story-telling provoked laughter on the part of the residents. This laughter was indicative of a critical instance in the interaction between researcher and the residents where the researcher was beginning to break into the inner world of the residents. The laughter in the meeting could be seen as a warning to the "outsider" to be circumspect. The question of why the residents should be defensive about revealing the intricacies of story-telling is complex. Besides inferring that the content of stories is significant, this attitude suggests that story-telling plays a critical and sensitive role in the life of these rural residents. In response to the researcher's request to hear some of the stories told to children, an old man responded:

When we went to sleep we were told stories and we drifted off to sleep. In the morning when we asked our mothers to repeat the story to us she said that she could not tell us stories during the day, because we would grow horns. (Md: male)

In the absence of schools, orality was a dominant and a standard mode of socialization. Parents used to tell stories, sing and use a variety of traditional musical instruments (such as the *inkingi* a mouth organ constructed from reeds and the *uhado*, a rod made from the shell of a pumpkin). The telling of "night" stories is linked with the physical structure of the home where parents and children frequently live in one room, as well as to the type of environment in which the family lives. In this context stories are told for two possible reasons. Firstly, stories are kept for "night" telling so that they do not lose their "magic" and so that the children will be tired and go to sleep. This ensures a degree of privacy in the single room for the parents. The question "Do you hear?" which is addressed to the children throughout the story assesses whether children are asleep or not. Secondly, stories frequently contained very frightening images. Children would listen intently, turn to parents as their protectors and thus the respect of children for their elders would be reinforced. Whether these same conditions are present today now that there tend to be more rooms in each house would be worth further investigation. In larger houses, the physical separation between parents and children is greater and an unintended consequence could be that the dependence of children on their parents is less (G. Nkwinti, personal communication, October 10, 1992).

Rural resident's proximity to the natural environment, as opposed to a created, and constructed environment, emerges as a central theme in the stories. More specifically, as described in chapter 4, the mode of production of residents in the Amatole Basin is subsistence agriculture. Agricultural practice is not highly technologised or advanced and tools, cultivation techniques and the scope of agricultural endeavour, differ greatly from large-scale farming. For example, ploughs are pulled by oxen, hoes are used in the fields, man-made sleds transport wood and there is minimal use of tractors. Cow-dung as opposed to chemical fertilizers is used and there are not the resources to finance the use of insecticides. This reality means that the residents will always have to grapple directly with the forces of nature with relatively few modern means of controlling or preventing disasters. Their life takes on the pattern of a dependence on these natural forces, for example, droughts and plagues of insects. It is this context which provides the framework for socialization and it is this natural environment which is drawn on as the main source of teaching and learning. For example, in response to the request for stories about the Amatole Basin, two residents from the central village submitted stories which they had composed. Although the request had not been for written stories since the researcher was prepared to record oral renditions of stories told to the children, these two stories were written down.

One of the stories was written by the chairperson of the Resident's Association, a central figure in the village. As an older person he is advising younger people, a process which is based on the belief that older people have more experience. His story is addressed to a group of children who live in the Amatole Basin and reflects the caution necessary for living in this context. It seems to be an attempt to instil in these children lessons about a way of grappling with the harsh realities of this rural area.

He asserts the main activity which residents of the Amatole Basin are concerned with and advises that one should exercise caution in handling this way of living:

Our thing is stock and ploughing ... I advise that you should choose one thing only, of the [stock] that I have enumerated. The one in which you are interested, and look after it to the best of you ability... The most important thing, my children, is to avoid waste or loss. You dare not find some of your things already rotten.

This story can also be seen in an allegorical sense as it compares "ancient times with modern times" (F. Nkwinti, personal communication, January 10, 1993). The narrator is aware of the exodus of people from the rural environment to urban areas. He is cautioning that in these fast modern times, it is best for people to understand their capabilities. His message is: Take time before committing yourself.

The second story was submitted by one of the crèche teachers and was said to be based on a real-life event. It reflects the battle with the natural environment faced by residents in the Amatole Basin. The moral of the story reminds children not to let their eagerness to obtain something make them forget the dangers of their environment. A real-life event thus becomes a "teaching". In this story, the protagonist, Grandma Nondwe, a resident from one of the adjacent villages, crosses the river to buy meat at the shop. It is raining heavily. When she tries to cross it on her journey home, she is swept away and her body is found the next morning:

All in all, my children, do not cross when the river is full, ask for a place to sleep from the homes on your side of the river. Do you hear?

On an allegorical level, the narrator's use of uMakhulu, an old woman is significant. She could be said to represent the older generation. This old person has been swept away by the river flood, which represents the present time which is fast and which creates much anxiety for older people. This old person is determined to go about her daily business and ignores the flood. However, it is too fast for her and she is overwhelmed by it. She is rejected by the tide of the time. The "teaching" in this story is: think before you act.

#### 7.4 Reciting verses

During most of the visits to the crèches, on the arrival of the researchers, the children were told by the teacher to recite a verse. Sometimes the children began these "performances" of their own accord. These verses are part of the activities of the daily programme. The significance of the verses is in their familiarity to the adults and children. The nature of the activity of the recitation - singing accompanied by clapping, and actions - was endemic

in this area and seen in other contexts, for example church activities. More importantly, the means of communication central to the "recitation", is oral and also familiar. The content of these verses draws heavily on local customs, values, history and expectations. Thus, the form of activity is culturally familiar to the children, and the verses, in content, serve as source of local knowledge. The teachers draw from the local knowledge paradigm in this way and thereby act as socializing agents for the children. The verses and stories which are told serve as ways of conditioning the children, entrenching traditions and local knowledge.

As with nursery rhymes and stories passed on over time, the meaning in the verses does not always flow logically and the story-line is not necessarily whole. Ong (1982) comments that

rhymes and games transmitted orally from one generation of small children to the next even in high-technology culture have similar words which have lost their original referential meanings and are in effect nonsense syllables. (p.47)

Besides this difficulty, analysis of the verses was constrained by a number of factors. Although some of the verses were found in "Readers" used at primary schools, there is no literature analysing Xhosa verses taught in the informal home context, or the non-formal preschool context. This constraint is not necessarily a disadvantage because a formal framework of analysis is based within a Western tradition and might obscure the subtleties of the verses which are embedded in a rural reality. The dilemma is that interpretation from an academic framework is situated in the structure and perspective of formal education, whilst interpretation by a lay person is considered subjective. The disadvantage of the academic interpretation is that it is not necessarily based on a "lived experience" of the verses which adds a different dimension to the interpretation. The greatest difficulty in obtaining a lay person interpretation of the verses is that the lay person is not necessarily able to articulate the meaning of the verses because they are "everyday" and commonplace to him/her. However, his/her experience of the events, values, customs and beliefs is an invaluable contribution to an interpretation of the verses. A complete understanding of the verses and stories would benefit from an analysis of their contextual origin and history which was not within the scope of this study.

The constraints described above do not necessarily invalidate any analysis of the verses. An acknowledgement of the constraints and a clear description of the path of analysis provides the means for verification. The interpretation of the verses presented below is based primarily on the "lay" analysis of a person of Xhosa origin developed through discussions. This analysis was then examined by two other people who were of Xhosa origin one of whose expertise was in teaching Xhosa at secondary and tertiary levels and the other whose expertise was in court translation. This process resulted in a degree of understanding of the meaning of these verses and stories in the socialization framework of the research context.

In order to understand the socialization effect of these verses, one needs to examine the content of the verses. For example, uNogayoyo which is based on ideas and images of ancestral beliefs, and accepted ways of behaving, can be seen as a tool of socialization. The verse will be described and then an interpretation, drawing out the main "teachings" of the verse, will be given.

#### uNogayoyo

<i>Wena Nogayoyo!</i>	You Nogayoyo!
<i>Uyawaphethe ni?</i>	What are you carrying?
<i>Ndiyawapheth 'inja.</i>	I'm carrying a dog
<i>Uyawayisa phi?</i>	Where are you taking it?
<i>Ndiyawayis 'endle</i>	I'm taking it to the bush
<i>Kunani n'ekhaya?</i>	What's on at home?
<i>Ndiyok 'uGayoyo.</i>	I'm frightened of Gayoyo
<i>Ekhal 'enxoweni.</i>	Crying in the old house
<i>Esithi Tsiyo! Tsiyo!</i>	Crying Tsiyo! Tsiyo!
<i>Wafika uMoni</i>	Moni arrived
<i>Entlantlatha inkobe</i>	Chewing mealies
<i>Ndathi ndikhongoze</i>	I asked him for some
<i>Wathi zingezam!</i>	He said 'This is mine!'
<i>Khoba labayeni</i>	Victim of fiancés/suitors
<i>Bebefike nini?</i>	When did they arrive?
<i>Bebefik 'izolo.</i>	They arrived yesterday
<i>Baxhelelwa encinci</i>	A small one was slaughtered for them
<i>Encinci bayalile</i>	The small one they rejected
<i>Baxhelelwa imvubu</i>	A Hippo was slaughtered for them
<i>Yona nyam 'inkulu.</i>	The biggest meat.

In the first stanza, the speaker asks Nogayoyo (the female frog) what she is carrying and she replies "a dog". She expresses her fear of Gayoyo (the male frog) who lives in an old house/deserted and calls out "Tsiyo!" (the noise of

the frog).

In the second, seemingly unrelated stanza, the speaker meets a person whom the narrator has called "Moni" because he has "sinned". He has been to a wedding celebration. The speaker, by staying away from home, has missed this celebration and therefore suffers and is termed a "victim". Moni has ample evidence of the celebration - he is chewing mealies which he refuses to share with the speaker. Moni boasts about the feasting and highlights what the speaker has missed during the arrival of the fiancés/suitors and their interaction with the "inlaws".

The central "teachings" inherent in this verse are based on rural reality and draw from values and beliefs in this way of life. The image of Gayoyo, a huge male frog, is invoked to instil fear in the children about deserted houses and dampen their curiosity. Socializing the children into a fear of these particular places indirectly reinforces superstitions and the fear of the unknown. The verse also draws on the centrality of animal symbolism to Xhosa custom.

The fact that the speaker is labelled as a "victim" is a warning of the seriousness of staying away from home and missing major cultural festivities and family events. The verse expounds the virtue of maintaining close ties with one's home, and the disapproval of being absent for long periods of time. The speaker and Moni, are from the same home. The speaker has been away for at least a night and a day. S/he has missed out on an important event - the arrival of the fiancés, the slaughtering of beasts for their welcome and the accompanying feast. S/he is "punished" and not given a share of the mealies, rather s/he is labelled a "victim". Through this, children will learn that staying away from one's home is a disgrace. This sentiment as a "teaching" was echoed in an interview with a farm labourer in Adelaide in the Eastern Cape:

When a girl reaches the stage of being fit to get married she was, during our era, told not to do certain things. In our tradition a child is not allowed to sleep in another house to which he is not related.  
(Education and Development Research Project)

The second stanza describes the interaction between the suitors/fiancés and the inlaws. At this meeting, a ceremonial slaughtering of a beast occurs so

that there is the "spilling the blood to unite the ancestors from both sides of the two families" (F. Nkwinti personal communication, January 10, 1993). Nkwinti comments on the significance that the fiances/suitors have been given "small meat" and not "big meat". Considering the importance of the suitors/fiances and that cattle or goats are usually the beasts of sacrifice, this might indicate that they are not welcome in this particular house. It is also significant that the suitors/fiances reject this offer of "small meat". Their approach and attitude towards the inlaws would usually be respectful and dignified. They would therefore usually "note misfortunes for future reference" (Nkwinti, *ibid*) and not defiantly raise objections at this particular moment of interaction with the inlaws. In this verse, the suitors/fiances call for the slaughtering of an appropriate beast.

In response to this arrogance and lack of humility, the inlaws admonish the suitors/fiances by deciding to slaughter a hippo. The hippo is not usually used for ceremonial slaughtering. Goats and cattle are used to show respect and hospitality. The slaughtering of a hippo is also taboo because it lives in the river. Xhosa culture holds the belief that the river is the place of spirits and ancestors and animals that live in it are sacred and a proper distance from them maintained. Two of the salient features of relating to one's inlaws are keeping quiet and accepting whatever treatment you are given. By presenting the "small meat", the inlaws have given the suitors/fiances a test. These suitors/fiances failed the test, hence the slaughter of the hippo, instead of an appropriate beast of sacrifice. Their message is: You don't have humility and so you don't deserve our respect. The teaching is: One should humble oneself so that you can be given the appropriate "red carpet" treatment which matches your importance.

Nomathemba reflects on a common experience of youth in rural areas, and the way this experience is related to the older generation.

### Nomathemba

<i>Nomathemba, ubethwe ngubani?</i>	Nomathemba, who beat you?
<i>Yilandoda.</i>	That man.
<i>Iphi ngoku?</i>	Where is he now?
<i>Isesapha.</i>	He is down there.
<i>Yibiz 'izapha.</i>	Call him here.
<i>Hayi ndiyangena.</i>	No, I'm lazy.
<i>Khwela nal 'ihashe.</i>	Take a horse.
<i>Hayi ndiyangena.</i>	No, I'm lazy.
<i>Esuka ehl' amathamb 'ukubhek 'ezantsi.</i>	Down go the bones.
<i>Esuka ehl' amathamb 'ukubhek 'ezantsi.</i>	Down go the bones.

Nomathemba, a young woman, is found crying. The person who finds her is presumably an older person and asks her who it was that beat her. She responds that it was a man "down there" the site where water is fetched. Nomathemba is asked by the adult to call and identify "that man" so that the adult can assess the nature of Nomathemba's activity. Nomathemba refuses this request, saying that she is lazy. This refusal means that the bones are thrown and Nomathemba is cursed. The children indicate the consequences of her actions by falling to the floor.

Nomathemba seems to be a fairly simple verse, however, it is laden with teachings and warnings. Collecting water from the river provides young girls with the opportunity to meet "suitors" away from adult supervision. It is one of the few situations where young girls are free from adult observation and it is a situation which is used to its full advantage by young men. This opportunity of limited freedom can be both advantageous and disadvantageous depending on whether the young girls are willing or not. Adults are aware of the potential dangers in this one area where their children are not under adult supervision, and covert activity is frowned upon.

Nomathemba is in a dilemma which could be expressed in a number of ways: Nomathemba's innocence, and therefore the assumption that she was the victim of this situation, would be evident if she agreed to identify "that man". However, she refuses and it seems as if this is evidence that she is protecting "that man". The need for her to hide her activities implies that she could be engaged in a relationship with this man, one that would be frowned upon by other adults. The fact that she is crying and there is evidence of a confrontation, implies that she could have quarrelled with this illicit "boyfriend".

As a result of the illicit and taboo nature of her relationship, she cannot seek adult protection without revealing who this person is and suffering the consequences of parental, and broader community, wrath. She thus refuses to reveal the identity of this person under a claim to "laziness". This "laziness" is a euphemism, for it would be disrespectful to be openly defiant. Nkwinti (personal communication, January 10, 1993) has argued that it is the "laziness" inherent in Nomathemba's attitude towards her elders which is the basis for the childrens' action of falling to the floor at the end of the verse. Laziness, from inactivity, results in weakness and therefore one will fall down.

There is also the possibility that the situation is such that "that man" is not a boyfriend, but an older person, who punished Nomathemba for a wrongdoing. It is common practice for adults to assume a "parenting" role over all children regardless of whether they are related or not. Thus Nomathemba's parents would not have objected to another adult disciplining their child for a wrongdoing. In fact, Nomathemba might not receive any parental protection if she did reveal the identity of "that man", because the nature of her wrongdoing would then be revealed. It could be discovered that she deserved her "beating" from "that man" and this could result in further punishment.

If Nomathemba's experience is a quarrel with a peer, there is still no guarantee of parental protection. According to the saying "*Asilolizwe lee nkenenkene eli*" (this is not a world of weaklings), her parents might ask why she did not retaliate.

In any of these interpretations of the situation, a factor causing Nomathemba to conceal information could be the risk of disgracing her family and causing public embarrassment. The issue between two people would therefore become an issue for parents, the headman, the Chief and the community as a whole. Nomathemba could be acting out the teaching of the importance of confidentiality - the importance of keeping issues private, rather than allowing them to cause public disgrace. Nomathemba would rather suffer the consequences herself than bring disgrace on her family. This development of "being confidential" - beginning to hide things - would indicate to the parents that the child is growing. On detecting this indication of a particular level of growth, the mother would then play an active role in observing the girl's behaviour.

Despite all of these possible scenarios, the moral of this verse remains the same. Lying, laziness and the refusal of the request of an elder have dire consequences: the bones are thrown and Nomathemba is cursed.

The verses in the appendix vary, but tend to reflect similar morals which constitute the ideology which informs the process of socialization. These morals and expected forms of social behaviour are revealed through the use of rituals (eg. marriage customs such as *lobola* in uNomaza; and the "sins" of drinking) and the use of animal images.

## CHAPTER 8

### DISCUSSION

The essence of the findings of this study is captured in a question asked by one of the mothers of another mother, during her performance of the task:

*M10: Ultimately what helped you, Ntombi ? How is this thing?*

*Ultimately what did you do, how ?*

*M9 : I grappled with it until I did it.*

During the course of the task, this mother seemed to come to terms with what was needed to be done to resolve the problem posed by the differences in knowledge paradigms:

*M10: A person must muddle on her own, yhu Nosiseko!*

The findings of this study are that the members of rural communities have not yet mastered, but are not defeated by rapid, exogenous social change. They therefore grapple with it as seen in the task, in the crèche, and in the rural area. This is reflected in the following statement:

When western culture arrived in this world, that is where the trouble started. We neglected our norms and values, we accepted other nations' norms and values. That touches traditions/cultures of other nations, we accepted that because we said it is of great help to us. (Md: resident)

It was submitted that people resign themselves to the change and attempt to cope, and/or they attempt through various means to restrict and contain its impact. In addition, the study found that members of rural communities have different access to resources depending on their social experience and therefore face choices in the socialization of their children. In terms of mediation and socialization, this study found that members of rural communities grapple with the differences between knowledge paradigms through:

- a) The mediation of aspects of an inherent ideology of socialization and in particular, a specific type of adult-child relationship. This is overwhelmingly evident in each section of the analysis of the interactions. It is supported in the interviews/ discussions, and in the verses.

- b) The use of familiar resources, in this case the familiar is oral culture which has as its cornerstone the specific relationship between old and young mentioned in (a). This use of the "familiar" is overtly evident in the prominent use of verses and stories as an oral means of socialization/teaching particular "ways of being" in the home and the crèche context. Reliance on the characteristics of an oral culture is also evident, although covertly, in the interactions. Patterns similar to those identified in the teaching of the unfamiliar in the interactions are reflected in the adult's descriptions of the teaching of familiar, informal skills to children.

## 8.1 Methodological issues

Assumptions about method influence the interpretation of psychological phenomena. Vygotsky believed that "the failure to recognise the impact of method on the interpretation and definition of psychological phenomena can lead to confusion" (Wertsch, 1985, p.18). Therefore, as outlined in chapter 4, a particular approach was necessary to "make sense" of the research question and the data. The fact that the research approach which was adopted was crucial to an understanding of the problem became even more evident in the process of analysis and interpretation of the data. Three key elements of the research approach assisted the process of "discovery", namely the process nature of research, the constructivist nature of research, and the importance of conducting contextual research.

Throughout the process of this study, from the conceptualization of the research question to the presentation of the findings, it was apparent that research is inherently process in nature. This was evident in, for example the difficulty of imposing a definite structure on analysis solely from theory, as outlined in chapter 4. Rather, the process of analysis was guided by a negotiation between the data within its particular social context and the theory. This meant that the path of discovery was not necessarily clear from the outset, nor was the research able to be seen in the static sense of a preconceived "model". Ultimately, the

more organised, written representation of the results cannot do justice to the writer's grappling with the data, theory and interpretation which occurs in the process of carrying out the research. In addition, the research process can be described in the terms Vygotsky (1978) used to describe cognitive development: it involves qualitative changes in each new step. This is the constructivism inherent in the research process because each stage of the research develops from a previous stage and is qualitatively dependent on, but different from that stage.

Wertsch (1985) argued that "in psychology we tend to view culture or society as a variable to be incorporated into models of individual functioning" (p.1). The necessity of breaking away from this "variable" understanding of culture and the impact of society to see the social processes beyond the individual as factors in their own right and not solely in terms of individual functioning, is fundamental to the research approach in this thesis. Vygotsky supports this in his assertion that the higher mental processes in the individual have their origin in and are not merely affected by, social processes (Wertsch, 1985).

This study found that it was particularly the social contextual framework in which the social actors operated which "made sense" of the data, suggesting that the dynamic between the individual and society is part of the explanation. This occurred on different levels. Firstly, the nature of the social relations in the rural community was an essential part of the explanation of the actors' beliefs and behaviour (in the unfamiliar task, in their attitude to the crèche and in their attitude to social change). Secondly, a picture of the context of mediation informed an understanding of mediation. For example how the mediators' perception of the setting of the task guides mediation. This is as Wertsch (1985) found, namely that each setting seems to provide a framework which gives rise to certain motives or goals which, in turn determine the degree of responsibility taken by the adult in the task. Another example of how a picture of the context of mediation informed an understanding of mediation is the way in which accepted forms of behaviour defined how participation in the task was negotiated in the mediation relationship. Thirdly, understanding the broader social dynamics, in this case the rural-urban dynamics of underdevelopment and development referred to in chapter 3, provides the context in which the grappling with the new

occurs. Lastly, positioning the research within its social context revealed the use of other social contextual resources. All of these points underline the importance of conducting the study of grappling with differences in the rural context itself.

However, although the research was conducted in the social context of the participants in the study, various constraints (mentioned in chapter 4) still operated. The researcher was inevitably an "outsider" in the social context and therefore obtained particular access to the social context. She was constrained by her own social-cultural perspective and was restricted in immediate access to the residents because of the language "barrier". In addition, there was evidence that the residents strived to present a particular picture of their life to the researcher whom they viewed as an "outsider".

This control of what was seen by the "outsider" was evident in the way in which one of the crèche teachers determined access to the residents. She selected adults for the interviews and the interactions from the "elite" of the residents who were less likely to express a "lack of knowledge" because of their particular social experience. This "elite" is defined by their relatively high standard of education, their long-term experience of urban areas, the fact that they are employed and their role in the core of the community. The teacher is a member of this "elite" in the sense that she has a standard 7 level of education, she has the social status of the secretary of the Resident's Association and she has thirteen years of working in an urban area. In the interactions, she tended to select children who were obviously more competent than others, controlling who the researcher should see, in order to defend and enhance the good name of the community. In the interactions with herself and children from the crèche, she permitted the presence of other children so that they could learn from these more competent children.

The adults' perception of the researcher's demands and expectations affected the way in which the instruction and the task, roles of actors, were understood. The researcher entered into the environment with something foreign and requested that the adults and children perform a task which was unfamiliar. The researcher proceeded to remain present, behind the video-camera, a "silent judge" of the

adult-child performance. The perception of being evaluated it expressed in the remark "Is it right?", made by one of the teachers to the researcher on completion of the task.

The researcher was an outsider, someone who was without knowledge about the adult's/child's environment, but who was perceived as more "knowledgable" and possibly more "expert" about the task than the adults felt that they were. In this particular situation, the researcher, therefore could have been seen as silently evaluating the adults' behaviour. If uncertain, the adult was therefore unlikely to expose her own lack of knowledge or the lack of knowledge of her child, considering that the child represents an example of her training and is therefore a reflection on herself. It was perhaps for this reason that the majority of the adults performed large parts of the task, corrections in particular, themselves, rather than let the child's actions expose their own lack of understanding and also their lack of ability to "mediate".

Further constraints on the interaction were that the researcher had restricted time amongst the people which did not allow for much flexibility and "trial-and-error" on the adult's part during the task. In addition, the interaction was restricted in that there was no explicit mediation by the researcher, unlike in other studies where the familiarity was increased by trial periods of instruction on how to "copy from a model" (Craig, 1985; McIlleron, 1991).

Although these constraints were moderated by "rapport" building, sensitivity to the social context of research and particular research techniques as outlined in chapter 4, they were inevitable. A further unavoidable constraint was the foreignness of the concept of research. This resulted in apprehensive attitudes, on the part of the rural residents towards the researcher and the research, and affected the building of rapport. Although the presence and demands of the researcher inevitably had an effect on the behaviour of the actors it is not suggested that the research findings are completely invalidated by these constraints. Rather, an attempt has been made to acknowledge the impact of the constraints on the research results and to view them as realistic characteristics of this type of research.

## 8.2 Presentation of findings

The study aimed to discover what is mediated and what resources were drawn on particularly in a situation of unfamiliarity. To explore this it looked at two contexts, with two different mediators and situations of familiarity and unfamiliarity. It must be noted that these were not examined for a comparison between contexts or actors for two reasons.

Firstly, the way the issue was approached did not provide for the collection of data on equal and comparable levels within both contexts and about both actors and is therefore not adequate for a comparison between mother and teacher as socialization agents, or between the contexts of home and crèche. For example, the crèche context was observed in terms of its activities and programme. The information about the home context was gained "obliquely" through the verses, stories and interviews, rather than through a properly designed investigation of the home context.

Secondly, the difference between the two contexts is inherent in their differences as institutions. The crèche as a more formal institution facilitates analysis of the preplanned programme and curriculum, whereas the home context is informal in institutional terms and does not have an overt, consciously planned "programme" of its activities. Many of the activities and practices in the home are not necessarily consciously engaged in by the actors but rather relate to patterns of "ways of being and doing" which have a history, culture and depth which do not characterise the curriculum of the preschool. Therefore, an explicit structure and "programme" characterising the home environment is not easily discernable and ordinary life is not structured to facilitate easy analysis. This is not to say that one cannot analyse the "goals and "purpose" of the home milieu, rather it is an acknowledgment that it is a complicated process which was not engaged in in this study. The two environments were studied in a way which exposed their relationship as defined by their chronological position and the similarity and differences in their aims for the child's socialization.

The lack of a thorough analysis of the home context could be seen as a shortcoming in the sense that a fuller understanding of the home environment

activities and dynamics (obtained perhaps through observation) would have provided more information on how the "familiar" is handled. However, it is not necessarily an invalidating factor because the study did obtain access to people's comments and perceptions on their ways of being and doing. In addition, the more subtle aspects of the ideology of socialization were revealed in the stories and verses. An indepth study of the "home" environment is recommended as an area of investigation which would develop on the findings of this study. An understanding of the mechanisms of grappling with the familiar knowledge paradigm will illuminate how unfamiliar knowledge paradigms are "grappled" with.

The framework for this discussion will therefore be in terms of the major findings rather than the separate contexts and mediators.

### 8.2.1 The context of "grappling"

In order to grapple with the differences between knowledge paradigms generated by rapid, exogenous, social change, it must be recognised that the social actors operated within a particular environment. It is within this environment that they had to make choices about how they grapple. It is argued that it is not merely the unfamiliar which directs the choice but the fact that the choice is restricted by the context: the immediate social context of ideology of socialization, as well as by the dynamics of the broader social context which affects the access actors will have to various resources. The fact that the choice is not made in a neutral environment is central to an understanding of why the actors grapple in the way that they do. It is suggested that the choice of resources is defined by the nature of the broad context, characterised by urban-rural dynamics, and the local context, characterised by an underlying ideology of socialization. These two elements permeate the environment of the social actors.

The way these choices about which resources and knowledge to utilise were made by the individuals seemed to depend, amongst other factors, on the following: firstly, the individual's access to different resources and exposure to different knowledge paradigms for example, exposure to learned and socialized knowledge;

secondly, the individual's ability to integrate and to utilise the different resources she had been exposed to. As Wertsch (1985) argued, the difference in the way people handle defining the situation relates to the "level of experience adults ... (have) with various social institutional contexts" (p.214).

For example, amongst the teachers, T8 was very different from the others in her social standing (crèche teacher, secretary of the Resident's Association), in her level of education (standard 8) and in her exposure to an urban environment (she had worked in an urban area). She had had access to a fair degree of learned and socialized knowledge and her unique form of mediation seemed to indicate a use of all of these resources. She could be compared to, for example, T12 who, although she had a comparable level of education (standard 6) she was very quiet, subordinate, unassertive and had no social standing other than being the crèche teacher. She had lived most of her life in a rural area and she mediated in a way which drew heavily on "socialized" knowledge as opposed to "learned" knowledge.

Amongst the mothers, M/T1 (the mother and primary school teacher) is a clear example of someone who was confident in her ability to mediate this task which to her was not unfamiliar. She had a tertiary level of education and had spent 16 years teaching and living in urban areas. In her mediation she was clearly in control of manipulating the knowledge paradigm in which the task was embedded. On the other hand, both M10 and M11 were at a loss and very controlling in their mediation. Although they had had very different levels of education (M11 had a standard 8 and M10 a standard 5), neither of them had lived outside of a rural area and their main resource was limited to "socialized" knowledge. Whilst M11 relied on her status and position, in relation to the child, as an adult - utilising a fundamental pillar of the ideology of socialization - M10 was particularly reliant on others as a resource, which was a very common strategy of the social actors in this environment.

The following sections will outline how the findings (of how the social actors grappled ) were defined by this context and their choices and resources. The findings will be presented in answer to the two questions: firstly, what is mediated and secondly, what resources are drawn on, in the process of grappling with the unfamiliar. Evidence from the data sources will be provided to substantiate these findings.

### 8.2.2 The mediation of an ideology of socialization

This study found that what is mediated in the process of grappling with the unfamiliar are aspects of the ideology of socialization and, in particular, a specific adult and child relationship based on the relative status of adults and children in this context. The task is discussed as a starting point because it is a model for handling the unfamiliar in times of social change. Supporting evidence from the interviews/discussions and verses and stories is then presented.

Although the knowledge paradigm of the task and that of the actors differed, there is evidence that these differences are grappled with because in all of the interactions the task is done. There seemed to be a distinction between those adults who were very definitely uncertain in dealing with the task and those adults who were more certain. Generally, the less certain the actor was about the task, the more likely they were to draw on a familiar resource in the form of a particular mode and content of socialization which contained particular roles for the adult and the child.

For example, in the process of initiating action in the task, a certain group of adults did not define the nature and the goal of the task. In addition, these adults tended to neglect to draw the child in or if they did so, they drew the child in physically rather than verbally and tended not to provide the child with guidance. This seems to suggest an inability on the part of the adults to explain to the child what was necessary for the execution of the task and suggests an unfamiliarity on the part of the adults with the demands of the task. It is argued that this unfamiliarity with the task demands created a feeling of uncertainty and, in addition to their attitude towards the child's engagement with the task, was directly related to their tendency to be dominant in the actions in the task, to exert strict control over the child's actions and, on certain occasions, to overtly prevent the child from acting.

On the other hand, another group of adults defined the nature and the goal of the task and easily structured the engagement of the child with the task, allowing the child to act. This demonstrates a clear ability to provide an explanation of

the task which suggests a familiarity with the demands of the task. It is argued that this familiarity with the demands of the task resulted in confidence which, in addition to providing a clear basis for structuring the child's engagement in the task, was directly related to their flexibility and non-dominance over the child.

Generally therefore, it is argued that in the face of uncertainty the adults assumed a dominant role in the interaction which defined the child's engagement with the task. This dominant role was the familiar role of the adult as defined by the ideology of socialization within this social context and represents an attempt on the part of the adults to resort to a familiar resource. This drawing on the familiar resource differs from that referred to by Rogoff and Gardner (1984) in their reference to identifying the familiar in the unfamiliar task and using this to solve the unfamiliar problem. Rather, these actors use what is familiar to them as informed by what Craig (1985) called a "lay theory" based, as far as this study is concerned, in a particular ideology of socialization. It is this "ideology of socialization" which defines the interactional status of adult and child referred to by Rogoff (1989), the way in which they communicate and the position children hold in the adult world.

Support for the argument that in the light of uncertainty the adults assumed a dominant role in the interaction which defined the child's engagement with the task, was provided by the negotiation of participation. In this aspect of the task there was a difference between those adults who gave the child a "thinking" role in the task and those adults who restricted the child to performing actions when and in the manner directed to. The more the adults encouraged the child to play a thinking role in the task, the more active the child was in all aspects of the task. On the other hand, the more directive the adult was over the child's participation in the task, the more the child's actions were restricted to merely carrying out actions at the direction of the adult. In fact in terms of actions, the degree of actions performed by the adult and those performed by the child seemed to be inversely related. This is illustrated by two extreme adult and child roles. The directives of one particular mother, the primary school teacher (M/T1), encourage and almost enforce the child's thinking role in the task. The child in this interaction is very active in all aspects of the task, answers

questions and offers information. On the other extreme, the lack of guidance and the very directive behaviour of another mother (M10) results in very little action on the part of the child. This mother frequently takes over the child's actions which undermine his engagement with the task.

The adults who were less controlling over the child's involvement in the task in the sense that they gave the child a "thinking" role were generally those adults identified, in the section on initiating action, as more familiar with the demands of the task. It is argued therefore that the degree of control the child is allowed within the task was a direct result of the adults' degree of familiarity with the task demands. Unfamiliarity with the demands of the task resulted in uncertainty and therefore the adults drew on the familiar pattern of adult dominance to grapple with the situation and restricted the child's engagement in the task.

Significantly the negotiation of participation revealed that, irrespective of whether the adults could be classified as familiar or unfamiliar with the task, the child was allowed very little responsibility for defining the situation. It might be argued that, as the mediator, the adults' situation definition should prevail. However, the restriction on the role of the child in any part of defining the situation was extreme. The adults demonstrated an extreme inflexibility in relinquishing their definition of the situation to the extent that if the child took the initiative of identifying a piece, the adult would insist on her order of procedure even though the order of the pieces was not of fundamental importance. It is argued that this behaviour displays the normal roles and status attributed to the adult and the child in this social context. The fact that the child tended to adjust to the adults' choice of piece, order of procedure and therefore her definition of the situation without much objection seems to suggest that the actors were entrenched in a particular pattern of behaviour which they brought with them to the task. This pattern of behaviour acknowledges the adult's right to dominance while the child is merely the obedient recipient of instructions.

This particular relationship between the adult and the child was more blatant in the behaviour of those adults who were unfamiliar with the task. The fact that

these adults did not necessarily have an appropriate definition of the situation and yet they did not let the child define the situation in any way, suggests a refusal on their part to acknowledge the potential of the child to contribute to a definition of the situation. This view is based on the belief that the adult is the only one with knowledge and implies that the child cannot know any more than the adult.

The fact that the adults assumed a dominant role in the face of uncertainty was evident in the way in which resources were used. A particular group of adults made very little or no use of the model as a resource in their mediation of the child. In addition, to this lack of or infrequent use of the model, these adults were very directive and controlling of the child's participation in the task. This control and the fact that use of the model was an integral part of completing the puzzle seems to imply that these adults were unfamiliar with the demands of the task and therefore uncertain. Their lack of familiarity with the task seemed to mean that these adults could not easily mediate the use of the most obvious resource in the situation and in the face of this uncertainty, they asserted their dominant role as adults. Another group of adults, on the other hand made explicit and frequent use of the model as a resource which seems to suggest a familiarity with the demands of the task. It is suggested that the fact that these adults were more certain about the task demands "freed" them to allow the child an active role in many aspects of the task.

Generally, the adults' management of the child's errors revealed certain significant points. The adults differed in their approach to highlighting the error, the degree to which the child performed the corrections, and the way in which error was preempted. The fact that certain forms of the management of error were employed regardless of the adult's degree of familiarity with the task reflects on the adults as a whole.

For example, there was a high degree of preemption of error, as if the adults desired to prevent mistakes from being made. This approach implies that they viewed error negatively. It is suggested that this desire to control the occurrence of error reflected an attempt at controlling the degree to which a "lack" of knowledge was revealed. In the interactional status of adults and

children in this particular social context, the adult is the source and controller of knowledge, the child is the recipient of this knowledge through training. If the child is seen as a product of the adult's training, an expression of "lack" of knowledge on the child's part would reflect negatively on the adult. The adult thus attempts to control the exposure of "lack" of knowledge through preempting mistakes. That is, the adult does not see the unfamiliar nature of the context as entitling her to err. Rather, it exposes her failure to teach her child well, irrespective of her lack of prior contact with the task. An additional effect of this was to prevent exposure of the adult's own "lack" of ability to mediate because of a lack of knowledge of the task demands.

Another form of management of error reflected on the interactional status of adults and children in this social context. The adults frequently did not explain the error but rather proceeded with the correction. This could be because their unfamiliarity with the task made them unable to explain the error. It is argued, however, that this approach to error management indicates the reinforcement of the adults' role as primarily the one who holds and controls knowledge, in this case knowledge about the task, whilst the child is prevented from having the knowledge and can only assume a mechanical role of carrying out the actions. This asserts the adults' superiority over the child.

In general, the way the many of the adults handled the corrections suggests their perception of the task. The fact that many of the adults tended to carry out the corrections themselves, rather than explaining them to the child and thereby developing the child's understanding of the task seems to suggest that the completion of the task was the ultimate objective. Wertsch's (1985) assertion that the definition of the situation affects the adults' mediation is borne out in this study. The adult's perception of the task as a "job" to be completed resulted in the child not being the focus of the task. Their use of moments of error as potential learning-teaching opportunities was minimal.

It is acknowledged that this response to error cannot be separated from the possibility that the actors were doing the task to gain approval from the researcher, especially in the relatively unnatural context of the performance of the task. However, it is argued that this dynamic provides insight into a

particular approach to a potential teaching-learning situation and it does not invalidate this study. The fact that adults take this approach (of desiring to be correct and therefore controlling most of the corrections and actions) is significant because it shows how error is restricted and "contained". It is significant that these adults were very wary of exposing their own, or the child's lack of knowledge.

A clear indication of the roles and status of adults and children in this social context was evident in the degree of child speech within each interaction. Irrespective of whether the adults were familiar or unfamiliar with the demands of the task, the verbal contribution of children to the performance of the task was restricted to responses to the adult or requests for more information about specific actions. This verbal contribution was minimal in comparison with adult-child dyad dialogue in other studies (for example, McIlleron, 1991; Wertsch, 1979). The fact that the children were not overtly prevented from speaking or acting, but they did very little of either of these, seems to suggest that the children brought with them a particular mode of behaviour which they assumed "naturally". This behaviour could be said to reflect the child's socialization. If this is the case, it is evident that children are trained to be quiet, obedient and to speak when spoken to, rather than to question the adult or initiate action. One of the mothers instructed her child on using the appropriate response to her as an adult ("Say, yes Aunty") indicating that children were expected to be obedient and follow the norms in this social context of relating socially. There was frequent usage of terms such as *Sisi*, *Buti*, *Ntombi*, and clan names, which reinforced the patterns of relating which are part of the child's socialization.

An exception to the above patterns of behaviour of adults and children was the tendency, on the part of the grandmothers, toward greater flexibility in accepting the child as an actor. These adults exerted less control over the child's actions and the child was consequently more active in the performance of the task. G17 is a case in point as the only interaction showing independent initiation of action by the child and action which was not prevented by the grandmother. This grandmother seemed to recognise the age and generation difference, was not threatened about being "shown up", and therefore acknowledged

that the child knew something. It is possible that, as a result of their more distanced relationship with the child, the responsibility of grandparents for the behaviour and performance of the child is reduced. Their desire to control the child as a product of their training is therefore not as important for them as it is for mothers. It may also be important for the grandmother to allow the grandchild more space to learn quickly so as to become of assistance to the former. That is, the grandmother's motive for being less controlling is based on an economic incentive. The child is means of maintaining survival in that s/he provides access to things which the grandmother has been restricted to because of age and decreasing mobility. It is therefore advantageous to the grandmother for the child to be capable and independent. The grandmother thus facilitates her own future dependence on the child.

It is acknowledged that there is a difference in management of mediation by adults according to the relative age of the child. However, it is argued that regardless of the age of the child, in this study it was evident that the adult's behaviour was governed by accepted norms of relating between adult and child within this social context.

It seems that a whilst a restricted understanding of the task inhibits the adult and structures her relationship to the child in accepted norms of relating between adult and child within this social context, a greater understanding of the task has the potential to enable the adult to disembed herself from these norms and allow the child greater independence in acting. However, regardless of whether the adults were uncertain of the demands of the task or not, there was a dominant pattern of behaviour: adults in control and children in a subordinate position.

It is suggested that the reason why these findings (of the mediation of particular aspects of ideology of socialization) are most sharply accentuated in the behaviour of those who are uncertain is because they experience the greatest "distance" from the source of change in the sense that the source of change is, for them, very definitely "foreign", exogenous and has an external locus of control. It seems that these are the people for whom the difference between knowledge paradigms is most extreme and therefore they are the people who are most uncertain. They are the ones who have to grapple with the task because it is most unfamiliar. It is these cases of adults who were most unfamiliar with the task which are most similar to the situation of what a social actor might do in a situation of social change. Generally it seems that those adults more familiar with the puzzle had spent a number of years working in urban areas. Those unfamiliar with the task had not spent much time out of the Amatole Basin.

Therefore, it is suggested that the degree of exposure related to the extent of social experience these adults had had with higher levels of education, or with life in urban areas, where puzzles of the kind used in the study and, or similar tasks, are more common.

It is argued that those who demonstrated more uncertainty in doing the task because they had no control over the tempo or the process of the introduction of this element of "exogenous change", grappled with the unfamiliar task. Their grappling with the unfamiliar task involved resorting to a particular ideology of socialization. Whilst those more familiar with the knowledge paradigm in which the task is embedded were generally confident, had a clear strategy and could control the process of the task and its "tempo".

In addition to this evidence from the interactions, the other data sources provide further evidence that, in the event of uncertainty, there is the use of a particular aspect of an ideology of socialization - particular roles and status of adults and children. There is evidence in the interviews, discussions and observations that the grappling with socialization in the context of social change occurs. In particular, this data source revealed how the rural communities grappled with rapid, exogenous social change in the form of the introduction of the preschool.

The interviews and discussions with residents provided general support for the finding that what is mediated is particular aspects of an ideology of socialization. This was most evident in the responses to the questions which dealt directly with the status of adults and children. These responses implied that as a result of the adult "having" knowledge and the child not "having" knowledge, there is a definite unidirectional relationship between adult and child in which the child can go to the adult, but the adult cannot go to the child. This relationship between adult and child seems to be maintained by the teaching of "respect of one's elders" which reinforces the status of the adult in relation to the child. One of the residents likened lack of respect, with the status of a child: "without respect one is a child".

There was ample evidence that the learning-teaching milieus of the home and the crèche were agents in cognitive socialization in the way they taught and reinforced the above aspects of the ideology of socialization. For example, in

the home, this could be seen in the way chores were seen as a "training for life". The descriptions of how informal, daily household skills were taught, reflect the patterns outlined above of adult-child relationship, particularly about knowledge. The adult is the "knower" and demonstrates the task, while the child is without knowledge and therefore observes, imitates and acts on directives. These element of the process of teaching informal skills reflect patterns similar to those identified in the interactions, particularly the strategies adopted by those who were unfamiliar with the task. This continuity supports the argument that in the event of uncertainty, the residents draw on the familiar. In this sense it is the familiarity in method which is drawn on and this is underpinned by particular beliefs about the role and status of the adult and the child.

Evidence that the crèche was an agent of socialization which promoted the particular adult-child relationship and respective status could be seen in the way expected forms of behaviour were taught. A practice common to all of the crèches was the teaching of particular social skills through the reinforcement of particular social behaviour (for example, in attitude in prayer and the manner of accepting food). These teachings and forms of behaviour contain implicit rules about behaviour viz. respect of adults, obedience, silence and an unquestioning attitude. All of these rules reinforce the dominant status of the adult in relation to the child. The role of the adult in relation to knowledge was evident in the mode of instruction in the crèche programme. The teacher assumed the role of the source of knowledge, appraisal and correction. This powerful role again reinforces the status of adult and child as practised more generally in the social context.

The verses, heavily laden with socialization "teachings", support the description of a very distinct relationship between adult and child in this social context. For example, the verses contain reference to the fact that all adults can discipline children whether or not they are the child's parents or relatives. Nomathemba teaches children the dire consequences of lack of respect for one's elders. In addition, these verses uphold the customs, traditions, life in rural environment. The fact that children are taught these verses in the preschool means that they internalise these values, customs and beliefs about the adult-

child relations at a very young age. The role of stories in the transmission of knowledge, advice and history from the older inhabitants of the rural communities to the younger inhabitants reinforces the role of the adult as a source of knowledge and expertise.

In summary, the emerging picture of the role and status of adults and children and the relationship between them within this social context, contains a number of central points. The adult is clearly perceived as the source and keeper of knowledge, controlling the process of engagement, in this case in the task. The child's status is strictly that of a learner and recipient of knowledge. S/he is seen to "lack" knowledge and must therefore respond to the adult's instructions, requiring permission to act. As one grandmother expressed, the child is

a young person who listens when an elder speaks; one who can be moulded and taught; one who has not yet reached adulthood. One who must be treated according to his age. One who is being taught the difference between adult and child life. (K:G)

This pattern of management of knowledge, as an expression of the adult's status in relation to the child, was specific: the adult must know first; the process of transferral of knowledge was unidirectional from the adult to the child; and, the child's understanding was not acknowledged. In the task, the adult asserted her role and status as "knower" over that of child and did not let the child experiment or learn through mistakes.

In this unidirectional process the adult cannot learn with, or from, the child even if the child does "know". As in M10, it might be acknowledged that the child does "know" whilst the adult does not "know", but the adult will not accept direction from the child. In these situations the definition of the situation held by the adult predominates and the goal is reached on the adult's terms, as she controls the means to the end.

From this study it is evident that the interactional status of adult and children within this context is a dominant factor in the mediation process and the way differences are grappled with.

### 8.2.3 Resources: the culture of orality

This study found that the fundamental resource drawn on in the process of grappling with the unfamiliar was a "culture of orality". How the general choices and resource, which were assumed in chapter 3 to be available to the social actors, were handled, will be outlined. The way in which the social context defined the ultimate choice of resource as "oral culture" will be outlined. Evidence, from the data as a whole, of the reliance on the "culture of orality" as a resource, will then be presented.

It was argued in chapter 3 that in the interaction, the task sets up specific demands from a separate, unfamiliar context. Each of the actors is faced with certain arenas of choices in relation to the actions they have to perform and the resources they draw on. The choices of resources available to the actors, particularly in the interaction, will be outlined. Within each of these arenas from which they draw resources, there exists a balance of forces between learned and socialized knowledge. There is the potential for the child to be exposed to both of these sets of knowledge, but his/her access to resources is controlled, within the framework of the ideology of socialization, by the adult.

Initially, the teacher's scope of resources in the interaction was presumed to be larger than that of the mothers because of the training she had received. This scope of resources included access to the knowledge paradigm in which the task was embedded. It was assumed that this access to more "expert" knowledge would make the teachers more familiar with the demands of the task. However, the teachers's training does not seem to be very thorough and it is evident that the teacher's arena of choices was not necessarily as broad as was assumed. The impact of the teachers' training and the degree to which it subsumes, or is integrated with, her own socialization, is not a clear cut issue. This is especially given the official restrictions on bringing in "socialized" knowledge to the crèche in relation to the strength of the ideology of socialization within this context. Whether socialized and learned knowledge are integrated or not seems to depend on the character, nature and the ability of the crèche teacher, rather than it being facilitated by the crèche programme. There was evidence, as Rogoff and Gardner (1984) argue, of the use of the familiar to grapple with the

unfamiliar (by recognising in the unfamiliar task familiar aspects). For example, the use of the model with banked knowledge served to draw on past experience and to increase the degree of familiarity of the child with the task. Implicit in this is the strategy of building on a shared meaning by drawing on a source of knowledge which was not dependent on the task.

The choices available to the mothers were presumed to be narrower than those of the teachers because they were not exposed to any formal training. It was argued that the mothers would therefore draw from their "socialized" knowledge. However, it is very significant that the various approaches to handling the task were not defined along the lines of the mother/teacher division, but rather by groups constituting a mixture of mothers and teachers. This suggests that the difference between those who are familiar and those who are not familiar with the task is not based purely on whether the adults had, or had not, received training, but rather on other means of becoming familiar with the knowledge paradigm of the task, for example, a higher level of education or greater experience in an urban environment.

The arena of choices for the actors is thus constituted of learned and socialized knowledge and is restricted on the one hand by the ideology of socialization and on the other hand by the dynamics of the broad social context. It is argued that it is operating in this environment which cause the adults who are grappling with uncertainty to this experience a strong pull towards the use of "oral culture".

Evidence that "oral culture" existed and was utilised in the research context was provided in the interviews, discussions and observation, and the stories and verses. As outlined in chapter 7, one of the main characteristics of a "culture of orality" is its conservatism. This is because knowledge is difficult to attain and precious and over generations there is an attempt to retain it. This means that it must be repeated to be remembered, a factor which inhibits intellectual experimentation. The older person, who is the source and the custodian of generations of orally transmitted knowledge, has a very central role in life activities in the community. This pivotal role of the adult is reflected in the finding of the adult-child relationship in the ideology of socialization referred to in the previous section.

This knowledge must be transmitted and during the interviews and discussions, there was frequent reference to the use of stories as a central mode of teaching "ways of being and doing" in the home. In the crèche, this use of "oral culture" as a means of teaching was exhibited in the prominence of the unofficial use of "recitations" which punctuated the crèche programme. It is argued that the child's internalisation of the strong moral and instructive content of these verses and stories was facilitated by the familiarity of their "oral" nature. The fact that these verses and stories were used in the home and the crèche seems to suggest a certain continuity across the two contexts and an attempt of the part of the adults to maintain the norms of their society.

This study argues that it is because this use of an oral means of communication is historical and conventional, and therefore inherently familiar, that it is utilized by adults in transferring knowledge to children, and in grappling with the unfamiliar. Its familiarity also lies in the fact that it draws on known values, customs and expectations - a source of local knowledge.

Without the aid of tools of literate cultures, oral culture relies on certain techniques. For example, visual aids, speech, action - "doing" is remembering. There is ample evidence of the fact that orality relies on a learning-teaching mode which Ong (1982) refers to as learning "from observation and practice with only minimal verbalised explanation" (p.43). The tendency of the adults' to instruct through demonstration and to encourage the child's imitation, is an example of this. This strategy necessitate the child's attentiveness, silence and obedience. It tends to restrict any questioning and exploration, the child is one who "listens when the elder speaks", whilst reinforcing the role of the adult as the source of knowledge.

This emphasis on action in place of explanation was found, for example, in initiating action in the interaction, where the adults frequently neglected to define the nature and goal of the task. This was also the case in the adult's management of error, where very little explanation of the correction was provided. It is argued that this lack of explanation could reflect and adherence to an "oral culture" in addition to it being the consequence of unfamiliarity with the task.

This reference to a reliance on observation, imitation and action as opposed to verbalised explanation was also evident in the examples of teaching non-formal tasks referred to in the interviews. The main characteristics of these descriptions of how the child is taught various chores were demonstration, encouraging imitation and encouraging the child to perform the task alone, that is, act.

This "oral culture" was also reflected in the method of instruction in the more formal educative sessions of the crèche programme. In these Morning Rings, the general style of teaching assumes that the adult is the source of knowledge. There was also an emphasis on factual knowledge which required memorization, facilitated by attentiveness and obedience, rather than understanding the information through questioning. There was an emphasis on content and not on process which ensured that the teachers expect either right or wrong answers. The fact that knowledge was portrayed as an external object which the child must remember reinforced the knowledge dynamics between adult and child, and negated the child seeing him/herself as a source of knowledge.

Another of the characteristics of oral culture is the central role played by humans. As Ong (1982) argued, it cannot rely on the tools characteristic of writing and print culture and therefore "oral culture must conceptualise and verbalise all their knowledge with more or less close reference to the human lifeworld, assimilating the alien, objective world to the more immediate, familiar interaction of human beings" (p.42).

A reflection of "oral culture" and an example of the emphasis on people as a source of reference, is the use in the interaction of a person and not an object as a reference point. Despite the presence of the model - a resource embedded in the knowledge paradigm of the task - T8's mediation shows a reliance on the "culture of orality". Even in her utilisation of and reference to the model, her emphasis is "look at me" that is, "rely on me as a person as a resource". The main senses appealed to on the part of the child are vision and memory. In addition, T8 maintains a constant commentary on her actions which could be evidence of internalisation of her own "learning" through verbalisation. This is the use of Vygotsky's (1978) concept of "egocentric speech" in a different sense,

as a verbal and physical demonstration for child. This appeals to the child's visual as well as auditory sense. The senses appealed to in this approach are techniques inherent in the "oral" approach. In addition, this emphasis on people serves to uphold the adult figure as a source of knowledge. The concepts of the adult-child relationship and the culture of orality are therefore interrelated and even, to an extent, interdependent.

The particular technique used by T8 of dividing the task into two distinct stages, one in which the adult demonstrated the task, the other where the child was required to perform the task, deserves comment. This approach could be said to facilitate the use of techniques characteristic of the "oral culture". This approach requires the child to take the role of observer. The adult demonstrates the actions and the child observes. The adult takes the role of the model and displays the use of "self" as a reference point.

On a deeper level, this approach serves two additional functions. Firstly, it protects the adult from showing uncertainty and exposing herself as not knowing how to mediate the task to the child. In the first stage, the adult has the opportunity to experience the task first and this enables her to mediate "with knowledge" in the second stage. Performing the task separately from the adult prevents the child from seeing the adult as unable to/or uncertain in her mediation, that is, fallible and a learner. Secondly, this approach reinforces the role of the adult as "knower", whilst the child has no choice but to observe. It is in this sense that this technique is an reflection of how "oral culture" controls the expression of knowledge and lack of knowledge. One of the disadvantages of this approach is the emphasis it places on memory, setting up one correct way of doing the task. This restricts the child's ability to manipulate the task through experimentation and learning through mistakes. The particular technique of dividing the task into two stages was also referred to in the interviews as an approach to teaching informal skills. The descriptions of informal teaching-learning in the interviews reflect the characteristic way in which these adults would handle a learning situation, and are consistent with overall style in the interactions.

This reliance on people as a source of reference, rather than on other resources, such as the model, was common. In particular, lack of familiarity with the task revealed an attempt on the part of the adult to refer to a contextual source of resources - the use of other people present during the interaction. This use of social context as a resource would have been invisible if the study had not been conducted in the context in which the participants lived. The methodological difficulties of maintaining the separate and isolated status of the dyad have been referred to in the previous chapter. However, the numerous occasions when actors, other than those in the dyad, were drawn on, or intervened and contributed, revealed an important aspect of dealing with unfamiliarity: the use of the experience and knowledge of others as a resource (M10, G2; G17 mediation of others - i.e. not requested). It was also not common for the teacher (T8, T12, T22 especially) to attempt to isolate the child, and perform the task without the presence, and interruptions/comments from other children. This could have been as a result of the practical constraint of having to continue to supervise the children in the crèche whilst doing the task. However, no attempt was made to isolate the child even when the crèche 'helper' was present to substitute for the crèche teacher.

This strategy defines the teaching-learning environment, and the process of mediation, in terms of the collective, rather than the individual. One of the residents acknowledged the importance of the role played by peers in the process of learning and teaching skills and the transferral of knowledge. In the crèche, the teachers' were observed to utilize group learning, i.e. a collective approach as opposed to the approach typical of the Western model of educating, that of focusing on the individual. This "collective" approach to learning and teaching was also reflected in the mention of collective attitude to rearing/teaching children where it is common practice for all adults to "parent" (instruct and discipline) all children, even if they are not related. The practice of this approach may be a reflection on the reality of fewer resources in the rural environment which results in collective activity in most spheres of life (work in the fields, performing daily chores). It would be interesting to see whether this approach would change if more resources were available in this environment, or whether the approach is an integral part of grappling with rural life.

### 8.3 Coping and containing rapid, exogenous, social change

It was argued in chapter 1 that rural communities are not necessarily defeated by the introduction of rapid, exogenous social change. It was argued that this rapid social change has to be managed. There was evidence in this study of this management as the members of this rural community grappled with the impact of rapid, exogenous, social change.

In this thesis it is submitted that grappling with the uncertainty generated by the meeting of different knowledge paradigms occurred through drawing on the familiar resources inherent in the actors' social context. These findings generally support Vygotsky's (1978) assertion that in order to understand the individual, one must understand his/her social context. It is an examination of the social context of the mediator which answers the questions: what is mediated and, what resources are drawn on. This emphasises the importance of the particular conceptual framework used in this study.

It is suggested that two central aspects of this particular rural social context inform the mediator's mediation and use of resources. Firstly, an ideology of socialization which is based on particular adult-child roles and secondly, the use of the familiarity of oral culture as a resource. This means that the way in which the difference between local and foreign knowledge paradigms and unfamiliarity are dealt with is by grappling .

One of the members of the rural community in this study commented that:

in our days education is very important, so our children must be educated... It enables a child to get work, so that he can earn money and be able to live. (K:PST)

This comment forms the basis of the dilemma facing parents in the rural social context. Education is an essential factor in obtaining employment and generating an income and therefore essential to survival. This "tool" is a particularly crucial ingredient to the survival of people in rural areas. It is within this context that formal education assumes its importance in the sense that "a person's weapon is education, it is money" (Mk:resident) and one "cannot avoid sending your child to school. The school can mould your child for a better

future" (C:grandmother). The paradox is that this education is an element of "exogenous" change and is determined and controlled from outside of this context. Its "foreignness" is expressed in the parents' comments about their estrangement from this education.

Preschool education is now an inevitable part of this dilemma. Although not officially compulsory, children who attend the preschool are favoured for admittance into already over-crowded schools because of the way in which this education prepares them for the school environment. School education is the only path to employment and ultimately an income for those in the rural areas. However, this preschool education is also strictly determined outside of context, that is, it is an element of exogenous change.

How do rural communities grapple with this dilemma? This study found evidence of intermediary strategies which this rural community used to grapple with the impact of this exogenous change, rather than mastering it, or being defeated by it.

When faced with the following situation, it seems that some of the parents experience a form of defeat on a "cultural" level:

We cannot try to teach them our way because we are suppressed. We cannot teach them in the ways of today. We did not learn these things (Mk: male). The parents' belief in themselves as agents has been undermined by their lack of knowledge of the content of the education taught to their children, their lack of knowledge about this "pre-figurative society" (Mead, 1978) and, consequently, they undermine themselves.

The more formal educative environments of the crèche and the school are attributed a superiority at the expense of what parents are capable of teaching children at home. The perception of the crèche as a source of all skills and the home as lacking in the ability to make any contribution to the child's development was expressed by one of the residents: "when the child is at the crèche, she can ... do everything, but at the home she can do nothing" (C:female). The consequence of this is that parents hand over the responsibility of training their children to formal institutions, as one of the residents

commented, "it is the school that gives the child a full mind". This is evident in that some of the parents and teachers have begun to attribute the teaching of "ways of being and doing" to "outside" bodies. It is disconcerting to hear the parents say that they consider themselves to be "in the dark" before the introduction of the crèches and that they consider that they have nothing, in the home environment, to teach the children.

This attitude of the superiority of "formal" education which serves to undermine the teaching of more "informal" knowledge is encouraged by the official representatives of this education (the crèche teachers and the fieldworker) in their comments that "parents know nothing" (Fw) and that "the teachers, they know everything" (C:T). It is perhaps for this reason that the teachers attribute the "failure" of parents to see the importance of the crèche to the parents as individuals rather than to any other aspect of the crèche, for example, the content of the crèche education. This mentality is reinforced by the hegemony of knowledge which, as argued by Samoff, Metzler & Salie (1992), has an urban, Western bias, which serves to undermine the knowledge, skills and resources available in rural areas, and which reproduces the conditions of underdevelopment. It seems that exposure to external resources automatically leads to the devaluing of the resources, practices, beliefs and customs which exist in the local environment and within the parents' rich history and experience.

Once we educate our children they leave this rural area. They leave this place because once they are educated they realise that we are poor, that there is no transport here, in the town the car can come into the yard.

(N:T)

The effect of this is the increasing alienation of the child from the home context, an undermining of the parent's belief in their ability to socialize their child, and their subsequent handing over of the responsibility of educating their children to the teachers.

However, as argued initially, the parents are observed to employ intermediary strategies to grapple with this situation of neither mastery, nor defeat. These were attempts at coping with and containing the effect of rapid, exogenous, social change.

The coping strategies of the residents were evident in the way the adults seemed to attempt to claim the effect of the crèche as advantageous. They resigned themselves to it because of what it means in economic terms by emphasising that the crèche exposes the child to resources from an environment other than the home and other than the rural area:

In the crèche, the teacher does not teach things that we teach at home. We already said that this is the start of education. There they are learning about trains which are not here in the Amatole Basin. We welcome the education at the crèche because they are learning about things that are not present in the Amatole Basin. (K: Chairperson of the Resident's Association)

In addition, the residents emphasised that the crèche "allows for the child's development" and "prepares the child for school" whilst being unquestioning of its ideological content. In fact they actively encourage the form and content of the crèche education by emphasising the need to teach their children to be obedient and have "good habits" which is convenient for the crèche and school teacher. This is seen by them as facilitating the child's progression through the education institutions.

In the light of the relatively poor training and support received by the crèche teachers and the fact that they are very firmly based within the community, it could be argued that they also have to find ways of coping with the introduction of this "foreign" form of education into the rural environment. It seems that the teachers attempt to cope with this situation by drawing on the familiar resource of "oral culture" by unofficially using verses and recitations. The fact that these verses are heavily laden with teachings which reinforce the ideology of socialization characteristic of the social context, assists the process of containing the effect of the crèche education. Thus another intermediary strategy of grappling is employed. In addition, the teaching methods of the teachers rely heavily on the particular status of the adult in relation to the child as promoted in the ideology of socialization. Whilst the teacher may utilise this aspect of the ideology of socialization for the intention of coping, it serves to contain the effect of the crèche on the community.

The use of "oral culture" in the form and content of the process of socialization can be viewed as an attempt at containing the effect of rapid, exogenous, social change in the sense that the oral mode is essentially conservative. The fact that the crèche relies heavily on the unauthorised use of verses which are oral in form, and heavily laden with local social "teachings" in content, ensures that the impact of the crèche as an agent of exogenous change does not defeat the rural residents. However, there is no evidence that the residents have managed to master this introduction of the crèche either. They have no official control over the crèche programme or structure and are restricted in the contributions they are permitted to make.

The residents exhibit an attempt at containing and even attempting to master the introduction of the crèche through insisting that the crèche continues to build on the socialization patterns of the home, in particular respect and certain social skills: "Our education should include the things we depend on in the rural areas" (Mk: residents).

The fact that these rural residents make use of the intermediary strategy of containment outside of crèche environment was also evident. The residents continue to express the importance of a particular pattern of socialization even in the face of the impact of social change. This is referred to by a farm labourer in Adelaide who highlights the importance of training a child from an early age:

The Xhosa says you will never bend an old tree, you must bend it *wugobe use lula* while it is capable of being bent... If you try to bend it old, it will break in the middle....because it can no longer bend. I mean, then, you have to start a child small... (Education and Development Research Project)

This pattern of socialization could be seen as a more long-term strategy of control in that it asserts the control and status of the adult in the socialization process. Rural residents have, and have had for many years, an approach to raising and teaching children and it is submitted that this is not easily overcome by the introduction of "exogenous" change.

It is evident from the above discussion that the crèche could be said to be "drifting". It has not had the effect of fundamentally changing the community, nor has it been changed by the community. The strength of the ideology of socialization which permeates this context within which the crèche is situated cannot be underestimated and can be said to have made the impact of the crèche marginal. Bearing this in mind, there is another factor which plays a determining role in the rural social context. The crèche unavoidably operates within the framework of the urban-rural dynamics of development and underdevelopment where the force favouring the development of urban areas is very powerful. The "underdeveloped" nature of rural areas means that the two areas are locked into an interdependence which has an extremely negative effect on rural areas. Christie and Collins (1984) argue that the ideological thrust behind schooling in rural areas, especially the South African homeland system, is to build a rural-urban mentality with the consequence of depriving the rural area of resources. The crèche has to operate within this dynamic in which the basic fabric of rural life is continually undermined. It is the struggle between the rural and urban social values and dynamics which will decide the future direction of the crèche.

## CHAPTER 9

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In terms of the area of study of this thesis, the impact of rapid social change expresses itself in the form of a struggle between a particular ideology of socialization and the pressure of exogenously generated social change which has an urban bias. The question raised in this thesis was how do members of rural societies handle this social change. It was argued that they do so by grappling with the situation whilst mediating a particular ideology of socialization and drawing on the resource of "oral culture". In grappling with the situation they use intermediary strategies of coping and containing.

A related question is: how do members of rural societies continue to cope and contain the impact of social change when this social change continues to break down its norms and pillars? For example, many homesteads in rural areas now contain more than one room or several buildings which means that parents and children sleep in separate rooms. Considering that night-time story-telling is based on the proximity of parents and children, how does this social-structural change affect the practice of this aspect of socialization?

It is submitted that it is the rural-urban dynamics of underdevelopment and development, in which there is a bias towards urban lifestyle and mode of development, which frame the management of social change by rural residents. There is not much to maintain rural life. The lack of infrastructure and the constraint of subsistence agriculture results in few job opportunities. Many people seek work in urban areas and the elderly are left to care for the children. The education institution of the school, and now the crèche, are introduced from outside the context, with an urban bias. The norms and pillars of rural society are breaking down and this has implications for socialization. Parents place their hope for a better future in an education system which in reality has very little guarantee of securing employment. These factors need to be considered in any recommendations.

In practical terms, the position of the preschool encapsulates the potential for grappling with the tension between socialized and learned knowledge. The preschool is a site where people face a choice between "old" and "new" and it contains the potential for a new solution. The gap between the "old", customary ways of doing things and the "new" concepts from an urban, technologised and industrialized framework, is greater for rural residents than for any other sector in South African society. The "new", under the guise of "modernisation", exerts a pressure on the conventional ways of doing things. Solving problems which arise in this context, whether they are on a social, economic, political or psychological level requires a creative approach which seeks to transform and not merely to modernise. A transformative approach recognises that the process of the meeting of different knowledge paradigms is not unidirectional, but dialectical, that it is not passive, but dynamic. Thus the "old" cannot be entirely replaced by the "new" because it forms a basis of the "new" and in doing so, changes the "new". The crucial concern is therefore what is the nature of the "old" which makes the "new" fertile? In other words, when we ask how a "new" thing impacts on the fabric of the "old", we need to know what that "old" is. It is the light of this point that the following recommendations are made.

It is recommended that the parents in the community are drawn into the crèche on more levels than the practical or financial ones. This recommendation is based on two facts: firstly, it is important to integrate the impact of the foreign nature of the education on which the crèche is based; and secondly, it is evident that lay people do have techniques of teaching and training their children and it would be important, as suggested by Meyers (1992), to build on the foundation of home training. Parental participation in the crèche structure could be beneficial for the crèche, parents and the community. The crèche is one area of education in which, because of its non-formal nature and position relative to the community, it would be possible for the parents to participate in some way. This participation could also contribute to the empowerment of the residents in a broader sense, that is, it could be an example of an intervention strategy on a cognitive level. If the parents could gain a sense of control over the education and the socialization of their children, this "participatory culture" could strengthen their role in the community beyond the crèche.

According to Vygotsky's (1978) theory, in order to create the appropriate context for development, it is important to be aware of the child's actual developmental level. This suggests that it would be important for the crèche teacher to be aware of the child's context of socialization in order to facilitate cognitive development. Bearing this in mind, it is recommended that it would be important to utilize all of the teacher's resources, in the form of "socialized" and "learned" knowledge.

The previous two recommendations would be facilitated by making both the ideology inherent in the home and that inherent in the crèche education, explicit, so that they can be dealt with by the social actors in the community. This could be done by a more thorough investigation of the home context. It would be important to utilise a research approach that aimed at dealing with the issues which fundamentally inform the dynamics in rural areas. It is suggested that an appropriate strategy such as the three-pronged approach referred to by Nkwinti (1992) which addresses creating an enabling-environment, empowering the social actors and ensuring the centrality of their role in the investigation through the participatory action research approach, would be the most effective.

Lastly, it is recommended that the crèche programme be adapted so that it does not focus purely on preparation for formal schooling, but that it makes a concerted effort to facilitate the development of the child more generally. Learning opportunities and skills are affected by the context and type of knowledge used as base. It is possible to maximise learning opportunities and skills by building on local knowledge and learning systems and making better use of local resources. However, the child's learning can only be maximised if it draws on the factors which have been central to development before the crèche period of education. There is therefore a need to examine the fabric of local resource which constitute the training of the child during informal education, because it is these resources which have ensured the survival of people in rural areas for generations. For example, this study highlighted the endemic use of others as a resource, as well as the collective as opposed to the individual approach to education and training. These resources and approaches to training children need to be acknowledged for their worth and incorporated into the crèche programme.

On the level of research, this study recommends that attention be given to the particular climate of rapid social change in South Africa. As Miller (1984) comments "it is not often that we have the opportunity to observe how the restructuring of social systems produces what Luria refers to as 'rapidly changing forms of social life'" (p.4). In addition the value of the type of research approach used in this study is that it finds answers to the questions in the reality, which gives it a crucial perspective. The difficult and challenging nature of this approach must be acknowledged. Interacting with a community within a very particular social context has an effect on the researcher and the "researched". Inevitably, the researcher will encounter issues which affect the daily life of the members of that community. These issues have to be engaged with and thus the research cannot be the neat and clean work of experimental situations in controlled environments. The effect of this is that the researcher has access to an extremely broad source of information and experiences. Refining the volume and variety of this information into an acceptable form, whilst still accurately representing the reality of the context, is not a simple process. It could be argued that maintaining a focus on one key issue is of more benefit. However, an attempt at presenting the issues within their broad context was favoured for its presentation of the richness and complexity of the dynamics.

This study has demonstrated that when two knowledge paradigms meet, the emergent non-balance generates the potential not just for one paradigm to be chosen over the other, but for a new solution to be found. The fact that the social actors in the research, and rural residents generally, grapple, and are not simply overcome by the situation generated by this meeting of knowledge paradigms, is evidence of this potential.

Rural residents are caught between "the impossible and the inevitable" (Sachs, 1990). They are restricted in transmitting their knowledge, resources and skills based in their generations of experience to their children. They are not familiar with the demands and skills inevitably generated by the process of rapid, exogenous, social change. Yet this situation must be managed. The process of grappling forces rural residents to develop intermediary strategies of coping and containing the effect of rapid exogenous social change.

## Appendix A

### 1. Interview schedule: mothers/grandmothers

#### General information

Village/Ilali:

Date/Umhla:

Name/Igama:

Age/Ubudala:

Place of birth/Indawo yokuzalelwa:

Have you lived here all your life/Ubuhleli apha bonke ubomi bakho?

If no, where else have you lived and when/Ukuba hayi yeyiphi enye indawo, nini?

Have you been to school?  
Wakhe wafunda esikolweni?

Standard:  
Eliphi ibanga:

Where did you attend school?  
Wawufunda kwesiphi isikolo?

Have you ever been employed?  
Occupation/s  
Wakhe waphangela?

Year/s  
Iminyaka yempangelo

Place/s  
Iindawo

Are you married?  
Wendile na?

Husband's name:  
Igama lomnyeni

Age:  
Ubudala

Is your husband employed at present?  
Uyasebenza na umyeni wakho ngoku?

Occupation:  
Umsebenzi

Place:  
Indawo

Has your husband been to school?  
Wakhe waya na esikolweni umyeni wakho

Standard:  
Ibanga

How many children/grandchildren do you have?  
 Bangaphi abantwana bakho okanye abazukulwana?

Name (child/ g/child) Amagama abantwanta na wabazukulwana	Age/Ubudala	Male/Female Inkwenkwe/ Intombazana	School/crèche Isikolo/ khritshi

Grandmothers only/Omakhulu bodwa:

Why are you looking after these children?  
 Kutheni ujongene nabantwana?

How long have you looked after them?  
 Kulithuba elingakanani ujongene nabo?

Children at crèche/Abantwana abase khritshi:

Which children attend the crèche ? (mark on the table)  
 Ngabaphi abahamba ikhritshi ?

When did they go to the crèche?  
 Bayingene nini ikhritshi ?

When will they leave the crèche?  
 Bayakuyishiya nini ikhritshi ?

Why do they go to the crèche?  
 Kutheni behamba ikhritshi nje?

Role and nature of crèche

What do they do at the crèche?  
 Benzani ekhritshi?

Why do some of the children not go to the crèche?  
 Kutheni abanye abantwana bengayi nje ekhritshi?

Why do children go to the crèche at 3 years?  
Kutheni abantwana besiya ekhritshi xa beneminyaka emithathu?

Why do children go to school at 6 years?  
Kutheni abantwana besiya esikolweni xa beneminyaka emithandathu?

Crèche and school/Ikritshi esikolo

What is the difference between the crèche and the school?  
Yintoni umahluko phakathi kwekhritshi nesikolo?

Do they teach differently?  
Zifundisa ngokwahlukileyo?

If yes, what is the difference?  
Ukuba kunjalo yintoni umahluko?

Do you think it is important for (child's name) to go to the primary school?  
Ucinga ukuba kubalulekile ukuba (.....) aye kwisikolo sebanga eliphantsi?

If yes, why is it important?  
Ukuba kunjalo kutheni kubalulekile nje?

What are the differences between children at the crèche and children in the primary school?  
Nguwuphi umahluko phakathi kwabantwana base khritshi nabasesikolweni kumabanga aphantsi?

What do you think a child learns at primary school?  
Ucinga ukuba zintoni umntwana azifundayo kumabanga aphantsi?

How do you think a child learns to read? (description and examples)  
Ucinga ukuba umntwana ufunda njani ukufunda? (cacisa uzekelise)

How do you think a child learns to write? (description and examples)  
Ucinga ukuba umntwana ufunda njani ukubhala? (cacisa uzekelise)

If no, what are the differences?  
Ukuba akunjalo, yintoni umahluko?

### Adult-child differentiation

Do you think children are different from adults?  
Ucinga ukuba abantwana bahlukile kubantu abadala?

If yes, how are they different? (examples)  
Ukuba kunjalo bahluka njani? (zekelisa)

If no, why not?  
Ukuba hayi, kutheni?

What are the important things an adult knows which a child doesn't yet know?  
Zeziphi izinto ezibalulekileyo ezaziwa ngabantu abadala ezingaziwayo ngabantwana?

### Socialization

Can a mother teach her child these things adults know?  
Ingaba umama angamfundisa umntwana ezi zinto zaziwa ngabantu abadala?

How do you teach your child about these things? (examples)  
Umfundisa ngaluphi uhlobo umntwana ezi zinto? (zekelisa)

How does a baby come to learn the things an adult knows, other than from the mother?  
Kwenzeka njani ukuba usana lufunde izinto ezaziwa ngabantu abadala?

At what age do you think a child should know the important things an adult knows?

Ucinga ukuba umntwana kufuneka azazi xa engakanani izinto ezaziwa ngabantu abadala?

Who is responsible for teaching children about their community?

Ngubani ofundisa abantwana ngeemeko zokuhlala phakathi koluntu?

Why are these people responsible?

Kutheni iluxanduva lwabo bantu nje?

How does a child learn about his/her community? (examples and description)

Umntwana uzifunda njani iimeko zoluntu lwakhe? (zekelisa ucacise)

How do you think a child learns to solve problems? (description and examples)

Ucinga ukuba umntwana ufunda njani ukusombulula iingxaki? (cacisa uzekelise)

How do you think a child learns respect?

Ucinga ukuba umntwana uyifunda njani intlonipho/imbeko?

How does a child learn pride in him or herself and who she or he is? Umntwana ufunda njani ukuzingca nokuba ungubani?

### Child development

Can you describe all the different stages a child goes through from birth until school?

Ungakhe uchaze inguqulelo ezenzeka emntwaneni ukususela ekuzalweni de afikelele kwibakala lokuya esikolweni?

Do you think children have different needs at different ages?

Ucinga ukuba abantwana banemfuno ezahlukileyo xa beya bekhula?

### Mother's role

Do you think a mother has a special role to play in her child's development/growth?

Ucinga ukuba umama unendima eyeyakhe yobumama kukhuliso lwabantwana?

If yes, what is her role? (examples)

Ukuba kunjalo yeyiphi? (zekelisa)

If no, why not ?

Ukuba hayi, kutheni?

Mothers only/Oomama bodwa:

Is the way you bring up your children different from that of the older mothers?

Ingaba indlela obakhulisa ngayo abantwana bakho yahlukile kweyomama abangaphambili kuwe?

If yes, how is it different?

Ukuba kunjalo, yahluka njani?

Grandmothers only/Oomakhulu bodwa:

Is the way you raise your grandchildren the same as the way you raised your children?

Ingaba apha ekukhuliseni abazukulwana uyahluka kwindlela owawukhulisa ngayo abakho abantwana?

## 2. Interview schedule: crèche teachers

### General information

Village/Ilali:

Date/Umhla:

Name/Igama:

Age/Ubudala:

Place of birth/Indawo yokuzalelwa:

Have you lived here all your life/Ubuhleli apha bonke ubomi bakho?

If no, where else have you lived and when/Ukuba hayi yeyiphi enye indawo nini?

Have you been to school?  
Wakhe wafunda esikolweni?

Standard:  
Eliphi ibanga:

Where did you attend school?  
Wawufunda kwesiphi isikolo?

Have you ever been employed doing any other work?

Occupation/s

Year/s

Place/s

Wakhe waphangela?

Iminyaka yempangelo

Iindawo

How many children do you have?  
Bangaphi abantwana bakho ?

Name(child/ Amagama abantwana	Age/Ubudala	Male/Female Inkwenkwe/ Intombazana	School/crèche isikolo/ khritshi

Children at crèche/Abantwana abase khritshi:

Which children attend the crèche ? (mark on the table) Ngabaphi abahamba ikhritshi ?

When did they go to the crèche? Bayingene nini ikhritshi ?

When will they leave the crèche? Bayakuyishiya nini ikhritshi ?

Why do they go to the crèche? Kutheni behamba ikhritshi nje?

What do they do at the crèche? Benzani ekhritshi?

### Role and nature of the crèche

Number of children at the crèche:  
Bangaphi abakho abantwana abase khritshi?

Why are you teaching at the crèche?  
Kutheni ufundisa ekhritshi?

What training as a crèche teacher have you had? (detail)  
Loluphi uqeqesho owalufumanayo? (cacisa)

Where? Phi?

Do you think that the crèche is important? Ucinga ukuba ibalulekile ikhritshi?

If yes, why? Ukuba ewe, cacisa?  
If no, why not? Ukuba hayi, ngokuba?

What do you do in the crèche? Wenza ntoni ekhritshi?

Describe a day at the crèche. Chaza okwenzekayo ekhritshi ngosuku/ngalunye.

What resources do you use in your teaching? Usebenzisa ziphuhlisi zini kwimfundiso yakho?

Why do some of the children not go to the crèche? Kutheni abanye abantwana bengayi nje ekhritshi?

Why do children go to the crèche at 3 years? Kutheni abantwana besiya ekhritshi xa beneminyaka emithathu?

Why do children go to school at 6 years? Kutheni abantwana besiya esikolweni xa beneminyaka emithandathu?

### Crèche and school/Ikhitshi esikolo

What is the difference between the crèche and the school?  
Yintoni umahluko phakathi kwekhritshi nesikolo?

Do they teach differently? Zifundisa ngokwahlukileyo?

If yes, what is the difference? Ukuba kunjalo yintoni umahluko?

Do you think it is important for children to go to the primary school? Ucinga ukuba kubalulekile ukuba (abantwana) aye kwisikolo sebanga eliphantsi?

If yes, why is it important? Ukuba kunjalo kutheni kubalulekile nje?

What are the differences between children at the crèche and children in the primary school? Nguwuphi umahluko phakathi kwabantwana base khritshi nabasesikolweni kumabanga aphantsi?

What do you think a child learns at primary school? Ucinga ukuba zintoni umntwana azifundayo kumabanga aphantsi?

How do you think a child learns to read? (description and examples) Ucinga ukuba umntwana ufunda njani ukufunda? (cacisa uzekelise)

How do you think a child learns to write? (description and examples) Ucinga ukuba umntwana ufunda njani ukubhala? (cacisa uzekelise)

How do you think a child learns to solve problems? (description and examples) Ucinga ukuba umntwana ufunda njani ukusombulula iingxaki? (cacisa uzekelise)

### Adult-child differentiation

Do you think children are different from adults? Ucinga ukuba abantwana bahlukile kubantu abadala?

If yes, how are they different? (examples) Ukuba kunjalo bahluka njani? (zeklisa)

If no, why not? Ukuba hayi, kutheni?

What are the important things an adult knows which a child doesn't yet know? Zeziphi izinto ezibalulekileyo ezaziwa ngabantu abadala ezingaziwayo ngabantwana?

How does a baby come to learn the things an adult knows, other than from the mother? Kwenzeka njani ukuba usana lufunde izinto ezaziwa ngabantu abadala?

How do you teach the children about these things? (examples) Umfundisa ngaluphi uhlobo umntwana ezi zinto? (zekelisa)

At what age do you think a child should know the important things an adult knows? Ucinga ukuba umntwana kufuneka azazi xa engakanani izinto ezaziwa ngabantu abadala?

## Teacher's role

What role does the teacher have in teaching a child these things?  
Yeyiphi indima ebalulekileyo katishala ekufundiseni umntwana ezi zinto?

What is the difference between what you, as a teacher, do for the child, and what the mother does for the child? Yintoni umahluko phakathi kokwenzela umntwana wena njengetitshala, nakwenzelwa umntwana ngumama?

Is the way you teach the children different from the way the mothers of the children teach them? Yahlukile indlela ofundisa ngayo abantwana kuleya onina ababafundisa ngayo?

If yes, what are the differences? Ukuba kunjalo bahluka njani?  
If no, why is it the same? Ukuba hayi, kutheni zifana nje?  
Can you give an example? Unganika umzekelo?

Do you think a teacher has a special role to play in her child's development/growth?  
Ucinga ukuba titshalakazi unendima eyeyakhe yobumama kukhuliso lwabantwana?

If yes, what is her role? (examples) Ukuba kunjalo yeyiphi? (zekelisa)  
If no, why not? Ukuba hayi, kutheni?

## Socialization

Who is responsible for teaching children about their community?  
Ngubani ofundisa abantwana ngeemeko zokuhlala phakathi koluntu?

Why are these people responsible? Kutheni iluxanduva lwabo bantu nje?

How does a child learn about his/her community? (examples and description)  
Umntwana uzifunda njani imeko zoluntu lwakhe? (zekelisa ucacise)

How do you think a child learns respect? Ucinga ukuba umntwana uyifunda njani intlonipho/imbeko?

How does a child learn pride in him or herself and who she or he is? Umntwana ufunda njani ukuzingca nokuba ungubani?

## Child development

Can you describe all the different stages a child goes through from birth until school? Ungakhe uchaze inguqulelo ezenzeka emntwaneni ukususela ekuzalweni de afikelele kwibakala lokuya esikolweni?

Do you think children have different needs at different ages?  
Ucinga ukuba abantwana banemfuno ezahlukileyo xa beya bekhula?

### 3. Guidelines for discussions with residents

#### Introduction

You have seen us here before, we have done work in the crèche, we have told you about/given you access to the funding. We are aware of the problems you have. Funders are in a difficult position in choosing places, money is short, but you need to keep trying because the crèche is important

We want to talk to you about the other part of our work here. The funding side is one side, but as we explained to you before our work here has two parts. The second part is that of the education of the children. We have seen the crèche programme and what the children learn there, and today we want to talk to you as parents.

#### Crèche and home

There are two parts - resources, and what you can give. What do you as parents want for your children and for the crèche? What does the crèche mean to you? The crèche prepares the child for school; the crèche is important because it is between the home and the school. What is the bridge between the crèche and the home?

In your homes there is knowledge, language, history which you don't put into the crèches, there is a richness, but the things in the crèche come from outside. What do parents think of this?

Where are the children taught about their history of their people and their family? Where should they be taught this? Story of a farmer who gave his son formal education. Now he does not have anyone to pass on his farm work to, because his son does not know anything about the farm. What do you think of this?

We want to see the home and the school work together. The crèche is very important in this because it is close to the home and the school. What do you think? Do the children change, do they keep their traditions, what kind of links do they have with homes? Do the children take the traditions with them to the towns?

When children grow up, no matter where, it depends on what they were taught. The more you are able to teach them the better. That is why the crèche is so important. The crèche must be strong. It must be strong in the sense of resources, but it must also be strong otherwise.

#### Parent's role

If you think of the report and the issues you raised as important about the socialization of the child, what children need to know, consider the following questions:

- have you thought of these things being taught in the home and the crèche?
- could you build your own programme into that of the crèche eg. traditions?
- can you discuss with the government/fieldworkers about what the crèches can do?
- what role do parents have in the crèche? Can they do more?

## Appendix B

### 1. Transcript T8

T8 Crèche teacher, age 42, child age 5, male: First interaction filmed, camera moves around. Teacher's first time, very soft. Filming begins with puzzle set out, teacher taking pieces. Other children also watching, sent out of the room at "child's turn".

Teacher	Child
<p>I'm going to do it in front of you now (Picks up body part and places) Then we come to the wheels. 5 We start with this one (Picks up wheel and places. Picks up hubcap, pats down) And then we come to this one (Picks up other wheel, 10 places, picks up hubcap, places, pats down) That's right (looks through pieces, picks up small window) 15 [lighting poor] Now we look there (points to model) then we fit this one (fits small window, pats) We take a small one (touches 20 small window, copy, looks through pieces, picks up headlight), here it is (touches piece on model) We fit it here (places, pats 25 copy)</p>	<p>Nods</p> <p>Watches</p>
<p>[Other child runs in and sits down, exclaiming: Yoo... a car!] (looks 30 through pieces, looks at model, picks up black triangle, places in corner) We place this black one this way. (looks at model, picks 35 up green triangle and places next to black) And then we fit the green one</p>	<p>Watches</p>
<p>[Child comes in and asks 40 something]</p>	<p>Watches</p>

(Teacher nods and replies)  
And lets fit the green one  
(Picks up red triangle,  
holds) 45

Watches

Then fit this which, which,  
which ... (looks through  
pieces, looks at model) How  
is it? Where does it fit?  
(Puts down red triangle, 50  
picks up red rectangle)

See if it fits here, exactly  
(Places red rectangle in  
corner, incorrectly)

(Picks up black rectangle, 55  
holds piece in place in  
space, incorrectly) Let's  
see if this one fits. It  
does not fit in (removes  
piece) You see this one does 60  
not fit in? Call Maxhoba

{next child} [Camera moves  
to child's face, board not  
visible] (Swops pieces  
around in hand)

Watches

Let's see where this one is 65  
going to fit [Other child  
rushes in, talking] (Picks  
up irregular yellow and  
tries to place, wrong  
direction. Removes piece, 70  
turns it around, places  
correctly) Do you see this  
one? Lets check it

Looks at child, looks at  
teacher

[Another child runs in, T  
looks at him, scolds] 75

[lighting poor] (Looks  
through pieces. Picks up  
irregular green, places  
correctly. Pats copy down. 80  
(Hesitant)

Watches

(Picks up black rectangle.  
Tries to place piece,  
removes it. Picks up red 85  
rectangle, places) This one  
fits in, but you see this  
one we must remove (picks up  
black rectangle and holds,  
removes red rectangle), 90  
because this one fits here  
(places black rectangle),

but this one leaves the gap  
(removes black rectangle) So Watches  
let us fit this one (places 95  
red rectangle, incorrect  
position)  
Let's do it again  
(Picks up white rectangle)  
Let's look there (points to 100  
model)  
(Places white rectangle  
under red rectangle) This  
one fits as well. Watches  
That's right (pats piece 105  
down)  
Let's do it again (looks at  
pieces, looks at copy) Do  
you see this ? (Looks at  
pieces. Picks up yellow 110  
window piece, holds out,  
touches the edge of the  
piece) Let's look here  
(touches copy place) and fit  
this one (fits window) Its 115 Watches  
fitted  
(Pats copy)

(Picks up orange rectangle)  
[camera moves to her face] 120  
Now we fit this one (tries  
piece in space beneath  
triangles, removes) it  
doesn't go in.  
The other side (turns piece 125 Watches  
over and fits in space) It  
doesn't get in (removes  
piece)  
Try this side, see if it  
fits (places piece in other 130  
space) It fits.  
It fits this side.  
(Removes piece, places in  
incorrect space, then  
correct space again) 135  
(Looks at child) Watches

We take the black one (picks  
up black rectangle)  
Do you see ? (touches piece) 140  
There it is (touches piece  
on model) and here it is  
here (taps piece in hand)  
(Looks at model) See if it

fits (places piece)	145	
Heee!		
We are going to finish it. We are going to complete it now.		Watches
(Picks up red triangle)	150	
And then we are going to do this now (places)		
(Touches red triangle model)		
Like this (touches place on copy)	155	
We fit the white one (picks up white triangle, and places, pats down)	160	
You are going to do it yourself		
(Looks at child)		Looks at teacher
(Tips copy over)		Smiles
	165	
You start with this one (sets out body piece)		
(takes headlight out)		Takes body piece
You go and eat	170	Fits loosely
[Other children move out]		
(touches edge of body part)		Fits piece loosely
Check with this one (helps to straighten body)	175	
		Pats down
(Sets out hubcap)		Picks up wheel and places
		Picks up hubcap and places
	180	
		Picks up wheel
		Places
		Picks up hubcap
		Places upside-down
You have turned it upside- down		
You have turned it upside- down	185	Turns piece over
That's right		Picks up small window
		Places
(Turns pieces over)	190	
		Picks up headlight
		Places
(Turns pieces over)		Picks up window
		Places
(Watches)	195	Looks through pieces
		Picks up black triangle,

places

200 Picks up white triangle  
Places next to black

Picks up black rectangle  
Places in space, correct  
205 direction, incorrect  
position

Picks up orange rectangle  
Places above black, in space

210  
Picks up white rectangle  
Places in space between  
orange and black  
Removes black rectangle and  
215 holds

No, it doesn't fit that way

Removes white rectangle  
Places black rectangle in  
its place

No, no, it doesn't fit.  
Those two are going to fit  
below, take them out (points 220  
at piece in copy)

Removes black and orange  
rectangles. Looks at piece  
pile

Yes  
(Looks at model) 225 Picks up red rectangle  
Places in space

Picks up white rectangle,  
places beneath red

230  
Picks up black rectangle,  
places horizontally under  
others

(Looks at model)  
Places it vertically

That's right 235 Moves piece vertically

(Straightens pieces)  
Picks up orange rectangle,  
places next to black

You're about to finish 240 Picks up irregular green  
Places in incorrect space

No, no

Removes piece  
Picks up irregular yellow  
245 Places correctly

Picks up red triangle.  
Almost places. Drops

(Tries to straighten)	250	Picks up green triangle
No, no. Take the green one		Tries to place
		Struggles
		Struggles
		Takes out green triangle
This way, this way.	255	Picks up irregular green
Push it against the other		Places loosely
(touches pieces)		Moves piece
(Looks at model)		
		Picks up green triangle
Remove this one (touches	260	Struggles to place
white triangle on copy) and		
replace it with this one		
(points to green piece in		
child's hand)		Takes out white triangle
	265	Fits in green triangle
That's right		
		Picks up white triangle
		Struggles to fit, turns
		piece around
	270	Fits
Yes		
		Picks up red triangle
		Fits
Good, good, Buti (claps and		
pats child on back, smiles)	275	
You've finished !		

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2. Transcript M10

M10 Mother, age 30, child age 5, male: Mother (Nosiseko) and child (Siyanda) previously filmed are present, intervene [ ] and drawn on by this mother.

Mother	Child
(Has put in body and wheel pieces)	
[Put it in, Siseko. Watch, others] (Places hubcap) Put it in, Siseko kaloku (picks up other hubcap, shows child, places piece) Can you see? (Looks at pieces pile. Picks up white rectangle. Places in cargo section) 10	Watches Reaches over to place hubcap, draws back. Watches
[Put it in, Siseko] (Looks in pile, turning over pieces) You are telling me a wonder now when you say you have fitted in these things as well [laughs] (drops piece, looks at window piece child has placed, fits it in) Here, put it here. Do you see? 20	Reaches to pile of pieces Picks up window piece. Looks at camera  Places in window space  Withdraws, watches mother
[Yes, put it in. Hey, Siseko can do it] (picks up small window piece, places on board) Put, put this one here (looks at pieces pile) 25	Takes piece, turns it over, fits piece
[Siyanda:Mama, look at Siseko, he's turned it up (laughs)] (takes piece from child) No, don't turn it over, put it this way (turns piece around. Places correctly) That's right (looks in pieces pile. Picks up green triangle)	Withdraws Watches
[Siyanda:There is another one there] Where? (places piece in cargo section, picks up red triangle, makes as if to hand it to child) Take this one. Do put it in too (places the piece in cargo section) (looks at piece pile, picks up piece) 35	Watches
Is this right Nosiseko? Is it still going right? (takes 45	Reaches to help put piece in. Takes it from mother, replaces it in cargo section Watches

black rectangle and places in cargo section, picks up black triangle, tries to fit it in cargo section) No, man, it is the wrong way (moves piece 50 around) [laughs]

[Siseko is resting, he's not fitting in anything] He doesn't, he is not doing anything (moves pieces 55 around)

[Take, Siseko, do some work as well] (continues to move pieces) [You are also not talking to Siseko] (moves 60 pieces) Fit in, Siseko, kaloku, don't just sit there and do nothing, what is happening here is fitting, don't just sit (moves piece 65 around)

This white person apparently wants this thing, you women. Have you seen Nolungile ? (moves piece around ) Is she 70 somewhere in the village? (moves pieces) [No] Put it here, can you see ? Wait (moves pieces around)

75

We don't know this thing we are doing (moves pieces) What about M... {another person} (moves pieces)

[Even I was asked to do it] 80 And then ? (moves pieces)

[I did it, at long last] Did she say do it ? [Yes] Oooo... [and even Siseko has to do it alone] 85 Truly ? Do you think Siseko can do this ! He can't (moves pieces)

[Siyanda: I can do it, I can do it] [Laughs] 90 Could you do it ? (laughs) [S: Yes]

Ooo..., Nosiseko, how is this thing ? (laughs) (takes piece 95 child has placed, removes it) [You make me laugh because I

Glances at camera

Moves to take piece from pile  
Picks up irregular green piece

Places piece in cargo section

Looks at camera  
Reaches for another piece

Picks up irregular yellow

Places in cargo section  
Removes piece  
Looks at piece, holds it

Watches

Looks at Siyanda

Reaches to put piece in  
Withdraws

was also like this]  
 Ultimately what helped you,  
 woman/Ntombi? (places piece) 100  
 How is this thing ?  
 Ultimately what did you do,  
 how ? (moves other pieces) [I  
 grappled with it until I did  
 it] (picks up piece and 105  
 places)  
 As you are not fitting in, it  
 is said that you are going to  
 fit it in by yourself. Did  
 you hear ? Fit in, fit in. 110  
 Reaches over to pick up red  
 rectangle  
 Almost places piece

Wait (takes piece from  
 child's hand) Lets fit in  
 this one (fits red rectangle)  
 Oh, the main reason why she 115  
 wants us to sit down is  
 because she wants to take  
 photographs of us.  
 Ooo...  
 120  
 [Researcher: Just copy the  
 picture]  
 (looks up) Let me look there  
 (points to model, laughs)  
 [Look at that one] 125  
 Oh, a black one below that  
 one [laughs] (picks up black  
 triangle)  
 Oh, Mary, this thing you make  
 us do is another thing ! 130  
 (places black triangle in  
 corner)  
 Reaches over to take piece  
 [That's right]

(Almost takes piece from  
 child) 135  
 [Give him, maybe Siseko can  
 do it] (gives child irregular  
 yellow piece)  
 Can he ? Where did he see it?  
 Fit in, Siseko, fit it in, 140  
 let me see (turns pieces over  
 and moves them around)  
 Watches

We can't, my son and I. This  
 is defeating us 145  
 [Let Siseko do it. It seems  
 like Siseko is doing it  
 better than you. Can you  
 leave it to him ? (stands up

and points at model) Siseko, 150	
copy, copy from here, copy	
from here. Do you see this ?	
(points to model) Look at	
this, look at how it is done.	Reaches for a piece
Take from your mother, your 155	Picks up green triangle
mother can't]	Hesitates
	Holds piece
Fit in (continues to place	
pieces)	Tries to fit piece
I thought that this car is 160	Withdraws
driving past... (takes piece	
out of child's hand, removes	Watches
it, fits white triangle in	
the space)	Picks up piece, tries to place
Fit in Siseko, kaloku, don't 165	Watches
wait (takes piece from child)	
Did Siyanda really manage ?	
(laughs)	Picks up piece
Where did you do this ? At	Tries to place
your place ? (places a piece) 170	
A black one on top ? (sits	
back, looks at model, touches	Touches space for headlight on
piece child has placed)	copy
Were you seated down like	
this? [Yes] (places a piece) 175	Picks up white rectangle,
	almost places, removes it to
...I thought its one of these	turn it around, holds it
cars driving past. I was just	
going to give the pigs some	
food now and look at 180	Watches
what/whose car it really is	
(places black triangle,	
removes it)	
Oh, Nosiseko, you have 185	
defeated me, there is nothing	
more I can say (takes white	
piece from child and places)	Picks up red rectangle, holds
(takes red rectangle from 190	
child, tries to place, holds)	Picks up black piece
	Tries to place piece
	Holds
No, no, wait, fit in a white	
one here (moves white 195	
triangle around)	Watches
A person must muddle on her	
own, yoo Nosiseko (tries to	
fit piece)	
[(Siyanda moves forward to 200	
join in puzzle, Mother	

physically stops her)  
 Siyanda:Leave me] Looks at Siyanda  
 Siyanda knows this.  
 [She said we shouldn't show 205  
 you]  
 Is it she who says that ? If  
 you can't, what is she going  
 to do about you?  
 Siseko, fit in, fit in as 210 Looks at camera  
 well [Siyanda:Siseko, you are Puts piece in  
 going to see this black one  
 as if...]  
 When what happens ? (moves Moves pieces  
 pieces) Oh, no, it is 215  
 defeating us.

Wait (looks at model, laughs)  
 [laughs] A white one now  
 (picks up and places a white 220  
 piece)  
 Wait, Siseko, a white one now Looks at mother  
 (points to model, moves Watches  
 pieces) [Take that three-  
 quarter {English} white one, 225  
 that three-quarter white one.  
 There it is]  
 (collects pieces)  
 [Remove this] (moves pieces,  
 picks up white triangle and 230  
 places)

Oh, I can see it now !  
 (collects pieces together) Picks up green triangle  
 Wait, don't hurry (fits white 235 Holds piece  
 triangle in corner, pauses,  
 looks at model)  
 How is the next one ? (holds  
 black and red triangles)  
 Here is a black one, white, 240  
 red (shifts pieces around)

**[Researcher intervention  
 while FILM CUT: Take piece  
 like this and put it here 245  
 (demonstrates taking a piece  
 and placing it on  
 corresponding piece on model]**

So ? (places black triangle 250 Watches  
 in corner)  
 [(Stands up and points at  
 model, turns piece around in

copy)] (Watches)

255

Oh !

How is the next one ? (picks up and holds out a piece)

[(stands) Look here (touches each piece on model) Here is 260 it, black, green, orange]

Oh, a green one now ? Wait, here it is (takes green piece from child) The green (places next to black triangle) 265

Picks up green triangle and holds

[That's right]

Picks up a piece  
Tries to place piece

Wait, wait (pushes child's arm back, takes piece from child) [Siyanda: Don't hurry]

[(Taps piece on copy) Fit in 270 the orange {red} one] (Tries to fit in irregular yellow, removes piece)

[No, no, an orange (taps red triangle loose in copy, taps 275 red triangle on model)]

Is it not there with you ? {addressed to child}

Looks under own leg

[No, no, here it is (taps piece on copy, piece on 280 model) Remove it from there. Here it is]

Oh (picks up red triangle, fits incorrectly, removes, moves piece around) I've got 285 it well now (straightens pieces, pauses, looks at model)

Watches

[Go on now, proceed]

290

Its a green one next (looks in pile, picks up and places irregular green)

[Siyanda: Siseko, do]

[Siseko, can you see it ? Are 295 you looking at it ?]

Picks up red rectangle

Siseko does not know. He is not looking at this thing.

Places piece in space

[Fit in the yellow one] (looks at model) 300

No, no (removes piece child has placed, places irregular yellow horizontally)

[No, no] (turns piece) [No, no] Should it be like this, 305

Watches

going down ?  
 [No, no. It should be  
 straight] Picks up red rectangle and  
 (Turns piece around, places holds  
 correctly) 310  
 (Moves black rectangle on  
 copy into correct place,  
 straightens) Looks at camera  
 A black one comes next (fits  
 black piece) 315  
 [Siseko, are you looking ?]  
 (takes red rectangle from  
 child's hand, tries to place) Moves to pick up another piece  
 Siseko is not looking (tries Watches  
 to fit red rectangle) [No, 320  
 no] (removes red, picks up  
 orange rectangle, places)  
 [Take the red one and move it  
 upwards] (Picks up red  
 rectangle, places it on top 325  
 of cargo section)  
 [Siy: Siseko didn't do, Mama] Picks up white rectangle and  
 [It is a white one there. Fit places  
 it in there] (Moves red  
 rectangle down) In here ? 330  
 (pats down white piece)  
 [Look for a small one, Siseko  
 and fit in there (M and Siy Looks at other mother  
 point to copy)] (points to  
 headlight space on copy) 335  
 Where is it? [Siseko, look  
 for a small one]  
 Look. Wait. Where did you Moves back  
 leave it ? [Can you stand up,  
 Siseko?] (both mothers lift 340  
 boards to look under) Was it  
 here ? (all look, mother gets Gets up  
 up, reveals piece) Here it is

Fit in Siseko, here on this 345 Picks up piece  
 part (puts piece on board,  
 touches headlight space on Places  
 copy)  
 That's right, we're finished  
 now (pats pieces down) 350  
 Oh, Siseko is going to do it Looks at puzzle, silent  
 by himself now (all laugh)

FILM CUT

355

Simultaneously  
 Look here (points to model)

[(Standing and pointing) Look here (touches model) Look here (touches copy) and see 360 where the small one fits in (touches headlight space) and so on, and so on, and so on (touches other piece on model)] Can you see ? 365  
 [I'll move so that you can do it with Siseko]  
 [Researcher: I want them to do it]  
 [Dismantle it] 370  
 Oh my God, when we've had such a hard time doing this ! Siseko, do you see it ?  
 [Siseko, do you see it ?] Looks at other mother  
 Hmm...Let us do it (places 375 Picks up wheel and places body part)  
 [Leave him to do it alone]  
 [This is what we should do (picks up pieces and puts them between mother and 380 child)]  
 So that I bring them closer to him  
 [Fit, take and fit, Siseko] 385 Picks up wheel and places  
 Fit in, fit in the wheel (waves hand in direction of wheel place) You should look and make sure it is white like that one {model} 390  
 Fit in the small one, there (holds out headlight) Takes headlight  
 [Leave him to do it all alone] Places  
 That's right 395 Picks up hubcap  
 Places  
 That's right  
 There is another one 400 Picks up hubcap  
 Places, upside-down  
 No, you've put it upside-down. Put it right side up Removes  
 Turns piece over  
 Places  
 That's right 405 Reaches for piece  
 Look there now (points at model) [Fit in the window] Looks at model  
 Fit in this one (sets out window piece) here (points to Places

copy)	410	Looks at mother
That's right		Picks up black triangle
(looks at model)		
Take the black one and fit it		
in there at the corner	415	
(points to copy)		Places in corner
That's right		
Fit in a green one, this one,		Moves to picks up a piece,
take (picks up and holds out		drops piece
green triangle), here	420	Takes piece
Next to that one		
[No, no, upwards]		Places next to black triangle,
Turn it around, like this	425	incorrect direction, removes,
(takes piece from child,		turns, tries to place
turns and places)		
(Straightens pieces)		Places with mother
(Looks at model) A red one		Picks up irregular piece,
(picks up and holds out red	430	looks at it
triangle)		
[..inaudible..] (picks up		Drops own piece
white rectangle, turns piece		Takes red triangle
over in hand)		
Oh, a white one? [Fit in the	435	
one Siseko has] This one?		
(takes red triangle out of		Watches
child's hand and tries to		
place) Fit in this one, fit		
in this one [No, no] (tries	440	
to place, moves piece around)		
Who is now talking out there?		
(places piece)		
[A white one]		Looks through pieces
A white one [A white one,	445	
Siseko, fit in a white one]		
(finds white triangle and		Takes white triangle
holds out) Fit in here		Drops piece on board to turn
(touches place on copy, keeps	450	it around
finger there)		Fits piece in
(Presses piece in)		
(Looks at model)		
A green one now, green (picks		Picks up red rectangle
up, removes child's piece,	455	Places in cargo section
places irregular green)		
[And then a yellow one]		
(picks up irregular yellow)		Picks up white rectangle,
No, no, this one. Fit in the		places in cargo section
yellow one (takes out white	460	
rectangle, holds out yellow		
piece) Here it is		Takes irregular yellow piece

[Further up] Should it move further up?		Places horizontally
(Takes piece from child's hand, turns it around and tries to fit)	465	Takes piece out, turns it around. Lets go Watches
[Turn it around, turn it around] (turns piece and fits) Can you see ?	470	Picks up a piece
That's right (looks at model)		Holds piece, almost places
Where is the black one ? (reaches to picks up black rectangle) This is a black one, isn't it ? It is a black one now, Siseko (holds piece out)	475	Drops piece
[No, no, lower] (Moves piece to bottom of cargo section, still horizontal) [It should be upright] Should he put it upright ? (turns piece vertically)	480	Takes piece Places horizontally in space Moves piece with mother
Fit in by yourself kaloku, Siseko (Straightens piece) That's right	485	Picks up orange rectangle Fits orange rectangle
[Leave him to fit in by himself] (picks up white rectangle, holds out) Here	490	Picks up red rectangle and places Takes white rectangle Places upside-down
Turn it around, like this (hand movement to show how to turn it)	495	Removes piece and turns it over Places
That's right (pats copy) Can you see, he can do it ? [Yes]	500	Looks at other mother
Instead of that we were doing initially (laughs) Is it right ?		

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## Appendix C

### Interview with Fieldworker (Report 5/4/91)

We met Toko Fihla at the Office in Komkhulu, and then went to find Olga Jana at Machibini. We were told that Jana was in Middledrift. Toko collected some toys that her sister in Johannesburg had sent her. She showed us handouts which they had received during the training course held at the Early Learning Centre in Zwelitsha. We returned to Komkhulu to meet.

We asked her what role the fieldworkers play: She said that she is "a fieldworker, not a teacher. They must do the Morning Ring ...". She explained that the fieldworkers "taught" the teachers a process during which the teachers "must be (behave) like children". They tell the teachers how to teach: she must have two (instruction) sheets, one for the children, with a drawing of, for eg. My Body; and the other one for the teacher, (her "planning" sheet).

"The crèche ran for a long time here, but not with the right method. Once you (the fieldworker) have been trained, you must come back (to the area) and develop the method. The first thing is to teach the child about the body (the cow, as a theme, is a different thing). We deal with one thing a week, and then move on to related issues, for eg. caring about the body, or, the home. The important thing is that when we teach about the body, it is not on one day, because they are small, we give them instalments, dealing with one theme for the whole week. Another thing is that the type of story you tell must be truthful, and must relate to the theme, so that the child can catch it and understand it. Don't just tell a story, use flash cards, or a board, so that they can see."

We said that that was on one level, the teaching level, and asked about the role of the parents.

"Firstly, parents themselves are teachers, because they have responsibility. They need to buy and/or make the toys for the crèche (because we have no money. They use cloth to make toys.) and assist with the repairs of the crèche. Here things don't go as quickly as you like. One must go slowly, be patient. Last year in Komkhulu, we gave parents here cloth from the factory and they made toys. Next time we will go to another place. They must understand that it is their responsibility. The swings and tyres, it is the parents who must do it. One needs patience, to explain the importance of these things. Parents don't follow, it is difficult."

We said that we were interested in the parents' response, "Is it that they don't understand, or is it because things in the crèche are things they don't know? Would a change in the things make a difference? We have done research on the way parents socialize. If the parents have expressed particular wishes, could these be part of the crèche programme?"

She responded: "We don't teach as is done in the school, learning or writing a, e, i, o, u. That is the work of the teacher at the school. Our duty is to ensure that the child can... be creative through painting and drawing. We want to make the child ready in body and in mind. You see, and observe, whether the child can retain what you told it yesterday - you are checking memory. There are also physical defects which you can detect eg. weak eyesight. You can watch the child

draw, and find that s/he is semi-blind. One must encourage the parent to bring the child herself to school. When the parents do this you can show them the daily programme, that school starts at 8.00 am. and that they have brought the child at 9.00 am, so the child has missed a part of the programme. The parents must be more involved. One must ask them to give stories."

We commented that she did not seem to object to the parents' involvement. "I approach the parents today for the next day. What we don't want is the Morning Ring progress to be disturbed, when we are busy with the children. They can make an appointment. There are activities in the daily programme which allow for free choice. This gives them space to contribute."

We asked; "If parent's could put together what they want taught in the crèche, would this be acceptable? "

She responded: "The crèche syllabus changes all the time because people have different approaches. People feel free to discuss (When asked to elaborate on who she meant, she said the Crèche Committee, the Parent Committee, and the community at large. if she wants to say anything to the community, she goes through the Crèche Committee, and a date is discussed, the point being that the community can contribute). In the crèche, no one is right or wrong, because one would see right and the other would see wrong. We must consider carefully what things would be useful, because the children's mental development should not be suppressed, but encouraged."

At this point she invited us to return for a whole day so that she could go through the crèche programme with us, the Morning Ring, the free choice activities, the second ring, story time, rest time, and when the children go home. "Here the children go home at 2.00pm. In the location they stay at the crèche for the whole day. We are still discussing this time (4.30.) at the office. The problem is that they must eat, and there is no building."

We commented that we could see that the crèche concentrated on the body and the mind, and that we were interested in what the people do themselves. She responded by saying that we could make a date to meet the parents.

We mentioned that we could produce stories, or a book, from our work. Her response to this was: "In the crèche you must select the stories/songs. They must not be about violence. One must teach constructive songs. I would assess the stories (in the book) and subtract/add. Even if you were to bring story-books, I won't just use them."

We explained that the stories and verses that we would put together would originate from here, the Basin, as we have heard them in the villages, eg. Mdeni. She responded: "The crèche songs are not difficult, one does not have to sit down and think. They are from the people. As a teacher you must be creative, not like the parents, sticking to what went before. If a teacher goes to Mdeni, and sees the children singing "Unomaza", she must be creative, and move on."

We asked the question: Are the teachers more influential than the parents?  
"Yes, but we must try to draw them in. When the parents say that they have a nice song, the teacher must say whether it is right or not. Parents should have a contribution."

We said that we would like to focus on this tension between what the parent offers, and what the teacher can edit. She responded: "It's true, but the parents cannot teach songs. The teacher must edit them carefully, if for example there is a line with something violent in it. One must not despise the parents. They are easily disappointed. One must talk carefully and persuasively, and then the parents will understand."

We said that this was very interesting, the fieldworkers telling teachers to tell parents how to teach their own children. We asked why there was a focus on violence in particular. She responded: "If you look now at the school, it is not far from violent acts. No one stops them. The children will say openly, 'We are going to hit this shop'. Parents encourage them. At all times we must advise the parents."

We made moves to leave, saying that we would come back, but she continued. "Small children follow easily, they see the songs (toyi-toyi). Even the parents come and sing songs. When they do I tell them to stop immediately." We asked who taught her about this and she said: "No one taught me this, but I can see that people are fixed on this, and politics they don't understand. We must change them. If they want their own meetings they must have them, but they must not bring this talk into the crèche. I observed people being very "busy" with violence, stay-aways...Some were confused. People must hit the one in front (the main person in the community), go straight and show that person. If one accepts, all will follow. This is just like with money, raising funds. I know who to "hit", who they listen to. If this person calls a meeting, things will go (happen)."

## Appendix D

### Observed Daily Programme of the Crèche (Fieldwork report 19/4/91)

Toko announced that they were ready to show us how the Daily Programme of the crèche was run.

She rang a "bell" made of a tin filled with stones and the children filed in from outside to sit in a semi-circle on the floor in front of Olga Jana. Toko sat next to us and translated and explained what Olga was doing.

She said that this part of the programme is called the **Morning Ring**.

The teacher began with a **greeting**, and the children responded in unison. The second section dealt with **news**. The teacher asked individual children questions such as: What is your name? Where do you stay? What did you see this morning? Did you eat this morning? The teacher clapped her hands (in praise) and the children joined in. The third section dealt with a **religious** input. Toko explained that the children usually either sing a Biblical song, or as they did today, say a prayer. After this the children were encouraged to clap their hands and the teacher said "Very good!".

The fourth section is the **lesson**. The teacher pointed to a picture of a man on the wall and said that the lesson was going to be about "My Body". She then addressed questions to individual children, asking them to touch their "eyes", "ears", etc. and then to go up and point to these parts on the picture. She then said "Today we are going to look at the head", and proceeded to ask the children questions such as "What is the use of the head?" and the children responded in unison. The children were then told that they could go and play for five minutes (this is referred to as **free choice activities**). They were sent outside by a process of identification viz. whoever is wearing red/white/blue, go outside. Or, whoever wants to play on the swings, go outside.

The children did various things. Some of them went to play on the swings or with the tyres. Some of them went into the next room which contained a bookshelf, and looked at the books. Toko explained that this was "choice", or "creative activity". Mary took more photographs of the children playing on the swings and the slide, and with a drum filled with sand. The children were very conscious of being photographed, and it was difficult to take pictures of them playing spontaneously.

The **second ring** began with Toko ringing the bell again. The children were told to form a circle around Xoliswa, who sat with two "drums" and a stick in front of her. The two field-workers held other home-made instruments, a "bell" (a container with stones in it) and a "shaker" (a piece of wire with bottle-tops on it). Some of the children also had musical instruments. Xoliswa then initiated a song which the children joined in. She beat the drum, and the other two women used their instruments. She then told the children to stamp their left foot and raise their left arms in time with the drum beat, while she said "Left, left". The children were then told to march, "Left, Right", and then to "Skip, Skip, Down", and then to "Hop, Hop", and then to "Sit down!, Stand up!, Sleep!" (repeated), all to the drum beat. All of these instructions were given in English.

In the **singing** section of the programme, the children, with some prompting from all three women, recited various songs/verses accompanied by actions. The women did the actions together with the children. The verses included one about a crab, which we were told the children have seen in the river, and one which involved the identification of individual fingers on the hand (see verse and translations).

While the children were singing, a woman from the village came and sat in on the lesson. We asked Toko Fihla whether the residents often come to the crèche, and she said that they didn't. The woman was a member of the Crèche Committee. We were shown a doll that she had made for the crèche.

The children were sent outside for **free choice activities**. Some of them went into one of the other rooms and started to construct "houses" out of cardboard. We sat for a while with Noliza, Olga and Toko and asked them to write out some of the songs the children were singing. Whilst Toko did this, Olga and Noliza taught us a few Xhosa words. We then went into the room where the children were reading, and looked through some of the books with them. They tried to talk to us in Xhosa, and we managed to say a few words to them. When we asked them "Yintoni le?", pointing to parts of the body, they named these parts. Toko also showed us what she called her "educational toys" viz., two pieces of cardboard glued together and shapes, in the form of fruit and geometric forms, cut out of one of the pieces. We played with the children with these toys, giving each child a chance to take the pieces out and put them in again.

The last section of the programme was **story-time**. The children sat with their fingers on their lips in a circle around Toko. She sat with a story book (an exercise book with various magazine pictures of farming scenes) in her hand, showing it to the children as she told the story (Noliza translated as she spoke):

*There was a farmer. He ploughed his fields with a tractor. There were also dairy cows and sheep. This farmer had a room for his equipment, his rakes and his spades. He also had fruit and vegetables. He sold his vegetables to the market. There ends our story.*

Toko then asked the children what she had said. She called this "revision". She explained that a different story is told each day sometimes using a story-board, and sometimes flash-cards. After the story-time the children rested. Polystyrene boards were used as mattresses.

## Appendix E

### Stories and verses taught to children in the Amatole Basin

#### KOMKHULU: STORY by Velile Ntlokonkulu 10/6/91

Bantwana bam, ngelethu ixesha kwakunzima imali ingekho. Kodwa ke, sanyamezela, kuba naku sisekho.

Ngeli lenu ixesha, noko kubethele, nina nifumana imali engafani tu neyayi funyanwa sithi. Ndiza kwinto ethi ke, bantwana bam, umntu makabe nenjongo ebomini. Abe negalelo alenzayo apha ebuzweni.

Ukuba uthenga imoto, phambi kokuba uyithenge kufuneka ube unayo iR2000. Ulungiselela yakonakala, yakuphelelwa yipetrol, ingemi. Ndiya nje emotweni, kuba seyiyinto ethengwayo sithi.

Eyona nto yethu thina yimfuyo, nokulima. Niya bona ke bantwana bam, kulapho ke sibhideka khona ke thina bantu baNtsundu. Njani tata?

Ngolu hlobo bantwana bam, ufuya iinkomo, amahashe, odonki, iigusha, iibokwe, iihagu, izinja, iinkuku. Kha nicinge ke, bantwana, singakwazi njani ukuzilondoloza ezi zinto indim nonyoko? Asikwazi tu.

Tata uyavakala, ke ucebisa ntoni wena? Hee...mna ke, ndicebisa ukuthi ketha ibe nye, kwezi zinto ndizibalileyo. Le unomdla kuyo uze uyilondoloze ngangoko unakho.

Ukuba ke ithe yakungenisela wabanako nokufumana abancedisi, waba nawo nomhlaba owanaleyo, ungasithela kwenye yeza zinto ndizibalileyo.

Eyona nto ibalulekileyo, bantwana bam, kukuba ujonge ilahleko. Ungaziboni ezinye izinto zakho sezabola.

Ndifikelela esiphelweni. Eneneni thina ngelethu ixesha bekunzima kakhulu kukho imithetho ethi, "wena akunamhlaba akunakufuya". Sanyamezela ke lo ntlalo yobukhoboka.  
Enkosi.

#### Translation

My children, during our time it was difficult. There was no money. But we held out, because here we are still.

During this time of your's, at least it is better. You are receiving money which is not at all equal to what was received by us. This is what I am coming to, my children, a person must have an aim in life; (a person) must make a contribution to the nation.

If you buy a car, before you buy it you must have R 2 000. You are preparing for when it is damaged or when you need petrol, so that it does not stand still. I just mention a car because it is something that we buy. Our thing is stock and ploughing. You see my children, that is where we get confused, we black people.

How, father ?

This way my children. You rear cattle, horses, donkeys, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, chickens. Just think about it, my children !  
How could I and your mother look after these things ? We cannot.

You are understood, father. What do you advise ?

Hee ! I advise that you should choose one thing only, of the things that I have enumerated. The one in which you are interested, and look after it to the best of your ability. If it brings you gains; if you received helpers; and if you have enough land, you may pass on to one more of the things I have enumerated.

The most important thing, my children, is to avoid waste or loss. You dare not find some of your things already rotten.

I have reached the end. Indeed, during our time it was very difficult with laws that said, "You have no land, you cannot rear stock". We endured that slave-like living.

Thanks.

Komkhulu 19/6/91 Story by Xoliswa Ginya

Wemka nomlambo u makhulu

Umakhulu owayengu Nondwe owayehlala kwilali yase Mdeni wesuka waya kwivenkile enqaphesheya komlambo kwilali yase Ngwangwane esiyakuthenga inyama.

Lo mini kwaye kusina kakhulu. Uthe xa wayeqoduka wawubona umlambo ukuba uyazala sele kudada izikhuni ezikhulu.

Wangena emlanjeni apho, aye amanzi selesima entla kwamadolo. Uthe ebaphakathi aye selemela amanzi esingeni. Uye wanyanzela wabheka phambili ezama ukuwela. Esuka amanzi emka naye naloo nyama yakhe. Wayakucholwa ngosuku olulandelayo amanzi selemtyekezele ngaphandle komlambo wakoMkhulu, sefile.

Lilonke bantwana bam musani ukuwela xa umlambo uzele celani iindawo zokulala kwimizi enganeno komlambo. Nivile?

Translation:

Grandma was swept away by the river

Grandma Nondwe who lived in the village of Mdeni went to a shop across the river in Ngwangwane to buy meat.

It was raining very hard that day. On her way home she saw that the river was filling up, with tree-trunks floating.

She entered the river and the water quickly rose above her knees. As she approached the middle of the river, the water rose to her waist. She forced her way forward trying to cross. The water swept her away with her meat. She was picked up the following day, having been 'ejected' by the water of Komkhulu River, dead.

All in all my children, do not cross when the river is full, ask for a place to sleep from the homes on your side of the river. Do you hear ?

MKHOBENI 5/4/91

Umvundla

Ndandihamba'izolo  
Ndaya emahlathini  
Ndawubon'umvundlana  
Emva kwemithanana  
Weza wasindela kum  
Weza wancokola nam  
Akungomzingeli na ?  
Akundisukeli na ?  
Ngenja eNgofayo na ?  
  
Ndakucing ilishwa lam  
Ilil'intliziyo yam.

The Hare

I was walking yesterday  
I went to the bushes  
I saw a hare  
Behind small bushes  
It came close to me  
and conversed with me  
Are you not a hunter ?  
Are you not chasing me ?  
With the dog by the name of  
Nofayo ? (one who is deadly)  
When I think about my misfortune  
My heart weeps.

Iinkawu ezintathu

Iinkawu ezintathu  
Zakhwel'ebhedini  
Yawa enye  
Yaphuk'ingalo  
Wafika umama  
Wabiz'ugqira  
Wathi ugqira  
Yekani lomsebenzi  
Wokukhwel'ebhedini.

The three monkeys

Three monkeys  
Climbed in the bed  
One fell  
And broke an arm  
Mother arrived  
She called a doctor  
The doctor said  
Stop this work  
Of climbing the bed.

Chamama 1991 (recorded on video-tape)

uNoma

Thandiwe, Thandiwe Noma (clapping)	Thandiwe, Thandiwe Noma
Thandiwe, Thandiwe Noma	Thandiwe, Thandiwe Noma
Noma goes down on her knees	Waguqa phants 'uNoma
Noma does a yo-yo (movement on haunches)	Wenz' iyoy 'uNoma
Look at Noma	Thelekisan 'uNoma
Noma fakes death (fall down on the floor)	Wazifis 'uNoma

Mdeni 15/3/91

UNOMAZA

What kind of girl is she?  
She is a white girl.  
Where is she married?  
She is married to a lawyer.  
How many cows?  
Only eight.  
What do parents say?  
There's nothing to say.  
She is married!  
She is married!

Yintomb 'enjani ?  
Yintomb 'emhlophe.  
Wendele phi na ?  
Wendel' eggwetheni.  
Iinkomo zingaphi ?  
Sibhozo kuphela.  
Bathin 'abazali ?  
Akukho kuthetha.  
Wendile, wendile!  
Wendile, wendile!

-----

Who is that ?  
That is Yeye.  
Who is going with him ?  
He is going with Father.  
What is he carrying for him ?  
Sour milk.  
What colour is the can?  
It is red.  
Where did they put it ?  
In the kraal.  
Who drinks, only fools!  
Who drinks, only fools!

Ngubani na lo ?  
Ngu Yeye.  
Uhamba nabani ?  
Noyise.  
Umphathele ntoni ?  
Amasi.  
Ngendeb'enjani ?  
Ebomvu.  
Uyibeke phi na ?  
Esibaya.  
Imayisele  
Zidenge zodwa. Mdeni

Mdeni 16/7/92

UNOPOSI

Nank'unoposi  
Ehamba ngendlela  
Ephethe ileta  
Ivela kumama  
Nam ndafumana  
Ivela kumama  
Uthi phila mntwan'am  
Uthi phila mntwan'am

POSTMAN

There's the postman  
Walking on the road  
Carrying a letter  
From Mother  
I have also received  
From Mother  
She says be well my child  
She says be well my child

Zintoni eziya ?

Zintoni eziya ?  
Ngamahlungulu  
Enza ntoni ?  
Alel' onke  
lath'elinye kwelinye  
Vuka sihambe  
Sihambe njani  
Sixiniwe nje  
Ngala makwenkwe  
Akwabani ?  
Akwa Mzuzu  
Mzuzu bani ?  
Mzuzu Ndlangisa  
Xhego linomona  
Ngentombi zalo  
Liqinile njengesonka  
Esidala sengqolowa

What are those ?

What are those ?  
Those are vultures  
What are they doing ?  
They're all sleeping  
One said to another  
Wake up let us go  
How can we go ?  
We are cornered  
By those boys  
Which boys ?  
Mzuzu's boys  
Which Mzuzu ?  
Mzuzu Ndlangisa  
The selfish old man  
About his daughters  
He is as stiff as bread  
Old wheat bread

KOMKHULU 19/4/91

Phaya Phantsi Kwalamthi Umkhulu

Kwakukho ixhego lika nonkala  
Elalixhentsa lizibuka  
Elalikekela lingandiboni

Asimbonanga  
Ofana naye  
Ofana naye  
Ofana naye

There under the big tree

There was an old crab,  
Dancing and self-appreciating  
With a sideward movement, not seeing me.

We never saw one like him  
One like him  
One like him  
One like him.

(dance sideways, imitating a crab)

\* \* \* \* \*

Ciki wam, Ciki wam,  
Uphi na?  
Ndim lo, ndim lo,  
Ndisaphila.

Little finger, little finger  
Where are you?  
Here I am, here I am  
I am still well.

Ngophe wam, Ngophe wam,  
Uphi na?  
Ndim lo, ndim lo,  
Ndisaphila.

Ring finger, ring finger,  
Where are you?  
Here I am, here I am  
I am still well.

Ngophe-mathe, Ngophe-mathe,  
Uphi na?  
Ndim lo, ndim lo,  
Ndisaphila.

Middle finger, middle finger  
Where are you?  
Here I am, here I am  
I am still well.

Solathiso, Solathiso.  
Uphi na?  
Ndim lo, ndim lo,  
Ndisaphila.

Pointing finger, pointing finger  
Where are you?  
Here I am, here I am  
I am still well.

Bhontsi wam, Bhonsti wam,  
Uphi na?  
Ndim lo, ndim lo,  
Ndisaphila.

My thumb, my thumb  
Where are you?  
Here I am, here I am  
I am still well.

This is accompanied by hand and finger movements and the children "learn to identify their different fingers and to count" (Fieldworker).

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