

**Bantu Education: The Black Teacher's
Lived Experience Of Conflict.**

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ABSTRACT

This work is a descriptive phenomenological study of the experience of conflict that is lived by black teachers in the Bantu Education context. Subjects are teachers from the East Rand and Eastern Cape who have high school teaching experience that ranges from 1 to 15 years. The conflict researched was defined as those situations in which the teacher faced demands or expectations from different interest groups which were incompatible or negated each other. The Subjects of this research were six teachers who were interviewed for case material. The phenomenological case study design was used. Data collection consisted of in-depth interviews while analysis followed the phenomenological method developed at Duquesne University. This was an exploratory study which identified two major forms of conflict. The first exists between the teacher's expectation of teaching and the education authorities' expectation of how and what the teacher should teach in lessons. The second form of conflict identified is that in which the teacher's allegiance to one social group or ideology is violated by the teacher's participation in a system of education that negates his/her view about the South African socio-political situation. In the latter case the teacher is forced to comply with commitments or demands placed on him/her which negate each other. Van den Berg's theory of plural existence was used to inform data analysis and so was the theory of cognitive change and inconsistency.

"...the moment education is allowed to become mere control on the part of those wanting to manipulate minds and abilities for their own ends, the school becomes just a prefabricated opinion factory in which individualism is discounted and feared"
(MacKinnon, 1960)

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Section 1 :Theoretical Context

1.1. Introduction.

In a bid to ground the Black teacher's experiences of conflict in Bantu Education, it will be necessary to take into account the context in which black teachers function and the conflicts that infest it; consider the forces that lead the teacher to conflict and how this conflict can be understood in terms of Van den Berg's theory of plurality; explicate how the issue of cognition is relevant to an adequate understanding of conflict as it is lived by the black teacher; review some literary works that relate possible solutions to the situation of conflict in which the black teacher carries out his/her daily duties; and indicate how the findings of this study were used to inform the theoretical contextualization of the write-up by distinguishing between various levels of theoretical abstraction that are employed in this study.

The Black Teacher in Bantu Education

Bantu Education has been identified (Mncwabe, 1990; Dieckie-Clark, 1971; Muir, 1983 and Bot, 1985) as an area of the South African education system which is laden with inherent conflict. Dieckie-Clark (1971) notes that the nature of South African society is inevitably conducive to conflicts to which the education system is not immune. He observes,

"In a society of this kind, the education of the subordinate segments is likely to be torn between

the need to equip them with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes they must have to play their part in the common economic and political institutions, and the need to preserve and even reinforce the cultural diversity and social segmentation on which the society rests...Owing to this contradiction not only is education of the subordinate strata in plural society seriously impaired, but also that it serves to intensify the tensions and conflict already engendered by the plural character of the society as a whole" (p. 216)

This context of conflict in which the black teacher's daily duties are carried out is also referred to, with specific reference to South Africa, by Muir (1983);

"The school itself is a conflict arena, where the interests of dominant groups are in conflict with other interests, where racial code regulates relationships within and between groups and where its cultural meanings become prescriptions for action" (p. 27)

It is clear from the above quotations that teaching in the Bantu Education system imposes certain challenges on the black teacher. In an education system that is characterized by competing and

conflicting interests, all of which seek expression in the education scene, it becomes imperative, as Robinson and Angelis (1989) have argued, that the teacher should be aware of the specific interests which he/she teaches in favour of or against. In this situation, the teacher is faced with the challenge of deciding whose interests his/her teaching supports. As Mncwabe (1990) argues:

"The black teacher, in a secondary school in particular, is often confused in education about what he is required to achieve with his pupils. The issue is complicated because of the pressures from so many different directions. At the same time the guidance he receives is too confused" (p. 101)

This exertion of pressure by different competing and conflicting interest groups impose upon the black teacher a moral dilemma which Mncwabe captures in the title of his book, The Black Teacher's Dilemma. There are too many interest groups demanding to be served by the black teacher all at once, such that the lack of harmony, namely the conflicts between the expectations and demands placed on the teacher, are such that they cannot all be fulfilled. The teacher's fulfilment of the interests and demands of one group automatically implies rejection or disloyalty to those of other groups. Thus the question of choice mentioned by Giroux (1983) and Robinson and Angelis (1989) becomes one which the black teacher has

to confront without flinching.

Mncwabe (1990) argues that in Bantu Education the black teacher faces the dilemma of deciding which social interest group his/her teaching should serve amongst all the groups that not only exert pressure on him/her but also bind the teacher to a large extent. He argues that at the time that the black teacher "finds himself pulled from many directions" the teacher is faced with a number of questions to resolve:

"To whom is he responsible; the community, the administrator of schools, the government, his students, his profession? And for what is he responsible? (p. 101)

The problem presented by this situation is that it is a dilemma of deciding to which of the many social forces that command the teacher's allegiance should loyalty be paid. The black teacher is a member of the black community, against which Bantu Education works (Mothlabi, 1984), an employee of the government which demands of him/her that he/she must teach in an education system rejected by the black community (Lodge, 1984; Biko, 1978; Bot, 1985) for reasons to be outlined later. At the same time, the black teacher is a professional whose job and pupils demand of him/her that he/she carries out his/her professional duties in a manner that is advantageous and beneficial to the pupils and their community, a

goal which is undermined by the Bantu Education System (Robinson and Angelis, 1989). At any one time in his/her teaching situation the black teacher is all of these social identities which in the Bantu Education context are not compatible with each other. This incompatibility of the pressures exerted on the black teacher is not only a moral dilemma, it is at the same time a personal dilemma. For the black teacher's different identities and loyalty to different social segments present him/her with a challenge to overcome a situation in which he/she is entrenched by virtue of his/her being black and a teacher under an apartheid education system. A black teacher who is committed to both is forever forced, under the present political system, to live the many conflicts that arise from these identities.

If the black teacher divorces himself/herself from either identity he/she faces rejection, for the black teacher, both by virtue of the state's emphasis on 'race' and his/her profession, is inextricably tied to both teaching and blackness. Any choice that leads him/her to divorce one of these definitely leads the teacher to rejection by those whom the rejected identity serves. By teaching in Bantu Education, the black teacher helps to reinforce the Apartheid status quo, an aspect of his/her job which benefits the government which employed him/her for strictly this purpose (Lodge, 1984; Motlhabi, 1984; and Maree, 1984). Yet, the reinforcement of the Apartheid status quo by the black teacher can only put him/her at loggerheads with the aspirations of the black

community, of which he is part. Bantu Education forces the black teacher to belong to social interests which when put side by side negate each other, such that if the teacher upholds both a conflict ensues which has an impact on him/her. It is in light of this that Giroux (1983) maintains that in a situation where there is racial exploitation, even teachers are forced to decide whether their teaching perpetrates this exploitation or works against it. This is not a situation-based choice, it is one that the black teacher must deliberately embrace and serve with loyalty. It is argued here that this moral choice faces the black teacher because he/she works in a context that is not informed by political consensus. It is exactly because of the undemocratic nature of the Bantu Education system, and the Apartheid ideology that informs it, that the black teacher finds himself/herself working in a context of immense conflict.

The conflict that exists in the Bantu Education system (Njobe, 1990; Leatt, Nurnberger and Kneiffel, 1978; Mandela, 1965; Bot, 1985; Lodge, 1984) revolves around the legitimacy of Bantu Education as perceived by different interest groups in South Africa. For the state, Bantu Education is an education aimed at keeping the black child in his/her community. As Verwoerd (the grandmaster of apartheid ideology) stated, Bantu Education is well in line with the ruling ideology (cited in Mothlabi, 1984; Jones, 1970; Nasson and Samuel, 1990). Bantu Education was designed with the sole purpose of reinforcing the Apartheid status quo. And the

black teacher's duties, by virtue of the latter's employment in a government department, was expected to toe this line. On the other hand, the black community on which Bantu Education was imposed without consultation, regards Bantu Education as education for poverty, inferiority and subordination (Mothlabi, 1984 and Jones, 1970; Nasson and Samuel, 1990). Mothlabi specifically argues that Bantu Education was designed for purposes of indoctrinating black youth. It is exactly because of the black community's view of Bantu Education as education for inferiority that a call for Alternative Education (Lodge, 1984 and Nasson and Samuel, 1990) was made by the African National Congress after the implementation of the Bantu Education Act (Holland, 1990). Alternative schools were set up by the black community in resistance to government-sanctioned education. However, these schools did not survive long for reasons that ranged from poor finance, lack of facilities and government repression. Suffice it to say that the Bantu Education system originated and continues to exist amidst disagreements between what the oppressed want for their children's education and the government's perceived aims of education for Africans. It is this imposition by the government on black people that reduces Bantu Education to conflict.

The conflict experienced by the teacher arises from the social disunity and disparateness between the social groups that exert pressure on the teacher's duties. The lack of consensus between the different interest groups that seek to make a felt presence in

black education in this country leaves the teacher with the task of resolving, or at least attempting to do so, a conflict which exists in the wider society and remains unresolved in that sphere. Thus teaching in this context implies finding one's own way, despite the social constraints on such a move, through the conflicting demands placed on one by the different interest groups to which the professional black educator is tied. South African society is a society in conflict, a society at war - it is characterized by resistance from those who want more say in the running of their country than is currently awarded them, and repression by those who seek to thwart any such resistance. The black teacher is caught in this cross-fire (Mncwabe, 1990). Hence the argument by Muir (1983) that Bantu Education is a contested terrain between dominant interests and repressed ones. This is the social context that informs the conflict which manifests itself in the Bantu Education scenario.

It must be argued that the plurality of interests (Dieckie-Clark, 1971) that manifests itself in the Bantu Education context is not only of a sociological nature, it has a psychological dimension to it. While the groups that exert pressure on the teaching context of the black teacher are social forces with specific socio-political aims, the conflict that ensues from this exertion of pressure from different social quarters is lived by the black teacher at a psychological level. One must hasten to add that the psychological and sociological aspects of education relate in such

a manner that they cannot be neatly separated from each other. As Cole (1985) argues, the boundaries between psychological cognition and sociological cultures are so blurred that it is almost impossible to notice where one begins and where the other ends. The boundaries between psychology and sociology overlap such that one is inconceivable without the other. Thus the context of conflict in which the black teacher works is a psychologically lived experience (from the teacher's vantage point) while the forces that inform this context are sociological in nature, of course with cognizance of the above-mentioned relationship. Hence, plurality in the Bantu Education context must be identified at two levels which are not unrelated. It is the social plurality, in the form of interest groups that seek to inform the running and structuring of black South Africans' education, that in turn informs the beginning of psychological plurality that is experienced by the black teacher. As Mncwabe (1990) argues, it is exactly because the interest groups that exert pressure on the teacher are incompatible with one another that the black teacher experiences conflict. It is this level of plurality, where the teacher experiences being pushed in conflicting directions by the social groups that exert pressure on him/her, that was targeted for scientific enquiry in this project. The aim was to explicate the manner in which psychological plurality is lived by the black teacher in an educational context informed and characterized by social plurality. Van den Berg (1971b; 1974 and 1983) provides some interesting insights into this experience of psychological

plurality by people who live in situations, such as that of Bantu Education, in which there is conflict. It is the view here that despite the general and broad nature of Van den Berg's theory of plurality and multiplicity in human existence this theory still provides insights that are relevant to the context of the black teacher as it is studied in this work. Thus a full explication of this theory and its relevance to Bantu Education and the black teacher will be necessary.

1.2 Parataxia and Plurality

In exploring the notion of a plural existence in contemporary society, Van den Berg (1974) introduces his work with a quote from Sorokin. He argues that,

"If the groups of an individual are in conflict; if they urge him to contradictory actions, duties thoughts, convictions... then the respective egos will be mutually antagonistic. The individual will be a house divided against himself, split by inner conflicts. There will be no peace of mind, no unclouded conscience, no real happiness, no consistency in such an individual. He will be like a ball pushed in opposite directions by several forces" (p. xi)

In a situation where there is social plurality, where the

individual's different groups are not linked to each other, where they lack unity to the extent of conflict, the individual experiences an inner division. A division resulting from the conflicting loyalties that command the person's allegiance. It can be argued that this is the context in which the black teacher in Bantu Education operates. The state's expectations of Bantu Education, both in terms of its goals and syllabi, is not compatible with the expectations (in terms of the same objectives) of the black community. This is evidenced by the rejection of Bantu Education by pupils (Bot, 1985) and the call for alternative People's Education (Kruss, 1988). This context, in which the black teacher carries out his/her duties, is dominated by groups which push the teacher in opposite directions. The pupils and the black community actively reject the system of education the teacher serves (Christie, 1990; Alexander, 1988). On the other hand, the government structures which the teaching profession serves demand that the teacher should continue to teach in a system of education rejected by the black community on whom it is imposed. As Christie (1990) argues, the allegiance of the teacher to both these interest groups presents a moral dilemma to him/her. There exists a conflict on the expectations and demands placed on the black teacher and the teacher cannot be consistent with his/her own choices by serving both. Thus plurality is discernable, as indicated earlier, at two levels - the social and the psychological. The plurality that exists in the social context of Bantu Education forces upon the teacher a state of psychological

plurality. The teacher's loyalties are commanded by different and conflicting beliefs and ideals to which the black teacher is inextricably tied.

Plurality entails being committed to acts, thoughts or beliefs which, when executed or entertained are in direct violation of other acts, thoughts or beliefs to which the same person is committed. It entails internal disharmony on the part of the person who faces such a situation, Van den Berg (1974 and 1971b) refers to this as a 'divided existence'. He notes (1974) that man, the species, is not a 'solitary' but a 'solidary' being. By this he means that without belonging to a social group human beings cannot acquire those features and characteristics that distinguish the human race from other animals. To be human is to share one's world with others who inform one's identity as such. Human beings are rooted in relationships with others - it is interaction with these others that defines the 'being' of humans and makes comprehension of the human 'Subject' possible. This 'solidary' nature of human beings is captured by Martin Heidegger (cited in Macquarrie, 1972) who asserts that man is a being-unto-others. The relationships that characterize the social being of humans occupy a position that aids our understanding of plurality as it is expounded by Van den Berg (1971b). The conflict that manifests itself as internal disharmony or divided existence in the individual is not of internal origin, it is motivated by the person's social relationships. It is only the teacher's social

relationships and allegiance that push him/her in contradictory, incompatible directions. The social self is pushed in different directions by the many social relationships that bind it. Though these conflicting demands manifest themselves in the psychology of the individual, their origins are located in the sociological context. Hence the argument that psychological plurality emanates, albeit not causally, from sociological plurality. It is exactly because of these blurred boundaries between the social self and the psychological self that the theme of plurality as lived by the teacher is linked to the social nature of humans. Without belonging to others, whatever their social and political orientations, man cannot experience plurality in existence. Without belongingness, there is nothing to command a person's ego in conflicting directions. This argument holds for the black teacher's situation under Bantu Education as the context in which he/she works is informed by a plurality that leads him/her to psychological plurality.

Van den Berg (1971b) points out that multiplicity in individual existence arises because the individual belongs to multiple groups,

"which mutually have little or no connection or rather which towards one another have little or no affinity...Society, to which each of us belongs, consists of innumerable disjointed groups which may even be antagonistic." (p. 397)

Had the disparate groups in society been unified, there would have existed no plurality, otherwise known as multiplicity, in individual lives. The situation in Bantu Education relates to this aspect of plurality. As Ngubane (1971) asserts, South Africa is a society characterized by a conflict of minds. The black teacher works in this context of conflicting interests which force him/her to relate to all of them at the same time. Bantu Education (Muir, 1983) is a contested terrain between the oppression and the oppressed of this country. The teacher's professional ventures are located and situated in this context. The picture is more complicated when it is considered that the teacher comes into teaching, as Chamberlain (1974) points out, with ideas and commitments of his/her own which may not necessarily be in line with those conflicting interests that are already manifest in the education system. In which case the scope of plurality is not merely restricted to the competing interests in Bantu Education, it also entails what the teacher is personally committed to in the teaching profession and amongst the diversity of ideas in his/her society. Teachers, as Mncwabe (1990) indicates, are social beings who may not be neutral with regard to the conflicting interests that manifest in Bantu Education as it also puts to test the teacher's basic beliefs about teaching itself and the nature of the society as seen by him/her.

Plurality is closely linked to the extent to which a person's identity is defined in terms of the particular group(s) he/she

identifies with, either on different moments or simultaneously. Thus a black teacher is a member in relation to the black community, courtesy of the government's emphasis on 'skin colour' (Adam and Giliomee, 1979); a servant in relation to the Department of Education and Training; a professional in relation to teaching; an oppressed person in relation to the Apartheid status quo. At any one point in time, the black teacher is one or more of these in relation to different people. Plurality occurs when all these identities present themselves to the teacher's lived world simultaneously in such a manner that they are irreconcilable. Sullivan's notion of a parataxic existence (cited in Van den Berg, 1971b; 1974 and 1983) provides a framework within which this situation can be understood. The notion of parataxic contact is used by him to refer to those social contacts in which the person is provided with different indexes of existence depending on the company he/she keeps. Indexes are defined to mean the different personalities which the same person assumes in response to the company he/she relates to at any point in time. Thus the black teacher assumes different indexes in relation to the education department, the black community, his/her profession, pupils and Apartheid. Sullivan argues that in a situation where these indexes do not differ radically no one will notice that the person is living different forms of indexed existence. However, when the indexes differ from each other in a noticeable way, in a conflicting manner, the person is forced to live a plurality of existence of the nature divulged by Van den Berg (1974). When the

indexes are not in contact the person changes them to suit the situation, confirming the argument that a parataxic existence is an unstable existence, it is dependent upon the situation. The black teacher in Bantu Education is caught between all the indexes described above, indexes which are not compatible with each other. In such a situation the person, and this relates to the teacher, becomes a house divided against itself. Thus teaching in Bantu Education induces a plurality which is parataxic in nature.

The individual is faced, in a situation of parataxic plurality, with the choice of either living with a divided self or resolving this conflict. If plural parataxia persists for long without any attempt by the individual to resolve it, psychological disorders may result. Van den Berg (1974) argues,

"...if as a result of the strain in his relationship the person concerned lives in an almost continuous condition of inhibition, stress and uneasiness, physical disturbances may occur, perhaps an organic disease..." (p. 193)

Thus the strain put on a person's relationships by plurality is one which calls for a resolution. The problem of a split ego that conflicts with itself forces the experiencing agent to redress this cognitive imbalance. Wegner and Vallacher (1977) provide a possible line for understanding the need for a solution in a plural

existence. They address the issue of cognition and how it relates to social existence. There is, as a result, a need to explicate the relation between cognition and plurality in detail.

1.3 Cognition in the light of Plurality

Wegner and Vallacher (1977) argue that human beings anticipate information or knowledge about themselves and others and try to fit it into their cognitive structure. In other words, and this is a point also raised by Bigge and Hunt (1980), Tajfel and Fraser (1978), and Manis (1971), the human cognitive structure works from the assumption that it can comprehend the life world of which it is part. Information is comprehended and assimilated into the cognitive schema of things where it is expected to fit. When information or experiences that cannot be comprehended in the cognitive schema surfaces, the individual is forced to either redefine or extend the boundaries of the cognitive schema. Schneiderman (1988) argues that this results from the human need for cognitive consistency and equilibrium in the cognitive schema of things. Incomprehensible information creates an imbalance or disequilibrium in the individual's cognitive structure which demands the restoration of this balance. It is in light of this that the parataxic person's quest for a solution can be understood. The person faces, in a plural situation, a context which threatens the coherence of his/her cognitive structure - there is division of the ego between conflicting commitments. Hence the need to redefine some of the commitments in a bid to restore the harmony

which is undermined by the parataxic plurality. In this way, plurality relates to a person's cognition. Redefining or choosing one's commitment will lead to cognitive change (Wegner and Vallacher, 1977; Schneiderman, 1988).

The manner in which a parataxic plurality induces cognitive inconsistency can be further understood in the light of Festinger's dissonance theory, (cited in Schneiderman, 1988; Bigge and Hunt, 1980; Wegner and Vallacher, 1977). This theory suggests, in Bigge and Hunt's words, that:

"If persons hold two or more cognitions that are discrepant (contradictory), and if they recognize the contradiction, they will feel uncomfortable and take steps to reduce or eliminate it" (p. 92)

This theory suggests that people react negatively to conflicting perceptions and cognitions. In other words, inconsistency in the psychological life-world of a person induces feelings of discomfort, forcing the individual to seek remedial solutions to this problem of cognitive imbalance. As Manis (1971) puts it,

"...the simultaneous belief in two or more dissonant cognitions normally results in a noxious drive state that motivates behavioral or cognitive changes designed to reduce dissonance " (p. 239)

Some links can be made between this and the parataxic plurality noted by Van den Berg (1974 and 1971b) and Sullivan. The situation of plural multiplicity induces in the person who lives it, a state of dividedness, referred to here as 'dissonance'. In this situation the person is torn between two or more beliefs and cognitions. This is equivalent to Van den Berg's assertion that a parataxic plurality divides the person's ego into conflicting halves, it divides the person against himself/herself. The state of cognitive dissonance is comparable to the state in which the plurality-stricken person is divided between his/her social commitments. The bases for this comparison are two-fold. Both states only arise when a person recognizes an inconsistency in their cognitive beliefs or commitments. Whereas dissonance theory focuses on cognitions, plurality focuses on beliefs, thoughts and actions which, as one can argue, are not divorced from cognition. As Alverson (1978) and Cole (1985) show, cognitions and cultural beliefs are not separable from each other. They mould and shape each other in such a way that they mutually reinforce each other. The second ground on which dissonance and plurality can be compared is the extent to which they emphasise conflict as lived by the person himself/herself. A situation of plurality in the Van den Bergian sense is one of dissonance in the sense that the term is used by Festinger, with emphasis on conflict.

These observations need to be tied down to the problem at hand, namely the black teacher's experience of conflict in the Bantu

Education context. It can be argued that in experiencing psychological plurality, the black teacher is caught in a system of ideas, beliefs and cognitions which negate one another badly. He or she is, as Mncwabe (1990) argues, caught in a tug-of-war between the different interests that seek to exert pressure on his/her teaching or succeed in doing so. The psychological experience of conflict can be seen as being one that is not divorced from a person's cognitive structure, which is why dissonance theory sheds some illuminative light on the problematic nature of plurality in the context of the black teacher's work experiences. The teacher cannot, in a situation of psychological and social plurality, maintain his or her cognitive balance. The conflicts that exist in Bantu Education push him/her in directions that can only induce an imbalance in the cognitive structure of the Subject. Thus necessitating, in line with Dissonance theory, a re-establishment of lost equilibrium in the person's cognitive structure. The issue of overcoming cognitive imbalance, or attempting to do so, is one that relates to the teacher's reaction to a situation which divides existence into conflicting egos. How the teacher relates to this and changes in the process is a matter of interest to this study, hence the inclusion of cognitive change and imbalances in this theoretical context. It should be noted, in concluding this section, that cognitive imbalance is indicative of psychological plurality, for the black teacher; a psychological plurality which is itself based on the existence of a sociological plurality. Hence the issue of cognitive consistency is not divorced from the

sociological context that informs it.

1.4 Cognition and Plurality in the light of the Research Problem

The complexity of the research problem at hand restrains this research project with relation to methodology and epistemology. Having discerned, from the social context in which Bantu Education is practised, a conflict of interests between the oppressor and oppressed in South African society, the researcher inferred the implications of this for the black teacher in that context. Van den Berg's work on Plurality (1971b; 1974 and 1983) and Sullivan's parataxia (cited in Van den Berg, *ibid*) provided a framework for understanding the interpersonal and intrapersonal aspects of the psychological experience of working in such a conflict situation. This was done in a bid to ground the research project in a theoretical framework that would not only guide the research project, but also one that would guide the research problem targeted for enquiry. This theoretical framework, with the help of social psychological work on Cognition and Dissonance (Wegner and Vallacher, 1977; Schneiderman, 1988; Alverson, 1978; Cole, 1985; Manis, 1971; Bigge and Hunt, 1980), helped the researcher to identify the nature of the conflict that existed in the Bantu Education system for black teachers. In the process, this framework guided the methodology of this project. For after discerning from literature on the nature of South African society and education the existence of a conflict in interests, the researcher could not take such an existence for granted, it needed

confirmation or disconfirmation. Hence the research method was the phenomenological method, for its facilitative nature allows for the exploration of lived experience from the stand-point of those who confronted the experience of conflict at some stage in their lives. Thus, lived experience of conflict in Bantu Education became a prerequisite for the selection of research Subjects. This research did not start from assuming that conflict is universally experienced by black teachers. This issue will receive further attention in the next section.

How the experience of conflict is lived by the black teacher in the Bantu Education system is of dual importance to this research project. The first significance relates to the degree to which there is a lack of qualitative data on the experience of being a black teacher in Bantu Education. A research project of this nature ventures onto a thoroughly researched Subject-matter, namely Bantu Education, but from an angle that is relatively unexplored. While a lot of work has been done on Bantu Education (Kallaway, 1984; Rose and Tunmer, 1975; Nasson and Samuel, 1990; Christie, 1990; Bot, 1985; Maree, 1984; Rose, 1970 and Ruperti, 1976) from the socio-political point of view, very little work has been done on the qualitative experience of being a black teacher in the Bantu Education context from the vantage point of those who live it, namely the teachers and pupils. This work is a step in that direction.

Following from the above, the experience of being a black teacher in Bantu Education provides research with a specific point of reference. It introduces to the central stage of research the meaning of living conflict in this system of education. In this way, researchers do not only get to know that there is conflict in Bantu Education, they also get to know what the conflict means to those who face it in their daily duties. This idea links well with the emphasis on cognition in this work as cognition, according to Alverson (1978), informs and is informed by the way in which people experience the daily realities of their lives.

A word of caution is necessary at this stage. By addressing conflict strictly as lived by the black teacher, the researcher does not wish to imply that conflict exists only for Black teachers, or only under Bantu Education. In fact, as Christie (1990) points out, conflict is inherent in the entire South African education system, even for white teachers. The emphasis on black teachers and Bantu Education should be seen as a demarcation of a manageable sphere in South African education for research purposes. A project as this one, due to the constraints of both time and space, could not do justice to all the experiences teachers across the 'colour' divide have in the education system. Hence the narrow emphasis on Bantu Education and black teachers, this is but a micro sphere in the macro system of education in South Africa.

Possible Solutions to Plurality.

A teacher in the context characterized by plurality and cognitive inconsistency as identified by Mncwabe (1990) and Van den Berg (1971b; 1974 and 1983), is faced with a number of choices (Mncwabe, 1990; Robinson and Angelis, 1989; Giroux, 1983; Chamberlain, 1974). In response to the cognitive inconsistency that results from plurality and parataxia in Bantu Education, the teacher has a number of possible alternatives (to be discussed later). It must, however, be stated that the solutions suggested by the above authors do not reflect research findings, they simply infer from the teaching situation positions that a teacher can adopt in situations of conflict. Chamberlain (1974) argues that a teacher is a product of a long process of socialization, both in academic and non-academic settings. At the time that the teacher assumes the status of teacher, he/she:

"...has already been exposed to many educational ideas and institutionalized structures. He has had many teachers and has interpreted and reinterpreted both what was happening to him and his responses to those events. He has formed distinctive patterns in the way he thinks about his work." (p. 119)

This quotation has the impact of grounding the teacher in the history that produced and informed his/her views and policies of education. The teacher, as Denton (1974) indicates, lives a mode

of being that cannot be attributed to just a single point in the historical process that produced him/her as educator. At the same time it is significant to note, as Brembeck (1966) indicates, that the teacher is not divorced from the social context that informs his/her belongingness to the wider society. In fact the teacher may have personal preferences and goals even within the conflict that characterizes the society of which he/she is part. As Mncwabe (1990) argues, the black teacher is not a neutral observer in the socio-political conflicts and debates that are rooted in his/her society. The teacher may, in fact, have preferences even within this multiplicity of choices available to him/her in the social arena.

Robinson and Angelis (1989) argue that in teaching, the teacher always does so in favour of something and against something. They argue that in a racially segmented country teaching becomes a political career filled with political choices. Thus for the teacher, the main concern becomes how to be consistent in his/her teaching, with the political choice he/she made in relation to the current plurality-inducing context of the teacher. This argument for a political choice is also favoured by Giroux (1983) who argues that in a context of racial exploitation, it becomes inevitable for teachers to decide whose side they are on. The main issue at stake is seen as being that of consistency between one's teaching practice and political choice. Thus cognitive consistency, referred to in the previous section, can be attained through

making a firm political choice and sticking to it in one's teaching practice. It was shown earlier how plurality relates to cognitive consistency, such that the argument for a political choice relates directly to the re-establishment of cognitive consistency that is aimed at reducing plurality.

Chamberlain (1974) argues that the teacher, in a position of conflicting philosophical positions, stands in the middle. In other words, the teacher does not commit himself/herself to any of the competing and often conflicting philosophical approaches that seek to exert pressure on his/her duties. The teacher, as Denton (1974) argues, "soon develops a facility for differentiating among the argument for and against competing formulas" (p. 100). In this way, the teacher does not get caught up in debates of what is right and wrong, all he/she does is to compile an equally balanced presentation of competing formulas. Mncwabe (1990) also refers to the notion of neutrality in teaching. However, he extends it by presenting an argument against the neutral stance in a context like the South African one. He argues that,

"...in situations where the contending forces in a conflict situation are unevenly balanced, a neutral stance will result in allowing the stronger forces to prevail over the weaker. Hence as a teaching device, neutrality seems an unacceptable method in teaching" (p. 69)

Instead Mncwabe argues for a different form of neutrality:

"...While the black teacher is to be neutral with respect to the substantive issues he is not to be neutral with respect to standards of argumentation, respect for evidence and other aspects of rational enquiry" (p. 70).

Mncwabe (ibid) suggests that the neutrality stance in the South African context,

"seems to presume that the South African multicultural society is composed of cultures which exist in mutual equality, so that sound rational discussion and learning can take place merely by allowing different cultures free reign to express themselves in the classroom. But in reality...there are dominant cultures and cultures which are dominated and in the schools they exist in conflict and in unequal relation of power. Consequently, the oppressed people's cultures can gain representation in schools only through a struggle. Hence, the teacher who is committed to impartiality, fair play and justice cannot remain neutral in the struggle.

(p. 72)

Mncwabe indicates that in a situation where there is no social equality between the groups that exert pressure on the teaching situation, the black teacher who remains neutral can only serve to reproduce the existing status quo. There are, according to Mncwabe (ibid), manifold ways of adjusting to the situation of conflict in the teaching context, and there are ways of refusing to adjust. Too many of these (Mncwabe, 1990) involve,

"denials, evasions or confrontations. In self-protection, the black teacher develops techniques of avoiding full consciousness; he postpones "real life" until the hours after school." (p. 102)

This emphasis on the moral and political dilemma, in Mncwabe's explication of the black teacher's work situation, is one which forces the individual to confront it and make one authentic stance, or refuse to do so and continue to avoid thinking about it. Mncwabe does not argue against a neutral stance in teaching, he merely asserts that neutrality does not hold under situations of social inequality because the different interest groups in such a context do not communicate in an equal manner in the classroom situation. There is domination of other interest groups, in the educational structure, by the dominant interest group(s). Mncwabe

argues that the South African context is not one which is conducive to neutrality in teaching. Another observation which Mncwabe (ibid) makes, relates to how the conflict that is inherent in Bantu Education is felt more by the politically aware teachers. He makes a distinction between a broad minded teacher and a narrow minded one. The former, considers the sociological implications of his/her teaching while the latter puts emphasis on issues that are strictly related to his/her duties (p. 107-109). Though the politically aware teacher experiences the conflict in the Bantu Education scene more than the narrow minded one, the Bantu Education situation forces both teachers into the same problem, that of teaching effectively in a context that is unfavourable to such teaching. Mncwabe argues,

"A narrow minded teacher will find frustrations as he finds that his pupils can't learn his Subject matter because of the unfavourable social circumstances. A broadly based professional is also frustrated when he realizes that he can never really develop the potentialities and personalities of his pupils because of the social circumstances" (p. 110)

In this situation, where both teachers find themselves being curtailed in their professional duties by socio-political factors over which they have no control, the teachers have to decide which

side of the forces that are inducing in them a state of psychological plurality they must side with. Thus the need for a political choice (Robinson and Angelis, 1989; Giroux, 1983) assumes an urgency in the black teacher's professional world that cannot be left unresolved. On the other hand, teachers should be careful that they do not support forces of oppression under the guise of neutrality. Neutrality in plural conflict, whether it is deliberately chosen as a teaching choice or a result of the teacher's refusal to address the conflict facing him/her, has the result of working in favour of those who are in power. Consequently, the challenge to black teachers becomes one of seeing to it that they do not reinforce the social status quo even if their neutrality was not meant to achieve this end.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the lines of possible action for the black teacher, as suggested by Mncwabe (1990), Robinson and Angelis (1990) and Giroux (1983), are informed by the manner in which the teacher himself/herself perceives his/her situation. How the teacher perceives his/her plurality and parataxia in the context of the teaching situation will have a significant impact on the choices that he/she makes in an attempt to resolve plurality. Hence, while there are a number of possible lines of action in response to plurality, how the person finally responds to this situation may not be in line with choosing between the political options that face him/her. The argument here is that while the teacher may be forced to choose between different forces in his

plurality-ridden profession, the choice itself will be influenced by what the teacher perceives as being the problem in his/her cognitive field. What the teacher sees as being related to the cognitive inconsistency induced by parataxic plurality will, at the end of the day, inform how the teacher resolves the parataxic plurality in question.

Levels Of Theoretical Abstraction.

There seems to be an inherent contradiction between stating that this work focused on description without making any assumptions about the nature of responses from Subjects, and then presenting the theoretical contextualization and conclusion of the same work as though the results were anticipated. The manner in which the researcher ordered the first section of this project and its conclusion may lead the reader to believe that the findings of this study were expected to follow a particular trend, contrary to the claim that the phenomenological method was used because it facilitated the making of minimal assumptions about the Subject matter. Indeed the reader might even be forced to conclude that the researcher had built into this work a bias that led him to specific findings. These apparent contradictions must be dealt with to avoid confusion and misunderstanding.

In the process of conceptualizing and operationalizing this study, the researcher deliberately sought a research approach that was not premised on the making of a priori assumptions about research

findings. This was done for the main reason that there was not enough literature at hand to inform the making of such assumptions about the Subject matter of this work, to do so would have been very unjustifiable. Hence the descriptive phenomenological method was deemed suitable for this purpose. At the early stage of data collection the researcher did not seek to make any assumptions about the findings his enquiry might lead to, he merely wanted to describe these in as detailed a manner as possible. However at the time that this theory work was being written, the researcher had already gathered and tentatively explored the data and was therefore in a position to anticipate, during the time of writing, the answers that were obtained from research enquiry. It is because of this that the findings were used to inform the theoretical context in which this work is grounded. This was done in a bid to integrate the findings and the theoretical section in such a way that they would not merely be unrelated sections in this thesis. It can even be argued that theory and research findings communicate in such a manner that they mutually reinforce each other. Theory can be restructured in the light of research findings and research findings can also be informed by a theory they helped to restructure. The cycle of communication between theory and research findings goes on in a manner that is continuous and mutually reinforcing.

By using collected data to inform the theory in this write-up the researcher did not negate an earlier commitment to "allowing the

Subject matter to present itself unhindered". Rather he allowed this to occur and made anticipatory assumptions about the findings only when they were collected. There is a need to distinguish, therefore, between the theory that informed the origins and early stages of this research and the theory that informed the writing up and organization of its findings. In this way this study still adhered to principles of phenomenological descriptions, instead of hypothesis-testing as it appears at first glance.

Section 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1 Method

This study is aimed at acquiring a detailed description of the black teacher's experience of conflict in the Bantu Education situation. The study sought to achieve this through describing the experience itself as lived by those who partook in it, namely black teachers. The emphasis was purely on describing each experience as a uniquely lived relationship between the teachers concerned and a segment of their world, namely teaching under Bantu Education at a particular point in time. A method and theoretical approach which allowed for a detailing of experience with minimal imposition was chosen, namely the phenomenological research method (Giorgi, 1985; Wertz, 1985 and Stones, 1988).

Data was gathered on the experience and meaning of conflict as lived by black teachers in Bantu Education institutions. It was the researcher's commitment to the need for treating each experience as unique instead of as part of some general law that channelled this project in the direction of quality rather than quantity. The researcher did not seek to submerge the teachers' experiences under a nomological, nomothetical law (Doyal and Harris, 1986), rather the emphasis was on the idiographic side of it. The research methodology that was chosen for this project had to be facilitative to this basic aim of research. The phenomenological method (Giorgi, 1985 and Wertz, 1985) was opted for as a result. This method was more than just relevant, it

allowed Subjects to articulate the conflict that was researched in their own words.

Experience and meaning occupy a dominant place in the scheme of things that informs this research project. This arises from the assumption held by the researcher, in line with Kruger's (1988) argument, that the yardstick through which the world is measured is man. It is only through human beings that research can aim to gain access to the human lived world. In a situation where the researcher is conducting enquiry into the qualitative experience of others, it is only through those others that he/she can gain access to these experiences. An added advantage to this method, as Denton (1974) argues, is that it grounds research description and interpretation in an existential situation, namely the situation as lived by the Subject, and, in the process eliminates "a priori answers to questions which may otherwise emerge from the situation" (p. 101). In terms of this criterion, the phenomenological approach proved to be relevant to the underlying philosophical view and aims that informed the conception of this research.

2.1.2. Research Problem

The problem that was researched for this project was defined as conflict that is experienced by the teachers who took part in this research as Subjects. This project researched the topic revolving around those situations in which the teachers faced conflicting or incompatible demands or expectations which they then had to deal

with. Conflict here is defined as those experiences lived by the teachers in situations wherein they were faced not just with their expectations of teaching, but also by demands or commitments made upon them by different interest groups. These demands or expectations had to be incompatible with each other. The teachers were asked to reconstruct a specific situation in which their teaching was curtailed or affected by extraneous factors that manifested themselves in the teaching scene.

The research question was formulated as follows:

"Could you please reconstruct a specific situation in your career as a teacher when conflicting demands, expectations or beliefs surfaced in your teaching which presented you with the challenge of deciding how to resolve these conflicting demands, expectations or beliefs"

Thus the conflict that was researched here arises inside the black teaching situation in general - one that the teacher experiences as a result of his/her teaching in the Bantu Education situation. It was made clear to the Subjects that this conflict situation had to be related to the Bantu Education situation, such that Subjects knew that their narrative accounts of the lived experience of conflict had to be a result of the Bantu Education status quo. In defining this conflict the researcher did not seek to restrict

Subjects to specific forms of conflict - rather the approach to this research, owing to reasons that will be outlined at a later stage, sought to allow the lived conflict to present itself from the Subjects' responses with minimal imposition (in line with the phenomenological approach).

This research question was piloted amongst teachers in the East Rand before data collection finally commenced. During the piloting stage, the researcher had formulated the research question such that it dealt purely with the teachers' lived conflict with Bantu Education. It was later realized that this formulation of the research question was biased to one specific form of conflict, namely that which related directly to disagreements with Bantu Education. Responses took a very general complexion which could not be tied down to any specific situation and Subjects tended to talk about general problems that related to their teaching in Bantu Education. This was not the type of data the researcher had anticipated; as a result the research question had to be reformulated in such a way that it referred to specific situations during which conflict was experienced. And this had to be done in a manner that did not impose upon Subjects' responses. Thus the above-stated research question was formulated.

2.2 Subjects

The Subjects in this study were four male teachers and two female teachers whose teaching experience varied from a year to fifteen

years. It should be noted that the researcher did not seek to sample Subjects in a manner that would be representative of the entire population of black teachers. Rather, the aim of this study was to map out and confirm the existence of the type of conflict under scrutiny. This was to be achieved, not by moving from the assumption that such experiences of conflict were a universal occurrence for black teachers in general (indeed no ground availed itself to support such an assumption), but by identifying those teachers who lived conflict, as targeted for research, in their teaching encounters. Stones (1988) makes it clear that what an experience means to the person who lives it is of central importance to a qualitative study. In attempting to find the sample for research, this project deliberately sought to employ those who have lived the experience of the conflict previously outlined as the research problem. This was the first criterion for the selection of Subjects for the research that was conducted. There would not have been much sense in asking teachers who have not lived any experience of conflict for a detailed narrative account of an experience they have not lived before. In light of this, the Subject sample in this research was not dictated to by the number of black teachers present in the Bantu Education system, rather it was the presence of the lived experience of conflict that determined who passed for a research Subject and who did not. At this stage, it must be clearly stated, in the light of the above, that the experiences that constitute research data in this project should not be viewed as indicative of the general black teacher's

experience in Bantu Education. They should be treated, as intended by this study, as a reflection of an experience lived by those who volunteered their participation in this study. This does not mean, however, that other teachers may not use the findings as a point of reference for their own experiences. In fact, other teachers may even disagree completely with the findings, as they may not be able to relate to them, but this is no point to regret since it is in disagreements that a research problem becomes more clarified and explored.

Originally, the researcher had intended to survey accessible teachers in the Eastern Cape area to identify those who had lived the conflict defined as the research problem in this study. At the same time, this survey would, as planned at this early stage of research, identify those who were willing to be research Subjects. Subjects who were interviewed volunteered their participation long before such a survey was conducted. This had the effect of making this survey unnecessary while it convinced the researcher that he was not barking up the wrong tree, that is, that the problem identified for research was indeed not just implied in literature, it was real. Teachers who volunteered were from the East Rand and the Eastern Cape - these were people who had talked informally to the researcher about this project or heard through associates that a study of this nature was under way. Subjects' voluntary participation was conducive to rapport and enabled the researcher to work with willing Subjects.

Of the twelve teachers who had originally volunteered to participate in this research, two could not be reached for interview because they had other commitments at the time of research. With the time constraints pressing, the researcher could not get hold of them without jeopardizing the time schedules set for other interviews with research Subjects. Ten interviews were conducted. Of these, one protocol was not included in the research data because this protocol was not a typified example of conflict that relates specifically to Bantu Education, it could have passed for any other context of education. Three interviews were also not passed for research data because they were vague in certain areas which were crucial for understanding the experience of conflict narrated in them. These three teachers could not be reached for follow-up interviews because they were either too busy working on examinations or out of town. As time was running out, the researcher opted for the exclusion of their responses instead of risking misinterpretation of these responses. The researcher conducted follow-up interviews in all situations where vagueness was discerned from Subject responses. This was standard practice aimed at avoiding unfounded or invalid interpretations, as vague statements lend themselves to ambiguity in interpretation. Follow-up interviews were conducted in all other cases where the researcher felt unable to interpret collected data, or sections of it, without consulting the respondent concerned. This was done to achieve accurate interpretations and a valid understanding of what Subjects meant by their responses. The protocols in which follow-up

interviews were not conducted presented the researcher with adequate clarity for interpretation.

2.3 Data Collection

Focused interviewing (Zeisel, 1984) was used as a standard data collection. Subjects who volunteered for research were asked to reconstruct and narrate in as much detail as they could a situation or specific instance in which they experienced conflict of the nature identified at an earlier stage of this section. All their responses were tape-recorded, probing was conducted by the researcher in areas or parts of Subjects' narratives for more detail (Mishler, 1986), that is, in areas which needed clarification or rendered themselves vulnerable to researcher interpretation. This was done in compliance with the phenomenological ethic of allowing the Subject's world to be communicated to us through the mediumship of the Subjects (Heaton, 1982 and Kruger, 1988). Follow-up interviews were conducted, where necessary, after the narratives were transcribed onto paper. When these were conducted, Subjects were allowed some time (approximately fifteen minutes), to re-acquaint themselves with their transcribed narratives before being asked to expand on or clarify certain parts of their narratives which were not clear to the researcher. The interpretation of data was indeed facilitated with the help of this additional information. Follow-up material are appended with each original interview on which they were conducted. This was done in line with the phenomenological case

study design (Edwards, 1989). Original interviews and follow-up interviews are attached as **Appendix 2** of this work.

2.4 Data Analysis

The analysis of data leaned more towards Wertz's (1985) and Johnson's (1988) redefinition of Giorgi's (1985) phenomenological method of breaking down qualitative data. It is important to note, as Wertz maintains, that the phenomenological method is not a set of techniques for conducting research. Rather, the method varies and is reinterpreted to suit the problem at hand. The phenomenological method should not be seen as a rigid inflexible way of collecting and analyzing data. Transcribed data was read through two to three times, depending on the complexity of the narrative under consideration, to obtain a general understanding of the experience in each case material. This was done with the aim of acquainting the researcher with collected data. Then the case material was read again, this time with emphasis on the shifts in the experience of conflict. Here the researcher focused on how the experiential structure of conflict flowed in the protocol, with emphasis on the different themes and experiences that occurred. The protocols were then divided into meaning units. These were broken down in such a way that they reflected a shift in meaning or theme in the experience of conflict. After breaking down the protocol into meaning units, the researcher then interpreted these meaning units in such a way that his language remained as close to the Subjects' as possible. When this was completed, the

interpreted meaning units were further interpreted with emphasis on their psychological aspects. This was done with the help of follow-up material where it was available. Otherwise, the researcher pushed the meaning units to their logical psychological implications. It should be indicated that this was not done with any imposition on the original data. A situated structure was then constructed which reflected each individual case. The final product of this process was a general thematic structure which is a reflection of all the situated structures for each individual case.

The manner in which the data is organized and presented is as follows :

1. Identification of Meaning Units.
2. Interpretation of Meaning Units.
3. Extended Interpretation of Meaning Units.
4. Situated Structure.
5. General Thematic Structure.

Steps 1 to 4 are done for each case while Step 5 aggregates all the Step 4s from each individual case. Between step 4 and 5 though, a typology of the identified conflicts is presented in order to situate the **General Thematic Structure** of these conflicts. The advantage in this is that this typology serves as a comprehensive transition between Steps 4 and 5 without pre-empting the **General Thematic Structure**. It makes the **General Thematic Structure** easier

to read than it otherwise would have been had this transition not been made. For clear and unclouded presentation the researcher ordered the presentation of data in such a way that steps 1 and 2 from five cases are appended as Appendix 1. Case 1 will be used to illustrate how the meaning units were identified and interpreted so that the reader can get a clear view of how this was done for all cases.

The scope of this study, due to constraints of time and space, does not allow one to make broad and sweeping conclusions about the experience being researched. All one can aim to achieve is to break the ice in a relatively unexplored field of enquiry, thus this study can only serve as a forerunner or pilot study for future research. There is scant research and literature on the lived experience of conflict by black teachers in Bantu Education. Mncwabe's (1988, 1990) works are the closest to this research project and are used to inform the first section and the discussion of the findings of this study. It is hoped that this research will be a forerunner to further necessary research in this area. Possible areas for future research are hinted at in the conclusion section. This is done in compliance with Mouton and Marais' (1988) argument that good research does not merely obtain answers to questions it set out to pursue, it should also bring with it new areas of possible research.

SECTION 3: RESULTS.

This section presents an analysis of research data in a systematic phenomenological manner. Data is presented in such a manner that it depicts the meaning units identified for each idiographic case and their interpretations. An extended interpretation of all meaning units is then made, with specific emphasis on the psychological themes that emerge from identified meaning units. A situated structure for each case is then formulated to reflect the findings of the case concerned. However, only one case will be used to encompass the first two steps of data analysis since the researcher has no intention of unnecessarily overloading this section with data that would be useful if it were appended. The identification of meaning units and their interpretation is presented for Subject 1 while the extended interpretation and situated structures are presented for all Subjects. Should the reader wish to obtain more information on the former he/she should consult Appendix 1. A typology of identified conflict is presented to ground the all-inclusive general structure of the collected cases.

3.1. Subject 1

Meaning Units

1.

I remember specifically one occasion. I was in class and delivering a lesson on

Interpretation

Subject remembers a lesson in which he was torn between a version of history he regards

South African History. I could not bring myself to a whole-hearted delivery of the lesson. You see, our history has two versions, the real history and the one the government wants us to preach to our pupils. As a teacher, my duty is to teach my pupils the truth through and through. At the same time, being a staff member in a government school, I get paid to teach the lies that appear in history from a white man's perspective. But this is not the real history. It is distorted history. I was forced in that lesson into an ambivalent choice.

2.

Yes, it was a difficult situation. I knew very well that what I was teaching did not pass for the real version of historical events as they appear in our oral

as true. He notes that being a government teacher ties him down to teaching a version of history he disagrees with ie., one that is untrue.

S was faced with the Though difficult situation of either teaching pupils a distorted version of history which lead them

traditions, I also knew that my pupils would have to master these lies to obtain Matric Certificates. It is a situation where you know very well that teaching the truth might lead the kids to fail. I would not like to see this fate befall them, otherwise what would be the point in teaching?

3.

My conscience was troubling me. How does one lie and still feel that he is doing his job? I started to wonder whether the authorities meant me to be a professional liar.

4.

What angered me more was the realization that the school schedule was tight as it is. I could not teach alternative views on South African history without jeopardising my chances of finishing the annual syllabus.

to success or truth which would lead them to failure in examinations. The latter S perceives as defeating the aim in teaching.

S's conscience was troubled by the 'lies' his position was forcing him to teach.

S was angered by lack of ample time to teach other versions of history ie., time did not allow him to teach historical versions that differed from the 'lies' he was teaching.

5.

So I continued to teach the government's version of history while deep down I knew that this was an imposed version of South African history. But the government has all the power to decide and impose what passes for truth and what does not. It is by learning this imposed truth that kids pass. So I taught them what they needed to know to pass their examinations.

6.

It makes one's position a difficult one. Knowing very well that you are telling pupils what you should not be telling them makes you feel guilty. The whole state bureaucracy undermines your effectiveness. It makes you feel helpless, a tool caught between what you are expected to teach and what you personally believe you should be teaching. As an individual, one really feels helpless because he does not have

As a result S resolved to teach the kids what they needed to learn in order to pass their exams.

S felt that this situation curtailed his effectiveness as a teacher. He felt helpless in this conflict between personal aims and political ends he disagreed with.

the power to alter this state of affairs. It made me feel like I was being used for political ends with which I did not agree.

7.

At that stage I felt an urge to tell them that version of history I was teaching was not a true one. I felt compelled to teach them other versions to this story. But I decided against it. It might have done them more harm than good. Our kids are militant kids - who knows what alternative knowledge might do to their examination performances? I kept my fingers crossed and hoped that some day, later in life, they would learn the real facts for themselves. I hoped that when this does happen they would understand the challenging choice that faced me as a teacher. A choice between lies that might earn them a higher education and truth which might

S's urge to teach pupils the true version of history was decided against because it would do his pupils no good, in terms of examination performance. S hoped that pupils would learn the truth in later life and in the process understand the awkward choice that faced him as a teacher. S sees this as a challenging choice

barricade their way to success.

It is a challenging choice to make.

3.1.2. Extended Interpretation of Meaning Units

1. S is torn, in a specific lesson, between teaching a version of history he regards as distorted, but one sanctioned by the government that pays him for his duties, and a version he regards as true, nonetheless one which is not favoured by the government.

2. S realized that teaching a true version of history, one that is not favoured by the government, would lead his pupils to failure. As a result, he decided to stick to the government version (which he regarded as distorted) because this was the only way his pupils would pass exams.

3. However, S's conscience was troubled by his conformity to a false version of history in that specific lesson. This made him wonder whether it was in the nature of teaching (under the present system) to promote falsity which is government-backed.

4. S was angered by the fact that his school schedule only allowed him to teach what the government favoured without leaving aside any time for teaching competing versions which differed from the government's.

5. S resolved to teach a version he regarded as false because only

this would enable his pupils to pass their examinations which are set by the government.

6. S experienced a conflict between personal beliefs and expectations held by education authorities on his teaching. He realized, however, that he could not change the situation, which led him to feelings of helplessness. There is a feeling that teaching is being curtailed by the rigid imposition made by the government on syllabi.

3.1.3. Situated Structure

Conflict arises, for this Subject, from a situation in which what he teaches violates and/or negates what he considers the true version of history. The Subject is faced with a problem of teaching versions of history he does not believe in. S feels that his own version of history, namely the true one, has to be compromised in favour of pupils' success in examinations. There is a feeling that the true version of history, if taught, could impede success in examinations for pupils. There is also a realization that the time allocated to the school schedule only allows for the teaching of prescribed material, which S disagrees with and regards as distorted, such that teaching alternative versions of history could only lead to the teacher's failure to finish the prescribed syllabus. And this is also seen as capable of working against the success of pupils in examinations. A resolution is made to conform to false versions of history because it is these that pupils should

master to pass examinations. Cognizance is made of the helplessness of S's - namely that he cannot change the situation as the government wields more power over him than he does over it. This situation is experienced as one that curtails the effectiveness of the teacher in education. An urge is felt to teach the true version of history as seen by the Subject but is decided against, again in favour of the success of pupils in exams. There is entertained hope that pupils would learn the truth by themselves in later life and would in the process understand the challenging choice that faced the Subject in that lesson.

3.2. Subject 2

3.2.1. Extended Interpretation of Meaning Units.

1. S faced a situation where her teaching would be curtailed by the facilities provided for her Subject. This situation is seen by the Subject as one in which what she seeks to achieve is defeated or curtailed by the lack of facilities. This, the Subject feels, forces her to teach in a manner she does not like, namely one that makes her feel uneasy. This situation is seen by S as forcing her to teach pupils to memorize what they would normally learn by doing practical work.

2. S realizes that facilities play a significant role in the success of a teacher. She notes that a good teacher could only be as effective as the school facilities allowed her to be. She found her school situation mentally tiresome as her teaching was

curtailed by factors beyond her control.

3. S resolved to do something about this situation but was worried that before this she would have to teach her pupils to memorize the Subject-matter without the practical illustration that was necessary for their understanding; for example, in experiments.

4. Failure to obtain funding for a laboratory project for her school tempts S to leave teaching. At the same time, she realizes that leaving could only mean deserting pupils simply because the education system discriminates against them.

3.2.2. Situated Structure

Conflict, for the Subject, is experienced as a situation wherein what the Subject seeks to achieve with teaching is directly defeated by the lack of facilities prevalent in her school. This situation forces S to adopt teaching ways which she is convinced are not effective for her Subject. S realizes the important role facilities play in the making of success or failure in the school situation. This situation in which S's teaching is curtailed by forces beyond her own control is experienced as mentally tiresome as it forces the Subject to teach in a manner she is personally against. Resignation, which is contemplated at first, is later regarded as desertion of pupils who are needy on the basis of their being discriminated against by the education system.

3.3. Subject 3

3.3.1. Extended Interpretation of Meaning Units

S's principal objected against his teaching of views of history which differed from those prescribed by the government in text books. This demand that he only teach one view of history violated S's commitment to teaching all versions equally while allowing pupils to make their own choices. The latter was seen by the Principal as bad and dangerous.

2. S detested both the partiality in teaching, which the Principal imposed on him, and hated the latter for not listening to him. This demand by the Principal that S should conform to prescriptions was seen by S as being detrimental to debates that were vital to the learning process.

3. S could not see himself conforming to this role which was being expected of him. He saw it as throttling to creative thought in pupils while encouraging passivity and teaching which favoured government racism.

4. S resolved, as a result, to leave his post albeit against his own will. Had it not been for lack of teachers in his field, and his concern for pupils, S would have left immediately after his interaction with the Principal. S learned how important and inevitable it is for teachers to make political choices in their teaching under the present system.

3.3.2. Situated Structure

Conflict, in this case, is experienced in a situation wherein one's own commitment to specific methods of teaching is in contrast with the expectation higher authorities have on one's teaching. S is forced, against his will, to present only a particular version of History and not all versions that avail themselves on the topic. S sees this as promoting partial teaching in favour of government-promoted History. This he regards as inhibitory to creative thought and encouraging to passivity. S could not see himself fulfilling these expectations. He decided to resign as a result. The lack of History teachers and S's own commitment to the well-being of pupils stopped S from vacating his post with immediate effect. There is a realization of how the present system makes it necessary for teachers to make their own political choices relating to the wider South African society.

3.4. Subject 4

3.4.1. Extended Interpretation of Meaning Units

1. S is faced with a situation in which his education department (D.E.T.) demands of him that he introduce rules which his pupils demand should be repealed. Both these demands are put on S who is Principal of his school.

2. S's indicated sympathy to students' demands was regarded as unbecoming of an official of the D.E.T., as a result, he was reprimanded for it.

3. Both sides were ready to introduce punitive measures should S fail to fulfil their expectations - the department threatened to fire him while students regarded him as an enemy and demanded his resignation.

4. This situation in which S had no one to turn to, confused the Subject as the demands put on him negated each other. S even contemplated vacating his post.

5. To resolve this situation, S aligned himself with students whom he saw as belonging to the same community as himself. S decided that he owed more allegiance to his students and the black community than he did to the D.E.T. even if this meant that he could be fired. The lesson this had for S was that one could not teach without taking sides in the present South African situation.

3.4.2. Situated Structure

Conflict was, for S, a situation in which demands were put on him by two parties both of which expected him to meet their demands. S was sympathetic to one of these parties but his position in relation to the other committed him to loyalty to this other party as well. Attempts to make both parties understand the position into which their demands were putting S were futile, with both sides threatening to introduce punitive measures - one labelling him their enemy and the other threatening to sack him from his post. This forced the Subject into feelings of confusion and a

contemplation to resign from the conflict-ridden post. The Subject decided to align himself with the demands of those who originated from the same community as him, a community which entrusted him with their education, namely the pupils' education. A deliberate decision is made to do this despite the threat of losing his job. This situation was a lesson for S which convinced him that sides had, as a matter of necessity, to be taken in our society. This choice related to teaching itself.

3.5. Subject 5

3.5.1. Extended Interpretation of Meaning Units

1. S experienced a conflict between his political beliefs and the beliefs of the education system he served as a teacher. This resulted in feelings of a double existence. The Subject felt himself caught between two conflicting commitments both of which he served with loyalty. This situation introduced an imbalance into S's life as he was generally not the kind of person who lived two conflicting commitments simultaneously.

2. S's becoming politically aware made him ponder the political implications of his teaching for the wider black community and for his pupils. He realized that teaching was not divorced from politics - it is this that made S realize the conflict between his teaching under Bantu Education and his commitment to an anti-Apartheid stand as represented by the United Democratic Front of which he is a member.

3. At first S feels convinced that this double can be resolved by leaving his profession. A decision is later made to adopt an anti-Apartheid stance within teaching and use teaching to challenge Apartheid. S is at this stage convinced that his political ideology commits him to the wider community more than it does to the Apartheid policy of Bantu Education. He feels that education can continue while the education system is being challenged; without black pupils having to wait till the overthrow of the ruling ideology. S thus overcame his feeling of a double existence and realized how imperative political choices are to his teaching situation.

3.5.2. Situated Structure

Conflict, for S, arose from a situation in which he was caught between his new political ideology and the ideology that informed the system of education under which S had taught for a long time. S is caught, as it is, between two conflicting ideologies, both of which he serves - which leads to feelings of double existence, and inconsistent existence. S's political awareness made him realize that the teaching situation was not divorced from the wider politics of society, which is why he ponders over the politics of the education system he serves and that of the organization he belongs to, and realizes their conflicting nature. The imbalance in S's existence is introduced by this realization, hence the double existence. Being committed to the black community and its education, S sees teaching under Bantu Education as being counter

productive, and therefore settles for adopting a political stance in his teaching, a stance that did not conform to that of the Bantu Education system. He resolves to teach for challenging the Apartheid system from his profession. This is how the double existence is resolved by S. This experience of a double existence convinced S that there was a need for political choices in his teaching, political choices which, if not made, will continue to lead the teacher to a double existence.

3.6. Subject 6

3.6.1. Extended Interpretation of Meaning Units

1. A boycott by pupils at S's school made her ponder the implication of her teaching for herself as a teacher in the wider societal context. S had never done this before. She doubts her position as a good and skilled teacher as a result of this instance.

2. The rejection of Bantu Education by pupils made S wonder whether it was not simultaneously a rejection of what her teaching stood for. By rejecting Bantu Education, pupils were rejecting all she had ever worked for during her entire teaching career.

3. S experiences dejection and self-hate as she blamed herself for having unwittingly reinforced the Apartheid status quo through her teaching. The realization by S that throughout her career she failed to consider the social consequences of her teaching

convinced her that she has failed to be a good teacher. She believes that others (pupils) share this view of her. A lot of questions, which S never asked herself before, arise as a result of this experience.

4. S's pulse rate increased and she experienced bodily sweating. Her professional image which she had never doubted before was infested with doubt, it was shattered. She feels as though she has betrayed the pupils and their parents by reinforcing the Apartheid status quo. She feels the need for a personal solution instead of a discussion with colleagues on this issue.

5. S experienced a felt need to resign from her post but decided to hang onto it so that she could undo all that she had reinforced by her being ignorant. She wanted to teach for her community instead of ignorantly serving Apartheid purposes. This she regards as a deliberate choice of action compared to her earlier allegiance to Apartheid education which arose from ignorance.

3.6.2. Situated Structure

Conflict, in this case, entailed rejection by pupils of an education to which S had given full service for a long period of time. This rejection led S to ask herself questions about who her teaching supported in the wider society. There is a realization that one has unwittingly helped to reinforce a status quo with which the pupils and one's community disagree. There is doubt

about one's professional identity as it has been till that moment. Subject feels that by aligning herself, albeit unwaresly, to the status quo, she had betrayed her pupils and community, both of whom she had always believed she was serving loyally. Self-hate and dejection arise as S blames herself for the ignorance that made her overlook the social implications of her teaching. There are also feelings of having failed to be good at one's job. A number of questions are asked, as doubt sets in, about the nature of one's teaching which were never asked before. The doubt that dominates S's mind in relation to her profession leads to increased pulse rate and sweating. Thoughts of having betrayed one's community prevail. There is a felt need for a personal solution. Despite initial feelings to resign, Subject decides to stay on and undo the ignorance that characterized her earlier teaching. A deliberate decision is made to teach in favour of one's community instead of Apartheid as was the case earlier.

3.7. Forms of Identified Conflicts: A Typology.

From the situated structures drafted for each idiographic case in this study, the conflict investigated manifested itself in two somewhat related forms. First, there is the conflict between what the black teacher himself/herself seeks to achieve with his/her teaching and the expectations higher authorities have of the teacher. In this case, the teacher feels that his/her objectives in teaching are curtailed by what the education authorities want teaching to achieve. The conflict arises when the teacher realizes

that due to factors that are beyond his/her control, he/she will not be in a position to fulfil what he/she regards as effective teaching. This aspect of conflict relates to a conflict in expectations between the teachers themselves and authorities, on the other hand, about what the teacher should aim to achieve. Conflict in this case relates to prescribed material or educational facilities and the extent to which they are seen by the teacher as being impedimentary to their teaching.

The second face of conflict, as inferred from collected data, is the one in which the teacher is caught between his/her commitment to teach while at the same time belonging to a school of thought that negates teaching under an Apartheid situation. Here the teacher realizes that by teaching they are violating another social commitment or belief they hold. In other words, and this relates to the nature of Bantu Education, the person believes in an ideology that stands for non-collaboration with Apartheid, such that teaching under Bantu Education, which is part of the Apartheid machinery, puts the teacher at loggerheads with himself/herself; a moral ambiguity which calls for a resolution. The conflict here is between two commitments held by the same person, but commitments which negate each other nonetheless.

The latter form of conflict relates, to varying degrees, to the extent to which the teacher is caught between demands which conflict with each other made on him/her by two groups. Both these

groups expect the teacher to comply and negative consequences are attached to any failure to comply with the demands, by both the groups. In this situation the Subject is caught between interests from two groups which cannot be reconciled. Complying with the demands of one group automatically means rejecting those of the other group. The choice is a narrow 'either-or' one in which the Subject's allegiances are demanded in a tug-of-war by the groups involved. The Subject is forced to make one choice and stick to it, a choice which in itself implies that the Subject has to be ready for the negative consequences from the group whose allegiance his/her choice betrayed. The common trends and themes that characterize each form of conflict, as it appears in each idiographic case, are outlined in the general structure, below.

3.8. General Thematic Structure

Conflict under Bantu Education teaching is lived as an experience characterized by more than one beliefs, expectations or demands which present themselves to the teacher at the same time in a specific situation of teaching. These demands, expectations or beliefs are not at harmony with each other - they relate to each other in a manner that violates other beliefs, demands or expectations held by the Subject himself/herself, or by other forces such as the education authorities, pupils or the society to which one belongs. It is important to note that the conflict of belief, demands, expectations etc., is lived in a situation specifically characterized by the centrality of the Subject who

lives this conflict. They all have, at the same time, the Subject (teacher) as their point of reference. Hence the time factor becomes one that plays a central role in the experience of conflict by the teacher. The teacher experiences conflict only in a situation where two or more irreconcilable or incompatible beliefs, demands or expectations co-exist in the teacher's world at the same time. The notion of simultaneity in the presence of such incompatible beliefs, demands, expectations and commitments in the Subject's life world, in this case the lived context of teaching in Bantu Education, is one that qualifies as a necessary precondition for the experience of conflict by the teacher. With this goes the incompatibility of the demands, expectations, beliefs or commitments that present themselves as competing options in the teacher's life world.

The moment of recognition by the teacher that an inconsistency exists in his or her pedagogic world forms part of the context in which the conflict is experienced. There is an exact moment during which the teacher recognizes the existence of an inconsistency between some of his/her commitments which present themselves as possibilities in the lived world. The description of this moment by the Subject resembles a revelation in which a specific incident or event sends the teacher into self-exploration. The revelation makes the teacher aware that things are not what he/she thought they were or expected them to be. The revelation points to an imbalance in the Subject's psychosocial life. Doubt is raised

about assumptions previously held by the Subject as indubitable. Thus the experience of conflict is informed by a revelation to the Subject of an inconsistency and this is sparked off by some event - for example, a class boycott, lack of facilities, newly acquired political awareness, or a realization that one's expectations and commitments in teaching were in contrast with those of authority, whether directly or implicitly. Thus the revelation comes as a consequence of an event or experience that forces the Subject to look inwards, it forces the Subject to explore his/her world as it has existed before the revelation.

The search-of-self that results from the revelation in reference has the outstanding characteristic of forcing the Subjects to situate themselves in the context of their interpersonal relationships that are upset by this revelation. The person looks for the implication of this for themselves, their relation to society, profession or pupils. The consequences of teaching are contemplated. This part in the experience of conflict points to identity-of-the-self. The person is driven by the revelation to look inwards in search of personal identity in relation to the outside world. Here themes like what one's teaching implies for the wider society, for pupils, and how one stands in relation to the conflicting demands and expectations, surface. The identity comes into this picture when the Subject is forced, by the imbalance introduced to him/her by the revelation of conflict, to question his/her own relationship with each of the feuding demands,

expectations or demands that characterize his/her identity. Feelings of doubt, anger, frustration and uneasiness arise as the person reviews his/her identity in teaching as it had been until the revelation of conflict.

A change of self-conception or view of teaching in relation to the social order is experienced. Here the Subject feels either that he/she is not as good a teacher as they had imagined, or that teaching is not as apolitical a career as they had imagined it to be; that teaching is a political career; that not only good teachers succeeded in producing good pupils. The Subject redefines the world in such a manner that the conflict is understood comprehensively by himself/herself. Thus the change of self-concept and view of teaching becomes the quest for clearly understanding the world as it reaches the Subject in the situation of a cognitive imbalance which is introduced by the Subject's realization of conflict in his/her lived world.

Redefining one's self-concept or views of teaching is accompanied by the felt need for a solution to the conflict being experienced. The Subject feels the need to restore, albeit in a different manner, the balance in equilibrium that existed prior to the recognition of conflict. This quest for a solution takes into account the existence of conflicting demands, expectations or beliefs, unlike the original pre-recognition equilibrium that was a result of the Subject's not being aware that there is , or will

be, a conflict in their teaching expectations, demands or beliefs. The quest for a solution is preceded by a weighing of the conflicting commitments that face the teacher. Thus one either asks oneself whether his/her teaching should favour the black society or the Apartheid machinery; whether one should teach in the manner prescribed by authorities or pursue his/her own methods and apparatuses of teaching. In the quest for the solution to restore cognitive balance, the Subject is made to reflect on his or her allegiances - whether they lie with the authorities or the black community, their own expectations of teaching and the authorities', their commitment to an anti-Apartheid ideology or to teaching in ways which conform to Bantu Education policies. When questions of allegiance are answered, the Subject then reaches the solution.

Feelings of guilt and helplessness are not infrequent. The Subjects experience guilt, directed at themselves, for conforming (awarely, unawarely or because of conditions beyond their control) to methods, expectations, demands or beliefs with which they did not agree. The Subjects feel guilty about believing in one thing and yet violating it in their teaching practice. At this stage, Subjects raise questions about their own role in the education system - whether they are used for propaganda means to curtail successful learning or not. Questions of this nature relate to how one's duties have been and how it should be after the personal revelation. Subjects experience this guilt about either the past: their teaching as it had been , or the future: the quality of their

teaching as it will be due to lack of facilities. There is a felt need for a solution to undo this situation of conflict. The Subject either feels determined to work towards this much needed solution or simply realizes that he/she had no power to alter the existing state of affairs. When the former happens, the Subject feels helpless and resolves the condition of conflict by considering the implications of his choice of action for his/her pupils. By convincing themselves that the situation that defeats their teaching is best left unchallenged for the long term benefit of their pupils, Subjects manage to continue with their duties with minimal feelings of intrapersonal conflict.

When the question about allegiances is settled, the Subject then decides to serve one side of the feuding parties - this is done either by working within the Bantu Education system , for the sake of challenging it from within, or simply by conforming to Bantu Education expectations with the realization that to do otherwise would be detrimental to the pupils as they might fail their examinations. The former response is experienced as frustrating and it often automates the teacher by making him/her uncommitted to teaching, that is, by teaching like a robot and pretending that nothing is wrong while one knows it for a fact that something is drastically wrong. The teacher in this instance makes a conscious decision to suspend his/her commitments or beliefs in favour of the success of the pupils. The teacher who decides to challenge Bantu Education from within teaching itself resolves that his/her

allegiance lies with the black community whose kids he/she is teaching. Having thus resolved to teach against Apartheid, the teacher resolves his/her feelings of conflict between mutually incompatible beliefs, demands or expectations. However, the final solution in this matter is sometimes reached only after an initial contemplation of resignation. The Subject might initially feel that leaving Bantu Education is the only solution to his/her experience of cognitive imbalance. This is overcome by invoking one's commitment to the education of black children. It is only in one instance that a teacher resolved to resign and stuck to this decision, but even in this exception, the teacher remained longer than he wanted to so that pupils would not remain without a teacher for the rest of the year.

The final product of the experience of conflict in Bantu Education is a redefinition of both the teaching situation itself and one's role in it. One either sees oneself as a teacher whose duty is to challenge Bantu Education from within or as one whose role it is to comply with Bantu Education so that black pupils can pass their examinations. Otherwise one sees himself/herself as being unable to teach in such a system and opts for resignation. There is a realization that teaching is not divorced from the wider social context that informs it, and that teachers cannot avoid making the ideological or approach choices that are inherent in an Apartheid-governed society. The restoration of equilibrium in the Subject's cognitive structure, namely the overcoming of conflict, teaches the

teacher that one must be consistent with his/her social choices in order to avoid ambiguity. There is also a feeling that allegiance must be paid to the black community more than to Apartheid. Having thus resolved his/her conflict, the teacher resumes his/her duties with the aim of introducing the choice they made into their teaching context. The teacher assumes a new identity, as reflected in the new role they set as their own. In this way, the teaching situation itself is redefined and so is the teacher's role in it.

Section 4:DISCUSSION

4.1 Conflict: its nature

The findings of this study confirm the existence, amongst research Subjects, of conflict that manifests itself in a diversity of ways, Appendix 1 illustrates the extent to which each of the collected protocols represents a unique experience as lived by the respective teachers interviewed. Conflict has as its basic characteristics the interpersonal dimension, the intrapersonal, the moral and the personal-belief dimension. The Subjects experience conflict in relation to other people, beliefs, expectations or commitments they encounter in their teaching practice which do not overlap with their own, to the extent of incompatibility. Thus, conflict has as its central identifying feature, the presence of the 'other' that relates to 'self' - the 'self' is in conflict with the 'other' dimension of expectations, beliefs, commitments etc. This is what is referred to here as the interpersonal aspect of conflict. In this case the Subject experiences himself/herself being at loggerheads with authority, teaching preferences, aims and goals, and facilities which are held and provided by those of the 'other' parties in the education system, be these the state, the Principal or other senior authority. In other words, the person experiences being pushed in different directions by what he/she personally aspires to and by what authorities aspire to, as reflected either directly or indirectly by the prescribed syllabus, provided facilities for teaching or direct intervention by senior education authorities. The person is teaching in a situation where personal

beliefs, expectations, commitments are impeded and defeated by those held by the education authorities. This is in line with Van den Berg's (1974) argument that where a person is pushed in different directions by groups to which he/she pays allegiance, the person becomes divided against himself/herself. This is to be discussed later. It is this distinction between 'self' and 'other' that informs the conflict as experienced by the teacher. Conflict arises out of the teachers' social relationships, that is from their solidary relations with fellow human beings (Van den Berg, 1971b and 1974).

The intrapersonal aspect of the lived experience of conflict for the black teacher stems out of the need to look inward and reflect on the relationship between the self and the conflicting demands and expectations placed on it by the feuding forces that inform the conflict which is lived by the teacher. Though the conflict arises from the wider context in which teaching in Bantu Education is grounded, the possibilities and conflicts that manifest themselves in the teaching scenario are lived intrapersonally by the teacher. At the time that the black teacher begins to experience a conflict(s) in his/her teaching situation, the teacher has intrapersonalized an aspect of his/her interpersonal domain. In other words, the conflict which arose from the social context in which teaching occurs is now manifesting itself in the intrapersonal/psychological domain of the person who experiences it. Thus a distinction must be made between the conflict as it

generally exists in Bantu Education and this same conflict as it is lived and experienced by individual teachers. In fact, it is this distinction between sociological and psychological conflict, with an acknowledgement of their interlinked relations, that singled out research Subjects as being relevant to the enquiry in this research. In other words, research Subjects were teachers to whom the sociological conflict in Bantu Education manifested intrapersonally. There is a lack of community in this experience, by the individual teacher, of conflict as it manifests in the intrapersonal dimension of the person. In the process of experiencing conflict the teachers tune in to themselves to almost total exclusion of other teachers. The teachers who experience conflict explore their own internal world with minimal direct reference to other teachers. When the teacher seeks solutions to this lived conflict, he/she does so without seeking help or advice from colleagues or other social relations. As Subject 6 intimates:

"At that moment, I felt as though the whole world was closing down on me. I wanted to talk to my colleagues but decided against it. A personal solution would be the answer"
(Meaning Unit 4)

The teacher turns inward for a solution. He/she takes into account the different social commitments, beliefs and expectations and their bearing on his/her teaching practice. The teacher merely

considers the relationships between himself and the different forces that command his or her allegiance; all of which he/she does without asking for aid from an outside agent.

The moral and belief dimension of the conflict in the black teacher/s daily practices refers specifically to the different commitments , allegiance, expectations and demands to which the person is tied. At this level of psychological conflict the teacher's allegiance to conflicting demands, expectations and beliefs is stretched to unbearable degrees. At the time that the teacher realizes that a conflict exists in one or more areas of his/her teaching, uneasiness results which compels him/her to re-evaluate these commitments that are destabilising his/her cognitive harmony. In so doing the teacher is forced to consider which of the conflicting commitments need redefinition or exclusion from his/her moral setup in order for him/her to be consistent with those commitments which the teacher regards as basic. Many Subjects make reference to the need to remain loyal, in their teaching, to the black community and its cause in the present Apartheid system, Subject 4, 5 and 6. The basic commitment is used to inform one's way out of this experience of conflict. This is in line with Wegner and Vallacher's (1977) argument that human beings seek to assimilate new knowledge and experiences into a cognitive structure in which they expect it to be comprehended. When knowledge arises which the cognitive structure is unfamiliar with, the person is forced to redefine his/her world in such a manner

that such knowledge or experiences do not upset the cognitive equilibrium which existed before.

Here, the decision to teach under Bantu Education is reached in a manner that one perceives as being consistent with one's dedication to the black community. The decision to struggle against Apartheid, even within the Bantu Education context, is made exactly because it is felt that one's commitment to the black community's quest for a just education system precedes the commitment one has to the Bantu Education system. Subject 5 narrates,

"My commitment was, first and foremost to my community. And I decided that I could use the teaching profession as a front for challenging the Apartheid system...I resolved this double-existence problem by convincing myself that teaching did not necessarily have to conform to Apartheid principles of education.."
(Meaning Unit 3).

Thus in attempting to restore consistency between his/her incompatible allegiances, the teacher refers to those commitments to which he/she is ideologically and morally bound and reinterprets the conflicting challenges in a manner that is consistent with these. This is what Robinson and Angelis (1989) referred to in their argument that the teacher in a context of educational inequality, is faced with the challenge of being consistent in

his/her teaching with his/her political choice. The teacher attempts to modify his/her teaching practice in such a manner that his/her moral and ideological commitments are not violated by this practice.

In the other form of conflict in the teaching domain of Bantu Education, teachers not only feel frustrated by the manner in which their aspirations and expectations are thwarted by authorities' expectations and lack of adequate facilities to aid their teaching, they also experience helplessness arising from the realization that they are not in a position to alter the situation. Here teachers continue to teach with the pretence that nothing is wrong - a pretence that unsettles them as each teaching encounter convinces them of the falsity of their pretences even more. The conflict experienced by the teacher between what he/she expects, believes or demands of teaching and what authorities make of teaching, is resolved by referring to the consequences of this conflict for the pupils. Hence teachers will continue to conform to authority for the sake of their pupils, despite their personal disagreements with this authority. Subject 1 points out,

"It is by learning this imposed truth that kids pass. So I taught them what they needed to know to pass their examination" (Meaning Unit 5)

Personal expectations are compromised in favour of the ultimate success of pupils, even though this means promoting versions of history or beliefs with which one does not agree. This observation, in comparison to Robinson and Angelis's (1989) and Giroux's (1983) assertion that teachers must decide on the side to which they belong, shows that a teacher may not necessarily be consistent in his/her teaching, with political choices. Instead, such political choices may be withheld deliberately, in teaching practices, not because they are inapplicable to teaching, but because their impact on teaching could hamper the ultimate good of those who are being taught. The view being adopted here is that though Bantu Education is meant for the disadvantaging of black pupils, it still remains the only way open to the majority of black pupils to advance themselves in the existing system. 'No education' is worse than 'inferior education', hence the teacher's felt need to succumb to Bantu Education with the hope that once they are through it, pupils will then be able to look back and challenge the ideas imparted by the teacher in Bantu Education. In situations where the teacher feels himself/herself at loggerheads with the expectations of authority, in such a manner that he/she cannot succumb to them, for whatever reason, the teacher is faced with one option, namely to remain consistent with his/her beliefs about teaching by quitting Bantu Education. In this way, the teacher remains consistent with his/her own commitment, and by so doing overcome an automation which continued teaching might have given rise to.

Conflict exists, therefore, in two major contexts. There is conflict that arises and relates to the black teacher's social awareness, non-awareness and non-partisan attitude to Apartheid education; then there is the conflict which arises out of the teacher's realization that simple duty tasks like teaching cannot be effectively carried out because of facilities provided by the authorities or their expectations of the teacher. Both these forms of conflict are experienced as being impedimentary to teaching per se. This confirms Mncwabe's (1990) argument that,

"A narrow-minded teacher will find frustrations as he finds that his pupils can't learn his Subject matter because of unfavourable social circumstances. A broadly-based professional is also frustrated when he realises that he can never really develop the potentialities and personalities of his pupils because of the social circumstances" (p. 110)

Whether a teacher is concerned strictly with the confinements of his/her task duties or with the broader social issues that relate to teaching he/she experiences being curtailed by social circumstances which are not conducive to the attainment of effective teaching. In a situation like Bantu Education, where the teacher's effectiveness is undermined by state bureaucracy (Robinson and Angelis, 1989), the teacher experiences conflict

between what he/she wants to achieve with his/her teaching and what the available facilities force him/her to achieve. In this way, both teachers are curtailed by the nature of the education system as it currently exists under the Apartheid status quo.

4.2 Parataxic Plurality

The notion of parataxia as expounded by Sullivan (cited in Van den Berg, 1971b; 1974 and 1983) manifests itself rather unambiguously in the findings. At the time that the teacher discovers that there is an inconsistency between two or more of his/her commitments and others of the many commitments to which he/she subscribes, the teacher realizes that they had for a long time been working contrary to what they had originally thought they stood for. At that moment of revelation the teacher finds himself torn between practice and belief, for the teaching situation, at that time, is one that does not conform to the beliefs held by the teacher of his/her professional practice. Hence the existence of a division between what one is practising and what one believes he/she should be practising immediately forces the teacher to seek ways to remedy this situation of cognitive inconsistency. For the politically aware teacher who lives conflict, the notion of plural existence appears in a number of ways. By teaching under an education system that promotes Apartheid while at the same time belonging to an anti-Apartheid status quo the teacher forces upon himself/herself a double existence. He/she serves two schools of thought which negate each other, his/her commitment is commanded by groups which

push him/her in different directions, in line with Van den Berg's (1974) precondition for plurality. Sullivan's parataxis holds under a situation where and when these two commitments present themselves to the experiencing agent at the same time. In other words, the agent must feel himself/herself being forced to obey and serve two conflicting commitments at the same time. This situation is manifest in Bantu Education.

For one who is committed to an anti-Apartheid standpoint, Bantu Education is part of the status quo the person is opposed to; yet at the same time being a servant under Bantu Education entails teaching under a system one disagrees with. At the time that one's political conscience seeks to speak out against Bantu Education, the teacher is also faced with the challenge of conforming to the demands of the authorities he/she serves by being a teacher in that situation. The teacher appears in two indexes all at once. He/she is a resistor to Apartheid and all it stands for, and at the same time a servant in a department that stands for Apartheid. The teacher is divided between his/her loyalties. He or she appears in a plurality of forms that are inconsistent, disjointed to the point of no affinity. The teacher has a split ego. Van den Berg's (1971b; 1974 and 1983) notion of plurality and parataxia provides a comprehensible framework for understanding this situation of cognitive inconsistency.

For the teachers whose experience of conflict are not necessarily

grounded in political awareness, plurality assumes the complexion of being forced to teach in a manner one does not agree with. The teacher holds certain beliefs and expectations of teaching which are in direct contrast with those held by his/her superiors, as reflected directly in their interventions or in the prescribed material and facilities provided by them for the learning of Subject matter. Here plurality entails being present in two forms, that of aspiring to teaching in ways one believes teaching should follow and that of actually teaching in ways that violate these very beliefs. The teacher is divided between what circumstances are forcing him/her to do, in the form of teaching, and what he/she personally believes he/she should be doing. There is an inconsistency between belief and practice. While Subjects believe 'a', they find themselves in a teaching context where 'a' has to be negated. The person appears in concurrent indexes in his/her teaching practice. He or she is a teacher conducting teaching in 'method a' while at the same time appearing as a teacher committed to 'method anti-a'.

For the teacher who believes in equal and balanced teaching of conflicting facts of history, the problem of a double existence appears not from his/her teaching approach, but from the expectations of higher authority. In this case, the teacher soon finds himself/herself confronted with the demand from education authorities that only prescribed version should be included in the curriculum. The teacher soon finds himself/herself being driven to

partiality in teaching, namely the teaching of versions of history promoted by those who designed and/or support the status quo. There is a realization that the teacher, contrary to his/her own beliefs and teaching commitment, is soon expected to be an agent of ideas formulated for specific political ends. The teacher realizes that not all views can get equal expression in the classroom context, that only those sanctioned by power-wielding ideologies can be expected to gain full presentation in teaching lessons. This falls in line with Mncwabe's (1990) argument that in a context of racial inequality and cultural domination like South Africa impartiality in the presentation of facts can only result in reinforcing the status quo. This is because in the South African situation, not all facts get equal representation as the dominant ideology seeks to prescribe the form and the content pedagogy must follow. The teacher finds himself/herself having to confront the challenge of teaching in the prescribed manner, against his/her own commitment to the teaching of historical facts equally. This finding confirms Mncwabe's (ibid) argument that neutrality is impossible in a context like that prevalent in contemporary South Africa.

In light of the above discussion, it can be concluded that black teachers in the Bantu Education situation are provided with a plurality of parataxic indexes which push them in different directions simultaneously. The teacher is caught between conflicting interests and commitments that seek concomitant

manifestation in his/her teaching at any one time. The teachers live an experience which is conducive to cognitive inconsistency and dissonance (Bigge and Hunt, 1980; Wegner and Vallacher, 1977). This situation of parataxic plurality demands of the individual teacher that he/she readjust his/her cognitive structure in a manner that will redress this imbalance.

4.3 Conflict Resolution and Cognitive Change

The question of commitments, as indicated earlier, is one that demands of the teacher that he/she make readjustments and redefinitions of the situation he/she finds himself/herself in. The teacher is forced (Wegner and Vallacher, 1997; Bigge and Hunt, 1980; Manis, 1971) into a state of unease which is created by the imbalance and disequilibrium in his/her cognitive structure. The findings of this study indicate that the teacher either rejects completely those commitments, demands or expectations which induce dissonance and cognitive inconsistency, or redefines his/her relationship to dissonant commitments in a manner that eases off the predominant feelings of dissonance, otherwise referred to as multiplicity and plurality (Van den Berg, 1971; 1974 and 1983).

Teachers, like Subject 3, who cannot see themselves fit into the expectations and demands by senior authority which violate their own personal commitments, simply decide to leave the teaching profession. The feeling here is that it is better to teach in a manner that is consistent with one's beliefs. Such that any

expectations from higher education authorities that does not fit into the cognitive schema without causing cognitive inconsistency is rejected and not succumbed to. As Subject 3 narrates,

"...I decided there and then that teaching under the current situation was not for me "

(Meaning Unit 3)

Thus cognitive consistency, between practice and belief, is retained by simply refusing to accommodate any dissonance-conducive practices in one's teaching, there is a deliberate blockage of those aspects in the teaching arena that force the individual in directions he/she does not want to go. In so doing, the person retains the psychological harmony between personal beliefs and teaching practice, even though this means losing one's job.

Cognitive inconsistency in the Bantu Education system is also overcome by redefining one's relationship to the educational status quo. The teacher, for example, Subjects 4, 5 and 6, redefines his/her relationship in relation to the education status quo, and in relation to the community that is supposed to benefit from the education of its children. There is an argument that teaching has to be beneficial to the black community which entrusted teachers with the education of its children, and not to the Apartheid status quo. The tension between being a Bantu Education teacher and a

committed society member is overcome by bringing one's commitment to the black community into the education context. Teachers feel that one can be consistent with his/her commitment to teach in favour of the black community, or anti-Apartheid stance, even though he/she is working for an education system that supposedly supports Apartheid or the disadvantaging of black communities. Teachers seek to achieve this by challenging Apartheid education from within the teaching context. Subject 5 sums up this situation:

"...teaching did not have to conform to Apartheid principles of education, rather such principles could be challenged within the profession" (Meaning Unit 3)

The teacher retains cognitive consistency by sticking to his/her social commitment even in the context of a system which is not conducive to this commitment. On the other hand cognitive inconsistency can lead the teacher to impersonalized solutions. The teacher can reach a stage wherein he/she realizes that no solution is possible to the situation that violates his/her professional or socio-political commitments. The teacher in this case resolves, after some time of confronting this situation of conflict between personal commitments and the impediments created by lack of facilities in his/her teaching situation, that he/she has no power to change the situation. The teacher resigns to the

fate of being unable to alter the situation, against his/her own teaching commitments. When this is done some form of automation or mechanization occurs as the teacher tries to go about his/her duties as though nothing is wrong. Alternatively the teacher conforms to prescribed and available material and facilities with the understanding that such an approach would get pupils the immensely needed Matric certificates which might help lay down a firm foundation for the future. The teacher compromises personal commitments on the basis that they may be detrimental to the pupils' performance in examinations. The teacher continues to hope that some of these pupils will reach a stage in later life when they would understand the choice he/she made, to conform to the prescribed material, for their own good. Subject 1 sums up this situation:

"I kept my fingers crossed and hoped that some day, later in life, they would learn the real facts for themselves. I hoped that when this does happen they would understand the challenging choice that faced me as a teacher. A choice between lies that might earn them a higher education and truth which might barricade their way to success" (Meaning Unit 7)

Teachers in this category are frustrated by this situation where

they compromise their beliefs and expectations in order to allow pupils to pass; or because there is no other way out.

Thus the conflict in Bantu Education as lived by research Subjects is resolved either by actively challenging those aspects of the conflict that induce parataxic plurality and cognitive inconsistency, or alternatively by adjusting to the conflict. The latter is not a very viable solution as it leaves in the experiencing agent feelings of helplessness and frustration. Teachers who decide to actively oppose the factors that are leading them to plurality are simultaneously ready for any consequences this might lead to, for example loss of employment. However this latter solution must be related to teachers who experience an ideological conflict in the teaching context whereas the former relates to facilities and prescribed material for teaching.

This experience of conflict, once the inconsistency and plurality it brings with it has been addressed, leads to changed conceptions of both the teaching profession and the 'self'. One theme that comes through very strongly is the political nature of the teaching profession, the question of social allegiances and one's view of success as a teacher. Teachers, after resolving their cognitive inconsistency and parataxic plurality, become aware that teaching is not divorced from the wider politico-economic sphere; or that teaching is to be linked with the social allegiances which prevail

in contemporary South Africa; or still, that a good teacher cannot succeed in his/her duties if he/she works in a context that is completely uncondusive to such success. The question of who one teaches in favour of assumes an urgency that shows itself clearly in four of the six case material collected. Once the person realizes that their view of teaching, or success was not entirely justified they assume a new view of teaching which is consistent with their recent answers to the inconsistency they had experienced. The experience of conflict can be divided into four temporal stages:

1. The pre-recognition stage:

At this stage the person had not realized that an inconsistency existed between two or more of his/her beliefs, demands or commitments. In all the collected protocols reference is made, directly or implicitly, to a stage or period when the Subject had not realised that the teaching situation was as it later turned out to be. Subject 5's narrative exemplifies this contention:

**"Before 1983 I had never questioned my position
as an educator of black children" (Meaning Unit 1)**

There is reconstruction of a time, prior to the moment during which conflict surfaced, when the Subject saw the world of his/her teaching in a completely different light than it later turned out to be. This period can be referred to as the before of the

experience of conflict.

2. Recognition/Revelation:

This is the stage during which the teacher first encounters conflict. The realisation is made that there exists an inconsistency between more than one beliefs, expectations or demands that are placed on or held by the same person. This is the moment of awareness during which the teacher first identifies the conflict that exists in his/her pedagogic world. Subject 5 continues,

"But when I joined the UDF in that year I started having some very troublesome thoughts which plagued my mind. This one day..." (Meaning Unit 1)

There is a specific temporal moment during which a revelation is made by the Subject to himself/herself. The experiencing agent becomes aware that his/ her house is not in the order it was originally assumed to be in.

3. Self-Searching:

This is the stage where the teacher explores his/her intrapersonal and interpersonal world in search of solutions. This is done without any reference to outside people, for example colleagues, for advice. The teacher begins to ask questions about his/her own relationships to the many forces that are conflict-inducive. This

situation is summed up by Subject 5,

"Who was I? An Apartheid functionary who did the spadework for the government and its racist policy? A teacher who played no political role? A teacher who taught without any understanding of the consequences of his teaching?"

(Meaning Unit 4)

The Subject reflects upon his/her relationships in a bid to gain a clear understanding of his/her role in the education system and how he/she fits into it. The Subject can be seen to be in search of a clear self-concept, he/she is looking for a valid and accurate understanding of the situation he/she is facing. The Subject is looking for a clear identity of self from amongst the many caricatures that now inform plurality and parataxic conflict. At the moment the teacher begins to ask himself/herself questions relating to personal identity, he/she is a person in doubt about this very identity. Hence the asking of many questions relating to it. Subject 5 exemplifies this state of affairs,

"I was beginning to feel my blood rise, my body was sweating. The identity in which I had sought such harmonious refuge for 15 years was now infested with a lot of doubt. It was shattered. My professional image was no more. Who was I?" (Meaning Unit 4)

Thus, the search-of-self that results is a consequence of doubt about one's identity. The many questions asked about it indicate an attempt on the Subject's part to fully grasp the nature of this identity which is threatened by conflicting beliefs and expectations.

4. Resolution and Post-Conflict:

At this stage the teacher finds a way of dealing with the conflict and remaining consistent, in his/her post-conflict era, with the resolution he/she made, or at least finds a way of minimising the conflicts that face him/her. The teacher reaches a decision about a possible line of action in response to the situation that threatens internal harmony and facilitates cognitive inconsistency. This entails either the redefinition of ones's relationship to each of the forces involved in the experience of parataxic plurality, or choosing to align oneself with one of the forces concerned. The latter choice might involve resignation from one's job if this is seen to be in line with the beliefs and commitments one perceives as being central to his/her cognitive world. Once this decision is made, the teacher then moves on to relate to teaching and to the Apartheid status quo in a manner that is consistent with the choices and solutions reached in response to the situation of plurality and parataxic conflict(s).

It is stage 4 that informs the teacher's daily duties after the experience of conflict. Teachers decide to quit their profession,

or to introduce their political choice to their teaching, or to align themselves with the interests of the black community against those of the Education Department and the Apartheid system of which it is part. Note should be taken that the stages outlined here are not rigidly applied to all collected research data. Rather they hold to varying degrees and extent in relation to different cases. While each case can be adequately understood in terms of the stages outlined here, it should also be remembered that some stages apply more to some cases than they do to others. Hence the argument that though all stages appear in each idiographic case in this research project they are variably applicable to different cases.

4.4. Conclusions

Now that the conflict experienced by research Subjects has been confirmed and described in a thick manner (Geertz, 1973), some conclusions must be made about the landscape painted by this study. The argument by Robinson and Angelis (1989) that once the teacher discovers that teaching in a context like South Africa is a political career, he/she is bound to ask himself/herself a number of questions relating to possible choices in the education context, is confirmed by the findings of research:

"When a teacher discovers that he/she is a politician too, the teacher has to ask, what kind of politics am I doing in the classroom? That is , in favour of whom am I being a

teacher? The teacher works in favour of something and against something. Because of that she will have another great question, How to be consistent in my teaching with my political choice? I cannot proclaim my liberating dream and on the next day be authoritarian with the students." (p. 164)

It is clear from the collected data that consistency between one's teaching practice and political choice is the most pressing question for the politically aware teachers. At the same time, the question of consistency also arises for teachers whose proficiency is thwarted by the lack of facilities or rigidly enforced prescriptions from authority. Teachers are faced with the challenge of deciding how they can carry out their daily duties in such a manner that this is in harmony with their political choices. In other words, the teacher has to carry out his/her duties in such a way that his/her cognitive equilibrium is not jeopardised. The issue at stake is how beliefs and practice can be made consistent with each other to avoid conflict and cognitive inconsistency. Hence the need for a teaching choice that conforms to what the teacher personally aspires to in the field of pedagogy itself. Since pedagogy is not merely restricted to the school situation, it becomes necessary for the teacher to strive for consistency between both his/her education-specific aspirations and those aspirations that do not originate from the teaching situation

itself; but aspirations that can and do have a bearing on the teacher's duties nonetheless. The teacher, as Mncwabe (1990) argues, faces the problem of being thwarted by social circumstances - whether he/she is politically conscious or simply interested in his/her daily duties of instruction. It is here that the argument Giroux (1983) becomes relevant,

"In a society disfigured by class exploitation, sexual and racial oppression, and in chronic danger of war and environmental action, the only education worth the name is one that forms people capable of taking part in their own liberation. The business of school is not propaganda. It is equipping people with the knowledge and skills and concepts relevant to remaking a dangerous and disordered world. In the most basic sense, the process of education and the process of liberation are the same. They are aspects of the painful growth of the human species' collective wisdom and self control. At the beginning of the 80's it is plain that the forces opposed to that growth here and in the worldscale are not only powerful but have become increasingly militant. In such circumstances, education becomes a risky

enterprise. Teachers too have to decide whose side they are on" (p. 114)

The argument by Giroux leads to the conclusion that in a context where there is no democracy teachers cannot claim to be onlookers in matters that not only influence their politico-economic lives but their very methods, approaches and principles of teaching, thinking and living as well. It becomes necessary that the teacher should ask himself/herself whether he/she wants to teach effectively or not. Having made this decision, the teacher should then decide whether the social forces that are inhibitory to effective teaching should be challenged or left to continue with their impedimentary function on the teacher's progress. In this respect, both Giroux (ibid) and Mncwabe (1990) are right in arguing that neutrality in a racially segregated community like ours is impossible. When it does exist, neutrality has the effect of unwittingly reinforcing the status quo. Likewise, the argument by Robinson and Angelis (1989) that the teacher cannot avoid deciding on the kind of politics he/she plays in an educational context where a variety of political choices present themselves in a manner predetermined by the dominant ideology, is confirmed. The teacher cannot in that case avoid making decisions about whether to confront or succumb to the conflicting demands that introduce an ambiguity in his/her professional life. If cognitive consistency is what the teacher seeks to achieve in the final analysis, then he/she has upon his/her shoulders the task of eradicating the

factors that drive him/her to inconsistencies and dual existence.

Choice in an education system that is characterized by the subordination and repression of the interests of power minorities is inevitable. The teacher can only teach in a manner that violates the interests of those who are not adequately represented in the power structures if he/she maintains an attitude of uninvolvedness. The teacher cannot retain cognitive consistency in a context that is forever marred by conflicting aspirations that seek expression in his/her duties. Cognitive consistency can only be achieved by looking inward and attempting to make personal solutions to the situation of conflict. The teacher who refuses to address this problem of choosing sides in the current South African context is forever condemned to live a conflict of interests in teaching because he/she will not have reached a solution to the conflict-inducing context in which teaching occurs. The teacher who does not have a coherent scheme in which to situate his/her teaching will inevitably experience a conflict in aspirations that frequently calls out for a solution. Teaching itself will be seriously impaired.

The teacher is a social being who is not at all divorced from the events and occasions of the society of which he/she is part. If the cognitive inconsistency and conflict he/she experiences arises from forces that are beyond his/her control the teacher can only leave this state of affairs unchallenged at the expense of his/her

own cognitive well-being. What the teacher experiences as conflict is a symptom of a wider conflict in society. The continued existence of this wider social conflict generates a constant amount of conflict symptoms in the teacher's work environment. Thus, the eradication of conflict from the education system cannot be fulfilled without the eradication of the social forces that generate such conflict. The problem lies with the society and the teacher cannot keep quite in a situation where society is inducing in him/her a state of cognitive imbalance and disequilibrium.

One must hasten to add, however, that these observations should be restricted to the scope of this research, whose teacher sample is not representative of the entire teaching situation in Bantu Education. There is a need for more research in this area to expand the database of this problematic of conflict in Bantu Education. Christie (1990) also points to an interesting line of possible research, that of conflict as lived by white teachers. This is a line that can be pursued with the aim of shedding more light on the question of conflict in South African Education. Another possible way forward for research is pointed out by MacKinnon (1960) who specifically refers to the politics of power and control in the school setting. MacKinnon argues that the state has granted teachers very little autonomy over the control of education. It has chosen to treat them as marginal employees whose creative capacity remains untapped. The question is raised whether the teachers, who are professionally equipped for the running of

education, or the state, represented by people who have very little contact with the grassroots needs of education, should be given the task of coordinating and running the education system. MacKinnon proceeds to conclude that the reason why there is conflict in the schools today, from the teacher/s point of view, is that the education system is undemocratic, with the state seeking to make top-down commands while leaving no room for bottom-up alternatives. Thus the teacher gets caught up between his/her professional ambition and proficiency and state dictatorship to such ambition and proficiency. This is one aspect of conflict in education, in general, which could not be included in this work strictly due to time and space constraints. However, a qualitative study on this topic can shed more light on the conflict as lived by teachers in general, and not only in Bantu Education as explicated here. The work of Gutman (1987) also sheds some light on the problem of democracy in education in general. It is felt that the lack of democracy in Bantu Education can be comprehended with the help of this work. However, this was a topic whose scope could not be fitted into this research project.

APPENDIX 1

Identification And Interpretation Of Meaning Units.

Subject 2

Meaning Units

1.

I am a Physical Science teacher at my school. I was very troubled on my first day at school as a full-time teacher. For the first time it struck me that the school in which I was to teach had neither laboratory nor library. I was asking myself how I was expected to teach Subjects like Physics and Chemistry without any apparatus to help me in this project. Physics is not like History or Biblical Studies. You need to conduct experiments so that your kids can better understand what their textbooks teach. This would

Interpretation

S was faced with a situation where the facilities at her school were not conducive to what she regarded as productive teaching. S was worried about how she would achieve her teaching goals in a context where the facilities provided for her Subject defeated this purpose. She sees this as forcing her to resort to teaching in a way she does not favour. This affected S as she was only just new to the high school situation. S finds herself in a situation where her goals in teaching are defeated by facilities provided for her school.

not be possible in a high school like the one in which I was to teach. I was afraid that I would not be able to teach so as to make my pupils understand and pass the Subjects. This was not a very good start at all in my career. The very thought of teaching them to memorize the Subject-matter of Physics and Chemistry made my blood run cold. I realized that this position, into which the facilities at the high school were pushing me, would defeat my aims in teaching. How does one look forward to producing parrots without feeling uneasy about it? Tell me.

2.

It was the kind of unease that The realization by S

one feels when she realizes that things are not, and will not be, what one expected them to be. I wished I could do something to change the situation. At the same time I knew that my success in teaching would result from adapting myself to the prevalent conditions. I started to realize that teaching was not as straightforward as some textbooks had led me to believe. I realized that it was not just the good and able teacher who produced excellent students. It was a good teacher who happened to work in an environment that was conducive to scholarly achievement. My conditions of teaching, I noticed, would defeat the objective of good and goal-directed teaching.

that she could not change this situation made her cognizant of how facilities could defeat a good teacher's productivity. She realized that it was good teaching that was coupled with good teaching facilities that produced good students. Her career situation was not like this. And this she found mentally tiresome. Hence her feeling that teaching would be defeated.

It is a mentally tiresome situation. From that day my struggle against the conditions that barricade the way to productive teaching has not ceased.

3.

At that moment I resolved to do something about the situation in my high school. I realized, however, that before something was done teaching the kids as best I could would have to continue. It was this thought that made me helpless and restless. I could never imagine myself going on about things that were, if the right situation was availed, easy to understand without having to memorize like a parrot. I just could not imagine my-

S felt that she had to do something to the situation but was worried by how she would teach before that something was done. This made her feel helpless and restless. The thought that she would have to teach her pupils to memorize material they needed practical work on unsettled S. No solution was reached and S was frustrated by having to teach her classes as though nothing was wrong.

self being committed to such a manner of teaching. In short, I failed to reach any solution then and I still have none even now. I teach my classes and pretend that nothing wrong. It is a frustrating situation.

4.

We failed on a number of times to obtain sponsors for a laboratory project in our school. Somehow, I cannot help feeling that this will be my last year in teaching. At the same time I cannot help feeling that quitting would be tantamount to deserting needy children just because the education system discriminates against them. It is not an easy decision to make.

The failure to obtain funding made feel that he might quit teaching. However she feels at the same time, that quitting will be like deserting needy children who are discriminated against anyway. This decision is experienced as a difficult one to make.

Subject 3

Meaning Units

1.

It is a sure case that teaching in Bantu Education, in current South Africa, presents teachers the challenge of choosing the social and political forces to identify with. This choice faced me in my wanted teaching. It was day at my school when the Principal called me his office. The purpose of this meeting was for him to object the manner in which I included overtly political topics in my History lessons he told me that my teaching had to conform to prescribed texts and nothing else. He objected very strongly to my teaching 'the kind of

Interpretation

S remembers a situation where his Principal objected to his teaching of varying versions of history, which differed with from those versions presented in state-prescribed texts. S was seen by his superior to be violating expectations of higher authority by teaching beyond the government prescriptions. It was clear to the S that the Principal wanted him to favour of one view of history whereas S personally believed in teaching all available versions while allowing pupils to to make their own make their choices. The Principal saw this as bad and political, and facilitative to 'disorder'.

history that promoted disorder'. By this he meant History from the point of view that differed from that entertained by the government. I was at a great loss of words. I could not believe that I was being reprimanded for simply broadening the thinking horizons of my pupils. All I ever did was to present different versions of historical events, some of these were from banned literature. I did not seek to channel my pupils in a particular line. My duty, as I saw it, was to equip them with knowledge of the often conflicting and different facts of the history of our country. I left it up to them to make whatever decision they deemed logical from these facts. But here was the head of my school telling me that what I was doing was 'bad and dangerous' teaching.

It was pretty clear to me that my principal was in favour of the partial history presented in government-promoted books.

2.

I started to wonder whether my duty could simply be to teach as narrowly as it now appeared to be. I hated the Principal for not listening to my side of the story. I was angered by the fact that he dogmatically refused to listen to anything I said on the basis that my arguments were 'illegal' and that I could be charged for them. He then told me his school was not a breeding ground for 'terrorists' but a school whose sole purpose was to produce peaceful 'law-abiding' citizens. I just could not believe that such a degree of conformity from one

S asked if his duty was simply to teach in the manner demanded by the Principal. He hated the Principal for not ever giving him a fair hearing. All the Principal wanted was for S to teach in conformity to government expectations of teaching in schools, ie. teaching that promoted conformity. S saw this as inhibitory to debates that are vital in both the that learning and teaching process.

as high in status as the Principal was being allowed to overshadow academic debates that are so vital for proper learning and the teaching of kids. I found this very distasteful.

3.

I could not see myself fulfilling this role that was expected of me. It would not be possible. It became clear to me that the teacher I was expected to be was one who simply regurgitated in class ideas put in his head government books. There is more to History than just this. Besides, this approach would not encourage creative thought in my pupils. I refused to teach in favour of government racism.

4.

After being told that I should not cause any trouble for the school, I decided there and

S could not bring himself to conform to this demand. It He saw it as demanding of him he that reproduce ideas put in his head by the prescribed books. This he saw as not encouraging to by creative thought. S also saw it as forcing him to in favour of government racism, which he negated in his teaching.

S was forced, against his own will, to resign from his teaching post. He could not

then that teaching under the current situation was not for me. I would have left immediately had it not been for my concern for pupils. Teachers of History are hard to come by. I could not just desert them at that time of the year. The thought of being a mouthpiece for ideas conceived for racist ideals made my body shiver. I could not be this mouthpiece. I wanted to produce History students who did not just passively accept what they were taught. I wanted to engage them actively in their own learning process. I could not picture myself doing anything else. I also knew that I had no power to change the expectations some authority had of me, so I'll quit, very much against my own will. It is a bitter

teach under the present education system. Had it not been for his concern for the pupils S would have left immediately. He did not want to be a government mouthpiece. Teaching as was expected of him involved in passive learning for kids, which S opposed. This experience taught S that teaching under the present education system forced teachers to make conscious political choices.

decision to reach.

Subject 4

Meaning Units

1.

I was in 1984, as Principal of my school, caught in a crossfire between the educational structures in which I serve and the demands by students who an end to these structures. An age restriction was introduced by the D.E.T. on High School- going children. Everyone above the age of 20 would not be admitted to any standard below Standard 8, and anyone above 22 years would not be allowed at all to pursue High School education. It was my duty, and authorities expected this of me, to see to it that these rules were properly carried out in my school. As a functionary of D.E.T. I am expected to carry out commands from above. On the other hand, my students embarked on a six month class boycott in response to these measures. They demanded

Interpretation

S recounts a situation in which pupils rejected (at his school) a law authorities expected him to implement as Principal was in conflict with the students' demands that such rules should be repealed. Students demanded the implementation, at the school, of structures of which It the government was not in favour.

that the age restriction be scrapped. They also demanded that the 'Prefect' system should be dealt away with and that an S.R.C. should be introduced to handle student affairs.

2.

I was very convinced that the students had a very legitimate case in their arguments, a case which any responsible department of education would have heeded. I sympathised with the students' call for the abolition of age restrictions and the introduction of a democratically elected S.R.C. to represent students' interests. On the other hand, the department under which I work was not willing to meet these demands. I was given a heavy tongue-lashing by our regional inspector for sympathising with student grievances.

S's indicated sympathy for student demands was a violation of the Education Department's expectations of S ie., S was seen to be sympathetic to a cause Department was against.

3.

It frustrated me a lot. My students were beginning to identify me with the enemy they had to fight in order to achieve their goals.

Soon cries of "Down with the Principal!" were chanted. A third demand was attached to the original list. They demanded my dismissal with immediate effect. I tried to make them understand that I was not responsible for their predicament and that all I could do was convey their demands to the regional office. They shouted me down and called me all sorts of names. I was their enemy, and would henceforth be treated as one. I went to the regional office and told them of the rough position in which they were putting me. They said that rules were rules and that I

This situation in which both students and education authorities expected compliance frustrated S. He was caught between negative sanctions from either side with the students regarding him as an enemy and the authorities threatening to sack him if he did not introduce the new laws.

must see to it that rules are obeyed in my school -failing which I would lose my job.

4.

I was confused. I even contemplated resignation. No one was listening to me - not my students, and not my superiors. They both wanted interests asserted, by me. My school committee was of little help, and students wanted nothing to do with this structure.

This confused S who contemplated resigning from his post as neither party listened to him. All they wanted was for their demands to be reached, and these demands put S in a crossfire. He had no one to turn to.

5.

I made a brave choice. I identified myself clearly with the demands of my students, as I realized that it was to them I owed my primary allegiance. I decided that I would rather be fired than run a school in which every kid was unhappy. My teachers backed this decision and were in full support of it. The whole staff joined the

S resolved that his allegiance was with his students. He was prepared to be fired if this choice demanded it. He supported his students with the help of his school staff. The rules were repealed as a

students' call for a democratically elected S.R.C. and the scrapping of age restriction rules. By this time, the campaign for S.R.C.s was widespread and many community organizations were involved in it. The age restriction was scrapped but the other demand was not met until later. This situation showed me that one had to clearly identify himself with a particular group South African society in order for teaching to be normalized. I made my choice and I still stick to it. My allegiance belongs first and foremost to the society to which I belong, the society that sends its kids to me and my colleagues for education. I will never again be used by the D.E.T. to defeat the demands of my society.

Subject 5

Meaning Units

1.

Before 1983, I had never quest-

result of this and wider community participation in the campaign against D.E.T. rules. S learnt that it was impossible not to take sides in the present situation in South Africa, even in teaching. His chosen side was the black community to which he belonged and of whose kids he was teaching.

Interpretation

S recalls a day when he

ioned the authenticity of my position as an educator of black children. But when I joined the U.D.F. in that year, I started having some very troublesome thoughts which plagued my mind. This one day I was sitting at home preparing myself to go to work. Somehow, I was not looking forward to it. It was the first time in my teaching career that such a thing happened to me. I was being plagued by thought of a double life I was living by teaching in a Bantu Education setting. Bantu Education is part of the Apartheid machinery and I was working to perpetrate it. At the same time, I belonged to an organisation whose sole aim was to fight Apartheid and all it stood for. By serving in both structures I was forcing myself into a position of double existence. It was this double existence that worried me that morning. I loved my job while at the same time

was plagued by thoughts of a double existence. This double existence arose from S's feeling that by belonging to an organization that stood for opposition against Apartheid, and at the same time serve in an Apartheid education system, he was dividing his commitments between opposing forces. S's love for his job was counter-balanced by the opposition he held since joining the U.D.F. against the policy that governed the education he was serving as a teacher. It is significant to note that S experienced this double existence only after he became politically aware, a situation which made S

committed to the opposition my organisation held against Apartheid. Bantu Education is an Apartheid artifact for disadvantaging black pupils and ultimately the black community in general. I was beginning to see the urgency of making a choice between these two positions. I am generally a person who does not like to live a self-contradictory kind of life.

2.

I had always seen teaching as a profession which had no politics attached to it. I saw it as a situation of mere interaction with colleagues and pupils. I had never really paused to consider the social implications of the education we equipped our pupils with. However, all this changed when I became politically aware in 1983. I started to

question the authentic nature of his teaching, something he had never done before. This double existence was something that was generally uncharacteristic of S.

S had always seen teaching as being disassociated from politics. His becoming politically aware changed this view as he began to realize the social implications of his teaching for the pupils and the wider black community. The realization by S that teaching was not divorced from politics leads him to

realize that teaching was not at all divorced from the political choices one to make in Apartheid South Africa. I started realize that the politics of schools and that of society were one. It was this realization that was lending me to feel that I was leading a double life that morning. It was the first time that I truly realized that teaching was a political career. I was torn between my love for the career and my detest for the political policy of that governed pedagogy in this country.

3.

At first I felt particularly convinced to quit teaching. On second thought, I realized that such a move would only be detrimental to my community, not to Apartheid. I decided

another discovery ie., that his politics of opposition to Apartheid (U.D.F.) was had not compatible with the politics inherent in Bantu to Education. It is this that arouses feelings of a double existence.

S felt an urge, originally, to quit his profession as a means of overcoming the double existence he experienced in his life. This was later seen to be

that the education of black pupils did not have to wait until Apartheid was abolished. It was a choice for teaching for the sake of living with the system while something was being done about it. In this way, I could feel my conflicting commitments ease off a bit. My commitment was foremost to my community. And I decided that I could use the teaching profession as a front for challenging the Apartheid system. In other words, I resolved this double-existence problem by convincing myself that teaching did not necessarily have to conform to Apartheid principles of education, rather such principles could be challenged within the profession. I went to school a determined man that day, I was determined to start a new section in my profession, a

against the good of S's community. S resolved to overcome the double existence by using his teaching as a front for challenging the Apartheid ideology he was supposed to. He resolved to teach without conforming to the policy that informed Bantu Education. In this way, S felt that the education of black pupils could continue while the system was being challenged. This is how S resolved the problem of a felt double existence. This experience taught S that political choices had to be made under Apartheid Bantu Education teaching.

section of introducing my politics to my teaching. Teaching in this country is as political a profession as that of the politician. Political choices have to be made, and I made mine in favour of an anti-Apartheid stance.

Subject 6

Meaning Units

1.

Having been a teacher for 15 years, I had no doubt that my job was a perfect one. I never doubted my skills as a teacher until one day. Since then, my conscience has been tormenting me ever. There was a class boycott in all the High Schools in our area. Students were demanding the end of Bantu Education, which they regarded as education for racist ends. I had always known that South Africa was racially segregated, but I had not, till that day,

Interpretation

S recalls a day in which student boycotts drove him to consider the implications of his own and colleagues' teaching under Bantu Education. This is something S had always taken for granted. This incident had the effect of making S doubt her position in relation to teaching.

considered the implication of this for me and my colleagues who were teachers in Black High Schools. I had always known that I was teaching in a Bantu Education system without reflecting on the serious consequences of this education.

2.

That day when I heard students speak their mind against Bantu Education, I started to wonder whether I was as good a teacher as I had always thought myself to be. Was I not teaching them the education they were now rejecting? Were they not saying that I must go with Bantu Education? For I was a functionary of this education. By rejecting it they were also rejecting what I was professionally equipped to perform. My teaching excellence is tied to Bantu Education. If it went, so would my professional

Students' condemnation of Bantu Education was seen by S as indicating rejection of what his teaching stood for. S wondered whether a rejection by students of Bantu Education did not amount to a rejection of his teaching as it had been thus far.

expertise.

3.

At that moment, I felt dejected. I hated myself for not having realized the horrifying implications my teaching had for the pupils, for the black community. For 15 years, I had reinforced the status quo. I had helped to produce willing labourers and workers who in turn joined the Apartheid machinery. I was a professional in producing meek youths for Apartheid exploitation. I could not possibly be a good teacher. Not in my own eyes, and definitely not in the eyes of my students. What was I? An Apartheid functionary who did the spade work for the government and its racist policy? A teacher who played no political role? A teacher who taught without any understanding of the consequences of his teaching?

4.

Feelings of self hatred and surfaced as S blamed herself for having reinforced the Apartheid status quo by ignoring the social consequences of her teaching. She saw herself as having failed in her teaching, a view she believed was also held by pupils. S raises a lot of questions about her teaching which she never asked before.

I was beginning to feel my blood rise, my body was sweating. The identity in which I had sought such harmonious refuge for 15 years was now infested with a lot of doubt. It was shattered. My professional image was no more. Who was I? A teacher? This could not be, I had failed for 15 yrs to be a good teacher. I taught in line with racist policies. I did not serve the good of my pupils nor that of their parents who trusted me with their childrens' education. I had betrayed the loyalty of the black community while I ignorantly served that of the racist government. At that moment, I felt as though the whole world was closing down on me. I wanted to talk to my colleagues but decided against it. A personal solution would be the answer.

S felt increased pulse rate, blood rise and bodily sweating as her professional image of 15 years was laden with doubt for the first time. She experienced a shattering of her professional image. Her reinforcement of Apartheid education is experienced as a betrayal of the pupils and their parents who trusted S with their education, a betrayal of the black community. S saw her relationship with the world change at that time. She opted for a personal solution to this problem against

personal solution to
this problem against
talking to her
colleagues about it.

5.

The one thing which dominated my thoughts was resignation. I just wanted to leave Bantu Education. I wanted to be far from the betrayals into which it was forcing me. But this would have done me no good. I love my profession and I wanted to serve my community. Throwing the towel in would have been sheer cowardice. I had to stay on to undo all the ignorance that characterized my earlier teaching. I vowed to be a new teacher, a new person. Since then, I have never been a teacher for my community. I have switched my allegiances. My first allegiance was born out of ignorance,

S felt like resigning from Bantu Education teaching as it was forcing her into betrayals. But this she regarded as cowardice and decided to stay on to undo all her teaching stood for thus far. She opted for the good of her community instead of Apartheid. This choice, unlike the former, was deliberately made, and S embraced it as it put her conscience at peace with itself.

this one is a result of a conscious
attempt on my part to appease
my conscience. I have deliberately
embraced it.

APPENDIX 2

Original Interviews and Follow-up Interviews.

Subject 1

I remember specifically this one occasion. I was in class and delivering a lesson on South African history. I could not bring myself to a whole-hearted delivery of the lesson. You see, our history has two versions - the real history and the one the government wants us to preach to our pupils. As a teacher, my duty is to teach my pupils the truth through and through. At the same time, being a staff member in a government school, I get paid to teach the lies that appear in history from a white man's perspective. But this is not the real history. It is distorted history. I was forced, in that lesson, into an ambivalent choice (Subject shakes his head, then silence).

Researcher: You mentioned being forced into and ambivalent choice, could you elaborate on that please.

Subject: Yes, it was a difficult situation. Though I knew very well that what I was teaching did not pass for the real version of historical events as they appear in our oral traditions, I also knew that my pupils would have to master these lies to obtain their Matric Certificates. It is a situation where you know very well that teaching the truth might lead the kids to fail. I would not like to see this fate befall them.

Otherwise what would be the point in teaching? My conscience was

troubling me. How does one lie and still feel that he is doing his job? I started to wonder whether the authorities meant me to be a professional liar. What angered me more was the realisation that the school schedule was tight as it is - I could not teach alternative views on South African history without jeopardising my chances of finishing the annual syllabus. So I continued to teach the government's version of history while deep down I knew that this was an imposed version of South African history. But the government has all the power to decide and impose what passes for truth and what does not. It is by learning this imposed truth that kids pass. So I taught them what they needed to know to pass their examination.

Researcher: How does this situation affect your duties as an educator?

Researcher: It makes one's position a difficult one. Knowing very well that you are telling your pupils what you should not be telling them makes you feel guilty. The whole state bureaucracy undermines your effectiveness. It makes you feel helpless - a tool caught between what you are expected to teach and what you personally believe you should be teaching. As an individual, one really feels helpless because he does not have the power to alter this state of affairs. It made me feel like I was being used for political ends with which I did not agree.

Researcher: How did you resolve this situation in that lesson?

Subject: At that stage, I felt an urge to tell them that the version of history I was teaching was not a true one. I felt compelled to teach them other versions to this story. But I decided against it. It might have done them more harm than good. Our kids are militant kids - who knows what alternative knowledge might do to their examination performances? I kept my fingers crossed and hoped that some day, later in life, they would learn the real facts for themselves. I hoped that when this does happen, they would understand the challenging choice that faced me as a teacher. A choice between lies that might earn them a higher education and truth which might barricade their way to success. It is a challenging choice to make.

Subject 2

Subject: I am a Physical Science teacher at my school. I was very troubled on my first day at school as a full-time teacher. For the first time, it had struck me that the school in which I was to teach had neither laboratory nor library. I was asking myself how I was expected to teach Subjects like Physics and Chemistry without any apparatus to help in this project. Physics is not like History or Biblical Studies. You need to conduct experiments so that your kids can better understand what their textbooks teach. This would not be possible in a high school like the one in which I was to teach. I was afraid that I would not be able to teach so as to

make pupils understand and pass the Subject. This was not a very good start at all in my career. The very thought of teaching them to memorize the Subject-matter of Physics and Chemistry made my blood run cold. I realized that this position, into which the facilities at the high school were pushing me, would defeat my aims in teaching. How does one look forward to producing parrots without feeling uneasy about it? Tell me.

RESEARCHER: Could you elaborate on the 'unease' you felt when you were thinking of the conditions in your High School?

Subject: It was the kind of unease that one feels when she realizes that things are not, and will not be, what one expected them to be. I wished I could do something to change this situation - at the same time I knew that my success in teaching would result from adapting myself to the prevalent conditions. I started to realise that teaching was not as straight-forward a career as some textbooks had led me to believe. I realized that it was not just the good and able teacher who produced the excellent students. It was a good teacher who happened to work in an environment that was conducive to scholarly achievement. My conditions of teaching, I noticed, would defeat the objective of good and goal directed teaching. It is a mentally tiresome situation. From that day, my struggle against the conditions that barricade the way to productive teaching has not ceased.

RESEARCHER: How, if at all, did you in your own mind reach a solution in your mind then - that is, before the commencement of classes at your High School.

Subject: At that moment, I resolved to do something about the situation in my High School. I realized, however, that before that something was done, teaching the kids as best I could would have to continue. It was this thought that made me helpless and restless. I could never imagine myself going on about things that were, if the right situation was availed, easy to understand without having to memorize like a parrot. I just could not imagine myself being committed to such a manner of teaching. In short, I failed to reach any solution then and I still have none even now. I teach my classes like a robot and pretend that nothing is wrong - it is a frustrating situation. We failed on a number of times to obtain sponsors for a laboratory project in our school. Somehow, I cannot help feeling that this will be my last year in teaching. At the same time, I cannot help feeling that quitting would be tantamount to deserting needy children just because the education system discriminates against them. It is not an easy decision to make.

FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW.

RESEARCHER: In what way did you feel that the conditions at your High School would defeat your teaching?

Subject: I mean that teaching is not merely reading off from

textbooks. In my field of Pedagogy, you need more than just the prescribed books. My school, like many other black schools, has no adequate facilities to help teachers and pupils on understanding and teaching their Subject-matter. The government has designed black education in such a manner that effective education cannot be achieved. And this is done because the government has no interest in the welfare of the black child's education. A teacher without sufficient facilities is like a driver with an aged car, he can steer it to a perceived destiny but with less efficiency and direction than would otherwise have been had the car been in a good condition.

Subject 3

It is a sure case that teaching in Bantu Education, in current South Africa, presents teachers with the challenge of choosing the social and political forces they identify with. This choice faced me in my teaching. I could not reach a solution, hence I have decided to leave teaching.

RESEARCHER: Could you describe the situation that led you to this realization?

Subject: It was this day at my school when the Principal called me to his office. The purpose of this meeting was for him to object to the manner in which I included overtly political topics in my History lessons. He told me that my teaching had to conform to

prescribed texts and nothing else. He objected very strongly to my teaching 'the kind of History that promoted disorder'. By this, he meant History from the point of view that differed from that entertained by the government. I was at a great loss of words. I could not believe that I was being reprimanded for simply broadening the thinking horizons of my pupils. All I ever did was to present different versions of historical events, some of these were from banned literature. I did not seek to channel my pupils in any particular line. My duty, as I saw it, was to equip them with knowledge of the often conflicting and different facts of the history of our country. I left it up to them to make whatever decision they deemed logical from these facts. But here was the head of my school telling me that what I was doing was 'bad and dangerous' teaching. It was pretty clear to me that my Principal was in favour of the partial history presented in government-promoted books. I started to wonder whether my duty could simply be to teach as narrowly as it now appeared to be. I hated the Principal for not listening to my side of the story. I was angered by the fact that he dogmatically refused to listen to anything I said on the basis that my arguments were 'illegal' - and that I could be charged for them. He then told me that his school was not a breeding ground for 'terrorists' but a school whose sole purpose was to produce peaceful 'law-abiding' citizens. I just could not believe that such a degree of conformity from one as high in status as the Principal was being allowed to overshadow academic debates that are so vital for proper learning and the teaching of kids. I

found this very distasteful. I could not see myself fulfilling this role that was expected of me. It would not be possible. It became clear to me that the teacher I was expected to be was one who simply regurgitated in class ideas put in his head by government books. There is more to History than just this. Besides, this approach would not encourage creative thought in my pupils. I refused to teach in favour of government racism. (Silence)

RESEARCHER: How did you resolve this situation?

Subject: After being told that I should not cause any trouble for the school, I decided there and then that teaching under the current situation was not for me. I would have left immediately had it not been for my concern for pupils. Teachers of History are hard to come by - I could not just desert them at that time of the year. The thought of being a mouthpiece for ideas conceived for racist ideals made my body shiver. I could not be this mouthpiece. I wanted to produce History students who did not just passively accept what they were taught. I wanted to engage them actively in their own learning process. I could not picture myself doing anything else. I also knew that I had no power to change the expectations some authority had of me - so I'll quit; very much against my own will. It is a bitter decision to reach.

Subject 4

In 1984 I was, as Principal of my school, caught in a cross-fire between the educational structures in which I serve and the demands by students who demanded an end to these structures. An age restriction was introduced by the DET on High School going children. Everyone above the age of 20 would not be admitted in any standard below Standard 8 and anyone above 22 years would not be allowed at all to pursue High School education. It was my duty, and authorities expected this of me, to see to it that these rules were properly carried out in my school. As a functionary of the DET, I am expected to carry out commands from above. On the other hand, my students embarked on a six months class boycott in response to these measures. They demanded that the age restriction be scrapped. They also demanded that the prefect system be dealt away with and that an SRC should be introduced to handle student affairs. I was very convinced that the students had a very legitimate case in their arguments - a case which any responsible Department of Education would have heeded. I sympathised with the students' call for the abolition of age restriction and the introduction of a democratically elected SRC to represent students' interests. On the other hand, the department under which I work was not willing to meet these demands. I was given a heavy tongue-lashing by our regional inspector for sympathising with student grievances.

RESEARCHER: How did this situation affect you as Principal?

Subject: It frustrated me a lot. My students were beginning to identify me with the enemy they had to fight in order to achieve their goals. Soon cries of "down with the Principal" were chanted. A third demand was attached to the original list. They demanded my dismissal with immediate effect. I tried to make them understand that I was not responsible for their predicament, and that all I could do was convey their demands to the regional office. They shouted me down and called me all sorts of names. I was their enemy - and would henceforth be treated as one. I went to the Regional Office and told them of the rough position in which they were putting me. They said that rules were rules and that I must see to it that rules are obeyed in my school, failing which I would lose my job. I was confused, I even contemplated resignation. No one was listening to me, not my students and not my superiors. They both wanted their interests asserted by me. My school committee was of little help, and students wanted nothing to do with this structure.

RESEARCHER: How did you resolve, if at all, this conflicting situation in which you found yourself?

Subject: I made a brave choice. I identified myself clearly with the demands of my students - as I realized that it was to them I owed my primary allegiance. I decided that I would rather be fired than run a school in which every kid was unhappy. My teachers backed this decision and were in full support of it.

The whole staff joined the students' call for a democratically elected SRC and the scrapping of age restriction rules. By this time, the campaign for SRC's had become widespread and many community organisations were involved in it. The age restriction was scrapped but the other demand was not met, until later. This situation showed me that one had to clearly identify himself with a particular group of South African society for teaching to be normalized. I made my choice and I still stick to it. My allegiance belongs first and foremost to the society to which I belong, the society that sends its kids to me and my colleagues for education. I will never again be used by the DET to defeat the demands of my society.

Subject 5

Subject: Before 1983 I had never questioned the authenticity of my position as an educator of black children. But when I joined the Udf in that year I started having some troublesome thoughts which plagued my mind. This one day I was sitting at home preparing myself to go to work. Somehow I was not looking forward to it. It was the first time in my teaching career that such a thing had happened to me. I was being plagued by thoughts of a double life I was living by teaching in a Bantu Education setting. Bantu Education is part of the Apartheid machinery and I was working to perpetrate it. At the same time I belonged to an organisation whose sole aim was to fight Apartheid and all it stood for. By serving in both structures I was forcing myself into a position of

double existence. It was this double existence that worried me that morning. I loved my job while at the same time committed to the opposition my organisation held against Apartheid. Bantu Education is an Apartheid artifact for disadvantaging black pupils and ultimately the black community in general. I was beginning to see the urgency of making a choice between these two positions. I am generally a person who does not like to live a self-contradictory kind of life.

Researcher: Could you elaborate why your joining the UDF in 1983 had such an impact on your teaching role?

Subject: I had always seen teaching as a profession which had no politics attached to it. I saw it as a situation of mere interaction with colleagues and pupils. I had never really paused to consider the social implications of the education we equipped our pupils with. However, all this changed when I became politically aware in 1983. I started to realise that teaching was not at all divorced from the political choices one had to make in Apartheid South Africa. I started to realise that the politics of school and that of society were one. It was this realisation that was leading me to feel that I was leading a double life that morning. It was the first time that I truly realised that teaching was a political career. I was torn between my love for the career and my detest for the political policy that governed pedagogy in this country,

Researcher: How, if at all, did you resolve this problem of a double existence?

Subject: At first I felt particularly convinced to quit teaching. On second thought I realised that such a move would only be detrimental to my community - not to Apartheid. I decided that the education of black children did not have to wait until Apartheid was abolished. It was a choice for teaching for the sake of living with the system while something was being done about it. In this way I could feel my conflicting commitments ease off bit. My commitment was, foremost, to my community. And I decided that I could use teaching as a front for challenging the Apartheid system. In other words, I resolved this double existence problem by convincing myself that teaching did not necessarily have to conform to Apartheid principles of education - rather, such principles could be challenged within the profession. I went to school a determined man that day, I was determined to start a new section in my profession, a chapter of introducing my politics to my teaching. Teaching in this country is as political a career as that of the politician. Political choices have to be made - and I made mine in favour of an anti-Apartheid stance.

Follow Up Interview.

Researcher: You mentioned that political choices were inevitable in teaching under contemporary conditions in South Africa, could you elaborate on that please?

Subject: It is impossible not to align yourself with a specific social interest group in contemporary South Africa because being black means being oppressed. And to pretend that nothing is wrong would be morally wrong and unfounded. Think about it, a teacher who is black cannot assist in his own oppression by the political forces of Apartheid. It is because of this that I say that teachers have to make political choices. Where there is oppressor and oppressed, the teacher who teaches in this context can only teach in line with either. And it is imperative that he should know who he serves, first and foremost. As a teacher I am not divorced from my society and the political choices that characterize it. Hence my argument that political choices have to be made in teaching. We live and teach in a situation where this cannot be avoided.

Subject 6

Subject: Having been a teacher for 15 years I had no doubt that my job was a perfect one. I never doubted my skills as a teacher until one day. Since then my conscience has been tormenting me ever...(silence).

Researcher: Could you reconstruct, in as much detail as possible, the situation in which your self-image as a teacher was altered - that is, the situation that gave rise to your troubled conscience?

Subject: There was a class boycott in all the high schools in our

area. Students were demanding the end of Bantu Education - which they regarded as an education for racist ends. I had always known that South Africa was racially segregated but I had not, till that day, considered the implication of this for me and my colleagues who were teachers in black high schools. I had always known that I was teaching in a Bantu Education system without reflecting on the serious consequences of this education. That day, when I heard students speak their mindful against Bantu Education, I started to wonder whether I was as good a teacher as I had always thought myself to be. Was I not teaching them the education they were now rejecting? Were they not saying that I must go with Bantu Education? For I was a functionary of this education. By rejecting it they were also rejecting what I was professionally equipped to perform. My teaching excellence is tied to Bantu Education. If it went so would my professional expertise. At that moment I felt dejected. I hated myself for not having realised the horrifying implications my teaching had for the pupils, for the black community. For 15 years I had reinforced the status quo. I had helped to produce willing labourers and workers who in turn joined the Apartheid machinery. I was a professional in producing meek youth for Apartheid exploitation. I could not possibly be a good teacher. Not in my own eyes, and definitely not in the eyes of my students. What was I? An Apartheid functionary who did the spadework for the government and its racist policy? A teacher who played no political role? A teacher who taught without any understanding of the consequences of his teaching? I was beginning

to feel my blood rise, my body was sweating. The identity in which I had sought such harmonious refuge for 15 years was now infested with a lot of doubt. It was shattered. My professional image was no more. Who was I? A teacher? This could not be - I had failed for 15 years to be a good teacher. I taught in line with racist policies, I did not serve the good of my pupils or that of their parents who entrusted me with their children's education. I had betrayed the loyalty of the black community while I ignorantly served that of the racist government. At that moment I felt as though the whole world was closing in on me. I wanted to talk to my colleagues but decided against it. A personal solution would be the answer.

Researcher: How did you work your way towards this personal solution at that moment?

Subject: The one thing that dominated my thoughts was resignation. I just wanted to leave Bantu Education. I wanted to be far from the betrayals into which it was forcing me. But this would have done me no good. I loved my profession and I wanted to serve my community. Throwing the towel in would have been sheer cowardice. I had to stay on - to undo all the ignorance that characterized my earlier teaching. I vowed to be a new teacher, a new person. Since then I have been a teacher for my community. I am part of the voice that is now calling for alternative education. I have switched my allegiances. My first allegiance was born out of

ignorance - this one is a result of a conscious attempt on my part to appease my conscience. I have deliberately embraced it.

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