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TEACHER-STRESS
IN
SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

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MASTER OF EDUCATION
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by
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*Dedicated to all my Teachers
including my Parents, Edith and Arthur*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
TABLE OF CONTENTS	(i)
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE	
THE SITUATION OF THE TEACHER IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS	2
SECTION 1	
THE PROBLEM OF THE FORCES OF ETHICAL-POLITICAL HEGEMONY	
1. THE PRESSURE OF BEING 'DETERMINED' CHRISTIAN	2
2. THE PRESSURE OF A 'STATE-CONSTRUCTED' REALITY	3
3. THE PRESSURE OF COLLABORATION OR OF EXPOSURE	6
4. THE PRESSURE OF THE 'CHRISTIANIZATION' OF THE CURRICULUM	7
5. THE PRESSURE OF EDUCATION AS 'CHRISTIAN MISSION'	9
6. THE PRESSURE OF AUTHORITY AND SUBMISSION	12
SECTION II	
THE PROBLEM OF THE FORCES OF HISTORICAL-POLITICAL IDEOLOGY	17
1. THE PRESSURE OF 'NATIONALISM' AS EDUCATIONAL POLICY IDEOLOGY	17
2. THE PRESSURE OF 'EXCLUSION' AND 'INCLUSION'	20
3. THE PRESSURE OF COMMITMENT	24
4. THE PRESSURE OF 'ENCLOSURE'	26
SECTION III	
THE PROBLEM OF SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND THE FORCES OF BUREAUCRACY	32
1. THE PRESSURE OF BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL: 'PROPER PROCEDURES'	32
2. THE PRESSURE OF BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL: 'REIFICATION AND ENPERSONALIZATION'	33
3. THE PRESSURE OF HIERARCHICAL BUREAUCRATIC ORDERING	35
4. THE PRESSURE OF HIERARCHICAL BUREAUCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY	38
SECTION IV	
THE PROBLEM OF SCHOOL CULTURE AND THE FORCES OF TECHNOLOGY	41
1. THE PRESSURE OF 'COUNTER' CULTURAL INVASION: TECHNICISM AS A MODE OF EDUCATIONAL RATIONALITY	41
2. THE PRESSURE OF 'COUNTER' CULTURAL DOMINATION: TECHNOLOGY AS EDUCATIONAL METHOD	49
3. THE PRESSURE OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM: THE GROWTH OF A TECHNOCRACY	55

CHAPTER TWO

THE TEACHER CONTEXTUALLY SITUATED IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS: AN OVERVIEW TOWARDS RESEARCHING TEACHER-STRESS

63

SECTION I

THE CONCEPT OF 'STRESS' AS PROBLEMATIC: DEFINITION OR PERSPECTIVE

63

1. IN SEARCH OF A DEFINITION
2. IN SEARCH OF A PERSPECTIVE

63

68

SECTION II

TEACHER-STRESS AS HEGEMONIC AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE TEACHER AS A PROFESSIONAL

73

1. THE TERRAIN OF PROFESSIONALISM
2. THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR SELF-REJECTION
3. THE TENSIONS IN THE LIMITATION OF PROFESSIONAL HEGEMONY TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION

73

76

78

SECTION III

TEACHER-STRESS AS IDEOLOGICAL AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE TEACHER AS TEACHER AND/OR EDUCATOR

84

1. THE TERRAIN OF TEACHING AND/OR EDUCATION
2. THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-ESTEEM OR SELF-CONDEMNATION
3. THE TENSIONS IN THE IDEOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS OF 'TEACHER' TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM

84

88

91

SECTION IV

TEACHER-STRESS AS CULTURAL AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE TEACHER AS ROLE-ENACTOR

96

1. THE TERRAIN OF ROLE-ENACTMENT
2. THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-INTEGRATION OR SELF-ALIENATION
3. THE TENSIONS IN THE CULTURAL LIMITATIONS OF ROLE-ENACTMENT TO TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION

96

100

103

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCHING THE TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF TEACHER-STRESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

107

SECTION I

METHODOLOGICAL PRAXIS AND OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH PROCEDURES

107

SECTION II

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS: SUBSTANTIATING THE PREFERRED RESEARCH PARADIGM APPROPRIATE TO THE PROBLEM AND PHENOMENON RESEARCHED.	109
---	-----

SECTION III

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH PROCEDURES	121
--	-----

PHASE I

ARTICULATION OF THE INTENTIONALITY OF THE RESEARCHER'S CONSCIOUSNESS AS STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEMATIC	121
--	-----

PHASE II

ARTICULATION OF THE INTER-SUBJECTIVE RELATIONAL MODE OF THE RESEARCHER TO HER RESEARCH PROJECT AS PARTICIPANT-OBSERVER	122
--	-----

PHASE III

ARTICULATION OF THE RELATIONAL MODE OF THE RESEARCHER AND THE RESEARCH COMMUNITY	124
--	-----

PHASE IV

ENCOUNTERING THE PHENOMENA OF TEACHER-STRESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS	126
--	-----

CHAPTER FOUR

LOCATING TEACHER-STRESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS	131
---	-----

SECTION I

PHASE V

THE EXPLICATION OF THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS (TS)	131
--	-----

SECTION II

PHASE VI

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE THEMATIC FIELD (TF) AS THE CONTEXTUAL GROUND SPECIFIC TO THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS AS DIALECTIC IMPULSE TO PRO-ACTIVE OR RE-ACTIVE SELF-INTENTIONALITY AS SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS	156
---	-----

CHAPTER FIVE

EMERGENT THEMES AS EVIDENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS	175
---	-----

SECTION I

THEMES AND THEIR BIOGRAPHICAL CONSTITUENTS

- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| 1. | THEMES INDICATIVE OF THE TEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE
BIOGEOGRAPHICAL PROJECTION OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER
IN CONFLICT WITH HER/HIS SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF | 175 |
| 2. | THEMES INDICATIVE OF THE TEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE
BIOGRAPHICAL AUTHENTICITY OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER
IN CONFLICT WITH HER/HIS SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF | 180 |
| 3. | THEMES INDICATIVE OF THE THEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE
BIOGRAPHICAL COMMITMENT OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER IN
CONFLICT WITH HER/HIS SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF | 185 |

SECTION II

EVIDENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS ON THE HORIZONS OF HEGEMONY,
IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| 1. | TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT
OF THE FORCES OF HEGEMONIC AMBIVALENCE | 193 |
| 2. | TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT
OF THE FORCES OF IDEOLOGICAL AMBIVALENCE | 201 |
| 3. | TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT
OF FORCES OF CULTURAL AMBIVALENCE | 205 |

CONCLUSION	215
------------	-----

APPENDIX:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-----|
| 1. | PROTOCOL: TEACHER A (TA) | 224 |
| 2. | PROTOCOL: TEACHER B (TB) | 235 |
| 3. | PROTOCOL: TEACHER C (TC) | 252 |
| 4. | PROTOCOL: TEACHER D (TD) | 263 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY	273
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INTRODUCTION

I find it perturbing that, after twenty years' teaching experience, I still find myself confronted with the same problems which I encountered in my first year of teaching. These problems are related not to the children I teach, but rather to the circumstances of teaching.

My first problem is that of the 'image of the teacher'. I gradually came to realise that, when one is designated 'teacher'; people immediately stereotype one, and much of one's ensuing communications with others become their attempt to pattern one of their image of that stereotype. In my early years of teaching I did everything I possibly could to prevent people from recognising me as a teacher. I would not, for instance, carry a briefcase.

My second problem centres around being an 'integrated teacher'. To me this means that religion, teaching and personality should interact as a pre-condition of 'wholeness'. To resolve this problem, I have in the past tried at various times to discard each facet in turn. I stopped teaching for a while, but, as I had experienced no real problems in the classroom, I returned. I unsuccessfully attempted to disregard religion. A crisis was really reached when I attempted to change my personality. Fortunately I realised the insanity of this before it was too late.

The third problem concerns friendship. I gradually came to realise that friendships, which fared well away from the school, were fraught with all kinds of tensions when the other person became a member of the same staff. Commitments made informally could not be depended upon within the formality of a staff meeting.

The impulse which informs my personal biographical commitment to this thesis is the seeking of a solution to these problems.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SITUATION OF THE TEACHER IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICAN
STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

SECTION I

THE PROBLEM OF THE FORCES OF ETHICAL-POLITICAL HEGEMONY

SECTION II

THE PROBLEM OF THE FORCES OF HISTORICAL-POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

SECTION III

THE PROBLEM OF SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND THE FORCES OF
BUREAUCRACY

SECTION IV

THE PROBLEM OF SCHOOL CULTURE AND THE FORCES OF TECHNOLOGY

SECTION I

THE PROBLEM OF THE FORCES OF ETHICAL-POLITICAL HEGEMONY

PART 1

THE PRESSURE OF BEING 'DETERMINED' CHRISTIAN

PART 2

THE PRESSURE OF A 'STATE-CONSTRUCTED' REALITY

PART 3

THE PRESSURE OF COLLABORATION OR OF EXPOSURE

PART 4

THE PRESSURE OF THE 'CHRISTIANIZATION' OF THE CURRICULUM

PART 5

THE PRESSURE OF EDUCATION AS 'CHRISTIAN MISSION'

PART 6

THE PRESSURE OF AUTHORITY AND SUBMISSION

THE PROBLEM OF THE FORCES OF ETHICAL-POLITICAL HEGEMONY

THE PRESSURE OF BEING 'DETERMINED' CHRISTIAN

State controlled education in South Africa of necessity takes place within the political parameters of the South African State's policy of 'separate development' for the inhabitants designated white, black, coloured and Indian 'population groups'. The ideological consequences of such a policy for teachers in the different 'population groups' will be analysed in Section II. In this section I will focus on the specific force of 'separate development' on white teachers in South African State high schools.

The National Education Policy Act No. 39 of 1967 extended the powers of the Minister of National Education

'. . . in respect of the general policy to be pursued in providing education to white persons in certain schools; to regulate certain aspects of the training of white persons as teachers; to confer upon the said Minister certain powers in respect of the policy to be pursued in connection therewith, and in respect of certain other matters in connection therewith; to provide for the establishment of a National Education Council and for other matters identical thereto.'

(Statutes of the Republic of South Africa - Education p. 941.)

As a statement of 'general policy' the 'determination of national education policy is to be in accordance with the principle that'

'the education in schools maintained, managed and controlled by a department of State (including a provincial administration) shall have a Christian character . . .'

(ibid, p. 136.)

The prescription that education is to have a 'Christian character' is indicative of its intention to employ the tenets of the Christian faith as the

'interlocking force' of all political, social and cultural relations in everyday life. It is the means whereby white South African teachers are to be persuaded to envision more similarities than differences between their own values, and those ensconced in the State's educational dictums.

Education for white teachers is to be referred to the abstracted totality of 'Christianity' which the State intends will serve to homogenize the White 'population group' and act as the cohesive corollary of the State's hegemony. Williams elucidates 'hegemony' as

'an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly their intellectual and moral connotations.'

(Quoted in Salamini, 1981, p. 136.)

The teacher is thus pressurized into a consciousness that is at once officially expressed and controlled. The normal confusion and incompleteness of everyday consciousness is to be overridden in the name of a decisive generalized system, a structural homology, which is peripheral and ephemeral. The reflexivity of the teacher's existential life-world is to be converted to a pre-reflective interpretation of meaning, as engendered by Christian faith, and thus by the State. The teacher's striving and search for authenticity and personal meaning is constantly obstructed by institutional prescription.

THE PRESSURE OF A 'STATE-CONSTRUCTED' REALITY

Hegemony is not a passive or static entity. It is actively pervasive and constantly becomes changed, modified and renewed. To infuse 'Christianity' into the State's hegemony, is to afford hegemonic change, modification and renewal only within the parameters of Christian doctrine. The implication of

'all education' having a 'Christian character' would be that only one particular mode of knowing is recognised. This becomes mere rhetoric when education in South African State schools is viewed over the last decade. School administration, curriculum design, methods of differentiation, and evaluation are all evidence of the State's pragmatic orientation. To comprehend these processes a positivistic, scientific, technological mode of knowing is required, the genesis of which lies in the natural sciences. As such, they are contradictory to the speculative, interpretive mode of religious expression. These two contradictory modes of knowing are the dominant influences in South African State schools. The teacher, caught within the admixture of their influences, suffers bewilderment and confusion. She/he can never be sure whether an interpretive or a positivistic attitude informs official prescriptions.

The State, by means of the category 'Christian', with which all education and therefore all knowledge must be characterized, prescribes the form of reality which is to be constructed. Teachers and their pupils must consign their personal responsibility and will to an instrumentally defined reality.

This politically defined and constructed reality is to be institutionalized throughout the schools by the teachers. The extent to which institutionalization is successful will depend on the extent to which there is relevance. The teacher becomes the mediator in making relevant the school structure and the State's political structures. People in these institutions tend to become totally dependent on 'institutionally defined' norms and values to inform the meaning of their everyday existence and relationships. Berger and Luckman stress the consequences:

'It is possible to conceive of a society in which institutionalization is total. In such a society all problems are common, all solutions to these problems are socially objectivated and all social actions are institutionalized. The institutional order embraces the totality of social life which resembles the continuous performance of a complex, highly stylized liturgy.'

(1981, pp. 97-98.)

The State's utilization of the symbology of Christianity to make plausible and legitimate its political-educational objectives subjects the teacher to pressure and creates tension. Whereas Christianity as religion is purported to transcend everyday rationality and provide an esoteric meaningfulness and authenticity to common everyday experiences, 'institutionalised' Christianity of necessity becomes articulated, defined, and circumscribed. It becomes a 'constructed' Christianity, theoretical and secularized, soulless, divested of its spiritual content, a human product. In such a society not only is the present circumscribed, but also the past and the future.

'The symbolic universe also orders history. It locates all collective events in a cohesive unity that includes the past, present and future. With regard to the past, it establishes a memory that is shared by all the individuals socialized within the collectivity. With regard to the future, it establishes a common frame of reference for the projection of individual actions. Thus the symbolic universe links men with their predecessors and their successors in a meaningful totality, serving to transcend the finitude of individual existence and bestowing meaning on individual death. All members of society can now conceive of themselves belonging to a meaningful universe, which was there before they were born and will be there after they die. The empirical community is transposed on to a cosmic plane and made magestically independent of the vicissitudes of individual existence.'

(ibid, pp. 120-121.)

The teacher, accepting a prescribed historicity, forfeits her/his commitment to authentic, personalized biography. She/he exists only in terms of a social collective. Personal mediation which would threaten the cohesion of the overarching symbolic universe is illegitimate and must be prevented or excluded

Teachers who comply, in turn, become legitimators of the political-social processes and party to an objectivised historical reality, the causes and effects of which are functionally determined. Different provinces of meaning are all integrated into a collective ontology of 'necessity' and 'fatality'. Marginal situations and meaning become encompassed and enclosed and subordinated to an institutionally legitimated hegemony. As Berger and Luckman state:

'Legitimization produces new meanings which serve to integrate the meanings already attached to disparate institutional processes . . . "Integration" in one form or another is also the typical purpose of motivating legitimators. Integration and subjective plausibility refer to two levels. First, the totality of institutional order should make sense, concurrently to the participants in different institutional processes. Here the question of plausibility refers to the subjective recognition of an overall sense behind the situationally predominant but only partially institutionalized motives of one's own as well as one's fellow-men.'

(1981, p. 110.)

Teachers who, on grounds of faith, are inclined to identify with the Christian community are now situated within an 'institutionalized' Christian frame of reference, persuaded to form part of a 'collectivity' and so overlook or devalue their own meanings and motivations. They easily 'give way' to the overriding legitimations and become alienated from their own intentions; consequently their teaching becomes an experience of anomie.

THE PRESSURE OF COLLABORATION OR OF EXPOSURE

The teacher teaching within such a framework becomes a collaborator and co-partner of the State. The National Education Policy Act No. 39 of 1967, Principle (1) states

' . . . that the convictions of parents and pupils shall be respected in regard to religious instruction and religious ceremonies.

(Statutes of the Republic of South Africa - Education, p. 946.)

Religious freedom is only accorded in the two areas of 'religious instruction' and 'religious ceremonies.' At these times non-Christian pupils and teachers become exposed and differentiated as 'non-believers'. The pupils are differentiated from, and considered 'different'. At all other times the all-pervasiveness of 'Christian character' is encouraged. In 1979, the Cape Department of Education congratulated certain Principals and teachers on the 'success' of their 'evangelizing', and it was noted that in their schools 'all knowledge' was based on 'Biblical norms and values'.

'The Department wishes to express its appreciation to principals of schools and to teachers who, with due recognition of the religious convictions of the pupils and their parents, succeed in fostering a Christian character in their schools. In these schools all teaching is based on Biblical norms and values, and Scripture, moreover takes up its right place in the school programme.'

(Circular No 23, File L16/21/3/30 1979)

This communication highlights two important facets of South African white education. Firstly, that all teaching is to be conducted as a form of 'mission' in being 'Christianized', and secondly, that the Bible is to serve as the authoritative mouthpiece of the State, Principals and teachers.

THE PRESSURE OF THE 'CHRISTIANIZATION' OF THE CURRICULUM

The State intervenes directly in the classroom, the centrifugal point in the transmission of knowledge, when it determines the teaching of certain subjects from a 'Christian' perspective. As a statement of 'General Objectives' for the Higher Grade and Standard Grade Economics syllabus, 1982, teachers are instructed that:

- '2.1. The teaching of Economics must have a Christian character, i.e. the subject matter, handbooks, the presentation of the teacher and the class atmosphere must be in accordance with the acceptable Christian way of life.

- 2.2. The teaching of Economics must have a national character, i.e. it must instil in the pupil a love for and interest in what is peculiar to the Republic of South Africa and her people.
- 2.3. It must promote an appreciation of the South African economic system, based on free enterprise, private ownership, freedom of economic activities, etc. in contrast with other economic systems, e.g. state controlled economies.
- 2.4 It must be of a general formative nature and vocationally directed.'

(Education Gazette, No. 29, July, 1982.)

The prescriptions of an 'acceptable Christian way of life' is indicative of, and alludes to, the possibility of there being Christian 'ways of life' which are 'acceptable', as differentiated from 'unacceptable' Christian 'ways of life'. The determination of 'acceptability' or 'unacceptability' will no doubt rest with the State.

The 'teaching of Economics' having a 'national character' and being a means to 'instil in the pupil a love for and interest in what is peculiar to the Republic of South Africa and her people', indicates that South African Christianity is of a special kind, one that is 'peculiar' to South Africa. The peculiarity rests in the fact that it is the only country declaring itself to be 'Christian' and at the same time separating people on grounds of skin-pigmentation. The State calls on the teacher to 'instil' in her/his pupils a 'love' for that which is contrary to fundamental Christian doctrine.

The selection of teachers applying for a 'subject' post is also to be referenced to whether or not they have a course of Biblical Studies included as part of their degree. This, in addition to enhancing the 'Christian character of schools', also provides a definite Christian 'climate' in the Staff-rooms. These teachers are singled out as being able to render 'special' and 'valuable' service to the school. Principals are given special instructions to adopt the official attitude:

'A manual for Scripture was sent to schools in November 1978 and in December 1977 schools were advised in connection with advertising of posts in the Education Gazette so as to ensure the appointment of teachers suitably trained for the subject. In the secondary standards, especially, a teacher with Biblical Studies as a subject for a degree should be able to render valuable services.

(Circular No 23, File L16/21/3/30, 1979.)

Preference given to subject teachers on grounds of their being able to teach Scripture has become more overt, and teachers are now not necessarily appointed on qualification or merit but in accordance with other considerations. The academic or other weakness of these teachers falls as an extra load of work on their colleagues.

Coercion in the teaching of Scripture has been covertly operating in the schools for a long time. A teacher when applying for a 'subject post' is usually required when making application to state whether she/he is 'willing to teach Scripture'. Few teachers in the situation of wanting employment would forfeit the possibility of its acquisition by a definite statement of 'unwillingness'. In order of priority, the teaching of Scripture for one or two hours a week is of secondary importance to the need for the post. This exemplifies one of the many ways in which teachers are coerced to participate in activities in which they have no immediate interest, feel insecure or have to compromise their own personal values.

THE PRESSURE OF EDUCATION AS 'CHRISTIAN MISSION'

In March 1979 Principals received a departmental directive stressing the need for the ritual of the daily assembly, and clear indications as to the form such gatherings should take:

'Daily opening of schools

According to section 187 of the Education Ordinance 1956, every undenominational school shall be opened daily with the reading of a portion of the Bible and a prayer provided that no pupil shall be required to be present if the parents of such pupil express in writing a wish to the contrary. The daily opening provides an opportunity to pray regularly for all the inhabitants of South Africa and, in these days, for the men who keep vigil on our borders. This can take place either in the class-room or, as in the case of some schools, at a short assembly.'

(Circular No. 23, File L16/21/3/20, 1979.)

The call to 'pray regularly for all the inhabitants of South Africa', be they Christian or non-Christian, underscores the missionary imperative. The special recognition of the 'men (who) keep vigil on our borders', particularly the use of the word 'vigil', inclines one to conceive of South Africa's military engagements being the same as those of a Holy War.

The circular continues:

'In our uncertain, and in many respects, dangerous times in which the School has to fulfil its task it remains as important today as in any other period in the history of mankind that the youth must be armed with basic principles which will enable them to take a stand against influences aimed at undermining their morals and destroying their souls. All the basic principles which have immortal value and which give meaning and content to human existence are to be found in the Bible and in communication with God.'

(ibid)

The linking of the present 'uncertain times' with the past 'history of mankind' places South Africa within the broader context of western civilization. This identity enables the State to associate its present perilous situation with those historical events in the past which were seen as threats of 'influences aimed at undermining morals and destroying souls'. Teachers are now to become responsible for 'saving' souls. The emphasis placed on the Bible and the 'communication with God' recalls to the Afrikaner South African the Calvinistic influence of her/his heritage. Loubser describes this as

' . . . a belief in the sovereign God, sole creator and ruler through his Providence of the universe; inborn sinfulness of both man and the world as a result of the Fall; the election by predestination of the few through the grace to glorify God in building his kingdom on earth; and the damnation of the rest of mankind, also to the glory of God. The radical supernaturalism of this faith lies in the ultimate meaning that it imputes to all existence: the glory of the totally other, inscrutable God . . . Another equally significant characteristic of Calvinism is the central place which it gives to the Bible.'

(1968, p. 371.)

The State as represented by the Afrikaner Nationalist regime sees it as its mission to implement God's will in creating a new order on the divine pattern. Society is to be moulded according to its conception of the divine plan. The implementors of this plan are seen to be the Afrikaners and the white Christian teachers.

' . . . The Calvinistic conception of man and of order introduce a two-class distinction between the elect and the damned, the order of grace and the order of nature. Although all men are created in the image of God and are equally sinful as a result of the Fall, the elect has a special position of responsibility to implement the will of God in the world. In the order of nature God ordained that some should rule and some should obey ...'

(Loubser, 1968, p.368.)

Teachers who, by their heritage and tradition, identify with this sense of mission can identify with the State and are included as part of the 'volk', as the elect. Teachers who cannot may still become nominally accepted by identifying with the 'Holy' profession of teachers, which maintains that 'education . . . is founded on the Bible'. The 'rite de passage' is the signing of the Act of Dedication:

'I UNDERTAKE to practise my calling as a teacher in an awareness that education in this country is founded on the Bible and, in collaboration with the parental home, to guide to independence the pupils who have been entrusted to my care, to instil in them a sense of responsibility, and a love for their fatherland.'

(South African Teachers' Council for Whites : Sixth Annual Report, 1982 - 1983, p. 14.)

Hereby teachers are given the status of missionaries, their teaching a 'calling' to 'instil in (the pupils) a sense of responsibility, and a love for their fatherland'. Every teacher who teaches in a South African State school but does not agree with State policy has, whether she/he is aware of it or not, been morally compromised into becoming a consort of the State. To be able to teach in a white State school, teachers must be members of The Teachers' Council for Whites. Its professional 'Credo' requires them to

'. . . pledge themselves as teachers to honour and obey the laws of the country and to conduct themselves in accordance with the high ideals of their profession as expressed in this code.'

(ibid, p. 12.)

(Emphasis mine.)

To pledge oneself to 'honour and obey' is reminiscent of the Holy Christian marriage vow. The Christian making this vow does so on the grounds of her/his belief and faith. It is a vow made as a commitment to the Christian 'creed', which is a statement of belief. The pledge which South African teachers are required to make, is initiated in the tone of a 'creed' but in fact becomes a 'code', a system of laws and principles. The teacher who is not aware of this transformation experiences bewilderment at the contending forces of 'belief' and 'loyalty' when her/his situation of 'being-a-teacher' contradicts that of her/his 'being-as-teacher'.

THE PRESSURE OF AUTHORITY AND SUBMISSION

The aim of the Teachers' Council for Whites, constituted in 1977, is stated as 'the eventual professionalisation and full recognition of the teaching profession' (Handbook, Teachers' Council for Whites, 1979, p. 3.). When the Council was constituted, membership fees were deducted from the teachers' salaries, in some instances before they had signed the forms giving authority

to do so and indicating their willingness to become members. Membership is 'de jure', compulsory by power of the State's authority, and thus not 'de facto', an indication of the teachers' affiliations.

Fromm (1956, p. 286) distinguishes between what he terms 'rational authority' and 'irrational authority'. 'Rational authority' is where the authority of the person rests in her/his 'competence to perform certain tasks or carry out specific functions'. Where authority is vested in the position a person holds, and the power of the person is referred to that position, this he terms 'irrational authority'. 'Irrational' authority need not necessarily be rationally legitimated. Fromm cites parents as being mediators of 'irrational authority' when they exercise their authority as parents and sanction the **spontaneity** and freedom of the child in their requiring her/his obedience and conformity to social norms, i.e. 'the norms of the other'. The exercise of this authority is legitimated by the parental love and care that the parent has for the child, and her/his experience of what is self-preserving or self-destructive.

The State's metaphorical use of 'fatherland' also serves to entrench its dominance by means of establishing an image of patriachalism. The authority it exercises by means of its position and power, i.e. 'irrational authority' is to be legitimated by the acceptance of, and obedience to, its laws, fostering a fallacious belief that they (the laws) emanate from a 'custodial' concern. Professional Councils are established by members of a profession with the similar dual intent of control under the auspices of protection. It therefore appears to be in the interests of the members of a profession to be loyal to their profession. The South African Teachers' Council, as a professional body established by the State, concomitantly predisposes the teacher to loyalty as a professional, and to the acceptance of the State's 'irrational' authority and her/his obedience to its laws. This is echoed in the Teachers' Code:

'A Teacher

is loyal to his employers by serving them to the best of his ability, obeying all their lawful instructions and regulations, and by conducting professional business through the proper channels only, and

refrains from discussing confidential and official matters with unauthorised persons.'

(South African Teachers' Council for Whites : Sixth Report, 1982-1983, p. 12.)

(Emphasis mine.)

As an employee of the State and a member of a profession the teacher may not 'officially' discuss anything she/he does at school with anyone outside her/his profession or school. If the school is conceived of as an apparatus of the State, then all school matters are 'official matters', and all persons outside their immediate frame of reference are 'unauthorised persons'. By adhering to 'proper channels', the teacher in the hierarchical bureaucratic organisation only has recourse to her/his immediate senior, Head of Department or Principal, who must in turn retain her/his loyalty and obedience to her/his seniors, and, therefore, is constrained in her/his ability to be of assistance. For the teacher any instance of disagreement may become transformed into and construed as an instance of disloyalty or disobedience with consequent recriminations and feelings of guilt. Fromm elucidates the consequent psychologically demoralizing effect of guilt:

'What is the function of this feeling of guilt? . . . There is nothing more effective in breaking any person than to give him the conviction of wickedness. The more guilty one feels, the more easily one submits because the authority has proven its own power by its right to accuse. What appears as a feeling of guilt, then is actually fear of displeasing those of whom one is afraid.'

(1956, p.288.)

The teacher who regards her/his teaching as a vocation, 'a calling', ultimately references her/his teaching activities to Christian doctrine,

unconditionally submitting her/his will to God's will and omnipotent power, which differentiates spiritual power and authority from its secular forms. This authority of the Divine, I term 'arational'. The State, situating education in the Biblical context by association, extends its patriarchal image into the realm of the Divine and by so doing concomitantly extends its 'irrational' authority into that of the 'arational'. Thus the teacher in the South African context becomes obliged to accept the State's decrees 'as if' they were those emanating from Divine authority, that is, unconditionally and unquestioningly. The hegemony of professionalism is to serve to substantiate and reinforce the voluntary dispositional attitude required of the teacher. In the Teachers' Credo it is stated that the teacher

'accept(s) the authority and instructions of those who are placed in a position of authority . . .

Identifies himself with his profession and its demands . . .'

(South African Teachers' Council for Whites : Sixth Report, 1982-1983, p. 12.)

In the ongoing processes of everyday activities the teacher does not stop to reflect where one form of authority ends and the other begins. In the search for a 'locus' of her/his problems, regarding the legitimation of her/his actions, she/he can often, as a means of expediency, do no more than superficially situate them in the 'close at hand' environment which tends to some form of 'rational' solution. However, rational solutions are only temporary moments of reprieve as the fundamental problem, submission to God's will transformed into obligation to the State and Profession, is, in fact, a curtailment of the teacher's freedom to authentic self-legitimation of her/his teaching activities. The teacher must reference her/his actions to officially accepted legitimation which in the practical-social realm are often incongruent with Christian doctrine, as the basic tenets of the South

African State itself - and, concomitantly, the South African Teachers' Profession - are not congruent with Christian doctrine. This incongruity is further delineated in Section II.

SECTION II

THE PROBLEM OF THE FORCES OF HISTORICAL-POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

PART 1

THE PRESSURE OF 'NATIONALISM' AS EDUCATIONAL POLICY IDEOLOGY

PART 2

THE PRESSURE OF 'EXCLUSION' AND 'INCLUSION'

PART 3

THE PRESSURE OF COMMITMENT

PART 4

THE PRESSURE OF 'ENCLOSURE'

THE PROBLEM OF THE FORCES OF HISTORICAL-POLITICAL IDEOLOGY
 THE PRESSURE OF 'NATIONALISM' AS EDUCATIONAL POLICY IDEOLOGY

Apple (1979, p. 20) contends: 'What ideology means is problematic'. He states that usually when theorists refer to ideology, they refer to it as 'a system of ideas, beliefs and fundamental commitments or values'. This is similar to the views of Geerts, who postulates that it is a 'system of interacting symbols which provides primary ways of making otherwise incomprehensible social situations meaningful' (ibid, p. 20). McClure and Fisher characterize ideology as 'legitimation', 'power conflict', and 'style of argument', the latter being described as 'requiring a special rhetoric' which is 'highly explicit and relatively systematic' (ibid, p. 21). These accounts of ideology represent its generally accredited attributes which all tend to a 'bounded' concept of 'systems' and 'taken-for-grantedness' of an assemblage of symbols and meanings which legitimate the everyday actions of the holders of that particular ideology.

An alternative concept of ideology is where the emphasis is placed more on the individual's 'lived relationship' which gives expression to her/his identification as a holder of a particular ideology. The 'lived relationship' is imaginary, and ideology becomes viewed more from the practical-social terrains, the individual's actions being specific instances of the social formation of her/his, and the socially shared, ideology.

Althusser (in McLennon, et al., 1978, p. 96) acknowledges this perspective and conceives ideology as being 'material'. Ideology is given expression through the individual's actions. These actions always take place within an

apparatus (institution) which prescribes the 'material practices governed by a material ritual' which exists in the 'material actions' of the subject. Althusser, therefore, declares that 'there is no practice except by and in an ideology'. Ideology addresses itself to individuals, it 'interpellates' individuals as subjected to an ideology. The individual acts in so far as he or she is 'acted upon' by the material system of ideology, i.o.w. ideology is a continuous dialectical process. He concludes:

'The constitution of the individual as subject is the result of the functioning of the category of all ideology and which operates through the mechanism of interpellation. Ideology interpellates individuals as subjects in the name of 'Subject'.'

(ibid, p. 96.)

The mechanism of ideological interpellation of the South African teacher as citizen (subject) and teacher is not representative of South Africa's population as a whole. The ideology of the ruling regime separates people on grounds of skin-pigmentation, ethnic identity and language, and artificially alienates them into officially prescribed 'cultural communities'. Rupertus acknowledges this as the 'Afrikaans Reformational philosophy of life':

'In South Africa where an Afrikaans Reformational philosophy of life underlies a system of separate development of different cultural communities the national education system consists ... of component White, Black, Coloured and Indian subsystems. This basic fourfold division has its statutory foundation in enactments passed by both central and subordinate legislatures.'

(1976, p. 46.)

This ideology, albeit of only a minority of the South African population, is given force by legislation, impacts every teacher in the practical-social realm in her/his interpellation as subject and citizen. As such the teacher must teach within the framework of the State's ideological prescriptions. Such prescriptions at the macro-level of official legislation broadly

determines the teacher's situation. However, as this becomes translated to the practical-social level, its articulation requires an increasing proliferation of principles and rules formulated by educational officials.

'The main, and indeed, the all-inclusive task of educational administration can be seen as the interpretation and detailed specification of enactments of legislatures in order to supply educational practice with useful and necessary guidelines. Seen from this angle, legislation and implementation are a single continuous unbroken process in which the rulings become ever more detailed.'

(Ruperti, 1976, p. 57.)

The deficiencies of the 'Afrikaans Reformational philosophy of life' were substantiated by the regime's recognition of the inability of ideological articulation at the practical-social level of everyday life, when eventually recognition was given to the emergence of a political and educational crisis. In June 1980 the Human Sciences Research Council (hereafter referred to as the HSRC) was requested by the Cabinet to investigate all aspects of education as a prerequisite to a re-formulation of South African Educational policy. In July 1981 the President of the HSRC, J G Gerbers, submitted the report of the Main Committee, of which J P de Lange was the Chairman. The Government announced that the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Minister of National Education and the Minister of Education and Training would give 'co-ordinated consideration' to the report and that an Interim Education Working Party would be appointed to advise these Ministers. The recommendations of the Education Working Party were set out in the 'White Paper on the Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa', released in 1983. This body recommended that:

- '(a) At the central Government level there should be a single authority responsible for determining macro policy for the provision of education in the RSA and for monitoring the implementation of this policy.

- (b) In the opinion of the Working Party, this principle will find its best practical expression in a single ministry.
- (c) Changes to the present situation should therefore be aimed at creating a single ministry.
- (d) This ministry should be responsible . . . for the determination of macro policy.'

(ibid, p. 6.)

In fact, these recommendations, serve as a critique of the State's fundamental ideology of 'separate development'. To this the State replied:

'The Government has also decided that with the commencement of the new Constitution different Government departments will be responsible for the education of Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Blacks respectively.'

(ibid, p. 6.)

The imposition of ideological separation impacting the teacher finds its expression in both her/his educational context and in her/his classroom. Not only is the teacher separated and alienated from her/his colleagues of 'different cultures' and thus has a delimited cultural vision circumscribing her/him so that she/he becomes embedded in the narrow issues relating to her/his 'culturally bounded' educational situation, but likewise, as the mediator in constituting her/his pupils as subjects, the teacher becomes alienated to the extent that they (the pupils) become conditioned to the acceptance or rejection of the official philosophy.

THE PRESSURE OF 'EXCLUSION' AND 'INCLUSION'

Although the 'HSRC Report' (1981) had stimulated vigorous educational debate, the controversies over the division and separation of educational practice in South Africa were to remain unchanged. One of these was, as Malherbe (1977, p. 41) has previously noted, the 'ambiguity' of the term 'National'. The National Education Policy Act No 39 of 1967 enumerates as one of the ten principles of the State's education policy that 'education

shall have a broad national character;' (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa - Education p. 947.).

The use of the term 'national', with its denotations and connotations, caused much confusion, and the Minister, Senator J de Klerk, was pressed to give a definition of the State's interpretation of the term. He declared

'By "national" it is understood that education shall build on the ideal of national development of all citizens of South Africa in order that our own identity and way of life may be preserved, and in order that the South African nation may constantly appreciate its task as part of the Western civilization.'

(Assembly Debates, 27 February, 1967, col. 2011.)

'National' as stated above has been used with the strict ideological connotation of 'nationhood' as would have been intended by Sir Keith Hancock in his Alfred and Winifred Hoernlé Memorial Lecture,' 1966, 'Are there South Africans?', in which he stated:

'Act No 44 of 1949 declares in effect that almost every person whom you meet when you walk down the street whether he be White, Black, Brown or Brindle, is a South African citizen. His passport, if he has one declares his citizenship to the whole world no matter what his colour is.'

(Quoted in Malherbe, 1977, p. 142.)

In actual fact, the piecemeal sequestration of educational control from the Provinces and its cession to the central government resulted in the 'so-called' National Education Policy Act, in fact, only referring to 'whites'. In 1953 the Bantu Education Act placed Black education under the control of the Central Government. Dr H F Verwoerd, who became Minister of Bantu Education, expressed the regime's intent regarding the future of South Africa's black citizens as follows:

'It is the policy of my Department that (Bantu) education should have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the Native environment and in the Native community. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression, and there it will have to perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption into the European community, while he cannot and will not be absorbed there. Up till now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and practically misled him by showing him the green pastures of the European but still did not allow him to graze there. This attitude is not only uneconomic because money is spent on education which has no specific aim but it is even dishonest to continue with it. The effect on the Bantu community we find in the much discussed frustration of educated Natives who can find no employment which is acceptable to them.'

(Senate Debate, 1954, col. 2595 to 2622.)

The part the 'homelands' are to play in the facilitation of this enterprise is beyond the scope of this research. However, the aforementioned has been detailed because of its stark portrayal of who are 'excluded' from being considered South African 'nationals'.

In 1963 the central government gained control of coloured education by the passing of the Coloured Persons Education Act. Indian education came under its control in 1965, with the passing of the Indian Education Act No 61. For most South African inhabitants the term 'national' is mere rhetoric and only to be considered in what Malherbe terms an 'administrative' sense, i.e. in the delimited context of 'central':

'Here "national" connotes the central as distinct from provincial control of educational functions. It is the sense in which the Minister used "national" when he referred to it to contrast the divided control between the provinces and the central government of secondary education.'

(1977, p. 141.)

The National Education Policy Act No 39, which refers only to whites, became a form of legislative machinery which served to entrench the

separation of the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking sections of the South African education community. Recognizing that 'language constitutes both the most important content and the most important instrument for socialization' (Berger and Luckmann 1981, p. 153), Principle (d) of the Act states:

'The mother tongue, if it is English or Afrikaans shall be the medium of instruction, with gradual equitable adjustment to this principle of any existing practice at variance therewith.'

(Statutes of the Republic of South Africa - Education, p. 947.)

Scanlon (1966, p. 265) views the social consequences of the segregation of the different language groups at schools as being, over the short-term, successful, as the 'homogeneity of the pupil's peer group reinforces the other social influences leading him to regard South Africans who are not of this kind as members of so many out-groups. (And some groups are more "out" than others.)' In the long term, however, separation of the population groups will only 'hamper' their 'degree of loyalty', and that which differentiates them will forge an ever-increasing rift between them. Communication will become more and more limited. Scanlon fears that fragmentation will proliferate, and eventually become a threat to any attempt at a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

The teacher engaged in such a construction of reality, where loyalty is linked only to the smaller cultural sphere and cultural identity is only secure within the enclosure of its influence, can only solve problems which are homogeneous to it and issue from it, and is not capable of intervention on a wider scale.

Her/his vision and potency are limited. This leads to her/his teaching becoming divorced from wider educational perspectives which she/he may still unconsciously hold as part of her/his own educational philosophy. Hence the teacher's educational ideology and that of the State are at variance. Berger and Luckman elucidate the constitutional forces of this dialectic:

'Man is biologically predestined to construct and to inhabit a world with others. This world becomes for him the dominant and definite reality. Its limits are set by nature, but, once constructed, this world acts back on nature. In the dialect between nature and the socially constructed world the human organism itself is transformed. In this same dialect man produces reality and thereby produces himself.'

(1981, p. 204.)

Thus, where the political reality of the South African situation is at variance with that of the educational ideology of the teacher, the teacher is constantly being transformed by its political ideology. The teacher then has to transform either her/his allegiance to the political ideology, or the fundamental tenets of her/his own educational ideology, the one being in constant dialectical contact with the other. Variance of ideologies gives rise to frustration from a sense of inadvertent official or personal disloyalty. The issue at stake is that of 'loyalty': to which ideology does the teacher remain supportive and loyal?

THE PRESSURE OF COMMITMENT

The schizophrenia of the South African educational context devolves on the teacher when, against a background of constitutional and legal prohibition of interrelationship, she/he is directed to remedy the cultural separation and differences:

'The Department cherishes the wish that in South Africa with its multi-racial population, an attitude will be fostered in all pupils which will help build an imposing bridge of unity, regardless of language, political views and skin-colour. Such human relationships and mutual respect are of the utmost importance in our day.'

(Circular No 128/76, File L 14/66/39, 1976.)

That this is not to be taken seriously and that those responsible for issuing the directive have no faith in this ever being accomplished, is evidenced by

two other paragraphs in the same circular:

'It is appreciated that every school day is demanding as it is, but because such vitally important issues are now at stake, principals are urgently called upon once again to initiate, with renewed enthusiasm a vision, the important responsibility of preparing our youth effectively.

The Department wishes to emphasise that youth preparedness is not to be restricted to a demarcated weekly period. Everything which the pupil experiences at school must be employed to prepare him for self-defensibility in life.'

(ibid.)

The State's 'defensibility' thus enters the practical-social realm under the guise of 'self-defensibility', and not only in the 'demarcated weekly period'; but is to become the climate of 'everything which the pupil experiences.'

The teacher must thus become committed to the State's political prerequisites, and her/his meaning of life becomes derived from and committed to the State's ideology. Berger, Luckman and Kellner articulate such social interdependence:

'As the individual plots the trajectory of his life on the societal "map" each point in his projected biography relates him to the overall web of meanings in society.'

(1977, p. 73.)

The teacher's biography as it is in dialectical relation to those of her/his pupils is foreclosed as incorporating preordained militaristic values. The militarisation of the teacher's and her/his pupil's values is to be cultivated through the 'Youth Preparedness Programme' which will serve to link the State's ideology at the macro-level to the practical-social realm of the school. Under the guise of 'responsible citizenship', increasingly militaristic attitudes are to be fostered from the dimension of 'civil defence' to that of cadet detachments:

'The Youth Preparedness Programme, the civil defence action and detachments of the school cadets will be able to contribute considerably to the safe-guarding of schools and hostels. In this way the idea of preparedness and responsible citizenship will be impressed upon our school-children during their formative years already.'

(Circular No 128/76, File L 15/66/39, 1976.)

Teachers are to become the mediators in forging 'a new way of life' which becomes, in essence, militaristic. The intrinsic worth of knowledge tends no longer to be valid and all knowledge⁸ now becomes instrumental in 'State-defensibility'. Schools are to serve the State's ideological interests and teachers become the instruments of its related educational functionalism, and it is envisaged that this influence will through the pupils, permeate their homes.

'A sense of involvement in the safe-guarding of the school complex must be fostered in pupils, so that they will constantly be on the alert for anything that may arouse suspicion.

Such involvement will have beneficial effect on parental homes. Proof already exists of pupils who have influenced their parents to take precautions against possible dangers at home.

In this way pupils can become bearers of a new way of life to which we will have to adapt ourselves. It will have to become second nature to be constantly prepared.'

(ibid.)

THE PRESSURE OF 'ENCLOSURE'

I am indebted to Ivan Illich for the concept of 'enclosure'. He links the concept to that of the 'commons' to analyse what he calls 'shadow work' in the economic sphere.

'Speaking of the commons, one immediately imagines meadows and woods. One thinks of the enclosure of pastures by which the lord excluded the peasant's single sheep, thereby depriving him of the means of existence marginal to the market, and

forcing him into proto-industrial wage labor. One thinks of the destruction of what E P Thompson called "the moral economy". The commons now under discussion are something much more subtle. Economists tend to speak of them as the "utilization value of the environment."

(Illich, 1981, p. 3.)

I use the term differently and in a different context; however, the connotation is the same. To illustrate the manner in which the South African teacher is subtly becoming 'enclosed' by an imposed ideology which necessitates the re-alignment of values, beliefs and motives in educational praxis, I shall focus on the extended use of the aspect of 'preparedness' and how it has intruded into almost every realm of the school's curriculum

1. The extension of 'Youth Preparedness' into Physical Education.

3.1.3.1 The physical education and sporting programme of a school should also be regarded as a means of preparing and strengthening pupils physically. Together with this the marching manoeuvres of the cadets and the hikes and survival expeditions of youth movements, such as Landsdiens, Scouts, Voortrekkers, etc. should be an integral part of youth preparedness in action.'

3.1.3.2 The physical preparedness programme of the school should therefore precede that of the young man who has to undergo military training. If this has not been the case, young military trainees are not only broken and physically perplexed during their year of training: they are also incapable of rendering the essential service required of them as prepared citizens. A school in which only a selected group of achievers takes part in its sporting programme cannot succeed in cultivating the physical readiness of self-defensibility of its pupils.'

(Circular No 128/1976, File L. 15/66/39, 1976.)

The directive of this Circular discloses the transition of Physical Education to Physical Preparedness. The teacher's perspective is to be that he is preparing 'the young man who has to undergo military training'. How this is to be made compatible with 'all education having a Christian character' is not stated in the communication. For the above directive to be successful,

Physical Education classes would have to, in atmosphere and content, resemble that of a military training camp. To foster the obedience and subservience which are prerequisite to the highly valued military criteria of discipline and uniformity, the teacher would, of necessity, have to adopt an authoritative stance. In compliance with the State's intent, the teacher has no alternative options of teaching style. His personality would have to be accordingly adapted.

There is the insinuation that 'military trainees are . . . broken and physically perplexed' because of the inadequacy of the teaching of the Physical Education teachers. The psychological aspect of human emotion which contributes to 'military breakdown' is discounted, and incorrectly attributed a 'physical' dimension only. To be 'perplexed' is to experience an emotional state which contributes to physical breakdown. The 'breakdown' of military trainees cannot be blamed on the inadequacy of the Physical Education programmes in the schools, nor should any guilt in this regard be borne by the Physical Education teachers. However, teachers who do not closely examine what is being communicated, internalise the aspersions, and as an act of self-legitimation and protection, unthinkingly embark on designing projects and programmes which have embedded emotional content contrary to their intrinsic educational aspirations. The pupils who experience the duality of intrinsic and extrinsic intention become confused and either react or withdraw. The teacher's energy becomes directed to various forms of motivation which are counteracted by his teaching style and which leave him exhausted and disillusioned.

2. The extension of 'Youth Preparedness' into the academic syllabi.

The aforementioned Circular continues:

- '4.3 Within the scope of the syllabi, schools should set themselves the task of introducing their pupils to the following matters: The geographical borders of S.A.; its population groups; the main distinctions, characteristics,

way of life and dispersion of each group (e.g. the Ovambos, the Swazis, the Xhosas.) Furthermore, it is essential for everyone to have knowledge of the traffic arteries of the country, the functions between S.A. and its neighbouring states, the towns, rivers, key points, bridges and harbours in the daily news and of strategic importance (e.g. Beit Bridge, Komatipoort, Oshakati, etc.)

- 4.4. . . . This will also serve as preparation for future military trainees, and furnish them with further background knowledge which will be of inestimable value to them during their years of military training.'

(ibid.)

The academic subjects are to be taught for their extrinsic worth. Knowledge is to be conveyed in the manner in which its utilitarian dimension is accentuated. Instead of being an educator, the teacher is transformed into a 'resource person', motivated by a militaristic perspective. In the Co-educational schools, the girls, subjected to the plight of the boys, will likewise experience the military imperative. As this atmosphere pervades the school, teachers become transmitters of a cognitive style and rationality which is characterized by militaristic metaphor. Teachers talk of developing teaching 'strategies', using various 'tactics' and having 'objectives'. Teachers unaware of the dehumanization which is taking place in their teaching situation, blithely use these metaphors unconscious of their origin and what they engender.

3. The extension of 'Youth Preparedness' into leisure activities.

The extension of the school into the home beyond the scope of homework, and the enclosure of the pupil's leisure and privacy, are brought about by teachers having to supervise the pupil's 'private' reading.

- '4. The Department does not intend . . . to give the impression that the private reading of the pupils, and the control exercised in this respect, should be regarded as being of lesser importance. On the contrary, teachers and Inspectors of Education are requested to establish

once again the provisions of the various syllabuses in respect of supplementary private reading, and to encourage and motivate pupils in all standards, from Standard 5 to Standard 10, to read extensively.'

(ibid.)

The values of the school as an apparatus of the State are transported into the home in that only certain books are suitable to be presented as books having been read. The structuring of time and the supervision of its 'use' is ultimately tied to the structuring of history. The enclosure and enforcement of what is acceptable reproduces the future in the same vein as the present.

Teachers guiding the pupils' reading predispose the pupils to her/his own values which, because of official prescription, are coterminous with those of the State. In exercising approval or disapproval, teachers become 'judges', and the pupil's use of her/his leisure time, subjected to their judgement, becomes State designated.

Concomitantly, this form of supervision necessitates the teacher spending hours checking the reading book lists, ensuring that the pupils have read the books, and in some schools, marking the pupils' summaries of the books. The language teachers' perennial complaint about their marking-load is also the concrete expression of the incessant intrusion of the school into their pupils' lives, and thus, by the necessary supervision into the teachers' own home and social lives.

State ideology operates concretely on the practical-social level of the teachers' everyday activities. These activities are extending intra-murally and extra-murally in ever-widening encroachments on time and energy, an 'enclosure' of the teacher's life-force and being, and the eroding of the distinction between that which is 'public' and formal and that which is 'private' and informal.

4. The extension of 'Youth Preparedness' into outdoor activities.

- '1. In most cases the principles involved and the objectives (of outdoor education) are different. Some aim at leadership and character development, others make environmental awareness and conservation, recreation, youth preparedness, environmental education, social adaptation or survival their aim.
2. The Department of Education attaches great importance to outdoor education. It must however be undertaken in the correct way in order that pupils may derive the maximum benefit from it. Under no circumstances should it be seen as an "outing" or a picnic.'

(Circular No 43, File L 1/0/24/23, 1979.)

The State's recognised conception of 'outdoor education' is demarcated: 'leadership, character development, environmental awareness and conservation, recreation, youth preparedness, environmental education, social adaptation (and) survival'. Outdoor education must have 'aims', 'principles', and 'objectives'. Such 'education' must be undertaken 'in the correct way'. Even 'recreation' is not to be considered as an 'outing' or a 'picnic'. The experience of nature is also to be 'enclosed' within the utilitarian parameter. Teachers are called upon to supervise their pupils' behaviour and direct their experience of nature to purposive and 'goal-directed' ends. Traditionally outdoor activities were undertaken so that teachers and pupils could informally interact and communicate. Now the basic premise for their occurrence is that which informs a directed commitment. The teacher as a representative of the school is now to extend its influence and structure even into the natural environment, and by her/his influence 'enclose' it and subject it to positivistic ends. The teacher is to have little opportunity to reveal the informal, natural aspects of her/his personality to her/his pupils. The pleasure of intimate communication and sharing of 'unstructured' experience is denied her/him, restricts her/his relationships, and consequently prevents the feeling of worthwhile commitment and fulfilment in her/his teaching.

SECTION III

THE PROBLEM OF SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND THE FORCES OF BUREAUCRACY

PART 1

THE PRESSURE OF BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL: 'PROPER PROCEDURES'

PART 2

THE PRESSURE OF BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL: 'REIFICATION AND
ENPERSONALISATION

PART 3

THE PRESSURE OF HIERARCHICAL BUREAUCRATIC ORDERING

PART 4

THE PRESSURE OF HIERARCHICAL BUREAUCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY

THE PROBLEM OF SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND THE FORCES OF BUREAUCRACY

THE PRESSURE OF BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL: 'PROPER PROCEDURES'

'... in his work the individual is always actively involved. As a client of a bureaucracy he is always passively involved. In encountering bureaucracy, the individual cannot basically do things, rather things are done to him. Therefore the individual's encounter with bureaucracy engenders a greater sense of impotence than is typically the case with his work experience.'

(Berger, Berger & Kellner, 1977, p. 59.)

The teacher finds her/himself constantly hampered by a plethora of administrative injunctions. Teachers' grievances are expressed as a constant 'mutter' of discontent in staff-rooms, creating a perpetual climate of frustration. The resigned acceptance of each new dictum to which the teacher must become committed is a consequence of a feeling of helplessness, as any form of resistance must be channelled through the bureaucratic machinery established for such purposes. The manner in which those who are responsible for injunctions protect themselves by directing communication through School Committees, School Boards and Professional Associations is well illustrated in Circular No. 7/1975, File No. L.13/0/2/19:

'6. Use of the official channels and letters to the press.

School committees and school boards are the official bodies through which the Department should be approached. College, councils and certain advisory committees which do not fall under a school board communicate direct with the Department. In respect of professional matters pertaining to their sphere of activities the two officially recognised teachers' associations in the Cape Province (S.A.T.A. and S.A.O.U.) are the official channels.

It is desirable that communication should be through the official channels at all times. Other methods cause embarrassment and are not professionally justifiable.

Letters of complaint to the daily press seldom have the desired effect and are frequently the cause of the

teaching profession's being placed in an unfavourable light. It is inevitable that some teachers will from time to time feel aggrieved and frustrated, and the temptation to publicise their frustrations is often almost irresistible. The correct procedure, however, is to direct properly motivated representations to the authorities through the official channels. Teachers may rest assured that the authorities do not turn a deaf ear to such representations. What has already been achieved in education was accomplished, not as a result of letters to the press, but by responsible professional action on the part of the authorities in co-operation with the teachers' association.'

The constraint of 'proper procedures' prevents any evidence of disquietude amongst teachers being communicated to the community. Teachers are confined to seeking support from colleagues whose loyalty they can rely on. Disagreements amongst themselves are supposed to be resolved by the Principal, who in fact, by virtue of her/his position, can never be a disinterested arbitrator. To prevent the feeling of utter helplessness, teachers form 'cliques' and power groups, and seek justice in their own forms of retribution which compounds the pressures of their work-load. A teacher who is not in favour with her/his Principal really has no other option but to leave that school.

THE PRESSURE OF BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL: REIFICATION AND ENPERSONALIZATION

Distance is established between the teachers and the officials of the Department which results in minimal face-to-face communication. Such communication tends only to take place on 'official' occasions. The Department thus becomes, to most teachers, an anonymous, monolithic, reified structure to which they address their grievances. The grievances, however, are never redressed, and year by year, the same issues are contended. The de-personalization which stems from the reified dimension of bureaucracy is

counteracted by a determined attempt to humanize its artificiality. As Berger, Berger and Kellner state:

'There is the phenomenon of the personalization of bureaucracy. Sincerely or insincerely as the case may be, there is a deliberate effort to introduce patterns of emotionality and personal relationship into the anonymous structure of bureaucratic agency.'

(1977, p. 4.)

The phenomenon of bureaucratic personalization in education is an extension of mystified thinking to which teachers have been conditioned by the personalised reification of schools. Comments such as 'for the good of the school', 'to improve the school spirit', and 'harming the name of the school' indicate the extent to which pupils and teachers are seen to be at school 'for the sake of the school'. Some schools go so far as to have a school's birthday and are encouraged to bring presents for the school. The degree to which the school becomes personalized is indicative of the extent to which pupils and teachers have become de-personalized. The relationship between a person and a personalized bureaucracy is not the same as that between a person and another person; therefore it is necessary for 'patterns' of behaviour to be 'officially' prescribed. Principals are given 'guided behavioural procedures' in the Handbook for Principals.

'When the Principal receives the Inspector as a guest at a school function (even if the Inspector is a personal friend, or parent of one or more of his pupils), the Principal must always remember that the Inspector represents the Department or the Director of Education. Recognition must be given to the status of his office. Thoughtfulness, even in small things, can be most important: the manner in which the invitation is issued, arrangements for parking, the reception, the welcome and introduction, the allocation of a place of honour, the extension of hospitality, etc.'

(1982, p. 278.)

The Principal, subjected to officially prescribed behaviour, takes it upon her/himself to impose certain 'patterns' of behaviour on her/his staff. Teachers are told 'to be friendly, but not to make friends with the pupils'; 'a teacher must be an example to the pupils and to the community'; and 'teachers must not have "favourites"'. This 'patterning' of behaviour extends into the 'patterning' of the way the teachers dress. The person of the teacher becomes subsumed under the 'role' of teacher, and interaction

'takes place in a mode of explicit abstraction. This gives rise to a contradiction. The individual expects to be treated "justly" but this will only take place if the bureaucracy operates abstractly . . . and this means that the individual is a number.'

(Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1977, p. 56.)

The teacher can never be quite sure whether she/he is being communicated with as a 'person' or as an abstract entity.

THE PRESSURE OF HIERARCHICAL BUREAUCRATIC ORDERING

Thompson (1969) analyses the elements that make up bureaucratic organisational behaviour as being those of 'specialization' and 'institutional hierarchy', stating that 'modern bureaucracy attempts to accommodate specialization within an hierarchical framework'. Hierarchical relations emphasise that there is one person who holds the 'role of the superior' and the other who holds the 'subordinate role.' Certain 'rights' are ascribed to the superior: these are: 'the right to expect obedience and loyalty'; 'the right to monopolize communication', and 'the right to deference from his subordinates' (ibid, p. 19). He conceives hierarchical position as one of 'rights' and the 'rights' are retained as long as the person performs their associated 'duties'.

'Since a person's hierarchical position is a matter of definition, of defined rights and duties, it should be clear at the outset that any special deference paid to the incumbent may constitute a confusion of person and role. That is to say, a person may be entitled to deference by virtue of one or more of his qualities, but his role is not one of his qualities. A person is perceived by others, however, through his roles, his public or perceived personality being the sum of his various roles.'

(ibid, pp. 19 - 21.)

The teacher finds her/himself enacting a 'role' in an hierarchically arranged structure. Bureaucratically the pupils are considered subordinate to her/him, whereas she/he, in turn, is subordinate to the Subject Head, Head of Department, Deputy Head, Principal and Inspector. Each of these 'superiors' expects her/him to perform different 'duties' and to defer to themselves different 'rights'. As Thompson notes, the 'role', when viewed by more than one person, becomes 'roles' (ibid.). The teacher, engaged in these various 'performances', thus has to participate in 'impression management'.

'This suggests that while persons are usually what they appear to be, such appearances could still have to be managed. This is, then, a statistical relation between appearances and reality.'

(Goffman, 1969, p. 77.)

The inclination to 'manage appearances' is supported by the practice of 'merit' assessment where the teacher is given a rating out of 7 for 'personality'. The teacher concerned with 'managing appearances' constructs an 'irreality' and becomes alienated from her/his own authentic life-world.

The personal life of the teacher must be 'bracketed' and she/he must assign appropriate emotional states to the considered appropriate behaviour:

'Bureaucracy develops the more perfectly the more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation. The essence of bureaucratic arrangements is rationality. A spirit of formalistic impersonality is necessary to separate organisational rights and duties from the private lives of the employees. Only by performing impersonally can officials assure rationality in decision making, and only thus can they assure equitable treatment for all subordinates.'

(Abbott, 1969, p. 44.)

Under constant surveillance by pupils, colleagues and superiors, the teacher, having no office where she/he can retreat, is constantly obliged to suppress her/his natural human emotions. There is a total lack of privacy accorded the teacher. Her/his presence on school premises is required throughout the duration of the school day, which means that she/he is often 'on duty' for more than eight consecutive hours. Her/his subordinate position is emphasised by having to ask 'permission' from the Principal, or sometimes the Secretary, to attend^{to} any private affairs.

The teacher, subordinated to an organisational hierarchical ordering, becomes subjected to the decisions of her/his superordinates. Abbott cites Thompson as stating:

'It is assumed that the superior, at any point in the hierarchy is able to tell his subordinates what to do, and to guide them in doing it. That is, it is assumed that he is more capable in all of his unit's activities than any of his subordinate specialists who perform them.'

(ibid, p. 45.)

Abbott states that 'this statement seems to capture neatly the ideology which exists in the educational establishments'. However, this is not so as organisations to which the statement can be referred are those concerned with people being specialised in carrying out 'tasks', whereas in school, teachers are specialised in working with 'people'. Teachers have been trained to carry out "socially valued" functions which other people cannot perform' (ibid, p. 46). The Principal is not capable of performing all of the functions of her/his staff. There are areas where she/he cannot legitimately make decisions, and often she/he cannot and does not envisage the consequences of her/his administrative decisions. In schools the problem of authority is never quite settled.

The above gives rise to the problems teachers encounter when attempting to change any established practice or reverse a previously made decision.

'Since the right to innovate represents a potent source of power in the organization, and since the monistic formulation demands that power be concentrated in superordinate roles, innovation from below is difficult to achieve in an organization which adopts the monistic formulation.'

(ibid, p. 46.)

Two reasons can be ascribed to this. The first is that there is the problem of communicating the desired change, and the second is that hierarchical status demands that the superordinate always appears to be in control and to be the leader.

The teacher who tends to creativity or to an unconventional style of teaching is often spurned by her/his superiors. Often the superior introduces irrelevant issues in her/his criticism of the teacher, and then these become the focus of contention which are contended in subordinating the teacher to conformity. In this way the status quo is maintained and leadership rests with the superordinate. The teacher may only innovate 'with permission'. This requires the creative teacher to engage in various rituals of submission before she/he is granted the freedom to depart from the established practices. This becomes so time-consuming and energy-expending that soon she/he lapses into just following routine behaviour patterns with its consequent boredom.

THE PRESSURE OF HIERARCHICAL BUREAUCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY

The hierarchical ordering of school organisation results in a form of 'closed' management. Macro Educational Policy is determined by State officials to whom the Principal is accountable.

'He (the principal) is responsible for ensuring that all activities and procedures in his school are carried out in accordance with Departmental policy as prescribed by ordinance, regulation, circular letter, or notices published in the Education Gazette.

He receives Departmental representatives such as Inspectors, Subject Advisers and School Psychologists, and sees to it that their instructions, advice or requests are implemented.'

(Handbook for Principals, 1982, pp. 76-77.)

The Principal, being accountable for carrying out 'Departmental policy', has to formulate her/his school policy within its parameters. The Principal in reality has only 'delegated' authority, and while she/he in turn delegates some of this authority, she/he is ultimately held responsible for everything that takes place in the school .

'While delegation is one of the most important aspects on which good school organisation is founded, the principal must never forget that he is in charge, and must keep control by employing a system of general supervision and guidance.'

(ibid, p. 13.)

Teachers are accountable to seniors to whom the Principal has delegated authority, and in the last instance to the Principal her/himself. Problems which the teacher encounters must be referred to her/his immediate senior who may, or may not, refer them to higher authority. The teacher is constrained by 'proper procedures' to acquiesce to her/his senior's mode of intervention.

'... the school organization has developed a clearly defined and rigid hierarchy of authority. Although the term "hierarchy" is seldom used in the lexicon of the educational administrator, the practices to which it refers are commonly prevalent. The typical organization chart is intended specifically to clarify lines of authority and channels of communication. Even in the absence of such a chart, school employees have a clear conception of the nature of the hierarchy in their school systems. In fact, rigid adherence to hierarchical principles has been stressed to the point that failure to adhere to recognized lines of authority is viewed as the epitome of immoral organizational behaviour.'

(Abbott, 1969, pp. 44-45.)

To maintain control it is essential for those in authority to know as much as they can about the lower status groups. Teachers are encouraged to seek 'guidance' from their seniors who are 'willing to listen', but often find that their problems are turned back onto themselves, which precludes the senior from having to act, and concomitantly she/he has gleaned 'information' which, if relevant, is passed on to higher authority under the guise of 'loyalty'.

'The more one moves up the hierarchy the more people know about the activities of those below, and the more one moves down it the less people know about the activities of those above them. Hierarchical accountability facilitates social control over an organisation by a powerful elite at the top of the pyramid. It is indicative of the bureaucratic school organisation and is concerned with achieving the goals of the organisation most effectively and efficiently.'

(Elliott, et al., 1981, p. 6.)

As communication moves upward through the 'hierarchy' it is pruned of its threatening elements and thus becomes distorted. Information which the hierarchical elite withholds from the lower status groups is termed 'confidential'. Possession of such information by the low status groups is highly prized. Information becomes a source of power, and this gives rise to intricate 'informal' intra- and inter-school chains of communication being established. The organisational school hierarchy, in determining what is to be communicated and with whom the teacher may communicate, fragments the staff into sub-cultural groups. The restriction of communication acts as a form of control over the relationships that teachers have with each other and with their seniors. The teacher who is viewed as worthy of promotion is accorded 'official' cultural privileges, this often taking the form of receiving 'confidential' information which she/he may not disclose. This obfuscates the basic tenets of friendship and sincere interaction with her/his colleagues. To varying degrees the 'upwardly mobile' teacher finds her/himself ostracised, often unpleasantly labelled, and lonely.

SECTION IV

THE PROBLEM OF SCHOOL CULTURE AND THE FORCES OF TECHNOLOGY

PART 1

THE PRESSURE OF 'COUNTER' CULTURAL INVASION: TECHNICISM AS
A MODE OF EDUCATIONAL RATIONALITY

PART 2

THE PRESSURE OF 'COUNTER' CULTURAL DOMINATION: TECHNOLOGY
AS EDUCATIONAL METHOD

PART 3

THE PRESSURE OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM: THE GROWTH OF A
TECHNOCRACY

THE PROBLEM OF SCHOOL CULTURE AND THE FORCES OF TECHNOLOGY

THE PRESSURE OF 'COUNTER' CULTURAL INVASION : TECHNICISM AS A MODE OF EDUCATIONAL RATIONALITY

The traditional concept of culture is one where it is reduced to its content, organisational patterns, or rules. Malinowski (1931), quoted in Firth (1957), states:

'"Culture comprises inherited artefacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, habits and values." Social organisation is also included since he states that this is part of culture.'

(ibid, p. 16.)

Talcott Parsons (1951) distinguishes between culture and the social system:

'culture is transmitted, it constitutes a heritage or social tradition;

The first point, transmissibility, serves as a most important criterion for distinguishing culture from the social system, because culture can be diffused from one social system to another. Relative to the particular social system it is a "pattern" element which is both analytically and empirically abstractable from that particular social system.'

(ibid, p. 15.)

Emphasis is placed on cultural norms and mores by Levine (1973).

'I use the term culture to mean an organized body of rules concerning the ways in which the individuals in a population should communicate with one another, think about themselves and their environments, and behave toward one another, and toward objects in their environment. The rules are not universally or constantly obeyed, but they are recognised by all and they ordinarily operate to limit the range in variations in patterns of communication, belief, value and social behaviour in that population.'

(ibid, p. 4.)

To centre on ideas, values, ideals or symbols when viewing culture is to omit recognising the essential quality of its formation, that is, the relationships that these aspects have with each other. The manner in which the relationships in a culture are formed, and the influence which each one has on the other, is that which distinguishes one culture from another, and gives it its particular identity. Culture is always in a state of flux. Certain ideas, values, ideals and symbols are preferred above others, and can therefore be said to have a more powerful influence within a particular culture than others. Influences from the wider social spectrum are in perpetual competition, and a culture is always in a state of tension. Tension is resolved when influences become powerful enough to be either accommodated or assimilated into the culture.

'Rather than viewing culture either as a general expression of society as existing beyond its significance and material imperatives, culture would be defined in terms of its functional relationship to the dominant social formations and power relations in society.'

(Giroux, 1981, p. 26.)

When certain opposing influences are not accommodated in the cultural pattern they often cohere to form a sub-culture. In South African State schools teachers, predominantly from the 'middle-class', espouse 'middle-class' values and relationships which are often found to be at variance with those held by the pupils. The unequal distribution of power between teachers and pupils, and the different values the pupils bring into the schools from their social milieu, serve to establish a sub-culture within the school. The resolution of conflict between the dominant teachers' culture and the pupils' sub-culture, at times, can only take place because teachers can exercise their power of curtailing the pupils' freedom, and forcing them to become subordinated to the prevailing norms by their recourse to a Detention Class.

The dominant school culture itself is unstable. This instability is witnessed when teachers, who have to take their 'turn' at supervising the Detention Class, express their dislike at having to sit with another teacher's detainees. In such circumstances they resent being a symbolic representative of authority when they, themselves, do not subscribe to the norms which are being imposed on the pupils. Teachers have differing cultural affinities with the pupils.

The school culture either stands in contradistinction to the different value paradigms of other cultural groups, or attempts to assimilate or accommodate them into its own. When one cultural group is powerful enough to challenge the dominant culture and their value paradigms are in opposition, a 'counter' culture is established. Should the 'counter' culture become powerful enough it could replace the dominant culture.

South African State schools have in the past continuously been criticised by business, and at times the community, because of their adherence to 'academic' values which the 'middle-class' have seen as the means of acquiring cultural status and privilege.

A direct attack on the cultural aspirations of the academic fraternity, and thus on the prevailing traditional cultural aspirations of schools, was made in the HSRC Report. The challenge of a 'counter' culture, the values of which show tacit allegiance to those of the business community, was spelt out in its advocacy of 'vocational training' and the 'applied sciences' becoming the guiding principles of the 'new' value system for schools (ibid, p. 31.).

The challenge is one of 'values'. To analyse the effect of the challenge, the relationship of these values, and their relationship to their different cultures, must be investigated. The ethical commitment of the educator has always been accorded high status value in the traditional culture. Comparatively

speaking, the business executive, because he is 'realistic in the practical world of affairs', has in the realm of ethics been granted lower cultural status. However, educators have never been adequately rewarded, and on a materialistic level her/his occupation has low cultural status. The business executive, due to the visibility of material gains in business, has achieved high cultural status. Business in its alliance with economics has also gained increasing cultural 'respectability'. Its activities have achieved high cultural status, sufficient to woo the educator with the promise of greater reward and 'professional' status. What is being bargained is the substitution of improved financial and professional status for the high status value of the ethical commitment of the educator. If she/he succumbs, the State's 'Christian' hegemonic would become a phantom of formality to which only 'lip service' obeisance need be made. Education would devolve into being mere 'training'. Callahan describes the American experience of the above:

'In brief, the educators' function was not to determine what the schools were to do, but rather how they were to do what they were told. Doubtless many educators who had devoted years of study and thought to the aims and purposes of education were surprised to learn that they had misunderstood their function: they were to be mechanics, not philosophers.'

(1962, p.84.)

Daily the teacher's value commitments are either confirmed or negated with corresponding effect on her/his biographic situatedness. Values are the impulse of the rationale of motivation and identity. A change in value commitment necessitates a change in rationale and its justification. Justification based on intrinsic values reflects the relatedness of 'means' to 'ends'. Extrinsic justifications separate the 'ends' from the 'means'. The teacher has already experienced the latter in the bureaucratization of her/his school organization, and gradually a similar shift is taking place in her/his teaching experience:

'... a clear shift from the justification of existing institutions in terms of intrinsic value to their justification in terms of their instrumental utility of effectiveness. Secondly, we observe a shift from cultural to political and finally to economic institutions as the main focus for legitimating ideas.'

(Danziger, 1971, p. 285.)

The State has directed its attention to the 'utility' of education as the mechanism whereby its domestic and foreign crises, consequences of its 'apartheid' and 'job reservation' policies, are to be averted. The intrinsic 'good' of education, which was enlivened by the 'supreme good' of Christian doctrine, is now to be substituted for by the 'good' of the State. The teacher caught within the tensions between the two conflicting paradigms must, for peace of mind, commit her/himself to either one or the other, or exist in a state of 'limbo' confusedly vacillating in a mild state of schizophrenia.

'Neglect of problems related to cultural transition in education

South Africa is a developing country that is changing more rapidly than most developed countries. Modern science, technology and management skills, which are the most powerful resources that man has ever had at his disposal to enable him to change his environment, are not yet the cultural assets of significant sectors of all our population groups.'

(HSRC Report, p. 31.)

The motivational impulse of persuasion in the Report is embedded in the concept of 'change'. Man can 'change his environment; and South Africa ... is changing more rapidly than most developed countries'. However, the freedom of initiating 'change' is circumstantiated by 'change' taking place within the delineation of 'development'. Berger warns against such rhetoric:

'People who speak of development should frankly admit that they are engaged in the business of ethics and, at least potentially, of politics

.. development means good growth and desirable modernization ...

. modernization refers to the institutional and cultural concomitants of economic growth under the conditions of sophisticated technology.'

(1977, pp. 52-53.)

A commitment to 'development' (economically seen as synonymous with technological advancement and industrial growth) redirects the teacher's educational aspirations to being analogous to those of the country's technostructure. The technological rationale, scientifically orientated, becomes dominant. Other forms of rationale are suppressed or merge with the dominant rationale, as the teacher's mode of being becomes submerged in the technostructure.

However, to be part of the technostructure the teacher must forfeit her/his integrity. This 'rite de passage' can be summed up in the utilitarian mechanism of 'consensus': the final 'reduction' of the teacher as a person to an 'individual' where the technological rationale reigns supreme. The teacher her/himself accedes personal sovereignty to the 'other', to utilise her/his energy and mind devoid of personal value commitment. She/he now becomes totally 'objectified' and as such becomes an 'object', a pawn to be manipulated to achieving extrinsic goals and 'objectives'. The process of change is evidenced by a particular mind-set which inappropriately extends the technological mode of rationality to all other realms of experience. This is defined by Stanley as technicism:

'Essentially technicism is a state of mind that rests on an act of conceptual misuse, reflected in a myriad of linguistic ways, of scientific and technological modes of reasoning. This misuse results in the illegitimate extension of scientific and technological reasoning to the point of imperial dominance over all other interpretations of human existence.'

(1978, p. 12.)

Technological rhetoric establishes the technician climate in the school. Pupils are likened to commodities when they become 'products of a school'. Their dehumanization is extended when they are referred to as 'kids'. Teachers, unaware that they have internalized the technicistic rationale, extend its mode of thought to non-technical issues and then become troubled when they find that their only means of control becomes one of a 'technological' power relationship. This she/he attempts to ameliorate by a repertoire of 'novel' and 'innovative' teaching, grounded in a technicistic rationale, which contributes little to the education of the pupils so that they always 'know nothing' and 'never learn' and are labelled 'dumb'. Gradually her/his energy, self-confidence and identity is diminished in a fruitless enterprise where extrinsic security, or salary, or both, become her/his only motivation. She/he can only be defined a teacher, 'categorically'.

'The categorical mode of thought which characterizes technicism in education is expressed in the view that theory is inherently superior to commonsense experience, that the future can be anticipated in terms of technological innovation, that the perfection of human nature is essentially a problem in engineering more adequate social environments ... communities are simply social systems or collectives that can be redesigned by well intentioned theorists. As a categorical mode of thought, it ignores the complexity of experience.'

(Bowers, 1979, quoted in Buckland, 1982, p. 37.)

In the attempt to 'engineer more adequate social environments', the educational authorities have sought in the technicistic rationale of 'principles of scientific management', a panacea for all educational problems. Determined 'objectives', and their 'planning' procedures, are seen to be operationally more secure as they curtail and delimit the inconveniences of the unexpected. This is emphasized in the Handbook for Principals:

'A good planner continually asks questions and seeks answers to them. Penetrating questions like: what? why? how? who? will help the Principal to identify apparent and actual problems, and to determine positive objectives. Because good planning is closely interrelated with the determining of objectives, the Principal must have absolute clarity at each phase of the goals he wishes to achieve.'

(1983, p. 8.)

(Emphasis mine)

Some Principals even regard this as a new 'style' of leadership, and because of their unexamined acceptance of this rationale, Principals have inadvertently become 'managers' far beyond the confines of their office. Teachers are now 'managed' into the acceptance of the school's 'objectives' under the auspices of 'planning'. This form of technicistic rationale concedes to a pre-determined future. In the pursuit of these 'objectives' the future is interpolated into the present. The future becomes pre-determined, controlled, and so 'engineered'. History becomes State constructed. When the State becomes the definer of 'reality', religion is ousted by myth. God's Will is substituted for by the law of the State. Personal biography becomes a matter of State decree and lifestyles shaped by official prescript. The 'objectified' future, enacted by 'objectified' persons playing their part as 'roles', is the hidden agenda of school 'objectives'. The management of 'objectified' persons becomes a 'specialized' task.

'The modern Principal occupies a unique position in management. The position of the Principal has become a highly specialized management post, and it is therefore absolutely essential that the Principal be well-equipped to meet the demands of his position and that he have the necessary professional training in school management. The Principal and the aspirant Principal should, therefore, utilize every opportunity offered in the form of in-service training which will be of value to him in his management position.'

(ibid, p. 7.)

The Principal can only acquire 'management training' from professionals who are considered specialists. They are seen to have the 'expert' knowledge which will 'efficiently' solve all problems. This has brought about a standardization of activities and a standardization of teachers' attitudes in South African State schools.

'Every manufacturing establishment that turns out a standard product or series of products of any kind maintains a force of efficiency experts to study methods of procedure and to measure and test the output of its works. Such men ultimately bring the manufacturing establishment large returns, by introducing improvements in processes and procedure, and in training the workmen to produce larger and better output. Our schools are, in a sense, factories in which the raw products (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of twentieth-century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to the specifications laid down. This demands good tools, specialized machinery, continuous measurement of production to see if it is according to specifications, the elimination of waste in manufacture, and a large variety in output.'

(Cubberly, quoted in Kliebard, 1971, p. 75.)

THE PRESSURE OF 'COUNTER' CULTURAL DOMINATION : TECHNOLOGY AS EDUCATIONAL METHOD

Two aspects of technological production are: (1) standardization; and (2) supervision to ensure that the standards set are maintained. In South African State schools stricter supervision of all aspects of the teachers' work was brought about by the appointment of Heads of Department under the auspices of 'the new dispensation' (Circular No 77/1977, File L 1/0/3/1, 1977). Their task, initially, 'to teach and give guidance' (ibid), subsequently compounded into numerous supervisory activities (Handbook for Principals, 1983, p. 81). Bobbit, quoted in Callahan, succinctly describes the supervisory attitude and the relevance of standards:

'As long as teachers used the standard methods and accomplished standard results, management would not need to interfere. If, however, the teacher could not or would not do this, the supervisory staff would have to step in, and authority would be there to decide when they needed to interfere with the teacher.'

(1982, p. 60.)

Teaching methods which accomplish the required results become standardized, and education, instead of being an expansion of horizons, develops into an exhibition of techniques. The reductionism of science then characterizes the methodology of the teacher's classroom activities, and her/his interaction with pupils and colleagues. Spontaneity and creativity are admonished as detracting from the task at hand. Merton notes the importance of techniques for achieving 'objectives' and 'standards':

'Technique refers to any complex of standardized means for attaining a predetermined result. Thus, it converts spontaneous and unreflective behaviour into behaviour that is deliberate and rationalized. The Technical Man is fascinated by results, by the immediate consequences of setting standardized devices into motion ... Above all he is committed to the never-ending search for "the one best" way to achieve any designated objective.'

(Merton in Ellul, 1964, p. vi.)

The difficulty in establishing a 'standard in education' is noted in Circular No 7/7/75, File No L 13/0/2/19, although no mention is made of finding a 'standard' in education with a Christian character.

'While the concept of a "standard" in education is difficult to define, it cannot be denied that it does exist. Certain educational institutions, principals and teachers have throughout the years become known and have even achieved fame because of the high standard of their work.'

(ibid.)

Seeking a 'standard in education' is an impossibility. Education is not an entity which can be quantitatively related to a unit of measure of which

'standard' is an exemplar. Education is an abstract hypothetical construct. Any attempted definition would have to take place by referring to something which is deemed to be evidence of education having taken place. The seeking of a 'standard in education' is a form of technological obfuscation. To accept that education can be measured is to accept that teachers can also be measured. A 'standard' also represents a gradient of difference between that which is below and that which is above. It determines what or who is to be included as distinguished from what or who is to be excluded. Its usage is a technological procedure of discrimination.

The Circular continues:

'A specific level of achievement in respect of every aspect of education in the primary and secondary school phases and in the training of teachers - this is what is understood by the term "educational standards". Academic, technical or practical achievement in particular subjects is but one aspect; the others are the moulding of character, the instilling of moral values and the preparation of the pupil to adjust to society in the modern world - in short, the preparedness of the youth.'

(ibid, p.1.)

What is to be considered the content of education is completely ignored. Educational 'standards' are to be defined by 'a specific level of achievement'. The technological maximization principle of 'achievement' is to be the co-efficient of education, and as such to become for the teacher part of educational content. The teacher now embarks upon the never-ending pursuit of 'achievement'.

The areas of reality over which authority has already established its control, and which the technocratic experts and specialists supervise, are labelled: 'academic', 'technical', and 'practical'. This fragmentation of reality has enabled curriculum planners and designers to construe their own content and methodologies. However, there are three areas of the 'curriculum' which

have not, as yet, been officially incorporated into the technostructure, i.e. those concerned with 'character', 'morals', and 'socialization'. These aspects are gathered together under the umbrella designation, 'Youth Preparedness', and certain 'intellectual technologies' are advocated for their dissemination.

The advocated technological methodology for 'character formation'.

The character formation of pupils is to be brought about by the teacher 'moulding' their characters. The connotation of 'moulding' is that of the potter actively working with her/his compliant clay to a preconceived design. The teacher is thus cast into the role of craftsman who mythically envisions her/himself as fashioning the future in the image of the present.

'Motivational vitality is often grounded in belief in some myth: "Myth assures man that what he is about to do has already been done. In other words it helps him to overcome doubts as to the result of his undertaking" (Eliade, 1963, p. 141). Perhaps the central mythical theme of the modern West shared by virtually all secular ideologies is the image of man as Artificer - in some really important way the fashioner of his world and his history.'

(Stanley, 1978, p. 104.)

The metaphorical concept of 'man as artificer' and creator hails from Biblical symbolism as expounded in the Book of Isaiah, 64:8:

'Yet, O Lord, Thou art our Father; we are the clay, and Thou art our potter; we are all the work of Thy hand.'

(Revised Standard Version, 1952, p. 856.)

Indicative of the Old Testament, is the absolute subjection of man to the will of God. Christian hegemony, in forming the teacher's motivational vitality, becomes ideologically transposed as the teacher acquiesces to the role of craftsman and manipulates her/his pupils to conform to the image of the State's ideal. Stanley expresses disquietude at the dangers of such gravely simplistic reductionism.

'Reductionist metaphors - and this is a major reason for their popularity - conceptualize human behaviour and society itself as determinate objects capable of controlled observation, measurement, and (in theory) predictability. Yet from a humanistic point of view this reductionist agenda, important as it is for scientific progress, requires persistent attention to a deceptively fine line between two quite different questions. The first is: are human beings and their works describable in terms of the assumptions underlying such metaphors? The second question is: is the history of modern societies characterized by social processes and cultural assumptions that operate to produce human beings who are constrained to act in ways that make it appear as if they were so describable? It is surely fair to say that indifference to the line between these two questions is an important element of a technical mentality.'

(1978, p. 35.)

The advocated technological methodology for 'moral' development.

Teachers are to 'instil' moral values, the connotation of which is that morals can be fragmented and measured. To 'instil' is defined in the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary as:

- '1. To put in by drops; to introduce in small quantities.
 2. To introduce little by little into the mind, soul, heart, etc; to cause to enter by degrees; to infuse gradually; to insinuate.
- (b) to teach or urge stealthily.'

(Volume II, p. 1085.)

The teacher is to take on the responsibility for constituting the moral life-world of her/his pupils. In denying the pupil ethical autonomy she/he is to appropriate the pupils' freedom and impose the indisputable moral tenets of the State, which ideally the teacher has internalised. The State takes for granted that its societal reality as established is immutable.

The advocated technological methodology for 'socialization'.

The teacher is called upon to prepare the pupil 'to adjust to society in the modern world'. To undertake this implies a positivism of predictability which would only be valid for an envisioned 'engineered' society, where future

generations unquestioningly accept the prevailing condition of the 'given' norms and values. History, reproduced and reproducing, collectivises the person into the social group and orients her/him to a socially determined 'end'. The characteristic of a technologically constructed 'end' presages a manipulable social 'good'.

'... the social good can be reduced to a few concrete and precise factors. The corresponding educational technique, as a consequence takes a completely determinate direction. Social conformism must be impressed upon the child: he must be adapted to his society; he must not impair its development. His integration into the body social must be assured with the least possible friction... One of the most important factors in the child's education therefore is social adaptation. This means that - despite all the pretentious talk about the aims of education - it is not the child in and for himself who is being educated, but the child in and for society. And the society, moreover, is not an ideal one, with full justice and truth, but society as it is.'

(Ellul, 1964, pp. 347-348.)

Educators have long debated the 'aims' of education and 'What is education?' Curriculum designers have argued its content. The inherent relatedness of content to methodology has only lately come under scrutiny. Peters (1969, p. 45), in defining his view of the criteria of education, includes the relatedness of content and methodology. He states:

- '(i) that "education" implies the transmission of what is worth-while to those who become committed to it;
- (ii) that "education" must involve knowledge and understanding and some kind of cognitive perspective, which are not inert;
- (iii) that "education" at least rules out some procedures of transmission, on grounds that they lack willingness and voluntariness on the part of the learner.'

(ibid.)

Methodologies grounded in 'moulding', 'instilling' and behaviour 'adjustment', which do not take into cognisance the 'willingness and voluntariness of the learner' are proponents of conditioning. When compounded by the

'unwittingness' of the learner, it can be said that indoctrination is taking place. The motivational ruses the teacher then uses to gain her/his pupils' compliance tends to propaganda. These ruses, e.g. 'marks', 'badges', 'prizes', 'commendations', are not intrinsic to education but rather 'persuasions' which serve to prostitute education to some extrinsic service. 'Merit assessment', a ruse of similar typification, is used to 'persuade' teachers to 'mould' and 'adjust' their own personalities to the techno-structure. By so doing, they accept an 'invitation' to identify with the growing technocracy and become vulnerable to instilling its modernistic ethos.

THE PRESSURE OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM : THE GROWTH OF A TECHNOCRACY

The restructuring of posts in South African State schools as an aspect of the 'new dispensation' (Circular No 77/1977, File L 1/0/3/1) was the first move towards the recognition of a new educational élite. The creation of Head of Department posts reinforced the compartmentalization of knowledge and furthered the separation of teachers into 'departments' reflecting those of business organisations. To introduce Principals, Heads of Department, and aspirant Heads of Department to 'the requirements of the new dispensation', training courses, designated 'Professional Growth Courses', are held. A technicistic rationale underpins the theoretical foundations of these courses which are scientifically oriented. The emphasis on different power relations is embodied in the major themes, these being (1) organisation; (2) management; and (3) leadership.

The aspects of 'organisation' and 'management' I have already referred to. I will now focus on the aspect of 'leadership'. Initially it was stated that 'merit' awards, accompanied by salary increments, were introduced 'to reward the teacher in the classroom'. In actuality, it has become a means

of ensuring that those teachers with 'positive attitudes' are promoted in the hierarchy, and operates as a form of 'sponsorship' exercised by those already in power to ensure the continuation of their power and prestige. Abbott, 1969, focuses on this characteristic:

' . . . hierarchical positions tend to be filled, not on the basis of technical competence alone, but also on the basis of the ability to create the right impressions, those of busyness, loyalty, sound judgement, and so on.

To ensure adequate control, therefore, such positions tend to be filled by the sponsorship system. Promising young people with administrative timbre, that is, those who appear to be "our kind" are carefully groomed to fill positions in the hierarchy. During the grooming period recruits to the hierarchy are made aware of the fact that they are being observed, and that if they make the team it will be because someone above trusted them. Such trust tends to be earned by those who demonstrate their ability, and willingness to conform.'

(ibid, p. 48.)

The outcome of sponsorship, where indications were given to teachers that they were under consideration, became a contentious issue amongst teachers. Circular No 10/1982, File L 1/0/3/34 issued in March, 1982, stated that

'In view of the current negotiations, and to avoid disappointing teachers unnecessarily, Principals, Subject Advisers, School Psychologists and Inspectors may not henceforth, at any stage indicate to a teacher that he has been recommended for an achievement award.'

(ibid.)

This was replaced the following month, April, by Circular No 27/1982, File L 1/0/3/34 wherein the initial confirmation of official policy of secrecy was immediately contradicted by a qualification that

'Should a Principal and/or an Inspector of Education consider it desirable, in a specific situation, to indicate to a teacher that he is under consideration for the granting of an achievement award, the Department would have no objection to their doing so, PROVIDED THAT the following conditions are met:

- (a) . . . AFTER the Principal and the Inspector of education have reached consensus . . .
- (b) . . . he (the teacher) is only being CONSIDERED . . .
- (c) . . . he (the teacher) should regard the information as confidential.'

The secrecy and intrigue surrounding recommendations for 'merit' awards adheres to their allocation. It was initially stated that teachers receiving 'merit' awards were to be given 'ceremonial' recognition. Realising their powerful implications, some teachers have voiced their desire for privacy, even to the extent of anonymity. On some staffs it is difficult to determine those who have, from those who have not been granted 'merits'. This indicates a sense of 'shame' rather than pride experienced by some teachers who are selected, and has become a powerful indicator in the alignment of relationships.

'Evaluation', a prerequisite of awarding 'merits', requires that marks are allocated to the different 'components' of the teacher's activities. These are stated as: 'Curricular Efficiency', 'Extra-Curricular Efficiency', 'Attitude to Profession', and 'Character and Personality Traits'. The latter are profiled as:

Traits of personality: Resourcefulness, courtesy, judgement, temperament, self-confidence, approachability, tact, appearance, vitality, example set.

Traits of character: Integrity, sincerity, reliability, sense of responsibility, loyalty.

Human relations: Ability to work with people, co-operation with and handling of pupils, teachers, parent community and general public.

Leadership: Ability to lead teachers and pupils, to control and inspire, to solve problems and make decisions; initiative, maturity of judgement; management; vision.'

(Cape Department of Education, Form E. 251.)

This dimension of the teacher's behaviour is given particular attention when she/he is considered for promotion. The scientification of leadership renders all the teacher's behaviour as 'measurable' and reducible to 'facts'. Events which take place, and in which the teacher is involved, either to her/his advantage or disadvantage, are noted as 'incidents'. These are used to motivate either qualification or disqualification for 'merit' awards, an indication of authoritative approval or disapproval. To create the correct 'facts' artificial bonds are created, relationships become a matter of power manipulation and 'technique'. Ellul describes this phenomenon as

'The technique of so-called human relations, developed to adapt the individual to the technical milieu, to force him to accept his slavery, to make him find happiness by the "normalization" of his relations with his group and integrate him into that group to an ever greater degree . . . We can see that these personal relationships are also techniques, that they are not a counterweight to other techniques, but that they bring about the application of technique in the most personal and immediate area of human activities: man's relations with other men . . . Man is doubtless made more comfortable by techniques of human relations; but these techniques are wholly oriented toward compelling man to submit to forced labour. Machine and productivity are in the driver's seat.'

(1964, pp. 355-356.)

Where 'personal relationships are also techniques', the teacher who conventionally conforms to the technocratic ideal becomes singled out and given cultural privilege. The qualities which technicistic leadership requires inhere in the teacher who is ambitious, security conscious, more prone to solidarity than dissent, and who for the sake of stability and the maintenance of the status quo is predisposed to 'status charades'.

'Successful performance of status charades requires the solidarity of the performing team. Since impressions are all important, and since the control of impressions requires the discreet withholding and editing of the available information, all members of the administrative team must be trustworthy and discreet.'

(Thompson quoted in Abbott, 1969, p. 48.)

The concept of leadership in South African State schools thus becomes a misnomer. The hierarchical ordering establishes and maintains the existing prestige patterns to which teachers with talent are now singled out and initiated as early as their third year of teaching when they may receive the first 'merit' award. Teachers become forced into a 'posturing', and manipulate their relationships and personalities to create the right impression, an activity Thompson terms 'hierarchical dramaturgy'.

'What are the impressions fostered by hierarchical dramaturgy? As would be expected they are the heroic and charismatic qualities – the same ones that leadership-trait studies have been seeking. The impression is fostered that occupants of hierarchical positions are, of all people in the organisation, the ablest, the most industrious, the most indispensable, the most loyal, the most reliable, the most self-controlled, the most ethical, which is to say, the most honest, fair and impartial.'

(Thompson quoted in Abbott, 1969, p. 48.)

Leadership, itself, becomes a technique, and as such promotion posts become occupied by pseudo-leaders. This creates an artificial climate in the school and the teachers enter into an artificial mode of being. School life becomes divorced from reality and the teacher as teacher becomes a stranger to the teacher as person. The teacher is encouraged to do this by official dictum:

'In order to achieve a high standard in the lastmentioned aspect (Youth Preparedness) the teacher must be prepared every day to offer his pupils more than merely his knowledge and experience; he must also be willing to be their model and to have their interests at heart.

For every true educationist this is a self-imposed task.'

(Circular No 7/19/75, File L 13/0/2/19.)

The teacher who accepts the 'self-imposed task' to internalise the technocratic ethos of 'achievement', re-constructs her/his personality into that of a 'model', dissipates her/his power and becomes a 'victim of metaphor'. As Turbayne describes:

'The victim of metaphor accepts one way of sorting or bundling or allocating the facts as the only way to sort, bundle, or allocate them. The victim not only has a special view of the world but regards it as the only view, or rather, he confuses a special view of the world. He is thus, unknowingly, a metaphysician. He has mistaken the mask for the face.'

(1962, p. 27.)

As 'model' she/he becomes a component in a 'system'. Her/his behaviour can be attributed to a 'role', the patterning of which can be prescribed, evaluated, predicted and interchanged, if necessary. Her/his power may only be used to innovate within the system as her/his vision and actions are 'bounded' by the system.

'System theory results in a consideration only of the consequences of the use of power for the system, never does it result in a concern with the causes of the distribution of power. With any system analysis it is necessary to note the degree of compliance in relation to both political and economic policy goals and also to subcultural norms and values.'

(Evetts, 1973, p. 131.)

The teacher thinking of her/himself as teaching in a school, an apparatus of the educational system, remains actively and cognitively encapsulated within its boundaries. The economic and political systems are considered separate, their relational aspects are beyond her/his educational horizon, although, as social forces, they impact her/his everyday activities and are impulse to her/his actions and conflicts.

The economic and political motivation of the HRSC's investigation into education was stressed in the section 'Problems in Respect of the Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa'. The investigators stated that

'... it is increasingly maintained that the provision of formal schooling in the traditional closed pattern in fact contributes to the slowing down of economic emancipation and political development. Two errors of reasoning are committed, so it is alleged, namely an incorrect understanding of the relationship

between education and economics and an overevaluation of the meaning of education for the masses. Investment in education can only show dividends if it can guarantee that the manpower potential of a country is applied productively in its development. If it cannot do so, then at worst investment in education can stand in opposition to instead of in support of economic development.'

(HRSC Report, 1982, p. 20.)

The 'Research Priorities' stated in the HRSC Investigation were economically grounded. 'Economic growth' and the 'provision for the manpower requirements' of the country were of optimal consideration (ibid, pp. 7-8). The values which inform these intentions are radically different from those of the traditional liberal and religious values which have been inculcated by education in past generations of South Africans. 'Modernism' or 'Modernisation' is used to describe this change in metaphysical orientation.

'Modernism is value-agnostic to the point of nihilism as regards the possibility of grounding collective standards of value in anything more transcendent than the simplest shared utilities (like power, wealth, and security) of one's immediate personal circumstances. Finally, modernism is technological as regards the appropriate stance of the human species in nature. Nature exists, that is, to be harnessed to human will.'

(Stanley, 1978, p. 23.)

(Emphasis mine)

In pre-modern times religion was the hegemonic which related the practical world of action to the spiritual world of beliefs and intentions. Simplistically one could say that dogma or a meta-theory informed practice. Modernisation requires a reversal of orientation, i.e. practice tends now to be propaedeutic to theory.

'With such change the world of day-to-day practice comes into its philosophical own. The "practical" is now equated with the operations of the material world. The categories of moral theory are thus forced more and more into the immaterial and hence abstract clouds of vague moral "principles" or "values".'

In this kind of setting groups from different moral communities meet in the no-man's land of interest bargaining, and the common medium of exchange becomes not moral suasion but the practical coinage of utility.'

(ibid, p. 28.)

As the traditional hegemonic is transformed, the teacher experiences a void, a sense of 'homelessness'. The security of traditional ritual and symbol fades. The ideology of the traditional 'good' shared in community disintegrates into an 'associational' existence. As Stanley states:

'This distinction has to do with various established assumptions about what it is that human beings in a given society have in common with each other, have the right to expect from each other, how they identify with each other. Sociologically, the distinction points to different modes of social integration and cohesion.'

(ibid, p. 36.)

'Associational' relationships as a new mode of integration are, in fact, power relationships. These 'different modes of social integration and cohesion' in the macro-sphere are reflected and experienced in the micro-sphere of the teacher's life-world. The divergence of her/his commitment and authenticity as a dissipation of being, is experienced in multifarious dimensions. The teacher finds her/himself alienated from her/his life-world and from her/himself. The phenomenological manifestations and existential experience of this I term 'stress'.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TEACHER CONTEXTUALLY SITUATED IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH
SCHOOLS: AN OVERVIEW TOWARDS RESEARCHING TEACHER-STRESS

SECTION I

THE CONCEPT 'STRESS' AS PROBLEMATIC: DEFINITION OR PERSPECTIVE?

PART 1

IN SEARCH OF A DEFINITION

PART 2

IN SEARCH OF A PERSPECTIVE

SECTION II

TEACHER-STRESS AS HEGEMONIC AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF
THE TEACHER AS A PROFESSIONAL

PART 1

THE TERRAIN OF PROFESSIONALISM

PART 2

THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR SELF-REJECTION

PART 3

THE TENSIONS IN THE LIMITATION OF PROFESSIONAL HEGEMONY TO
TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION

SECTION III

TEACHER-STRESS AS IDEOLOGICAL AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF
THE TEACHER AS TEACHER AND/OR EDUCATOR

PART 1

THE TERRAIN OF TEACHING AND/OR EDUCATION

PART 2

THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-ESTEEM OR SELF-CONDEMNATION

PART 3

THE TENSIONS IN THE IDEOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS OF 'TEACHER' TO
TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM

SECTION IV

TEACHER-STRESS AS CULTURAL AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE
TEACHER AS ROLE-ENACTOR

PART 1

THE TERRAIN OF ROLE-ENACTMENT

PART 2

THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-INTEGRATION OR SELF-ALIENATION

PART 3

THE TENSIONS IN THE CULTURAL LIMITATIONS OF ROLE-ENACTMENT TO
TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION

SECTION I

THE CONCEPT 'STRESS' AS PROBLEMATIC: DEFINITION OR PERSPECTIVE?

PART 1

IN SEARCH OF A DEFINITION

PART 2

IN SEARCH OF A PERSPECTIVE

THE CONCEPT 'STRESS' AS PROBLEMATIC: DEFINITION OR PERSPECTIVE?
 IN SEARCH OF A DEFINITION

The confusion and obfuscation surrounding the concept 'stress' arises from the multifarious and diverse contexts in which it is considered. Dobson (1982, pp. 3-9) attempts to create some order by the presentation of 'conceptual models'. These he labels 'biochemical', 'psychosomatic', 'cognitive appraisal', 'psychological', 'proactive reactional', 'interactional', and 'psychosocial'. This diverse labelling alludes to the varied 'foci' of the different researchers and, likewise, to their adherence to restrictive nomological cognitive rationales which induce the compartmentalization of phenomena into 'physiological', 'psychological', and 'sociological' modalities. Lazarus recognizes the interrelatedness of contexts and notes that all aspects have to be taken into consideration. However, he himself distinguishes 'psychological stress' from 'physiological stress'.

'The key feature distinguishing psychological stress from physiological stress is that in the former the reaction depends on how the person interprets or appraises (consciously or unconsciously) the challenging event, while in the latter it is the condition of the tissues which directly determines noxiousness.'

(1971, p. 54.)

The separation of body and mind requires Lazarus to give recognition to two different kinds of stress. This distinction elucidates the body-mind problematic. 'Psychological stress' is deemed 'affective', a process of 'interpretation' or 'appraisal', whilst 'physiological stress' is considered 'effective', a product of a related cause or agent, a 'condition'.

When 'psychological stress' is conceptualised as an 'effect', a 'condition', or 'product', it necessitates the determination of stress causes or stress agents. As entities, these agents are variously designated 'stress triggers' (Pelletier, 1977, p. 82), or homomorphously 'stressors' (Selye, 1974, p. 15). These

'triggers' or 'stressors' then, in turn, also become problematic.

'Some stressors, for example, are recognized by the mind more or less automatically. In such cases, the alarm reaction is triggered almost immediately, though we often remain totally unaware of the reaction or of the stressor that evoked it The difficulty in such cases is that the connection between mind and body is so direct that it eludes attempts to conscious control

Other stressors are somewhat more accessible to our control. For the sake of our discussion, these can be conveniently divided into three groups. Let us call them "hidden" stressors, "unnoticed" stressors, and "obvious" stressors. Each type exhibits a somewhat different relationship between the cognitive processes of the mind and the stress reaction that follows - and each one can be dealt with in a somewhat different way.'

(Shaffer, 1982, p. 8.)

Traditional empirical scientific investigation, grounded in that which is 'observable', either ignores the contentious 'unnoticed' and 'hidden', or treats these dimensions as if they are 'observable', either by inference or reference to relational categories which have been theoretically established. Theories which are 'product' orientated determine the researcher's conceptualization of stress as an entity. Behavioural researchers, thus, relate behavioural responses to 'operationally defined' stress stimuli. The 'qualitative' connotation of stress is thus converted to a measurable, 'quantitative' denotation by observing the behaviour which is inferred as indicative of an individual experiencing stress. Anderson warns about such 'objective' interpretations:

'The important thing to bear in mind is the uniqueness of the individual character structure, and the symbolic nature of each detail of behaviour. Two people may be doing what appears to be exactly the same thing, yet the symbolic value of what they are doing may be entirely different in the two people. We cannot take it for granted that anything anyone does means any particular thing until we know the individual's own particular symbolic language.'

(1965, p. 10.)

Process theories attempt to accommodate 'individual differences'; however, when the traditional scientific paradigm is retained, they also predispose the researcher to a rationale of determinism and/or functionalism. Within a structural, developmental paradigm, the researcher attributes stress to childhood experiences of upbringing; and within a functional dispositional paradigm, the researcher signifies 'type' and/or 'temperament'. Allport (1937, p. 54) relates a person's emotional nature to 'temperament' which affects the quality of her/his 'prevailing mood'. Such 'temperament' he considers to be largely 'hereditary in origin'. This gives rise to distinctive deterministic formulations of 'attitude' and 'trait', which he considers as the ground of all personality (ibid, p. 295). Thus:

'A trait ... has more than nominal existence, it is independent of the observer, it is really there ... this view does not hold that every trait-name necessarily implies a trait; but rather that behind all the confusion of terms, behind the disagreement of judges, and apart from errors and failures of empirical observation, there are nonetheless bona fide mental structures in each personality that account for the constancy of behaviour.'

(ibid, p. 299.)

and

'Ordinarily attitude should be employed when the disposition is bound to an object of value, that is to say, when it is aroused by a well-defined class of stimuli, and when the individual feels toward these stimuli a definite attraction or repulsion.'

(ibid, p. 295.)

This 'process' concept of personality, exemplified by 'attitude', which the 'individual feels' as 'attraction or repulsion' is in fact, according to Allport, co-relational to 'trait', which is 'really there' as some 'thing' present in the 'mental structures' of 'each personality'. Again there is evidence of an affective/effective, process/product confusion of conceptualization which renders a definitional approach to stress nonviable. Dobson gives support to this view:

'In spite of the abundance of available written material, it would be difficult to present an adequate definition of stress - one which would be acceptable to all. The concept remains vague and ambiguous and any definition must of necessity reflect the interests, methodologies and subject matter of the disciplines which attempt to study it. A search of the literature reveals that there are over 300 definitions of stress and words which are semantically akin to it.'

(1982, p. 2.)

The researcher's theoretical bias is often not made explicit, and only becomes revealed by her/his choice of methodological procedures with their attendant implicit assumptions and inferences. Levitt differentiates the various perspectives which influence researchers in their experiments conducted within the behavioural paradigm. They differentially give consideration to:

1. A particular stimulus situation, without reference to the reactions of the subjects.
2. A particular reaction or set of reactions of the individual, without reference to the situation.
3. A particular situation and a particular response or group of responses; or
4. a state of the individual which brings about a particular set of reactions.'

(1968, p. 32.)

Stress has been investigated as a 'dependent' variable, as an 'independent' variable and as an amorphous 'intervening' variable, whence it becomes likened to 'fear', 'anxiety', 'frustration', 'conflict', or 'pressure'. A similar configuration of meaning is evidenced in the Shorter Oxford Dictionary's definition: 'Stress': 'To subject (a material thing, a bodily organ, a mental faculty) to stress or strain, with additional meanings of: 'hardship', 'hard-up', 'constraint', 'restraint', 'compulsion', 'adversity', 'oppression', 'confinement', 'incarceration', 'overwork', 'fatigue', 'risk', 'load', 'weight', and 'emphasis'. (1977, Vol II, p. 2148).

However, reflection on the above diverse meanings of stress does illustrate its applicability to the conceptualization of the interrelatedness of 'physical', 'psychological' and 'sociological' phenomena. As such, its usage for describing the emotional experience of a person need not be circumscribed by confinement to either a 'product-effect', or a 'process-affect', definition, but the term is analogous rather to that of a perspective which is open to the incorporation of all related phenomena.

A person experiencing an emotional state has no problem in communicating her/his experience in every-day life. She/he freely uses the terms analogous to the term 'stress' in describing what she/he is feeling, or has felt, in a particular situation. The manner in which she/he perceives the experience influences her/his choice of verbal representation (word) to communicate her/his perspective of the situation and the aversive emotional state of her/his body-mind-situatedness.

Therefore, I have chosen the term 'stress' for its medley of meanings which, I consider perspectively embrace the non-separation of the body-mind modalities, (i.e. the person physically, consciously and socially situated), postulating such integration as preponent to the experience of any emotional state. When the situational-experience is aversive, contingent to the mind reflecting un-ease, the body reflects its dis-ease, and vice versa. When such experiences are continuous and uncontained, there will be a manifestation of disease afflicting concomitantly body-mind or mind-body. This research project is confined to the investigation of the un-ease and dis-ease which a person selfconsciously experiences, when, to her/him, a situation is or was experienced as aversive.

IN SEARCH OF A PERSPECTIVE

The human attribute of self-consciousness is of especial interest to the sociological researcher, for whom it represents the fundamental theoretical principle operative in the individual socialization process. As such it constitutes a fundamental principle of sociological theory.

The tendency to view the self as an 'object', totally dependent on society for 'its' formation and continuation, can be traced to the traditional sociological theorists whose work still influence contemporary sociological and psychological thought. Mead (1934) describes the relationship between the individual and society as follows:

'The individual enters as such into his own experience only as an object, not as a subject; and he can enter as an object only on the basis of social relations and interactions, only by his experiential transactions with other individuals in an organized environment ... the existence of private or "subjective" contents of experience does not alter the fact that selfconsciousness involves the individual's becoming an object to himself within an organized setting of social relationships, and that unless the individual had thus become an object to himself he would not be self-conscious or have a self at all.'

(ibid, p. 225.)

To Mead, the 'mind' is nothing other than the importation of the external processes of socialisation which constitute the manner in which the individual 'solves the problems of existence as they arise' (ibid, p. 188). Cooley (1902), likewise, theoretically discounts the possibility of integrated personal responsibility for identity. He linguistically differentiates between the "I" and the "me", and then correlates the "me" with the body. Citing general conversation and literature as examples, he declares that: 'in not more than ten cases in a hundred does "I" have reference to the body.... It refers chiefly to opinions, purposes, desires, claims, and the like, concerning matters that involve no thought of the body' (ibid, p. 144). 'Mind' is attributed the

responsibility for apparently disembodied 'opinions', 'purposes', and 'desires' arising in the world. This linguistic division of the self permits Cooley to ignore, and by so doing, annihilate any concept of individual moral identity, and personal moral responsibility in reconstructing a value-free 'empirical' self.

'It is well to say at the outset that by the word "self" ... is meant simply that which is designated in common speech by the pronouns of the first person singular, "I", "me", "mine" and "myself". "Self" and "ego", are used by meta-physicians and moralists in many other senses, more or less remote from the "I" of daily speech and thought, and with these I wish to have as little to do as possible. What is here discussed is what psychologists call the empirical self, the self that can be apprehended or verified by ordinary observation.'

(ibid, pp. 136-137.)

Horney (quoted in Hamachek, 1978) does not rely on linguistic formulations, but rather centres on the interpersonal responses of the self as 'moving toward people', 'moving against people' and 'moving away from people' (ibid, pp. 58-59). Any of these 'movements' carried out in excess is indicative of the neurotic or psychotic personality. Sullivan (1953) also stresses the importance of interpersonal responses but in the form of relationships, and especially emphasizes the importance of other 'significant' persons (ibid, p. 9). He postulates the self progressing through various 'heuristic' stages of development, these being: 'infancy, childhood, the juvenile era, preadolescence, early adolescence, late adolescence, and adulthood or maturity' (ibid, p. 33), whence one becomes 'oriented to living', depicted as

'... the extent to which one has formulated, or can easily be led to formulate (or has insight into) data of the following types: the integrating tendencies (needs) which customarily characterize one's interpersonal relations; the circumstances appropriate to their satisfaction and relatively anxiety-free discharge; and the more or less remote goals for the approximation of which one will forego intercurrent opportunities for the satisfaction or the enhancement of one's prestige.'

(ibid, p. 243.)

Becoming 'adequately oriented to living' is an indication of the 'well-integrated person'. This view typifies those of the deterministic and functionalistic theorists, who, in one way or another, all subordinate the person to social processes, circumscribing her/his integrity by requiring her/him to adapt her/his personality, uncritically and unquestioningly, to a prevailing social collective.

The basic tenets of such theories have pervaded social thought, and have gained currency in social interaction and the collective culture. Consequently they have become persuasive as a mode of rationalising personal experiences. Consensus of 'integration' and 'adaptation' enables socially referenced judgement of a person's personality to be made; however, such judgements can never be totally correct when they are made by considering only partial aspects of the self as a sociological or psychological construct which is the consequence of a functionally determining perspective. However, uncritically and unaware people themselves have internalised these basic tenets of the sociologists and psychologists, and thus their conceptualizations have become the reference points for self-judgements which are often heard communicated in everyday conversations. Consensus to a division of the self is preponent to a schizophrenic division of self-consciousness. The self which is a unique embodied-self-consciousness is not only present-oriented and past-reflective, but concomitantly biographically projects her/himself from the known into the unknown, from the real-ized into the un-real-ized future. As embodied-self-consciousness the self is 'at the centre of (her)/his passing beyond' (Sartre, 1947, p. 59), and as biographical project, 'a possibility' (Blackham, 1952, p. 88). Moustakas declares that the self can only be 'understood' in the light of 'human presence and being' because;

'The self is not its definition or description but rather the central being of the individual person. The self is not definable in words. Any verbal analysis tends to categorize or segment the self into communicable aspects or parts. The self can only be experienced. Any attempt to convey its meaning verbally must be based on language which can only be partially understood. Therefore comparison, relatedness and association to situations are required in a communicable definition of self.'

(1965, p. 46.)

(Emphasis mine.)

Problematic, and prerequisite to communicating any sociological or psychological phenomenon, is a conceptualization of self. As stress is a human emotion it cannot be conceived of without some conception of the self-experiencing-stress. Moustakas' requirements of 'comparison, relatedness and association to situation' for a communicable definition of self maintains the integrity of the self by retaining the embodied-self-consciousness of the self. I shall, therefore, take Moustakas' three requirements: 1. 'association to situation'; 2. 'relatedness to situation'; and 3. 'comparison to situation' as the basic tenets to establishing my frames of reference and refining my conceptualizations which will inform the procedural activities of my research.

1. Association to Situation

This is established by the use of the terms: teacher-self, and teacher-stress.

2. Relatedness to Situation

This is established by the use of the following descriptive pro-active concepts:

2.1 Pro-active Concepts:

2.1.1 Teacher-Self-Actualization:

Describes the self's real-ization of her/his potential as positively projecting the self biographically into the future in thought and/or action for self-as-teacher.

2.1.2 Teacher-Self-Esteem:

Describes the valuing-self which legitimates the authenticity of her/his biographical project in thought and/or action for self-as-teacher.

2.1.3 Teacher-Self-Integration:

The integrated-self is grounded in self-integrity and personal commitment which is viewed as being congruent with the self's biographical project in thought and/or action for self-as-teacher.

3. Comparison to Situation

This is established by positing the dialectic of the re-active concepts as antitheses in their relatedness to the situation.

3.1 Re-active Concepts:

3.1.1 Teacher-Self-Rejection:

Describes the self's rejection of her/his potential to futurizing her/his biographical project in thought and/or action for self-as-teacher.

3.1.2 Teacher-Self-Condemnation:

Describes the self's renegading her/his own values by denial or by the substitution of 'other unauthentic values which in thought and/or action invalidates the self's biographical project for self-as-teacher.

3.1.3 Teacher-Self-Alienation:

Describes the self's withdrawal of personal commitment and self-integrity in thought and/or action as being incongruent with the self's biographical project for self-as-teacher.

SECTION II

TEACHER-STRESS AS HEGEMONIC AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF
THE TEACHER AS A PROFESSIONAL

PART 1

THE TERRAIN OF PROFESSIONALISM

PART 2

THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR SELF-REJECTION

PART 3

THE TENSIONS IN THE LIMITATION OF PROFESSIONAL HEGEMONY TO
TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION

TEACHER-STRESS AS HEGEMONIC AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE TEACHER AS A PROFESSIONAL

THE TERRAIN OF PROFESSIONALISM

The locus of professionalism is power, and as such it is double-edged. Whereas its promoters seek autonomy and endeavour to wrest an area of freedom from the social sphere, they must legitimate their claims to that freedom by rendering a recognisable, valued, and unique social service, and demarcate the limitations of freedom which they will impose upon themselves.

The advent of professionalism was grounded in the 'principles' of the 'special knowledge' which informed the 'skills' of the professional, and to which she/he related. This differentiated her/him from the craftsman, whose concerns were with the individual objects to which she/he related. The skills of the craftsman were acquired by custom through traditional practice.

Bledstein emphasises the difference:

'The professional excavated nature for its principles, its theoretical rules, and thus transcending mechanical procedure, individual cases, miscellaneous facts, technical information and instrumental applications.'

(1978, p. 88.)

The belief that natural laws were embedded in nature, and that these would be revealed by commitment to their search, fostered the idea of the professional's dedication. The recognition of the inestimable value of such knowledge to the social sphere, legitimated the status and financial reward accorded the professional. Thus there developed with professionalism the particular life-style of the professional with its attendant characteristic culture:

'The culture of professionalism emancipated the active ego of the sovereign person as he performed organized activities within comprehensive spaces professionalism incarnated the radical idea of the independent democrat, as a liberated person seeking to free the power of nature within every worldly sphere, as a self-governing individual exercising his trained judgement in an open society a professional person strove to achieve a level of autonomous individualism, a position of unchallenged authority ...'

(ibid, pp. 87-88.)

As professionalism developed, the different professions, grounded in their different 'forms' of knowledge, contributed their own differing characteristics to the germinal professional culture. Lieberman (1956, p. 7) distinguishes the 'non-scientific' professions of the ministry and law, which he describes as 'institutional', from the 'scientific' professions of medicine and engineering. The difference lies in the observation that the 'non-scientific' professions derive their legitimation for practising their skills from institutional traditions; whereas the 'scientific' professions derive their legitimation from the empirical sciences. The consequent 'diverse' cultural characteristics cannot be accommodated within a single definition of professionalism, and when it is attempted it results in a pruning of the concept to a non-viable simplicity, such as that rendered by Vollmer and Mills:

'An occupation based on specialised intellectual study and training, the purpose of which is to supply skilled service or advice to others for a definite fee or salary.'

(1966, p. 2.)

Such facile definition neglects the intricate dialectical hegemonic processes tacitly inherent in the 'social contract' which professionals have negotiated with the social sphere in the recognition of professionalism as a social phenomenon. Hence it is more efficacious to view professionalism rather by attending to its 'nature' (Langford, 1978, pp. 5-21) or its 'characteristics' (Lieberman). Lieberman describes the determining aspects as

1. A unique, definite and essential social service.
2. An emphasis on intellectual techniques in performing the service.
3. A long period of specialised training.
4. A broad range of autonomy for both the individual practitioners and for the occupational group as a whole.
5. An acceptance by the practitioners of broad personal responsibility for judgements made and acts performed within their scope of professional autonomy.
6. An emphasis upon the service to be rendered, rather than the economic gain to the practitioners, as the basis for the organisation and performance of the social service delegated to the occupational group.
7. A comprehensive self-governing organization of practitioners.
8. A code of ethics which has been clarified and interpreted at ambiguous and doubtful points by concrete cases.'

(1956, pp. 7-21.)

Problematic to viewing teaching as a profession is the relationships between the intrinsic values of the 'special knowledge', which is referred to as informing the 'practising skills' of the teacher, and the actual 'practising skills' of the teacher. The fundamental premises of teacher-professionalism are both 'non-scientifically' and 'scientifically' grounded. Therefore, confusion arises when teachers seek to legitimate their demands for professional recognition, as the 'special knowledge' which they claim to have is non-scientifically grounded, whilst their 'practising skills', which they seek to legitimate, by reference to their methodologies, are scientifically grounded. Likewise, teaching requires not only 'special knowledge' and 'practising skills', but it also requires a special humanistic relationship between the person-teacher and the person-pupil, which is not analogous to the relationship which the professional in any of the other professions has with the person-as-client.

THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR SELF-REJECTION

Self-actualization is not an 'achievement', nor is it a form of technicistic 'effectiveness'. It can best be described as the experience of a person authentically selecting a particular option as an impulse to self-discovery, a realization of the self's potential. Maslow describes this 'moment of choice' by saying

'... let us think of life as a process of choices, one after another. At each point there is a progression choice and a regression choice. There may be a movement toward defense, toward safety, toward being afraid; but over on the other side there is a growth choice. To make the growth choice instead of the fear choice a dozen times a day is to move a dozen times a day toward self-actualization. Self-actualization is an ongoing process.'

(1965, p. 44.)

Maslow describes the 'self-actualizing moment' as the person 'experiencing fully, vividly, selflessly, with full concentration and total absorption ... the person is wholly and fully human', (ibid). Similarly, Moustakas, (1965, p. 41) states: 'True growth, actualization of one's potential occurs in a setting where the person is felt and experienced as sheer being.'

The choice to future self-actualization and potential realization is not easily undertaken, as it necessitates a confrontation with the constraints and restraints of the presently existing self. Simplistically, it is the self's negotiation of her/his own unique identity in the realm of freedom. She/he has to create her/his freedom to make the choice. Fromm describes this freedom as being both quantitative and qualitative:

'... we are fascinated by the growth of freedom from powers outside ourselves and are blinded to the fact of inner restraints, compulsions, and fears, which tend to undermine the meaning of the victories freedom has won against its traditional enemies ... We forget that, although each of the liberties which have been won must be defended with intense vigour, the problem of freedom is not only a quantitative one, but a qualitative one; that we not only have to preserve and increase traditional freedom but that we have to gain a new kind of freedom, one which enables us to realize our own individual self, to have faith in this self and in life.'

(1984, p. 91.)

The qualitative problem of freedom, Jersild (1965, p. 539) stresses as: 'the search for meaning' which is 'essentially a search for the self. Meaning constitutes in many respects the substance of the self.' It is the meaning the person accords her/his experiences, which constitutes her/his individuality, differentiating her/him from others, and enabling her/him to stand alone and accept self-responsibility which ascribes to her/him her/his uniqueness. Personal responsibility requires self-knowledge and a commitment to a personally meaningful destiny. A positive or pro-active approach to self-knowledge is essential to self-actualization, whilst a negative or re-active attitude requires the person to reject aspects of her/his own self, that is, self-rejection. The latter exemplifies a form of existential fear. Maslow (1968) paying tribute to Freud, describes this fear as the inability to know and actualize one's self:

'... Freud's greatest discovery is that the great cause of much psychological illness is the fear of knowledge of oneself - of one's emotions, impulses, memories, capacities, potentialities, of one's destiny. We have discovered that fear of knowledge of oneself is very often isomorphic with the parallel with fear of the outside world. That is, inner problems and outer problems tend to be deeply similar and to be related to each other. Therefore we speak simply of fear of knowledge in general ..."

(ibid, p. 60.)

The problems of 'choice', 'freedom', and 'meaning' are co-existential. The self rejecting her/his authentic individuality in any one of these dimensions sacrifices some part of her/his self, precluding her/his own actualization of self-hood. Authenticity requires the self to be the focus of reference and to accept her/his own personal commitment and destiny. Maslow identifies some of the characteristics of self-actualizing people, describing such people as:

'Problem-centered ... strongly focused on problems outside themselves (p. 159);

... strongly ethical, they have definite standards (p. 168);

... as if they were all members of a single family - (They have the feeling of Gemeinschaftsgefühl), and have a genuine desire to help the human race (p. 166).

... democratic people in the deepest possible sense ... they find it possible to learn from anybody who has something to teach them (p. 167);

... relatively spontaneous in behaviour ... and lack artificiality or straining for effect (p. 157);

... propelled by growth motivation rather than deficiency motivation ... they are dependent on their own potentialities and latent resources (p. 162);

... not well adjusted (in the naive sense of approval of and identification with the culture) ... they resist enculturation and maintain a certain inner detachment from the culture in which they are immersed (p. 171);

... able to detect the spurious, the fake, and the dishonest in personality, and in general to judge people correctly and efficiently' (p. 153).

(1954, pp. 149-180.)

THE TENSIONS IN THE LIMITATIONS OF PROFESSIONAL HEGEMONY TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION

The tensions experienced by the self-actualizing-person-as-teacher in defining her/himself a professional, are both covert and overt. Teacher-professionalism in South African State schools covertly contradicts some of the germinal tenets of professionalism which are tacitly inherent in the social contract of professionalism.

Firstly, the South African Teachers' Council, claiming as its objective 'to uphold and promote esteem for education and the teaching profession' (Act No 116 of 1976), is, in its being a statutory body, an apparatus of the State. The hegemony of teacher-professionalism is thus encapsulated within the political hegemony of the State. As such, teaching in South African State schools is a political enterprise. The statement in the 'Further Provisions in Addition to the Preamble and Credo of the Code' that

'(a teacher shall not) use his position as a teacher to further private or political party aims, or to encourage disobedience or resistance to the laws of the State or propagate any idea to cause or promote antagonism amongst any section of the population.'

(Teachers' Council Handbook, p. 24.)

covertly necessitates the teacher's support and propagation of the State's political policies. Divergent views could be considered contentious and could be viewed as 'aim(ing) to encourage disobedience or resistance to the laws of the State'. The self-actualizing teacher, who is characteristically more 'problem centred' than 'ego centred', becomes predisposed to the possibility that her/his democratic problematizing the policies of the prevailing regime will be misconstrued and considered politically contentious. In refraining from, or curtailing, social-political dialogue, her/his predisposition to having a 'democratic' outlook is frustrated, and inadvertently she/he of necessity adopts an authoritarian stance, a compulsion which is a consequence of uniparadigmatic discourse. Should she/he traverse the 'official' social prescriptions she/he could be accused of using her/his position 'to further (her/his) private or political party aims.'

Secondly, the Teachers' Code (Act No 116 of 1976) requires that the teacher 'identifies with his profession', which concomitantly means that she/he approves professional status being accorded only to 'whites', whereas the status of the professional is grounded in the 'special knowledge and skills' which the professional possesses, irrespective of ethnic identity. Identification with professional hegemony, delimited to identification with 'whites', only contradicts the 'gemeinschaftsgefühl', a natural characteristic of the self-actualizing person, who enjoys community with people and values them for their very diversity and uniqueness. And this could be one of the very reasons why the self-actualizing person has chosen to teach. The vision of

the particular and unique in relation to the universal is the essence of 'peak' experiences. These experiences have been qualitatively described as the experience of the 'universal' and the 'mystical', and quantitatively described as the experience of timelessness and the 'eternal'. The teacher identifying with professionalism as it is presently conceived would, in fact, be confining her/his teaching and educational philosophy to political-cultural pragmatism. Her/his vision would be circumscribed to a 'particular' officially prescribed present precluding any possibility of transcending the mundane 'now' and so precluding the realization of the possibility of any 'peak' experience in her/his teaching praxis.

Thirdly, the professional status accorded the teacher-professional by her/his professional organisation is dependent on her/his relating to her/his 'knowledge and skills' in the manner recognized by the professional organisation. Whether the profession seeks legitimation for its status by reference to traditional philosophies or the empirical sciences,^{i.e.} tacitly establishes assumed pre-theoretical values within its professional paradigm. These values become implicit in the skills of its practitioners. The teacher-professional who does not utilise the recognised 'skills' of her/his profession which, in teaching, would be recognised methodologies, could be regarded as acting in an 'unprofessional' manner and her/his teaching behaviour would be liable to professional criticism. The self-actualizing teacher's creativity, spontaneity and natural tendency to experimentation would be subjected to hierarchical approval and the pressure of professional conformity. Her/his search for meaning would have to remain within the established professional parameters. To this she/he would experience a natural resistance and rebelliousness as any particular form of enculturation is abhorrent to her/him.

The overt tensions experienced by the self-actualizing teacher are, in fact, those same tensions which are cited by the critics of teacher-professionalism.

An explication of these tensions will establish the framework for investigating some further hindrances of professionalism to the self-actualizing teacher.

Hayward (1972, pp. 22-24) states that 'teaching cannot easily be a profession in a centrally controlled bureaucratic system'. The teacher subjected to 'bureaucratic control' cannot exercise 'personal responsibility for judgements made, and acts performed'. She/he does not have personal autonomy. Etzioni (1969, p. v) thus describes teaching as a 'semi-profession' as teachers have 'less autonomy from supervision and societal control of their profession'. These points of view are validated by Act No 116 of 1976.

'(A teacher shall not) disobey, disregard or make willful default in carrying out a lawful order given to him in his capacity as a teacher by a person or body having authority to give such order, or by word or conduct make himself guilty of insubordination.'

(Section 6.2.)

Self-actualizing teachers are 'growth motivated' rather than 'deficiency motivated'; they have become self-referenced, which means that, to a certain extent, they experience themselves as ethically secure, self-responsible and autonomous, relatively distanced from their physical and social environments. Lack of autonomy is a limitation of personal integrity and freedom which is vociferously lamented by the self-actualizing teacher. Langford (1978, p. 71) claims that professionalism actually curtails a person's normal autonomy.

'It is the profession which is granted a degree of autonomy ... not its members individually; and its members must conform ... In the final analysis, therefore, a code of professional conduct will contain more or less what the members of a profession - past as well as present - want it to contain.'

(ibid.)

Some critics state that it is not bureaucracy that is the essential problem, but 'whether the professions themselves have control over their essential work'.

Le Roux (1981) notes that South African teachers have virtually no control over the decision-making affecting their professional activities. The Teachers' Council came into being nearly a decade after the passing of the National Education Policy Act No 39, which, in the intervening period, 'established the educational control structure of South Africa under the Minister of Education' (ibid, p. iii). Teachers have no direct access to the Minister, and therefore, no control over educational policy. Hayward confirms this view:

'Over-centralisation of decision-making, in effect robs teachers of the true functions of professionals and prevents them acquiring the expertise that makes them develop into professional practitioners.'

(1972, p. 25.)

The situation is aggravated by the fact that not only is policy and decision-making beyond the control of the teacher, but also, in effect, their organisation is open to infiltration by persons who have no right to teacher professional status in that they do not hold the necessary qualifying credentials. This defect in teacher professionalism is sanctioned by Section 6 of Act No 116 of 1976, which states that

'the name of a person who does not hold a professional teachers' qualification but is appointed by a head of education (i.e. Director of Education) in a full-time permanent capacity in a post at a school approved by the committee (i.d. the Committee of Heads of Education) shall be entered provisionally in the register.'

Under these circumstances the self-actualizing teacher will tend to view her/his professional status with a great deal of scepticism, together with not only a feeling of frustration, but also those of anxiety and fears. The right to registration, and the right to control by non-professionals, challenges the very core of professional hegemony and motivation. As Maslow (1954, p. 153) states: 'the self-actualizing person' has 'an unusual ability to detect the spurious, the fake, and the dishonest in personality, and in general to judge people correctly and efficiently'.

The self-actualizing teacher cannot ignore the implications of her/his being designated a professional, as the ethos of teacher-professionalism will either facilitate or constrain her/his personal existential biographical project-as-being and thus her/his existential expression of being-as-teacher. It is envisaged that where the teacher feels these constraints and conflicts she/he will articulate such experiences contextually as expressions of stress in the realm of personal existential biographical meaning as teacher-self-rejection of the impulse of the self-as-teacher to actualize her/himself.

SECTION III

TEACHER-STRESS AS IDEOLOGICAL AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF
THE TEACHER AS TEACHER AND/OR EDUCATOR

PART 1

THE TERRAIN OF TEACHING AND/OR EDUCATION

PART 2

THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-ESTEEM OR SELF-CONDEMNATION

PART 3

THE TENSIONS IN THE IDEOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS OF 'TEACHER' TO
TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM

TEACHER-STRESS AS IDEOLOGICAL AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF
THE TEACHER AS TEACHER AND/OR EDUCATOR

THE TERRAIN OF TEACHING AND/OR EDUCATION

Instruction, training, teaching and education commonly imply that an attempt is being made to enable someone else to learn to do something, but in addition to this commonality there are nuances of difference. Instruction and training imply a certain 'narrowness' of the teaching activity, there is the implication of specificity in that attention is being concentrated on a specific type of activity, or maybe a particular aspect of a specific type of activity. Teaching may be limited to instruction or training but the term has more versatility in that it has the implication of being broader in scope. Teaching, to a greater extent than instruction and training, inclines one to focus not only on the task involved but also on the learner; it is a more humanistically connotated concept. Peters defines the interrelationship of task, teacher and learner as follows:

'The tasks of the teacher consist in the employment of various methods to get learning processes going. These processes of learning in their turn cannot be characterized without reference to the achievements in which they culminate; for to learn something is to come up to some standard, to succeed in some respect. So the achievement must be that of the learner in the end. The teacher's success, in other words, can only be defined in terms of that of the learner.'

(1965, p. 38.)

Taking the learner into cognisance indicates that there must be some relational dialogue between the teacher and the learner whilst the teaching-learning activity is in process. When this relational dialogue is excluded, teaching devolves into instruction or training. By dialogue, I mean that the teacher acknowledges the learner's perceptions of and interaction in the teaching-learning activity. In determining whether teaching is taking place there need be no reference to education; as Langford notes, teaching may or may not involve education:

'There may as a matter of fact be a connection between teaching and education; but it is not necessary to refer to education in order to define teaching. To teach is to help (or strictly speaking to try to help) someone to learn something; and what is learnt need make no contribution to the learner's education.'

(1978, p. 2.)

Teaching takes place in schools which are socially considered educational institutions. Teachers who teach in schools describe their activities as 'teaching', their focus of reference being directed at their responsibility for the learning of their pupils. However, when the focus of reference moves from their pupils to themselves, they then conceive their teaching from a broader perspective. In addition to concern about their task and the learner, there is concern about the metaphysical, philosophical and anthropological issues regarding what they are doing. The differentiating characteristic between the teacher who merely considers her/himself as a 'teacher' and another who considers her/himself an 'educator', is illustrated in the different answers to the question, 'What do you teach?'. The 'teacher' replies, 'I teach history, etc.', whilst the 'educator' replies, 'I teach children/people.' As Peters elaborates:

'Education, then, can have no ends beyond itself. Its value derives from principles and standards implicit in it. To be educated is not to have arrived at a destination; it is to travel with a different view. What is required is not feverish preparation for something that lies ahead, but to work with precision, passion, and taste at worthwhile things that lie to hand.'

(1972, p. 110.)

The broader perspective of education is that, although it is associated with learning, it does not specify any one particular form of learning, nor does it specify any one particular place for its occurrence. Education may, or may not, take place in schools, and there are other areas in the social sphere where education also occurs. Education is directly or indirectly related to social phenomena, and changes in the social sphere are reflected in the

prevailing concept of education. To determine the nature of education, it is necessary to view the social traditions which mirror the social ideals of a specific society. Historically, different eras have given preference to different values and ideals, hence the nature of education has accordingly reflected these different ideologies. Bouwsma (1980, pp. 17-26) describes the distinguishing features of past educational ideals of western culture as having been: 'the aristocratic ideal'; 'the romantic naturalist ideal' and, more contemporaneously, 'the ideal of the specialist'. He states that this latter ideal is currently in the process of change, impacted by the social ideology of 'the discovery of new knowledge' (ibid). In this latter context, educational ideology accentuates an 'openness', a moving away from conservatism and prescription to experimentation and catholic diversity. It is future-orientated, instead of being past-reflective, incorporating into its connotation a sense of prophecy, predisposing the educational theorist to an increasing reliance on intuition.

'The role of the educational theorist may be somewhat like that of a statesman; not so much to create a new ideal for education as to sense what is already present in a latent form. His greatest talent aside from his articulateness, is his ability to perceive with skill and sensitivity the changing needs of his time; thus he expresses, clarifies, and consolidates perceptions that have remained, for others, still below the level of consciousness.'

(Bouwsma, 1980, pp. 30-31.)

The teacher, attempting to relate her/his teaching to the broader perspective of education, can really no longer hold a single model of education as authoritative. To some extent the residue of all past educational ideals are implicit in the contemporary concept of education. With the 'packaging' of knowledge into the different 'disciplines' and 'subjects' each 'discipline' elects and emphasises the ideal which is the most appropriate to furthering its specific interests and advancing its own 'search for new knowledge'. This

prompts Weil to suggest that there should be allowances made now for a 'plurality of educational models' requiring educationists to

'... develop a fair degree of understanding, of imagination - a way to experience the value of those unlike ourselves. Because our world does contain a plurality of contradictory living models, and because basic values cannot be provided. I believe that we are really opting for an educational pluralism based on liberty, understanding, and necessary limits.'

(1980, p. 135.)

This extended view of educational idealism is in contradistinction to the teaching methodologies which have gained popularity during the last decade. The scientification of methodology, influenced by the 'educational' technologies with their corresponding technological rationale, expedient pragmatism, and misconceived ethical neutrality, has overflowed its legitimate boundaries of fact and content, infiltrating the human activity of teaching and subjecting it to a dehumanized technicistic ethos and a nomethetic mechanism. The relational dialogue of education between teacher and learner in pursuance of a task is now silenced by a deterministic methodology rooted in a functional task-dictated rationale.

The teacher who cedes her/his humanistic values and ideals to a dehumanized scientific iconology foregoes her/his claim to that of educator. All her/his teaching activities become short-term, end-oriented, in prescriptively determined 'goals', 'aims' and 'objectives', not merely content-referenced, but behaviourally, and therefore emotionally-referenced, and determined. As the relational dialogue subsides and a technicistic rationale gains predominance the teacher will eventually even lose claim to that title of 'teacher'. Her/his mechanistic teaching activity will devolve into that of 'trainer' or 'instructor', who teaches, no longer in the pursuit of ideals but in the service of some technicistic myth, reflecting the eventual total conversion and reconstruction of **unique** individual being in the service and

performance of techniques. Her/his values become implicitly predetermined and prescribed. Where she/he transgresses these authoritative collectivised values, she/he may be condemned and labelled 'deviant'.

THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-ESTEEM OR SELF-CONDEMNATION

Self-esteem is the intimate relationship which a person has with her/himself grounded in the values which give significance to her/his existence. Being-in-the-world, and constantly impacted by the ^aassult of alternative values, the person is continuously existentially appraising and assessing the values of 'others' and society, and thence, re-appraising and re-assessing the worthiness of her/his own orientations, a continuous seeking of affirmation of her/his beliefs. Coopersmith (1967) succinctly articulates the various dimensions of self-esteem which he finds relevant.

'By self-esteem we refer to the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself: it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy. In short self-esteem is a personal judgement of worthiness and is expressed in the attitudes the person holds towards himself. It is a subjective experience....'

(ibid, p. 5.)

The feeling of being 'capable, significant, successful and worthy' is self-referenced. A person who has authentic self-regard and self-confidence is not easily compromised to sacrificing her/his values or self to become the embodiment of another's projections, compliance to which Laing (1969) terms 'collusion'. The pressure to renege one's own values by accepting those of significant 'others' is not easily resolved as both compliance or non-compliance with the 'other's' desires foster some sense of disquietude which Laing terms 'disjunction'. Laing associates 'disjunction' with a feeling of guilt.

'One can experience a peculiar form of guilt, specific, I think to this disjunction. If one refuses collusion, one feels guilt for not being or becoming the embodiment of the complement demanded by the other for his identity. However, if one does succumb, if one is seduced, one becomes estranged from one's self and is guilty thereby of self-betrayal.'

(ibid, p. 111.)

An awareness of and reaction to 'self-betrayal' becomes affectively and experientially a form of self-condemnation. The person condemns her/his own self-values and then substitutes for them those of the 'other'. The maintenance of self-esteem is delicately balanced. It requires a self-confidence which is open to new information, different points of view and varied perspectives. These are all considered in their relevance to the self. That which is relevant is retained and that which is irrelevant is jettisoned. The person must have a fundamental self-trust which is her/his self-security for this enables her/him to maintain contact with her/his self. Self-esteem is largely dependent on self-constancy to the self's own identity and values. Hamacheck notes the danger in the persuasion to seeking or maintaining the approval of the 'other':

'If our motivation is to present ourselves to others in an appealing way primarily as a means of commandeering their acceptance and gaining their good will, then we might have to give up who we are in order to become what we think they want us to be. In this way some people become quite chameleon-like in their relationships with other people.'

(1978, p. 253.)

To 'give up' one's self and renounce one's self-values is to become alien to one's self. To maintain this position the alien self condemns the essential self which relegates personally authentic values and being to inferior status, and so curtails the self's esteemed existence. To maintain self-esteem means the disposition of the self to claiming her/his right to her/his existence, i.e. the right to articulate through her/his actions what to her/him is considered worthy and valuable beyond her/himself in the world.

Mournier describes this dialogue between the self and the world as 'existence':

'To "exist" indicates by its prefix that "to be" is to go out, to express oneself. It is this primitive motive which, in an active form, moves us to exteriorize our feelings in mimicry, or in speech, to inflict the imprint of our action upon our visible worlds and to intervene in the affairs of the world and of other people. All the dimensions of the person are mutually sustaining and constitutive.'

(1952, p. 44.)

To maintain authentic existence and a sense of self-esteem the person seeks self-sustaining encounters in the social sphere. From these encounters the self gains support and confirmation of self-orientation and self-values. For self-esteem to be maintained, the confirmations and affirmations of others must be experienced as sincere. As Maslow confirms:

'The most stable and therefore most healthy self-esteem is based on deserved respect from others rather than on external fame or celebrity and unwarranted adulation.'

(1954, p. 46.)

Self-esteem is qualitatively and not quantitatively experienced. Friedenber (1959, p. 64) perceptively regards self-esteem and self-evaluation as distinguishing between 'how we are valuable', i.e. self-oriented, rather than 'how valuable we are', i.e. other-oriented. He states: 'We do learn to see how we look through their (others') eyes, but if we are at all wise (we) accept their (others') image of us as one guide to be considered in establishing our conception of ourselves.' Moustakas locates the essence of individual self-esteem in self-meaning:

'In the final analysis the individual must know for himself the totality that he is. He alone has touch with all his experiences. He alone knows his feelings and thoughts and what his experience means to him. The meaning depends on the values involved in the situation, event or experience, and these values come from the person's personal background. The individual alone can tell the true meaning of his experience.'

(1965, p. 43.)

Essentially to maintain self-esteem necessitates the retention of self-meaning and a sense of self-responsibility. This responsibility is not socially-referenced, but self-referenced, although it remains socially informed. This primarily means the response of the self to her/his unique, individual, authentic values and her/his own self-value. If the person is persuaded to substitute the inauthentic values of the other, or prevented from responding to her/his own self-values, she/he experiences a loss of authentic self-esteem. This loss, the unique individual self condemns, and such condemnation is reflected back to the self as an experience of self-condemnation.

THE TENSIONS IN THE IDEOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS OF 'TEACHER' TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM

I have already drawn attention to the manner in which the educational ideal and the values it ensconces is a reflection of the prevailing social ideology of a specific era. In 1981 an article, 'The Role of Industrial Relations in Education in the 1980s', was published in the 'Education Journal', a publication of the South African Teachers' Association. The writer, Bobby Godsell, is the labour relations consultant of the Anglo American Corporation, one of the three business corporations which hold more than 70% of the share-holdings in South Africa. I quote a section from this article at length as it stridently articulates the values of an 'other' oriented social ideology (i.e. the material world as 'other' challenging schools and teachers and to which now many schools are submitting). The 'other' so-called values underpinning this materialistic ideology, are those which the teacher currently finds her/himself having to accept and propagate in contradiction to her/his own self-values. Godsell contends :

'Many major industrial nations are experiencing severe social tensions resulting from a disjunction between their public education systems and the needs of the industrial society which that system should serve. These tensions derive in part from some failings in the public education system:

its teaching of skills inappropriate to the social reality in which it exists (an example of this is the continuation of teaching subjects and teaching methods which have their ultimate origins in the monastic education system of the middle ages or at best Elizabethan or Renaissance eras);

the unrealistic expectations public education systems often inculcate in school-going populations. An example of these are some of the values fundamental to the liberal arts world view. That world view is based on a series of underlying concepts whose validity and general (i.e. society-wide) objectivity is highly questionable: concepts such as individualism, meaning, relevance, freedom;

the failure to prepare pupils for the realities of industrial society. This barrier results of course from some of the inappropriate skills and unrealistic values. This reflects in part in the over-emphasis that appears to be present in both South African and also most Western education systems on academic perspectives. So children leave school with some basic theoretical knowledge of major academic disciplines (geography, history, physical science or chemistry or biology) as well as an appreciation for literature and the classics. They know little however about the way in which an industrial society works, practical business economics, the nature of the company, the nature of the marketplace, or even extremely practical things such as how to use a bank account, or how hire purchase or, more importantly these days, credit cards work.'

(September 1981, Vol. 91, No. 2.)

Godsell would like the human relational teacher-learner dialogue of traditional educational enterprise to be substituted by an acceptance of the dictates of industry, and its principles to become the fundamental guiding principles of education and thus of society. The teaching skills and methodologies he decries, and finds questionable, are those which inculcate concepts of 'individualism, meaning, relevance and freedom', and these, he states, are not the 'realities of industrial society'. For Godsell the only realities of an industrial society are those of 'business, economics, companies, markets, banking, hire-purchase, and more importantly ... credit

cards'. Godsell is implicitly recommending the establishment of an 'industrially constructed' reality, grounded in principles appropriate to an instrumental materialism conditionally determined. The different priorities given to the different approaches to education epitomise the distinction between the 'relational-dialogical', which he decries, and the 'conditional-instructional' which he recommends. When knowledge becomes delimited, and referenced to circumstances or conditions, the person consequently becomes conditioned to conform and accept her/his subordination to the circumstantial or conditional parameters of such knowledge. Godsell, recommending the materially-referenced principles as the ground of education, is proposing that the teacher codes her/his freedom for responsibility to a pragmatic necessity of an 'other oriented' imperative.

Accepting the above, the teacher would have to substitute the materialistic principles of the market place for her/his humanistic values. Her/his self-esteem would become totally dependent on her/his 'use' value to the industrial society, and, likewise, these are the principles which she/he would have to inculcate in her/his pupils. When human values are de-contextualised and dialogue fades, the values become transformed into autonomous mechanistic principles. Mournier warns of one of the consequences of Godsell's advocated utilitarianism:

'Values do not constitute a ready made world of functioning automatically, as some idle mythologists of the "invincible power of truth" or the "irresistable march of progress" have imagined. Values are not assignable to a reality as if they were constitutive principles of it. They are revealed in the void of freedom, they mature with the motive that chose them, and they are often of a humble and lowly origin - an interest or even a mistake - which they refine or correct in the course of time.'

(1952, p. 70.)

The teacher who rejects her/his own values and accepts utilitarian principles of a ready-made world with automatically functioning 'values', rejects the right to her/his own freedom-for-responsibility. She/he rejects the essential value and meaning of her/his own existence. The modernistic trend of attempting to assign principles as 'values' to a ready-made reality was in evidence in 1982 at the 95th Annual Conference of the South African Teachers' Association, where the teachers were told:

'... we must move into action. We must debate, design, plan and organize. We must participate either as leaders, innovators or change agents, or as followers and change adopters. Such action must include a carefully thought-through strategy to evaluate the change that will take place.'

(Educational Journal 1982, Vol. 92, No. 2, p. 10.)

The terms 'design', 'plan', 'organize', 'innovation', 'agents', 'thought-through strategy', 'evaluate' are all grounded in scientific principles or leadership and indicative of being contributory to establishing concomitant theoretical constructions. The theory to which the above subscribes is not stated explicitly. However, viewing the content of the text, the implicit intention of the speaker is that of a hierarchical ordering of 'leaders' 'innovators' and 'change agents', supraordinant to subordinated 'followers' and 'change adopters' who are expected to substitute the 'principles' of the 'other', i.e. the leaders for their own personal values.

The question arises, 'Who are going to be the "leaders", "innovators", and "change agents", and who are going to be the "followers" and "change adopters"?' In an hierarchically organised education structure, the 'designing', 'planning', and 'organizing' does not rest with the teacher; hence the teacher who believes in these activities is forfeiting her/his integrity in her/his allegiance to a myth. If she/he forfeits what freedom she/he has

to embrace personally defined values for her/his self-fulfilment, or de-values her/his own values, substituting for them principles, i.e. the values of the 'other', she/he becomes susceptible to the self condemning the self's loss of freedom-for-responsibility, and thus to self-condemnation. The extent to which the person loses control over her/his existence and cedes her/his self-control over her/his self-creation of her/his personal values as a value-affirmer and/or a value-creator, is the extent to which she/he forfeits her/his self-esteem, and becomes victim to a concomitant feeling of guilt, a manifestation of the experience of self-condemnation.

SECTION IV

TEACHER-STRESS AS CULTURAL AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF
THE TEACHER AS ROLE-ENACTOR

PART 1

THE TERRAIN OF ROLE-ENACTMENT

PART 2

THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-INTEGRATION OR SELF-ALIENATION

PART 3

THE TENSIONS IN THE CULTURAL LIMITATIONS OF ROLE-ENACTMENT TO
TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION

TEACHER-STRESS AS CULTURAL AMBIVALENCE: THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE TEACHER AS ROLE-ENACTOR

THE TERRAIN OF ROLE-ENACTMENT

As has already been mentioned, the human condition of self-awareness and self-consciousness fostered the postulation of the 'fragmented' self. This enabled the sociologists to concentrate on those aspects of behaviour which were socially related. Mead (1934, p. 144), after postulating the 'breaking up of the complete, unitary self into component parts', relates these separated 'parts' to the 'different social groups' to which the person belongs. 'Personality' thus becomes construed as the reconciliation of the 'parts' of the self. In this sense, the self, viewed by the traditional sociologists, is essentially socially constituted and determined.

The primary division of the self into the "I" and the "me", which are considered to correspond with the subjective and objective components of the self, enable the sociologists to theorize the behaviour of the self by the postulation of psychological constructs, one of these being that of 'role'. Weinstein and Weinstein (1972, p. 7) state: 'The "me" criticizes, plans, preserves, conforms, and adapts', and, therefore, 'represents social roles'.

On further investigation one finds that the concept 'role' is unclear. Biddle and Thomas (Biddle, 1979, p. 161) state that 'role terms connote many things to many people, thus generating much enthusiasm but not much cumulative knowledge'. Nieman and Hughes (1951, p. 149) describe the concept as being 'vague, nebulous and non-definitive' with theorists holding 'the assumption (that, when discoursed) 'writer and reader come to an immediate compatible consensus'.

Coulsen (1972, p. 113) notes that 'the recognition of social role as part of (a dramaturgical) analogy is quickly forgotten', and that the concept 'becomes part of a complicated theoretical construction (which) seems to acquire an overriding meaning of its own'.

The popularity of the 'role' concept is that, when presented within different frames of reference, it lends itself to varying descriptions and prescriptions of specific typifications of interaction of persons and society. These typifications of interaction are thence construed by sociologists as 'facts'. To this end, 'role' has been variously referenced and related to 'behaviour', 'expectations', 'status', 'norms' and 'rules'.

Naylor et al (1980, p. 116) relate 'role' to 'behaviour': 'For now we will accept the fact that a theory of role behaviour requires the existence of a set of definable, observable, and relevant behaviours.' Dahrendorf (1968, p.36) states: 'Roles are bundles of expectations directed at the incumbent of positions in society'. Linton (1947, p. 50) relates 'roles' to 'status': 'role is a particular status within a social system'. Homans (1966, p. 134) compares them to a 'norm', which 'is an idea in the minds of the members of a group, an idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the members or other men should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances.' Weinstein and Weinstein (1972, pp. 6-7) state: 'Through his life, a person learns rules of expected action that apply to different situations. Some of these rules cluster together and define expected actions related to the performance of a task Such clusters of rules are called roles.'

The attribute of the 'role' concept, as typification, facilitates the techniques of classification, categorization and standardization. Skinner (1966, pp. 318-327) elucidates the development of this process:

'As each individual comes to conform to a standard pattern of conduct, he also comes to support that pattern by applying a similar classification to the behaviour of others. Moreover his own conforming behaviour contributes to the standard with which the behaviour of others is compared. Once a custom, manner, or style has arisen, therefore, the social system which observes it appears to be reasonably self-sustaining.'

(ibid.)

The commonality of actions of persons repetitively performing similar tasks, and having the presumed prerequisite attitudes, reinforces the ostensible structure of the 'role' and evinces an assumed 'standard' of role-enactment. When standards have been set there arises a 'model' of that 'role'. Biddle (1979, p. 165) elaborates: 'In general, then, conformity is judged when a "model" appears after which one might pattern a response, and an example response occurs that has been determined by and is similar to that model.' Comparison of role-enactment with that of the 'model' enables evaluations to be made. The extent to which the 'enactment' deviates or surpasses the 'standard' set can be established as gradients of difference; in other words, evaluated and measured, thus quantified and numerically represented. The 'model' also comes to serve another purpose in that it is held to be the epitomization of the ideal enactment of some specific role. For the purpose of comparison the model is used as an exemplification of perfection of appropriate role behaviour. Persons who match the perfection of the 'model' are viewed as 'significant'. They are held to be the example on whom others should pattern their actions and behaviour. 'Significant' persons are given official recognition by receiving promotion, and become the appointed leaders. Conformity to the 'model' excludes any unusual, spontaneous or unpredictable behaviour. Thus organizations and institutions favour the concept of 'role' as it serves as a means of prescribing certain behaviour conducive to the functioning of the organization or institution and disqualifying behaviour which is non-conducive or threatening.

'Organizations require stable patterns of inter-dependent behaviour from the individuals who populate them. The patterns of behavior often are described by a set of concepts called roles.'

(Naylor, et al, 1980, p. 115.)

Disharmony which can be contained within the organisation remains susceptible to control, thus specific organisational procedures are established to ameliorate or terminate any disruptive tendencies; these procedures are designated 'problem-solving' or 'conflict-resolution'. That which is labelled 'problem' or 'conflict' by the organisation, is to the person experientially aversive, and alienates her/him either from her/himself or from her his situation within the organisation. Organisationally, any evidence of incompatibility between the person and her/his 'role' in the organisation which supercedes the organisation's control mechanisms becomes attributed to 'alienative motivation' or 'deveial behaviour'. Parsons, assuming an organisational imperative, emphasises the importance of the integration of personality and organization.

'The significance of role-conflict as a factor in the genesis of alienative motivation should be clear.... Exposure to role conflict is an obvious source of strain and frustration in that it creates a situation incompatible with a harmonious integration of personality with the interaction system.... Indeed what, on the interaction level, if not the fully developed social role level, is exposure to conflicting expectations of some kind may be presumed to be the generic situation underlying the development of ambivalent motivational structures with their expression of neuroses, in deveial behavior or otherwise.'

(1966, p. 276.)

Responsibility for integration is fundamentally regarded as resting with the person. She/he is required to accommodate her/himself to the rules and expectations of the organisation. Where the person does not 'harmoniously' and 'compatibly' foster her/his 'integration of personality' she/he is viewed by the organisation as exhibiting behaviour indicative of some personality defect. However, Becker writes:

'Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act a person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an "offender". The deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label.'

(1963, p. 9.)

The dramaturgical analogy of 'role' to social behaviour, and the acceptance by the person of 'role enactment' as a description of her/his interactions and interpersonal relationships, implicitly holds dire consequences when applied to life-situations, where an organisational 'other' becomes the legislator, executor and judge of a person's behaviour.

THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO SELF-INTEGRATION OR SELF-ALIENATION

A person spontaneously responds to that to which she/he is authentically and congruently committed. Such response will be in the manner which is consistent with her/his personality. A sense of self-consistency and self-centrality is essential to her/his self-integrity. Moustakas notes the significance of this:

'Maintenance of the real self is of primary significance for the individual. It is the most stable consistent value in his life. The real self is the central core within each individual which is the deep source of growth. To operate in terms of the person we are is natural, comforting, and satisfying. It permits us to be creative, to utilize our capacities.'

(1965, p. 44.)

The choice of manner in which a person will respond is individually determined, as only she/he can give personal meaning to an event. Only she/he is aware, or has sense of her/his potential and the probability of its realisation inherent in a specific situation. The self has a natural inclination

to self-fulfilment. Moustakas maintains that 'growth strivings are present at all times' (ibid). Self-integration and the 'natural', 'comforting', and 'satisfying' feelings constitute the necessary foundation of self-security which permits the person to utilise her/his capacities in an endeavour of self-realisation. Shapiro and Ryglewicz emphasise this precondition to self-integration.

'The self-feeling-safe can assert facts and feelings without fearing they will do damage or cause shame to the self. The self-feeling-safe can give forth its creative products without diminishing them or confusing them with shit, but keeping a sense of their value. The self-feeling-safe can give, within limits, without giving away everything and therefore without fear of being left empty and starving. The self-feeling-safe knows that what is voided will be replaced, that what is given to others will have its balance with what is received. The self-feeling-safe can give up bad experience to make way for good and can give up some - but not all - of the familiar to make way for the new.'

(1976, p. 20.)

Ziller (1973, p. 64) views self-centrality as having the self as the point of reference, an 'inner orientation' as opposed to an 'outer orientation'. When the social environment is seen from the point of view of the self, there is an 'inner orientation', and when it is seen with a focus on the 'officially defined', or a 'significant other', there is thence an 'outer orientation'. Ausubel (1952) similarly describes this as 'egocentrism' and 'sociocentrism'. An 'outer orientation' or 'sociocentrism' persuades the self to become disengaged from her/his actions and behaviour. The disengaged behaviour becomes experienced as alien and artificial. Gergen gives expression to the initial stages of the experience of self-alienation. He says,

'It seems more profitable, then, to view self-alienation as a noxious feeling arising when overt actions are detached or inconsistent with the underlying conceptions of self. That is, self-alienation can be viewed as estrangement of the concept world from the daily activities of the individual. The individual might feel, "What I'm doing doesn't reveal the real me", "My behaviour is a sham", or in its extreme form, "I hate what I do".'

(1971, p. 87.)

Repetitive alienative actions weaken self-integrity and the person eventually has the option of either constructing an 'other' hypothetical-self, or re-aligning her/his commitment and integrating the alienative behaviour into her/his own self-identity. Gergen stresses the influence of 'reward' offered by the social system to adopt the latter course.

'This reward structure is usually powerful enough, however, to cause the person to integrate what first seems "alien" into his system of self-conception. As the years proceed, the alien becomes the dominant and many of the most prized aspects of identity in the early years become suppressed and inconsistent. The "impulsive", "romantic", and "independently minded" aspects come to be replaced with concepts such as "banker", "family man", and "pillar of the community".'

(1971, p. 34.)

The persuasion of 'reward' is only one factor of inducement to self-alienation. Gross et al (quoted in Coulsen, 1972, p. 118) emphasise the influence of 'power' and 'authority' which pressurize the self into fulfilling the expectations of 'others'. Relating 'authority' to different reference groups they differentiate between: 'must expectations' which may be enforced by law; 'shall expectations' which derive their authority from 'organisations and associations'; and 'can expectations' which are 'uncodified' and 'informal'. Persons who are not 'flexible' and do not easily adapt to social 'expectations' are further pressurized by being labelled 'maladapted'. Gergen problematizes the dilemma:

'And certainly there is merit in the position that to be inflexible is to be maladaptive. But can we jettison the notion of self-integrity? Just how beneficial is it to behave in ways that contradict what one feels he is?'

(1971, p. 4.)

The complexity of modernization is also given as reason to abdicate self-integrity. The propagators of its ethos stress 'flexibility' and 'adaptability', advocating the importance of having a disposition to 'change'.

All these exhortations, unless authentically self-integrated, are preponents of self-alienation.

THE TENSIONS IN THE CULTURAL LIMITATIONS OF ROLE-ENACTMENT TO TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION

Role theory now informs many educational texts. The 'role' of the Head and/or Teacher have been defined by Peters (1976), Oeser (1970), Hoyle (1969) and many other educational theorists. However, close scrutiny reveals that 'role' soon becomes deployed into 'roles'. Oeser (1970, p. 5), after simplistically comparing the 'role' of the mechanic with that of the teacher, describes the teacher's main 'roles' as: 'instructor, and clarifier expert'; 'judge of achievements, assessor'; 'ethical preceptor, moralist'; 'legislator'; 'judge'; 'policeman'; 'friend and counsellor'. Hoyle (1969, pp. 59-60), quoting Redle and Wattenberg (1951), establishes fourteen categories of 'sub-roles' which the teacher enacts. Amongst these, some are listed as: 'Representative of society'; 'Helper'; 'Referee'; 'Limiter of anxiety'; 'Ego-supporter'; 'Target for hostilities'; and 'Object of affection'. The immediate consequence of the concept 'role' is a re-classification and re-definition of the teacher's activities to an 'outer' orientation. After the concept 'teacher' has been de-constructed, it is then re-constructed in the image of the theorist's re-presentation. Thus, Hoyle proceeds to synthesize and reconstruct the above stated 'sub-roles' into 'functional' and 'facilitating' roles:

'... the functional roles and facilitating roles may both be present in a single sub-role; the sub-role of Group Leader, for example may be performed for both instructional and facilitating purposes'.

(1969, p. 60.)

As the teacher's behaviour is reduced to categorized and differentiating entities, there occurs a re-definition of 'expectations' and 'norms'. In an empirical study Musgrove and Taylor (1969, p. 63) found distortions in 'expectations' when these are referenced to different groups. Where teachers saw their work 'primarily in intellectual and moral terms', and did not place much emphasis on 'social objectives', which they saw parents as favouring, they were proved incorrect, as parents saw the teachers' role in the same light and did not consider 'social objectives' as overly important. When teachers become 'outer-oriented', seeking legitimation for their actions in spheres which are other than educationally motivated, they experience a conflict between their own intentions and their assumptions of the expectations of 'others'. Attempts to fulfil the incongruent 'expectations' of the 'other' serves to strain self-integrity and hamper legitimate self-integration.

Conflict of 'expectations' fosters a 'conflict of norms'. Biddle et al. (Biddle and Thomas 1966, p. 302), in a study of the 'Shared Inaccuracies in the Role of the Teacher', found 'that teachers and those with whom they interact have distorted ideas of one another's norms and that those distortions imply problems for all concerned'. The fact that a 'distortion of norms' is considered problematic is paradoxical in that a total agreement of norms would indicate conformity of the individual to the extent of dehumanization of the person-as-teacher. Combs (1965, p. 459) comments that all good teachers are different, and that 'there is not even similarity to be found amongst them themselves' as they have 'learned to use themselves effectively and efficiently' and that 'they are able to identify with their purpose and situation'. In fact, good teachers are not only uniquely individually self-integrated, but also uniquely situationally-motivated. He places the responsibility for furthering this concept on the schools.

'Since good teaching is a highly unique and personal thing the school which seeks to make its teachers all alike will only succeed in producing the most banal mediocrity. A good school is a place where difference is valued, not rejected.'

(ibid.)

Role concepts which incline one to 'the view that the school is a stage for role performances, or an integrated system for role allocation and role learning, are not the only sociological perspectives available' (Coulsen, 1972, p. 128), although this tends to be the pattern school Principals are adopting in South African State schools. Although to educational authorities it may seem to serve as an expedient form of control, it can only serve to alienate the teacher from her/his self, colleagues, and pupils. Coulsen reminds role theorists that the convergence of all the teacher's activities into 'sub-roles' and the amalgamation of all the 'sub-roles' into the 'role of teacher' for all teachers, can never, however 'idealistic', be comprehensive because 'it cannot account for all the variables'.

'The teacher's own biography, her age, her own educational experience and training ... her status in the school, the subject or age group she teaches, the expectations of other teachers, of the head teacher and of the educational administrators, inspectors and advisers behind him, (these) may in varying degrees, directly or indirectly comprise influence on her behaviour in the classroom. The effectiveness of her authority, and the extent to which she emphasizes or minimizes it in her relationship with pupils will depend largely on the particular combination of these factors.'

(Coulsen, 1972, p. 125.)

Just as the self-integrated teacher lives her/his biography, experiencing the changes and fluctuations of being-in-the-world, so the culture to which she/he articulates takes its form as a process which can only be defined with hindsight. 'Role-enactment', carried to its final conclusion, would be the stultification of culture, and the self-alienation of the social sphere from its naturally progressive historicity - in fact, as some have stated, it would

amount to 'the death of history'. The teacher in the process of substituting 'role' for the self would experience the tension of self-alienation as indicative of the incongruity of a predetermined, conditionally-referenced, 'socially-constructed' biography with her/his own personally projected existential historicity. Any inauthentic resolution of this incongruity or abdication of the teacher's personal freedom-to-responsibility will be experienced as dehumanization and alienation of the self-as-teacher in the human sphere from the teacher-as-self in the social sphere and thus an alienation of the social sphere itself from human consideration and its freedom-to-responsibility for its own historicity.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCHING THE TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF TEACHER-STRESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

SECTION I

METHODOLOGICAL PRAXIS AND OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH PROCEDURES.

SECTION II

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS: SUBSTANTIATING THE PREFERRED RESEARCH PARADIGM APPROPRIATE TO THE PROBLEM AND PHENOMENON RESEARCHED.

SECTION III

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH PROCEDURES AND ARTICULATION OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT.

PHASE I

ARTICULATION OF THE INTENTIONALITY OF THE RESEARCHER'S CONSCIOUSNESS AS STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEMATIC.

PHASE II

ARTICULATION OF THE INTER-SUBJECTIVE RELATIONAL MODE OF THE RESEARCHER TO HER RESEARCH PROJECT AS PARTICIPANT-OBSERVER

PHASE III

ARTICULATION OF THE RELATIONAL MODE OF THE RESEARCHER AND THE RESEARCH COMMUNITY

PHASE IV

ENCOUNTERING THE PHENOMENA CONSTITUTING THE PHENOMENON TEACHER-STRESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

RESEARCHING THE TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF TEACHER-STRESS IN
SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

METHODOLOGICAL PRAXIS AND OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH PROCEDURES

METHODOLOGICAL PRAXIS

'By means of the methodic idea the fact is demonstrable. It can withstand critical reflection because it can be made manifest in a certain way. For this reason it is an "evident fact" for all who are willing to adopt the methodic idea in question. And because the methodic principle presents itself as a universally open road to truth, every "fact" lays claim to being universally true. Or more accurately expressed, the fact is unqualifiedly true for all who are and willing to make use of the methodic idea; it is verifiable by all who are willing to acquire the experiences demanded by the methodic principles.'

(Strasser, 1974, p. 126.)

'The problems of methodology cannot be considered in isolation, but only within the context of the phenomenon to be investigated and the problem aspect of the phenomenon. These three things, the method, the phenomenon and the problem aspect of the phenomenon must be dialogued continuously and no one of them can be considered to the total exclusion of the others.'

(Giorgi et al, 1971, p. 11.)

Methodological praxis mediates between thesis and research as project in dialectical dialogue. At certain moments the thesis is active and the research activity passive, whilst at other moments the research activity surfaces, and the thesis passively submerges to form the ground of the research activity. The dialectical nature of thesis and research is continuously dialogued as project which, in itself, is a dialectic of methodic idea and methodological procedure, a continuous interweaving of reflective-action and active-reflection in the dimensions of both thesis and research.

As methodological praxis, the procedural research activity of this project can be demarcated into six phases, each being related to the thetic context as follows :

OUTLINE OF THE DIALECTICAL RELATIONAL MODE OF THE THETIC
CONTEXT TO THE RESEARCH PROCEDURES

THETIC CONTEXT	RESEARCH PROCEDURES
Methodological Considerations: Substantiating the Preferred Research Paradigm Appropriate to the Problem and Phenomenon Researched	
INTRODUCTION	PHASE I
Thetic Impulse: Teacher-Stress in South African State High Schools.	Articulation of the Intentionality of the Researcher's consciousness as Statement of the Problematic.
CHAPTER I	PHASE II
The Situation of the Teacher in South African State High Schools.	Articulation of the Relational Mode of the Researcher to her Research Project as Participant-Observer.
CHAPTER II	PHASE III
The Teacher Contextually Situated in South African State High Schools.	Articulation of the Relational Mode of the Researcher and the Research Community
CHAPTER III	PHASE IV
Researching the Teachers' Experi- ences of Teacher-Stress in South African State High Schools.	Encountering the Phenomena consti- tuting the phenomenon Teacher- Stress in South African High Schools.
CHAPTER IV	PHASE V
Locating Teacher-Stress in South African State High Schools	The Explication of the teacher's experience of Teacher-Stress in South African State High Schools.
	PHASE VI
	Demarcating the Thematic Field of Teacher-Stress in South African State High Schools.
CHAPTER V	
Emergent Themes as Evidence of Teacher-Stress in South African State High Schools	
CONCLUSION	

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS: SUBSTANTIATING THE PREFERRED RESEARCH PARADIGM APPROPRIATE TO THE PROBLEM AND PHENOMENON RESEARCHED.

Inhering in every psychological and/or sociological research project is the researcher's metaphysical, philosophical and anthropological pretensions. From the moment the researcher initiates her/his metaphysical query, and thence proceeds on to its realization and concretization as quest and project in a demarcated psychological and/or sociological realm, until she/he decides its conclusion, she/he is engaged in choosing and selecting those phenomena to which she/he will attend, thus necessitating the rejection and exclusion of other contingent phenomena. Implicit in each choice and decision the researcher makes, is her/his metaphysical pre-disposition in terms of her/his beliefs, desires and values. This can be described as her/his attitude. Attitude concomitantly influences the researcher's philosophical pre-disposition, i.e. her/his world-view with its meaning for her/him, and her/his anthropological pre-disposition to the meaning of wo/man's presence therein. The researcher's assumptions, presumptions and presuppositions become more explicit as they emerge in the articulation of the quest-as-project and research. Thus, by the concretization of the researcher's reflection and actions in the recording of her/his actions as text, the research project, as paradigm, and text, is substantiating evidence of the researcher's attitude which dialectically exposes her/his metaphysical pre-disposition. It is, therefore, important that the researcher give serious consideration to her/his choice of research paradigm.

Strasser elucidates the metaphysical dialectic of paradigm and project:

'Accordingly, language, method and system of concepts are not neutral technical means that can be used to express everything. But on the contrary we would say rather that a definite

scientific apparatus predisposes its user to a definite apperception of reality.'

(1974, p. 23.)

The manner in which the researcher seeks her/his knowledge, and organizes it, establishes its realm of relevance and province of meaning. When knowledge is extrapolated from one realm, and interpolated into another, it loses contact with its source and the ethos of its originating quest. The re-organization of such knowledge manifests new meanings for that knowledge. The researcher desirous of retaining the originating ethos of the source of knowledge must select a research paradigm which enables her/him to organize the researched knowledge in a manner which retains its realm of relevance and related originating province of meaning. Romanyshyn reflects:

'The organization of knowledge is not neutral with respect to that knowledge. What we know of something is reflected in the way in which we express it The organization of knowledge then is in one sense the knowledge, and knowledge is in one sense its organization.'

(1978, p. 18.)

In the realm of the physical sciences where physical nature is investigated, empirical experimental methods and procedures are in accord with its purpose, problems and content. The knowledge these sciences generate remains related to its source without there being any distortion of its meaning. The research paradigm of the natural sciences, grounded in the observation and analysis of the material world, is congruent with its attempt at discovering and communicating its findings within a 'neutral' mathematical and measurement oriented frame of reference. The knowledge derived from the researcher's activities within its paradigm can be validated by replication. Thus, the researcher, in the natural empirical sciences attempts to take a stance of 'neutrality' by divesting her/himself or her/his human qualities and adopting a 'natural attitude' of 'objectivity' towards her/his research activities.

A human empirical science impoverishes and deforms its own discourse when, as an applied physical science, it divests its discourse of the human dimension of existential experiential meanings. Behaviourism, as an exemplar of the paradigm of the physical sciences, by its intrapolation into the human sciences, as an applied science, disregards human relevance in its research activity. By endeavouring to retain the 'natural attitude' of the physical sciences all existential meaning of the research activity for the participant-subjects is discounted. As a consequence, the experimenter's inferences in the form of abstracted hypothetical constructs, for example 'need-motivation', is substituted for the authentic experiential intentionality of the participant-subjects. By this operation of substitution, the participant-subjects themselves become abstracted and regarded as subject-objects. This enables the experimenter to direct her/his attention to only the physical-body-observable of her/his subject-objects, but it restricts her/his responding to only their behaviour. Concentrating on only behaviour delimits the experimenter's questioning. She/he can only ask the questions relevant to the specific realm of behaviour. Valle and King raise the issue citing this problematic.

'The type of question infrequently if ever raised by behaviouristic psychologists is one never answered by the natural scientific methods, however, is: "Just what is being aggressive anyway?" "What is the experience of learning?" or "What is being sorrowful?" The reason that behaviourist psychology cannot even begin to deal with this kind of question (i.e. "What?" not "Why?") is because natural scientific methodology designed to deal with only one half of the behaviour-experience polarity: behavior.'

(1978, p. 6.)

The knowledge the human empirical researcher seeks to reveal via her/his metaphysical quest must remain related to its origin in the human realm of existential meaning. Therefore, the researcher, mindful of retaining the

human ethos of her/his research activity, initiates her/his research by a different mode of questioning from that of the physical scientist. These different modes of questioning necessitate different methodologies, each being appropriate to its specific province of meaning and consequent realm of knowledge. Meaning for the physical scientist is sought mainly by analysis, but for the human empirical researcher the activity of interpretation and understanding is given prominence. Strasser exposes the barrier between the two realms of knowledge:

'Briefly expressed, he who uses methods that are essentially the same as those of physics will remain in the sphere of physics and cannot even enter the realm of human sciences.'

(1974, p. 23.)

The researcher in the realm of the empirical sciences desirous of conserving a province of human meaning requires a research paradigm which continuously dialogues the human dimension of biographical meaning and situational experiential meaning. Taking this into consideration, the researcher designed her research paradigm on the tenets of existential-phenomenology, the parameters of which, Valle and King⁽¹⁾ establish as follows:

'Existentialism

... as a formal philosophical school, seeks to understand the human condition as it manifests itself in our concrete, lived situations. Its concern for these situations includes not only their physical characteristics (such as the people and places involved), but also all of our attendant moments of joy, absurdity, and indifference, as well as the range of freedom with experience as having in our responses to these various moments.'

1. In my exposition of existential-phenomenological concepts I have used Valle and King as a primary source. I fully subscribe to their elucidation of these concepts and am indebted to them for the clarity of their interpretations.

'Phenomenology

... is a method which allows us to contact phenomena as we actually live them out and experience them. Here, then, (is) an appropriate methodological approach with which to examine the content of existential philosophy.'

(1978, pp. 6 - 7.)

An existential-phenomenological research paradigm enables the researcher to accommodate the metaphysical, philosophical and anthropological dimensions preponent to a human empirical science in her/his research activities. Its scope is such as to encompass the dialectic or biographical meaning and situational experiential meaning which enables the researcher to pose the question 'What?' in addition to the 'Why?' and the 'How?'. Giorgi articulates the activity of existential-phenomenological research as

'... essentially involv(ing) intuition, reflection and description. This means that one first concentrates to the best degree on what is given or being experienced and secondly ask more specific questions about the phenomenon. In this way the researcher can deal with a more complete phenomenon because he first lets it emerge as it is rather than selecting those aspects of it that he wishes to see or manipulate, by defining the phenomenon in terms of his manipulation.'

(1971, p. 10.)

The researcher, in posing the question 'What?', seeks meaning in understanding. The type of understanding required is described by Phenix (1964, p. 194) as 'synnoetic understanding' where 'the separation between subject and object is overcome and a personal meeting takes place.' This 'personal meeting' is of necessity an inter-subjective meeting between the researcher as a participant-observer and the subject as a participant-respondent. Retaining the 'person-al' in the meeting enables the researcher to remain in the realm of human empiricism. The researcher is thus required to faithfully 'intuit', 'reflect' and 'describe' the phenomenon as it emerges. Meaning in understanding can only be dis-closed or dis-covered when the research paradigm enables the researcher to accommodate both her/his own and the

participant-respondent's philosophical and anthropological predispositions in its research activities.

Existential-phenomenological paradigmatic accommodation of the metaphysical dimension: The Transcendental Attitude of the Researcher

The transcendental attitude which the existential-phenomenological researcher embraces is grounded in the reality of human transcendence. Van Cleve Morris describes human transcendence as a 'gift of what might be termed dynamic self-consciousness'. A person is, 'in a sense, always standing outside himself (transcendent) and engaging in thoughtful plans about how to do himself over' (1969, p. 356). The propensity for self-consciousness, peculiar to the state of being human, is the unique and individual attribute of the person-as-self participating in the dialectic-of-being as self-reflective and self-active. It is the uniquely personal and individual experience of the self consciousnessing existential meaning for her/himself. Sartre succinctly expresses this by saying

'... man is constantly outside of himself; in projecting himself, in losing himself outside of himself, he makes man's existing and, on the other hand, it is by *per*-suing transcendent goals that he is able to exist; man, being this state of passing-beyond is at the heart, at the centre of his passing-beyond.'

(1947, p. 59.)

Blackman similarly states

'A man is a possibility, he has the power to be. His existence is in his choice of possibilities which are open to him, and since his choice is never final, one for all, his existence is indeterminate because not terminated.'

(1952, p. 88.)

The researcher in the human empirical sciences, seeking to understand the essential meaning or the 'What?' of the phenomenon researched, must attempt to encounter it 'at the heart, at the centre of (wo)man's passing-beyond.' It is the elucidation of a specifically chosen 'possibility' from all

the other multifarious possibilities which reveals the existential meaning for self and which the human empirical researcher seeks to explicate.⁽¹⁾ She/he does not discern truth as a nomologic of cause and effect requiring her/his analysis, but as a theticlogic of essential meaning requiring her/his human understanding. The possibility for the researcher's understanding resides in the shared commonality-of-being of the researcher as participant-observer, and the subject as a participant-respondent. The researcher, in explicating the essential meaning of the phenomena which constitute the meaning of the phenomenon for the participant-respondent, must transcend her/his 'natural attitude' to understand and disclose its essential meaning by setting aside her/his own assumptions, presumptions and presuppositions. Thus, the researcher is continuously engaged in reducing the dialogical commonality of meaning to an essential meaning for the participant-respondent at the different levels of her/his understanding. As the researcher sets aside her/his assumptions, presumptions and presuppositions, more emerge which in turn also have to be set aside until the essential meaning emerges. As stated by Valle and King

'These processes of bracketing and explication of assumptions have been found to interact in a dynamic fashion. It seems that as one brackets his preconceptions and presuppositions, more of these assumptions emerge at the level of reflective awareness (i.e. that which is of the pre-reflective life-world becomes articulated at the level of reflective thought). These newly discovered assumptions are then bracketed, this leads to the emergence and subsequent realization of still other assumptions, and so on....'

(1978, p. 12.)

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1. I have taken the concept 'explicate' from Stones, A, as she has used it in her unpublished thesis 'The Implications of Teacher Maladjustment in schools for Teacher Selection and Teacher-Training', (1982). University of Cape Town, South Africa.

The 'processes of bracketing' enable the researcher to move from the 'natural attitude' to the 'transcendental attitude', in other words, to gain distance from her/his prescientific 'taken-for-granted' assumptions, presumptions and presuppositions.

Existential-phenomenological paradigmatic accommodation of the philosophical dimension: The World as the Lived-Experience Everyday Living.

The existential-phenomenological researcher regards the inter-relationship of the individual and her/his world as total and indissoluble. The person is regarded as having no existence apart from the world, and the world as having no meaning apart from the person. The world constitutes meaning for the person and the person constitutes the meaning of the world. This notion of 'co-constitutionality' is best expressed following Valle and King (1978, p.8) by means of the 'Vase and Faces' drawing.

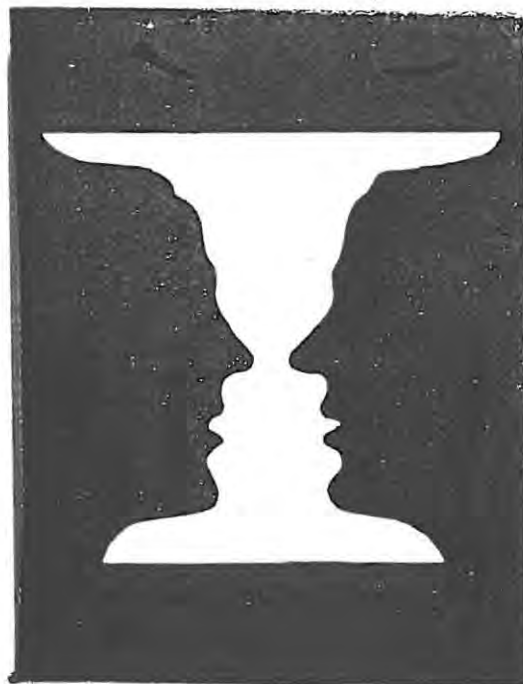


Figure 1: 'Vase and Faces' Drawing.

When one focuses on the white centre portion of the square, then the vase emerges as 'figure' against a blackened 'ground'. However, when one focuses away from the centre, the blackened faces emerge as 'figure', and the white portion retreats as 'ground'. The 'figure vase' cannot exist without the darkened 'ground', and the 'darkened-faces-as-figure' could not exist without the white 'ground', the one is said to constitute the other and they co-constitute each other.

In similar manner the person cannot exist without the presence of the world and the world would be meaningless without the presence of the individual. The person co-constitutes the meaning of the world and the world co-constitutes the meaning of the person. Meaning, therefore, requires that the person be contextualised in the world. The person and her/his world are always in dialogue, which means that at times the person is active and the world is passive, and at other times the world is active and acting on the person while he/she is passive. As the person is in dialogue with her/his world and acts in the world, she/he has to continuously choose her/his path of actions. The existentialist describes the person as being 'condemned to choice'.

From the perspective of existential-phenomenology, there is no complete personal freedom, but only 'situational freedom'. The person can only make choices within the limits of her/his situation. The existential-phenomenological researcher, therefore, explores the situational-life-world (Lebenswelt) of the participant-respondent, taking into cognisance her/his experiences of her/his everyday-living. These experiences are descriptively presented by the participant-respondent at a pre-scientific level. However, the participant-respondent communicates these experiences by using conceptual constructs which have been influenced by the 'natural attitude' of 'objectification' incorporating her/his assumptions, presumptions and

presuppositions. The phenomenological researcher attempts to rid the communication of not only her/his own presuppositions, but also those of the participant-respondent's by continuous processes of 'bracketing'. This means that she/he attempts to hold all presuppositions in suspension and focus on the phenomena at hand from various differing perspectives. By doing this, the phenomena as given by the participant-respondent become reduced as far as is possible to their experiential dimension in their existential situational-context so that they can be interpreted for their existential-situational-meaning, i.e. meaning for the person experiencing her/his situatedness.

Existential-phenomenological paradigmatic accommodation of the anthropological dimension: Consciousness conceived of as a Making-Present.

Because the existential-phenomenologist sees the person and the world co-constituting each other, they are not viewed as in the traditional natural scientific paradigm as two distinct poles or 'things'. The applied natural sciences tend to view consciousness as a 'container', some 'thing' into which experiences, as entities, are placed. Consciousness, which is regarded as consciousness 'of' some thing in the traditional sense, is viewed by the existential-phenomenologist as rather a consciousness 'for' some event. For the existential-phenomenologist consciousness

'... is not seen as either a creating force of sorts or as an objectified 'thing' in itself. Rather it is regarded as a making present. Consciousness is that forum in which phenomena show themselves or are revealed. It is not some mysterious entity of power by which objects are created ... the notion and labelling of external objects done in the 'natural attitude' are seen to be of higher-order, derived, reflective nature; this notion of objects as external is derived from the pre-reflective phenomena which are present to consciousness when one engages in reduction.'

(Valle and King, 1978, p. 12 - 13.)

The constituting power of consciousness makes the world present for the person as a personal experience, and, therefore, consciousness is always a consciousness 'for' some experience of awareness. The experience is

concomitantly that of personal feeling and meaning related to the phenomena of the experience. Consciousness 'for' could be consciousness for the experience of encountering substantiated objects or of another person. It could be consciousness 'for' the experience of encountering unsubstantiated objects such as images in dreams, or ideas in concepts. Therefore, consciousness is phenomenologically described as being 'intentional', because whenever one is talking about consciousness, one is at the same time talking either explicitly or implicitly about the substantiated or unsubstantiated 'objects' of consciousness which are presented to consciousness and which consciousness makes present by 'in-tending' them. Simplistically this can be described as 'tending-then:-(experiencing the objects)-in consciousness.

It is this attribute of the 'intentionality' of consciousness which Zaner, 1970, in Valle and King (1978, p. 13) describes as 'relating the noetic and the noematic'. The noetic being 'the subjective, the perceiving' and the noematic 'the objective, the perceived'. When the noetic is separated from the noematic then one takes an 'objective stance' but if the interrelationship between the two is maintained then one takes a 'subjective reflective stance', the latter Zaner describes as 'consciousing'. This reflective perspective of consciousness is elucidated by Zaner:

'My reflecting reveals that my mental processes are essentially intentive, that they are intentive toward objects of various types, and that different processes can have the same object. Thus, I can see my dog, Irving, remember the house I once lived in, love my family, feel pride in my profession, and so on. I can also see my dog, remember him, love him, feel pride in his uniqueness, defend his peculiar traits before skeptics, and the like. I can also see the dog, see the grass where he lies sprawled, see the trees behind, and the like. Different consciousings can have the same or different objects, and the same type of consciousing can have the same or different objects.'

(1970, p. 134.)

The perspective of the 'intentionality' of consciousness being 'reflective' and the act of 'consciousing' affords the retention of the noetic-noematic relationship inherent in which is the essential meaning of the experience-for-consciousness. The existential-phenomenological researcher tries to understand the essential meaning of this relationship so as to arrive at the essential 'synnoetic meaning' and 'synnoetic understanding' of the existential experience of the phenomena for the participant-respondent. She/he therefore pays attention to the participant-respondent's description of her/his experiences of the phenomenon researched.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH PROCEDURES

PHASE I: THE ARTICULATION OF THE INTENTIONALITY OF THE RESEARCHER'S CONSCIOUSNESS AS A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEMATIC

METHODIC IDEAS

'(The researcher) begins by asking not what is a convenient or merely interesting or scientifically approved topic of investigation, or how an experiment can be designed to investigate it, but instead he asks first, why am I involved with this phenomenon? How might the constituents of my uniquely personal personality condition my selection of this particular phenomenon to investigate? ... Interrogating his approach leads him to discover that he can never achieve a state of absolute disinterest, for without some personal interest he could never follow through in completing or even initiating a research project.'

(Colaizzi, 1978, p. 55.)

'In a sense, intentionality expresses human transcendence because it is the means by which man goes beyond himself in relation to all which is other than himself. It is comprehensive, pervading and revealing itself in man's total situation, both in his external behavior and in his experience. And because man is an incarnated subjectivity whereby his external behavior and experience are not separate but are inextricably related to each other, then the intentionality manifested in external behavior can never be adequately studied without also accounting for the intentionality of experience and vice versa.'

(Colaizzi, 1973, p. 24.)

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

1. The Introduction serves to orient the reader to the thematic context of the problematic as impulse to the researcher's intentions depicted as project.

2. Articulation of the researcher's intentions stated as:

To research

TEACHER-STRESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

from the perspective of a phenomenologically oriented investigation.

PHASE II: ARTICULATION OF THE INTER-SUBJECTIVE RELATIONAL
MODE OF THE RESEARCHER TO HER RESEARCH PROJECT
AS PARTICIPANT-OBSERVER

METHODIC IDEAS

'We are beginning to realize that as human beings we cannot be without presuppositions and values, we are embedded in interest groups and we can rarely escape our social - communal loyalties even as social scientists. Nor should we. We are engaged in life, social life, and our researches and opinions matter, whether we like it or not ... The only defence, if not to say remedy, against this state of affairs is a deliberate attempt to clarify one's presuppositions, the high art of phenomenology. Such questioning of presuppositions has to become part of everyday research.'

(Giorgi, 1971, p. xiv.)

'He (the researcher) does examine many of the presuppositions of his approach as he can and subjects them to a thorough-going scrutiny, analysis, and examination. Proceeding thusly, he will inevitably disengage himself from the purely technological and pragmatic criteria that the traditional researcher defines as the exclusive value of research; he will discover other criteria by which he can evaluate his research endeavours and results. He will discover that understanding the investigated phenomenon qualifies exquisitely as a criterion for research knowledge, specifically, an understanding that does not set out explicitly and exclusively to master, control, or dominate it - though never disqualifying his results should they turn out to have technological relevance.'

(Colaizzi, 1978, pp. 55-56.)

'In order to bracket one's preconceptions and presuppositions, however, one must first make them explicit - one must 'lay out' these assumptions so that they appear in as clear a form as possible to oneself.'

(Valle and King, 1978, p. 12.)

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

Chapter One 'The Situation of the Teacher in South African State High Schools' methodologically serves to:

1. Clarify the researcher's assumptions, presumptions and presuppositions, making her 'values' and 'communal loyalties' explicit.
2. Present a 'thorough-going scrutiny, analysis and examination' of her presuppositions in order to 'disengage' herself 'from the purely technological and pragmatic criteria' in an attempt 'to discover other criteria by which she can evaluate her research endeavours and results'.
3. Acknowledge her inter-subjective relational mode to her research project as a participant-observer by 'bracketing' her presuppositions, i.e. by making them explicit and 'laying them aside' so that 'they appear in as clear a form as possible to (her)self', and the reader.
4. Disclose the 'foundations of the phenomena', as without doing this 'no progress whatsoever can be made concerning it, not even a first faltering step can be taken towards it, by science or by any other kind of cognition'. (Colaizzi, 1973, p. 28).
5. Disclose the 'nature of the structure in the form of meaning' (Valle and King, 1978, p. 17), as by means of description, 'the pre-reflective life-world is brought to the level of reflective awareness where it manifests itself as psychological meaning'.
6. Initiate a 'scientific apparatus' whereby the phenomenon 'Teacher-Stress in South African State High Schools' can be investigated. In other words, it serves 'to create a situation' wherein the problem can be contextualized and re-dis-covered, as this can only take place in a 'carefully determined situation' (Strasser, 1974, pp. 138-139).

PHASE III: ARTICULATION OF THE RELATIONAL MODE OF THE RESEARCHER
AND THE RESEARCH COMMUNITY

METHODIC IDEAS

'Accordingly, human science will have to speak another language than physical science. If we enquire about the difference between the two languages, the reply has to be that this difference appears to lie in that the language of the human science has to make use of more intuitive notions than is the case with physical science. The appeal to more frequent use of intuitive notions does not at all mean that the human sciences have to abandon the strictly scientific attitude, but just the opposite. The human sciences cannot attain their aim if they do not make use of a broad range of fundamental experiences. The use is wholly in harmony with a strict and rigorous pursuit of science ...'

(Strasser, 1974, p. 162.)

'The thought objects constructed by the social scientist, in order to grasp this social reality, have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thinking of men, living their daily life within their social world.'

(Shutz, quoted in Kruger, 1979, p. 50.)

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

Chapter Two, 'The Teacher Contextually Situated in South African State High Schools', methodologically serves to:

1. Establish the frames of reference wherein the researcher intends to communicate with the research community. These being 'intuitively' selected from 'a broad range of fundamental (teacher) experiences', and delineated as: (1) The Terrain of Professionalism; (2) The Terrain of Teaching and/or Education; and (3) The Terrain of Role-Enactment.
2. Define the researcher's conceptualizations of the participant-respondent's embodied-self-consciousness of her/his association, relation

and comparison to her/his situatedness as teacher. The researcher does this by the construction of 'thought objects ... founded on the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thinking (of teachers) living their daily life within their social world'. These are the pro-active experiential self-descriptive concepts of (1) Teacher-Self-Actualization; (2) Teacher-Self-Esteem; and (3) Teacher-Self-Integration. These are dialectically posited in dialogue with their re-active antitheses of (1) Teacher-Self-Rejection; (2) Teacher-Self-Condemnation; and (3) Teacher-Self-Alienation.

PHASE IV: ENCOUNTERING THE PHENOMENA CONSTITUTING THE
PHENOMENON TEACHER-STRESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN
STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

STAGE I : THE SELECTION OF THE PARTICIPANT-RESPONDENTS

METHODIC IDEA

'By making use of a variety of subjects, the possibility of finding underlying constants of themes in the many forms of expression the experience takes is greatly increased (Munro, 1975). Thus, the problem of certain aspects being omitted is minimized and those aspects which are most important should appear most frequently, assuming - and not unjustly so - that those which are most important are least likely not to be verbalised. Similarly, a subject may concentrate on one particular area and fail to describe other areas of his experience. This does not necessarily imply that this is all there is to his experience - merely that he has not explicitly described the other aspects. The explicit areas of concern mentioned by other subjects may be implicit in his descriptive expressions. At least, they should be compatible. If not, then it is incumbent upon the researcher to take these incompatibilities into account when elaborating the structure of the phenomenon.'

(Stones C, 1984, p. 21.)

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

1. The researcher communicated her research intention to a number of people. Many teachers showed interest in the research and a number of teachers recommended themselves as subjects. Before selecting the participant-respondents to be interviewed, the researcher established the following criteria as being prerequisite to the success of the research:
 - 1.1 The Teacher had recently to have had more than 8 years' teaching experience. These teachers will have had some teaching experience before 'meriting' was introduced.
 - 1.2 The Teacher was known to take her/his teaching seriously and to be educationally involved.

- 1.3 The Teacher spontaneously indicated her/his interest in the research project and verbally communicated her/his desire/willingness to participate.
 - 1.4 The Teacher was articulate. A special effort was made to contact teachers who had had experience in teaching a language.
 - 1.5 The Teacher was available and contactable during the month when interviewing was scheduled to take place.
2. The researcher made arrangements to interview 12 Teachers and 12 interviews were conducted.

STAGE II: THE INTERVIEWS AS DATA-ELICITING PROCESSES

METHODIC IDEAS

'... the content of phenomenology is comprised of the data of experience, its meaning for the subject, and most particularly, the essence of the phenomena ... it considers experience as original data right alongside the external world and human body.'

(Giorgi, 1971, p. 10.)

'In effect, when I speak, I am my speaking; I become my words. Certainly ... to speak puts me at a certain distance from that which I speak. But between my consciousness and my speech there is no distance at all: I am in union with the language I use (Dufrenne, 1976, p. 215).'

(Quoted in Stones C, 1984, p. 19.)

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

1. The interviews were conducted in an informal setting, being held in the lounges of either the participant-respondents' own homes or the researcher's home. They were open-ended, each participant-respondent being uniformly told: 1. To introduce herself/himself by stating how

she/he came to choose teaching as a career; and 2. To continue by communicating what she/he as a teacher at present experiences or had in the past experienced as stressful.

2. The researcher minimized her interference with the phenomena by being non-directive and leaving the participant-respondent to structure her/his communication in any way she/he chose.
3. The interviews were of different duration, lasting between one and two hours. The interview terminated when the participant-respondent decided that she/he had said all she/he wanted to say. The interviews were recorded on 90 minute tapes.
4. From the twelve interviews, four were selected as research data. The limit of four was necessitated by the constraints on the length of the research project. The process of elimination of the redundant interviews took place as follows:
 - 4.1 Four interviews were excluded in that they were conducted with a group of teachers teaching at the same school.
 - 4.2 Three interviews were inaudible in places because of background noise and interference and were rejected.
 - 4.3 One interview, that of a teacher who had had experience of being a Principal, was rejected on grounds that both perspectives were given voice, which contaminated the data as 'teacher-stress'.
5. The interviews were then typed verbatim using dictaphone equipment.

STAGE III: THE PROTOCOLS AS DESCRIPTIVE DATA OF TEACHER-STRESS

METHODIC IDEA

'Protocol: the original record made by the subject of his introspective observations, the term generally referring to the raw data obtained from a person responding to a projective assessment technique, e.g. Rorschach or TAT (Thematic Apperception Test).'

(Stones A, 1982, p. 68.)

'... a process of description and explicitation must precede the investigation so that the precise situation of the phenomenon is known, and then one is better able to know the precise way the meaning of the phenomenon will change if it is studied in another context. Thus explication is one manner of description that is especially suited for grasping the meaning of the phenomenon since it discloses the phenomenon's multiple references to its horizon.'

(Giorgi, 1971, p. 22.)

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

1. In order to comprehend the phenomenon teacher-stress fully, consideration has to be given to both the 'structure' and 'style' of teacher-stress, with the emphasis on 'structure rather than 'style'. The procedure adopted here thus accords with the procedure advocated by DeKoning (1979, p. 124), where the analysis of the data is undertaken in the manner proposed by Giorgi (1975), Fisher (1971, 1974) and Stevick (1971), although the interpretative emphasis is on 'structure' rather than 'style'.
 - 1.1 The researcher read the entire description of the situation straight through to get a sense of the whole.
 - 1.2 The researcher then re-read the description more slowly and delineated each time there was a perceived transition in meaning indicative of self-intentionality. After this she had a

series of constituents, termed as Natural Meaning Units (NMUs).

A Natural Meaning Unit may be defined as:

'a statement made by (the subject) which is self-definable and self-delimiting in the expression of a single recognizable aspect of (the subject's) experience.

(Cloonan, 1971, p. 117.)

- 1.3 The researcher then elaborated and clarified to herself the meaning of each meaning unit she had delineated, synthesising excessive repetition and redundancies.
- 1.4 Each Natural Meaning Unit was then separated from the others by a diagonal line, numbered and in accordance with the consecutive order in which it occurred in the protocol. This interpretation of the protocol and the separation of data into Natural Meaning Units was then considered to have been adequately prepared in preparation for the following procedure of explicating the phenomenon of teacher-stress.

1. The Teachers' Protocols thus interpreted are to be found in the Appendix.

CHAPTER FOUR

LOCATING TEACHER-STRESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

SECTION I

PHASE V

THE EXPLICATION OF THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS (TS)

SECTION II

PHASE VI

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE THEMATIC FIELD (TF) AS THE CONTEXTUAL GROUND SPECIFIC TO THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS AS DIALECTIC IMPULSE TO PRO-ACTIVE OR RE-ACTIVE SELF INTENTIONALITY AS SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

PHASE V: THE EXPLICATION OF THE 'TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS

METHODIC IDEAS:

'Each group responds to individuals and situations both in terms of societal expectations and in terms of their own history of interacting with each other. Their responses contain both positional and personal elements.

(Shaftel and Shaftel, 1967, p. 122.)

'... newly discovered assumptions are then bracketed, this leads to the emergence and subsequent realization of still other assumptions, and so on. The process of bracketing and rebracketing is the manner in which one moves from the "natural attitude" toward the "transcendental attitude". This attempt to adopt the "transcendental attitude" is called reduction as one quite literally reduces the world as it is considered in the "natural attitude" to the world of pure phenomena or, more poetically to a purely phenomenal realm. This process of bracketing is one that never ends and so a complete reduction is an impossibility.'

(Valle and King, 1978, p. 12.)

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES:

- 2.1 The researcher translated the raw data in the form they were presented in the protocols into clear succinct expressions of compacted meaning, proceeding by systematically interrogating each Natural Meaning Unit (NMU) for what it revealed about teacher-stress in its specific biographical situation. This was done for each participant-respondent's protocol by successively bracketing assumptions to allow the data to emerge in its purified form. The original words of the respondent-subjects were retained wherever possible in order to conserve the essential meaning and ethos of the phenomena.
- 2.2 The researcher reduced the phenomena to the stage where any further reduction would have resulted in the phenomenon 'teacher-stress' losing contact with the 'positional' elements of its thematic field as

its contextual ground. If the research had been concerned with the de-contextualized phenomenon, 'stress', the researcher would have continued her reduction to allow a more purified form of the phenomenon 'stress' to emerge. However, as 'teacher-stress' was the focus of attention, the researcher had to allow certain 'ground' to remain so that the phenomena retained their essential biographical identity of 'positional' situatedness as teacher-stress.

- 2.3 After the researcher had explicated the essential teacher-stress incidents she tested each one for its relevance to each of the dialectics of the three self-intentional conceptualizations, viz: Teacher-Self-Actualization/Teacher-Self-Rejection; Teacher-Self-Esteem/Teacher Self-Condensation; and Teacher-Self-Integration/Teacher-Self-Alienation, the definitional conceptualizations for this testing being those presented in Chapter Two.
- 2.4 The teacher-stress phenomena were then presented in their dialectical self-intentional dimensions, referenced and substantiated by their Natural Meaning Unit referents in brackets. Each thematic incident was ordinally arranged and numbered as evidence of the teacher's biographical self-intentional experience of teacher-stress in her/his specific 'positional' situatedness.

PHASE V: THE EXPLICATION OF TEACHER-STRESS (TS) FROM TEACHERS' PROTOCOLS

TEACHER A (TA)

TEACHER-STRESS AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION	THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION
(TS 1) Teacher A thinks that she is a born teacher. (1) She never seriously considered doing anything else except social work which she feels is similar. (8)	She thinks that it is quite sad that she is leaving teaching. (2)
(TS 2) People told her that she was a good adviser. (4) Being the eldest, she was always there to advise her sister. (6) People smiled when she did this. (7)	She found that her credibility as a counsellor was indirectly questioned by the Principal whom she felt had preconceived ideas about Teacher-Psychologists. (83) (84) (85)
(TS 3) Her teachers thought that she would do well as a teacher. (9)	The Principal told her that her colleagues were complaining because she 'bolsters the pupils'. (86) (87)
(TS 4) At first she enjoyed teaching. (10) She was teaching English, Afrikaans, History and doing Career Guidance. (11) The Principal offered her the post of Teacher-Psychologist when these posts were first created. (12)	Although at one time she would have accepted, she rejected the offer. (12) She felt that you couldn't counsel just by 'feel'; more background information was needed. (14) After teaching for five years she realised that a little knowledge was a dangerous thing. (18)
(TS 5) She went to study further. The course specifically prepared one for the practical work in the counselling situation. (19) Counselling to her is personally satisfying. (28)	She didn't do the course just to have the title of Teacher-Psychologist. (27) Even as a teacher she counselled pupils. (26)

(TS 6) When her husband was transferred she was appointed to a post of Teacher-Psychologist. (25) This she enjoyed and at the same time she was also in charge of the English. (36)

(TS 7) She wanted to give meaningful lessons in guidance and this entailed a great deal of preparation. (48)

(TS 8) At first she did all her counselling in her classroom. (31) When the School Psychologist said she must have a special room, she converted a packing room into an office. (69) This facilitated her work. (71) (72) The School Psychologist was pleased with her work (32) (33) and the Principal happy. (34)

(TS 9) When married women were prevented from teaching she would cry when her post was in the balance because she loved teaching. (98) (99)

(TS 10) She had never previously experienced having enemies on any staff. (108) (90) She tried to do something about the changed situation. (93) (94) (95)

She found herself getting upset when friends came around to braai and they stayed too long because she had preparation and marking to do. (45) She is sure her friends see her as an ogress because she is dogmatic about not going out with them. (46) Teaching and counselling make her feel drained and exhausted. This is aggravated by the load of marking and preparation. (43) She will be happy to give up marking as it has caused her a great deal of stress. (44) When she is not marking she feels guilty. (49)

This caused professional jealousy. (69) She offered to move out of the room as it wasn't absolutely necessary for her to have one. (70)

When she tried to do something she was put off. (94) (95) She found it difficult to believe the rejection. (92) She felt completely hopeless. (97) (101) She tried to ignore it. (102) Then she thought about doing something different. (102)

(TS 11) She considers her career to have been a very smooth one. (106)

She cannot work for someone who projects a preconceived image on her. She feels there is nothing she can do to fight it. (110) Her ego took the biggest knock ever. (8) She describes it as going through the stages of a terminally ill person. (91) At one time she was taking tranquilizers. (103) She couldn't sleep. (104).

(TS 12) She regards the situation as probably beneficial in some way. (80) She would like to look at teaching objectively. (104) She once tried to do this by taking long-leave but it didn't work. (105)

She also has the desire for fresh human contact because teaching cuts you off from adult people. This contributed to her decision to go into the business world. (73) This seemed particularly attractive when she thought about not having marking work to take home, (178) and a lesser load of work. (179) (74)

TEACHER-STRESS AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM OR TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

(TS 13) Teacher A likes to do things well. (16) She only contributes to meetings when she knows what she is talking about. (17) She used to do well in eisteddfods when she was little. (3) She never feels threatened when someone checks her work. (59)

She feels that people should realise that you can work on your own and that there should be a cut-off line somewhere. (59)

(TS 14) She would have accepted the post of Teacher-Psychologist if it had been indicated that there was no-one else to do it. (18) When she became a Teacher-Psychologist she felt that she was needed. (30)

She later found herself in a situation where she wasn't in favour and everything she did was objected to. (100) (101)

(TS 15) You can carry a load of work if you feel it is appreciated, (75) 'bolstering' the pupil. (89)

The Principal said that she had had complaints from two teachers that they couldn't cope with a pupil (86) because she 'bolstered'

(TS 16) She thinks it important for the pupils to have confidence in you. (53) She is always satisfied that she has covered all the work. She never has guilt feelings about this aspect of her work. (50) (51)

(TS 17) She states that you could never measure the amount of education you give a child, and this is your main concern. (57)

(TS 18) What teachers put into their work until half-past two is probably more than they (others) put into a whole day's work. (42)

(TS 19) Likes to think of herself as a diplomatic person (107) Always been friends with younger and older members of staff. (109) Doesn't like to accuse unfairly. (89) Does not think of herself as being particularly proud. (81)

When she goes into a classroom and has not marked all the books she feels guilty and is aware of pupil condemnation. (52)

Friends laugh at you when you tell them you have worked until five. (38) (41) She once worked in a library she had a lunch hour and would come home after work bursting with energy. When she started teaching again she began to feel exhausted and tired. (43)

She felt that what was said about her just wasn't true. (87).

TEACHER-STRESS AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION OR TEACHER-SELF-ALIENATION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ALIENATION

- (TS 20) Teacher A enjoyed going back to university to study further specifically because Counselling was seen as a continuous, on-going process. (20) The class would help you if you did not know how to go on. (21) It gave her background knowledge and information. (22)
- (TS 21) She feels accountable to her pupils, (53) and that one's marking must be kept up to date. (50) (53) This is the only thing that makes her feel guilty. (51)
- (TS 22) She had been awarded two merits. (68)
- (TS 23) Schools cannot be run haphazardly. (63) Bureaucracy will not only be found in schools. (65) (68) She finds she has to physically write down things to organise herself. (62)
- (TS 24) At first she enjoyed her work as a Teacher-Psychologist and also being in complete control of the English. (35) She used to feel that she was in control of things. (82)

- After she had completed her degree, she felt insecure about her knowledge of Psychology, for, although she had gained higher marks in this course, she had spent most of her time studying English. (23) She felt she did not have enough background knowledge for counselling. (15)
- However, she is wary about the concept of accountability as there is no clarity as to whom you are accountable and for what you are accountable. (55) (58) To determine this there would have to be an objective system of measurement and it could only be applied to things like books being handed in on time. (56)
- She considers the meriting system unfair; initially she didn't like the system at all. She received her second merit because of her counselling, files and things. (68)
- Checking does not necessarily mean good administration, and poor administration causes a lot of stress. (61) (63) There should be a cut-off line somewhere. (59) People should realise that you can work on your own initiative. (60)
- She now found herself in a situation over which she has minimal control. (82)

(TS 25) When she first started counselling as a Teacher-Psychologist she didn't have to do any extra-mural activities. (29) (37) She didn't mind staying after school to counsel or counsel at breaks. (38)

She feels very strongly about having societies and so on at break. (38) A person should have a break from studying and a break from teaching. (39) Teachers who are the ones who should know better are never allowed to switch off. (39) (40)

(TS 26) She used to feel very loyal when she made someone happy by doing something on time. This was sufficient reward for going on and getting the next thing done. (82)

She would like to stand back and look at teaching completely objectively. (104) She feels she cannot work for someone who sees her as more ambitious than she is. (110)

TEACHER B (B)

TEACHER-STRESS AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION

(TS 1) Teacher B's interest in English was instrumental in his giving up law and becoming a teacher. (1)

At one time during his practice teaching he had a strong presentiment about the hide-bound atmosphere of teaching, (4) the bureaucratic dullness, (5) rigidity, (6) and mediocrity. (7) He also suffered from the problem a lot of children have and that is that he never had clear role models to accept or reject. (14)

(TS 2) The availability of a bursary facilitated his change of career. He was concerned about his studying being a financial strain on his parents. (2)

During this time he could have stayed away from teaching and made arrangements to pay back the bursary. (3) He remembers a moment when he felt he wanted to escape, (8) but he continued his course because of financial considerations. (9)

(TS 3) He describes going ahead with his teaching project in the light of being 'a dutiful son'. (10)

He says that he had unworldly attitudes because he was so young, immature and unrealistic. (11) He thinks now he should have sought advice on how to pay back the loan. (12) His father was a civil servant and he didn't like the kind of work he did. (13) His mother was keen to get into business and get things done, but she never actually did. (19)

(TS 4) In choosing to become a teacher, he was influenced by his teachers. He had had excellent teachers at school which removed most of the usual objections to becoming a teacher. (20)

(TS 5)

What really makes him uncomfortable about teaching is the salary issue. (37) He considers salary is a big drawback which is tied to the wider issues of being a South African and having to pay for things like apartheid. (38) He finds that the inadequate remuneration is demeaning, infuriating and humiliating because his wife has to work to supplement their income. (37)

(TS 6) He thinks that he has outgrown his adolescence. In his past he coached sport and played for a club, but he has now outgrown these interests. (100)

He thinks that some people become teachers because they are happy where they are. (They don't grow up.) (99)

(TS 7) He thinks that if he can go home at the end of the day and say that he has taught a child to understand a sentence better, another to have lost some of his/her general prejudices, another not to generalise so much, or fidget, or throw litter, then he has done a lot for one day. (104)

He feels that teachers and educationists suffer from a form of hubris which comes from being influential over children, and letting it go to their heads. (102) (103) (105)

(TS 8) He can see why doctors and lawyers call themselves professionals. Their work has required an awful lot of training. (116)

Talk about professionalism makes him think of a kind of 'closed shop' attitude. (113) Teachers usually talk about it complainingly or defensively, but never in the light of duties and obligations. (114) To him such talk seems to be motivated by self-aggrandizement. (115) He doesn't think teachers have any claim to professionalism on grounds of their training. (117) (118) (119) He doesn't regard himself as being very highly trained to teach. (120) (128)

TEACHER-STRESS AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM OR TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

(TS 9) At the time he was studying English he was offered a position in advertising which he turned down. (19) In those days English students felt themselves to be superior to the commercial world. (16)

He was the offspring of a whole ancestry of the Victorian, colonising type, people who worked for a salary. This influenced his approach. (18) In those days his attitude towards money was, he says, basically snobbish. (17)

(TS 10) He tends to focus all his energy on teaching and has little interest in anything outside the classroom. (26) There is nobody on the staff who knows as much about English as he does. (33) If someone arrived at the school who did, he would like to see him in a senior position and hopes that he could then derive a lot from him. (34) He has worked for English Heads who knew less than he, but they can't throw their weight around because they are also susceptible. (35)

He has taught in three schools, but has no rank. (21) He once applied for the Headship of English. (22) He feels the Principal, quite rightly, gave it to someone else who was a good organiser. (25) He feels that he doesn't get any rank because he is not a good organiser. (24) He is not interested in the promotional hierarchy in schools. (36)

(TS 11) The one thing which teaching offers him is pleasure in the classroom. (30) The status of rank does not worry him as he declares 'I am who I am and know who I am'. (32)

(TS 12) He has been brought up with a liberal consciousness. He would like to convey some of this to his pupils but, he can't. (45)

(TS 13) He states that he was brought up on the culture of English values. (45)

(TS 14)

He thinks that it would be foolish to get involved in administration, (27) and burden himself with files and inventories which would take him away from his family, and the pleasure he has in the classroom, (18) for such a little more money. (27) (29) But as time goes by he finds it increasingly difficult to come out on his salary. (31)

Thus there is a kind of personal, emotional, ethical, historical stress which comes out in his teaching. (44) His pupils are quite at ease in their society, with no idea of being products of a horrible historical process which is storing up plenty of trouble for their future. (44) He can't convey this to them, because it is like taking tone-deaf people and only telling them about music. (45) (50)

South Africa has severed the English connection. There has been an American saturation of all our values. (48) There is a definite push to make people forget their past. (49) People no longer have the springs of feelings or consciousness on which he was brought up. (47) The children he teaches were born after 1960; they have grown up with the 'Westminster system', which in South Africa, is at odds with itself. (51)

The motivation that used to drive children, and still does drive them in the sub-economic brackets, doesn't apply to the children he teaches. (72) The children are pretty sure they won't fail, if they do there are ways of getting them to pass, and if they still fail, there is always the past pupils' network. (73) He feels the fault lies with the schools. (74) The longer he teaches, the more unhappy he feels about the artificiality of the apartheid school in the apartheid society, where some children are being groomed to inherit the wealth of South Africa. (75) After being overseas, he sees sport as another facet of apartheid, where people delude themselves into thinking that everything is alright when it isn't. (101)

- (TS 15) He thinks that, to a certain extent, all people are educators. (106) A teacher has a committed role to play in the classroom, (107) but what he/she does in the line of education will happen despite his/her own efforts. (108) (110) (111) Children perceive this, and it is important that they feel they can trust a teacher. (109) Education is about values, codes of ethics and atmospheres of morality. (112)
- (TS 16) Teaching is not identical to medicine or law, because it involves human relationships, which are not so important to these professions. (12) Teaching is an art as well as a skilled craft. There are some qualities a good teacher has which all the training in the world will not put into another teacher. (130) So teachers should be morally accountable for what they do. (131)
- (TS 17) Teacher B doesn't think that he has been a bad teacher. (121) He has made the pupils feel that his classes have been worthwhile. (122) Experience has taught him how to handle children. (123)
- (TS 18) He wishes he could do more to open the eyes of the children he teaches to some uncomfortable truths. (41)
- He feels that teachers claim all kinds of virtues by palming themselves off as educators. (113)
- If a teacher has done something bad to his/her pupils then he/she should suffer for it. (131) This is more important than the number of passes or failures a teacher has. (132)
- His Diploma year did not teach him anything about handling pupils, (124) and nothing since has required him to keep up with professional journals; (125) in fact, he has been repelled by what he finds in them. (126) (127)
- It worries him that the pupils he teaches don't realise how South Africa has changed, (39) how people have become slick and smart. He feels a stranger to his pupils, as they don't understand their own background. (40) The older he gets, the wider the gap becomes. He sees his pupils becoming increasingly childish, (42) and South Africans, likewise, unable to think like grown-ups. (43)

- (TS 19) He feels that the relationship one has with people you see every day is a very intimate one. (53)
- (TS 20) Teacher B says that he works through feelings and impressions. (57)
- (TS 21) Although he finds teaching English high-pressure, he enjoys it. (84) (85)
- (TS 22) He describes his position in the school as 'quite comfortable', because he only has to take sport one afternoon a week, but even that he finds a nuisance and a waste of time. (91) When he was a child he played games with other children; they didn't need teachers supervising them. (92)
- At a basic cultural level he feels at odds with his pupils. (52) He doesn't normally think about these things as teaching is a very anaesthetic job. (54) He finds it difficult just catching up with the previous day's teaching. (55) He just lives with these thoughts, like living with a fairly sore tooth, until he loses his temper, and that clears the air a bit. (56)
- He experiences a continual nagging frustration, (57) a longing for a South Africa he once knew. He feels that he is now living in a country which is opposed to the country in which he was brought up. (58) He experiences a continual on-going unease, mostly unconscious. (59)
- The pressure of teaching half-hour periods leaves him very drained. (86) (87) (88) He gets annoyed when teachers go on about societies, and so on, as he is sure they are full of energy because of the nature of their subject. (87) The idea that you get to know your pupils by taking sport, for the English teacher, is a fallacy. (89)
- It irritates him that the other teachers react as if he ought to feel guilty because he is not prepared to rush onto the sport's field. (90) Pupils' sport does not always have to be supervised. (92) He doesn't like seeing other teachers press-ganged into taking sport, (95) or the children conditioned into thinking it is so important because they are told so, so often. (97) This all lends weight to the myth that sport is a wonderful activity. (96) He has to teach these children whose minds have been shaped by how others will have them. (98) This is another area where the school overrates its importance, and has become monopolistic. (93)

(TS 23) He once had the opportunity of teaching in blocks of time. He found that he was then able to take on the shape of his true personality, and expand back into himself between classes. (65)

(TS 24) Assessment of teachers in schools should be done by the pupils (133) Their observations should be given recognition. (134) This should play a part in a teacher's promotion. (135) He has found it useful. (136) The pupils are flattered being asked to do something meaningful. (137) This could help a person to become a better teacher or trainer, but not a better educator. (138)

(TS 25) Teacher B regards normal dress as jeans and an open neck shirt. (142) Outside of school people seem to be more natural, (145) and lead more natural lives. (146)

(TS 26) He describes himself as 'acting' in class. (151) He acts a self that is not his self. (151) He describes it as a stimulating performance which both the pupils and he enjoy. (152) He envies teachers who are more sincere, (157) but it is not a great worry because he knows his classes are more interesting than some of the other. (159)

Teaching is so routinised, so pressurized, that often one does not have time to think very clearly. (60) (61) (67) No adult would survive it. (68) This teaches children to switch off, (71) and trains people to a state where their interest span is about three seconds. (46) It is to a certain extent mechanistic. (71) He finds the routine of examinations also a time of stress, people who run schools don't understand the English teacher's situation. (76) (77) Examinations only have meaning for the teachers. (78) (79) They tend to be a kind of ritual. (81) He keeps asking himself, 'Why is this happening? Does anyone know?' (82) (83)

The fact that the pupils' observations are not given recognition show how little teachers respect their pupils. (139) So, pupils see themselves as the victims of teachers, giving teachers the image they have and deserve. (139) (140) (141)

At school he never dresses normally, (142) so he always feels he is playing a part; (143) the pupils are also playing a part and so are unnatural. (144)

He finds himself very uninterested in the pupils as individuals. (153) (154) They probably find him unresponsive outside school. (155) (156) He envies teachers whom he sees as more sincere, (157) but at the end of the day he is happy to switch off. (158)

(TS 27) He considers himself as being lucky because at the school he is at the Principal and Vice-Principal never fail to get an academic atmosphere across. (169) The way a Principal affects the atmosphere of the school is important. (160) It is important that he doesn't get angry, speaks politely (163) and has an academic bent which links the school to its academic sources.

Efficiency, administration and discipline are not the most important qualities for a Principal. (161) But more Principals are being appointed in this country because they are good processors of children. (166) But they have no conception of the cultural history of their own tribe and will turn the children into technological barbarians, (167) and their schools in business corporations, rather than centres of learning. (168) There is the story of a History teacher who asked the Maths teacher to talk to the pupils about the Greeks. He had no idea about their culture, although he is an authoritative person in teaching, and gets outstanding examination results. (171) But if these are the important criteria he doesn't know what it is all about at the end of the day or what the schools are there for. He says that, if this isn't a source of stress, he doesn't know what is. (172)

TEACHER C (TC)

TEACHER-STRESS AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION

(TS 1) Teacher C decided she wanted to teach at the beginning of Std 9. (1) She never seriously considered another career. (3)

When she has become desperate, she has considered doing something ... anything else. Anything where her degree and teacher's diploma would be useful. (4) But the salary was never good enough. (5)

(TS 2) Her Geography teacher inspired and encouraged her to become a teacher. (2)

- (TS 3) She has been teaching for 15 years. She was a Senior Teacher when the posts, Head of Department, were created. She applied for a HOD post in order to get a 'decent' bond. (6)
- (TS 4) She taught in the Junior Secondary phase for many years. (42)
- (TS 5) When she had enough accumulated leave she took study-leave to complete the third-year course in Geography. (18)
- (TS 6) She applied for a post at a Teachers' Training College. (47)
- (TS 7) She has applied for Deputy Head posts. (46)
- She maintains that her troubles started when she took this promotion. (6) The Principal not so much resented her being appointed, but resented the creation of the HOD posts in general and the discarding of the traditional Vice-Principal post. (7) She felt she had been humiliated at a school function. (11)
- She thought that the Principal had a policy of allowing only teachers with a third-year degree qualification to teach the matrics. Each time she threatened to resign she was promised the senior classes when she was qualified. (42)
- She eventually realised that the reason for the Principal not giving her senior classes was not due to her lack of qualification, (42) but that it would mean rearranging another teacher's subjects, and that the teacher would be upset. When she realised this, she became annoyed, and complained, and was accused of becoming 'uppity' since she had been back to university. (43)
- She waited three months for a reply to an application. When she finally contacted the College, she was told that the posts had been re-shuffled and that that particular post had fallen away. (48)
- Teaching for so many years in the Junior-Secondary phase has been a handicap to her in acquiring promotion posts. (46) This has also been prevented by the internal politicking in the schools concerned.

(TS 8) She thinks that teachers should be regarded as professionals if you take into account their degrees and their academic training. (96) (109)

Teachers have a long way to go before they will be considered professionals. (105) People in other professions look down on teachers. (106) (107) She feels spare in the company of other professional people. (108) (109) (117) As long as teachers are paid by the State, they will be regarded as civil servants. (102) (103) Teachers cannot achieve professional status as long as they are prescribed to by all and sundry. (98) Parents don't have respect for them. (100) Teachers, themselves, don't have a professional attitude towards their teaching. (97) (60) Except for the Federal Council, the teachers' associations are incapable of doing anything for teacher professionalism. (104) Teachers will not be considered professionals as long as there is no respect for them. (95)

(TS 9) She has now been told that Geography will be introduced and that she will be able to teach matrices. (44) She now goes to meetings, organizes modules and is enjoying this aspect of her work. (45) She would become a teacher again if she had her life over again. (113) (112) (111) She feels rewarded when the penny has dropped, (114) (115) and when the children come to tell her about something she has talked to them about. (116) (80) (82) (110)

TEACHER-STRESS AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM OR TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

- (TS 10) When she first started teaching she took everything in her stride. All her work and marking was completed in time. She worked to a planned routine. (50)
- (TS 11) She would have liked to have been given a student teacher when student teachers came to the school. (21)
- (TS 12) She told the Principal that she was sick of being the maid-of-all-trades in the school. (26)
- (TS 13) She feels that sometimes she has a golden opportunity to educate. (75)
- (TS 14) She feels really good when she is educating. (78) In one way education is the same as teaching, but in another way there is a big difference. (72) (73) Educating is concerned with guiding the child to lead a good life, and to know about things outside of school life. (76) (77) You also have to equip the child to have a career one day. (71)

She finds it annoying that new things are started but they never materialize. (36) She doesn't know whether her problem is sheer frustration, (8) or whether she is too ambitious. (9) She has become more aggressive and moody and gets migraine headaches. She doesn't smile. (48) She sometimes takes tranquilizers. (51) (52) (53) (54) She finds it difficult to go to sleep. (55) She sleeps on Saturday afternoons. (57) She makes her plans but keeps on having to change them. (63)

No one even asked her whether she wanted a student teacher. (21) She decided to refuse to do study-duty, (22) because her subject was not considered important, (25) and she felt she had been slighted in front of the whole staff. (24)

She was told that she had become very 'uppity' since she had been back to university. (27)

Teaching a content subject hinders you in educating. Your syllabus makes you rush through the work to be ready for the examinations and complete your record book. (74) She often has to finish a section of work because it is included in a test or an examination paper. (75)

There isn't time to do all these things. (71) People expect teachers to put right every ailment in society. (66) (67) They think that we work a five-hour, five-day week. (65) The teacher cannot take over the role of the parent. (68) The child's conscience must be trained from babyhood. (68)

TEACHER-STRESS AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION OR TEACHER-SELF-ALIENATION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION	THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ALIENATION
(TS 15) Teacher C thought that when she was appointed HOD she would have to do more work to justify her higher salary. (12)	As HOD she was never consulted about anything. (10) (13) (14) Neither was she given an office. Although the other HOD (who had been Vice-Principal) had an office. (15) She felt that she should have a place to keep her confidential reports. (16)
(TS 16) She later had to make her own demands in order to acquire an office. (17)	When she came back from study-leave she discovered that the Teacher-Psychologist had been given an office. (19) (20)
(TS 17) She took study-duty, often three sessions (afternoons and evenings) a week. (23) (30) She once resigned (22) but when she was asked to take it again she did so. (28)	She did study-duty because no one else would do it, but now that teachers are lavishly paid to do it, there are willing teachers, so she doesn't do it any more. (31)
(TS 18) She is responsible for the Afrikaans section of the library, but has no periods time-tabled for it. She is also responsible for cataloging a large slide collection. (29)	The teacher who is in charge of the English section of the library has periods time-tabled for her library work. (29)
(TS 19) She often organised the matric dance. (32)	However, when there was someone whom it was thought could do it better, the organisation was handed over to her. (32)
(TS 20) She is Standard Head for a class, (33) and teaches over 250 pupils. (34) She does all the duplicating. (33)	She feels that somehow her name gets attached to anything new that crops up. (33) (34) It was decided that examination papers would be marked in standards, so she was given her share to do. When another teacher thought she could not finish her marking because the examination was being written on the last day, she was made to feel guilty because she did not offer her help, but she, herself, was not sure whether she was going to be able to finish her own marking. (35)

- (TS 21) She feels that she must also always allow time for the unexpected things that happen. (36)
- (TS 22) She gets a lot of support from her friends who are also mostly teachers. (58) (61) (62) She feels that only teachers understand teachers. (64) She also sews to relax. (56)
- (TS 23) She thinks that she has a reasonably good relationship with her pupils. She doesn't allow any nonsense in her classes. (85) (88) (89)
- (TS 24) She feels particularly good (78) when the pupils have grasped something, (79) and participate. (80) (81) (82) She has to teach them certain concepts and they get on with the work. (88) (94) She gives them the odd sermon on things they should know. (89) She never has problems with her classes. (90)
- Things always get started but never finished. (36) First there was the staff development programme, then the Students' Council, then Team-teaching. (36) Then a Media Centre was going to be started. She attended a course (37) and cancelled three of her UNISA B.Ed. modules. (40) But nothing materialised. (38) (39) Now she will have to do her B.Ed. next year, and she will be snowed under with work. (41)
- She has come to realise that there are very few schools where things run smoothly. (59)
- She is sure that soon the authorities will have to appoint Welfare-Teachers. (69) Instead of doing the year for the Teachers' Higher Diploma, teachers should be given a year's training in Psychiatric nursing, to deal with some of the 'customers' they get. (70)
- She thinks the children see her just as a glorified baby-sitter. (83) School is something they have to endure. (84) There is a generation gap. (86) They are children in her eyes. (87) You could possibly now call it a 'granny-relationship'. (91) She doesn't believe in being pally with her pupils, (92) because that is when your discipline goes. (95)
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TEACHER D (TD)

TEACHER-STRESS AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION	THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION
(TS 1) Teacher D had wanted to teach all his life, (1) but started his teaching career late because of family circumstances. (2) He majored in English and Geography. (4)	After teaching for 15 years he is going to change, (5) and commit himself fully to the Ministry, (7) because of the call of God. (9) (11)
(TS 2) To a certain extent he was able to combine his teaching and ministering ideals in his RI classes, teaching morality. (17) (8) To him Christianity is a prevailing way of life. He fused it with his teaching, building a spiritual relationship with the pupils. (103) He will still be engaged in the educational process when in the Ministry. (12)	Teacher D found himself divided between the two professions. Teaching at times overloaded him so much that he didn't have time for anything else. (13) (107) Also there were counteractions from the children belonging to the different denominations. (17) Often when he taught about morality the children would remark about the teachers and say that they were setting double-standards. (18) When he spoke about love and neighbourliness, the children would point out inconsistencies in their social environment. (19)
(TS 3) The salary was adequate because he was in a category where he could manage. (105) But a spiritual relationship with the children is his reward, not money. (104) What upsets him more than the salary are the conditions. (106) (108)	Teachers in the lower categories cannot manage. (105) He had to think about his decision to change because the ministry is not as lucrative as teaching. (10)
(TS 4) He thinks that literature is meant for life, (28) with its universal truths. (47) Because of these influences the English Department is more open and politically minded, (48) and so more liberal. (45)	The openness of the English department causes inter-departmental tension. Sometimes the teachers were at loggerheads with the other departments. (49)

(TS 5) He valued an English Inspector, with whom he could sit and talk for hours, and who was very helpful and who understood his situation. (75) He believes that people should be allowed to differ constructively. (62) He supposes they keep some lazy teachers on their toes. (81)

An Inspector once reported him. (78) Some think they know everything. (74) There are some who just come to clamp down on you. (76) Often their reputation comes before them and it creates an abnormal atmosphere. (77) Inspectors are closer to the planning committee and are more interested in results and their reputations. (80) As they are closer to the Planners, their priority interests are not always educational. (85) The progressive teachers detest Inspectors. (82)

TEACHER-STRESS AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM OR TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

(TS 6) Teacher D had always given selfless service to the school. He was the kingpin in the school. (14)

He told the Principal he had no qualms about leaving teaching. (16)

(TS 7) He feels he is reaching his pupils most of the time. (21)

Teacher D experienced tension because sometimes, unaware, he was passing on middle-class values. (21) All schools are middle-class institutions, but the children he teaches come from a sub-economic area. (20) Tension arises because of the different ways teachers view society. (51)

(TS 8) Prides himself on being a conscientious teacher who considers the education of the children more important than anything else. (31) (52) (53) (79) The actual teaching is what makes you tick. (70)

Teachers who teach just to cover the syllabus have fewer problems. (30) It is possible to train a 'monkey' to teach. (32) The more you try to educate a child in his/her totality the more barriers and contradictions you come up against, and this causes tensions amongst teachers. (54)

- (TS 9) Teacher D calls his method of teaching the 'workshop' method ... it's a functional approach. (41) He interacts with the pupils, (42) and the pupils can experiment. (40) He doesn't believe in a regimented form of discipline. (39)
- (TS 10) You should get merited for being the real person you are, the person you are in the educational context. (72)
- (TS 11) The Principal ought to be friends with the teachers because of their common experiences. (65)
- (TS 12) Sometimes he gets involved in community issues. (92) When there was community dissention, Teacher D became the hub of everything, collecting signatures for petitions, (93) and attending meetings.
- (TS 13) Teacher D prides himself that he has never caned a pupil. (102) He finds pleasure in the pupil's feeling that he is interested in them, and by gaining their confidence and respect. He doesn't have problems with the real ruffians in the school. (101)
- A teacher passing his classroom and hearing the noise thinks that the children are playing and he isn't in control. (44) On this score he gets backlash from the other teachers. (43)
- The Principal can always find reasons for not giving you a merit. (68) (66) He can interpret your method of teaching as uneducational, and say you are upsetting the discipline of the school. (69) Sometimes the Principal is only concerned with the facade, registers and record books, etc. But the real person is not reflected in these things. (71) But the Principal is also manipulated by the authorities. (73)
- In addition to community involvement, he also had to see that his work was done. (93)
- Some teachers condemn a pupil for being rude, but he tries to concentrate on the more positive aspects of the pupil's personality. (101)
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TEACHER-STRESS AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION OR TEACHER-SELF-ALIENATION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION

THE IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ALIENATION

- (TS 14) Teacher D views teaching in the same light as social work: you want to help and do all you can. (23)
- (TS 15) He manages to bridge his problems by interacting with the pupils. He does this by enquiring into their background, asking them what they do over the weekends, their sport and their hobbies, and talking to them at breaks. (97) He finds it easy to communicate with the children because he was once a youth leader. He understands their background. (98) He enjoys the camaraderie which is built up with the children when you take classes through for a number of years. (100)
- (TS 16) He believes that there should be a syllabus, otherwise there would be chaos. (25) He does manage to experiment in his teaching by using newspapers, magazines and doing theme work. The teachers confer to get uniformity for the examinations. (46)

- You can only work within the allowed framework. You have to submit to prescribed legislation. (23) You grapple with the children's family problems. (22) But you can't sit with the child and talk to him/her all day, because you have to finish your syllabus. (24) (26)
- He finds that he is getting older and the children are not getting older with him. (98)
- The syllabus is too restrictive. He would like to digress and show topical relationships. (26) But when he does this, he takes up the time that should be spent on the other sections. (27) Sometimes the most terrible setwork books are prescribed, having no relationship to South African society whatsoever, and then teaching and examinations just become mechanical. (86)

- (TS 17) To a certain extent the parents are supportive in his teaching, because it enables their children to get a better job. (95)
- (TS 18) He doesn't think tension arises so much between teachers and pupils, because the teacher is in a 'power position'. (50) Tension rather comes about between teacher and teacher, (36) and between the teacher and authority. (55) (56)
- (TS 19) Asking the authorities questions doesn't get you anywhere, so most teachers just go on and do their own thing. (83)
- (TS 20) If you have problems you are supposed to first go to your Principal, (109) but the best thing to do is to go straight to the Department. (110)
- There is tension with the home when he asks children to buy books because the parents are trying to make ends meet. (37) (94) (96) There is also tension from the pressure of the different school activities which leaves the academic side of his work far behind. You dare not tell the Inspector that athletics, etc. is the reason for your being behind. (88) Sometimes you practice for weeks on end, (90) and this causes strain. (91)
- Every teacher regards his subject as the most important, (34) and expect the pupils to hold the same view; this causes tension in the pupils who also have their own home problems. (35) When the pupils come to his classes they are already tense.
- With regard to higher authority, there is often a breakdown in communication. (56) (63) (83) When Principals are autocratic, staff meetings just become times for announcements and instructions. (60) If the instructions are not carried out, Principals become personally antagonistic, (56) and this is reflected in their confidential reports and you know you won't get a merit. (66) They cater for their friends. (67) He has seen a staff divided by the Principal's attitude. (85) On bad days they were all non-starters because of his moods. (64)
- The Department communicates its instructions by circulars and directives in a 'cold', formal manner. When you question these instructions the Principal passes the responsibility back onto the Department. (83) When you do go to the Department you have to explain your affairs to an endless round of clerks, (111) which makes you feel like a child. (112) What he really detests is this lack of consideration and respect for teachers. (113)

PHASE VI: IDENTIFICATION OF THE THEMATIC FIELD AS THE CONTEXTUAL
GROUND SPECIFIC TO THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF TEACHER-
STRESS AS DIALECTIC IMPULSE TO PRO-ACTIVE OR RE-ACTIVE
SELF-INTENTIONALITY AS SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

METHODIC IDEAS:

'The human individual is contextualized. It is impossible to conceive of a person without the familiar, surrounding world... It is via the world that the very meaning of the person's existence emerges both for himself and for others. The converse is equally true. It is each individual's existence that gives his or her world its meaning. Without a person to reveal its sense and meaning, the world would not exist as it does. Each is, therefore, totally dependent on the other for its existence. This is why in existential-phenomenological thought existence always implies that being is actually "being-in-the-world".'

(Valle and King, 1978, p. 8.)

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES:

- 2.1 As the teacher's experience of teacher-stress is constituted by her/his situatedness and contextualization as teacher, the researcher now focused on the specific thematic field as the contextual ground pertaining to each teacher's experience of her/his teacher-stress. The researcher concentrated on the Natural Meaning Units indicative of teacher-stress and allowed the phenomena related and contingent to teacher-stress to emerge as thematic 'figure' from the contextual ground. The phenomena constituting the thematic field of the contextual ground were then recorded as the contextual meaning structures of the teacher's experience of teacher-stress.
- 2.2 The above procedure was similarly undertaken within each of the three self-intentional dimensions, viz: 1. Teacher-Self-Actualization/Teacher-Self-Rejection; 2. Teacher-Self-Esteem/Teacher-Self-Condemnation; and 3. Teacher-Self-Integration/Teacher-Self-Alienation so as to retain the essential self-intentional biographical meaning of stress-for-the-participant-respondent, definitional conceptualization again being as given in Chapter Two.

THE THEMATIC FIELD AS THE CONTEXTUAL GROUND OF THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS.

TEACHER A:

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTIC IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION

- (TF 1) Teacher A never considered doing anything other than teach, except possibly social work which she feels is similar. So it is sad to think she is now going to give it up. (TA:TS 1: (1) (2) (8))
- (TF 2) She had a reputation for being a good adviser, but found that the Principal indirectly sanctioned what she was doing as a counsellor. (TA:TS 2: (4) (6) (7) (83) (84) (85))
- (TF 3) Her teachers were significant in influencing her and encouraging her to become a teacher. Her Principal told her that teachers were complaining about the way she 'bolstered' the pupils. (TA:TS 3: (9) (86) (87))
- (TF 4) Lack of confidence in her credentials and in herself prevented her from accepting the post of Teacher-Psychologist when these posts were first created. She felt that she did not have sufficient background knowledge. (TA:TS 4: (12) (14) (18))
- (TF 5) Counselling to her is personally satisfying. When she went back to university to study further, she enjoyed her course because it treated counselling as a continuous on-going process, and she could concentrate on the practical side of counselling. (TA:TS 5: (19) (26) (27) (28))
- (TF 6) She enjoyed her first years of being a Teacher-Psychologist. At this time she was also in control of the English. (TA:TS 6: (25) (36))

- (TF 7) The load of marking, and the preparation of lessons in order to give meaningful guidance classes, aggravated her feeling of being drained and exhausted after a day's teaching and counselling. She found herself getting upset when friends came around to braai and stayed too long. She is sure her friends see her as an ogress. She will be happy to give up marking as this has caused her a great deal of stress. (TA:TS 7: (43) (45) (46) (48) (49))
- (TF 8) The School Psychologist who was very pleased with her work said that she was to have an office. This caused professional antagonism on the staff. (TA:TS 8: (31) (32) (33) (34) (69) (70) (71) (72))
- (TF 9) When married women were prevented from teaching she would cry when her post was in the balance because she loved teaching so much. (TA:TS 9: (98) (99))
- (TF 10) She had never previously experienced having enemies on the staff. Her attempts to do something about it were rejected. She found that she couldn't ignore the situation, so she began to think about doing something else. (TA:TS 10: (90) (92) (93) (94) (95) (97) (101) (102) (108))
- (TF 11) She considers her career to have been very smooth until the present incident. She feels she cannot fight someone who has a preconceived image and idea of her, which is not a true reflection of her. (TA:TS 11: (8) (91) (103) (104) (106) (110))
- (TF 12) Teaching cuts you off from 'adult' people because of the greater amount of work teachers have to do and the work they have to take home. (TA:TS 12: (73) (74) (80) (105) (179))

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM OR TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

- (TF 13) Experienced teachers should be allowed to work on their own initiative and there should be a cut-off point somewhere concerning the checking up on their work. (TA:TS 13: (3) (16) (17) (59))
- (TF 14) The feeling of being needed is very important to her. When everything she did was objected to, she felt she was in an untenable position (TA:TS 14: (19) (30) (100) (101))
- (TF 15) When you feel appreciated you can carry the load of work. (TA:TS 15: (75) (76) (86) (87))
- (TF 16) Her lessons are always meaningful so she never feels guilty about not having taught well enough. (TA:TS 16: (50) (51) (52) (53))
- (TF 17) Education is a teacher's main concern and this you can never measure. (TA:TS 17: (57))
- (TF 18) People who are not teachers laugh at you when you tell them how hard you work. They don't understand. Having once had the experience of working in a library, she became aware of just how drained and exhausted teaching leaves you. (TA:TS 18: (41) (42) (43))
- (TF 19) She likes to think of herself as a diplomatic person. She has always been friends with the younger and older members of the staff. She doesn't like to accuse unfairly, but when things are said about one which are just not true she had never had experience of this kind of thing before. (TA:TS 19: (81) (87) (89) (107) (109))

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION OR TEACHER-SELF-ALIENATION

- (TF 20) Insecurity regarding the adequacy of her qualifications prompted teacher A to return to university to study further. She felt she did not have enough background knowledge for counselling. Although her Psychology marks were higher than her English marks in her degree courses, she had spent most of her time studying English. (TA:TS 20: (15) (20) (21) (22) (23))
- (TF 21) Accountability can only be measured objectively. She is wary about the concept generally. She feels accountable to her pupils regarding the marking of their work, and if she is not up-to-date she feels guilty. (TA:TS 21: (50) (51) (53) (55) (56) (58))
- (TF 22) The meriting system is unfair. She has been awarded two merits, the second one for the success of her counselling. (TA:TS 22: (68))
- (TF 23) Good administration does not mean checking up on teachers' work. Poor administration does not mean checking up on teachers' work. Poor administration causes tension among teachers. (TA:TS 23: (59) (60) (61) (62) (63) (65) (68))
- (TF 24) Her work as a Teacher-Psychologist and being in control over English gave her much pleasure. She later found herself in a situation where she felt she had minimal control. (TA:TS 24: (35) (82) (104))
- (TF 25) A break and the ability to switch off is very important, and teachers, who should be the people who understand this better than anyone else, are the people who are not allowed to do this. She did her counselling at breaks and after school and so she was excused from doing extra-mural activities. (TA:TS 25: (29) (34) (38) (39) (40))

- (TF 26) She felt very loyal to the one Principal who rewarded her by showing her pleasure when she did something for her. This encouraged her to go on and get the next thing done. She now wants to be able to stand back and look at teaching objectively. (TA:TS 26: (82) (104))

TEACHER B

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION

- (TF 1) During practice teaching Teacher B had a strong presentiment about the hide-bound atmosphere, bureaucratic dullness, rigidity and mediocrity of teaching, but he never really had any clear role models of other careers to accept or reject. (TB:TS 1: (4) (6) (7))
- (TF 2) The availability of a bursary and financial considerations were instrumental in keeping Teacher B in teaching. (TB:TS 2: (2) (3) (8) (9))
- (TF 3) Teacher B's parents were significant in his continuing his teaching career which he describes as "going ahead with as a dutiful son", although he didn't like the work his father did as a civil servant. (TB:TS 3: (10) (11) (12) (13) (19))
- (TF 4) Teachers were also indirectly influential in his choice of teaching as a career. (TB:TS 4: (20))
- (TF 5) The salary issue which distresses him is tied to wider issues. Being a South African and having to pay for things like apartheid makes him feel really uncomfortable about teaching. (TB:TS 5: (37) (38))

- (TF 6) Some teachers are people who teach because they are happy not to grow up. He has outgrown his adolescence. There are some things he no longer finds interesting. (TB:TS 6: (99) (100))
- (TF 7) Teachers and educationists suffer from a form of hubris which comes from being influential over children. He feels that he has done a good day's work if he has taught a child to cope with ordinary every-day activities. (TB:TS 7: (102) (103) (104) (105))
- (TF 8) Professionalism appears to him to be indicative of a 'closed-shop' attitude. Teachers, unlike doctors and lawyers, can have no claim to professionalism on the ground of their training. He doesn't consider himself to have been very highly trained to teach. (TB:TS 8: (113) (114) (115) (116) (117) (118) (119) (120) (128))

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM OR TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

- (TF 9) He was brought up on the traditional values of the Victorian colonising type and this influenced his attitude towards the kind of work one did and your attitude to money where you worked for a salary. (TB:TS 9: (16) (17) (18) (19))
- (TF 10) In schools rank is given to people who are good organisers. He has not been given any rank because he tends to focus all his energy inside the classroom, and he is not a good organiser. However, there is no one on the staff who knows more about English than he does. (TB:TS 10: (21) (22) (24) (25) (26) (33) (34) (35) (36))
- (TF 11) The salary increment attached to rank is so little that it does not warrant the extra administrative work he would have to do, which would intrude on the pleasure he has with his family and in the classroom. (TB:TS 11: (27) (28) (29) (30) (31) (33))

- (TF 12) The liberal consciousness which was influential in his upbringing is in contradistinction to the present historical processes which his pupils are experiencing. To enlighten them as to the trouble that these processes are storing up for their future would be like trying to take ~~tone~~-deaf people and telling them about the existence of music. (TB:TS 12: (44) (45) (50))
- (TF 13) English values on which he was brought up have been intentionally suppressed and American influences are now predominantly accepted. The children he teaches, born after 1960, accept the abnormal as normal. They have only experienced the 'Westminster' system which, in this country, is at odds with itself. (TB:TS 13: (45) (47) (48) (49) (51))
- (TF 14) Pupils in a particular economic bracket are being groomed to inherit the wealth of South Africa. Teaching these pupils is an 'artificial' activity as they are not motivated to learn. No dire consequences will befall them if they fail. The attitude to sport also contributes to this easy-going attitude. It deludes people into thinking that everything is fine when it is not. (TB:TS 14: (72) (73) (74) (75) (101))
- (TF 15) Education is about values, codes of ethics and atmospheres of morality. To a certain extent all people are educators, in that they affect other people, influencing them by being who they are. It is not something which can be controlled. Teachers tend to claim all kinds of virtues by palming themselves off as educators. (TB:TS 15: (106) (107) (108) (110) (111) (112) (113))
- (TF 16) Teaching involves human relationships, an aspect which is not improved by training. In this, teaching is different from the practice of medicine or law. This aspect of teaching requires teachers to be morally responsible for their actions. (TB:TS 16: (121) (130) (131) (132))

(TF 17) Experience and success in presenting worthwhile lessons has taught Teacher B how to handle children. The courses he took for his Teacher's Diploma did nothing to contribute to this, nor subsequently has the reading of professional journals; in fact, he is repelled by what he finds in them. (TB:TS 17: (121) (122) (123) (124) (125) (126) (127))

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION OR TEACHER-SELF-ALIENATION

(TF 18) South Africa has changed horribly since he was a child. Pretty, innocent little towns have been destroyed and the people have become slick. Teacher B feels a stranger to this and to his pupils. This feeling is reinforced as he gets older. He also experiences a sense of estrangement from his fellow South Africans, many of whom he sees as incapable of becoming adults. (TB:TS 18: (39) (49) (41) (42) (43))

(TF 19) Normally one does not think about the cultural differences between you and your pupils because teaching is such an anaesthetic job, and one has difficulty in just keeping up with yesterday's work. But because the relationship one has with people you see every day is so intimate, one just lives with such thoughts like living with a faintly sore tooth. This happens until he loses his temper, which serves to clear the air a bit. (TB:TS 19: (52) (53) (54) (55) (56))

(TF 20) Teacher B works through feelings and impressions and so experiences a continual unease and nagging frustration living in a country which appears to be at odds with the one in which he was brought up. This unease is mostly unconscious. (TB:TS 20: (57) (58) (59))

- (TF 21) Teaching English is a high pressure activity. He is sure that teachers who go on about societies and so on, are able to do so because they have not expended much of their energy in the classroom, or because of the nature of their subject which is not so pressurized. The idea that you get to know your pupils better through extra-mural activities may be true for teachers who teach some subjects but this does not apply to the English teacher. (TB:TS 21: (84) (85) (86) (87) (88) (89))
- (TF 22) Sport, in schools, has gained a mythical dimension which teachers are 'press-ganged', and pupils are conditioned, to believe is such a wonderful activity. He experiences a certain coercion from his colleagues when he fails to support these activities and they react as if he should feel guilty because he is not prepared to rush into the sports field. He also resents the way the children he teaches are influenced by these teachers. Also the schools' monopolistic attitude towards sport. He sees it as another facet of apartheid where people delude themselves into thinking everything is alright when it isn't. (TB:TS 22: (90) (91) (92) (93) (95) (96) (97) (98) (101))
- (TF 23) The pressure and routine of teaching prevents teachers and pupils from thinking clearly; alters and diminishes your personality; trains you to 'switch-off'; reduces your interest span; all this is indicative of mechanistic practices. Examinations heighten this pressure and he views them as a kind of ritual, their only meaning being for teachers. (TB:TS 23: (46) (60) (67) (68) (71) (76) (77) (78) (79) (81) (82) (83))

- (TF 24) Assessment of teachers in schools should be done by the pupils. They would consider this as doing something useful. The fact that pupils' opinions are not taken into account indicates how little respect teachers have for their pupils. The pupils then come to view themselves as the victims of teachers, giving teachers the image they deserve. (TB:TS 24: (133) (134) (135) (136) (137) (138) (139) (140) (141))
- (TF 25) People in other occupations live more natural lives. The imposition of restrictions on teachers forces a certain unnaturalness and abnormality into the teaching situation. This makes Teacher B feel that when he is teaching he is playing a part. (TB:TS 25: (142) (143) (144) (145) (146))
- (TF 26) In playing a part when teaching, he is happy to switch off at the end of the day; consequently his interest in his pupils remains within the confines of his classroom. He is not much interested in them as individuals and he thinks that they probably find him unresponsive outside school. (TB:TS 26: (151) (152) (153) (154) (155) (156) (157) (158) (159))
- (TF 27) The atmosphere a Principal creates in the school is very important. An academic atmosphere links the school to its cultural sources. Principals tend now to be appointed because they are good 'processors of children' If this and examination results are the operating criteria of schools, he doesn't know what is happening. (TB:TS 27: (160) (161) (163) (166) (167) (168) (169) (171) (172))

TEACHER C

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION

- (TF 1) Teacher C has never really seriously considered doing anything else than teaching. However, when desperate she has considered leaving teaching, but has found that her qualifications are not competitive in the commercial world. (TC:TS: 1: (1)(3)(4)(5))
- (TF 2) Teacher C's Geography teacher was significant in inspiring her and encouraging her to become a Geography teacher. (TC:TS 2: (2))
- (TF 3) The Principal resented the creation of the Head of Department posts, and consequently denigrated her occupancy of the post. (TC:TS 3: (6) (7) (11))
- (TF 4) The lack of the prescribed qualifications was used as a measure to dissuade Teacher C from making requests for senior classes. (TC:TS 4: (42))
- (TF 5) Qualifications were not really the issue in preventing Teacher C from teaching senior classes; rather, the Principal was favouring another teacher. When she complained, she was subjectively criticised. (TC:TS 5: (18) (42) (43))
- (TF 6) After waiting three months for a reply to an application for a post at a Teachers' Training College, she contacted the college, and was told that the posts had been re-shuffled. (TC:TS 6: (47) (48))
- (TF 7) Her lack of experience in teaching senior classes hampered her chances of acquiring promotion posts. The internal politicking in the schools concerned was an added hindrance. (TC:TS 7: (46))

(TF 8) She feels that teachers have a long way to go before they can be considered professionals because: they are paid by the State and are regarded as civil servants; their Teachers' Associations, except for the Federal Council, are incapable of doing anything; the community and parents don't have much respect for them; and teachers themselves don't have professional attitudes. (TC:TS 8: (60) (95) (96) (97) (98) (100) (102) (103) (104) (106) (108) (109) (117))

(TF 9) When she was told that she could teach Geography to the senior classes, her attitude and orientation to her work changed. (TC:TS 9: (44) (45) (80) (82) (110) (111) (112) (113) (114) (115) (116))

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTIC IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM OR TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

(TF 10) Planning her work was easy when she first started teaching, but now unexpected things are always happening. She makes plans but keeps having to change them. (TC:TS 10: (8) (9) (36) (49) (50) (51) (52) (53) (54) (55) (57) (63))

(TF 11) When she felt that her subject did not have any status in the school, she consequently felt that she, herself, was personally being slighted by the staff and Principal. (TC:TS 11: (21) (22) (24) (25))

(TF 12) The procurement of further qualifications was used as a means of subjectively attacking her and restraining her from complaining or making demands. (TC:TS 12: (26) (27))

(TF 13) The syllabus, tests and examinations, and the necessity of keeping records, pressurized her to cover prescribed subject content and prevented her from educating. (TC:TS 13: (74) (75))

(TF 14) Education is concerned with guiding the child to lead a good life, to know about people and things outside of school, and to prepare her/him for a career. Society expects teachers to do all this, and to put right all the ailments in society. They are also expected to do the impossible and take over the role of the parent. There just isn't enough time for teachers to do all this. (TC:TS 14: (66) (67) (68) (71) (72) (73) (76) (77) (78))

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTIC IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION OR TEACHER-SELF-ALIENATION

(TF 15) Her expectations of the traditional accoutrements of promotional office were not realised. (TC:TS 15: (10) (12) (13) (15) (15) (16))

(TF 16) The Teacher-Psychologist was given more recognition and in her being accorded higher status when she was given an office, whereas Teacher C as Head of the Department had not been allocated one. (TC:TS 16: (17) (19) (20))

(TF 17) Study-duty devolved on her shoulders because she lived near the school and because the other teachers were unwilling to do it as they were not paid enough. This has now changed since the remuneration has been lavishly increased. (TC:TS 17: (23) (28) (30) (31))

(TF 18) The teacher in charge of the English section of the library has periods time-tabled for her work, but Teacher C has no periods officially recognised in which to do the Afrikaans section. (TC:TS 18: (29))

(TF 19) New teachers arriving at the school are more deferentially treated than the old ones who have been there a long time and have given their service in the past. (TC:TS 19: (32))

- (TF 20) A different system of marking examinations was introduced; when it was found that it was not feasible, Teacher C was looked upon to remedy the situation. When she did not offer her assistance, she was made to feel guilty by her Principal's and colleagues' attitude that she should have made herself available. But she, herself, did not know whether she would be able to complete her own marking. (TC:TS 20: (33) (34) (35))
- (TF 21) Innovations are undertaken, and when they do not appear to be successful, and a state of crisis is reached, she is the one who is always called upon to sort it out. (TC:TS 21: (36) (37) (38) (39) (40) (41))
- (TF 22) Support is sought from friends who are mainly teachers because they are the only people who understand her situation. From them she has learned that there are very few schools which run smoothly. (TC:TS 22: (56) (58) (59) (61) (62) (64))
- (TF 23) Welfare-teachers will soon have to be appointed by the authorities to work in the schools to deal with some of the 'customers' they get. (TC:TS 23: (69) (70) (85) (88) (89))
- (TF 24) She feels good when her pupils have grasped something. However, she thinks her pupils view her as a glorified babysitter. School is something which they just have to endure. She feels there is a generation gap; in fact, she thinks she has a 'granny-relationship' with her pupils. She believes that being 'pally-pally' with one's pupils is detrimental to discipline. (TC:TS 24: (78) (79) (80) (81) (82) (83) (84) (87) (88) (89) (90) (91) (92) (95))

TEACHER D

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ACTUALIZATION OR TEACHER-SELF-REJECTION

- (TF 1) The imperative of 'the call of God' served to change Teacher D's commitment from teaching to the Ministry. (TD:TS 1: (1) (2) (4) (5) (7) (9) (11) (32))
- (TF 2) Christianity being, for him, a prevailing way of life, and a way of building spiritual relationships, was always fundamental to his teaching. However, when he tried to fuse Christian doctrine with his teaching, he experienced counter-actions from the children because: they belonged to different denominations; colleagues' actions invalidated his teaching; and social practice revealed environmental inconsistencies. (TD:TS 2: (8) (12) (13) (17) (18) (19) (103) (107))
- (TF 3) Teaching and the Ministry can be combined to a certain extent, but it makes one feel divided and at times teaching overloads you so much that you haven't got time for anything else. (TD:TS 3: (104) (105) (106) (108))
- (TF 4) A teacher's salary is adequate if he/she is in a high category, but it is not adequate for someone in a low category. A spiritual relationship with the children is his reward for teaching and not money. The conditions of teaching and lack of facilities is more upsetting in teaching than the low remuneration. (TD:TS 4: (28) (45) (47) (48) (49))
- (TF 5) The 'openness' of the English Department tended to provoke inter-departmental tension and alienated colleagues. (TD:TS 5: (62) (74) (75) (76) (77) (78) (80) (81) (82) (85))

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE TO TEACHER-SELF-ESTEEM OR TEACHER-SELF-CONDEMNATION

- (TF 6) Inspectors, with a few exceptions, are viewed as intruders who create an abnormal atmosphere in the school, they being alienated from the teacher's situation and interests. (TD:TS 6: (14) (16))
- (TF 7) Schools, as middle-class institutions, disseminate middle-class values which are not always representative of the values of the children. This is especially so concerning the children he teaches. This causes tension in his relationship with his pupils, and with his colleagues, because of the different ways in which they view society. (TD:TS 7: (20) (21) (51))
- (TF 8) The educational enterprise which embraces the child in his/her totality is hampered by the necessity of covering a prescribed syllabus. (TD:TS 8: (30) (31) (32) (52) (53) (54) (70))
- (TF 9) The different educational perspectives of his colleagues, and their ideas regarding discipline and control are a source of criticism of his 'workshop' method of teaching. (TD:TS 9: (39) (41) (42) (43) (44))
- (TF 10) The merit system is faulty in that 'the real person' is not taken into account, and the facade of registers and record books become more important. (TD:TS 10: (66) (68) (69) (71) (72) (73))
- (TF 11) The Principal ought to be friends with the teachers because of their common interests, but he/she is also manipulated by the authorities. (TD:TS 11: (65))
- (TF 12) Becoming involved in community issues puts extra pressure on you because you still have your load of work to do. (TD:TS 12: (92) (93))

(TF 13) Teachers, he finds, concentrate more on the negative than the positive attributes of the pupils. (TD:TS 13: (101) (102))

THE THEMATIC FIELD OF TEACHER-STRESS CONTEXTUALIZED AS THE DIALECTICAL IMPULSE OF TEACHER-SELF-INTEGRATION OR TEACHER-SELF-ALIENATION

(TF 14) The work of the teacher and the social worker are similar, but legislation and the syllabus restricts the teacher when he/she wants to help pupils. (TD:TS 14: (22) (23) (24) (26))

(TF 15) Communicating and relating with the pupils comes easily to him because he takes an interest in them, but he finds that, as he is getting older, the children are not getting older with him. (TD:TS 15: (97) (98) (100))

(TF 16) A syllabus is necessary, but the present one is too restrictive, and, when he does digress to show topical relationships, it takes up the time which should really be spent on other aspects of the syllabus. The restrictive syllabus is instrumental in making examinations and other aspects of teaching become mechanical because the content is meaningless. (TD:TS 16: (25) (26) (27) (46) (86))

(TF 17) The economic circumstances of the parents limit the support which they can give to his teaching. The possibility of the child being able to go to work is more important to them than educational considerations. (TD:TS 17: (37) (88) (90) (91) (94) (95) (96))

(TF 18) Tension does not arise so much from direct teacher-pupil relationships, but rather indirectly, because teachers expect pupils to regard their subjects as important as they do, but the pupil also has his/her own home problems; then, when the pupils come to his classroom, they are already tense. This causes

teacher-pupil tension and inter-colleague tension. (TD:TS 18:
(34) (35) (36) (50) (55) (56))

(TF 19) The Principal's attitude and disposition are important. He has known a Principal's autocratic manner to divide a staff. This Principal catered for his friends and used his position to influence others. If he became antagonistic towards a teacher it would affect the teacher's evaluation and promotional chances. (TD:TS 19: (56) (60) (63) (64) (66) (67) (83) (85))

(TF 20) The Principal acts as a bulwark between the Department and the teachers. Teachers who really have problems avoid going to the Principal and go straight to the Department. There he/she must pocket his/her pride and suffer the humiliation of communicating his/her confidential information to an endless round of clerks. This lack of consideration and respect for teachers he detests. It makes him feel like a child. (TD:TS 20: (83) (109) (110) (111) (112) (113))

CHAPTER FIVE

EMERGENT THEMES AS EVIDENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

SECTION I

THEMES AND THEIR BIOGRAPHICAL CONSTITUENTS

1. THEMES INDICATIVE OF THE TEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE BIOGRAPHICAL PROJECTION OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER IN CONFLICT WITH HER/HIS SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF
2. THEMES INDICATIVE OF THE TEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE BIOGRAPHICAL AUTHENTICITY OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER IN CONFLICT WITH HER/HIS SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF
3. THEMES INDICATIVE OF THE TEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE BIOGRAPHICAL COMMITMENT OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER IN CONFLICT WITH HER/HIS SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF

SECTION II

EVIDENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS ON THE HORIZONS OF HEGEMONY, IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

1. TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT OF THE FORCES OF HEGEMONIC AMBIVALENCE
2. TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT OF THE FORCES OF IDEOLOGICAL AMBIVALENCE
3. TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT OF FORCES OF CULTURAL AMBIVALENCE

SECTION I

THEMES AND THEIR BIOGRAPHICAL CONSTITUENTS

PART 1

THEMES INDICATIVE OF THE TEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE BIOGRAPHICAL PROJECTION OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER IN CONFLICT WITH HER/HIS SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF

PART 2

THEMES INDICATIVE OF THE TEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE BIOGRAPHICAL AUTHENTICITY OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER IN CONFLICT WITH HER/HIS SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF

PART 3

THEMES INDICATIVE OF THE TEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE BIOGRAPHICAL COMMITMENT OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER IN CONFLICT WITH HER/HIS SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF

EMERGENT THEMES AS EVIDENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

'The reality of everyday life further presents itself to me as an intersubjective world, a world that I share with others. This intersubjectivity sharply differentiates everyday life from other realities of which I am conscious. I am alone in the world of my dreams, but I know that the world of everyday life is as real to others as it is to myself. Indeed, I cannot exist in everyday life without continually interacting and communicating with others. I know that my natural attitude to this world corresponds to the natural attitude of others, that they also comprehend the objectifications by which this world is ordered, that they also organize this world around the 'here and now' of their being in it and have projects for working in it. I also know, of course, that the others have a perspective on this common world that is not identical with mine. My 'here' is their 'there'. My 'now' does not fully overlap with theirs. My projects differ from and may even conflict with theirs. All the same, I know that I live with them in a common world. Most importantly, I know that there is an ongoing correspondence between my meanings and their meanings in this world, that we share a common sense about its reality. The natural attitude is the attitude of common-sense consciousness precisely because it refers to a world that is common to many men. Commonsense knowledge is the knowledge I share with others in the normal, self-evident routines of everyday life.

(Berger and Luckman, 1981, p. 37.)

THEMES INDICATIVE OF THE TEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE BIOGRAPHICAL PROJECTION OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER IN CONFLICT WITH HER/HIS SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF

THEME ONE

All the teachers were 'other' directed in their choosing teaching as a career. Three teachers acknowledge their own teachers as influencing them in their choice of career. One teacher became a teacher with a view to teaching according to the tenets of the Christian doctrine.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA's teachers were significant in influencing her and encouraging her to become a teacher. (TA:TF 3). She had a reputation for being a good adviser but found that the Principal indirectly criticized what she was doing as a counsellor. (TA:TF 2). Her Principal told her that her colleagues were complaining about the way she counselled the pupils. (TA:TF 3).

TB's teachers were indirectly influential in his choice of teaching as a career. (TB:TF 4). His parents were also significant in that although he was not happy about his experience of practical teaching he continued the course 'as a dutiful son'. (TB:TF 3). Financial assistance in the form of a bursary was a contributing consideration and persuasive to keeping him in teaching. (TB:TF 2).

TC's Geography teacher was significant in inspiring her and encouraging her to become a Geography teacher. (TC:TF 2).

TD states that Christianity, being for him a prevailing way of life and a way of building spiritual relationships, was fundamental to his teaching. However, when he tried to fuse the Christian doctrine with his teaching he experienced 'counteractions' from the children, colleagues invalidated his teaching, and environmental circumstances mitigated against his success. (TD:TF 2).

THEME TWO

Teachers feel insecure in acknowledging themselves as professionals. They have no faith in the quality of their training equipping them for their task. They do not see themselves as professionals in the same manner as they regard doctors and lawyers as professionals.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA's lack of confidence in her credentials and in herself prevented her from accepting the post of Teacher-Psychologist when these posts were first created. She felt that she did not have sufficient background knowledge. (TA:TF 4).

TB feels that professionalism appears to him to be indicative of a 'closed-shop' attitude. Teachers, unlike doctors and lawyers, can have no claim to professionalism on grounds of their training. He doesn't consider himself to have been very highly trained to teach. (TB:TF 8).

TC feels that teachers have a long way to go before they can be considered professionals because: they are paid by the State and are regarded as civil servants; their Teachers' Associations, except for the Federal Council, are incapable of doing anything; the community and parents don't have much respect for them; and teachers themselves don't have professional attitudes. (TC:TF 8).

THEME THREE

The teachers who take into account financial reward for their teaching consider the teacher's salary as adequate only for those who occupy promotion posts, or are in a high category because of advanced training. Teachers are dependent on their immediate seniors for any advancement in their careers.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA found counselling personally satisfying. She enjoyed going back to university because the counselling course was treated as a continuous, on-going process, and she could concentrate on the practical part of counselling. (TA:TF 5). She considers her career to have been very smooth until the present disagreement with her Principal. She feels that she cannot fight someone who has a preconceived idea and image of her which is not a true reflection of her. (TA:TF 11).

TB finds that the salary issue distresses him as it is tied to the wider issues of being a South African and having to pay for things like apartheid. This makes him feel really uncomfortable about teaching. (TB has no rank in his school). (TB:TF 5).

TC states that her lack of the required qualifications was used as a measure to dissuade her from making requests for senior classes. (TC:TF 4). However, qualifications were not really the issue in preventing her from teaching senior classes: rather, the Principal was favouring another teacher. When she complained, she was personally criticised. (TC:TF 5).

TD feels that a teacher's salary is only adequate if he/she is in a high category. (He is in a high category). A spiritual relationship with the children is his reward for teaching, and not money. For him the unsatisfactory conditions of teaching and lack of facilities are more upsetting than the low remuneration. (TD:TF 4).

THEME FOUR

Teachers feel that the load of marking and preparation of lessons prevents one from having time for personal interests and socializing with friends. Their time and energy being devoted mainly to school interests prevents their having normal relationships with adults.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA states that the load of marking, and the preparation of lessons in order to give meaningful guidance classes, aggravated her feeling of being drained and exhausted after a day's teaching and counselling. She found herself getting upset when friends came around to braai and stayed too long. She is sure her friends see her as an ogress. She will be happy to give up marking as this has caused her a great deal of stress. (TA:TF 7). She feels that teaching cuts you off from 'adult' people because of the greater amount of work teachers have to do and the work they have to take home. (TA:TF 12).

TB resents doing things which he no longer finds interesting. He feels that some people who teach are happy not to grow up but he has outgrown his adolescence. (TB:TF 6).

TD finds that teaching and the Ministry can be combined to a certain extent but it makes you feel divided and at times teaching overloads you so much that you haven't got time for anything else. (TD:TF 3).

THEME FIVE

The subject a teacher teaches is very important to her/him. Teachers experience antagonism from their colleagues because of the demands and the

nature of their subjects. The status with which a subject is regarded by colleagues and seniors affects the teacher's situation in her/his school. Teachers feel tension when they are not in control of the work they do, the level at which they teach and the decisions regarding what is and what is not important.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA enjoyed her first year of being a Teacher-Psychologist. At this time she was also in control of the teaching of English. (TA:TF 6). The School-Psychologist was very pleased with her work and said that she was to have an office. This caused professional antagonism on the staff. (TA:TF 8).

TB feels that he has done a good day's work if he has taught a child to cope with learning English and the ordinary every-day activities of life. (TB:TF 7).

TC states that after waiting three months for a reply to an application for a post (Geography) at a Teachers' Training College, she contacted the college and was told that the posts had been re-shuffled. (The post had become a Maths' post). (TC:TF 6). Her lack of experience in teaching senior classes hampered her chances of acquiring promotion posts. The internal politicking in the schools concerned was an added hindrance. (TC:TF 7). When TC was told that she could teach Geography to the senior classes her attitude and orientation to her work changed. (TC:TF 9).

TD describes the 'openness' of the English Department as provoking inter-departmental tension and alienating colleagues. (TD:TF 5).

THEME SIX

All the teachers have at some stage wanted to leave teaching. Two teachers have indeed left. The two teachers who remain in teaching have found it difficult to visualize or establish alternative careers for themselves.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA never considered doing anything other than teach except possibly social work which she feels is similar. She feels it is quite sad to think that she is now going to give up teaching. (TA:TF 1). When there were restrictions on married women teaching, she used to cry when her post was in the balance because she loved teaching so much. (TA:TF 9). She had never previously experienced having enemies on the staff. Her attempts to do something about it were rejected. She found that she couldn't ignore the situation, so she began to think about doing something else. (TA:TF 10).

TB states that he became a teacher because he had never really had any clear role models of other careers to accept or reject. However, even when he was doing his practice teaching he had a strong presentiment of the 'hide-bound' atmosphere of teaching. (TB:TF 1). He describes going on to become a teacher in the vein of being 'a dutiful son'. (TB:TF 3).

TC had never seriously considered doing anything other than teach. However, when she has become desperate she has considered leaving teaching, but has found that her qualifications are not competitive in the commercial world. (TC:TF 1).

TD had always wanted to teach but the imperative of 'the call of God' served to change his commitment from teaching to the Ministry. (TD:TF 1).

THEMES INDICATIVE OF THE TEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE BIOGRAPHICAL AUTHENTICITY OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER IN CONFLICT WITH HIS/HER SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF

THEME SEVEN

All the teachers view their teaching in the broader scope of education, and describe themselves as being either directly or indirectly concerned with education. Education is viewed qualitatively and regarded as something which cannot be measured. They feel that, as teachers, they are expected by people to do the impossible but there is also the hint that teachers

themselves, in the name of education, take upon themselves tasks which are beyond their concerns. Teachers describe themselves as being frustrated in their educational activities by the external impositions of syllabi, tests and examinations, and the necessity to keep records.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA states that education is a teacher's main concern and this she feels you can never measure. (TA:TF 17).

TB describes education as that which concerns values, codes of ethics and atmosphere or morality. To a certain extent all people are educators. They affect other people, influencing them by being who they are. This is not something which can be controlled. Teachers, he feels, tend to claim all kinds of virtues by setting themselves up as educators. (TB:TF 15). TB says pupils in a particular economic bracket are being groomed to inherit the wealth of South Africa. Teaching these pupils is an 'artificial' activity as they are not motivated to learn. No dire consequence will befall them if they fail. The attitude to sport also contributes to this easy-going attitude. It deludes people into thinking that everything is fine when it is not. (TB:TF 14).

TC feels that education is concerned with guiding a child to lead a good life; to know about people and things outside the school; and to prepare her/him for a career. People expect teachers to do all this and to put right all the ailments in society. Teachers are expected to do the impossible and to take over the role of the parent. She feels that there just isn't enough time for teachers to do all that is expected of them. (TC:TF 14). She states that the syllabus, tests, examinations and the necessity of keeping records pressurizes her to cover prescribed subject content and this prevents her from educating. (TC:TF 13).

TD states that the educational enterprise which embraces the child in his/her totality is hampered by the necessity of covering a prescribed syllabus.

(TD:TF 8). He finds that teachers tend to concentrate more on the negative than the positive attributes of their pupils. (TD:TF 13).

THEME EIGHT

Teachers themselves feel quite confident about the adequacy of their teaching. They feel that the official system of evaluation is unfair as it prevents people from using their own initiative, it does not take into account the real person, and a teacher receives rank for being a good organiser rather than a good teacher. When teachers do improve their credentials it does not automatically mean that they will be accorded the corresponding privileges.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA feels that experienced teachers should be allowed to work on their own initiative and there should be a cut-off point somewhere concerning the checking up on their work. (TA:TF 13). Her lessons are always meaningful so she never feels guilty about not having taught well enough. (TA:TF 16).

TB remarks that in schools rank is given to people who are good organisers. He has not been given any rank because he tends to focus all his energy inside the classroom, and he is not a good organiser. However, there is no-one on the staff who knows more about English than he does. (TB:TF 10). Experience and success in presenting worthwhile lessons has taught TB how to handle children. The courses he took for his Teacher's Diploma did nothing to contribute to this, nor subsequently has the reading of professional journals; in fact, he is repelled by what he finds in them. (TB:TF 17).

TC states that the procurement of further qualifications was used as a means of personally attacking her and restraining her from complaining or making demands. (TC:TF 12).

TD states that the merit system is faulty in that the 'real person' is not taken into account, and the facade of registers and record books became more important. (TC:TF 10).

THEME NINE

All the teachers stress the importance of human relationships. In schools the relationship which a teacher has with her/his colleagues, Principal and Inspector are of special significance and importance. These relationships either contribute to or detract from the teacher's sense of security in her/his teaching situation.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA states that the feeling of being needed is very important to her. When everything she did was objected to, she felt she was in an untenable position. (TA:TF 14). She likes to think of herself as a diplomatic person; she has always been friends with the younger and the older members of the staff. She doesn't like to accuse unfairly, but when things are said about one which are just not true ... she never had had experience of this kind of thing before. (TA:TF 19).

TB states that teaching involves human relationships, an aspect which is not improved by training. In this, teaching is different from the practice of medicine and law. This aspect of teaching requires teachers to be morally responsible for their actions. (TB:TF 16).

TC states that when she felt that her subject did not have any status in the school, she consequently felt that she herself was personally being slighted by the staff and Principal. (TC:TF 11).

TD attributes the different educational perspectives of his colleagues and their ideas regarding discipline and control as the source of their criticism of his 'workshop' method of teaching. (TD:TF 9). He feels that the Principal ought to be friends with the teachers because of their common interests, but the Principals are also manipulated by the authorities. (TD:TF 11). Inspectors, with a few exceptions, are viewed as intruders who create an abnormal atmosphere in the school, because they are alienated from the teacher's situation and interests. (TD:TF 6).

THEME TEN

Teachers feel that they are pressurized into committing themselves totally to teaching. They are expected to be prepared to assist with the administration and anything new which it is decided that they should do. Teachers who are not prepared to commit themselves totally, sacrifice approval, rank, or even teaching as a career.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA says that when you are appreciated you can carry the load of work. (TA:TF 14).

TB feels that the salary increment attached to rank is so little that it does not warrant the extra administrative work he would have to do, which would intrude on the pleasure he has with his family and in the classroom. (TB:TF 11).

TC states that planning her work was easy when she first started teaching, but now unexpected things are always happening. She makes plans but keeps having to change them. (TC:TF 10).

TD states that becoming involved in community issues puts extra pressure on you because you still have your load of work to do. (TD:TF 12).

THEME ELEVEN

Teachers are particularly aware of other people being committed to different values than their own. These differences cause tension between them and their pupils, their colleagues, and the community.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA says people who are not teachers laugh at you when you tell them how hard you work. They don't understand. Having once had the experience of working in a library, she became aware of just how drained and exhausted teaching leaves you. (TA:TF 18).

TB states that he was brought up on the traditional values of the Victorian colonising type, and this influenced his attitude towards the kind of work one did and one's attitude to money: one works for a salary. (TB:TF 9). The English values on which he was brought up have been intentionally suppressed and American influences are now predominantly accepted. The children he teaches, born after 1960, accept the abnormal as normal. They have only experienced the 'Westminister' system of government which, in this country, is at odds with itself. (TB:TF 13). The liberal consciousness which was influential in his upbringing is in contradistinction to the present historical processes which his pupils are experiencing. To enlighten them as to the trouble these processes are storing up for their future would be like trying to take tone-deaf people and telling them about the existence of music. (TB:TF 12).

TD states that schools, as middle-class institutions, disseminate middle-class values which are not always representative of the values of the children. This is especially so concerning the children he teaches. This causes tension in his relationship with the pupils, and with his colleagues, because of the different ways in which they view society. (TD:TF 7).

THEMES INDICATIVE OF TEACHER-STRESS AS THE TEACHER'S PRO-ACTIVE BIOGRAPHICAL COMMITMENT OF HER/HIS SELF-AS-TEACHER IN CONFLICT WITH HER/HIS SITUATEDNESS OF TEACHER-AS-SELF

THEME TWELVE

Teachers regard the demands made on them as closely linked to those made on social welfare workers. They see non-conforming pupils as victims of social pressures, or as culturally different. They do not feel themselves capable of coping with these pressures.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA states that insecurity regarding the adequacy of her qualifications prompted her to return to university to study further. She felt she did not

have enough background knowledge for counselling. Although her Psychology marks were higher than her English marks in her degree courses, she had spent most of her time studying English. (TA:TF 20).

TB states that normally one does not think about the cultural differences between you and your pupils because teaching is such an aesthetic job. One has difficulty in just keeping up with yesterday's work. But because the relationship one has with people you see every day is so intimate, you just live with such thoughts like living with a faintly sore tooth. This happens until he loses his temper, which serves to clear the air a bit. (TB:TF 19).

TC states that welfare-teachers will soon have to be appointed by the authorities to work in the schools, to deal with some of the 'customers' they get. (TC:TF 23).

TD regards the work of the teacher and the social worker as similar but legislation and the syllabus restrict the teacher when he/she wants to help the pupils. (TD:TF 14).

THEME THIRTEEN

Teachers experience tension when they are expected to support their colleagues' commitments. Tension arises between teacher and pupil when pupils transmit the commitments of other teachers into their classroom. Teachers are also expected to 'help' colleagues who cannot cope with their work.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TB feels that sport in schools has gained a mythical dimension which teachers are 'press-ganged' into, and pupils conditioned to believe is a wonderful activity. He experiences a certain coercion from his colleagues when he fails to support these activities and they react as if he should feel guilty because he is not prepared to rush onto the sports field. He also

resents the way the children he teaches are influenced by these teachers. He feels the school adopts a monopolistic attitude towards sport. He sees sport as another facet of apartheid where people delude themselves into thinking everything is fine when it is not. (TB:TF 22).

TC recalls that a different system of marking examinations was introduced and when it was found that it was not feasible, she was looked upon to remedy the situation. When she did not offer her assistance, she was made to feel guilty by her Principal's and colleagues' attitude. They felt she should have made herself available. But she, herself, did not know whether she would be able to complete her own marking. (TC:TF 20).

TD states that tension does not arise so much from direct teacher-pupil relationships, but rather indirectly. Teachers expect pupils to regard their subjects as just as important as they do, but the pupil also has his/her own home problems. When the pupils come into his classroom, they are already tense. This causes indirect teacher-pupil tension and also inter-colleague tension. (TD:TF 18).

THEME FOURTEEN

Teachers consider themselves to be primarily accountable to their pupils.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA feels that accountability can only be measured objectively. She is wary about the concept generally. She feels accountable to her pupils regarding the marking of their work. If she is not up-to-date she feels guilty. (TA:TF 21). She states that poor administration causes tension among teachers. Good administration does not mean checking up on the teacher's work. (TA:TF 23).

TB states that assessment of teachers in schools should be done by the pupils. The pupils would consider this as doing something useful. The fact

that the pupils' opinions are not taken into account indicates how little respect teachers have for their pupils. The pupils then come to view themselves as the victims of teachers. This gives teachers the image they deserve. (TB:TF 24).

THEME FIFTEEN

Teachers feel that they do not get treated with the respect that they deserve. When they have given service to a school for a number of years they are taken-for-granted. The Principal does not have the individual teacher's interests at heart.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA says she felt very loyal to a Principal who rewarded her by showing her pleasure when she did something for her. This encouraged her to go on and get the next thing done. She now wants to stand back and look at teaching objectively. (TA:TF 26).

TC remarks that new teachers arriving at the school are more deferentially treated than the old ones who have been there a long time and have given their service to the school in the past. (TC:TF 19). When she became a Head of Department the traditional accoutrements of promotional office were not accorded her. (TC:TF 16).

TD regards the Principal as acting as a bulwark between the Department and the teachers. Teachers who really have problems avoid going to the Principal and go straight to the Department. There he/she must pocket his/her pride and suffer the humiliation of communicating his/her confidential information to an endless round of clerks. This lack of consideration and respect for teachers he detests. It makes him feel like a child. (TD:TF 20).

THEME SIXTEEN

Teachers consider the continuous structuring of time an imposition which mechanistically forces them to 'switch on' and 'switch off'. If a teacher

spends any time exploring extra-curricula topics, she/he is not able to complete the other prescribed work.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA states that a break and the opportunity to 'switch off' is very important. (TA:TF 24). Teachers who should be the people who understand this better than anyone else, are the people who are not allowed to do this. Because she did her counselling at breakes and after school she was freed from doing extra-mural activities. (TA:TF 25).

TB feels that the pressure and routine of teaching prevents teachers and pupils from thinking clearly; this alters and diminishes one's personality, trains you to switch off and reduces your interest span. All this is indicative of mechanistic practices. Examinations heighten this pressure and he views them as a kind of ritual, their only meaning being for teachers. (TB:TF 23).

TD regards a syllabus as necessary but the present one as too restrictive. When he does digress to show topical relationships it takes up the time which should really be spent on other aspects of the syllabus. The restrictive syllabus is instrumental in making examinations and other aspects of teaching become mechanical because the content is meaningless. (TD:TF 16).

THEME SEVENTEEN

Teachers feel that it becomes more difficult to relate to their pupils as they become older. Cultural differences accentuate this sense of estrangement.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TB states that South Africa has changed since he was a child. Pretty, innocent little towns have been destroyed and the people have become slick. He feels a stranger to this and to his pupils. This feeling is reinforced the older he gets. He also experiences a sense of estrangement from his fellow South Africans, many of whom he sees as incapable of becoming adults.

(TB:TF 18). He works through feelings and impressions and so experiences a continual unease and nagging frustration living in a country which appears to be at odds with the one in which he was brought up. This unease is mostly unconscious. (TB:TF 20).

TC feels good when her pupils have grasped something. However, she thinks her pupils view her as a glorified babysitter. School is something which they just have to endure. She feels there is a generation gap, in fact, she thinks she has a 'granny-relationship' with her pupils. She believes that being 'pally-pally' with your pupils is detrimental to discipline. (TC:TF 24).

TD says that communicating with and relating to his pupils comes easily to him because he takes an interest in them, but he finds that as he is getting older the children are not getting older with him. (TD:TF 15). The economic circumstances of the parents limit the support which they can give to his teaching. The possibility of the child being able to go to work is more important to them than educational considerations. (TD:TF 17).

THEME EIGHTEEN

Various forms of rationalization are used to coerce teachers to support school functions. Teachers are persuaded to coach sport and supervise extra-mural activities on grounds of getting to know their pupils better. The fact that a teacher lives near the school is often used as a means of persuading her/him to perform extra-mural duties because she/he will be less inconvenienced than her/his colleagues.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TB states that teaching English is a high-pressure activity. He is sure that teachers who go on about societies and so on are able to do so because they have not expended much of their energy in the classroom, or because of the nature of their subject which is not so intense. The idea that you get to know your pupils better through extra-mural activities may be true for

teachers of some subjects but this does not apply to the English teacher. (TB:TF 21).

TC says that study-duty devolved onto her because she lived near the school. Other teachers were unwilling to do it as they were not paid enough. This has now changed since the remuneration has been lavishly increased. (TC:TF 17). She finds that innovations are undertaken but when they do not appear to be successful, and a state of crisis is reached, she is the one who is always called upon to sort out the problem. (TC:TF 21).

THEME NINETEEN

Teachers feel that their situation is different to that of people in other occupations. There is a certain unnaturalness and abnormality about teaching. When support is needed they usually seek it from other teachers rather than people in other occupations.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TB thinks that people in other occupations live more natural lives. The impositions of restrictions on teachers forces a certain unnaturalness and abnormality into the teaching situation. This makes TB feel that when he is teaching he is playing a part. (TB:TF 25). He is happy to switch off at the end of the day. Consequently his interest in his pupils remains within the confines of his classroom. He is not much interested in them as individuals and he thinks that they probably find him unresponsive outside school. (TB:TF 26).

TC gets support from friends who are mainly teachers because they are the only people who understand her situation. From them she has learned that there are very few schools which run smoothly. (TC:TF 22).

THEME TWENTY

The atmosphere a Principal creates in a school is very important. It influences the manner in which teachers view their work and affects them in predisposing them to what is, and what is not important.

BIOGRAPHICAL THEMATIC CONSTITUENTS

TA feels that the meriting system is unfair. She has been given two merits. She received the second one for the success of her counselling. (TA:TF 22).

TB feels that the atmosphere a Principal creates in a school is very important. An academic atmosphere links the school to its sources. Principals tend now to be appointed because they are good 'processors of children'. If this and examination results are the criteria operating in schools, he doesn't know what is happening or what teaching is all about. (TB:TF 27).

TC's expectations of the traditional accountment of promotional office were not realised. (TC:TF 15). The Teacher-Psychologist was given more recognition in her being accorded higher status when she was given an office, whereas Teacher C as Head of Department had not been allocated one. (TC:TF 16). TC states that the teacher in charge of the English section of the library has periods time-tabled for her work, but she has no officially recognised periods in which to do the Afrikaans section. (TC:TF 18).

TD stresses the importance of the Principal's attitude and disposition. He says that he has known a Principal's autocratic manner to divide a staff. This Principal created for his friends and used his position to influence others. If he became antagonistic towards a teacher it would affect his evaluation of the teacher and his/her promotional chances. (TD:TF 19).

SECTION II

EVIDENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS ON THE HORIZONS OF HEGEMONY,
IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

PART 1

TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT
OF THE FORCES OF HEGEMONIC AMBIVALENCE

PART 2

TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT
OF THE FORCES OF IDEOLOGICAL AMBIVALENCE

PART 3

TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT
OF FORCES OF CULTURAL AMBIVALENCE

EVIDENCE OF TEACHER-STRESS ON THE HORIZONS OF HEGEMONY, IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

'However, there is always a more personal and subjective meaning, constituted by the unique biographical experiential constellation and given to the awareness of the person which remains largely unexpressed although it is constitutive of the lived experience. As contrasted to the thematic line (the protocol of experience) of focussed attention we can call this aspect of experience the horizontally experienced matrix. It gives the particular nuances of understanding to the theme and it needs to be ascertained by the researcher in order to enter more fully into the personal meaning of the experience of the person being studied.'

(Von Eckartsberg, 1971, p. 77.)

TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT OF THE FORCES OF HEGEMONIC AMBIVALENCE

The operative processes of hegemony as 'spirit, all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly their intellectual and moral connotations' (Williams in Salamini, 1981, p. 136) are renewed and reproduced by the younger generation internalising the mores and norms projected to them by the older generation. The young person assimilates the projected prevailing hegemonic imperatives by unreflectively acceding to fulfilling the expectations of her/his elders. The young person is tacitly encouraged to fulfil these expectations by being given 'significations' of approval and token encouragement in the form of presents and prizes when she/he has in some way articulated her/his allegiance to an approved hegemonic process. **THEME ONE** reveals that all the teachers interviewed were 'other' directed in their choice of teaching as a career. No teacher indicated that she/he had taken responsibility-for-self by stating that she/he had been in becoming a teacher. The 'signification' of approval of the 'other' strongly influenced TA. She declares that she had always had a reputation for being a good adviser and her teachers encouraged her to become a teacher. In other words, her self-image of being a good adviser was a reflection of other people's opinions of her. TB, as a 'dutiful son'

fulfilling his parents' expectations, was further influenced to continue his teacher-training, despite his feelings of apprehension, by the availability of financial assistance, as State bursary, a 'signification' of societal approval. TC's Geography teacher was significant in influencing her and encouraging her to become a Geography teacher. TD sought concomitantly the approval of God and societal approval in his desire 'to build spiritual relationships' in the secular world. These teachers all experienced stress when that which had initially been a source of approval became a source of disapproval. TA's Principal criticised her attitude as a Teacher-Psychologist and told her that her colleagues were complaining about the reactions of the pupils to her counselling. (TA:TS 3). TB feels that the financial reward accorded him for his teaching is 'demeaning, infuriating and humiliating'. (TB:TS 5). TC discovered that her subject was not accorded any status in her school, and when she was not given the same privileges as other teachers, she felt that she had been 'slighted in front of the whole staff'. (TC:TS 11). TD encountered disapproval when he attempted to teach within the parameters of the Christian doctrine to encourage 'spiritual relationships'. There were 'counter-actions' from the children belonging to the different denominations. The children accused teachers of having double-standards, and pointed out that there were environmental inconsistencies conflicting with what he was teaching. Each of these teachers, in attempting to realize the internalised 'determined' projections of the 'other' as self-as-teacher, encountered conflict in her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self.

As the teacher's self-image was a reflection of the approval of the 'other', so the disapproval of the 'other' became a form of rejection. When society or her/his Principal, colleagues or pupils withheld their approval, the teacher experienced their rejection. As the approval of the 'other' had been internalised so the rejection of the 'other' likewise became internalised and thus the teacher experienced self-rejection. The teacher who does not take

responsibility-for-self, enabling her/him to become self-determining in creating a self-image from her/his own inner resources, is frustrated in her/his personal biographical projection of self-actualization of self-as-teacher. The teacher who remains 'determined' by 'others' can only become self-realized in her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self, a pawn of the hegemonic forces of reproduction and renewal.

THEME TWO exposes the teacher's reluctance to conceive of her/himself as a professional. TB and TC find it problematic to think of themselves in the same way as they think of doctors and lawyers, as professionals. Fundamental to the tensions teachers experience in thinking of themselves as professionals are the inherent ambivalent tensions between the social hegemonic forces and the professional hegemonic forces. The professions, having wrested a certain amount of autonomy for themselves from the social sphere on grounds of their 'special knowledge' and 'skills', have to continuously re-negotiate their autonomy by legitimating their right to the freedom they have won. One of the ways in which the professions of Law and Medicine legitimate their autonomy is by means of mystification. These professions have claimed certain 'knowledge' and 'skills' as their own. Such 'knowledge' and 'skills' are only available to its members. The members of these professions communicate by means of an esoteric language which is incomprehensible to 'common-sense' man and abstracted from everyday reality. Each profession has thus constructed its own reality and relative symbolic universe into which future adherents are initiated by long and arduous training. The teacher's 'knowledge' and 'skills' related to everyday reality are expected to be fully comprehensible to 'common-sense' man. There is no legitimated mystique concerning what goes on in schools. The outcome of a teacher's training prepares her/him for the reality of the everyday world which the pupil brings into her/his classroom and not for some 'constructed

reality.¹ When teachers compare themselves professionally to the other established professions they assume that their tension stems from the inadequacy of their training. TA felt that she could not take the post of Teacher-Psychologist as she had not had sufficient training. TB feels that teachers are not trained to the same extent as doctors and lawyers. He feels little respect for the training he had as a student teacher. TC feels that her training was adequate when considered in terms of its duration; however, contentwise, she feels that she was not trained to cope with the problems that confront her in her classroom. She advocates teachers having 'a year's psychiatric nursing to equip them to cope with some of the "customers" they get' (TC:TS 24). The hidden message expressed in this statement is the belief that there is some esoteric knowledge which if made available to teachers would help to solve their problems. TC feels that teachers having respect for themselves and gaining the respect of parents would be a means for teachers to improve their status. She recognizes that the teachers' associations, with the exception of the Federal Council, are powerless in negotiating teacher autonomy with the social sphere. This conflict TC experiences elucidates one of the fundamental sources of the teacher-stress teachers experience when considering themselves professionals. Professionalism is related to situatedness, that is, it is related to the teacher-as-self and as such the teacher is dependent on her/his teachers' associations to negotiate with the social sphere the recognition of teacher autonomy. The teachers' associations will only be successful to the extent that they can legitimate their claims to autonomy by convincing the social sphere that teachers render a necessary service for its continuation. As such professionalism is inextricably bound to hegemonic reproduction and renewal.

1. This statement could be hotly debated. However, from the perspective of teacher-professionalism, the 'mystique' of teaching has not yet directly been given prominence although the development of scientific methodologies are paving the way for teachers eventually to make claims similar to those of the professions of Law and Medicine.

However, when TC advocates that teachers themselves negotiate recognition of their autonomy with the social sphere, by advocating that teachers have respect for themselves and gain respect from the parents, she is now arguing from the perspective of the personal, biographical self-as-teacher who is not necessarily concerned with hegemonic reproduction or renewal. Simplistically stated, it could be said that the teacher experiences conflict between the hegemonic forces of social reproduction of teacher-as-self and the hegemonic forces of self-actualization as self-as-teacher when she/he considers her/himself as a teacher, a professional.

Promotion is the pro-active force of hegemonic renewal in schools. Promotion is related, firstly, to the quality of the teacher's qualifications, and, secondly, to the extent to which she/he harmoniously integrates her/his personality with that of the school as organization. Quality of qualification categorizes the teacher on an (A-G) scale. The teacher is rewarded for hard work and organisational participation by being awarded 'merits'. Both category and merits establish the teacher's position in the school hierarchy and determine her/his salary. The teacher is primarily dependent on her/his Principal's assessment of her/his worth for being awarded a merit. Teachers are also dependent on their Principals for testimonials when making application for promotion posts. Principals employ subtle and not so subtle strategies to pressurize teachers into organisational integration. Some of these strategies are revealed in **THEME THREE**. TA found that her career was smooth until she discovered her Principal had a pre-conceived idea of her which she felt she could not fight. TB finds that the salary issue distresses him because it is tied to wider issues of being a South African and having to pay for things like apartheid. TC states that the lack of prescribed qualifications was not really the issue in preventing her from teaching senior classes but rather that the Principal was favouring another teacher. When she complained she was accused of being 'uppity'. TD, who is in a high category, complains about

the conditions of teaching and states that Principals cater for their friends. (TD:TS 19). All these teachers indicate that, directly or indirectly, the teacher is required to pattern her/his identity according to hegemonic prescriptions as interpreted by her/his Principal. To attain harmonious organisational functioning the Principal often engages in a form of 'identity manipulation'. TA's Principal had a preconceived image of her. If TA sought harmonious interaction she would have had to pattern her identity on her Principal's image of her. When TC was told that she was 'uppity' because she complained about not having senior classes to teach, she was, in fact, being directly told that she was stepping out of the position which the Principal had decided she was to occupy. (Not having had experience of senior classes would also disqualify TA from occupying a promotion post and thus prevent her from eventually becoming a Principal). TB relates his identity as a South African and having to pay for things like apartheid to his inadequate remuneration as a teacher. To improve his salary he would have to become involved in the organisation of the school and identify with the school hierarchy. Principals unquestioningly legitimate hegemonic renewal by taking it for granted that future Principals will be like themselves. The Principal's typifications of Principalship structures the situation for the teacher, and if necessary, the Principal manipulates the teacher's identity to fit the situation, or she/he pressurizes the teacher to manipulate her/his own identity to fit her/himself to her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self.

All the teachers give voice to the feeling that teaching keeps the teacher in a realm of relevance which counteracts her/his maturation and prevents her/him from biographically actualizing her/himself in the adult community. The biographical constituents of **THEME FOUR** elucidate how TA finds herself getting upset when friends come to visit and stay too long when she still has marking to complete. TB resents doing things which he no longer finds interesting because he has outgrown certain activities. TD complains

that teaching overloads one so much that one has no time for anything else, and, when one ~~does~~ participate in community activities, the pressure of the teaching workload increases. (TD:TS 12). These teachers all experience the forces of school hegemony constituting their situatedness of teacher-as-self in conflict with their impulse to biographical maturity and self-actualization and self-as-teacher and a member of the world of adults.

THEME FIVE exemplifies the artificiality of fragmented reality which is represented by compartmentalised subjects. The segregation of knowledge into demarcated subjects results in some knowledge being considered more important than other knowledge. A particular subject comes to have a status and respect irrespective of the personal qualities of the person teaching that subject. TC had to wait three months for a reply to her application for a Geography post at a Teachers' Training College. Eventually, when she made enquiries, she was informed that the post had been converted into a Maths post. It is hard to conceive that a Maths teacher would have had to wait three months for a reply to her/his application for a post. The teacher of a 'valued' subject often receives more deferential treatment than her/his colleagues. Teachers are singled out for preferential treatment when they are doing something the Department considers important. TA's senior, the School Psychologist, was so pleased with the work she was doing, 'the change in the number of referrals to the school clinic had dropped amazingly' (NMU 32), that he became instrumental in her acquiring an office. The hierarchical arrangement of subjects in the school gives rise to competitive claims being made by teachers for their subjects. However, it is very difficult for a teacher to communicate her/his claims in such a way that a colleague will understand what she/he is saying, as subjects have come to have a reified existence and a rhetoric to their own. Consequently, the partitioning of knowledge isolates teachers who find it difficult to communicate with and understand one another. TD describes how the

'openness' of the English Department in his school provokes inter-departmental tension and alienates his colleagues. These tensions in the schools mirror similar tensions in society at large where different realms of knowledge legitimate the division of labour and accord status irrespective of personal worth. The hierarchy of knowledge enables knowledge to be considered a 'utility' and as such it becomes a form of cultural capital. A teacher often finds that she/he can only realize her/himself in the school within the parameters of her/his subject. So she/he is confined to her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self.

THEME SIX: The processes of hegemonic production are in fact the processes of power distribution. People who occupy positions of power in the prevailing hegemony accord power to others who have the same ideas and beliefs as they themselves. When TA found that she was in an untenable position in her school, she felt 'helpless'. Her attempts to do something about her situation were rejected, and when she could no longer ignore the situation, she began to think of doing something else. TD felt that he was only able to teach within the tenets of the Christian doctrine to a certain extent and so decided to leave teaching and commit himself fully to the Ministry. Teachers who think of changing their careers find that their teachers' qualifications do not have the same recognition in other occupations as they have in teaching and so do not command the same status or salary. TC confirms this by stating that, whenever she has become 'desperate' and thought of leaving teaching, she has found that her teachers' qualifications are not competitive in the commercial world. Specialisation confines a person to a specific and limited 'reality'. Representatives of a specific 'reality' are trained to accept a stereotyped orientation to that 'reality' and to pattern their behaviour on established models so that they become 'typifications' of that 'reality'. It is not easy for a person who has acquired a pattern of specialised behaviour in one realm of 'reality' to move

into another 'realm'. Models of specialised behaviour are only externally visible to society and 'outsiders' are often made to feel that their 'knowledge' and 'skills' are mysterious and esoteric. TD complains that he never really had any clear role models of other careers to accept or reject when he was young and that is why he became a teacher. Specialization constrains people to remain within their own 'situatedness', giving stability to organisations and society, and as such, it is a constituting force of hegemonic production. A teacher who discovers that she/he cannot self-actualize in her/his 'situatedness' has to come to terms with the tensions of these hegemonic forces before she/he can change her/his career. The false boundaries 'constructed' around subjects and their related 'constructed' 'realities' are a means of social control which delude people into thinking that, once they have become committed to a certain 'reality', they have no other choice but to remain subjected to it.

TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT OF THE FORCES OF IDEOLOGICAL AMBIVALENCE

THEME SEVEN exposes the ambivalent ideological forces of teaching as opposed to those of education. Teaching, which is linked to syllabus, tests, examinations and record-keeping, is indicative of those aspects of schooling which can be measured. The syllabus creates a boundary demarcating that which belongs to a specific realm of knowledge. This is a prerequisite to such knowledge being 'distributed' and 'consumed'. The success of the teacher's 'distribution' and her/his pupils' 'consumption' of knowledge is measured by means of tests and examinations. The attempt to make all knowledge visible necessitates an ideology of 'measured' values. Such an ideology becomes the ground whereby a person becomes measured by correlating her/his being to a measurement of the knowledge she/he has 'consumed'. Deficiencies of knowledge 'consumption' become translated into

personal deficiencies. TD remarks that teachers tend to concentrate more on the negative than the positive attributes of their pupils. However, the ideology of measurement is only important to those people who think that, by defining themselves in this manner and viewing themselves as a 'measured-self' they can legitimate their claims to upward mobility in the social sphere. TB remarks that the pupils he teaches do not have to take assessments seriously as no dire consequence will befall them if they fail. This makes teaching for him an 'artificial' activity. TC and TD articulate the concept that education concerns the pupil in her/his totality. This kind of thinking makes TB feel that teachers claim all kinds of virtues for themselves by palming themselves off as educators. He feels that it is this view of education which teachers have that deludes them into thinking that schools have a monopoly on education. Teachers who do not think in the manner TB ascribes tend to feel they have the right to 'enclose' the pupil's total existence within the parameters of the school. Teachers thus confuse an ideology of quality, to which they ascribe to education, with an ideology of quantity, which they correlate with teaching. These confusions which they impose on their pupils reflect back on themselves. An ideology of quantity is an ideology of insatiability, whereas an ideology of quality is one of restraint. Ambivalent ideological forces confuse the teacher when she/he erroneously commits the self-as-teacher or the self-as-pupil to an ideology of quantity and the situatedness of her/himself or her/his pupils to an ideology of quality. The latter is the attempt to totally commit the self-as-teacher or pupil to her/his situation in the school.

THEME EIGHT is closely related to **THEME SEVEN**. In theme seven it was noted how the pupil's worth was measured by means of tests and examinations. The meriting system does the same thing to teachers. TD complains that the merit system does not take into account the 'real person' and alludes to the teacher's registers and record books becoming more

important than the teacher-as-person. TA pleads that teachers be allowed to work on their own initiative and that there be a cut-off point concerning the checking-up on their work. What is impacting both these teachers are the forces of coercion to become committed to the ideology of measurement and visibility. The school as an organisation values that which can be seen. The way a teacher marks her/his pupils' books is deemed indicative of the extent of the teacher's commitment to her/his pupils and thus to the school as an organization. Checking a teacher's work is a means whereby the Principal and Heads of Department can monitor and control the teacher's actions and thereby her/his visible commitments. If the teacher's commitments can be monitored it is assumed that her/his predisposition and values can likewise be monitored. Checking a teacher's work is also a means whereby the teacher who displays initiative can be watched and 'guided' should she/he trespass beyond the parameters of institutional ideology. TB remarks that rank is given to good organizers. He has no rank as he is not a good organizer and tends to expend most of his energy in the classroom. This suggests that those teachers who project the institutional ideology in their 'situatedness' of the teacher-as-self are the people who are singled out for promotion. Qualifications are not a deciding factor, as TC has remarked. The teacher who is quality-oriented and considers that teaching takes place in a classroom experiences tension when she/he is forced to become quantity-oriented, i.e. to consider marks and records of greater importance than her/his classroom teaching. The withholding of merits and promotion from a teacher is a form of organizational condemnation. The teacher who internalizes this condemnation comes to experience a feeling of self-condemnation. Through self-condemnation the teacher often becomes convinced that she/he is not as good as other teachers. If the pressure of self-condemnation becomes too much for her/him she may renege her/his own authentic values and substitutes for them the organizational values, thus

committing her/himself to the realization of organizational historicity and sacrificing her/his own personal biographical self-actualization.

THEME NINE articulates the importance of human relationships in schools. Teachers are expected to relate harmoniously to their pupils, colleagues, Principal and Inspectors. TD perceives Principals and Inspectors as having personal interests which are extraneous to their situation and the interests of the school. The personal interests of Principals and Inspectors conflict with the interests of the teachers in their schools. Most communication in schools takes place face-to-face, and in these communications there are both overt and covert messages which the communicators have to decipher. These messages serve to confirm or invalidate the beliefs and ideas which the one communicator holds about the other. Where the teacher expresses beliefs and ideas which correspond with those of her/his Principal and colleagues, they assume that she/he has values similar to their own. She/he is then 'included' as being someone who thinks the same way. Teachers who do not exhibit that they subscribe to the dominant values in the school become 'excluded' and come to feel insecure. TA became insecure and felt that she was 'excluded' in not being needed. Everything she did was criticized. TC felt that she was being slighted when she was 'excluded' from enjoying the status and privileges which other teachers enjoyed. TD found that his 'workshop' method of teaching became a source of criticism because it overtly and covertly contradicted his colleagues' views of discipline. When the situatedness of the teacher-as-self becomes insecure the self-as-teacher is endangered. The ideological conflicts underlying this tension are only resolved by painful negotiation in the realm of human relationships. The teacher's face-to-face encounters with her/his Principal and colleagues become concrete manifestations of these ideological forces.

The biographical constituents of **THEME TEN** elucidate the organizational 'expectations' of teachers. TB has no rank in his school because he values

the pleasure he has in the classroom and with his family above his administrative work. TC expresses the unpredictability of what she is expected to do. She makes plans but keeps on having to change them. TA and TD reflect that there is no way in which the teacher can lighten or avoid her/his workload. TA's statements allude to the persuasion of 'approval' which is used to encourage teachers to do all that is expected of them. She says that 'when one is appreciated one can carry the load of work.' 'Approval' is a strategy used by Principals and others to convince teachers that, by fulfilling 'expectations' they are indebted to the teacher for helping them and that teachers by doing so are rendering a service to the pupils in the school. Teachers use the notion of service to justify, to themselves and to others, why they work so hard. 'Approval' and 'rank' are extrinsic motivations used by Principals and others to bond the situatedness of the teacher-as-self with the self-as-teacher. This bonding often causes the teacher to lose sight of the intrinsic value of her/his teaching and worth of self-as-teacher. Her/his conflict only becomes resolved when she/he establishes her/his own authentic self-esteem.

THEME ELEVEN shows to what extent schools are concerned with disseminating middle-class values. TD states that these values are not always representative of the children he teaches. Tension is caused in his relationships with his pupils and with his colleagues because of the different ways in which they view society. TA says that people who are not teachers 'laugh at you when you tell them how hard you work'. They don't understand. TB alludes to the 'traditional values of the Victorian colonising type being challenged by American influences which are now coming to be predominantly accepted'. He views the children he teaches, born after 1960, as accepting the abnormal as normal and feels that he is living in a country which is at odds with itself. The challenge of the dominant hegemony and 'counter' hegemony impacts the teacher and causes tension in her/his relationships both in the school and in the community. The situatedness of

the teacher influenced by the 'counter' hegemony, is in transition, thus she/he is impacted by both hegemonic and 'counter' hegemonic forces. The forces which influence her/him, she/he transmits to both her/his pupils and to the people in the community causing strain in her/his relationships with them.

TEACHER-STRESS: THE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPACT OF THE FORCES OF CULTURAL AMBIVALENCE

Teachers regard their work as being closely linked to the work of the social welfare worker. TD regards the work of the teacher as similar to that of the social welfare worker and TC states that soon welfare-teachers will have to be appointed in the schools. **THEME TWELVE** reveals that the teachers feel incapable of coping with some of the problems they encounter in their classrooms. TA, who had studied Psychology for three years, felt that her qualifications were inadequate and that she did not have enough background knowledge. TB, commenting on the cultural differences between himself and his pupils ^{admits} to sometimes losing his temper. TC feels that someone else should be available to sort out some of the problems that pupils have before she has to teach them. TD states that, although he wants to help the pupils, he is prevented from doing so by legislation and by the syllabus he has to cover. These statements reflect the teacher's awareness of the cultural differences of their pupils and they consider this preponent to the problems they encounter in the classroom. TB states that he doesn't often think about these differences, because teaching is such an 'anaesthetic job' and he just lives with such thoughts 'like living with a faintly sore tooth'. Not one of the teachers has questioned the possibility that there may be some ambiguity in the cultural mores and norms which they themselves are transmitting to their pupils. For instance, at Assembly in the morning teachers and pupils

say the Lord's Prayer and, 'forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them who trespass against us', yet pupils who forget a book or contravene a school rule are sent to detention. Teachers stress that education cannot be measured, yet nearly everything the pupil does in the school is in some way measured or evaluated. Cultural ambivalence often inheres in the teacher's own commitment to her/his self-as-teacher in conflict with her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self.

THEME THIRTEEN is closely linked to THEME TWELVE. Not only do the pupils become transmitters of their home and subcultures, but they also transmit the cultural attitudes of one teacher into another teacher's classroom. TB states that he resents the way the children he teaches are influenced by other teachers, and TD remarks that tension arises indirectly rather than from direct teacher-pupil relationships but rather indirectly. Teachers expect pupils to regard their subjects as just as important as they do. When pupils come into his classroom they are already tense. He notes that this not only causes teacher-pupil tension but also inter-colleague tension. Each facet of school activity is, as a cluster of relationships, in fact, a sub-culture. Tensions arise amongst these sub-cultures which strain human relationships. TB states that he experiences coercion from his colleagues to rush onto the sports field, and when he is not prepared to do so he is made to feel guilty. TC recalls that, when she did not offer assistance to a colleague who was not able to cope with her marking, she was made to feel guilty. The guilt these teachers experience arises from a feeling of personal condemnation at not being willing to be of assistance. Not being willing to be of assistance is existentially conceived of as a form of human betrayal. In normal relationships, help is voluntarily given because of human sympathy for, or empathy with, the person who cannot cope with her/his problems. However, in an

organisation, the circumstances, e.g. examinations and sport, have already been structured. The relationships of people in these structures are 'structured' relationships. The problems arising from these structures are usually those of structural defects. The conflict teachers experience is that of being expected to enter a mode of natural relationships; the mode of self-as-teacher, to rectify structural defects pertaining to a mode of structural relationships; the mode of situatedness of teacher-as-self.

THEME FOURTEEN is evidence that the school as an organization is vastly different from that of the organization of a business. Accountability as a form of bureaucratic control in a business organization is always upwards, the lower status groups being accountable to the higher status groups in the organizational hierarchy. Accountability, officially envisaged, would have it that the teacher be accountable only to her/his seniors. However, teachers consider themselves to be accountable primarily to their pupils. TA feels accountable to her pupils regarding the marking of their work. If she is not up to date, she feels guilty. TB states that the assessment of teachers in schools should be done by the pupils. These statements indicate that the teacher has a closer relationship with her/his pupils than with her/his seniors. TB feels that, if pupils were allowed to assess their teachers, they would consider this type of assessment as doing something useful. The fact that the pupils' opinions are not taken into account shows how little respect teachers have for their pupils. The pupils come to view themselves as the victims of teachers. 'This gives teachers the image they deserve'. TB's elaboration on accountability relates theme fourteen to **THEME FIFTEEN** which expresses the teachers' feeling that they do not get treated with the respect that they deserve. TD regards the Principal as acting as a 'bulwark' between the Department and the teachers. Teachers who really have problems avoid going to the Principal and go straight to the Department. He states that there he/she must pocket his/her pride and suffer the humiliation of communicating his/her confidential information to an endless round of clerks. This lack of consideration and respect for teachers he detests. It

makes him feel like a child. Bureaucratic control in the form of 'proper procedures' enlivens the conflict the teacher experiences in her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self with her/his desire for respect for self-as-teacher. Teachers feel that they do not always get the respect they deserve, although they are required to comply with the 'proper procedure' of doing things, the Principals themselves do not do so. TC states that, when she became a Head of Department, she was not accorded the traditional accoutrements of promotional office. The other Head of Department was given an office, but she had to 'make her own demands'. Respect and relationships are closely linked. TA feels that now that she is not rewarded by the Principal's showing pleasure when she does something for her, she can no longer feel any loyalty towards the Principal. TC states that the new teachers arriving at the school are deferentially treated. Teachers who have been at a school for a long time and have given their service to the school are taken for granted. Loyalty can be considered an ethic which links the past, the present and the future. In a bureaucratic organization where the task is of primary importance, the person is only considered in so far as expedience and pragmatism allow. When teachers have problems, the problem is placed within the structures of a task and as such it loses its human dimension. Concomitantly, the relationship between the teacher and the person dealing with the problem loses its human dimension and their relationship becomes one of 'association'. 'Association' is 'a different mode of social integration and cohesion' (Stanley, 1978, p. 36). It is this changed mode of relationship which gives the teacher the feeling that she/he is no longer being treated as self-as-teacher but only considered in the light of her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self. This lack of consideration and respect alienates the teacher from the Principal and from her/his colleagues making her/him feel that she/he is incapable of being authentically committed to them in a personal human relationship of loyalty.

THEME SIXTEEN gives expression to the teachers' experience of 'counter' cultural domination. The mechanization of technicism is articulated by both TA and TB who both metaphorically speak of initiating and culminating their activities in terms of switching on and switching off an alarm clock. (TA:TS 25), (TB:TS 23). TA states that a break and the opportunity to 'switch off' is very important. Teachers, who should be the people who understand this better than anyone else, are the people who are not allowed to do this. TB elucidates the consequences of the pressures and routine of teaching as: 'preventing teachers and pupils from thinking clearly; altering and diminishing one's personality; training one to switch off; and reducing one's interest span.* All this, he states, are indicative of 'mechanistic practices.' He feels that examinations heighten the pressure, and he views them as a kind of a ritual, their only meaning being for teachers. TD echoes TB's feelings about examinations. He states that examinations and other aspects of teaching become mechanical because the content is meaningless. The syllabus is too restrictive and, when he does digress to show topical relationships, it takes up the time which should really be spent on other aspects of the syllabus. He feels that the syllabus is instrumental in making his teaching become mechanical and meaningless. Examinations, as a form of social control, structure and teacher's time and require her/him to be 'end' oriented, forcing her/him to establish 'goals', 'aims', and 'objectives'. That which does not pertain to the accomplishment of pre-established objectives, becomes irrelevant. That which is relevant to task completion, often disqualifies human relevance. The teacher focussed on task-relevance devices her/his various strategies and techniques aimed at accomplishing the task. This pre-disposes the teacher to a technicistic rationale in preference to interpretative modes of conceptualization. The rejection of human relevance disqualifies the self-as-teacher and establishes the teacher in a technicistic frame of reference of her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self. This alienates

the teacher from her/his self-as-teacher.

Teachers experience a sense of estrangement from their pupils as they become older, **THEME SEVENTEEN**. TD finds that as he is getting older, the children are not getting older with him. TC feels that there is a generation gap; in fact, she thinks she has a 'granny-relationship' with her pupils. From the pupil's perspective she typifies herself as 'a glorified babysitter'. TB feels a stranger to his pupils, a feeling which becomes increasingly reinforced as he becomes older. He relates this to the way South Africa has changed, 'where pretty, innocent little towns have been destroyed and the people have become "slick"'. He feels a stranger to his fellow South Africans whom he sees as incapable of becoming adults. He has a continual feeling of unease and experiences a nagging frustration in living in a country which appears to be at odds with the one in which he was brought up. TB typifies his fellow South Africans as people who have become 'slick'. TD states that the support his teaching gets from parents is limited. The possibility of the child being able to go to work is more important to them than educational considerations. The alienation which these teachers feel inheres in the extrinsic, functional, utilitarian values with which schooling has become associated. The schools catering for the upper classes have themselves become 'slick', the 'slick' adults being a consequence of this form of schooling. The term 'slick' has the connotation of a insincerity and false appearance. For some people in the social strata appearance is more important than actuality. The children of this group do not have to take marks and school assessments seriously. They can rely on other forces to accomplish what they do for others. 'There is always the past pupils' network'. (TB.TS 14). For those who know that schooling is only one facet of upward social mobility, it has become 'something which they (the pupils) just have to endure', (TC). For those pupils who are aware

that no extra schooling will improve their social circumstances, it is far more beneficial to leave school and benefit from advanced training in the workplace than to remain at school. The alienation that the teachers who teach in these circumstances experience is a reflection of the alienation of their pupils. That pupils, committed to their own situatedness require the teacher to become committed to her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self, thus she/he is forced into giving priority to the utilitarian nature of school.

THEME EIGHTEEN shows how humanistic rationalizations are used to persuade teachers to supervise sport and extra-mural activities voluntarily. TB states that the idea that one gets to know one's pupils better through extra-mural activities may be true for teachers who teach some subjects but this does not apply to the English teacher. TC recalls how study-duty devolved on her shoulders because she lived near the school and it would inconvenience her less than another teacher who lived further away. She also finds that when there is a crisis she is called upon to sort out the problems. If the self-as-teacher does not submit to her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self, the teacher finds that she/he becomes alienated from her/his colleagues and Principal. The mores of the traditional culture has predominantly given voice to 'unselfishness'. The teacher who does not integrate her/his personality with her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self as if she/he were willingly and unselfishly taking part in these activities as self-as-teacher becomes isolated and disparaged by her/his colleagues and Principal.

In THEME NINETEEN, teachers express a feeling of a certain unnaturalness and abnormality about their teaching and their situatedness of teacher-as-self. It has been noted that TA felt upset when friends visited and stayed too long. She is sure they see her as an ogress when she becomes dogmatic about not going out with them. (TS:TS 7). TD only seeks emotional support from friends who are teachers because they are the only people who

understand her situation. From them she has learned that there are very few schools which run smoothly. TB feels that people in other occupations live more natural lives. The impositions and restrictions on teachers force a certain amount of unnaturalness and abnormality into the teaching situation. TB feels that he is playing a part when he is teaching, and is happy to switch off at the end of the day. He leaves himself open to condemnation by stating that his pupils probably find him unresponsive outside the school and is not much interested in them as individuals. These teachers all express a feeling of alienation from their fellow South Africans. When people find that it is difficult to communicate and share a commonality of meaning, there is a lack of community. For many teachers the situatedness of teacher-as-self has gained dominance over biographical meaning for the self-as-teacher, and so they have become isolated from their own community.

THEME TWENTY orchestrates on a practical level the ways in which the Principal affects the atmosphere of the school. The Principal decides what is to be and what is not to be considered important. TA received her second 'merit' specifically as recognition of the success of her counselling. TC describes how the Teacher-Psychologist was given an office but she, as Head of Department, was not allocated one. She also describes how the teacher in charge of the English section of the library had periods timetabled for her library work but she was not given any officially recognized periods in which to do the Afrikaans section. TD states that he has known a Principal to cater for his friends and use his position to influence others. If he became antagonistic towards a teacher it would affect the teacher's evaluation and promotional chances. He states that the Principal's attitude and disposition is important and he has known a Principal's autocratic manner to divide a staff. Principals are the leaders in the school and the culture which she/he transmits creates the atmosphere of that school. TB fears that Principals tend now to be appointed because they are good 'processors of children'. He

states that if this and examination results are the criteria operating in schools, he doesn't know what is happening or what teaching is all about. He sees Principals as being the link between the school and its academic sources. These biographical thematic constituents clearly portray the conflict between the traditional culture and the 'counter' culture. The tendency is for Principals to now favour the norms and mores of the 'counter' culture. The pragmatism of the 'counter' culture is evidenced by the preferential treatment of the Teacher-Psychologist, whose role in the schools is directed towards integrating the pupils into the technostucture which confronts them. The 'autocracy' of the Principal who split the staff reveals the pressganging of authoritarianism, indicative of a deterministic rationale. The impact of the technicistic forces of the 'counter' culture on the situatedness of the teacher-as-self challenges her/his traditional cultural orientation of self-as-teacher.

CONCLUSION

These themes can be regarded as representative of the topics of conversations which take place in the staff-room. The impulse to these conversations is, more often, that a teacher is seeking emotional support from her/his colleagues than that she/he is seeking a resolution to her/his problems. The teacher, desirous of reaching a commonality of understanding with the persons she/he is talking to, screens out personal biographical meanings which she/he feels would be irrelevant to the other persons and levels her/his communications at the mundane 'now'. The teacher, transfixed in the 'now', remains within the delimitations of the 'natural attitude', and meaning and understanding remain within the 'objectifications' of the taken-for-granted, everyday reality. The teacher, viewing her/his situation as taken-for-granted, sees it as non-negotiable and feels that there is nothing she/he can do to change it. She/he sees her/his situation as a product of pre-established structures. Having this perspective, the teacher-as-self delimits her/his attitudes and patterns of behaviour to only those which can be contained by the structures. The teacher's experience of teacher-stress is a consequence of the constraints the teacher-as-self places on the self-as-teacher.

To re-establish the supremacy of the self-as-teacher, the teacher's attitude must change. She/he should perceive her/his position as one of process, i.e. that of situatedness. Thus she/he can conceive of her/his actions as creating spaces wherein new meanings and values can be negotiated. It seems appropriate in concluding this thesis, that I posit some approaches a teacher can make with regard to negotiating some space for her/himself in her/his situatedness as self-as-teacher.

THEME ONE: TEACHING AS A CHOICE OF CAREER

The teacher should take responsibility for her/his freedom. This implies that her/his wanting to teach is self-determined, in that she/he has actively assumed responsibility-for-self by self-commitment, self-determining that she/he wants to teach. Influences and encouragements given by 'others' in the past may still be highly prized, but the teacher desirous of self-actualization must take self-responsibility for her/his choice of teaching as a career and her/his actions as the teacher she/he is.

THEME TWO: THE TEACHER'S PROFESSIONALISM

A teacher should think very seriously about considering her/himself a professional. She/he should actively take self-responsibility for her/his professionalism and not passively perpetuate self-alienating comparisons with doctors or lawyers. The teacher should negotiate her/his own professionalism with the social sphere through her/his relationships with the community. Conversations and discussions with parents and others should always be three-dimensional and relate the parent, the pupil and the teacher to each other.

THEME THREE: PROMOTIONS

The teacher should become concerned about who occupies the promotion posts in her/his school. She/he should use her/his teachers' associations to demand a say in appointments to these posts. Intending Principals and Heads of Departments should be required to forward a Policy-Statement to the school to which they are making application. This should be circulated and discussed amongst the staff who should have a say regarding who is selected for the appointment. A teacher would then be informed about the pre-disposition of her/his seniors and aware of personality differences which could cause her/him teacher-stress. She/he would be warned of personality constraints that person may impose on her/him.

THEME FOUR: LOAD OF WORK

A teacher should become aware of how long it takes her/him to complete various tasks, especially those which are part of the routine of teaching. For instance, she/he should become aware of how long it takes her to mark 35 Std 6 compositions or 70 Std 8 examination essays. When work has to be completed by a specified date, she/he would do well to calculate whether it is possible for her/him to complete the work without having to work abnormal hours and possibly damaging her/his mental and physical health. A teacher must guard against thinking of her/himself as a martyr who has to spend the whole night marking. If the teacher cannot cope, she/he must make this known. Where technicism is operative, use technicism to counteract it. State the number of hours the marking/work will take. When a teacher who has worked conscientiously begins to feel guilty because she/he is not engaged in some school project, she/he is beginning to experience acute teacher-stress. Evidence of this is when the teacher begins to feel that her/his pupils know what she/he is doing in the privacy of her/his home.

THEME FIVE: DECONSTRUCTING THE 'CONSTRUCTED' REALITIES OF SUBJECTS

There can be no equality of persons unless equality is primarily accorded the different 'realities' to which people become committed. When a teacher 'objectifies' a colleague by thinking of her/him as a Maths teacher, she/he is concomitantly 'objectifying' her/himself and their differences become accentuated. A teacher can overcome the hierarchy of subjects by relating her/his subject to the other subjects and making known their similarities. Colleagues then become aware that the special knowledge to which they thought they had privileged access is universally available, and their problems which they think only they have, **are experienced by others.**

THEME SIX: ALTERNATIVE CAREERS

The problem of changing careers usually lies in the fact that a final decision has to be made. Teachers who think of changing careers should see it as necessary to first go through a period of transition. This could be envisaged as taking courses at the Technikon or as part-time study through UNISA. Alternatively, she/he could save to accumulate some capital to support her/himself during a year's unpaid leave while she/he explores other ventures at a reduced salary.

THEME SEVEN: EDUCATION AND TEACHING

TB's statement that 'We are all people who educate other people' (NMU 106) is instructive. A teacher who bears in mind that it is really her/his pupils who teach her/him how to teach, hears the messages overt and covert which her/his pupils send her/him. Embedded in these messages is the relational mode of teaching-as-education and education-as-teaching humanly oriented.

THEME EIGHT: EVALUATION AND MERIT AWARDS

The teachers interviewed have articulated their dislike of the 'meriting' system of evaluation. A teacher who dissociates her/himself from this pernicious practice and refuses to be compelled by its prescriptions, protects her/himself from multiple pressures preponent to teacher-stress. No longer constrained by 'impression management' she/he liberates the teacher-as-self by distancing the 'other' and giving her/him space for freedom for self-as-teacher. There can never be a hierarchy of educators.

THEME NINE: HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

Before a teacher can expect others to give her/him the freedom to have her/his own beliefs and values, she/he must accord others the same right. A teacher should prevent her/his communications from becoming interactions-of-persuasions-of-others to adopt her/his own beliefs and values. In this way

she/he can then alleviate the stress of not being successful in this regard. A teacher should also protect her/himself from feeling threatened by the persuasions of 'others'. Just as everyone looks different, so everyone is different. A teacher who celebrates the diversity of her/his Principal and colleagues, by showing them her/his appreciation and giving them her/his support, finds that they eventually learn to reciprocate a similar pre-disposition. One (eventually) has to articulate a recognition of differences and the fact that one accepts their right to differ.

THEME TEN: TOTAL COMMITMENT

Total commitment of the self-as-teacher still leaves the self in control. However, total commitment of the teacher-as-self tends to a total commitment to that which is extrinsic to the self. This gives rise to aversive emotions. In her/his striving for totality, the teacher begins to force everyone else likewise to become totally committed. This creates a personal teacher-stress which is, in fact, 'other' oriented, in that the stress derives from the fact that others are not similarly committed.

THEME ELEVEN: TEACHERS AS TRANSMITTERS OF CULTURES

A teacher should be aware that she/he, her/himself is transmitting the values and norms of conflicting cultures. She/he, her/himself is a source of tension. To articulate and clarify these differences to her/himself and her/his pupils and colleagues relieves some of the tensions.

THEME TWELVE: MULTIPLE CULTURES AND MULTIPLE REALITIES

A teacher who recognises and values her/his classroom and school as a place of multiple cultures and multiple realities saves her/himself the stress of forcing an artificial uniformity. She/he will find that accommodating different perspectives is a source of creativity and an awakening of the imagination. However, colleagues and pupils have to be patiently guided to new orientations, and these are learnt through active example and not words.

THEME THIRTEEN: INSTITUTIONAL ENPERSONALIZATION

A teacher should guard against the tendency for her/himself and others to personify the school. The school is an institution and not a person. A teacher's reactions should be directed to the people in the school and not to the school itself. The self-as-teacher commits her/himself to living persons, but strong institutional forces of coercion pressurize the teacher to commit the self-as-teacher to the institution, the school. The teacher needs to remember that she/he teaches Ellen and Edgar and not XYZ High School.

THEME FOURTEEN: ACCOUNTABILITY

A teacher confronted with the phenomenon of accountability should first ask to whom she/he is accountable and for what. The task and the person are integral components of accountability. Until these questions are answered, discussions of accountability are spurious. Accountability is itself one-dimensional in the human realm. A person cannot be accountable to more than one person at a time. Ask anyone who talks about teacher-accountability to first say to whom you are accountable. The pupil? The Parents? The Principal? The Inspector? The Community? The Department? The Government?

THEME FIFTEEN: THE RELATIONAL MODE OF LOYALTY

A teacher needs to be mindful of whether her/his relationships with her/his colleagues and Principal are being controlled and determined by the structures of the school. When a teacher has an uncanny feeling that something is wrong but she/he cannot determine what it is, or when she/he has a faint feeling of threat, or when a teacher begins to have a feeling of powerlessness and helplessness, she/he can consider the relationship to have entered the mode of structures. When this happens, she/he cannot be self-responsible-for, but rather she/he has to take responsibility-for-self in protecting the self against hypothetical comparisons with a 'model-teacher' and avoid self-rejection, self-condemnation or self-alienation.

THEME SIXTEEN: THE 'CLOCK-WORK' TEACHER

A teacher should introduce art, music and drama into her/his lessons wherever possible. These encounters tend to have a time of their own. The teacher should be aware that, in conflict with 'clock-time', a person has her/his own 'internal-time'. Teachers would do well to relive the stress of impatience or hurt and to realise that, when people take a long time to do something, or when they seem abrupt, it is not necessarily personally intended, but rather that that person's 'internal-time' is rebelling against the imperatives of imposed 'clock-time'.

THEME SEVENTEEN: THE GENERATION GAP

It appears from the interviews that teachers rather than pupils are responsible for the 'generation-gap'. An inability to relate comes about when emotions are reified into 'things'. A teacher needs to relate to her/his pupils in the realm of emotions not of 'things'. The emotion of the pleasure of the hoola-hoop is the same as that of the skate-board. The older teacher who can imaginatively substitute the hoola-hoop for the skate-board when the pupil is talking about her/his skate-board, retains an emotional relationship with her/his pupil which bridges any differences in age.

THEME EIGHTEEN: THE RIGHT TO LEISURE

A teacher has a right to leisure. A time set aside for rejuvenation is essential, and the teacher needs to consciously set aside such time and protect her/himself from the encroachment and domination of school commitments. When a teacher feels that she/he has no time for her/himself, she/he has reified and personified the school which has greedily gained a life of its own, mastering and absorbing the life-force of the teacher-as-self.

THEME NINETEEN: THE WARNING OF ABNORMALITY

When a teacher feels a sense of abnormality or unnaturalness about her/his teaching she/he needs to realise that the teacher-as-self is gaining dominance over the self-as-teacher. The teacher's situatedness is becoming

of situation and she/he is being forced into an enactment of role. This form of stress can best be relieved by the teacher's pupils. It is by relating to their naturalness and engaging with them in their spontaneity that the teacher can regain her/his perspective of the self-as-teacher.

THEME TWENTY: LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP

A leader is a person who has been chosen by others to take responsibility for 'creating time'. She/he does this by making choices of how future-time will be substantiated. By doing this she/he becomes responsible-for-the-freedom-of-others. The choices made by the leader in the present, either affirms the values of the past, thereby, linking past-time with future-time, or denies the values of the past, thereby, creating new values and so innovating the projection of a different future. Thus the leader can be called a value-creator. Leaders being responsible-for-the-freedom-of-others can only hold legitimate leadership by being chosen by those others whom they lead. A teacher has as much right-to-freedom to teach in a certain school as anyone else, including the Principal. Schools are financially funded by the taxes the community pays. The teacher, being a tax payer also has a vested interest in what happens, not only in the school where she/he teaches, but also in other schools. The teacher, taking responsibility-for-self takes responsibility-for-freedom-for-self and concomitantly as a member of the community, freedom-for-the-community. She/he has to negotiate this freedom with her/his Principal in her/his situatedness of teacher-as-self as self-as-teacher. To negotiate her/his situatedness, the teacher needs to problematize her/his situation. She/he should examine her/his taken-for-granted assumptions and presuppositions, and establish a vocabulary of 'relational processes' with which she/he can communicate with her/himself and others. She/he should become thematically aware of the biographical constituents of the stress-provoking re-active forces promoting her/his impulse of self-alienation, self-condemnation and self-rejection. Thus oriented, the teacher, taking

responsibility-for-self, should posit the pro-active forces of self-integration, self-esteem and self-actualization. Only in this way can the teacher view her/his experiences of stress from different perspectives, interpret its constituents and biographically negotiate with its primary sources in order to transcend the hegemonic, ideological and cultural ambivalence which informs it. By becoming actualized as a self-responsible and pro-active value-creator, the teacher can thus achieve freedom which transcends the stress-inducing structures of her/his teaching situation. Taking self-responsibility for freedom the teacher will dis-cover her/his own peace and become a force-for-peace in the social sphere.

APPENDIX

1. PROTOCOL: TEACHER A (TA)
2. PROTOCOL: TEACHER B (TB)
3. PROTOCOL: TEACHER C (TC)
4. PROTOCOL: TEACHER D (TD)

PROTOCOL : TEACHER A (TA)

TEACHER A: (1) Well, I think that I'm a born teacher/ (2) which I think that it is quite sad I'm leaving teaching./ (3) Ever since I was little I used to do public speaking quite well, and do well in eisteddfods./ (4) People used to tell me that I was a good adviser, even when I was little./ (5) I suppose it has something to do with being the eldest in the family too. I was always there for advice./ (6) My parents were quite old, with the result that I played a very immediate helping role towards my sister./ (7) In fact, people used to smile at the fact that when we were sitting in church, and she started to become rowdy or noisy or anything, it was always I how tapped her./ (8) It's hard to say. I just grew up with the idea. I never really seriously considered doing anything else, except possibly social work, which you can see ties in./ (9) All the teachers at school felt that I would possibly do well as a teacher. So that is what I went out and did./ (10) Then I went out and taught for quite a few years. Enjoyed it very much. Gosh! I used to bounce into my classes—but literally bounce, you know./ (11) I was teaching English and History and Afrikaans, and I was doing some career guidance. I really enjoyed that part of it very much./ (12) I had a degree in Psychology, and when they brought out the post of Teacher-Psychologist, the Principal offered me the post, but I said 'No'. 'No'. You know, I could see that I didn't know enough. Whereas, possibly if it had been offered to me before I had started teaching, I would have bounced in and said 'Tremendous'. You know, I've third-year Psychology, but I didn't feel that that was enough./ (13) I think it ties up with this whole thing of 'a little knowledge is a dangerous thing'. I had been teaching for four or five years, and, having become a bit wiser, and instead of being the little I-know-it-all student who bounced into a class and was prepared to take on any child's life quite confidently,/ (14) I realised that there were certain

areas that one didn't know a great deal about. And if I was going to take on the role of Teacher-Psychologist as such, and I was going to deal with drug problems, and incest in families, and that sort of thing, you couldn't do it entirely by 'feel'. I know that that plays a big part too, and always will, but you needed more background information./ (15) That is something I have always felt strongly about. This whole thing of third-year Psychology students, with a very general degree, going into the counselling situation. That little bit of method on counselling that they get just isn't enough. It doesn't give them the background knowledge for dealing with particular problems and syndromes and so on./ (16) Look, I could have done it. But I thought that, well, I can take leave, why not study? and ... you know that is just the way. I do like to do things well./ (17) You won't find me at a meeting, for instance, standing up and spouting off my mouth unless I really know what I'm talking about. It is just my character make-up./ (18) I mean, if he had said to me, 'Look, we really need someone, won't you?' then I would have done it, and then I would have studied part-time./ (19) Then I went and studied further. Marvellous year! Counselling was part of it. It was a very wide course. You are specifically prepared in your practical work for the counselling situation./ (20) For instance, every Tuesday I had to go out to a school and deal with a particular pupil. So you get the feel of continuation and an on-going process. You would actually give the pupil some homework, some things to think about, possibly some reading matter, and then he would come back and you continue from where you'd left off./ (21) Then you reported back in class and it was discussed. If you didn't know how to go on, the whole class would work it out together./ (22) But I would say that the biggest thing I got out of it was what I wanted, and that was the background information and background knowledge./ (23) When I was doing third-year Psychology, I was spending probably a quarter of the time on Psychology and three-quarters of the time

on English because English is that sort of subject. The amount of reading you have to do is incredible. In a situation like that one subject always takes over. So, although my Psychology marks were actually better, it wasn't a true reflection of what I felt I ought to know./ (24) The year after studying, I went back to the same school - not as Teacher-Psychologist, because I had lost my chance when I said 'No'. 'No'. I didn't mind. I was a Senior English teacher and enjoyed that very much./ (25) It was when my husband was transferred that the opportunity arose to get a post as a Teacher-Psychologist./ (26) I didn't do Psychology because I thought I just have to be a Teacher Psychologist. I have always been counselling pupils anyway./ (27) I don't have to have the title of Teacher-Psychologist to make me feel secure./ (28) I think that every teacher finds her/himself in the counselling situation, and it is just a completely personal satisfaction thing./ (29) In my new job as Teacher-Psychologist, the Principal said I could be let off all the extra-mural duties if I could get some counselling started./ (30) The school desperately needed someone to do this because of all the problem children./ (31) I started off counselling in the classroom./ (32) The School Psychologist reported back after about nine months, before the year was out, and the change in the number of referrals to the school clinic had dropped amazingly./ (33) He actually came to see me and he was thrilled with the way in which I was coping with the situation,/ (34) and the Principal was happy and so on./ (35) So they then applied and gave me a special room./ (36) Everything was going really well. I was enjoying the job too. I was completely in control of English, but at the same time I had this./ (37) Being exempted from sport and anything else like that, I didn't mind staying after school every day for half-an-hour or three-quarters-of-an-hour, or an hour if it was necessary, (38) and then giving up breaks to hand out career information and so on./ (39) Although I had always felt very strongly about

this whole thing of having societies in breaks and so on ... I feel a person must have a break from studying and a break from teaching. All study methods are built on those lines. You have a break where your brain switches off because your concentration can only last for so long./ (40) This is something which has always amused me about teaching. I mean, they are the people who are never allowed to switch off. The other day we all had to work right through until five o'clock./ (41) When you say to your friends, 'I worked until five today', they think, 'So what, I work until five everyday'. Ha! Ha! That's very funny, but what happens at one o'clock? They go window shopping, looking around and have a complete break, and then they come back for three hours./ (42) What teachers put into their work until half-past-two is probably more than they put into a whole day's work, because we have no breaks./ (43) I have had occasion when I have been able to compare our situation with a non-teaching situation. I once worked in a library where we worked until five o'clock. There we had a lunch hour, and I found that when I arrived home in the evening I was still bursting with energy. I couldn't get over the energy that I had then. But when I came back to teaching and counselling, which is also very draining, and the marking plus the preparation, I then again began to feel this exhausted tiredness./ (44) I will be happy to give up marking. Marking has caused a great deal of stress in my life./ (45) It is not funny when you have planned a nice Sunday braai with friends coming around and they stay and stay and stay. Inside you are all up tight because you know you have to get that set of essays done before the next day, and if you procrastinate it only makes it worse./ (46) I'm sure a lot of my friends see me as a bit of an agress. They phone and say let's do something and I would be so ... I would have to be ... you know, to them - dogmatic - about not doing it today./ (47) And I must say that, during my long leave, I really enjoyed the fact that every

second night I could go for a walk on the mountain with my husband. There was no feeling of when you get home you will have to finish off or that there are lessons to prepare./ (48) Because, you know, the thing in being a guidance teacher is that you can make a complete mess of it. I know that in some schools it becomes a homework period. That is not what I wanted, and in order to give meaningful lessons you have to do a lot of preparation. So even then you haven't got marking, you've got preparation, although that is a pleasanter side of it./ (49) It is not only the time that you actually mark. If you don't cancel the braai, alright then you are going to be paying the penalty later by working later, but you are sitting there feeling guilty. You are not enjoying yourself as much as you should. That guilt feeling is unbelievable./ (50) It's specifically this marking thing, because it is a job that has got to be completed. Let me put it this way. When I'm teaching matrices and I'm teaching them setwork, and say I have completed 'Lear', I never feel any guilt in that I may not have taught them something. Even when I see notes from other schools. I know, even if I haven't given them everything, that what I have given them has been meaningful, and I feel good about what they have taken in, and I don't feel guilt about those who haven't taken in what I have given them. So it is not as if I am a person who experiences guilt tremendously in relationships. I don't carry guilt around with me./ (51) On the other side, I'd rationalise my way out of it. I tend to look at the positive things that I have done. That is why this marking thing gets me so much, because I ask myself, 'Why?' This is the only thing which gives me that incredible feeling of guilt./ (52) You go into the classroom the next day, and you have 30 pupils sitting there, you've only marked 10 of the books, now what do you say to the other 20? 'I'll mark them here in class?' I mean, they're smart, they know you were braaing the day before and didn't get the work done./ (53) Pupils like to have their work handed back and, in fact, tend to judge a teacher very often according

to the amount of the promptness with which she hands their work back to them marked. Alright, we know that that's ridiculous, because that is not the only thing whereby you can judge a teacher, but the point is that having confidence in you as a teacher is important for the other learning processes. So you can't say that it doesn't matter if that's what they think does./ (54) You are accountable to them. I have always believed in a certain amount of accountability./ (55) The problem is when you are accountable and to whom and for what? This makes for confusion./ (56) If you had a perfect sort of system, where things were done completely objectively and accountability were measured objectively, then ... you could only do that as far as things being handed in on time, that kind of thing./ (57) You could never measure the kind of thing like the amount of education you are giving a child, which is basically your main concern./ (58) And the idea of accountability is a problem, because there is no clarity about to whom one is accountable and for what you are accountable./ (59) But I have never felt a threat by having some form of checking on my work that has to be in at a certain time and so on./ (60) I must admit that it is an irritation, in that you reach a stage where you have been teaching for a while and you feel that, right, by this stage, they should know that I can work on my own initiative. So there should be a cut-off point./ (61) But this kind of ... checking ... does not always mean good administration. Either on the teacher's part or through the general administration of the school./ (62) I have to organise myself pretty well just to get through an examination situation. I tend to do it by actually physically writing down what to do and when./ (63) I really don't think you can run a school haphazardly. When a new circular arrives, a good Principal will sit down with it that night and then be ready to guide everyone. But if you are working the other way round, where you don't really know what the circular is all about so you hand it to your staff to see what comes of it, then ... (64) Oh! I'm anti this whole thing of all the

files and all the papers and we are all in the files and the pupils are also all in the files. I don't like that either. But, you know, there has to be some of it./ (65) The important thing is to cut out what is not relevant and what is not important, but that is the same as for a business. A business that is completely bureaucratic in this day and age doesn't last very long. I mean, they try to cut their things down as well. Of course, these things irritate me, but I don't specifically think that it is only in teaching that I will find it./ (66) You have got to look at what is indigenous to the situation and what comes out of the situation. There are little things like being at your place of work at a certain time, filling in forms, giving your reports to people and people keeping reports on you but, this you are also going to find in business. Although,/ (67) I think the merit system is an unfair system, but I have no ... umm ... I have had two merit awards. At one stage I felt that I did not want a single merit because I didn't like the system. I just don't like it./ (68) I remember when I got the second merit, which was specifically as a result of this guidance thing. I got the second one because, you know, all my files and things started from absolutely nothing./ (69) All the first counselling I did, I did in my classroom and I didn't mind, but the School Psychologist said that I was to have a room. All this has caused much professional jealousy. This room was previously a packing room. I physically had to get in here and go through all the junk. It was awful, unbelievable. I still can't believe that it looks as lovely as this. But it caused friction./ (70) Even last year I offered to move out and go into a room upstairs. It doesn't matter where I do my job .../ (71) the important thing about having a room is that, if you have only got twenty minutes during break, how can you start scratching through boxes and things to look for circulars or something? From that point of view, and also/ (72) the fact that every classroom situation is a didactic situation, and

that is not what you want in a counselling situation. In a counselling situation you are not teaching, you are not teaching people how to live their lives./ (73) Another consideration was that, well, I think that all of us have a hidden desire for fresh human contact, because, let's face it, you become a bit cut off when you are only dealing with children all day long. Let's face it, that although they are quite mature these days, they are still only children in many aspects. So the idea of going out and working in the business world slowly took root as a reaction to this./ (74) But to be 100% honest, I must say that also the build-up of the hatred that I feel for marking essays and such did have some part to play./ (75) That you see, the load of work one can carry if you feel that it is appreciated./ (76) I mean, I used to feel so much loyalty when I made someone happy by doing something on time and handing in something on time. That was rewarding enough for me to go on and get the next thing done. So I might have gone on forever despite the load of work./ (78) Maybe the outside world wouldn't have lured me as much if I had had a situation where I had no work to take home in the afternoons./ (79) So definitely the load of work also had something to do with it, but it was not the swaying factor in my decision to leave teaching./ (80) The swaying factor was that my ego took the biggest knock ever./ It probably was a good thing./ (81) Not that I was particularly proud./ (82) I just felt that I was in control of things and this was a situation over which I had minimal control./ (83) I had a change of Principal and I think she arrived at the school with a certain amount of ... fear of ... I don't quite know what the right word is ... of ... of Teacher-Psychologists./ (84) She never mentioned any previous experiences but, I would say that her previous experiences were not completely 100% happy or else she wouldn't have brought so many preconceived ideas to our relationship./ (85) I was always being told things like, 'Oh, but are you going to do that?

You Psychologists normally do so and so. You Psychologists normally don't believe in discipline. You Psychologists ...' You know, subjective responses and so on .../ (86) Just three weeks after she arrived at the school, she called me to the office. She said that she had had complaints from two teachers who said that they couldn't cope with a particular pupil because, as soon as they corrected her, the pupil said, 'I'll go and tell Miss A about it', and she (the pupil) sort of threatened them by saying she would see me./ (87) And I was told that she (the pupil) runs to me every five minutes, and I bolster her, and so on./ (88) The point was that I had never seen that child. It was not true. The only thing was that the child was such a problem that it was taken for granted and assumed that I had seen the child. And the child and I had not had any kind of relationship, so she would never have used my name./ (89) I don't want to dwell on this thing because, I don't want to accuse unfairly,/ (90) but it is just that I have had no experience of this sort of thing, where what is said is not always 100% true, and I think that what is said is just to prove some point or to make a point./ (91) I was so shocked. I went through various stages of reaction. It was quite incredible. It was like going through the stages of a terminally ill person./ (92) The rejection, I mean, 'It is not happening to me'./ (93) And then the 'let's do something about it' stage./ (94) And then there was anger. I mean, I haven't got them in the right order, but it was like that. I tried to sort it out on various occasions,/ (95) but on more than one occasion I was put off and was told, 'If you don't mind, I've got work to do'./ (96) So we couldn't talk this whole thing through. Then eventually I became angry./ (97) I also felt complete hopelessness. I sort of said, 'I don't believe this is happening to me - so many good years of teaching, really good years'./ (98) You know, I went through this whole thing of the married woman, and I used to sometimes cry when my post was hanging in the balance. I would cry

because I would say to my husband, 'But I love teaching, I don't want to leave it./ (99) 'How can they put me out of my classroom?'/ (100) So, from my point of view, it wasn't as though I could change the things which were upsetting the Principal, for the simple reason that they were too vague, and it didn't matter what I did, whether I did right or wrong./ (101) I mean, from accepting everything if you are liked, to objecting to everything, everything that you do if you are in bad favour at that particular time. But I mean, this feeling of hopelessness./ (102) And then after that I went through the stage of saying, 'Well, just forget about that. Just ignore it completely. You still have your situation with the pupils and so on.' Eventually from that sort of idea came the idea of, 'Why don't you do something different?'/ (103) At one stage I was taking 2 mg of Valium at night before going to bed. Right, 2 mg is not very much, but for someone who doesn't normally take anything at all ... under those circumstances, it is still taking something./ (104) But it would have been worse for me not to have taken anything, because then I would have suffered palpitations and have stayed awake all night. I think I needed rest at that stage. I knew it would be a passing thing until I could come to terms with the situation./ (104) But, I think I'm happy about the decision to get out of teaching for a while./ I think that I would like to reach the point where I can stand back and look at it completely objectively./ (105) I thought I would be able to do that by taking long leave. It didn't work completely, because all the time I knew that I was coming back./ (106) So, in a way, I'm quite pleased that this has happened. I had such a smooth career,/ (107) and I like to think of myself as quite a diplomatic person./ (108) I have never had enemies on any staff. Never! So this experience was completely new to me. It was foreign to not just my nature, but to all the experiences that I have had before./ (109) I have always enjoyed the fact that I have been friends with the older

teachers on the staff and with the younger ones. I have always got on well with Principals. There have been difficult ones .../ (110) but I cannot work for someone who sees me as more ambitious than I am, who has told me that I want to be the Principal. And there is nothing I can do to fight it, because that is the image that I project to the person concerned.

PROTOCOL : TEACHER B (TB)

TEACHER B: (1) I first started doing a Law degree at university and found in my first year that I didn't like Law very much, but I was increasingly enjoying the English course, so I switched over to English as my major at the end of my first year./ (2) I also felt that I would ease the financial strain on my parents if I could get some kind of bursary, and the one that was obviously easily available was the State's bursary for intending teachers. So I undertook that bursary which then paid for my second, third and fourth years of study, and then paid for my Honours degree, and doing a Diploma course./ (3) During this time, I could have, if I had wanted to, stayed away from teaching, and simply have notified the Department that I would pay the loan back some other way./ (4) At one time I felt very strongly about doing this. I particularly remember one moment during practice teaching when I suddenly had a very strong presentiment of the whole hide-bound atmosphere of teaching./ (5) The bureaucratic dullness and the/ (6) rigidity/ (7) and mediocrity and all the rest of it./ (8) I suddenly had a wild moment of wanting to escape, but the money kept me there/ (9) and because I felt, rightly or wrongly, that if I did, I would promptly land my father and mother in a position of having to pay back my debt and I didn't feel that I could lumber them with this./ (10) So I went ahead as a dutiful son and all the rest of it. Umm .../ (11) because I was so young and immature and unrealistic and unworldly,/ (12) I didn't do what perhaps I should have done, and that was to go down to the Department and talk to them about ways and means of repaying the loan./ (13) My father was a civil servant and I didn't like the looks of the kind of work he did./ (14) I think I suffered from the problem that lots of children suffer from and that is of not having clear career role models to follow or reject. It was easier in the old days when a blacksmith's child knew whether he wanted to be one or not./ (15) I

was offered a job by someone quite high up in Advertising during my Honours year. I am now sorry I didn't accept that,/ (16) but at that stage I was still set in my thinking, which was that Advertising was bad, naughty and all those things - you know, English student and so on./ (17) I am sure that my attitudes towards money in those days were more basically snobbish and Victorian middle-class than they are now./ (18) You see, I was the offspring of a whole tradition of the kind of Victorian umm ... umm ... colonising type. These were very much administrators, soldiers and teachers and people who worked for a salary, and that conditioned my whole approach. - Particularly my father, I think, who was a civil servant./ (19) My mother was always keen to get into business and make things and do things, and she never actually did it. She also worked for a salary. The result was that I had no models and I certainly had no ideas or knowledge of the world./ (20) I think, too, I was also heavily influenced, although I didn't realise it at the time, by my teachers in my school years. I had had several excellent teachers and I think that the fact that one has had very good teachers removes most of the objections to teaching and becomes a very strong influencing factor. So I then started teaching./ (21) I have taught in three schools but have no rank at my present school./ (22) I did once apply for the headship of English, which was a job which carried responsibility but no money, but I didn't get it./ (23) The Principal, quite rightly, gave it to another teacher who came from another school and who was an excellent organiser. In fact, he made a very good job of it./ (24) I have never got any further kind of rank, partly because, well, I don't think I have the kind of track record which would justify the Principal giving it to me./ (25) I am not a good organiser and tend to dormance./ (26) I tend to focus all my energy on teaching, and tend to have very little energy or interest in anything outside the classroom./ (27) But, secondly, I think it would be a mug's game to take on a job which would involve a lot more administration

for very little more money./ (28) Anyway, teaching pays me so much less than I need. It leaves me so far below my family's needs that I think I would be crazy to give up the pleasure I do have in teaching and in the classroom, and burden myself with all sorts of fine cabinets and inventories and things for a few extra peanuts a month./ (29) So that's that, and I don't think that, even if I rose to the rank of something like a Vice-Principal, I don't think, even then, I could afford to take home the extra amount of work./ (30) So the one thing which teaching does offer me is pleasure in the classroom,/ (31) but, as time goes by it becomes harder and harder to see myself going on like this, because the salary just becomes more and more inadequate./ (32) The status of rank doesn't worry me at all. I am who I am and I know who I am./ (33) There is nobody on the Staff -well, to put it crudely, nobody who knows as much about English as I do./ (34) If somebody did arrive at the school who did know more than me, I would be only too glad that he/she did take some kind of senior post, and I hope that I would be able to learn a lot from him/her. I hope that I would derive a lot from him/her. And if he/she had some junior post, I would jolly well hope that he/she would jolly well get out of it smartly./ (35) I have worked for a number of English Heads who, let's say, knew less about English than I do, but they have never thrown their weight around. They can't. (Laughs) They have to take care, and they have to get you on their side because ... because they are susceptible, But for the rest, teachers throwing their weight around, it happens all the time, but it doesn't matter./ (36) I am not interested in the sort of promotional hierarchy of schools, and luckily the school where I am at is not like that in atmosphere. I think I would go crazy if I were in the kind of school where everybody bows and scrapes when some muck on toast walks by. I think I'm talking from a position of being a bit spoilt by luck being at this school./ (37) What really makes me uncomfortable is the salary issue. I find it very demeaning and infuriating

and humiliating that I can't afford to keep my wife out of work./ (38) The salary is a big drawback which, of course, is tied to the wider issues, such as that of being a South African and having to pay for things like apartheid./ (39) I'm a South African and I have seen South Africa taken over and changed horribly since I was a child. The whole thing, the whole atmosphere of changing for the worse, the whole destruction of rather pretty, rather innocent little towns and the replacing of them by a cross between Los Angeles and New York, with huge affluent belts, and huge unknown ghettos out here./ (40) I have seen people drift apart from one another and become slick and smart. And it worries me that the children I teach are not being taught to realise any of this. I am now teaching children whom I increasingly feel are strangers to me because they don't understand or know any of their own background, their own situation, their own role in life, so to speak./ (41) I wish I could do more to open their eyes to these uncomfortable truths, to about knowing who they are./ (42) And the older I get the more strongly I feel about these things. The children, of course, stay the same, but the more the gap between me and them widens, the more childish I see them as being./ (43) I mean, I think that white South Africans are becoming more and more childish with every day that passes. The more they flock to the sports fields and television, the more they seem unable to think and behave like grown-ups about things that matter./ (44) This is a kind of personal, emotional, ethical, historical stress that comes out in my teaching. The last time I taught a setwork book about prejudice, I found it all quite pathetic. This is something which is part and parcel of South African life, and yet there were sixteen- and seventeen year-olds, in effect, reacting to it as little children react to the ABC, as if this was an amazing idea of a whole new consciousness. Now, you know, the older I get, the more difficult I find it to get across the gap that separates us./ (45) I am a person who has been brought up with a liberal consciousness, worrying about

South Africa. And they are happy little surfers, disco-goers, motorbike fanatics, boy-chasers and girl-chasers who are perfectly at ease in their society and have no idea of being the product of a horrible historical process which is storing up plenty of trouble for their future. I am here teaching children who see what they think is the whole world, and who have been steeled by all the things that they have been taught to expect like sport, braai vleises, discos, the whole superficial, artificial, commercial gamut. I would like to convey some of this to the children, but I can't. It's like taking people who have been brought up to be totally tone deaf and only telling them about music or the existence of it. So there is that./ (46) I think that in every modern commercial State the people are being carefully brought to a kind of state where their interest span is about three seconds. Notice how there was a sudden mass interest in 'Rich Man, Poor Man', then 'The Avengers', then 'Dallas'. First they are talking heatedly about Falconetti and the next about JR, with a complete lack of remembrance of the first. This is just a symptom, just an example./ (47) I think that one reason for my unease is that people to whom I am talking now have no recollection of the springs of feeling or of a consciousness that I was brought up on./ (48) Also because South Africa has severed herself from the English connection. I was brought up on the culture of English values which, for a start, have been replaced by the American ways of consciousness. There has been an American saturation of all our values./ (49) There has also been a clear push from the top, and from the other parts of society to make jolly sure the bond, or the tide, moves away from the past and is forgotten, and this makes it difficult for me to contain myself and my assumptions and premises./ (50) The society in which the children have grown up, is normal for them, and I think this to be a very abnormal and highly false society./ (51) The children who I teach now, born after 1960, have no conception of an alternative governing party. They have been brought up

with, well, have grown up with a tribal monarchy, which means that they have lived with a system (the Westminster) at odds with itself. Now they think that this is normal, they think that it is OK. This adds to my difficulties./ (52) because I'm continually being hampered by this feeling of being utterly at odds basically, at that basic level, at that basic cultural level, from my pupils, and this is a sort of slow dull ache for me./ (53) You know, your relationship with the people you see every day is a very intimate one, in that you know each other's mental and emotional feelings. You can see when they are tired or sick, you see them day by day: it is like a marriage./ (54) I don't normally think about these things very clearly and strongly because teaching is a very anaesthetic job. It's an all day, day long out-giving./ (55) I find it difficult just catching up with yesterday's teaching. I find it difficult to teach five or six English classes flat out the whole time, so I don't think clearly about these things or even notice them./ (56) You know, I just live with them, like living on with a faintly sore tooth, but from time to time, when I lose my temper with a child, then something surfaces in an extreme concentrated form, well that clears the air a bit./ (57) I work through feelings and impressions, so it's just part of a dull, nagging, worrying frustration./ (58) Almost in a sort of a way, a longing, I suppose, for the country I was born in. I feel that now South Africa has changed so much that I am almost an intruder, and I am becoming homeless. It is almost like a country that is opposed to the country I was brought up in./ (59) There is just a continual on-going unease. A deep, mostly unconscious, not so often faced or thought about feeling. And I think this is one of the problems of teaching./ (60) It is so routine and so pressing and so pressurized that one does not often think very clearly./ (61) And when it eases, then one is so busy expanding back into one's own natural shape that again one does not think very clearly about these things./ (62) I find that moments to think clearly come very rarely in teaching, and that normally

there is just the toiling onwards, you know, trying to keep up with a lot of nonsense./ (63) I find the school day a great source of stress. I find it very wearing,/ (64) and unnatural too, the way the school day is organised./ (65) I have had the experience of teaching in blocks of time with gaps in between. Now that gave me a chance to find myself and go over what I had just done, to think over what I was going to do next, and to get ready for it emotionally and intellectually, and to wind down from it too. Then I immediately felt that I was taking on my true shape of personality again./ (66) Coming back to this kind of teaching made me realise that teaching is a terrible rush-hour activity./ (67) There is no break whatsoever. You are going slam, slam, slam all the time. That is, you start teaching at 08h15 or 08h30, and, if you are lucky, you have a non-teaching period; otherwise its click, 7B English; click, 8A English; click, 10A English; click, click, click./ (68) No adult is told seven or eight times running every day, "OK stop that. It is now time to start something completely different whether you like it or not, whether you are half-way through or finished it"./ (69) You know, I think you teach children at a very deep level to switch off./ (70) The more I teach, the more I worry about the state of the system and its premises. This certainly is one of my concerns at the present./ (71) A full day of segmented time is conducive to mass production. It is like running a car with one foot on the accelerator and the other on the brake. I can't see why a child with average or dull intelligence should feel any need to keep up with this bewildering shuffle after Std 6 is passed./ (72) You see, the motivation that used to drive children, and still does drive children in the sub-economic bracket, just doesn't apply to those who are not in that bracket. It certainly doesn't apply to the children I teach./ (73) They are pretty sure they won't fail. If they fail, ways are found for them not to fail. If the marks are too low for Higher Grade, then they pass on Standard

Grade. I mean, to fail these days takes a lot of energy and attention. And if they fail, there is always the past pupils' network./ (74) At some schools I know, it is almost a case of them saying, 'Teach me if you can and see how far you can get'. But I say that the large part of this, the blame for this, must lie in the schools./ (75) The longer I teach, the more unhappy I feel about the whole artificiality of the apartheid school in the apartheid society. These children are just being groomed to inherit the wealth of South Africa./ (76) So another stressed time is examinations. Being an English teacher this is a perennial problem, partly because schools are run by people who don't actually know about teaching English,/ (77) and don't appreciate that an extra day would make a lot of difference to the marking./ (78) Another thing is that I don't find it a meaningful activity. As time goes by, it increasingly becomes nonsense where, in the end, the only people who benefit are the teachers, for reasons I have already mentioned, the children don't take it seriously. They have no sense of pride that they have performed their best. They just churn out a lot of sludge which has to be marked with one's mind absolutely at a stretch./ (79) Even if the pupil has written utter rubbish, the teacher still has to bring her/his best equipment, best diamond-studded machinery to assess it all with her/his equipment at full stretch./ (80) So much of what examinations are, is unrelated to anything meaningful to the pupils./ (81) It seems that examinations take place as a kind of ritual, not as a sensible pertinent activity which is connected to what was done in class or integrated into it./ (82) I keep asking myself why is this happening? Has any research shown that this is worth doing? Is there any literature that justifies that this energy is being spent rather than wasted?/ (83) Does anybody actually know why we are doing this? Why all this pressure?/ (84) I find teaching English is high pressure, although I enjoy it./ (85) I enjoy wrestling with the class,

lovingly so to speak, to rub something into them./ (86) The fact that it is half-an-hour, half-an-hour, half-an-hour, on and on and on, leaves me very drained./ (87) It infuriates me to hear teachers going on about societies and what-not, when I'm pretty sure that they are so full of energy because they have not spent much up to then because of the nature of their subject./ (88) An English teacher feels pretty well flat by plus-minus three-o'-clock./ (89) Other teachers go on about how you get to know the children much better on the sports field. That's true if you are teaching Maths or Accountancy, but it isn't true if you are teaching them English./ (90) What irritates me is that people react as if I ought to feel guilty because I'm not prepared to rush onto the sports field./ (91) The thing is that here again, I say, my position in the school is comfortable because I don't have to spend more than one afternoon a week on the sports field, but even that, I find a large nuisance because I feel it is time waster./ (92) My attitude basically is that it is very good for the child to play games, and, certainly, when I was a child I played games with other children, but I didn't need teachers. I played some school sports which were organised by teachers, which I enjoyed the least; and others which were organised by my classmates, which I thought were heaven./ (93) So I think this is one of the areas where the school tends very much to overrate its own importance. This is one of the things about schools-/ (94) they have become very monopolistic, and they take the view that unless the school gives the child the opportunity, the child will never have another chance in life which, of course, is nonsense./ (95) I now personally have little to do in this respect, but what I don't like seeing is other teachers whom I know feel the same way as I do being, in effect, press-ganged into playing their part in the school sport which is being pushed. I know that those teachers feel the same way, but they don't have the gumption to speak out for themselves,/ (96) and then, by going along

with it, lend weight to the myth that this is a marvellous activity which lots of people are keen on./ (97) The children, themselves, are told so much about sport that they come to believe that they are keen on it. It is true for some but certainly not for all, but they get brain-washed into thinking they are keen on these things, into thinking that sport is the main activity of seventeen- eighteen-year olds. It turns them into the sort of person you see around who only reads the back page of the newspaper and throws it doen./ (98) It doesn't affect me directly, but I don't like it when I teach them, when I have to teach children whose minds are already shaped by how others will have it./ (99) I think that a contributory factor to this is that a lot of teachers are in certain ways children who have not finished with their adolescence. People who have chosen not to grow up because they are happy where they are; in fact, I'm sure that is why some of them have chosen to teach./ (100) I think I have outgrown my adolescence. I have coached. I have played for a club and have enjoyed it, but that is of the past. I am now infinitely more interested in other things, and being with my family when I can./ (101) After being overseas for a while, I now perceive sport as another symptom of white privilege, and a means whereby the people delude themselves into thinking that everything is lovely when it isn't./ (102) There is, of course, also the little matter too that often teachers and educational theorists suffer from a form of hubris that comes about by being in an important influential position over children and letting it go to their heads./ (103) Teachers in schools are so quick to play God, and I think that some teachers adopt a very arrogant attitude about what they do, what they think is important, and who they are./ (104) I think that, at the end of the day, if I can go home and say that I've taught that child to understand a sentence better, and this child to see further into a poem and perhaps lose some of her/his general prejudice against poetry, and I've taught another to

stop generalising so widely, or to stop fidgeting, or scattering litter, then I think that I've done a lot./ (105) I don't think that this gives me leverage to become pompous or arrogant, and when I hear learned pedagogues prosing on about pedagogy, it seems to me that it is, well, a new form of the ivory tower./ (106) We are all, to a certain extent, educators. We are all people who educate other people./ (107) I think that, with respect to teaching, a teacher has, on a conscious or committed level, a certain role to play in the classroom./ (108) What is done in the line of educating the children will come about despite her/his own efforts. A teacher educates by transferring what she/his is. This is not something that can be controlled./ (109) Pupils perceive this in an intuitive sense. This is very important, because the pupils must feel that they can trust a teacher./ (110) Whether a teacher is a particularly good teacher or not, or an educator or not, are to my mind, two separate things. The part a teacher has control over, she/he can change - style, approach, preparation, on a conscious level she/he can improve and grow. But, as an educator, the teacher's effect on the child moves along different paths, and I do not think it possible for a teacher to change her/his spots so to speak./ (111) When I say we are all educators, I mean every human being. If I drive badly in front of you, then I am giving you some kind of model which may influence you towards adopting a certain style or staying away from it./ (112) But education cannot be claimed as certain strength or ability; it happens through me and not because I choose it to happen. Teachers claim all kinds of virtues by palming themselves off as educators. Like, on a recent television programme, where the dog trainer palmed himself off as an 'educator'. Now, I ask you - teaching this dog values, codes of ethics and atmospheres of morality and so on? I'm afraid that's what teachers are prone to do./ (113) Whenever I hear people talking about professionalism, I get a bit cynical, because I'm not quite sure what

professional are and so on ... members of a kind of closed shop. My feelings about professionalism are full of doubts and suspicions./ (114) Whenever I hear teachers talking about teaching being a profession, it's always when they are talking defensively or complainingly about how much more they should be granted in terms of salaries, better working conditions and status and so on, and I hardly ever hear them talking about it in terms of duties and obligations, or defects in themselves and their work./ (115) So, for a start, this worries me, because I sense a kind of self-aggrandizing motive in the minds of the people who use it./ (116) But I can see why doctors and lawyers call themselves professionals, because of their claim to something which dock workers and roustabouts don't have, and that is that their work has required an awful lot of training./ (117) Now teachers, if they are claiming to be professionals because they are so highly trained as to be the practitioners of some kind of secret, in the old sense, a kind of mystery, like the mysteries of religion and law ... now, in my view of teaching, that is utter nonsense, because teachers at the moment are not trained to do anything at that level./ (118) When I look at myself, I see someone who has some academic qualification in really only part of the subject I teach, and on the so-called professional side, I have had one year when I was 21 taking a diploma course/ (119) as a result of suffering a year of the most agonising boredom which I have ever known in my life, taking courses which I thought then and I think now were a waste of time, taught by people whom I thought then and think now would have made lousy teachers./ (120) And I don't regard myself as being highly trained to teach./ (121) I don't think that I have been a bad teacher. I have been a bad teacher in some ways,/ (122) but in other ways I think I have made the pupils feel that it has been worth while being in my classes. but this has been partly because of my own interest in the subject. Interest is always infectious./ (123) It is also

because I have learnt something about handling children in classes in the course of my experience. I've picked up a certain rub-along wisdom and rule-of-thumb sense of what one does in certain situations,/ (124) but this is not confined to anything anyone taught me during my Diploma year,/ (125) and nothing since has required me to keep up or catch up on any professional journals./ (126) In fact, I would say that every time I have dipped into any kind of educational pedagogic writing I recoil in horror because it is a kind of academic purdah in which the sciences seem to specialize, and which I regard as linguistic poison./ (127) I have actually felt repelled by what I have found in educational writing, which at times I have found to be actually evil - in the language sense./ (128) Thus I think the claim of teachers to having been qualified is piffle./ (129) In another way, teaching is not identical to medicine or law, in that teaching involves other things in the way of human contact which is right outside the area of training and scientific research and advanced methodology./ (130) I think that teaching is an art as well as a skilled craft. There are things which I think that a good teacher has which I don't believe any training will ever put into her/him. I think that you could train a teacher for many years, but you will not necessarily make her/him a good teacher./ (131) So I think that teachers should be made more accountable. I think that, if you have done something bad to your pupils, you should in some sense suffer for it./ (132) I don't think the number of passes or failures you have is so terribly important, but if you are an unpleasant person who deals with pupils unfairly, or the kind of person who behaves unethically or immorally or even ill-manneredly towards your pupils, I think that that should come back to you somehow or other./ (133) It's been one of my pet theories of the last few years that assessment in schools, which is a sort of religion with us as far as the children are concerned, should, in fact, even more importantly be

applied to teachers and Principals,/ (134) and I don't see why we don't tap that enormous mine of observation of our pupils./ (135) Schools should introduce a system of assessment by pupils, and these reports should be used by teachers to assist them in their teaching and form a basis for promotion./ (136) I have done it with my pupils and have found it very useful./ (137) They are quite flattered to be asked to do something at school which is meaningful to them, because most of what they do isn't./ (138) I have found these reports have often helped me to become a better teacher - or trainer, perhaps; not to become a better educator, because I can't expect that./ (139) But I think the fact that we don't want to do it is proof of how little teachers respect their pupils attitudes and intelligences, and that is why pupils begin to feel the victims of teachers and adopt a certain attitude; then teachers acquire a kind of image./ (140) I think that, in the long run, a craft or profession gets the image it deserves, and that certainly applies to teaching./ (141) Thus teachers are thought to be stuffy fuddy-duddies and get other unintellegent labels./ (142) This causes other problems; for example, a small but quite important issue arises over dress. I never dress normally when I teach. For me, normal dress is jeans and an open-neck shirt, and teaching is infested with this sort of respectable aura which requires a collar and tie and the pretense of a jacket, preferably a suit, and that sort of bilge./ (143) So I always feel that I'm playing some sort of genteel role and the poor pupils are playing genteel roles too./ (144) I feel that this is another aspect of the unnaturalness of schools which impost fantastically unnatural constraints on the pupils and myself./ (145) Outside of school people seem to lead more natural and normal lives./ (146) I don't think that other people feel the constraints that teachers do./ (147) I have to spend so much time thinking and preparing or doing something in connection with school./ (148) I would probably feel even more

constraints if I were more involved in sport coaching and had more contact with the parents, but what I do have to do takes me so much away from doing what normal people do and my family and friends./ (149) I should also add that I'm also conscious deep down that I am not a truly motivated teacher./ (150) I'm conscious of a kind of awkwardness and that my teaching is basically a form of entertainment or performing. I act in class./ (151) I act a self that is not really my true self./ (152) It's quite a stimulating performance. The pupils certainly enjoy it and they learn through it - they learn a lot of things, and I myself have been stimulated by the interplay between the class and myself,/ (153) but I find myself mostly very uninterested about the individual pupils./ (154) I really don't care about most of the people I teach. They strike me as rather nondescript, very ordinary products of their very mediocre environment. The BMW type. I find that there are very few of them towards whom I feel anything./ (155) When I meet ex-pupils on the street, I don't really want to talk to them, because I'm not in the least bit interested in what they are doing, and I sometimes wonder if they are not disappointed by that./ (156) I think they probably find me a very unresponsive person outside the classroom./ (157) I actually envy teachers who are sincere and who have past pupils coming to visit them. I do have a few past pupils visiting me,/ (159) but for the rest I'm happy to switch off at the end of the day and retire off-stage. That also makes me feel that there is a slight falsity about what I do./ (159) It's not a great worry, because I know that my classes are very much more interesting than others', but I am aware of it./ (160) I'm not pressured by the school in this, because I teach in a fairly sane school where the Principal is not full of pretenses. The way a Principal affects the school's atmosphere is very important./ (161) When I was at school, there was a Principal who would not have been regarded as an efficient administrator,/ nor a good disciplinarian,/ nor an impressive speaker; who was, in fact, he was regarded

as a bit of a joke. He was not taken very seriously./ (162) But what he did that did matter was the atmosphere he created./ (163) He never got angry with anybody./ He always spoke politely to everybody,/ (164) and he had an intellectual caste of mind which linked the school to academic sources./ (165) He gave a kind of balance and a kind of poise and a kind of atmosphere of intellectual and emotional maturity./ (166) And you compare him to a few other people, and it is very worrying if a Head is just a good administrator, a good disciplinarian, a good personnel manager, an efficient processor of children. I think that in this country more and more Principals are being appointed because they are the pragmatic type./ (167) They have no conception whatsoever of the cultural history of their own tribe, and they will come to turn out children who are technological barbarians, because the Principal of a school will influence the school, the teachers and the children, who then go to university and in turn become teachers./ (168) Today very few Principals really know anything about literature, history or have had any classical education. I think that there is the attitude that schools can be turned into business corporations rather than being centres of learning./ (169) I am lucky, because the school where I am at does have a very strong academic bent and the Principal and Vice-Principal have never failed to get this across to the children./ (170) There is the story of a Mathematics teacher who was asked to give a talk about the Greeks. When he remarked that it is a difficult topic because he would have to talk about their philosophy and thought, and that he didn't quite know how to pitch it to the level of school children, the teacher replied, 'Oh, don't worry about any of that stuff, I just want you to talk to the children about their history'. Now this teacher is a barbarian, because the history of the Greeks is the history of their philosophy, literature and so on./ (171) Now this teacher is an authoritative figure in teaching, he is getting damn good marks in

examinations. But at the end of the day, I don't quite know what it is all for./ (172) And that is perhaps what I should end by saying about the schools I have found myself teaching in: that, at the end of the day, I don't quite know what they're there for. If that isn't a source of stress, I don't know what is.

PROTOCOL : TEACHER C (TC)

TEACHER C: (1) At the beginning of Std 9, I decided I wanted to teach, which meant going to university, and that meant taking Maths for the first time. Our school didn't offer a third language. I had to take Maths in order to get a university exemption to go to university./ (2) That was in Std 9, and it was my Geography teacher who inspired me to become a Geography teacher./ (3) I never really considered any other career,/ (4) but when I have become desperate, I have considered doing something ... anything ... else. I have even considered becoming an agent selling houses, and clerical work in an office, also doing PRO work or marketing for a publishing firm. I've at times been desperate. Anything in which my teacher's diploma ... degree ... could have helped me./ (5) But, needless to say, they don't pay you enough./ (6) I've been teaching for over fifteen years. I was a Senior Assistant and then, when the Head of Department posts were created, I had to apply in order to buy a house, in order to get a decent bond, 'decent' in inverted commas. Then my trouble started, because/ (7) I think that the Principal resented the appointment. It wasn't that the resentment was about my being appointed, but the fact that Heads of Department were being introduced and the title 'Vice-Principal' being done away with./ (8) I don't know whether my problem is sheer frustration/ (9) or whether I became too ambitious or what. I really don't know. Maybe you can sort it out,/ (10) but, one of the things that really bugged me was that I was now a Head of Department, but I was never consulted about anything. The other Head of Department had been there much longer than me and was automatically consulted about everything./ (11) One evening, when I was helping at a social function, we were introduced to some guests as: 'This is my Vice-Principal, and this is ... what do you call yourself again nowadays? Oh, yes, Head of Department'./ (12) I thought, 'OK, now

that I'm Head of Department I should have more work to do to really justify the bigger salary'./ (13) I had heard from my friends who were Heads of Department that they had regular weekly or monthly meetings with their Principals. They were, for instance, called in when appointments had to be made, and they were consulted about the time-table and just about everything else, which I definitely wasn't./ (14) I wasn't called in to consult about anything./ (15) And another thing, I wasn't offered an office. But the other Head of Department had an office where she could keep her test books and things like that./ (16) I felt I should also have one, or at least have a desk with drawers that could lock where I could keep my confidential reports and things like that, but I was never offered one./ (17) I eventually had to make my own demands, but I didn't at first./ (18) Then I had enough leave accumulated to be able to go off on study leave, so I went to finish my degree, finish the third-year of my degree,/ (19) and when I came back I found that the Teacher-Psychologist had been installed in a huge big office, brand new desk, swivel chair, carpet, the works./ And she did no extra-mural activities after school, because her extra-mural activity was counselling pupils, and this she did during her lunch break./ (20) And now she was considered to be above everybody else and receiving special treatment./ (21) This reminds me of the time we had student teachers arriving and all the teachers teaching the senior classes were given students. There was one student who had majored in Business Economics and the only Business Economics offered in our school was the Std 7 Practical class. So that teacher was given a student. Then it was said, 'Oh, there's one for Geography', and someone said, 'We don't need anybody for Geography'. I was furious. No one looked in my direction to ask me whether I would have liked to have a student, but the Practical class could have one. That was on the Friday,/ (22) so I waited until the Monday and I went to the Principal to

say that now, after taking study duty for 10 years, I was not resigning./ (23) Sometimes I took study duty three days a week - three afternoon sessions and three evening sessions - because I had to, nobody else wanted to do it and I lived nearest the school./ (24) I was asked, 'Why?', so I said, 'Because I have been slighted in front of the whole staff because of my subject./ (25) You don't consider me important enough in this school, so I think it's time that the VIPs in this school did their bit in the hostel./ (26) I'm sick of being the maid of all trades around here'./ (27) I was told that it was not intentional and that I shouldn't take things up like that. I said that I didn't care whether it was intentional or unintentional - that's the way I take things up. 'That's the way I'm made!' And the reply was, 'Oh, you've become very upitty since you've come back from varsity'. So I said, 'If you want to see it that way, then I have, and I expect to be treated accordingly'./ (28) Then, a few days later, I was called to the office and asked whether I would please continue with the study duty, which I did./ (29) This (study duty) and all the other things too. I'm responsible for the Afrikaans section of the library and there are no periods time-tabled for it, whereas the person who does the English section has six periods time-tabled. I am responsible for the slide collection - six thousand slides, which have been left to the school, have to be sorted and catalogued./ (30) I did study duty until I could give it up,/ (31) because teachers will now do it because they are lavishly paid./ (32) I have organised the matric dance and then, when we had a temporary teacher whom it was felt could do it better, I was ousted./ (33) I'm subject head for Std 7 and organise their subject choices for the Std 8 year. I do all the duplicating. That's all I can think of at the moment,/ (34) but, whatever else crops up somehow gets linked to my name. This all makes me so frustrated./ I teach 283 pupils. I have my full load of marking./ (35) And then, when it comes to examinations, and it is decided that we will divide and share the marking

according to standards, so I get the Std 8's to do - then, because another class is writing on the last day, it is suggested that I must also help that teacher, and am made to feel guilty because I didn't offer to help. But I can't offer to help when I know that I myself am going to get stuck ... I wouldn't be able to help, the ... (36) I must also allow time for all the unexpected things that happen. Always something ... something new ... even though it is often never followed through ... things get started and never finished. There was an attempted staff development programme which never materialised, and then there was excitement about team-teaching. It's never materialised. Then, of course, in came the Students' Council and the new way of organising prefect leadership, but I don't see how this has made any difference to the Prefects in the school. Nothing really materialises into anything./ (37) Then there was the Media Centre. I was sent on a Media Centre Course. We were going to introduce it just before some Inspectors were arriving. The Library Inspector and the Audio-Visual Inspector first arrived. The Library Inspector looked at the library and said that it was too small and that we couldn't build on because there was no money. So he wanted to see the other rooms, and we had a look at the medical centre, which he said was perfect for it. The medical centre is only used twice a year and it's got a wash-hand basin and everything. Where the sick room is, there is a door that could be bricked up. There would be ample space for storage of the software, and we could have a duplicating machine there, and the teachers could make their own transparencies and their tape recordings and slides - the whole rootie could be done there./ (38) So, to have the time and energy, I cancelled four of my B.Ed. modules. They refunded me the money for three, so I lost R65,00. I will be losing plus minus R100,00 a month next year, because I will not have my B.Ed., as I intended having it by the end of January/ (39) ... and what has happened? - nothing more was done about the Media Centre. So there's no Media Centre,/ (40) and I won't

have my B.Ed. until next year. At UNISA you've got three years in which to complete the B.Ed., so I must do those four modules next year otherwise I've got to start it right from scratch if they will allow me./ (41) So I have got to do it next year. I will be snowed under with work, because the Inspector has also said that I must now teach Afrikaans up to matric and be Head of the Afrikaans Department. That's another thing./ (42) Every time I wanted to resign and go to another school, the Principal would dangle the carrot in front of me, telling me that, when I am qualified - that is, have the third-year of my degree - then my subject, Geography, would be introduced. I thought the main reason why I was not allowed to take matrics was because the Principal wanted to maintain the 'snob' image of the school and that only the teachers who had their third-year were being allowed to teach the matrics. So I never made a fuss about it. But then I cottoned on that there were teachers teaching subjects in which they only had one year. They were the ones not qualified to teach up to matric. I had two years Geography and I was qualified to teach up to matric. And then I got the hell-in - and, what is more, there was a teacher teaching Afrikaans who only had two years of Afrikaans. Now the Inspectors come along and tell me that, with only one year in Afrikaans, I've got to teach up to matric, and that I am doing the best in that subject at the moment./ (43) Then I realised that the Principal concerned didn't want to change my subjects, because it would mean that another teacher's subjects would have to be re-arranged and this would upset her. So that was when I started becoming stropie and was accused of being 'upitty'./ (44) Now we have been told that we are going to drop a subject and introduce Geography, which I am pleased about, because this has really been a millstone around my neck, so to speak. That is one thing about my Principal now - in this I have full support,/ (45) and I can now teach senior Geography. So, now I go to meetings, make my slides, organise my modules, and I'm forever reading up

on new topics. I'm really enjoying it. Everything has changed./ (46) Teaching in the Junior Secondary stage for all those years was a big handicap for me, especially when it came to applying for promotion posts. I have applied for Deputy Head posts and have been interviewed, and sometimes my subjects, but mostly the lack of experience of the senior classes, was against me. Not always only this, because sometimes it was the internal politicking in the schools making the appointments which prevented my being appointed. But the lack of experience also had a lot to do with my not being appointed./ (47) I also applied to the Teachers' Training College and waited three months for a reply, (48) and when I finally phoned to find out what had happened to my application, was told that the post had fallen away because they had re-shuffled the posts and it had become a Maths post for which I could apply if I wanted. To which I had to say, 'No thank you, I don't have maths as a subject'. I was furious./ (49) I have become much more aggressive and irritable. I sometimes get the most terrible migraines. Sometimes I feel I am taking it out on the children, because I'm sometimes moody. I don't smile as often as I used to./ (50) And, you know, when I first started teaching, I took everything in my stride. I had enough time to prepare my lessons. My work was in way ahead of time. My examination papers were set long before the time. My marking was finished long before the time. My mark sheets were in long before the time. Everything was done well ahead of time, because I worked to a planned routine. I like it when everything is organised and I know exactly what is going to happen when. Changing dates and times annoys me, because I have already planned my work accordingly and then I have to change it./ (51) At one time I had to take tranquilizers twice a day. One before I went to school and one at big break, so that I could be calm and serene,/ (52) and so that I didn't open my mouth./ (53) And I also had to take tablets for my migraine./ (54) Also, once I had shingles. That cost me a

pretty penny; the tablets were astronomically expensive. It also means that I had to go backwards and forwards to the doctor./ (55) I had difficulty going to sleep. Sometimes I would switch off my light around about half-past-one, because I was too uptight to sleep, and I would wake up again at four o'clock./ (56) But I found that, if I sew ... when I sit in front of the sewing machine and sew, I can relax .../ (57) I usually sleep on Saturday afternoons./ (58) I also get a lot of support from my friends, mostly teachers. You find other people don't understand. And, you know, if you have got an ear to listen to you, then you can unload your frustrations, and they unload their frustrations./ (59) And I have come to realise that there are very few schools where things run smoothly./ (60) There are some people I wonder how they got the top posts ... window dressing ... white-washing ... and then they can't cope and they blame the staff. They blame the staff for what goes wrong./ (61) And so we sort of tell one another and have a good laugh and sympathise./ (62) Then I'm alright that evening, but when I walk back into school it starts again./ (63) You see, things are so unexpected. Now you plan a strategy for the next day, but somehow things change and something comes up which you never expected and haven't planned./ (64) Only teachers understand this. Other people don't./ (65) I think other people see us as people who work - they still think that we work a five-hour day and five-day weeks, and that we have all those holidays. They think we are working very little./ (66) They also think that anything that goes wrong in society we must fix up - that is, the teachers in the schools must solve all the social problems. You know, road deaths - because there are a large number of road deaths we must teach road safety at school. Because there is a concern about divorce and illegitimate children, family planning must be taught. People who are concerned about drug abuse expect us to deal with this as well./ (67) As I see it, people expect the

teachers to put right every ailment in society, and you cannot do it./ (68) The teacher cannot take over the role of the parent; there are things which must be done in the home. The child's conscience must be trained and guided from babyhood. When the parents are not capable or can't be bothered, then these problems are laid at the door of the teacher./ (69) I strongly feel that they will soon have to appoint Welfare-Teachers - well, they've already got Teacher-Psychologists and Remedial Teachers, so soon it will be Welfare-Teachers./ (70) I have always maintained that, instead of doing the year for the Higher Diploma in Education, we should be doing a year of psychiatric nursing to deal with some of the customers we get. So the outside world just sees the teacher as having to cope with everything that goes wrong./ (71) But, in the meantime, you must also equip the child to be able to have a career one day. Now how on earth are you going to find time to do everything? It's virtually impossible./ (72) So other people have a very different view of teaching to what we teachers think./ (73) You see, in one way there is no difference between teaching and educating, but in another way there is a big difference./ (74) Teaching content subjects, solely content, hinders you in educating. You've got your syllabus, you've got to rush through and try and get through the whole syllabus by the end of the year, because you have got to set examinations, you've got to keep up with your record book ... so you often miss out on an opportunity to educate./ (75) Sometimes I know that I have a golden opportunity to educate, to feed in something or do something different, but I've got to finish that section or the next because it's in the test or the examination paper./ (76) I mean that educating is educating the child to lead a life as a good citizen once (she/he) has left school, and to know the way of things outside of school life./ (77) Somewhere along the line you must make the child aware of other nations and how they function, why certain things

happen overseas and how they affect us, and somehow something of this must be brought into your teaching of a subject./ (78) If they don't take Geography or Biology, they must somewhere learn about ecology. When I do this sort of thing, I feel that I'm really educating and I feel good when I do it,/ (79) when they grasp something,/ (80) and participate,/ (81) and they come and say, 'Oh, remember what we did the other day, or, something you told us? We saw it on TV or in the newspaper, or in a magazine'./ (82) And then they come and show you./ (83) But sometimes I think the children just see me as a glorified baby-sitter being paid a marvellous salary. They say, 'Look at the cars you all drive'./ (84) School is something they have got to suffer and endure until they reach the age of 16./ (85) Although I think I've got a reasonably good relationship with them, because I don't allow any nonsense in my classes,/ (86) there's a generation gap - I'm an older woman. I'm their mothers' age./ (87) They are children in my eyes./ (88) I've got to teach them certain basic concepts and so on and we get on with our work./ (89) I give them the odd sermon here and there on things I think they should know and so on./ (90) I never have any problems in my classes./ (91) I suppose nowadays you could nearly call it a granny-relationship. Years ago the Std 6s often would call me "Mommy" by accident. They've stopped that, so I'm definitely more towards the "granny" side now./ (92) But I don't believe in this pally-pally kind of thing as some of the younger teachers do, because they always strike problems in the end./ (93) Whether they see me as a mother-figure or they see me as a dragon, I don't really know./ (94) I'm there to do a job/ (95) and I have always felt that if you got pally with them - like a friend-to-friend relationship - then your discipline goes and they try things on in your class which you cannot have. There must be some distance or they have no respect. It is this matter of respect that makes it difficult for us to be regarded as

professionals./ (96) I feel that we should be regarded as professionals if you take into account the degrees we have - our academic training and so forth -/ (97) but, on the other hand, if you look at teachers and their attitudes towards teaching, well then ... professionals are supposed to be forever trying to improve themselves intellectually and academically. OK, on my staff there are some teachers who bother and there are some who don't, but I know some schools where nobody on the staff bothers to even open up a book. They have done their training and they think that they are equipped for life - to teach until they retire. So I feel that is a mark against us. And, then, the way some teachers belittle the teaching profession, you know, to the outside public. So I think that, as professionals, teachers have a long way to go,/ (98) and I can't see how we can regard ourselves as professionals as long as we are prescribed to by all and sundry. Starting with the State, the government, the education department, your Principal, the parents, right down to your syllabus./ (99) Take, for instance, a doctor: he can decide who he wants as his patient. I have to take whatever customer is put in my class. Take an advocate: if he doesn't feel like taking a certain party's case, he doesn't have to. He can select his clients. And if he has a client and he finds that the client is not co-operating, he can drop him and say, 'Look, I'm not going to work for you anymore'. We can't do that./ (100) If we have parents who are rude and the children are rude and who won't learn, you have got to put up with it. And they (the parents) know it. They treat you like dirt. They don't treat us like professional people. The way they behave towards you - not all of them - you know, there are some nice parents and so forth, who have respect for you, but a large number haven't got any respect for teachers./ (101) And so they (the parents) regard you as their servant./ (102) You see, as long as we are paid by the State, we are going to be regarded as nothing more than civil

servants, and I have never come across anybody who has ever thought of any civil servant being a professional. Even the doctors who go around to the schools, they are not considered on the same level as doctors in private practice./ (103) They (civil servants) don't have the same social status. And if you think of quantity surveyors who work for the Provincial Administration, they haven't got status. They are civil servants, and teachers are civil servants./ (104) Even though we have our own Associations which are supposed to look after us, they don't carry much weight, they are like toothless bulldogs, they can't do anything. The Federal Council, to my mind, has more bite./ (105) No, I think teachers have a long way to go, and it's difficult to consider myself a professional when no one else does./ (106) People from the other professions look down on us./ (107) They think you are stupid if you are in teaching. Point number one, you are not earning as much as they are. Point number two, you are prescribed to all the time, whereas they can do their own thing./ (108) When I'm in the company of people from other professions, I do feel slightly ashamed./ (109) I mean, I'm a mere teacher. I might be much better qualified than the other person. That person might have only a BA., LLB - five years' training - and he/she is a lawyer and they look down on you in the teaching profession./ (110) but I myself feel good about being a teacher./ (111) I like being a teacher./ (112) It's the only job I think that I can ever do - wanted to do./ (113) And if I had my life over again, I would become a teacher again, because I like teaching./ (114) I feel rewarded if I see the penny dropped, you know,/ (115) and the children take an interest,/ (116) and tell you things about something you've talked to them about. And I feel good about it. I do. For myself./ (117) But, as I say, you do feel a bit spare in the company of doctors and lawyers.

PROTOCOL : TEACHER D (TD)

TEACHER D: (1) All my life I wanted to become a teacher,/ (2) but, because of certain circumstances, I started my teaching career rather late in life./ (3) During my first year at university, my parents were divorced and the entire process sort of broke me, so I left university and went out to work./ (4) I worked in a factory and then in a laboratory. Then, when I got married, my wife and I decided, right, now I must complete my studies and go to the Teachers' Training College. I majored in English and Geography./ (5) I have been teaching for about 15 years, but I am now going to change./ (6) I have decided - I mean, no one has decided for me- (7) I have decided to commit myself fully to the Ministry./ (8) I have always been engaged in church work and have been a kind of lay minister,/ (9) but I now have decided to totally commit myself, my time, my intellect, my ability and everything./ (10) I have had to think about my decision, you know, because the Ministry is not as lucrative as teaching./ (11) But I am now committed because of the call of God./ (12) I will still be engaged in the educational process, therefore my teaching will stand me in good stead and will contribute positively./ (13) I might have continued teaching and doing my pastoral work on a part-time basis, but then I would have been divided between two professions, and most of my time would have had to be given to teaching, which at times overloads you so much that you have no time for anything else./ (14) All these years I have been a dedicated teacher; I have always given my best. I have given my selfless service to the children, and the school would testify to this. I'm not really conceited, but I was a real kingpin in the school, (15) so they found it a bit surprising to hear that I was leaving./ (16) But I told the Principal that I have no qualms about leaving teaching, because in the process ... you should not forget the call of God./ (17) To a certain extent, at school, I was able to combine my

teaching of morals with education in my Religious Instruction lessons. But only to a certain extent, because you have children from different backgrounds - you have counteractions from the pupils belonging to different religious denominations./ (18) There were also other tensions, such as, when I taught certain things about morality, then the children would point out certain teachers who were doing things which were counter to what I was teaching, and so they would feel that the teachers were setting up double standards./ (19) I would tell them about love and neighbourliness, but then they would point out things in their social environment and the social implications involved./ (20) The school is in a sub-economic area, but, you see, in fact, all schools are middle-class institutions, so this creates continual tension. Because the teacher, no matter what social strata he/she comes from, is unknowingly projecting middle-class values./ (21) And although I feel that I'm reaching my pupils most of the time, there was always this tension, because sometimes I was unaware of it. I am passing on middle-class values. So, now and then in the process, I cannot relate fully to them and they in turn cannot relate fully to me, because we have different backgrounds./ (22) For instance, one day, when I was teaching the nine-fold structure of the verb, one child was sitting there and not doing any work. So I asked him why he was not working and he began to cry. So I questioned him and learned that his parents were getting divorced the next day. So, you see, the nine-fold structure of the verb was of no importance to him at this stage. You grapple with these things./ (23) We are like social workers: you want to help and do all you can, but you can only work within a certain framework allowed you, and you also have to submit to prescribed legislation./ (24) You can only help a person up to a certain point. I can't sit with the pupil the whole day and talk to him, because I have an extensive syllabus to cover, so I must go on./ (25) I don't say that there should not be a syllabus - I think there must be one otherwise it

would chaotic -/ (26) but the syllabus is too restrictive. Why must I teach all the things that are prescribed? Why can't I digress in network and show topical relationships?/ (27) And if I do digress, I am then taking up the time that must be committed to the other parts of the syllabus./ (28) The way I see it is that Literature is meant for life; that is why we study Literature - not for the story, but because of the universal truths./ (29) The conscientious teacher experiences tension in this,/ (30) but the other teacher, who is just there for the sake of teaching the subject, covers the syllabus and has no qualms about it. The pupils either pass or fail and nothing rubs off on them./ (31) But the conscientious teacher ... I'm talking of myself, I have the education of the children at heart,/ (32) because you could train a monkey to teach./ (33) But what you are teaching often doesn't mean anything to the children. Now I come to class and insist on their full attention./ (34) You know, each teacher regards his/her subject as the most important, and all this causes tension in the pupil./ (35) The pupils also have their own interests and problems, also family problems, so the pupil is under continuous strain./ (36) And when they have not done the work, the teacher blames the pupil, and then the pupil comes into your classroom already with tension - and now there is tension between me and the pupil and then also with the other teachers./ (37) There is also tension with the home. I say to the children, 'I want you to buy a magazine'. The children go home and ask for the money and the mother says, 'You go and tel your so-and-so teacher to give me the money'. Now that is that. The parents are really trying to make ends meet. To them money is important because it goes with survival. It's survival at all costs./ (38) One of the ways in which I try to ease the tensions is to interact with the children more in an informal manner./ (39) I don't believe in a regimented form of discipline./ (40) I believe in a situation where the child can experiment and informally pursue a course of work within an ordered framework./ (41) I call my

method the workshop method ... it's a functional approach./ (42) During class I interact with the children as much as possible. The pupils know me for that./ (43) Over this score I get backlash from other teachers who have different ideas of discipline. They confuse a tidy uniform and walking on the right side of the passage with discipline./ (44) A teacher passing my classroom and hearing the noise, thinks that I have no discipline and that the children are playing and that I have no control, but all the time I am engaged in an informal workshop./ (45) There is also a marked difference between the different Departments. The English Department is more liberal; the teachers experiment more in their subjects but within a certain framework./ (46) We do confer to get uniformity for the examinations, but there is a lot of experimentation going on. We use newspapers, magazines, tape recorders, musical instruments, and often do work on a theme basis./ (47) I think that this has something to do with the Literature side of things. English Literature is very broad in scope. There are European influences and American influences, and it has a broad tradition. Other subjects are more narrow; there is not so much diversity./ (48) So the English Department is far more open and, I could say, politically minded because of the influences in Literature./ (49) Now, again, this causes inter-disciplinary conflicts, and sometimes we find that we are at loggerheads with the other departments./ (50) You see, I don't think that the tension arises so much because of the pupils, because the teachers can ... I don't want to say 'manipulate', but a teacher is in what Hargreaves calls a 'power position', a bargaining position./ (51) Tensions come about because of the different ways teachers view society. As I have already said, most teachers have middle-class values. For example, I would like to own a car ... a beautiful car ... the latest model. I must have a smart home and social status, and for some even regional status is important./ (52) But, for the conscientious teacher, these things don't

matter./ (53) The education of the child is the important thing./ (54) But the more you want to educate the child in his/her totality, the more you come up against barriers and contradictions, and this causes tension between teachers./ (55) Then there is tension between the teacher and authority, immediate authority and higher authority./ (56) With regard to immediate authority, there is often a breakdown in communication./ (57) Often communication is ambiguous and you don't know what is happening./ (59) Things are said in the staff room at breaks and instructions are given, but, because of certain duties, you were not in the staff room to hear it. The Principal expects every teacher to know what is happening and to respond, but you don't respond because you don't know about it, and this causes personal antagonism between you and the Principal,/ (59) and you and your colleagues./ (60) This happens when the Principal is autocratic. Staff meetings just become a time when announcements are made and instructions given; the teachers dare not counteract for fear of reprisal./ (61) You know, the Principal has to fill in a report on teachers, and this is a very sensitive matter. Because you know that, if you are in his bad books and there are bad feelings, this will be reflected in your confidential report./ (62) I do believe that people should be allowed to differ, I mean differ constructively. I believe in a democratic process,/ (63) but I have seen a staff divided because the Principal would brook no indifference, no matter what it was, political, religious or educational. You just didn't dare counteract him, because, if you were on the wrong side, he would hunt you down./ (64) Sometimes the Principal came to school in a bad mood and then, that day, that is a non-day and you are all non-starters, because you know that you must not approach him about anything, he doesn't greet you, doesn't smile and there is no communication for the rest of the day./ (65) Now to me this is a tragic state of affairs, because the Principal ought

to be friends with the teachers because of their similar experiences./ (66) If a teacher is on the wrong side of the Principal, then his/her position in the school is not a joyful one, and school becomes a dreadful place, and then you can forget about meriting./ (67) Principals cater for their buddies and this causes disharmony among the teachers. You get to know who the ones are who are going to get a merit. Especially when they start socializing with the Principal./ (68) It all stems from the personal relationships which the teacher has with the Principal; it is really just a subjective thing. He can always find reasons for not giving you a merit./ (69) He can interpret your method of teaching as uneducational, although you have certain reasons for teaching the way you do. This often happens when you have studied further and you do things that are not in line with the Principal's way of doing things, and he regards your work as uneducational, chaotic, and says that you are upsetting the discipline of the school./ (70) But it is these things that really make a teacher tick, his teaching./ (71) But the Principal is often only concerned with the facade, such as registers, record books, and this type of thing. But the real person of the teacher is not reflected in these things./ (72) You should really get merit recognition for being the real person you are, the real person you are in the educational context./ (73) But the Principal is also manipulated by the authorities and sometimes he has no other choice, you know./ (74) Some Inspectors come along and think they know everything./ (75) Sometimes they do know a lot. My English Inspector, for instance, he is a fine fellow, tremendously helpful, and you can sit for hours and talk to him, because he understands the situation and knows the set-up./ (76) But there are others who just come to clamp down on you; they are not interested in the conditions and the facilities; they just want their own way. This causes tension,/ (77) as usually these people's reputation comes before them and their arrival creates an abnormal

atmosphere. When they go, we say that things are back to normal, and then we laugh about it and say that that is just what our society is like today./ (78) I once had a tiff with an Inspector and he reported me,/ (79) but on the whole teachers do not take much notice of them. We are really more concerned about what is taking place in the school and the education of our children./ (80) The Inspectors are closer to the planning department and high authority; they are more concerned about the results which are printed in the newspapers. When a school has a high percentage pass rate, the Inspector then gets credit./ (81) I suppose it does keep some teachers who are really lazy on their toes, but those who do their work just carry on in their normal way, and the bulk of the teachers are not taken up with these things;/ (82) and the progressive teachers detest them./ (83) You know, the higher authorities communicate their instructions by means of directives and circulars in a cold formal manner, so we call the authority the 'faceless authority'. And this is the way it is because they don't dare face us because of some of the questions we would ask. We are antagonistic towards the Department, so many teachers just go on and do their own thing. When you question directives, the Principal says, 'These are the instructions'. Teachers dislike this kind of treatment. Teachers have no recourse. They just have to accept it and often information is kept in the office and away from the teachers or you are told things at the last minute./ (84) Setwork and syllabusses are just laid down before you and your opinion is not asked./ (85) You see, you find that people who sit on the planning committees and syllabus panels have interests in being there, which are not only educationally inspired./ (86) Sometimes we have the most terrible books prescribed. They have no relation to South African society whatsoever. But we have to teach them and draw up questions on them for the examinations, and it all becomes a mechanical thing; you do it

just to get it done, and, when it is finished, it is finished, thank goodness./ (87) I also experience tension between the different activities that take place in the school. For instance, when we have inter-house athletics, then everything centres around that and the academic side is left far behind./ (88) and when the Inspectors call around at the school we cannot, dare not - in fact, the Principal tells us that we dare not - tell them we are behind because of athletics./ (89) Sometimes we have to prepare for various functions and we practice day in and day out, or sometimes for a session of the day for two or three weeks. This, of course, makes an inroad into the academic progress of the pupils and then everybody is behind./ (90) Now the Inspector comes along and he doesn't want to hear about these things; he wants to know about the subject and he wants his pound of flesh./ (91) Sometimes we have had short notice that he is arriving and so we have the strain of finishing the necessary load of work, and this causes tension among the teachers./ (92) Sometimes you have to become involved in community issues. This happened recently. The community was wanting to open a liquor outlet and so, of course, the school became involved; we all became petitioners./ (93) I was the hub of everything. I had to collect petitions, attend meetings, and at the same time see that my work and all my marking was done./ (94) But the community does not play a very active or supportive role for the school./ (95) Most parents are concerned that their children get a good education, because it is a way of getting a good job,/ (96) but here the parents have reservations about keeping their children at school, because the child can go out to work to ease the economic struggle of the household. This often happens and when the child comes from a broken home. These children need more care./ (97) I manage to bridge the problem by enquiring into their background, their hobbies and sport, and finding out what they do over the weekends. I do this by way of my teaching and informally talking to them at breaks./ (98) I think also the fact

that, for many years, I was a youth leader makes it easier for me to communicate with them and I understand their background and relate to them fairly well. That is the positive side,/ (99) but there is also the other side, and that is I am getting older, but the children are not getting older with me./ (100) You know, when you take a class through from Std 8 to Std 10, there is such a wonderful understanding, a certain comeraderie where you understand one another./ (101) Sometimes you hear a teacher saying that a pupil has been rude. Now, we do have rude pupils in the school, no doubt about it. But, well, when I have had rude pupils ... I don't know, but perhaps I happen to see better things in them, and I am always trying to get the better element out of them, so that the pupil would then say, 'Wow! this teacher is taking note of me and sees something good in me', and then by gaining their confidence and respect. I don't experience any problems with the real ruffians that are in the school./ (102) I mean, I have never sent a child to be caned, for that matter. But the children have respect, because I have relationships with them./ (103) Also, because Christianity to me is a prevailing way of life, and I have always fused it into my teaching. So I could therefore also build up a spiritual relationship with the children./ (104) This is my reward, not the money. As far as salary is concerned, I'm in a category where I can manage./ (105) It all depends on your category and experience and the number of children in the family. I have a big family, and a teacher in a lower category could not manage./ (106) What upsets me more in teaching than the salary is the conditions of work./ (107) Because I teach a language, I have large classes, so you can imagine the workload of that, especially the marking./ (108) Also the facilities. I once attended an English Seminar at a university, and they were speaking about reading machines and the development of reading skills with the use of these machines. We have never seen a reading machine and probably never

will. So I get fed up about these things and,/ (109) if you have problems with the department, you are supposed to go through the Principal. Going straight to the department is taboo. Now this kind of thing is just putting blocks in your way./ (110) When you really get annoyed, the only thing to do is to go straight to head office./ (111) Now, this I also detest, because there you have to explain all your affairs to some clerk who more often than not sends you on to someone else and so on and so on,/ (112) and this is just a kind of harassment, making you feel like a child./ (113) And this is what I really detest, this lack of consideration and respect for teachers.

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