

COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING
IN CISKELAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

by

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SUMMARY

English Second Language (ESL) teaching has undergone noticeable changes in recent years. One such change, based upon current second language teaching theory, has been a striving for authenticity and relevance in ESL classrooms. Innovations in ESL resulting from such a striving, have been collectively labelled as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT).

A new generation of ESL core syllabuses and course books has arisen, based upon the ideals and terminology of CLT. In spite of official sanction from education departments there was perceived to be an apparent lack of communicative activities in many ESL classrooms. This study considered the extent of this perceived absence of CLT approaches from ESL classrooms in certain Ciskeian secondary schools. Using purposeful sampling a group of Ciskeian ESL teachers was identified for possible classroom observation. The purpose of this qualitative study was to provide a 'thick description' of ESL classroom life, with an emphasis on the orientation of the teachers towards CLT. A measure of typicality in the findings derived from such observation would allow for the applicability of such an understanding of classroom life to other schools in the Ciskei region and in the greater Eastern Cape Province.

The study addressed the following two issues:

- * The changes that have occurred in English Language teaching methods with particular reference to CLT and the claim that can be made for CLT to be considered as an educational innovation;
- * The extent to which CLT was encountered in the Ciskeian ESL classrooms observed and the role that the teachers in these classrooms fulfill as agents of change in the light of the innovative nature of CLT.

A literature study was undertaken of the theory and practice of Educational Innovation and CLT. Because of a desire to locate this research in a qualitative

paradigm consideration was given to the theoretical underpinnings of Qualitative Research in general, and of Ethnography in particular.

Teachers in the study were identified by means of their responses to a questionnaire designed to establish the teacher's perceived inclination to CLT. The subsequent data collection strategy included classroom observation, the use of an observation protocol (the Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching-COLT), audio-recordings of lessons observed and teacher interviews which were recorded and transcribed.

Analysis and interpretation of the data led to a series of statements indicating the extent of the CLT orientation of the classrooms observed. Synthesis of these statements revealed that classrooms were organized around teacher-centered, whole-class, pedagogic activities supporting a 'transmission' mode of teaching. This supported the earlier perception that there was a lack of communicative activities in CLT classrooms.

Arising out of these findings were a number of implications for the teachers in the sample, for the college of education which had produced these teachers, and for the Eastern Cape Department of Education. It was suggested that there should be a commitment on the part of the teachers to CLT, a sensitivity on the part of the college to the need for sound theoretical and practical pre-service training for prospective ESL teachers, and the recognition on the part of the Department of a need for a comprehensive programme of CLT in-service training.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

A-L.....	Audio - Lingual
BANA.....	British Australasia and North America
CLT.....	Communicative language teaching
D.E.T.	Department of Education and Training
ELT.....	English language teaching
ESL.....	English second language
INSET.....	In service education and training
L1.....	First language
L2.....	Second language
LA.....	Language acquisition
R.S.A.	Republic of South Africa
SLA.....	Second language acquisition
T-s\c.....	Teacher- student\class
SCI.....	School centred innovation
S.T.D.	Secondary Teachers Diploma.
S-s\c.....	Student - student\class
TESEP.....	Tertiary, secondary and primary
UG.....	Universal grammar
U.S.A.	United States of America

CONTENTS

SUMMARY	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x

CHAPTER ONE : BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1	Introduction.....	1
1.2	Background to the study.....	1
1.3	The problem.....	2
1.4	Questions to be addressed.....	3

CHAPTER TWO : EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

2.1	Introduction.....	5
2.2	What is 'innovation'?.....	6
2.3	Strategies for innovation.....	20
2.4	The teacher's response to innovation.....	24
2.5	The role of school principals in educational change.....	33
2.6	Barriers to educational change.....	36
2.7	Cultural influences on innovation.....	43

CHAPTER THREE : COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING (CLT)

3.1	The background to English teaching.....	47
3.2	Language acquisition and learning strategies.....	54
3.3	Characteristics of communicative language teaching.....	69
3.4	Criticism of communicative language teaching.....	86

		vii
3.5	Communicative competence.....	93
3.6	CLT teachers and their methods.....	103
3.7	CLT and materials development.....	108
3.8	The ELT textbook as an agent of change.....	111
3.9	The level of English in Ciskeian schools.....	114
3.10	The place of CLT in the Ciskei.....	115

CHAPTER FOUR : CLASSROOM RESEARCH

4.1	Introduction : four traditions in classroom investigation.....	121
4.2	Developments in educational research.....	125
4.3	Qualitative or illuminative research.....	131
4.4	Ethnography.....	137
4.5	Theoretical considerations.....	146
4.6	Classroom observation instruments.....	161
4.7	Analysing qualitative data.....	164
4.8	The Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT) protocol.....	168
4.9	Conclusion.....	169

CHAPTER FIVE : THE DESIGN OF THE FIELD STUDY

5.1	Preparation.....	172
5.2	The questionnaire.....	175
5.3	Identification of teachers for observation.....	181
5.4	Scheduling the classroom visits.....	182
5.5	The programme of classroom observation.....	184
5.6	Teacher interviews.....	192

CHAPTER SIX : DATA PORTRAYAL AND INTERPRETATION

6.1	Introduction.....	196
6.2	Teacher A.....	199
6.3	Teacher B.....	203
6.4	Teacher C.....	207
6.5	Teacher D.....	210
6.6	Teacher E.....	214
6.7	Teacher F.....	219
6.8	Teacher G.....	224
6.9	Conclusion.....	228

CHAPTER SEVEN : CONCLUSION

7.1	Introduction.....	229
7.2	Integration of interpretations.....	229
7.3	Links to theoretical areas.....	237
7.4	Implications of this study.....	242
7.5	Suggestions for further research.....	247
7.6	Explanation of sources consulted.....	248
7.7	Final remarks.....	249

APPENDIX 1 : QUESTIONNAIRE.....	251
APPENDIX 2 : THE COLT PROTOCOL.....	256
SOURCES CONSULTED.....	267

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Necessary Conditions for Change: The Role of the Principal as Change Facilitator	35
2.	Barriers to Change.....	36
3.	Contribution of Psycholinguistics, Neurolinguistics and Sociolinguistics to the Communicative Approach.....	56
4.	Krashen's Second Language Acquisition Hypothesis.....	58
5.	Definitions of Language.....	66
6.	Paulo Freire's Agenda of Values in Transformational Education	76
7.	Investigator and Experimenter Pitfalls in Experimental Research.....	127
8.	A Comparison of Ways of Knowing and Enquiring.....	134
9.	Variants of 'Ethnography' among education researchers..	141
10.	External Validity of Qualitative designs.....	153
11.	Students who received the S.T.D. Qualification in English didactics; 1984-1990.....	172
12.	Summary of classroom visits.....	191

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	A Conceptual Framework for the Study of Educational Innovation.....	16
2.	Model of Innovation.....	18
3.	Theoretical model of factors influencing a teacher's willingness to embark on a new initiative in class.....	42
4.	Theoretical model of factors influencing the success of the innovation.....	43
5.	Jakobson's Model of Communication.....	96
6.	Acton's Communication-centred Model of Communicative Output.....	99
7.	Acton's Language-centred Model of Communicative Output	100
8.	Components of language Competence.....	102

CHAPTER 1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

English Second Language (ESL) teaching has undergone noticeable changes in recent years. Included in these changes has been a striving for authenticity and relevance in what transpires in the classroom (Larsen-Freeman 1986 : 132; Rivers 1987 : 28). Innovations in ESL resulting from such a striving have been labelled collectively under the term **Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)** and have sought the development of Communicative Competence in pupils (Candlin 1981 : 25; Frolich, Spada & Allen 1985 : 27).

Attempts to effect such changes in ESL teaching in South African schools led to the development of a new generation of ESL Core Syllabuses which were published in 1985. These syllabuses used as their foundation the ideals and terminology of CLT (see chapter 3). Concurrent with the development of these 'new' syllabuses was the production of ESL course books designed for use with these syllabuses. In step with such development has been an accompanying emphasis (as evidenced in college syllabuses and approved course books) on the preparation of prospective teachers of ESL to teach CLT in the classroom. The so-called 'black colleges' controlled by the Department of Education and Training and the education departments of the National or Independent states are no exception.

1.2 Background to the study

During the course of official duties as the Head of the English Department at the Hlaziya In-Service Training Centre, Ciskei and as Subject Advisor for English in the Ciskei Education Department up until the end of 1990. The writer functioned in this dual capacity until the appointment of a Subject Advisor for English in the Ciskei Education Department at the beginning of 1991. As a result of personal experience, based on numerous classroom visits, as well as frequent In-service contact with teachers of ESL in Ciskeian secondary schools, the writer has become increasingly aware that the intended changes in teaching methodology implicit in a CLT approach are noticeably absent from ESL classrooms in many Ciskeian

schools. Expected changes such as a move from teacher-centred, textbook-oriented teaching of the target language to a classroom situation in which the learner and teacher co-operate as equal participants in the learning exercise, do not appear to have taken place. Neither does there appear to be much effort being made to introduce a truly communicative use of English into ESL classroom activities. Furthermore there appears to be little evidence that those language teaching techniques that form the basis of CLT are being used in the individual teacher's repertoire of classroom practices.

1.3. The problem

The apparent lack of communicative activities in many ESL classrooms in Ciskei secondary schools was reason for concern. Not only did it imply that teachers who did not use CLT approaches were ignoring the prescriptions of the very subject syllabuses they were expected to follow, but of equal, if not greater importance, was the very real danger that by this omission pupils were likely to be disadvantaged by the type of ESL teaching offered them. If it is accepted (as indicated earlier) that the broad goal of ESL is the development of communicative competence on the part of the learner 'for personal, social, educational and occupational purposes' (D.E.T. Syllabus Stds. 9-10, 1985 : 1) and that such competence is likely to become increasingly important in the South African society in which these learners are probably to function, and where English might possibly be the 'lingua franca' of a multiplicity of ethnic groups, then the extent of such a disadvantage was readily apparent.

This study will consider to what extent this apparent absence of CLT approaches from ESL classrooms in certain Ciskeian secondary schools. The study will further attempt to identify other possible factors which are likely to impinge upon teachers' attempts to implement CLT in Ciskeian secondary schools.

The implementation of CLT is for many trainee teachers a new concept when viewed against the background of their own ESL classroom experiences. CLT can thus rightly be termed an educational innovation and English teachers are placed,

often unknowingly, in the role of innovators. This study proposes to ascertain to what extent ESL teachers, who appear to be key agents in the implementation of changes implicit in a CLT approach to ESL, are actively implementing CLT in their classrooms.

Using primarily an ethnographic research approach the writer will attempt to establish what is taking place within the classrooms of teachers who have been identified as consciously attempting to include aspects of CLT in their classroom practice. Observations in non-CLT classrooms should assist in establishing what differences exist between these classrooms in terms of teacher-pupil interaction and general classroom practice. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to establish to what extent teacher perceptions about what they are doing are in line with with generally accepted features of CLT.

A literature study will also be undertaken in which the emphasis will fall on theoretical considerations pertaining to Educational Innovation and Change, and the teacher's role as an agent of such change; the changes that English teaching has undergone since World War 2 and the role that CLT, as an educational innovation, has come to occupy in such change. This literature study will also focus upon approaches to educational research with particular emphasis falling upon the ethnographic paradigm within which the classroom observations in the study are to be found.

1.4 Questions to be addressed

The literature study and research activity referred to above will address questions such as the following:

- * How have approaches to English teaching changed during the course of this century, with special emphasis to the changes that have taken place from the 1950's.

- * What is meant by the term 'Communicative Language Teaching' and what are the implications for ESL teachers in terms of their classroom practice?
- * How effective are teachers as agents of educational change?
- * What is occurring in the CLT and non-CLT oriented classrooms observed in the study and what differences are there between these classrooms?
- * How do teachers in the study target group (i.e. those who received their training at the single training college which produced secondary ESL teachers from 1984 - 1990) perceive themselves to be teaching?
- * What variables are seen to be either supporting or negating teacher attempts at implementing CLT methodology acquired during pre-service training?

The above research, it is anticipated, will lead to a general picture of conditions in the CLT and non-CLT classrooms observed. It is hoped that the identification and understanding of such issues will make a contribution to the upliftment of English teaching in the Ciskei. Furthermore, it is anticipated that a description of possible teacher- and classroom-related factors impinging on CLT teaching will be forthcoming. This in turn should give rise to suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2. EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

2.1 Introduction

Any consideration of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in Ciskeian schools should start with an attempt at understanding educational innovation. CLT and the changes it requires on the part of teachers and pupils alike, identifies the process as one that meets the requirements for it to be classed as planned educational change, (see chapter 3 for discussion on the characteristics of CLT and the subsequent changes in teaching style demanded of teachers). Any attempt at describing and analyzing CLT in schools should thus be sensitive to the theoretical and practical implications of such change.

According to Husen (1972 : 125) the study of the innovative process in education and of various factors, favourable and unfavourable, influencing such change, was a phenomenon of the mid-1960's. When seen against the span of the history of Western education it is thus a relatively new concept. This has not meant, however, that scholars have been slow to develop the concept. Bolam (1975 : 273) quotes Havelock who in 1969 was already able to identify 4000 studies on various aspects of educational innovation, predominantly in the United States of America.

Nisbet could suggest at the time of writing (1975 : 1) that the word 'innovation' had already begun to shed 'some of its initial glossy attractiveness'. He warned against a growing cynicism that saw innovation in education coming to mean:

something cheap, meretricious and gimmicky, undertaken rashly without adequate resources to see it through, as a protest arising out of frustration and impatience. (1975 : 1)

Nisbet commented thus because even by then innovation had become 'something of a bandwagon'. Nisbet wasn't against innovation but warned that anyone 'jumping on the bandwagon' should be sensitive to the problems and issues likely to affect the success of such innovation. For the purposes of this study, therefore, cognizance

needs to be taken of the various factors subsumed under the heading of 'Educational Innovation'.

2.2 What is 'innovation'?

Beeby (1966; 1980 : 451-474) attempted to provide educational planners with guidance on the management of educational innovation. His theoretical propositions focused on classroom change in developing countries and although his theory has been challenged, notably by Guthrie (1980 : 411-438), it nevertheless contains a number of positive features which may serve as an introduction to a discussion of planned educational change. Beeby's theoretical model was applied to primary schooling and posited four distinct stages in the educational development of a school. These were: The Dame School; Formation Stage; Transition Stage and Meaning Stage. Movement through these stages was evolutionary with the key to any such movement being the ability of the teachers at a particular school to promote change. This ability was seen to be directly related to their self-confidence stemming from their own general and professional education. Beeby identified five factors which focused on the teacher and the ability to effect change from stage to stage. These factors are:

- * a lack of clear goals in the system in which the teachers operate;
- * a lack of understanding and acceptance by teachers of educational reforms;
- * the teachers themselves, being products of a particular system, are often not amenable to change;
- * the isolation of the teacher within the classroom or school slows down the diffusion rates on innovation;
- * these diffusion rates vary markedly because of the wide range of teacher abilities.

As Guthrie pointed out, Beeby's theory received general receiver support, mainly because it appeared as the first real attempt to create a much needed theoretical framework for development in education.

Guthrie commented further on the positive features in Beeby's model, such as the focus on qualitative aspects of teaching and on qualitative change, its emphasis on the gradualism of such change in practice and upon the identification of the teacher as the key agent of classroom change. Thus the value of Beeby's model lay in its attempt to move the focus from a linear, quantitative expansion of existing educational systems to what was actually being taught and how this teaching was effected.

However, Guthrie argued that the model contained weaknesses that would restrict its general application. He pointed out that the concept of stages had been severely criticized on both theoretical and methodological grounds. He referred to Myrdal's (1968) comments which charged that Beeby's stages had a teleological bias. The four stages, furthermore, were not sufficiently distinct while the names given to each stage did not meet the requirements for measuring scales. A further criticism was that the model over-generalized from the experience of the South-Pacific school systems used in Beeby's study and was based on Beeby's acceptance, without stated support, that Western teaching was good teaching. Most disturbing to Guthrie was 'the lack of a clear distinction between empirical issues and the ethical judgments implicit in the formulation of the model' (1980 : 1).

In spite of the above criticism Guthrie was careful to point out that such a model did have a contribution to make towards the understanding of educational issues. He suggested that:

they could give clarity for taxonomic use in classifying systems for the analysis of educational processes producing different types of classroom practice, and for separating the ethical issue of values from the empirical issue of whether changes in teacher education result in changes in teacher style. (1980 : 433)

In reply to Guthrie's criticisms Beeby (1980 : 451) countered that he had always regarded this idea of stages as nothing more than a hypothesis; that, 'there is a recognizable progression in the life history of most educational systems', and that the passage through the stages is affected by the levels of general education and professional training of teachers.

Beeby's value to this study lies in his identification of the vital role that teachers take in effecting qualitative change, and also in the identification (albeit rather superficially) of additional factors, both human and material, that act as constraints upon educational change. In this respect he had much to say about problems arising out of teacher training.

While Beeby was working on his stages of educational development attention was being focused on similar issues in the U.S.A. According to Papagiannis (1982 :2 46) much of the early theorizing was based on Havelock's (1969) Research, Development and Diffusion (R, D & D) Model in which the basic idea was that any educational system could be made more effective through rational planning and the scientific development of alternative approaches which would then be disseminated to the local school level. Papagiannis, in discussing the changing perspectives on educational innovation notes that by the late 1960's and early 1970's many challenges were directed towards the R, D & D model. Among these were queries regarding the ability of conventional schooling to yield social and educational success. Increasingly, studies seemed to show no significant differences in learning outcomes among a wide variety of alternative instructional treatments. This led to the results of the 'innovative' educational efforts of the 1960's being conceived as 'massive failures' (1982 : 247). Thus Papagiannis is able to trace a move away from Havelock's R, D & D model. According to him, the '70's saw more emphasis being placed on the use of innovative educational technology to improve the productivity of education; the name of the game being greater educational efficiency. The perceived failure of so many of the earlier upgrading attempts which closely followed the R, D & D pattern led to an increasing concern with the actual implementation of educational innovation rather than with the origins of such innovation.

It appeared that the major cause of failures of innovative programmes was increasingly seen to be a neglect of actual implementation issues. Papagiannis contends that the conventional dominant paradigm is an inadequate and inaccurate

framework for understanding educational innovations. After quoting Pincus' (1974) definition:

An innovation is a technology which improves educational outcomes, improves working relationships or processes within the school system ... or reduces the cost of education without significantly reducing the quantity or the quality of desired outcomes or processes. (1982 : 116),

he suggests that an alternative, radical paradigm is possibly a better basis for understanding and developing educational and social innovations. While the purpose of Papagiannis was openly an attempt to comment on the political implications of educational innovation and its economic effect upon education in general, a number of issues pertinent to this discussion arise.

In challenging the dominant paradigm with a radical alternative Papagiannis focuses on the neglect in this dominant perspective of the importance and nature of power differences in society. Thus the social arrangements of the present social structure reflect the historical and continuing conflict between groups with unequal power. Any maintenance of such inequalities with their different social rewards, while deemed rational by their supporters, serve only to fragment society. Naturally any innovation perceived to operate within such a social structure raises the question of who benefits from this innovation. The radical analyst therefore, would suggest that most educational innovation simply reinforces the controlling position of the privileged, powerful groups within a society. While acknowledging that without the financial support for education of such power groups many innovations might never proceed beyond the theoretical stage, the radical paradigm would question the imbalance between product quality and quantity. As Papagiannis observed further: Little attention is given to product quality in the innovations while much attention is often given to ways to promote an educational culture which idolizes 'newness' for its own sake (1982 : 258).

Possibly the writer who has elicited greatest reaction worldwide through his enunciation of aspects of such a radical paradigm is Paulo Freire. Leach (1982 : 185) suggests that whether one views him as a 'dangerous revolutionary' or a

'quaint, unoriginal and eclectic philosopher' he has given life to a considerable philosophy of education which falls within this radical paradigm.

Central to Freire's thinking is the question of the conflict between groups (referred to above) over the attainment and subsequent exercise of power. This interest in the exercise of power is not a new interest, neither is it confined to Freire. Perhaps it may be a focus, as with Foucault, on the cardinal questions; 'Who exercises power?' and 'How is such power exercised?' To Foucault the two questions are interrelated, and neither of the issues can be resolved separately (1988 : 103). Alternatively one may focus, as Freire does, on the strategies and mechanisms by which power is exercised and the subsequent ways of leading individuals and ultimately groups or societies, to break such impositions through the emancipatory features of education.

Habermas linked such emancipatory interest to the growth of knowledge in an individual. Habermas suggested that knowledge develops from three areas of human interest; technical, practical and emancipatory (Ekpenyong 1990 : 161). It is the last of these which is pertinent to Freire, for this growth of knowledge can be viewed as the development of the ability to critically analyse ideas through a process of self-reflection. Through this process which Freire was later to term 'praxis' (Aronowitz 1993 : 12), the individual is able to shed the shackles imposed by the dominant power-group and by developing a heightened level of consciousness the individual can ensure self- emancipation.

Freire further views this knowledge as something that has a history to it, i.e. it is an active process which is made and re-made within changing historical conditions. Through the reflective power of praxis, mentioned above, individuals can translate into action the theories that they may have formed. Evaluation of the theories follows and this is in turn followed by practice, and so on (Hickling-Hudson, 1988 : 9). This leads to a deepening awareness or a state of consciousness which he terms

'conscientization' (Berthoff 1978 : 254). This has been explained as the process of developing an ability to perceive systematic contradictions and to take action that will lead to a resistance against oppressive elements in reality or life (Crawford-Lange Blaine 1981 : 258).

Kahaney (1993 : 193) links this growth of knowledge within the individual to an explanation of why so much of what is termed educational reform is rarely permanent. To her, long-term change involves peoples' abilities to synthesize knowledge for themselves, together with teacher directives and the mores of the community within which such people live. Even when new ways of teaching or learning would appear to be an improvement on the old the attempts to lay such new patterns 'onto old, pre-existing structures' dooms many innovative actions to failure.

When he conceives of knowledge Freire applies to it the same characteristic that he does to education in general, viz., it is never neutral. In the same way that education is seen as a political act linked to the conscious exercise of domination so knowledge cannot be viewed as neutral, value free and objective, existing totally outside of human consciousness (Marker, 1993 : 79).

Giroux (1987 : 1) emphasises Freire's contention that literacy, for example, is at its most fundamental an 'emancipatory political project' aimed at empowering sectors of, or even whole, societies. To Freire it is because of the inextricable intertwining of language and power that language, and thus literacy, provides one of the pre-conditions for understanding the 'socially constructed nature of an individual's subjectivity and experience'. Such an understanding permits an assessment of how knowledge, power and social practice can be utilized in making decisions that will lead to a desired democratic society (1987 : 10). Partly to such a move towards democracy is the creation of pedagogical conditions that allow individual learners' voices to be heard and legitimized. Crawford-Lange Blaine condenses Freire's ideas thus:

Education may foster critical perceptions of reality... or it may foster passivity by which perceptions of others are imposed and accepted. (1981 : 258)

If this is the case then it would highlight Freire's basic educational premise that education, both socially and politically, is never neutral, because it is so interwoven with the political structure of society. In fact, it could be contended, as Shore does, that to Freire 'education is politics' (1987 : 26).

Acceptance of such a radical paradigm presents the question of what kind of politics the teacher is promoting in the classroom, for a teacher either 'works in favour or against something' (1987 : 46). Not only is there a political undertone to every action but politics is also to be found in classroom discourse in the manner in which teacher and students interact verbally. This interaction is politically charged for it impinges on the freedom that students may feel when questioning issues in the curriculum and in its implementation. To Freire, the crux of the matter is that because a society is controlled by an 'elite' (however widely, or vaguely, that term may be defined) which seeks to impose its culture and values as standard, and because this standard is translated into specific syllabuses, approved textbooks and examinations, any action that a teacher takes in the classroom is designed either to reinforce the dominant standards or to alter a given situation.

Conscious attempts to alter the educational character of aspects of classroom life, of a school, or of an entire school system can be labelled 'Transformative education' (Shore 1987 : 28). Such change seeks to break down any practice based on standardized practices which are often defined as 'traditional'. To Freire such standardization when linked to the imposition of routines in which everything is predetermined is 'bureaucratizing' and 'anti-democratic' (1987 : 41). Whether education is conceived of as an overtly political act, (Apple 1990 ; viii; 1992 : 782; Giroux 1987 : 1, 8; Shore 1993 : 25) or whether the political nature is viewed in terms of a covert existence, such as implied in the term 'the hidden curriculum' it would seem a valid contention that schools:

do undoubtedly influence children in more ways than by overtly instructing them or consciously teaching them. (Portelli 1993 : 345)

These issues of power form the basis of a number of works by Michael Apple. He seeks to focus on how 'class, race and gender inequalities work through schools in the control of teachers and students and in the content and organization of the curriculum (1990 : viii). To Apple there can be no denying that what he terms 'differential power' intrudes into the heart of the school, the curriculum and teaching. He desires to encourage educators and especially classroom teachers to critically examine the often deeply ingrained assumptions that they hold about education and its purposes.

Part of this exercise should be an examination of how education is strongly linked to attempts to reproduce a particular set of social relations. What is of interest to Apple is the cultural and social dynamics of the school and the classroom and the manner in which such dynamics can be used to effect political domination of some form or other. *Ideology and Curriculum* deals with the politics of domination (1990 : ix). Like Freire, Apple subscribes to the view that education involves politics and the teachers who form part of the process are all involved in a political act.

Apple (1991: 279) furthermore, warns that should educators fail to recognize the inherently political nature of the curriculum and of teaching they run the risk of cutting themselves off from an understanding of the way in which schools work. As a consequence such a failure to comprehend these 'political operations' will prevent a clear perception of what is required to alter schools in progressive ways.

A weakness in educators' thinking about the curriculum and teaching is that a failure such as that mentioned above means that most of the critical thinking about these issues has dealt with the content and methods in schools rather than with the politics, (1982 : 178) Apple suggests that such changes in the curriculum and methods need to be accompanied by alterations in the power relations within a school because such method changes need to be supported by a changed perspective

of what exactly a school purports to do. Apple (1991 : 47) would have educators question 'whose perspective' is used when viewing schooling and the various aspects of classroom activity. The answer to this question, it would appear, affects the extent to which change is likely to succeed. If the perceptions are those of the dominant group which imposes change in a 'top-down' manner then such change might possibly be resisted at grass-roots level by the teacher in the classroom. However, should the opposite apply and change be from the 'bottom-up' then it might not receive the support it requires from school authorities to enable it to succeed.

One might argue with the supporters of the radical paradigm that because of the political nature of education any attempt at planned educational change should have as its objective the alteration of the political situation which exists in the school through the emancipation and ultimate empowerment of the learners and through resistance to attempts - whether overt or covert - to impose a particular set of values and social perceptions upon a captive constituency by means which certainly are not democratic.

Alternatively, what Apple refers to as the pervasive 'conservative element, (1990 : xii) presently experiencing an apparent resurgence in certain western educational systems, would view such innovation as a means to achieve better and more cost-effective and efficient learning of the standardized curricula and that the objective should be to increase and consolidate the deposits made in a system based on Freire's notion of 'the banking approach' to education. It is this question of educational quality and efficiency that appears to be at the heart of any discussion of innovation.

The definition of an innovation as:

something newly introduced such as a new method or device; the act of innovating (Hanks, 1979 : 754),

makes it possible for educationists to be classed as innovators; in fact to embrace the educational culture of 'newness' (Papagiannis above) , without considering the value or otherwise of such newness.

When speaking of innovation or change one needs to be clear about what exactly it is that is under discussion. Hoyle (1972 - cited by Bolam 1975 : 279) preferred to view this term, 'change', as a generic term which embraced a family of concepts; innovation, development, renewal. Furthermore it should be possible to distinguish between innovation as an intentional, deliberate process and change which can include accidental or unintentional movements or shifts. In the light of this consideration it is possible to suggest, as Bolam (1975 : 279) does that there is nothing inherently good about innovation. He quotes Edmund Burke, who in 1796, suggested that 'to innovate is not necessarily to reform' (1975 : 279).

Bolam goes further to suggest that perhaps it is erroneous to conceive of innovations as entities which exist in any unchanging, objective sense. It is preferable to refer rather to a theory of organizations or systems which are constantly being changed and defined as a result of the experiences of the people who handle these changes and the changes that such experiences bring to the perceptions held by these participants. In view of this Bolam subscribes to the earlier definition of Reynolds (1972) who saw innovation as an open system subject to constant change. This system is derived from the experiences of the originators and subsequent users of these systems. The constant changes that are an integral part of the systems are derived from four types of knowledge i.e. basic knowledge, applied research and development knowledge, practical knowledge, and user feedback knowledge.

These four types of knowledge directly influence the major factors which control the process of innovation over time. Bolam suggests the following as major factors influencing change:

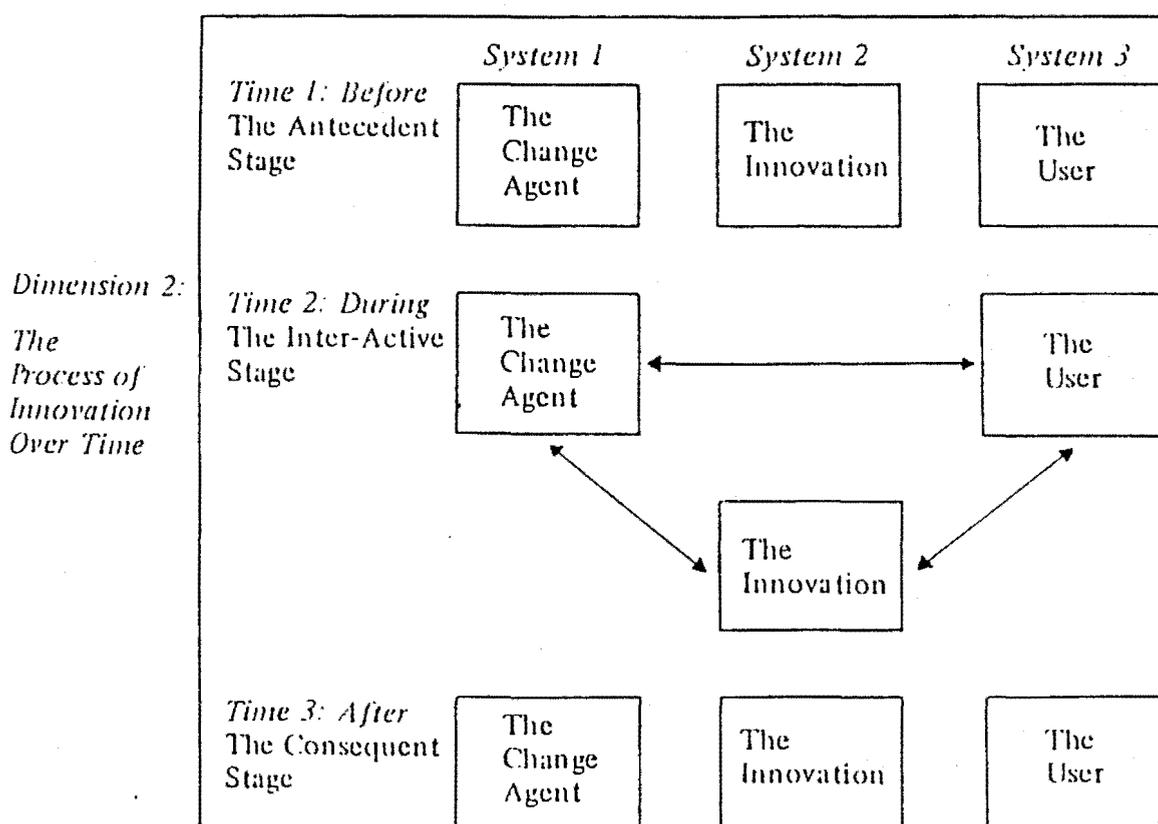
- * the change agent
- * the innovation

- * the user system
- * the process of the innovation over time

In an attempt to assist understanding of the innovation process he presented a simplified conceptual model incorporating these factors. In the model these factors interact within a two-dimensional framework. See Fig. 1 below.

Fig 1

A Conceptual Framework for the Study of Educational Innovation. (Bolam 1975 : 274)



This model assists understanding of the change process by generating four sets of questions about the change agent, the innovation and the user system. These Bolam enunciates as:

1. What are the significant characteristics with respect to any particular innovatory process?
2. What were they like before the process began?
3. What happened when they interacted with each other during the process?
4. What were they like at the end of the process?

Consideration of such issues, Bolam believes, is vital if 'participants in change and managers of change' are to understand the way in which such change takes place. To ignore or underestimate the importance of any one of these factors is a temptation to be vigorously resisted. (1975 : 287)

Chin and Downey (1973 : 522) viewed the concept of innovation as 'the central concept for one mode of study of change and changing'. To them the first, and common approach to defining innovation is objective; this objective innovation being ' anything new'. Thus it was possible to conceive of the concept as something changed 'in a significant and substantial respect'. They went even further and identified four more approaches to the definition. A second approach is quantitative, where an innovation is seen as ideas and practices or materials not yet adopted by a specific percentage of participants in a specific situation, ten per cent being to them a suitable yardstick. Thirdly, a new total package practice could be labelled as innovative. If this is the case then CLT, the subject of this study, is an innovation, as is any different pedagogy such as team teaching, for example. Fourthly, an innovation can be defined as such by 'the critical factor of the effects on behaviour' while a fifth approach sees innovation as something perceived as new, i.e. an idea, practice or object perceived as new by an individual, or group. To Chin and Downey it would seem to be of no consequence if the idea is objectively new (as in the first approach above); as long as the idea seems new and different to the individual it is an innovation.

Lillis (1985 : 96) in his study of failed curriculum innovation in Kenya points out the complex interrelationships that exist in any innovation:

The complex of interrelationships among the actors involved in the processes of adoption and development, the nature of the curriculum content, and the nature of the infrastructure are important determinants of the change process.

Often inadequate attention to one or more of these components has militated against the achievement of some desired change.

Adams (1983 : 69-80) reported on a model of innovation developed from experiences of innovations in seven different countries, (Indonesia, Sierra Leone, Israel, Ghana, The Federal Republic of Germany, Malaysia and New Zealand). Like Bolam's model above, Adams model was eventually a two-dimensional one, although he concedes that it was never presented in this form. One dimension encompassed the phases in innovation evolution while the other focused on organizational components of educational systems thought relevant to any educational innovation. Application of the model to the innovation in the seven countries led Adams to conclude that:

the shape and character of any innovation is determined...by the capacities and perspectives of those involved. People perform within the limitations of their own social, political and educational perspectives. (1983 : 79)

Fig. 2

Model of Innovation : Adams (1983:72)

Adams' First Dimension : the phases of educational innovation

Origination	Conditions that exist prior to the innovation and the circumstances that brought it about
Specification	Development of general or particular specifications of the innovation
Operation	First uses of the innovation, experimental or otherwise, whether with evaluation or without
Implementat- ion	Development of procedures to permit further diffusion throughout the system
Consolidation	Conditions existing when the diffusion throughout the system is complete

Adams' Second Dimension: Aspects of administration and management likely to impinge on or affect progress of the innovation

- Nature of the rationale developed
- Character of the task and its content
- Methodology
- Personnel
- Plant
- Links established with relevant social contexts
- Evaluation
- Costing
- Coordination
- Scheduling and time budgeting
- Equipment

Fullan (1993 : 3) suggests that what is required is a new mindset in relation to educational change. Because we live in a world where change not only mirrors life, but is itself a part of life, the focus should shift from attempting to define the concept to attempts to understand how the concept translates into practice. Three decades of evolution of the concept; three decades of trying to understand it; three decades of attempts to implement the 'latest' innovations; and three decades of frustrated expectations as innovation after innovation failed to deliver the 'promised goods' or suffered an untimely demise, have persuaded Fullan to accept that what is required is not a preoccupation with designing better examples of educational reform. Rather, it is the realization that educators, schools, societies, even countries, are faced with a dichotomy of interests. On the one hand is the constant and ever expanding presence of educational innovation, while on the other are educational systems which are basically conservative. Everything about school organization, teacher training and the way educational hierarchies operate and the manner in which education is treated by political decision makers results in systems that are more likely to maintain the 'status quo'. In this call by Fullan the echo of writers such as Freire and Apple is strikingly clear.

Fullan would contend that what is required is the encouragement of educational systems (or their components) to leave their conservative heritage and transform themselves into learning organizations which view change as not only a normal part

of work but also as a natural part of life. Improvement and change should be embraced on a continuous basis. This goal of a greater capacity for change needs to be an explicit tenet of educational policy at all levels in the educational hierarchy. Furthermore, the pursuit of such a goal should be comprehensive and sustained for productive educational change is not just the capacity to implement the latest policy, but is rather an ability to survive 'the vicissitudes of planned and unplanned change but all the time to gain and develop' (1993 : 5).

In simple terms what then is innovation? Change it certainly is. Development too falls within its ambit but such change and development should not be accepted, supported and implemented simply for the sake of doing something new.

2.3 Strategies for innovation

For the purposes of this research it is not the nature of educational innovation which is of prime importance. Rather it is the manner in which such educational change is effected. Questions which require attention are:

How does innovation start? and,

How is information about such innovation spread?

Various researchers have attempted to identify strategies that innovators have developed to assist them in implementing educational change. The R, D & D model discussed in 2.2 above is based upon the belief that innovations will develop naturally from the private sector's search for profits and the public sector's rationality (Hurst 1979 : 135-150; Papagiannis 1982 : 245). In this model emphasis is continually placed on removing any barriers which can be seen to prevent the adoption of changes that are evaluated as good.

In a paper looking at the international transfer of curriculum change strategies, Crossley (1984 : 75-88) focused upon the potential and limitations of school-centred

innovations in developing countries by examining a specific project in Papua New Guinea. In a finding which supports Papagiannis' contention in 2.1 above, he concluded that efforts to effect major qualitative changes in many Third World curricula have frequently achieved a measure of success far below that anticipated at the outset of the implementation. Thus the late 1960's and early 1970's reflect a scenario where:

evaluators of innovative programmes began to reveal that despite massive investment in centrally institutionalized curriculum development, much of this effort had relatively little impact on the curriculum in practice. (1984 : 78)

Thus Fuller's (1972- cited by Crossley 1984 : 79) earlier contention that the 'model process of change', which conceived of innovations being developed externally to the schools and then transmitted to them, had really led to little significant change at the user level in U.S.A. schools, appeared justified.

The British experience was similar, with growing evidence that in spite of numerous renewals there had been little change in teaching methods that could be seen to accompany these renewal programmes (Galton, 1980 - quoted by Crossley 1984 : 78). The Scandinavian experience was no different (Husen 1972 : 125-135). These all led Crossley to suggest that there was likely to be little hope for renewal in the developing countries if so called 'developed' systems experienced questionable levels of success with the implementation of educational change. Therefore, the picture painted of the situation in many developing countries, where central governments had introduced new syllabuses and materials on a nationwide basis, was a rather disturbing one, leading in effect to the existence of 'a considerable hiatus between curriculum policy and practice' (1984 : 78).

At the root of the problem appears to be the misguided belief that curricula reforms can be imposed upon schools without the instigators of such development giving cognizance to the extremely important role that the end users - the teachers- should play in the adoption and practice of such innovation.

Clarke (1985 : 354) contends that such 'top-down' curriculum renewal is inadequate. If such a 'packet' - the innovation existing with all its essentials fully realised before diffusion - is to be effective then what is required is a comprehensive structure for:

school based in-service education designed to assist teachers over time to adapt the external package to their own classroom requirements.

According to Clarke the weakness with many such R, D & D packages is that they view all classrooms as alike. Rather they should see themselves as 'enlightened hypotheses' whose various aspects need to be tested against the realities of the individual classroom into which they are to be introduced.

Crossley found that in both America and Great Britain , (Fullen & Pomfret 1977 ; Herriot & Gross 1979 ; Stenhouse 1975; Eggleston 1980 ; and Nixon 1981 - all cited by Crossley 1984:79), there has been a growing belief that curricula reforms cannot be imposed upon schools unilaterally. Rather there needs to be cooperation and consultation because the involvement of practising teachers is more likely to generate projects which can be seen as realistic and relevant to the needs of the system for which they are intended. Certainly, there is the assumption that practitioners involved in such change will gain increased professional competence and understanding of the innovation in question. By doing so they should develop a greater commitment to the implementation of such change. Thus it is understandable that Crossley could refer to specific efforts being made in many developing countries to move away from the more traditional centre-periphery curriculum change strategies towards those in which practising teachers are urged to participate more actively in any such curriculum change (1984 : 75-88).

Within the individual school context Crossley found , furthermore, that there was evidence to support the assertion that regular contact with advisory staff overseeing an innovation has the potential to 'generate and sustain' the motivation of school personnel charged with implementing the innovation.

A reaction to patterns of state or departmentally initiated and sanctioned curriculum development, especially in Great Britain, has been the increasing support among teachers for a decentralizing or localizing of innovation in curriculum provision and in-service training at the level of the school. This has happened because much of the centrally instituted change has been perceived as a thinly veiled attempt at closer regulation of the school curriculum and teacher practice. Thus one encounters a new terminology used to describe this practice - school centred innovation (SCI). Terms such as school-based curriculum development, school- focused curriculum development and school-based, or school- focused in-service education and training (INSET) all refer to this reaction (Crossley 1984 : 78-79).

Such a reaction is understandable given the perceived failure of many nationally-based innovative programmes and the great difficulties that teachers often encounter in applying the insights of INSET courses, universities and colleges, to the practical demands of day-to-day school life. Hargreaves(1982 : 252) sounds a note of caution in accepting too readily this reaction and feels that the British experience, is somewhat flawed because of a noticeable lack of watchfulness and skepticism among researchers, academics and practising teachers regarding the value of SCI. There has been a skewing of the discussion away from a sharp and critical analysis of SCI. The danger inherent in this is that such an attempt to bolster the desirability of SCI might hide within it the seeds of its own destruction because weaknesses or shortcomings in an SCI exercise might be obscured until it is too late to rectify such weakness.

While SCI appears to be the route that many of the later innovative projects have tried to follow, Hargreaves cautions further that its success has not yet really been demonstrated. (1982 : 263). Neither is its future effectiveness in raising and maintaining staff motivation and morale assured. In many respects the success of SCI is still in the balance and it needs vigorous examination to substantiate its claim to be a more promising replacement for the traditional, centrally-orchestrated educational innovation.

2.4 The teacher's response to innovation.

Certain comments above, (after Beeby) have referred to the importance of the teacher as an agent of change in any educational change programme. Surely it is the teacher's response to an innovation which will partly decide to what extent that change will achieve its goals. One of the points of agreement at the 1973 Commonwealth Conference on the Education of Teachers in a Changing Society was that while the teacher's role, whether assigned or self-embraced, may be that of an initiator or interpreter of new policies and practices, without the teacher's active cooperation educational innovation is not possible (1973 : 8). This was because teachers were perceived to have an essential role to play in curriculum development and implementation. This role could possibly affect teachers in two ways. On the one hand the Conference felt that an innovation may sometimes threaten a teacher's professional standing while on the other a teacher's involvement in a development process can help to enhance the teacher's sense of security.

Gross... et al (1971 : 149-203) departed from previous explanations for the failure of promising innovations, all of which attempted to explain such educational failure as a result of factors unconnected with the perceptions of the participants in the innovation. They contend that to ignore these perceptions is to err. They argue that a major reason for the failure of the innovations was the initial resistance on the part of those closely involved with the institution or system within which the innovation was being attempted. This resistance complicated matters further because it often transformed itself into actions not 'in keeping with the intentions of the innovation'. Therefore any attempt to account for either the success or failure of an innovation must consider what actually happens during the implementation. Their review of the literature on educational change led them to various conclusions, one of which is particularly pertinent to this study. Regarding the problem of resistance to change they found that writers had viewed the problem of implementing such change as simply a matter of overcoming initial resistance to the change on the part of the

members involved. They suggest that this narrow view ignores, what to them, were three inter-related factors that seemed of utmost importance:

- * In an organization participants who are not averse to the change in which they are engaging often encounter obstacles to their attempts to achieve the intended change.
- * These participants (members of the organization) are dependent largely upon their formal leaders to overcome such obstacles. This required help may not materialise.
- * Members who were initially supportive of such change may develop a negative attitude towards this change as a direct result of the frustrations they encountered in their attempts to carry it out. (1971 : 38)

Further, in their study of the Cambire Elementary School Innovative Teaching Programme they identified reasons why the innovation had apparently failed. While the nature of this innovation has little bearing upon the present study, the reasons identified certainly are pertinent to the whole question of why many attempts at educational change fail. Gross... et al identify the following possible reasons:

1. Teachers did not have a clear understanding of what was expected of them.
2. Teachers did not have the necessary skills to effect the changes required.
3. Teachers lacked suitable materials and equipment.
4. Organizational aspects of the institution (e.g. timetable) were incompatible with the innovation.
5. A lack of opportunity and procedures for feedback from the practitioners to enable the initiators of the innovation to correct these shortcomings (1 - 4 above).
6. Resistance to change in response to the unsatisfactory experiences of the teachers.

As a result of these findings Gross... et al apportioned blame for most failure on to the management of the school. This finding was criticized by Bolam and Pratt (1976 : 12) who felt that it ignored the possibility that each teacher involved was likely to

perceive of the innovation differently. These differing perceptions might have influenced the teachers' own values. Therefore, it was simplistic for blame to be apportioned without accepting that an innovation does not have 'an objective existence, independent of the people involved'.

Wright (1987 : 11) contends that the 'whole educational process is deeply influenced by beliefs and attitudes'. Because each participant in any such process brings with them 'social and psychological baggage' any interaction is inevitably going to be influenced by these perceptions and beliefs. Because of this people involved in the process of education (both teacher and learner) may 'modify their behaviours and change their roles' in response to the contributions of other participants in the process. In view of this the capacity for change in any education system, or part of a system, is likely to be closely linked to the feelings and attitudes of the participants.

Any analysis of change should take cognizance of what Bolam (1975) had earlier identified as the four agents of change (see chapter 2.2). To ignore one or more of these agents was to arrive at an incomplete understanding of educational change. Gross... et al failed to consider adequately the change agent (teacher) and the user system (pupil). The value, nevertheless, of Gross... et al's study seems to be in its focus on the factors influencing successful change, particularly as far as the management of such change is concerned.

That the change agent (teacher) is vital to the success or failure of an innovatory programme was highlighted by Olson (1981 : 259-275) who examined the School's Council Integrated Science Project in Great Britain. What became clear to Olson was the fact that innovative doctrines presented teachers with real dilemmas. This concept of 'curriculum dilemma', was not new. A number of researchers had focused on it in their attempts to understand the effects of innovative doctrine in practice. Olson referred to work by Berlaks (1975) and Westbury(1980). Drawing

on such earlier works Olson suggested that a dilemma arose when the doctrinal commitments were 'at odds with the teacher' (1981 : 261). When teachers decide, or are persuaded, or are coerced into adopting new practices, they face uncertainties about their new role in the classroom, the effectiveness of their methods and the purposes of their instruction. The extent to which a teacher's dilemma in relation to the new programme is resolved appears to be largely dependent upon how teachers see their role in the classroom. This 'picture' of their thinking about classroom activity, and in particular their relationship with the pupils, influences the manner in which teachers will handle the changes proposed in the innovation.

Peeke (1984 : 97-100) reported on findings of a case study of the introduction of certain Business Education Council courses at a further education college in Britain. He was able to identify teacher reaction to the changes brought about by the new material. The new courses had not achieved the intended changes in the character of business education, as envisaged by the course designers. An evaluation of the teacher responses to questions during the study suggested four broad reasons why the intended outcome was not forthcoming.

- * Resentment existed over the manner in which the innovation had been introduced, especially in so far as minimal resources were committed to the new course.
- * The new courses required a particular level of knowledge and skill for their successful implementation, but the college had not provided adequate training to meet this need.
- * Teachers had difficulty in translating the official doctrine of the innovation into their classroom practice. This was especially noticeable when the requirements and instructions regarding actual classroom activity clashed with their own conceptions of acceptable teaching practice. There was thus a perception that the methods of teaching the new materials were inappropriate.
- * Some teachers experienced a fundamental conflict between the new course approach and their own educational philosophy.

Jackson (1975 : 205-215), in his attempt at 'Understanding Life in Classrooms' was concerned with how a teacher saw his or her role in a climate of educational change and how the perceived ambiguities and responsibilities arising out of the teacher's perceived role would affect the individual teacher's attitude towards educational change. In his survey of elementary teachers he found that a particular teacher's concern with the 'here and now', and her emotional attachment to her world 'was often accompanied by an accepting attitude towards educational conditions as they presently exist' (1975 : 209). Furthermore he found that there was often very little talk between teachers about the need for broad or dramatic educational reforms. He found a marked acceptance of the status quo, described by him as a kind of 'pedagogical conservatism', and he went as far as to suggest that such an attitude appeared to be part of a general myopia typifying the classroom teacher's intellectual vision. Speaking of the teacher mentioned in the previous quotation he continued:

Interest in educational change was usually mild and typically was restricted to ideas about how to rearrange her room or how to regroup her students.
(1975 : 209)

Such an attitude would bode ill for a teacher when presented with an educational programme of change which demands an accompanying change in educational philosophy and ideals.

Hurst (1981 : 190) summarised the complex conditions in which the acceptance of an innovation takes place. Many of these appear to echo the comments of Gross... et al (see p26 above). Hurst lists these conditions as follows:

- * Teachers need adequate and accurate information about the proposed change because if they lack this they are less likely to be inclined to put the innovation into effect;

- * The intended outcomes should coincide with the teacher's value system in such way that they are considered to be beneficial. If these outcomes should be viewed as irrelevant or even disadvantageous the teacher is likely to oppose the change or at best be half-hearted in implementing it;
- * There should be some rational basis for asking the teacher to believe that the innovation is effective and that it is workable in the teacher's particular context. In this respect it needs to be understood that teachers are often inclined to adopt a skeptical view of new ideas that are not their own;
- * Any attempt to ask teachers to modify their own classroom practice is futile without the provision of the necessary resources;
- * It would appear equally futile to ask teachers to change to practices or to support and promote reforms where the rate of return or efficiency ratio of yields to input or benefit to cost, is apparently no better than their existing practices. Often teachers involved in planned educational change are required to work much harder for little visible pay-off;
- * Sometimes teachers are faced with a number of simultaneous innovations. Such a situation creates an unreasonable expectation with which to burden teachers

The extent to which the instigators of innovation are sensitive to the above conditions and the extent to which teacher morale is affected by negative conditions such as those above will, according to Hurst, greatly influence the successful implementation of an innovation.

Kimpton (1985 : 186), in a survey of a number of pedagogical innovations, found that teachers tend to implement 'more effectively curricula which allow them to use instructional strategies with which they already familiar'. It appeared that the relationship between teacher attitudes and the implementation of an innovation depended upon the innovation itself. This finding duplicates the earlier observation of Zaltman (1977 - see table 2) that the attributes of an innovation itself are crucial to acceptance or rejection of that innovation by the target group.

Why then should there be such a noticeable resistance to change on the part of the designated change agents? If one is to hope to understand the practical difficulties of implementing a programme of educational innovation then one surely has to take cognizance of those factors which are likely to influence the teachers as the agents of change, both in terms of their attitudes and participation. It is ultimately the teacher's response which leads to the success or failure of the innovation.

Fullan (1993 : 8) accepts that managing change agency is at the core of successful educational change, but he would add an additional consideration, one which he terms 'moral purpose'. Among a number of moral imperatives based on the earlier work of Goodlad (1990 : 49, quoted by Fullan 1993 : 8-9) Fullan describes two which appear particularly pertinent to this discussion. Firstly, it is imperative to build effective teacher-student connections because:

The epistemology of teaching must encompass a pedagogy that goes far beyond the mechanics of teaching. It must combine generalizable principles of teaching subject specific instruction and sensitivity to the pervasive human qualities and potentials involved (1993 : 9).

Secondly, there is the need to practice what Fullan terms 'good stewardship'. If schools are to become the renewing institutions that they should then it is imperative that teachers in these schools should be engaged in purposefully promoting such renewal processes.

These comments by Fullan focus attention on the crucial role that teachers have to play in any educational change. A plea for the inclusion of a moral purpose is understandable, if for no reason other than to encourage the development of the high level of commitment to change required from the teachers involved.

Leithwood...et al (1994 : 40) focus on this need for commitment and warn that if there is to be any real hope of success then such a commitment is a pre-requisite. All too often, however, educational planners exhibit an inexcusable naivety in assuming the such commitment to change exists naturally in every teacher's

makeup. Rather, such commitment needs to be earned because often the opposite situation prevails; in place of a will to change being the norm, the culture of teaching often includes a 'norm of skepticism' about the worth of almost every type of classroom innovation. The teacher's commitment to change, is to Leithwood... et al, a factor of three sets of alterable variables or constructs. Either directly, or indirectly, these variables will influence the teacher's commitment to change. They distinguish these sets as:

- * Out of school conditions, i.e. attitudes of state, and provincial ministries, school systems at district level and at local community level;
- * In-school conditions e.g. goals, programmes, policies and resources;
- * Transformational leadership styles where the focus is upon increasing teacher commitment by utilizing the teacher's self-concept and through this eventually to enhance the motivation to change.

Only if each of the above is granted due consideration is the commitment to change asked from the teacher likely to be earned. Education planners, it would seem, often ignore these at great cost to the whole process of change.

Nelson and Drake (1994 : 44-73) express similar sentiments, as do a number of other writers (Brozo et al 1994 : 70-73; Engelert, Tarrant & Rozendal, 1993 : 441; Hamilton and Gingsis 1993:193; Vlachou & Barton 1994 : 105-107).

In their study of 29 veteran teachers (10 plus years of service) Nelson and Drake were able to illustrate the magnitude of the separation that appears to exist between the concerns of authorities, planners and theorists and the issues that are important to teachers. They exposed a chasm separating the teachers in the study from curriculum development and change. A disturbing result of their study was the finding that many of the teachers involved appeared to be quite unsupportive of attempts at educational reform. While not attempting a comprehensive explanation

of this phenomenon they did pose the possibility that it was linked to a failure on the part of the curriculum developers and theorists to consider teacher perspectives.

This ignoring of teacher perspectives, whether intentional or otherwise, was highlighted by Ayres (1994 : 84) as a weakness in the whole process of translating innovations, no matter how well validated by research, into practice. Often the very teachers who are going to be asked to implement the change are seldom asked for their perspectives on the intended changes. Drawing on the work of Anderson(1993), Fullan (1985) and Wang (1984), Ayres suggests that necessary support for teachers engaged in implementing innovations is often lacking.

Linnell (1994 : 93) echoes these concerns in commenting on the need for 'the affective influence' or an awareness of teacher concerns when attempting to implement educational change. To Linnell this need is crucial for such teacher concerns can often impede and may even curtail the intended change. He suggests, as a principle of planned educational change, that there be a sensitivity to, and an understanding of, the feelings and concerns of the teachers. This would appear to be the first step towards successful change. Because feelings and perceptions change with the passage of time Linnell suggests, further, the formulation of a number of sequential steps that adequately describe the teachers feelings within the change situation. Drawing on an earlier study by Hall (1979) he identifies these stages as follows:

1. Informational - the teacher perceives a need to find out more about the requirements of the intended curriculum change;
2. Personal - the teacher attempts to assess the extent to which he or she will be affected by the change;
3. Management - the teacher finally determines how best to organize methods and resources for success in the classroom in terms of the desired change outcomes.

Vlachou and Barton (1994 : 105) conducted a study of the views of a group of primary school teachers involved in a programme to integrate a group of pupils affected by Downs Syndrome into mainstream schooling. Their findings support what has been noted above, i.e. that teacher expectations, sensitivities, priorities and values contribute greatly, not only to the pupils' learning experiences, but also to the success or failure of innovative programmes. They contend that because teachers have such an influence on what transpires in the classroom it is only right that teacher perspectives are considered when a change is implemented.

Hargreaves (1994 -cited by Vlachou & Barton 1994 : 105) is more forthright when addressing this issue. He maintains that reformers and innovators show 'extreme disrespect and disregard' for teachers who are required to bring about change. He recognises that in the 'headlong rush' to bring about change and reform teachers' voices have been largely neglected, their opinions overridden and their concerns dismissed.

2.5 The role of school principals in educational change

The above discussion on the teacher as an agent of change should not be taken to mean that it is only the teacher within the school community who is important in facilitating change. This discussion would be incomplete without attention being given to probably one of the most important influences for change in a school. Whether directly as an instigator and motivator or as a catalyst for change the principal's role appears vital in educational change.

Strangely, little attention appears to have been given in the literature of educational innovation to the role of an enlightened and effective principal committed to change. It is only in recent years that research would seem to indicate that these effective principals are the facilitators of change (Chamley... et al, 1994 : 1-7).

Cohen (1993 : 269-287) undertook a study focusing on collaboration between two urban intermediate schools and a graduate school of a nearby college of education. That study has little bearing on this discussion except for Cohen's attempt to identify the actions of principals most likely to encourage the programme of collaboration. Under the heading of 'What Principals Can Do' he mentioned;

- * Arrange time for teachers to talk together so that they may be able to clarify perceptions and, beliefs relevant to the programme;
- * Set in place administrative supports so that teachers will not feel isolated in what they are attempting to do;
- * Adopt a management style that supports variety and innovation;
- * Make allowances for design changes and modifications to the programme as a result of experiences within the programme;
- * Obtain the support of the district administrative structures as well as an undertaking that they will adopt a flexible attitude to the programme.

Fullan (1993 : 71) motivates for a new view of school leadership, one based on three key capacities that will be needed if the complexities of educational change are to be adequately managed. Principals should be seen as designers, as stewards and as teachers. As a designer the role is one of designing a learning process whereby people throughout the school can deal creatively with the challenging issues that educational change will inevitably raise. As a steward the principal needs to listen carefully to the perceptions and visions of others and to accept that his vision is but a part of something larger. As teacher the principal's task is not to 'teach' his viewpoint to others but to help others in the school develop their own understanding of the relationship between any innovative programmes and the school within which such change takes place.

While the teacher bears the brunt of the challenge presented by new approaches and has to face the pressures and risks associated with change, the principal, through his sensitivity to these challenges and risks, can play a vital role in the success or

failure of an initiative. Not only does the effective principal remain sensitive to issues facing teachers but he or she needs to go further in creating the necessary conditions for change to occur in the school. Table 1 below sets out possible necessary conditions that will facilitate desired change and the role that the principal as a change facilitator should fulfil in such change.

Table 1

Necessary Conditions for Change: The Role of the Principal as Change Facilitator
(Based upon a Louisiana State Dept. Of Education bulletin ; 1985 cited by Chamley 1994:3)

1. As change facilitator the principal needs to be a role model in demonstrating the traits and behaviours he desires his staff to have.
2. The principal needs to be aware that teachers have different strengths and weaknesses and that change is more likely to be successful within an atmosphere of cooperation.
3. The principal has a threefold responsibility to decision making
 - * serving as a monitor of instructional decisions made by teachers,
 - * providing a setting where this decision making can be carried out,
 - * serving as a transactional agent between and among the different levels and groups of decision makers.
4. The principal needs to recognize that disequilibrium is a necessary condition for change.
5. The principal needs to recognize that people change more easily when the change helps them solve problems that are real to them.
6. The principal needs to allow staff freedom to be involved in the processes and decisions that affect their work.
7. The principal needs to promote open, frank and frequent communication through creating a cooperative atmosphere.
8. The principal should utilize appropriate forms of influence to create a climate for change.
9. The principal should assess reasons for resistance to change on an individual basis and deal with such resistance in a variety of ways appropriate to each situation.
10. The principal should always analyse the situation to see where the burdens can be lightened.
11. The principal should know how much change can be managed at any one time while still maintaining quality.

2.6 Barriers to educational change

Zaltman... et al (1977 : 29) preface their discussion on resistance to change in education with the observation that teachers have 'more reason to resist change than other professionals'. They base this on the fact that there are few groups who have as many innovations or 'pseudo- innovations' thrust upon them with 'as little hard evidence about their effectiveness'. To Zaltman resistance to change should be seen as a 'healthy phenomenon' for in those cases where an advocated change is likely to prove harmful such resistance should be viewed as a positive force.

A synthesis of previous work in this area led them to identify a number of barriers to change. These were categorized as:

- * social and organizational barriers
- * psychological barriers
- * barriers arising out of the nature of the innovation itself
- * general cultural barriers (see chapter 2.7)

Detailed discussion of each of these is beyond the scope of this study yet the reader should be aware of these factors. They are summarized in the table below.

Table 2.
Barriers to Change (after Zaltman et al: 1977:29-44)

Social Barriers

Group solidarity	Interdependence or system coherence where behaviour of one group may be governed by what another group expects of it
Conformity to norms	Define what individuals can expect from one another
Conflict & factionalism	Change favoured and/or adopted by one group may be opposed by another
Group insight	Group members lack a frame of reference in which to judge their performance

Psychological Barriers

Selective perception and retention	Prevents a potential participant from sensing that change is desirable or that the status quo is adequate
Insecurity	Anxiety about the ability to perform, e.g. in accordance with expectations of superiors
Homeostasis	Natural tendency of an organism to avoid or resist change caused by a reluctance to admit weaknesses or a fear
Conformity and commitment	Participants are rooted in the status quo; often requires a major incentive to change

Innovation Attributes

Communicability	Ease with which pertinent information can be disseminated
Perceived relative advantage	Difficulty of demonstrating clear advantages
Complexity	Difficulty in understanding the theoretical under[innings or practical implementation creates initial resistance
Radicalness	Major departures from current practices require an easily understood demonstrability otherwise there is a likelihood of major resistance
Compatibility	The innovation must be amenable to the social and technical environment
Size of decision making body	Influences the perceived appropriateness of the change

Cultural Barriers

Central culture	Achievement motivation; desire, or lack of it, for upward mobility; work ethic, etc.
Control beliefs	Fatalism
Cultural ethnocentrism	Over estimation of the worth of the initiator's personal culture

Hargreaves (1988 : 211-231), in a sociological analysis of teaching quality, sought to explain the persistence of 'transmission teaching'; viz., the pattern of teacher domination in a classroom through frontal presentation of material, closed questioning and individual deskwork. Other terms used to describe this pedagogy include, among others, 'formal', 'traditional product', 'class-enquiry', 'recitation', and 'discipline based'. In this type of teaching approach listening and writing predominate as major pupil activities and there is little opportunity for pupils to

contribute to, or take responsibility for, their own learning. Such teaching would fit very neatly into what Paulo Freire termed the 'banking approach' (See discussion on Freire's ideas elsewhere in this chapter.)

Where a proposed educational innovation has implicit in the changes it seeks to effect a departure from this transmission teaching, it would seem pertinent to consider the explanations that Hargreaves advances for the longevity of this type of teaching. Even though by Hargreaves' own admission the purpose of his paper was to 'explore reasons why teachers adopt transmission patterns of teaching and not to consider why teachers fail to do something else' (1988 : 227), his six factors, listed below, are relevant to this discussion of teachers as change agents. The factors may furthermore, go some way towards explaining why teachers have difficulty in embracing a way of teaching different to the traditional transmission approach. The Factors are:

- * The exigencies of cohort control: the control purposes that transmission teaching serves in managing large cohorts of pupils in restricted, physical surroundings.
- * Situational constraints : the appropriateness of this type of teaching for situations characterized by low resource levels and severe material constraints.
- * Examinations : the compatibility of transmission teaching with a set curriculum, whether enforced by government of similar authority or whether determined by a public examination system.
- * Subject specialization ; there appears a strong association between transmission teaching and subject specialization where such specialization provides a convenient fall-back strategy for teachers who are challenged beyond the boundaries of their own specialization.
- * Status and career factors ; where teachers find themselves experiencing a lowering of their investment in teaching due to some or other career blockage and status denial, transmission teaching makes minimal effort demands on these teachers.

- * Teacher isolation : transmission teachers appear particularly suitable for, and protected by, conditions of teacher isolation where inducements for change through contact with other colleagues are absent. (1988: 227)

Kendall (1989 : 23) observed that while organizations - and a school system is an organization - are usually structured and arranged to deal with work in the way that they have understood it in the past, there is always a force for change within the organization; but the problem in most organizations is that this force is not as strong as the force of inertia which maintains the status quo. He saw this inertia having its origins in the participants' early experiences and training. This resistance to change is furthermore, reinforced by the network of values, normalities, behaviour and ways of thinking held by colleagues in that organization. Thus an individual is further constrained in various ways by conformity to such 'normalities'. Continued conformity leads eventually to a possible internalizing of such constraints and they may become part of the individual's personality. Subsequently, any change that challenges the system is seen as a threat to the individual in his or her professional capacity and an attack on the very organization itself. This leads to what Kendall describes as an 'in-feeling' against things outside and can present a major problem to the innovation.

How then do teachers undergoing in-service training for reform, or for that matter pre-service trainee teachers, cope with such a personality conflict? Hogben and Petty (1979 : 212) quote Shipman (1967) who speaks of 'impression management' as a way of insulating themselves. In this manner such people can retain the attitudes with which they entered the programme. Hogben found that trainee teachers tended to become more progressive in attitude during college or university courses but that such change is reversed once regular school teaching commences. The pattern discovered in Hogben's study suggests that during the first weeks of full-time teaching young teachers are concerned not so much with excellence in

teaching as they are with survival. These findings tend to support what Lortie (1975 : 487-cited by Hogben & Petty)) had earlier suggested:

To a considerable extent future teacher behaviour is rooted in experiences which predate formal training.

Thus, students who embark on a teaching career do so with attitudes towards teaching which were developed at an earlier time. To Hogben the findings of his study at Flinders University, South Australia, suggest that the impact of formal teacher education, and theory in particular, on attitudes is really only of a transitory nature and does not survive beyond the first few 'high-pressure weeks' of teaching.

If this is indeed the case then the implications for this study are obvious and ominous. Obvious in that a consideration of CLT in Ciskeian schools must at all times remain aware of such underlying teacher attitudes which might explain the perceived non-conformity with CLT methodology. Ominous in that much of what is done at college level and what passes for teacher training in fact would appear to be limited in its impact on teacher practice. This fear is echoed in Hogben's warning that if a university or college is to offer education students something besides simple teaching techniques then the theory courses at such institutions must become more than, 'a reflective interlude sandwiched between two long experiences of school'. (1979 : 219) There is a need for education theory to be related much more closely to practice.

Kennedy (1988 : 336) addressed a similar issue when he sought to establish criteria for the acceptance of innovation. For an innovation to be viewed favourably there must be initial dissatisfaction with an existing state of affairs. He felt that unless participants involved in an organization accept that there is a problem and they agree on its nature then any ameliorative innovation is unlikely to succeed. From the point of view of teachers as implementers of such innovation there needs to be a matching process between a teacher's working context and the nature of the

innovation (Kelly 1980- quoted by Kennedy 1988 : 337). This process occurs in three key areas and for the innovation to be accepted the matching should be high in all three areas. These areas are:

Feasibility - do the teachers as implementers really believe that the innovation can be initiated, given the resources and the organizational support required?

Acceptability - teachers need to match their teaching style and philosophy to that presented by the innovation.

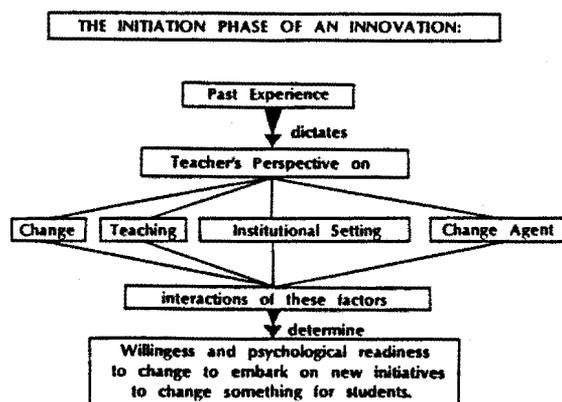
Relevance - an innovation is more likely to be accepted if it appears to match the needs of the students as perceived by the teachers.

Kennedy maintains that much of the literature on educational change suggests that 'ownership' (i.e. the degree to which participants feel that the innovation belongs to them) has a marked influence on the likelihood of such an innovation establishing itself. He propounds the concept of 'Gain - Loss' in which it is assumed that a positive decision to involve oneself actively in any innovation will only be taken if gains accrued as a result of the participation outweigh the losses. Such gains are seen as job security, good relations with the adopters of the innovation, an improved service to pupils, an increase in the teacher's own knowledge and skills, an intellectual satisfaction and, finally, some measure of professional or economic reward. Losses on the other hand include the loss of time, the physical and mental effort demanded by the innovation and the unexpected learning of new skills. The conclusion to be drawn from Kennedy's work is that the design of any implementation strategy for an innovation could be enhanced by giving attention to such factors. Specifically, during the initiation phase of any innovation, the introduction of the change could establish which teachers would be most receptive to making behavioural changes to meet the demands of the innovation. This could be done by assessing each participant's perspective on change, on teaching, on the institutional setting and on themselves as the change agents.

Spector (1984 : 563-574) reported a case study which focused on teachers' responses to the demand for a role change brought about by the implementation of a new course. She established that teachers observed in the study were willing to change and to initiate a new course to the extent that they held the perspective that the intended change was inherently good. This perspective assumes that change is essential to achieve personal growth and is a means to express creativity. Such a perspective, Spector, claims, is a major contributing factor to the degree of willingness to change behaviours, and which the teachers in her study exhibited at the initiation of the innovation. The way in which teachers perceived of the job of teaching influenced the initial willingness to change. When the job was seen as a secure one and which required little effort because it was repetitive, there was little willingness to change. Spector tied her hypotheses into a theoretical model focusing on the idea that implementation of an innovation requires change in teacher behaviours and these behavioural changes constitute a role change. The model posits then, that a successful innovation is dependent on sufficient change in the teacher's behaviour 'so that the role behaviours become congruent with the role demands of the innovation' (1984 : 571). Spector's model incorporated the major factors (Change, Teaching, Institutional Setting, Change Agent) and the connections between these factors which appeared to influence teacher behaviour as the teacher coped with the demands of the innovation.

Fig 3.

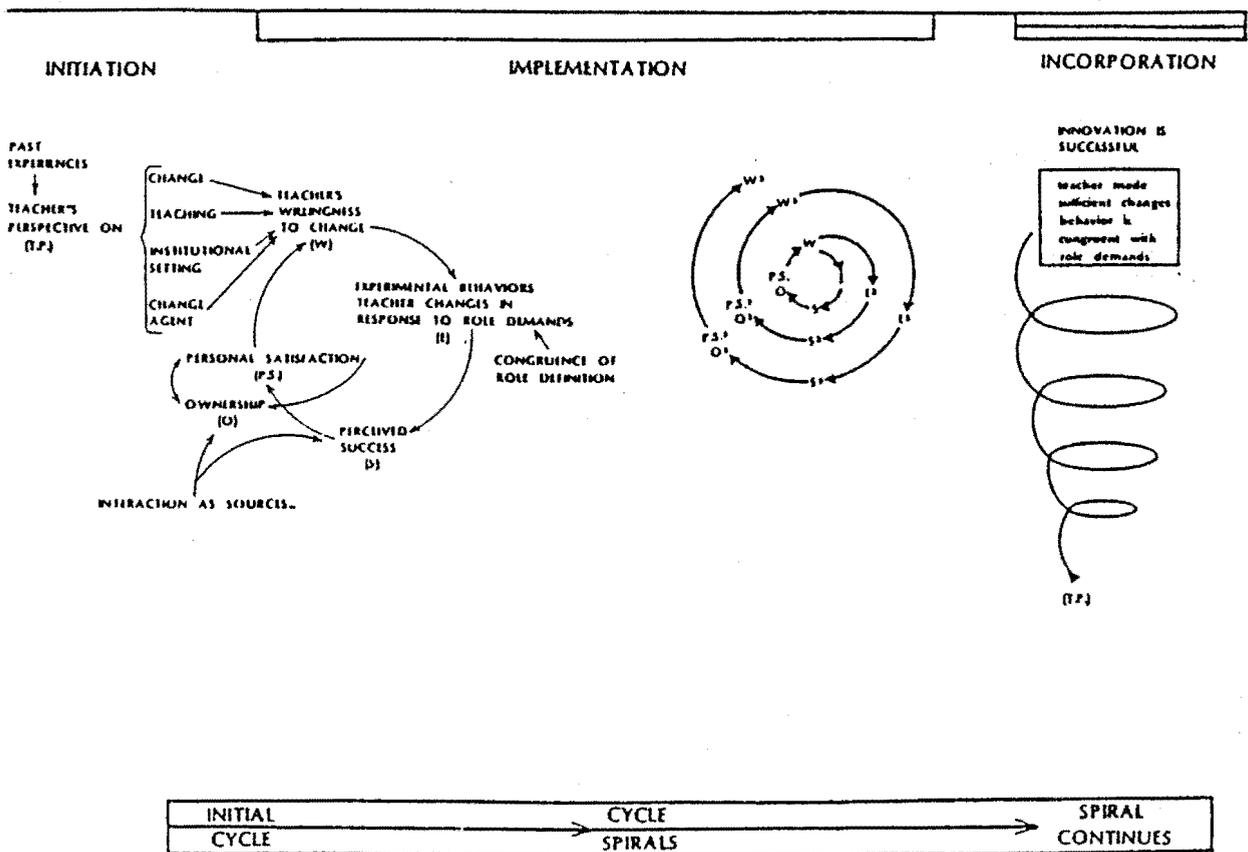
Theoretical model of factors influencing a teacher's willingness to embark on a new initiative in class. (Spector 1984 : 572)



Of interest too is her theoretical model of factors influencing the success of the innovation.(Fig.4) which suggested that once teachers 'were willing to make some of the changes demanded by the innovation, a cycle began in which experimental behaviours were reinforced and their repetition encouraged' (1884 : 571).

Fig. 4.

Theoretical model of factors influencing the success of the innovation
(Spector 1984 : 573)



2.7 Cultural influences on innovation

Any discussion on aspects of innovation would be incomplete, especially in a South African context, without attention being given to problems likely to arise when Western educational ideas are transplanted into a different socio-political environment. The danger, according to Kay (1975 : 183) is that often where curriculum changes are viewed primarily as technological or methodological issues,

deep cultural and philosophical issues have been minimized and in doing this innovators ignore issues which are actually crucial to effective curriculum change.

Kay argued that by embracing a process approach to curriculum planning and design (in which innovation or change is technological in the sense that the introduction of such change is intended as a means of meeting specific objectives, i.e. manufacturing desired outcomes) innovators have ignored philosophical issues pertaining to the very nature of education. By opting thus for the more popular technological, ends-means model, designers of change have tended to ignore issues such as the cultural milieu in which such change is to be implemented.

Zaltman... et al echoed this in their warning that any 'change planner' who comes from a different culture to that of the target group 'should guard against viewing his own culture as superior to the one with which he is working' (1977:34). This is important because communication of such feelings of superiority, although unintentional and indirect, will probably produce resistance to the planner and in turn result in resistance to the intended change.

Papagiannis' radical paradigm (see chapter 2.2) considered the influence of political considerations on educational change. Of equal importance, given the multi-cultural nature of South African society, should be a consideration of possible cultural influences affecting the acceptance and the implementation of change.

In recent years there has been increasing interest in the relationship between language learning and cross-cultural awareness (Bowers 1992 : 29-38; Prodromou 1992 : 39-50). This has been reflected in the movements within the field of ELT to reassess the links between language and culture. It appears that when considering factors which affect the learning of English attention needs to be focused, not only on the interference caused by the process of transferring the cultural patterns of the source language to the target language, but also on the interference caused in the

actual practice of language teaching. The methods and approaches demanded by an innovation, for example, are often in conflict with the practitioner's own cultural background (Alptekin 1982 : 56 ; Sachs 1989 : 30).

Ejiogu (1980 : 161-166) set out to highlight some of the problems militating against change in developing countries by examining a specific innovative programme in Nigeria. The innovation involved the introduction of team teaching by student teachers involved in practice teaching. Among a number of interesting observations made, one is particularly pertinent to this study. Reaction on the part of the participants led Ejiogu to conclude that:

innovation should answer the needs of the user system rather than those of the external change agents. (1980 : 165)

He felt that a rushed approach in order to 'catch up' with practices in developed countries often failed because no cognizance was taken of the particular social and attitudinal characteristics of the system within which the innovation was to be implemented. These attitudinal characteristics are a product of the way in which people code, categorize and define their own experiences. Thus, the system of meanings which people belonging to a group or society know and use in their interactions with one another, their culture, will influence to a greater or lesser extent, their response to attempts to change a particular practice.

Kay's case history of curriculum planning techniques in Kenya, East Africa, emphasized just how crucial to effective change were cultural and philosophical issues.(1975 : 183-191) Where change was perceived as a technological matter (see above) and cultural issues were minimized or ignored, the underlying causes of the failure of such change programmes were obscured. In the Kenyan context Kay was able to identify such cultural obstacles to much of the innovation attempted in Kenya. For example, the importance given to family groups and to the divisions between the generations meant that changes that threatened such long standing traditions of filial respect were vigorously resisted. It would appear that a factor

such as the division between generations and the accompanying behavioural patterns expected from persons at different levels in such a social hierarchy is common to most indigenous southern African peoples. The Xhosa people are probably no different. While urbanization and western modernization might have contributed to the disappearance of many tribal-based reinforcements of the social importance of age differences, many children would still have been brought up in a social setting which respects age and which demands particular patterns of behaviour in cross-generation interaction. This would probably have been equally true of the upbringing of the teachers who are now charged with the task of introducing the changes implicit in CLT in the Ciskei (see chapter 3 for discussion on CLT). The cultural traditions and practices:

go a long way in teaching a child who he is and what his limited rights are, long before he enters the classroom door. (Kay 1975 : 188)

Therefore, any methodology, such as that under the banner of CLT, which incorporates aspects of pupil-centred teaching as opposed to the more traditional teacher-centred approach, is likely to clash in practice with traditional values. Because the educational practices of a country or a people are so deeply rooted in its culture and its underlying presuppositions, the dominance of the learner's culture, and for that matter, the dominance of the teacher's culture is a factor that needs to be reckoned with when thinking about ESL in general, and about an innovation such as CLT, in particular (Alptekin 1982 : 56).

CHAPTER 3. COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING (CLT)

3.1 The background to English teaching

Controversies about language teaching methods are not new (Mackay 1965 : ix). Such controversies have not really been resolved and this is partly the cause of the vacillation in language teaching opinion from one extreme to another. In part such vacillation stems from a demand for 'the most suitable method' for language instruction. This is a universal problem and certainly not one unique to South Africa (Leschinsky 1983 : xiii). As many linguists and teachers realise that a particular system of English teaching is not meeting the needs of a society, so they have initiated a search for a 'new' approach, one which will solve the problems perceived to stem from flaws in a current approach or method.

The past century has seen the passage of various methods of language teaching (Leschinsky 1983 : 2). Howatt (1982 : 263) traces the start of 'modern' language teaching methods right back to the work of Vietor (1850 - 1918) whose pamphlet 'Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren' (Language teaching must start afresh) was the commencement of:

the most active and continuously creative period in the history of language teaching. (1983 : 263)

This period during the latter half of the last century and extending well into this century came to be synonymous with the Reform Movement in Europe. It was characterized by professional resistance to the then popular language teaching methods in the schools. This Traditional Method had originated in Germany and was characterized by a classroom practice obsessed with the written language. Teaching focused all its efforts on the rote learning of grammatical rules and their application in artificial and often impractical sentences.

This method persisted, in spite of attempts in various quarters to reform it until well into the 1950's (Leschinsky 1983 : 19). The simplest statement regarding the teaching style of this period is that the major portion of teaching time was used 'in speaking about the language rather than speaking the language itself' (Leschinsky 1983: 20). This method is now regarded as obsolete yet it is still encountered in many places at present (Howat 1982 : 265).

At the centre of the Reform Movement, mentioned above, was the belief in the supremacy of the spoken language. Pupils should hear the target language properly spoken before encountering it in its written form. Text should consist of connected, meaningful sentences, a step far removed from many of the absurdities of the Traditional Method, and its later guise, The Grammar-Translation Method. Neither Grammar nor Translation were banned by the reformists; only grammar was redefined to allow pupils to see the grammar in operation for themselves in texts before they had to learn it, while translation was used to assist in the comprehension of new words. Howat contends that this Reform Movement was:

The last major initiative towards progress in language teaching methods to have originated in secondary schools. (1982 : 267).

The Reform Movement was distinctly European in character. It was , however, not the only initiative that aimed at righting the shortcomings seen to exist in language teaching. In Britain and in the United States of America, particularly, the reaction to the traditional Grammar-Translation Method gave birth, amongst others, to the Direct Method of language teaching. As with the Reform Movement the oral aspect in language teaching was emphasized, as was the need to hear sentences rather than isolated words. Full sentences were shown in situations by means of actions and simulations. But, unlike the Reform Movement the American Direct Method in second language teaching was rigidly mono-lingual with no latitude permitted in the use of the learner's mother tongue. Successful teaching in this method presupposed a first language teacher (Howat 1982 : 267). Where circumstances determined that

the teacher was a non-native speaker of the target language the demands made upon the teacher were enormous.

Coming later in Europe, but paralleling the Direct Method, was that of Structuralism, which arose out of the work of the Swede de Saussure. As a result of his work in linguistics there developed an approach that emphasized the primacy of the spoken language. Writing was simply a way of reproducing spoken language in another way.

The third major identifiable language teaching method, the Audio-Lingual (A-L) (Listening - Speaking) Method was based upon the principles of Structuralism as enunciated by de Saussure and others. This method reached the heights of its popularity in the early 1960's although it had started two decades earlier. The major impetus to this method arose out of the success achieved by structural linguists such as Bloomfield in compiling intensive language courses for servicemen. These courses were intended to teach soldiers and sailors to speak a foreign language as quickly as possible. The courses also achieved considerable success in teaching servicemen from the non-English speaking allies of America and Britain to speak English. These successes led to the development of the Audio-Lingual method. This method had a profound influence on ESL teaching and rested on five fundamental principles:

- * language is speech, not writing,
 - * language is a set of habits,
 - * teach the language, not about the language,
 - * language is what native speakers say, not what someone thinks they ought to say,
 - * languages are different.
- (Moulton- quoted by Leschinsky 1983 : 31)

Discussion of these principles is beyond the scope of this study yet it must be recognized that this method exerted an important influence on second language (L2) teaching for decades. But at the height of its popularity the Audio- Lingual method was already sowing the seeds of its own demise. During the later phases of the method the course books applicable to the A-L method began to exhibit a greater contextualisation of language as well as providing for a greater measure of spontaneous learner interaction. These were significant departures from the A-L principles of sequential development and systematic drill activity. (Weideman 1986 : 3)

A variation of the A-L method was that of the Audio-Visual Method in which the visual component operated simultaneously with the language material. The value of this variation lay in the interest the method generated amongst learners.

Krahnke and Christison (1983 : 639) conclude their paper on language teaching research with the observation that historically, fashions in language teaching have often been based on the dominant perspectives of linguistics and psychology. Lightbown and White (1987 : 485) maintain that any review of research into child language between 1900 and 1940 would generally reflect a structuralist approach to language. Every language was considered as an entity in its own right, 'distinct and different from other languages'. There was an empiricist bias to all theory as the focus was on studying languages to gain an accurate record of linguistic data. This accumulation of empirical data would lead naturally to generalizations about the data. Thus any theories about language would be 'data-driven'. While it is accepted that such structuralism did not directly influence theories of language acquisition, it was closely linked to behaviourism which stemmed from the then current psychological learning theories, and as Lightbown and White further note, behaviourism did exert considerable influence on early language acquisition theories, through its conception of a 'verbal habit system' based upon trial and error and effected by imitation and reinforcement.

1940 -1960 saw an emphasis on the construction of taxonomies of language aspects and attempts to establish age-appropriate norms for language development, while it was in the post-1960 era that language acquisition research, fuelled by linguistic theory began to question much of what had gone before. (Lightbown & White,1987 : 486)

The failure of the structuralist-behaviourist approaches to L2 instruction to produce the expected results in the schools led to a conviction that the method could not supply answers to the methodological problems of this 2L instruction. What was needed was a new theory of how language is learned and how it should be taught (Taylor 1983 : 69-70).

In 1957 Chomsky opened a new era in linguistic theory with his work on Transformational- Generative Grammar. This eventually displaced structuralism as the dominant language theory. Chomsky's broad view is that every person has an innate capability for learning a language as part of the normal pattern of development. This capability stems from what was termed a language acquisition (LA) mechanism which enables a child, by a process of hypothesis formation regarding the structure of the language to which he or she is exposed, to abstract a set of language rules, to internalize them and then to apply them in personal language use, thereby providing the ability to generate an infinite number of new sentences. Expressed simply, Chomsky maintains that a language can be acquired 'because the child basically "knows it" as part of its biological endowment' (1995 : 330). (see chapter 3.2 for discussion on LA).

The acceptance of such a language acquisition theory would be anathema to the structuralist and the behaviourist. Furthermore, when the rigid classroom styles of the structuralist methods are compared with the above capabilities on the part of the learner, the major shortcoming of artificiality in much of what transpired in the Direct Method and Audio-Lingual classrooms is all too readily apparent.

From about the early 1970's developments in the areas of linguistics and psychology led to in-depth research into first language acquisition (see chapter 3.2). Arising out of this emphasis on concepts such as Communicative Competence (see chapter 3.3), and Functions and Notions of language (Wilkins 1976 : 23), the focus of language teaching has shifted towards communicative skills (Nuttal 1988 : 5). This shift was also partly in response to the growing perception that the A-L method seemed unable to develop satisfactorily the very skills required by the learner to communicate meaning adequately. Learners appeared proficient in the target language if such proficiency was measured by an ability to reproduce segments of the language that had been learned in the classroom, but they were unable to utilize their newly acquired language flexibly in the world of normal communication outside of the classroom.

As more and more writers such as Finocchiaro and Brumfit (1983 : 10), Hawkins (1981 - cited by Towell 1987 : 91) and Widdowson (1978 : 18-19; 1990 : 159) challenged the view of language as a structured collection of rules for the 'usage' of that language and replaced it with a view which:

encompassed both 'usage' and 'use' with a new emphasis on ensuring that the language used in the classroom was properly situationalised and used for some communicative purpose (Towell 1987 : 91),

so L2 teachers began to base their teaching styles on some or other form of what was eventually to become known as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT). Simultaneously, related developments in educational psychology led to the establishment of various 'learner-centred' models of language teaching, (e.g. Asher's Total Physical Response, 1969; Gattegno's Silent Way 1976; Lazenov's Suggestopedia, 1979 and Krashen and Terrell's Natural Approach, 1982). (see Larsen Freeman, 1986 : 51 - 122, for an overview of such methods). A marrying of the two broad trends of 'teaching for communication' (itself not a new concept according to Acton (1983 : 196), and process-oriented, learner-centred teaching was

to result in a union in which there has been increasing consensus that language is learned best when people use it to communicate and that the presentation of such language to the learner should as far as possible be founded upon user needs, as opposed to preconceived, grammatical and situational criteria.(Acton,1983:197; Widdowson, 1990 : 159-160)

The idea of CLT arising out of a coming together of various theoretical viewpoints ^x was explored in some detail by Whitely (1993 : 137-154) who sought to trace the 'revolution' in language teaching as it developed from several directions as distinct groups reacted to developments during the 1960's and 1970's, as outlined above. Whitely singles out three events for the impact that they had on the theory and methodology of CLT:

- 1 * Disenchantment with previous methods.
- 2 * Changes in the ESL market which boomed, fuelled as it was by the needs of immigrants, foreign students and international communication. ^x
- 3 * Shifts in theory where Chomsky's revolution in linguistics (see above) shattered behaviourism and together with cognitive psychology 'ushered in a new conception of language and language learning'(1993: 138). [✓]

In all that transpired, however, there was never a dominant individual or group. Rather a variety of models and theories emerged to be labelled 'communicative'. According to Whitely four approaches ultimately emerged as the ideological prongs of the swing to CLT. These were:

- * Functional-Notionalism, which developed in British and the Prague School linguistics as a response to a demand for improved ESL instruction and standardization.

Proficiency-oriented Instruction which based its conception of language development upon the guidelines for proficiency testing of various formal testing agencies. It focused on how to teach in order to promote proficiency development.

- * The Monitor Model (see chapter 3.2) based on five hypotheses.
- * Humanistic orientation which encompassed a disparate group of approaches (eg. Community Language Learning, The Silent Way, Suggestopaedia, Total Physical Response) whose methods lay outside the mainstream of ESL pedagogy. Yet these 'unconventional' methods broke new ground and contributed to many of the techniques which today find a home within the CLT approach (1993 : 138).

As these changes in understanding of language acquisition and learning on the part of teachers have occurred so to have changes in teaching styles as teachers have sought to give practical expression to their new-found theoretical standpoints (Gayle 1982 : 254-255). But the methodological issue is one aspect to consider when looking at CLT. The content of CLT instruction also needs to be addressed (Krahnke & Christison (1983 : 640-641). This is done in Chapter 3.3.

The above discussion has attempted to portray the antecedents of what has become, in the 1980's and 1990's, the predominant language teaching paradigm. It might be the approach most in favour among linguists, but it remains an approach that is yet to receive sustained support among many teachers. It is this apparent reticence on the part of teachers in Ciskei schools to embrace CLT that has led to this study.

3.2 Language acquisition and learning strategies.

Chapter 3.1 has illustrated the manner in which linguistic research has provided the principles on which revisions in methods of language teaching have been based. In fact, since the early 1970's, language teachers have been supplied with a wealth of

new information and understanding of language related issues (Krahnke & Christison 1983 : 625; Taylor 1983 : 71).

White (1990 : 121) suggests that it is only in recent years that the logical problems of language acquisition (LA) have been well articulated. Part of this interest in LA has focused on the existence of what Chomsky was to term, an innate 'universal grammar' (UG), which would assist in explaining the acquisition of language. What linguistic theory has attempted to do is to characterize the principles and parameters which make up this UG and which could be used to explain first language(L1) acquisition. Existence of this UG in an L1 context would naturally lead to the question of whether L2 learners achieve competence, i.e. acquire the language, in a similar way. Expressed somewhat differently the issue is whether L2 acquisition is 'constrained by principles of UG' or whether L2 competence is attained in direct relation to input. White would suggest that because both the form and content of UG has been subjected to rigorous inquiry in recent years, and because such investigations have led to 'increasingly sophisticated accounts of similarities and differences across languages' (1990 : 122) it has become possible to establish whether UG is a component of second language acquisition (SLA). White points to potentially interesting relationships between the L1 and the target L2 which may be explained in terms of UG.

In this respect the question of whether L2 learners (especially adults) still have access to 'the principles and parameters of UG appears to have produced a number of differing positions. White discusses three such positions:

1. The assumption that the perceived difficulties for L2 learners and the differences between L1 and L2 acquisition suggest that UG is not available to adult learners.
2. The contrasting position is that UG is still available. If L2 learners show the attainment of an unconscious knowledge of, and competence in, the L2 which goes beyond the L2 inputs, then it is highly unlikely that this attainment could be

the result of general learning strategies or of the L1. Therefore, the likelihood arises that UG is involved.

3. The third stance represents a compromise between the first two. UG is still available but the learner's 'access to it is mediated by L1 knowledge'.

White's own investigations and writing supports the claim that UG is essentially available to L2 learners, even though the L2 learner may initially use principles and parameter settings from the L1 as an interim way of dealing with the L2 data (1990: 127).

Odendaal (1985 : 9) commented on the increasingly complicated nature of applied linguistic theory, resulting from the varied input from a number of disciplines. These she identified as psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics and sociolinguistics, and contended that the origins of CLT can really only be understood if the contributions of these various disciplines to the theoretical underpinnings of CLT be considered. Odendaal's findings are summarized in her table below and indicate how each has contributed to the communicative approach. Her original diagramme indicated that items in the three columns follow each other sequentially.

Table 3.

Contribution of Psycholinguistics, Neurolinguistics and Sociolinguistics to the Communicative Approach. (after Odendaal 1985 : 30)

<u>Psycholinguistics</u>		<u>Neurolinguistics</u>	<u>Sociolinguistics</u>
Focus on language learning processes			Focus on what language is and how it is used
Main strategy in MT acquisition is to form hypotheses about the MT, list and reshape them		Child's brain has specialized capacity for learning language Lateralization of language function in left hemisphere	Language learner is a member of society his language a form of interacting with it

Children learn MT for other reasons, i.e. to do something with it	Cerebral dominance of right hemisphere established in puberty	Language context oriented; meaning is dependent on the context of a situation
Adults lose this language learning strategy	Language acquisition stops in puberty	Language primarily a mode of action
Krashen objects -says they retain it; learn mainly by using language for communication but are supported by cognitive processes	The brain thrives on massive input. Optimal condition for learning Also requires opportunity for discussing input and feedback	Language learning is the acquiring of meaning, not forms Functions that language is used for identified
People know language when they can interact	Needs absence of threat for optimal learning	Language competence defined differently - now includes socially using linguistic forms appropriately for communication
Speaker's personality involved in communication		

The value of psycholinguistics to the pedagogical recommendations such as those of Krashen (see also table 4) and Terrell (1983 : 464) lies in the shift in emphasis away from what is said to how such utterances are possible (Odendaal 1985 : 10). These recommendations, according to Krahnke and Christison, have come 'closest to bridging the gap between theories of language and language acquisition and actual classroom techniques.' (1983 : 626).

Also, by focusing on the language learning process the discipline has provided a useful framework for understanding, and ultimately accepting, Krashen's distinction between learning and acquisition. In his hypothesis, Krashen suggests that language learners have two different means available to grasp and master a L2; learning and

acquisition. The former results from deliberate attempts to learn the language through pedagogical actions while the latter is brought about by meaningful interaction with other speakers of the target language. It is this communicative experience in the target language that leads eventually to fluency, whether verbal or written. This is the gist of acquisition. Learning on the other hand, serves only to correct or 'monitor' the language produced by the learner. This 'monitor' hypothesis was but one of the nine hypotheses about adult L2 acquisition posited by Krashen. Table 4 below provides a summary of Odendaal's discussion of Krashen's hypotheses on adult SLA. (1985 : 11-16)

Table 4.

Krashen's Second Language Acquisition Hypotheses.

<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>Statement (content)</u>
1. The Acquisition - Learning distinction	Adults have 2 independent systems for acquiring language a) subconscious acquisition b) deliberate language learning
2. The Natural Order of Acquisition	People acquire language items in a predictable order, independent of the input they receive
3. The Monitor Hypothesis	Acquisition is achieved by interaction in the target language while learning serves to correct or 'monitor' the language produced by the interaction. Fluency, is thus acquired through active communication and is hindered by the activation of the 'monitor'
4. The Input Hypothesis	Language is acquired through understandable input with the focus on the message and not on its form
5. The Attitude Hypothesis	Attitudes of mind (self-esteem, anxiety etc.) influence L2 acquisition
6. The Aptitude Hypothesis	Aptitude for learning a language relates to conscious learning and does not correlate with Attitude (above) which relates to acquisition

7. The Affective-Filter Hypothesis	An affective filter controls how much input a learner comes into contact with and how much of this input is converted into intake
8. The L1 Hypothesis	Where a L2 learner's competence fails the learner substitutes the first language
9. Individual variation in monitor use	Individuals differ in the amount that they monitor

Krashen's hypotheses have had 'a profound significance for second language teaching' (Odendaal 1985 : 11).

Now Krashen's monitor model of second language acquisition (SLA) has been criticized widely (Gregg 1988 : 73-74), and to all intents and purposes it remains a 'black-box' theory. But what it did do, along with the work of Stevick (1980), was to focus attention on the actual process of communication and its role in SLA (Odendaal 1985 : 19).

The contribution of neurolinguistics, as seen in Table 3 has been to identify the timing and conditions for optimal language learning. One of these conditions is the provision of opportunities for talking about the input. Another is that learners receive feedback from reality which helps learners establish whether their 'pattern extraction is correct' (Hart 1983- cited by Odendaal 1985 : 21). The above conditions occur in circumstances that are free from threat. In this respect there seems to be agreement between neurolinguistics' optimal conditions and Krashen's Attitude Hypothesis (see table 4). This would be in keeping with Krahnke and Christison's observation that there appears to be general agreement that affective factors have a major influence on how well languages are learned (1983 : 638).

The third discipline referred to in Odendaal's table, sociolinguistics, provided major insights into the learner's role as a member of a particular society. It also emphasized that language is used within a particular social context. Because such

language is used in social interaction it can legitimately be viewed as primarily a mode of action and as such it fulfills certain social functions in support of a desired action. It is possible to identify these actions, e.g., pragmatic, narrative, ritual or magic, scholastic, theological and scientific (Malinowski 1923 : 306 quoted by Odendaal 1985 : 23). Therefore the 2L learner requires not only the knowledge of particular linguistic forms, but the learner has also to acquire the ability to use such linguistic forms appropriately within a particular social context. The progression of development within the 2L learner then is towards a position of competence, not only in the correct use of the forms of the language, but also in the appropriacy of such forms. This issue of language competence and its implications is discussed below (chapter 3.4).

Odendaal's choice of parameters above is but one of a number that have been used to classify theories of SLA. Bialystok (1990 : 636) refers to examples of such classifications, notably those of McLaughlin (1987) and Ellis (1986). In the case of the former the theories were distinguished, in terms of form, by whether they were primarily inductive or primarily deductive. Ellis on the other hand, used content to:

distinguish among theories and identified the major theories in the field as reflecting different perspectives on the field. (1990 : 637)

While recognizing these contributions Bialystok would argue that perhaps it might be better, and certainly it would be more principled, to describe the division of acquisition theories in terms of the linguistic subdisciplines upon which the theories in question are based. Thus she would opt for a distinction more in keeping with Odendaal's which identifies sociolinguistic theories and psycholinguistic theories for example (1990 : 636).

The notion explored thus far has been that of the manner in which the L2 is acquired. The term 'acquisition' appears to be rather a passive one and little mention has been made of another important facet of Second Language Acquisition,

(SLA), namely that of learner strategies. While Krahnke and Christison maintain that the role of conscious learning in the language acquisition process is unclear, Towell (1987 : 98) felt that there was slight evidence to suggest that successful learners follow a predictable pathway towards SLA. The smoothness of this pathway is directly associated with the measure of responsibility that learners take for their own learning. It is also linked to the range of learning strategies embraced by the individual learner (Oxford... et al (1989 : 29). Oxford...et al define language learning strategies as:

actions, behaviours, steps or techniques used by learners to embrace learning. Specifically these strategies facilitate the acquisition, storage, retrieval and use of information. (1989 : 29).

While the actual number of learning strategies may vary from a few to perhaps hundreds, depending upon the way they are defined, Ellis (1985 : 13) categorized such strategies into three types; learning strategies, production strategies, and communication strategies.

According to Ellis, learning strategies include hypothesis formation (as envisaged by Chomsky), hypothesis testing and automatization. Production strategies encompass the successful design, execution and checking of a particular utterance, while communication strategies are those measures employed to assist the speaker in overcoming difficulties in communicating in the target language. These strategies may be used as conscious attempts on the part of the learner to promote learning or with contrived practice, they may become an automatic response in a particular learning situation.

Oxford ...et al (1989 : 30; after Rubin 1975) offers a profile of a good language learner. These learners :

- * are willing and accurate guessers
- * have a strong, persevering desire to communicate

- * are often uninhibited and willing to make mistakes in order to learn to communicate
 - * focus on form by looking for patterns, classifying, and analyzing
 - * take advantage of all practice opportunities
 - * monitor their own speech and the speech of others and pay attention to meaning.
- (1989 : 30)

Oxford...et al went further and quoted Naiman, Frolich and Todesco, (1975) who sought to identify the strategies used by these 'good learners'. The list is as follows:

- * Selecting language situations which permit the learner's (learning) preferences to be used.
- * Becoming actively involved in language learning.
- * Coming to the perception that language is both a system of rules as well as a tool for communication.
- * Continually revising one's understanding of the language; this revision to include the addition of new items of understanding
- * Learning to think in the language.
- * Taking cognizance of the affective demands of language learning.

Based upon the work of these writers and her (Oxford's) own research, Oxford... et al were able to construct their own list of six broad categories of actions used by successful learners of a language. These categories are:

- metacognitive - includes such activities as paying attention and searching for practice opportunities, self-evaluation
- affective - learners control emotions and attitudes
- social - learners work with other learners by asking questions; developing cultural awareness
- memory - grouping, imagery, reviews - used to get information into the memory

- cognitive - reasoning, analyzing, and summarizing, employing the new language directly in these activities
- compensation - overcome knowledge limitations by using 'production tricks' such as guessing, synonyms etc.

Successful learners use a wide range of these strategies. A great deal of language attainment occurs through pupils taking an active part in actual communication and strategies such as the above, and particularly that group of strategies which would fit Ellis' 'communication strategies' mould, (above) assist learners (Dornyei 1995 : 55). This usage takes place against a background of culture and ethnicity, personality, gender, and purpose in learning. These factors influence the degree to which each of these strategies is used.

The above comments on SLA and learning strategies give rise to a number of implications for language teaching. As has been stated above (chapter 3.1), the general failure of traditional methods of language teaching (Grammar-Translation, Direct, Audio-Lingual) to develop real communication skills led to a search for more effective ways to teach. The outcome of this search was the communicative approach developed during the 1970's. Across the Atlantic a closely related approach was finding increasing support in the U.S.A. This was known as Proficiency-Oriented Instruction or the Proficiency Approach. As explained by Oxford...et al (1989 : 30), this approach and the Communicative Approach can rightly be viewed as one and the same, both being based upon the same fundamental principles arising out of SLA theories and governing successful learning. The only major deviation is that the proficiency approach places greater emphasis on measurement issues by establishing the degree to which language proficiency or communicative competence is developed. What is understood by this term 'communicative competence' will be discussed in below (chapter3.4).

Any discussion on language acquisition and appropriate learning strategies would be incomplete without some consideration of what is understood by the term 'language'. One's understanding of this term, together with the theory governing the acquisition and learning of this language must surely hold important implications for what is likely to transpire in the successful language classroom.

Brown (1994 : 4) forthrightly suggests that any attempt to define 'language' adequately would be presumptuous, if not folly. He bases this contention on the fact that the answer to the question 'what is language?' is as elusive today as it has been for centuries as linguists and philologists have sought a suitable reply. The problem would seem to lie in the understanding that a definition is 'really a condensed version of a theory', and that 'a theory is simply- or not so simply- an extended definition.' Dictionaries and textbooks with their varied offerings of such a 'definition of language' do not help. Rather the many definitions and descriptions of various characteristics of language serve only to illuminate the controversies and limitations that are implied in these descriptions and definitions.

Brown suggests, further, that possibly any starting point in attempting a 'definition' of language should be to consolidate the various definitions and descriptions. His review of the literature pertinent to the topic produced the following set of statements which he would claim provides a reasonably concise, comprehensive summation:

1. Language is systematic and generative.
2. Language is a set of arbitrary symbols.
3. Those symbols are primarily vocal but may also be visual.
4. The symbols have conventional meanings to which they refer.
5. Language is used for communication.
6. Language operates in a speech community or culture.

7. Language is essentially human, although possibly not limited to humans.
8. Language is acquired by all people in much the same way- language and language learning both have universal characteristics. (1994: 5)

These statements are accompanied by a warning that it would be simplistic to accept that this is all there is to language. Each of the above statements is in itself a field of, in many cases, prolonged and sophisticated linguistic endeavour and academic enquiry. Williams (1988 : 3) contends that any definition of language is 'always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world'. Also, language is an 'activity' rather than an entity which has existed 'at one with the order of the world and with divine and human law'.

At the level of use of this language by human beings in the world, Littlewood (1981 : 1) suggests that there are perhaps two views of language; a structural view and a functional view. The structural view concentrates on the grammatical system; that system of rules and conventions into which the various linguistic items in the language are combined. However, according to Littlewood, this view by itself is unable to account for how language is used as a means of communication. It is also necessary to adopt a functional view of language. This aspect is linked to non-linguistic considerations such as a learner's situational and social knowledge. Only when these two aspects combine is it likely that the skills necessary for real communication to take place will be present. The learner will then be able to go beyond understanding the forms of the language and will be able to understand the meanings as well. This is what language competence is all about, (see chapter 3.4 for further discussion of communicative competence). Thus to understand meaning in language one needs:

- * to understand linguistic structures and vocabulary.
- * to have knowledge of the potential communicative functions of the linguistic forms and to have the ability to relate linguistic forms to appropriate

non-linguistic knowledge in order to interpret the specific functional meaning intended by the speaker. (Littlewood 1981: 3)

Consideration of Littlewood's two views of language would suggest that an attempt should be made to understand not only the components of a language but also what it is that they do, for such an understanding will largely determine the manner in which the language will be taught. If teachers have some grasp of what it is they are teaching and how the language that they are teaching fulfils a functional role, then, hopefully, the type of teaching embraced will be that which will achieve the greatest success in terms of what the perceived outcomes should be.

Leschinsky (1983 : 8) introduces three definitions gleaned from the literature on the nature of language. The definitions are given as follows:

Table 5
Definitions of Language (after Leschinsky)

Lecoutere & Groutaers (1942)	An exclusively human way of (communicating experiences, ideas and feelings by means of a system of signs that are consciously uttered.
Hat (1957)	Language is the way in which humans communicate, by speech in either spoken or written form.
Sapire (1964)	Language is a non-instinctive way of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires among humans. This communication is based upon a system of voluntarily produced symbols.

Leschinsky's observation is that the conclusion to be drawn from these definitions is that language is communicative. This might appear to be stating the obvious, but it is necessary to do this, if only to emphasize that given this communicative quality of language any instruction of such language should aim at developing in the learner

the ability to use the language as a means of communication. And this is what CLT attempts to do.

No discussion on the nature and purpose of language, however curtailed, would appear complete without reference to two writers whose work on the topic has influenced greatly the way in which linguists and teachers have come to view language. Both Chomsky (1975) in *Reflections on Language*, for example, and Paulo Freire (1972) in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, have considered at length this issue of language.

Chomsky's concept of language evolved over a period of almost four decades. This scholar was to be described as:

the linguist who changed the course of linguistics in the second half of the Twentieth century. (Henning 1991 : 13)

It was he who conceived of language as a biological organ -in the same way as vision, for example - and like vision it had its own genetically determined parameters (Mussad 1991 : 113). Chomsky envisaged a finite set of universal principles that determined the structure of the language. The term he employed to encompass these principles was that of 'universal grammar' (UG). The principles reflected clearly the structure of the human mind and because of this it should be accepted that they underlie all human languages. These principles, it is suggested, are used to supply a basis for the organization of experience and the development of intellectual constructs.

In one of his most recent works, Chomsky remains fascinated by language and the power that it exercises through the word (1993 : 11). This power is linked to the awakening of what Chomsky was to term, 'secret and latent forces' that enable Man to participate in a process of 'liberation from conceptual, logical and discursive rationalism' (Anshen 1993 : 11). Because it articulates, connects, infers and envisages, and because to grasp language intuitively represents 'the primary act and function of that one and single process which is called reason' (Anshen 1991 : 11),

language is considered indispensable for the construction both of the 'world of thought' and 'the world of perception'.

Thus, language to Chomsky is creative for it constantly gives rise to the production and interpretation of new forms, whether these be new in the experience of the learner or new within the entire history of that language (1993 : 11).

With this notion of language being creative, Chomsky is akin to Freire, (see below). Even the label, 'generative grammar' emphasises the creativity of human language. This creativity reflects the freedom of thought and mental constructs and thus the fundamental feature of language should be its free production.

If one accepts this creative quality, as both Chomsky and Freire, among others do, then the implications for classroom teaching practice in the area of ESL are important as teachers seek to adopt an approach that will give free reign to this latent creativity; something that CLT intends to do, (see chapter 3.3).

Freire viewed man as a 'language animal' and the role of language cannot be understood unless there is a philosophical understanding of the generative power of language (Berthoff 1987 : xvi). To Freire language is not just, as the popular conception would have it, a communicative medium. Rather it is a means of making meanings; the very meanings we communicate. It provides the power to remember meanings and because of this Man cannot only interpret, but more importantly, he can interpret his own interpretations. Furthermore, language provides a means of what could be termed, 'envisagement', enabling man to reflect on the meaning of the world and to imagine a new world. Thus, to Freire language is the vehicle for achieving the 'critical consciousness' that was a central feature of his theories. It is the means of conceiving of change and of making conscious choices aimed at achieving further transformation. Chapter 2.2 (above), enunciates Freire's emancipatory attitude towards the role of education. In his introduction to Freire's

work (1988 : 1). Giroux sees Freire's concept of language as providing 'a fundamental dimension of human agency and social transformation' (1987 : 8). Berthoff (1978 : 254) explained Freire's thoughts on language as a 'means of conscientization (see chapter 2.2); the creative, critical use of language in problematizing the existential situation'.

The above discussion was intended to refer briefly to current theories on the nature and purpose of language and thereby to prepare the way for consideration of communicative language teaching.

3.3. Characteristics of communicative language teaching

The previous section, (chapter 3.2) an attempt was made to identify those influences in the field of SLA which gave rise, both directly and indirectly, to CLT. This section attempts to identify and elucidate those aspects of language teaching which comprise what has come to be known as CLT.

Nuttall in his unpublished paper succinctly presents the issue:

An approach to language teaching consists really of two things; a theory of the nature of language, and a theory of the nature of language learning. (1988 : 4)

Chapter 3.2 has outlined some of the theory behind the acquisition of language. Any approach such as CLT must begin by attempting to answer the question, 'What exactly is it we are trying to teach?' Having established a satisfactory response, i.e. satisfactory to the language teacher, the second task that arises is to try and specify the basic units of this language structure, the 'bits' of the language, that need to be taught and a suitable methodology for ensuring that what is taught by the teacher is learned by the student.

Perhaps the starting point should be to distinguish between teaching language for the sake of language and teaching language for communication. Is the English teacher trying to impose upon the learner a body of knowledge about the language?

Or is the teacher trying to help the learner develop a number of skills or competencies that are considered vital if the learner is to be able to claim to know the language and to be able to use it? Many of the earlier methods of L2 teaching would be able to respond positively to the first of the above two considerations, and as has already been shown, this was the shortcoming of these methods. Language instruction produced learners who had an academic knowledge of the target language yet were unable to use this knowledge to do what language is intended for, communication.

These methods had often been based on reasonably efficient ways of helping the learner to master the basic forms and meanings of the various language structures without enabling them to know how the forms and meanings they had learned are used in the real world. What is more, they were unable to use this 'learned' language in authentic, natural communication situations. Nuttall refers to such language production as 'language-like behaviour' which is without 'any real communicative purpose' (1988 : 8).

Ellis (1982 : 73) viewed the situation from a slightly different perspective. The shift in emphasis in language teaching is expressed as follows:

There has been a shift from descriptions that view language as an independent and unitary system to descriptions that treat language as a form of social activity. The focus has shifted from what language is to what language does.

This has demanded a concomitant shift in practice to give effect to the changed view of what language teaching should seek to achieve.

Acton (1983 : 195) similarly contends that, when viewed over the previous four decades, language teaching methods have shown a distinct shift in terms of the notion of what should be taught. The changes he outlined parallel the progression outlined in Chapter 3.1. Commencing with the pre-structuralist period the emphasis in language teaching was on the content and the instructor. During the Structural/

Audio-Lingual period the focus had shifted to language structure, with the way in to learning being the acquisition of a basic structure of the language. With the growth of humanist psychology the focus shifted further to 'the whole person' with attention increasingly being focused on 'learner-centred' activities. The rise of support for CLT has elicited a further shift; towards a 'process-oriented' mode of teaching. Acton contends, further, that if one is to accept that the intended approach should be 'learner-centred' then attention must be given to a broader explanatory framework than just the language; namely interpersonal communication. This concept of communication has become central to the whole learning and teaching process through which learning occurs.

This is evidenced in the number of newer ESL teaching models which encourage this communication, either through inter-personal interaction or through interaction with a written or spoken piece of discourse. (e.g. The Silent Way-Cattegno; Curran-Counselling Language Learning; Lazenov's Suggestopaedia; Terrell's Natural Approach; Asher's Total Physical Response) (Acton, 1983 : 196).

While there has been such a trend one has to be wary of labelling any particular course content and/or methodology as 'communicative' or not. The problem is that 'the term communicative has no clearly understood and received meaning when it is applied to language teaching' (Ellis 1982 : 73). Ellis argues that instead of trying to respond to the questions : 'What is the communicative approach?' and, 'What does it teach?', the question that needs to be broached is: 'In what ways is "X" approach a communicative one?' To answer this requires a conscious effort on the part of the practitioner to distinguish between an informal and a formal communicative approach.

Such a dichotomy is based upon what is understood about acquisition in the work of Krashen (chapter 3.2). As explained above, acquisition is the result of the learner internalizing the rules of the L2 subconsciously, hence it is a natural process, while

learning results from a conscious process based upon formal study. Krashen felt that L2 learners both acquire and learn a language (cited by Brown 1994 : 279). This is postulated as a three-fold process (cf. Ellis above). The learner first needs to acquire the language, then he or she needs to learn it, and finally there is the need to develop strategies for making use of this new knowledge - the monitoring process that Krashen introduced. It may thus be suggested that if it is possible to distinguish between these three aspects, then in all probability it is likely that each presupposes particular criteria that would either favour or hinder the success achieved in each. (1982 : 74)

Ellis (1982 : 74) tried to answer the question regarding the criteria required for the acquisition of a L2. Because acquisition is viewed as a natural process it appears that what is required is the provision of a linguistic environment within which such a natural process can operate most effectively. This environment, according to Ellis, needs to be as authentic as possible, i.e. it should correspond as closely as possible to the 'communicative settings in which the learner might find him or herself'. Ellis refers to 'communicative opportunity' as a vital component of this authentic communicative environment - it should be an environment in which the learners themselves help to create and shape the course and nature of the communication which transpires.

This is especially important if one accepts, as Sano... et al do (1984 : 171), that the overall purpose of communication is to establish 'community'. Thus, while the objective and instrumental function of communication is important, it is by no means paramount, for the 'internal needs or purposes of human communication are equally significant' (1984 : 176). According to Sano...et al, man communicates because of an overriding need for affinity with other human beings in a human family (family here being taken in its widest possible sense). Therefore the classroom environment should provide experiences and opportunities to allow learners to do just this.

Towell, too, argues that the learner determines to a considerable degree 'what will be learned in the classroom' (1987 : 98). This argument is based largely upon the Natural-Order Hypothesis which suggests that a second language learner creates a series of 'inter-languages'. These are neither the L1 nor L2, but are independent linguistic systems which in large measure are pre-determined by an innate ability. This argument would be supported by Chomsky, (see chapter 3.1.).

The opportunity then for the learner to play an active part in deciding the course of the communication appears to be both necessary and sufficient for acquisition to take place and thus should be provided for by the language teaching methods and materials used. (More will be said about communicative materials in chapter 3.6)

Towell's argument would seem to be supported by the experiences of Graman (1988 : 433) who argued for precisely this form of L2 learning which he saw as being genuinely educative, based as it was upon the 'real human needs and concerns' of the learners. There is a need to tie the students' experiences to the process of learning a language, especially if a heightened motivation to learn the L2 is an objective. Learners are more likely to develop intellectually and linguistically when they begin to analyse their own experiences. This in turn leads learners to construct their own words to describe and understand their learning experiences. Graman was to draw heavily on the ideas of Freire in contending that ultimately it is through their:

successive, constructive attempts to understand and to be understood that drives learners on to discover within their own knowledge a better way to express an idea. (1988 : 436)

In attempting to build what Freire had earlier termed, 'critical knowledge', and then to find words to express it, learners engaged in 'generative themes' (Freire 1970 : 76) , where the engagement involved authentic dialogic problem-solving. The authenticity of the language needed to engage in this activity sets this type of learning apart from the artificial, earlier practices described in Chapter 3.1.

Berthoff (1987 : vi) maintains that Freire's philosophy of language and learning was at odds with the institutionalized views of the educators of his day. To Freire man is a 'language animal'. When considering man and language we need to realize that language is not an entity to be gained or learned but it is the very means of making the meanings we communicate, the 'illocutionary force' that Bachman (1990) was later to include in his model of communicative competence (see chapter 3.6).

The relevance of Freire's thinking to the discussion here is that it gives rise to the opposing concepts of 'Banking education' and 'Transformative education'. A careful consideration of the characteristics of CLT contained in this chapter reveals much within the approach which is akin to many of the features of what Freire termed transformative education; a kinship in terms of both philosophy and practice.

In his attempts at setting up what was in effect an emancipatory programme of education in Brazil Freire had to contend with the difficulty of trying to create in teachers the new attitudes that he felt they required. This involved a mind shift from the traditional view, often reinforced by parents, teachers and students alike, that a school system should be devoted to the internalizing of values and habits.

This internalization stifled reflection and the development of critical thinking (Shor 1987 : 8). Thus both teachers and students developed a dependence for authority; an affinity for the standards imposed by the controlling elite in society and effected through a system of prepared syllabuses and prescribed textbooks. To Shor, classrooms in such systems were places of intellectual decay and death, no more than simple delivery systems for 'lifeless bodies of knowledge' (1987 : 25). Instead of the traditional classroom activity having as its goal Freire's critical awareness (see chapter 2.2), it sought to impose themes, language and materials from the top-down. Because of this the empowering characteristics of language, conceived by Freire, are

alien to the experiences of most students. Instead of classrooms being places where students are able to experience and participate in the exercise of the generative power of language these classrooms are places for the promotion and practice of language as no more than a motor skill; and for the 'acquisition' of 'literacy skills' (Berthoff 1987 : viii). Shore describes students in such classrooms as 'cultural deficits' who are totally dependent upon the teacher to provide the delivery system of words, skills and ideas - in essence to teach them how to speak, think and act in a manner deemed acceptable to the empowered elite. Such education is what Freire would term 'banking' where the teacher transmits a body of knowledge or, in Freire's conceptualisation of the process, the teacher makes deposits' that will hopefully bear interest' (1987 : 29).

As was stated in Chapter 2.2, Freire sees learners neither as empty vessels to be filled nor as just objects of education. Rather the learner enters the process of learning, not by amassing facts but by constructing their reality in social exchanges with other learners.

If Freire's pedagogy is applied to ESL classrooms there would be a transformation from a teacher-centred delivery of pre-determined, discrete language items to a student-centred, and often initiated, dialogue in which themes from everyday life are problematised. The apparent parallels between Freire's pedagogy and certain of the characteristics of CLT are most interesting, the views of Graman (above) notwithstanding. Freire linked his pedagogy to a specific agenda of values. Table 6, below, lists these values and the ways in which they may be translated into practice.

Table 6

Paulo Freire's Agenda of Values in Transformational Education

- * Participatory - students are encouraged to participate in the classroom activities from the outset of each lesson. The entire learning process is interactive and cooperative with students discussing and writing instead of simply listening to the teacher 'teach'.
- * Situated - Course materials are situated in the students thoughts, language and experiences. Thus all materials should be related to the students' real-life conditions.
- * Critical - Class discussion is aimed at developing both self-reflection and social reflection. Students are encouraged to reflect critically on their knowledge and language, the quality of their learning process and the relation of this knowledge to the world in which they live.
- * Democratic - All classroom discussion is intended to be democratic, i.e. it is constructed mutually by students and the teacher. Equal rights are shared by all participants in the classroom, not only in terms of language but also in terms of the right to negotiate the curriculum either in its entirety or parts of it.
- * Dialogic - Classroom activity is based upon discussion in the form of dialogues. Ideally the teacher should initiate such discussion and then guide students through the more intricate stages of such discussion. Questions are frontloaded while lectures are backloaded.
- * Desocialization - Learned anti-intellectualism and authority-dependence, exhibited by the twin features of student silence and submission, are challenged. Students should in fact be desocialised from passivity in the classroom. Teachers, on the other hand, are desocialised from dull, domineering talkers into problem- posers and dialogue leaders.

- *Research Oriented - The teacher should be a researcher of speech, behaviour and conditions in which the students find themselves, and of student levels of cognitive and affective development, while the student is encouraged to be a researcher of the problems posed by daily experiences, the society and academic matters.
- * Activist - The classroom is to be both active and interactive. A central characteristic of such a classroom is a problem-solving, co-operative learning strategy based firmly upon a strong participatory format.
- * Affective - There should be interest in the broadest development of human feeling.

(Shor 1987 : 33-34)

Many of the Agenda features contained in this table would fit easily into what have been termed the characteristics of CLT, and vice versa.

J Crawford-Lange Blaine (1981 : 261) had earlier reduced much of Freire's philosophy on education, and especially that of language learning, to two basic principles which have a bearing on any curriculum programme, viz.;

- * The primary outcome of an educational experience is creative action on the part of the learners,
- * The acquisition of information and skills is a secondary objective of education and the content of such acquisition is subject to creative action.

As far as this second aspect of the three-fold process referred to above is concerned, viz., language learning - Ellis feels that it can be based upon a 'systematically built up body of knowledge'. The learner is conscious at all stages of what he is learning, and this requires that the information to be learnt should be designed to suit the individual learner' (1982 : 77).

The third facet of the procedure - monitoring - is also one which requires the generation, on the part of the learner, of an awareness of how to monitor and more implicitly how to improve both the appropriacy and effectiveness of this monitoring process.

Any attempt, therefore, at developing or implementing a communicative approach should take cognizance of these three aspects of L2 learning. Ellis' informal communicative approaches are the means to effect SLA while the formal communicative approaches target the student for 'learning' and the growth of appropriate monitoring skills.

Considerations such as the above have led various commentators to attempt to identify and isolate what can conveniently be termed 'the principles of CLT'. If it is possible to arrive at a general acceptance of these 'so-called' principles of language teaching then it should be possible, also, to arrive at a general acceptance of the practical aspects of syllabus and materials design as well as classroom practice. Enunciation of such principles can help language teachers to understand why changes called for in CLT are desirable.

Chick (1990 : 32), faced with this task, suggested that before one can look at principles of CLT and the resultant methods spawned by the approach, one needs first to consider how people communicate. In the previous section the nature of language was discussed. What is now required is consideration of how this language is used to communicate. It is now the processes of effective communication that are important rather than the knowledge required to communicate. Chick follows Morrow (1981) who contends that methods which aim to develop the ability of learners to communicate will be those which seek to duplicate the processes of communication encountered in the community at large. Chick established the essential characteristics of such processes:

* Open-endedness - the unpredictability of what communicators say

- * Goal-directedness - the development and direction of any interaction involving a communicator is governed by the 'needs and purposes' of that communicator
- * Element of doubt - interaction is initiated in response to a perceived lack of information (not necessarily in the sense of facts but also in the affective realm, e.g. feelings, opinions, desires, to give but a few). This is the 'information-gap' activity which is at the heart of much of CLT.
- * Context - this is vital to understanding. Much of a communicator's meaning is understood, not in terms of the language used, but in the very communicators themselves: their grasp of a particular situation when considered against the background of all that they have seen and experienced.
- * Meaning negotiated - Often the interpretation of meaning resides in the interaction carried out between the various parties in a communication process. The length of such an interaction is furthermore influenced by the disparity in the background of the communicators involved in the interaction.
- * Crisis control - When faced with a crisis (breakdown of meaning) communicators will use whatever means are available to make sense of the interaction. (1990 : 34-37)

Taylor cites Johnson (1979) and Morrow (1981) who had earlier explored the above aspects in their search for features of communication which would have a direct applicability to the teaching of language communicatively (Taylor 1983 : 73). The

problem is that, as has already been stated in this discussion, there is no unified theory of the communicative approach, although many course designers use the term 'communicative' to state their theoretical allegiance (Massey 1985 : 264). Thus the establishment of broad principles with regard to CLT becomes imperative if such claims of allegiance to CLT are to be justified.

Maley(1989 : 3), in an unpublished paper suggested the following set of principled decisions needed to dictate a classroom practice which should promote communicative competence:

1. Learners learn both consciously with effort and unconsciously without effort. CLT should cater for both.
2. Fluency gained through open-ended communication activities happening in real-time was more likely to promote learning than accuracy which emphasized the inculcation of correct linguistic forms.
3. Error is a normal part of learning.
4. Language processing moves from the top down. Thus meanings are encountered as 'wholes'.
5. Learners are more likely to acquire language if they are exposed to authentic examples of it.
6. Communicative tasks are superior to linguistic exercises in promoting learning.
7. To mirror real communication the major language skills need to be integrated.
8. The greater the responsibility given to learners, the more effective learning is likely to be.
9. Motivation would be increased through problem - solving activities.

Maley, reduced these to a set of three principles which could translate the above decisions into actual materials and thereby influence classroom practice. Thus:

1. The information gap/ problem solving principle.

2. The game principle.
3. The bi-sociative principle (Interaction among group members is believed to promote language learning).

Hutchinson and Waters (1984 : 108) would concur with Maley on point 3 above. Their definition of the term 'communicative' is geared to the competence and expectations of those participating in the learning process' (1984 : 108). They see CLT being based on negotiation between 'all parties concerned in the learning process'. Thus they feel constrained to reject the notion of CLT being 'learner-centred' in favour of it being 'learning-centred'. The implication here is that the 'needs and expectations of all parties involved in the learning process' should be considered when it comes to designing course materials and in selecting the methodology for classroom application.

The above principles enunciated by Maley would fit what Johnson suggested might 'arguably be claimed to be the standard model' of CLT (1987 : 58). Such a standard methodology appears to have made a major contribution to four areas of English teaching. These four areas Johnson identifies as follows:

- * Teaching of appropriacy - as given expression in the Notional-Functional syllabus design of Wilkins .
- * Centrality of message focus - as expressed in the many varieties of information transfer exercises which all seek to place students in a position where they 'will want to say something' and are given the means to say it.
- * Risk-taking skills - this is linked to the acceptance of errors as a natural part of learning
- * Combinatorial practice - A holistic practice where many aspects or 'sub-skills' of language are required if the learner is to develop fluency in language

Odendaal (1985 : 31-34) synthesized the comments of Rogers (1978) and Johnson (1982) in her construction of a framework within which to design a communicative course for English teacher trainees in Kwazulu. The framework incorporated the following fundamental features:

- * Language is seen as context-oriented and meaning is dependent on the particular context of a situation.
- * Language is seen as a mode of action and in few cultures as a mode of thought. Thus the emotive and social function is supreme.
- * The above are relevant because the language learner is a member of a society and his language is a form of interacting with society.
- * The didactic goal of language learning is for the learners to acquire communicative competence.

Berns (1990 : 104) understands CLT in terms of the following characteristics:

1. Language teaching is based upon a view of language as communication; language as a social tool which speakers use to make meaning; speakers communicate about something, to someone for some purpose, either orally or in writing.
2. Diversity is recognised and accepted as part of language development and use in L2 learners as it is with L1 learners.
3. A learner's competence is considered in relative, not in absolute terms of correctness.
4. More than one variety of a language is recognised as a viable model for learning and teaching.
5. Culture is recognised as playing an instrumental role in shaping a speaker's communicative competence.
6. No single methodology or fixed set of techniques is prescribed, although particular techniques and procedures are generally associated with CLT.

7. Language use is recognized as serving the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual functions and is related to the learner's competence in each.
8. Learners need to be engaged in doing things with the language - using it for a variety of purposes in all phases of learning. (1990 : 104)

Weidemann (1986 : 2-18) handled the issue from a slightly different perspective. Instead of enunciating 'principles' he suggested 'requirements' necessary for a communicative approach. These are listed as:

- * Information-gap techniques
- * Authentic texts
- * A focus on transactional competence
- * Realism, in the sense that teaching be related as closely as possible to real language use.
- * Integration of the 'so-called' language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing).
- * A broad perspective on language and its uses.

Oxford... et al (1989 : 33), in discussing the ingredients of a communicative approach, focused 'on four main underlying and interrelated principles':

1. Attainment of communicative competence as the main goal.
2. Dealing communicatively with forms and errors.
3. An orientation which integrates the four language skills.
4. A focus on meaning, context and authentic language.

Each of these principles was seen to encourage the learners to shoulder a greater responsibility for their own learning through a varied range of language learning strategies.

Kumaravadivelu (1993 : 13-14) suggested ways of maximising the learning potential in CLT classrooms. In presenting his 'macro strategies' he succinctly describes what these classrooms should be like. He saw the classroom as one which:

seeks to promote interpretation, expression and negotiation of meaning in classroom situations where the learners are active, instead of just being reactive.

Consider then these 'macro-strategies' (after Kumaravadivelu p 14):

1. Create learning opportunities in the classroom. This is based upon a belief that teachers cannot really teach a language; they can only create conditions under which it will develop in its own way. Such learning opportunities are a result of a joint production by participants engaged in the classroom interaction.
2. Utilize learning opportunities created by learners. This is based upon the premise alluded to in 1 (above), that teachers and learners are co-participants in the generation of classroom interaction.
3. Facilitate negotiated interaction between participants. This refers to meaningful learner- learner and learner-teacher interaction in the classroom. Central to this interaction is the freedom that the learner should have to initiate interaction and not just respond to what the teacher says.
4. Activate the intuitive heuristics of the learner. The premise here is that all human beings possess intuitive heuristics (i.e. conscious and unconscious cognitive processes of inquiry that assist them to discover and assimilate patterns and rules of linguistic behaviour).
5. Contextualise linguistic input. Because comprehension and production of linguistic aspects involve rapid and simultaneous integration of syntactic, semantic and discourse phenomena, any linguistic input should be presented to

learners in units of discourse so that they can benefit from the interactive effects of the various linguistic components.

In spite of the observation earlier in this section that there seems to be no unified theory of CLT, there nevertheless appears to be reasonable consensus in the literature on the principles underpinning this approach. Oxford...et al's four main principles (above) adequately summarise much of what has been written about the approach. It is acceptance of these principles which will dictate the nature of teaching materials and didactic practices developed to effect their implementation. Thompson (1996 : 10), in an attempt to parry criticism from teachers who appear to reject CLT because they 'cannot see clearly what is happening and ... identify the useful innovations that CLT has brought', maintains that certain misconceptions about the approach persist. He set out to discuss the four misconceptions he considers most frequently heard:

1. CLT means not teaching grammar;
2. CLT means teaching speaking only;
3. CLT means pair work which means role-play;
4. CLT means expecting too much from the teacher.

While conceding that there might be elements of truth in all four, and especially number 4 because of the recognition that CLT places greater demands on the teacher than other approaches, Thompson, referring to Medgyes(1986) on this score, is able to show that in each case the misconception has arisen because teachers haven't really understood the underlying philosophy of CLT and what it attempts to achieve. Thus, he contends that it is imperative that such misconceptions be cleared away so as not to lead to the explicit rejection of changes that have made an extremely positive contribution to ESL teaching.

3.4. Criticisms and objections to CLT

This chapter thus far has dealt with aspects of teaching pertaining to CLT and its rise to a position of prominence in the English language teaching arena. The very fact that CLT has been established as a recognizable approach for two decades has meant that teachers and linguists are now beginning to question some of its successes and failures (Weidemann 1986 : 5). Reference has already been made to comments and criticisms by various writers in the above sections. This section proposes to consider further questions about the efficacy of CLT.

Swan's (1985 : 2-12) critical look at CLT was in response to the perceived confusion which existed regarding various aspects of the approach. To Swan the major criticism was that the communicative approach failed to account for the knowledge and skills that students bring with them from the mother- tongue:

The belief that students do not possess or cannot transfer from their mother tongue, normal communication skills is one of two complementary fallacies that characterize the communicative approach. (1985 : 10)

The second fallacy alluded to by Swan above, is what he terms the 'whole-system' fallacy. The assumption that when teaching a 'piece of language' the teacher endeavours to teach everything about that piece of language without considering how much of the teaching is new to students and is relevant to their needs. He does not condemn CLT out of hand because of such inconsistencies that he identifies in its philosophical underpinnings. He recognizes that it has made a considerable contribution to the theory and practice of language teaching, especially in the area of methodology. Because of this he appears to defend the approach from his own criticisms by suggesting that perhaps one should not ask whether the approach 'Is true', but rather 'What good has it done?' (1985 : 87). He does however, sound a warning that to refer to CLT as a 'revolution' is no more than an exercise of the imagination. What worries him is the observation that:

after ten very expensive years of communicative teaching, we cannot prove that a single student has a more effective command of English than if he or she had learned the language by different methods twenty years earlier. (1985 : 87)

On the strength of this contention he concludes his series of discussions by suggesting that CLT, is likely to be viewed at some time in the future as 'little more than a ripple on the surface of twentieth-century language teaching (1985 : 87).

The apparent preoccupation of so many scholars with the theoretical aspects of CLT (see chapter 3.2 & 3.3 above) has presented problems similar to those identified by Swan. Fox (1993 : 313-323) viewed such problems from a practical point of view. To her it seems clear that:

teachers who adopt practices without a clear understanding of the theoretical assumptions underlying them will use those practices less effectively than teachers who do have such an understanding. (1993 : 313)

To Fox such a theoretical understanding was vital, for research conducted by her among graduate teaching assistants of French suggested that practice-oriented training programmes were inadequate to fully prepare such teaching assistants for communicative teaching.

A similar misgiving was raised by Whitely (1993 : 137) who questioned whether, in fact, there had been a shift towards CLT in the classroom because, 'most teachers have only a vague notion of what it entails'. Citing Wolf and Riordan (1991 : 119), Whitely attempts to explain this apparent lack of theoretical understanding by exploring reasons why the channels of diffusion of CLT in the field have been relatively unsuccessful. One of the major weaknesses would appear to be in the actual application of CLT for to him there seems to be 'a split between theory and practice' (1993 : 137). Whitely sought to establish what had led to this split. Two kinds of problems were identified; firstly, the amount of scholarly disagreement in the literature about theoretical aspects of CLT and the resultant confusion about the

nature of the approach, and secondly, resistance to reform in classrooms and programmes where CLT was to be the desired 'modus operandi'. Of the two the second issue would seem to be the more easily resolved. Whitely suggests that greater effort is required in the development of communicative coursebooks and associated materials for the average teacher. Through the use of such materials teachers could see that 'meaningful and purposeful use of the language had taken place' (1993 : 149). This would be a boost to the individual teacher's confidence and he or she might be encouraged to persevere with the approach.

In her report of an empirical study of four Year 9, French L2 classrooms McKay (1994 : 8) attempted to answer the twin questions; 'How communicative are we?' and 'How communicative should we be?' Her observation and analysis of classroom interaction suggested that not only did the four classrooms she investigated clearly differ in their communicative orientation, but these differences could be linked to differing teacher perspectives on language learning in general and CLT in particular. Thompson (1996 : 9) emphasises a similar idea, for he suggests that despite apparent unanimity among practitioners in accepting CLT as 'the dominant theoretical model in ELT', many teachers exhibit very disparate perceptions of CLT, possibly because of the extremely rapid growth and development of the approach in recent years. Aspects of McKay's study led her to the conclusion that it is erroneous to assume that language teachers follow a common practice in schools because they differ so widely in their thinking about learning and their approach to teaching. Hence it is almost impossible to answer the first of her questions, except on an individual basis.

A criticism unrelated to those above, was raised by Tarvin and Al-Arishi (1991 : 9). They contend that a major weakness of the approach was that many of the classroom activities discouraged reflection or contemplation. They see as a possible cause the emphasis on overt-response interactional activities which are so much a part of CLT. (e.g. role/game playing, small group discussion, etc.) As a result

individual contemplation is often neglected and the impulsive student who responds readily to some or other stimulus is rewarded while the student who takes time to reflect on a situation or a problem is penalized. They quote Underhill (1989) who referred to such a situation as a 'conspicuous action classroom' where emphasis was placed on the affective domain and where the senses were exploited but where little value seemed to be placed on participants 'standing back' from the classroom activities and reflecting upon what they had seen and heard. While generally recognizing this lack of reflective activity in CLT classrooms they do acknowledge that there are certain CLT activities which may be conducive to the development of reflection, viz.:

- * task oriented, problem-solving activities
- * Process oriented activities where the value of the exercise lies in the proceedings and not the end product
- * synthesis oriented activities in which students are encouraged to realize a meaning potential which is distinctly personal.

Graman (1988 : 441) expresses similar sentiments. He contrasts the reflective, liberating pedagogy of Freire with the alternatives that he terms:

the ones most widely used in the U.S. foreign language programmes (that is, communicative and form-oriented approaches) precisely because they omit the most important aspect of education; the humanization of mankind.

There may be some measure of truth in the contentions of both Tarvin and Al-Arishi and Graman; directly in the case of the former and implied in the comments of the latter, that CLT does not encourage sufficient reflective engagement. Yet, as was pointed out in Chapter 3.2 (Freire's table of agenda), there are many of the characteristics of CLT which are in accord with many, if not all, of the agenda outlined by Freire.

In spite of a shortcoming in providing adequate reflective opportunities these writers see CLT as an approach to be valued, more so if the interactional activities can be complemented by activities which promote reflection.

Anderson (1993 : 473) sounds a warning about a blanket imposition of CLT. He accepts that CLT may well be the best way of teaching ESL pupils in an English environment (a contention that Swan above questions) but wonders whether CLT will meet:

the needs of others in distant lands, who are learning English for a different purpose and who have no desire to adopt our culture. (1993 : 471)

In the context of ESL teaching in China, Anderson maintains that many Chinese English teachers are ill-equipped to teach English communicatively. Demands placed upon such teachers in a culture which traditionally discourages risk takers are excessive. Because of this he urges that attempts to encourage CLT in a non-English environment should be sensitive to the traditional methods and needs of teachers and students.

Holliday (1994 : 3) raises similar misgivings. He suggests that one of the reasons why there appears to be uncertainty about the appropriateness of CLT to conditions prevalent in particular classrooms, and thus an accompanying resistance on the part of teachers to implement CLT in their own classrooms, is that such teachers are trying to use a particularly narrow interpretation of CLT which has been produced or classrooms in what is referred to as the BANA (British, Australasia, North American) ELT community.

Holliday reduces the problem to one of 'technology transfer between two parts of the English language teaching profession' (1994 : 3). In this context 'technology' refers to the:

whole range of methodologies, techniques and procedures which make up classroom practice, plus their realization in textbooks and classroom materials. (1994 : 4)

He observes that most of the technology of ELT teaching is produced by the BANA side of the profession and he argues persuasively that, while by its very nature the communicative approach does have the potential for a wide adaptability to almost any educational situation, the materials commonly exported by the BANA community to what he terms the TESEP world (tertiary, secondary and primary English language education in the rest of the world) are usually of a much narrower version of CLT and in many instances are not readily adaptable.

A possible way to resolve such an issue is to close the gap between perceived theory and practice by acknowledging the realities of the TESEP classrooms during the creation of technology. Holliday thus pleads for a two-way exchange of technology in which the BANA industry would learn from the TESEP experiences. By so doing he envisages a more powerful CLT technology with more chance of success in TESEP classrooms.

The ultimate measure of success or failure of CLT in the L2 classroom is whether the learners exhibit the expected and desired learning outcomes intended, as a product of the instructional behaviour. McKay (1994 : 27) subscribes to Frolich, Spada and Allen's (1985 : 27) statement that very little investigation has taken place into the effect of differing communication orientations or instructional variations, on language learning outcomes. In her study, referred to earlier in this section, McKay was able to show that communicative teaching practices did not necessarily lead to higher language ability levels. In fact classes in which instruction was most communicative produced listening and speaking outcomes not much higher than the class which was seen as being least communicative. In reading and writing the results indicated that CLT approaches disadvantaged students when they were compared to the results achieved in these areas by students in the more analytical or traditional classrooms. As McKay rightly points out such results need to be treated

with caution because of the small-scale of the exercise. However, they do point to the existence of possible differences in student learning outcomes and suggest scope for further research focused on the issue of learning outcomes attained in CLT classrooms.

Comment on criticism of CLT comes from Rollman (1994 : 222) who observed that much of the skepticism linked to the apparent failure of CLT to reach classrooms is based on 'anecdotal evidence'. Rollman pleads for further empirical studies to establish to what extent CLT (or aspects of it) are finding widespread acceptance in language classrooms. This study seeks to do that in one particular English teaching community, that of the Ciskei.

Rollman responded to her own plea by undertaking a follow-up study to one done in 1976 in beginning German classes, to establish to what extent foreign language classrooms were communicative. When compared to the situation 17 years previously Rollman found that the classrooms observed had become more communicative, yet the contention that there is a skepticism related to CLT penetration of classrooms remains. Such skepticism, Rollman feels, may be justified, but in a limited number of classrooms advances seem to have been made (1994 : 231).

Seedhouse (1996 : 16) argues that one of the goals suggested for CLT, that of 'genuine' or 'natural' communication rather than 'typical' or 'traditional', is both 'paradoxical and unattainable.' He maintains further, that what has come to be termed 'the communicative orthodoxy' is flawed. Seedhouse summarises the main assumptions of this orthodoxy as:

- * There is such a thing as 'genuine' or 'natural' communication;
- * It is possible for EFL teachers to replicate genuine or natural communication their classrooms, but most fail to do so;

- * Most teachers produce interaction which features examples of the IRF Cycle (initiation - by the teacher : response by the learner and follow-up by the teacher) and display questions that are typical of traditional classroom interaction but rarely occur in genuine or natural communication;
- * Teachers could be trained to replicate genuine or natural communication in the classroom.

Seedhouse identifies what he considers flaws in each of the above. It is not the intention to enter into discussion of Seedhouse's findings. However, just the recognition of the possible existence of such flaws is important for it supports the idea that CLT is being exposed to rigorous enquiry. Seedhouse suggests that because of these flaws in the orthodoxy, a possible move should be encouraged away from viewing CLT classroom interaction as genuine. Rather, he feels that it would be preferable to view such interaction as a sociolinguistic variety of what he terms 'institutional discourse' which can be characterized by an orientation 'to some goal, task or identity' involving special and particular constraints 'relating to what is allowable', and by an 'association with inferential frameworks and procedures used by a speech community or communities convened for the institutional purpose of learning English, and working within particular speech exchange systems suited to the purpose' (1996 : 23).

Before discussion of aspects of materials design attention needs to be focused on the main goal of language teaching, as identified by Oxford...et al, that of communicative competence.

3.5 Communicative competence

The term 'communicative competence' is one that has been under scrutiny for a number of years (Brown 1994 : 227). It is a term which came to the fore through the sociolinguistic work of Hymes (1968- cited by Brown : 227), who perceived of it

as being a particular verbal behaviour in a particular situation and which varied with the function of that language.

Chomsky (1957) earlier, had distinguished between linguistic performance and linguistic competence, which he perceived as a speaker's knowledge of his language in a particular language community, and in an idealised set of psychological and personal conditions (Kohli 1989 : 18-21). Hymes considered Chomsky's notion of competence too limited as it did not account adequately for the social and functional rules of language (Brown 1994 : 227).

Chomsky saw 'competence' in rather narrow terms as 'sentence-based'. A language learner was competent when he was able to produce and understand sentences which were completely new. Jurgen Habermas (1970) rejected Chomsky's notion of competence as being too narrow. It was inadequate to 'account for culturally determined interpretation and expression of meaning' (Quoted by Berns 1990 : 97). To Habermas, to understand competence one had to go beyond mastery of linguistic rules and had to include 'the ability to produce a situation of potential ordinary communication' (1990 : 97). Thus, to Habermas, communicative competence is the ability for a language learner to master an ideal speech situation; this mastery being evidenced in two ways:

- * a potential to produce such an ideal speech situation
- * possession of the knowledge and ability to participate in particular role behaviour, referred to as 'symbolic interaction'.

By an ideal speech situation Habermas meant communication unhindered by external influences such as the different positions of power enjoyed by the speakers in a particular social structure, and internal influences such as disagreement on the part of the participants about the thematic and situational limits of such communication. Furthermore, should the participants not display appropriate

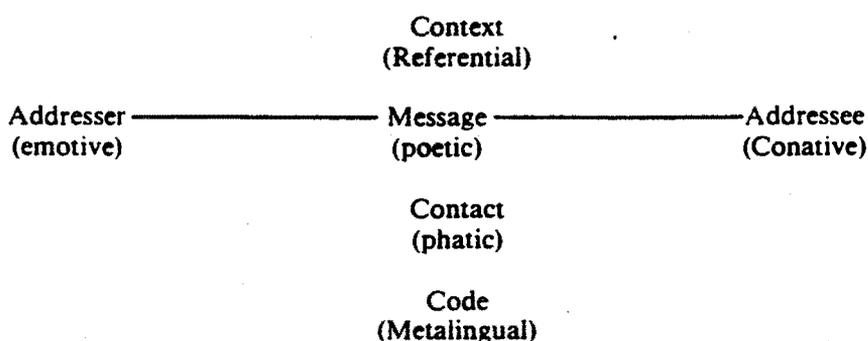
interpersonal behaviour then the rules for the communication are no longer identical for the participants. The communication will break down as participants will decline 'to conduct themselves reciprocally towards one another's expectations' (Berns 1990 : 98). Should this happen then Habermas felt the participants would have to enter 'discourse' i.e. discussion and negotiation, towards re-establishing the process of communication. Habermas could thus distinguish between pure communication and discourse.

Seliger (1977 : 264) considered the term as , 'a well-formedness in the linguistic sense and a general ability to understand and to make oneself understood by others.' Savignon (1980 : 39) saw it as an ability to function in a truly communicative setting; i.e. in a dynamic setting in which linguistic competence must be able to adapt itself to the total informational input, both linguistic and paralinguistic, of one or more participants in a communication process.

Brown (1984 : 600) accepted that the term had been adequately explained, so much so that it was possible in a broad sense to view the teaching of communicative competence as teaching in which the 'mechanical, isolated and meaningless structural exercises of all kinds' are substituted by real life situations. To Brown, teaching for communicative competence attempted to put 'contact' and 'content' into the use of the language. While he was able to accept the adequacy of his explanation, he nevertheless saw the concept as a 'floating entity' for it had not satisfactorily been anchored to a theory of communication. He questioned Savignon's work which he identified as the major work up until that time, on communicative competence in L2 teaching, yet which did not really address the theoretical foundations of the issue.

Fig 5

Jakobson's Model of Communication (after Brown 1984 : 604)



Brown suggested that perhaps a return to some of the earlier theorists of the 1960's, notably Jakobson, who had proposed a model of all aspects of communication, might assist in establishing theoretical acceptability of the term. Brown's contention is that Jakobson's model, which is based on a global orientation towards the act of communication, could assist in describing the various modes and systems of communication and thereby help to 'elaborate strategies for all elements of communication'. Where proponents of communicative competence had looked at communication through a linguistic lens they had erred for, to Jakobson, language was but one mode of communication. In terms of this, for a learner to achieve communicative competence, he or she must be initiated into the entire process of communication. In pedagogical terms it seems an error to teach linguistic communication apart from global communication, which is an holistic process.

Savignon (1985 : 130), in a later paper, accepted that linguists and psychometricians concerned with evaluating language proficiency were far from reaching consensus on the exact meaning of the term. There was even less consensus on how

communicative competence was acquired. She suggested that there does exist a general understanding that the term includes more than 'sentence-level grammar, or grammatical competence'. Savignon identified other components of the concept which together go some way towards meeting Brown's criticism that we should only talk of competence in communication in a holistic sense.

Brown (1994 : 222-228) in a later work examined the historical development of this principle of 'communicative competence' which he viewed as one of the important theoretical principles of language behaviour and which underpinned what had come to be termed the 'communicative teaching movement'. Beginning with Hymes (see above) he traced the development of the concept through various research studies. Brown considered the contribution of Canale and Swain in 1980 to the growing literature on the topic, as the seminal work on defining the concept. Savignon (1985) appears to draw on these writers in her division of the term into four components.

Thus Savignon identifies:

- * sociolinguistic competence in which there is an understanding of the social context in which language is used;
- * discourse competence which requires an understanding of how utterances are put together to form meaningful text;
- * grammatical competence where the accurate use of the grammatical conventions of the language are revealed.
- * strategic competence where the best possible use is made of what is known about a language in order to 'interpret, express and negotiate meaning in a given context'. (1985 : 130)

These four competencies together illustrate the integrative and compensatory nature of communicative competence.

Williams (1979 : 19), had earlier conceived of four areas involved in communicative competence and while he restricted discussion to 'face-to-face' situations' nevertheless, these areas seem to be necessary if one is to decide on how communicative competence can be taught. The four areas involved knowledge of:

- * mechanical rules of language
- * meaningful rules of language
- * appropriacy in terms of the setting and the relationship between the people involved
- * non-linguistic conventions of kinesics

From the above discussion it would appear that while most writers occupy some common ground on various aspects related to communicative competence, there is a lack of agreement on exactly how the term should be defined. Acton (1983 : 198) relates this lack of consensus to:

the uncertain status of the conceptual and theoretical boundaries separating and relating communication and language in the minds of many language teaching professionals.

Furthermore, the impact on teaching behaviour of such 'boundaries' between language and communication is crucial because what Acton refers to as the 'communicative world view' will determine what can and will be taught. If the language teaching practitioner draws distinctions or creates conceptual boundaries between the concepts of language and communication, such distinctions will lead to the adoption of a particular position regarding communication in the process of language instruction. Whether or not one sees communication as central to learning will determine which pedagogy will be adopted. A comparison of Acton's Communication-centred model (Fig 6 below) with a Language-centred model of communicative output (Fig 7) indicates that the teacher's view of language and its

relationship to other components will differ according to which conceptual standpoint is preferred.

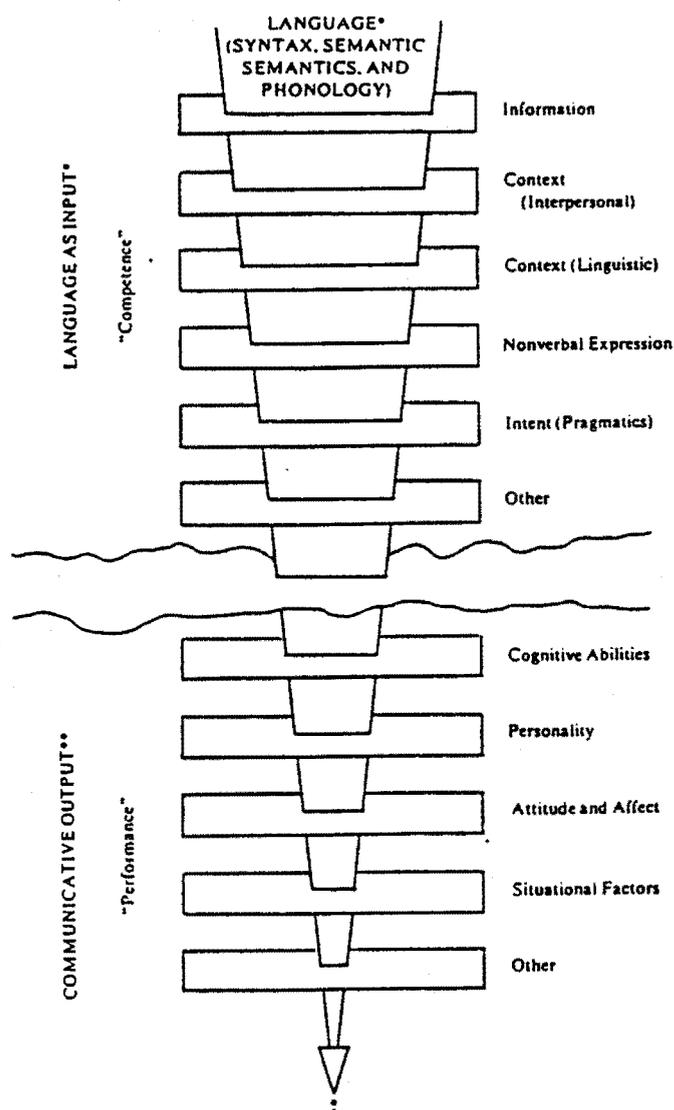
Fig. 6

Acton's Communication-centred Model of Communicative Output
(1983 : 200)



Fig 7

Acton's Language-centred Model of Communicative Output
(1983 : 202)



As Acton explains, the 'conceptual centering of communication places language on a par with other aspects of communication.' (1983 : 199) and must affect the teacher's perception of how to 'get into' the system when it comes to classroom practice. This also affects the way in which the syllabus will be structured. A feature of the communication-centred model is that if the teacher has taught the language successfully, it is implicit that all other aspects of communication have to some extent also been taught.

In the language-centred climate proposed in Fig.7 the teacher could have been satisfied that by equipping learners with a collection of linguistic tools, such learners would have been prepared to leave the classroom, enter the world at large, and use these tools to learn how to communicate. Gradually, through trial and error the learner would start to approximate and subsequently internalise native-like behaviour. Acton makes a strong argument why the latter outcome is often not achieved. Causes he identified range from psychological to socio-cultural factors. What Acton's comments serve is a two-fold purpose in terms of this study.

1. They emphasize that there is at yet no single definition of communicative competence although various aspects or competencies are widely accepted by numerous commentators.
2. They introduce into the discussion the issue of teaching methods and the fact that distinctive practices will be developed through which teachers seek to achieve such competencies.

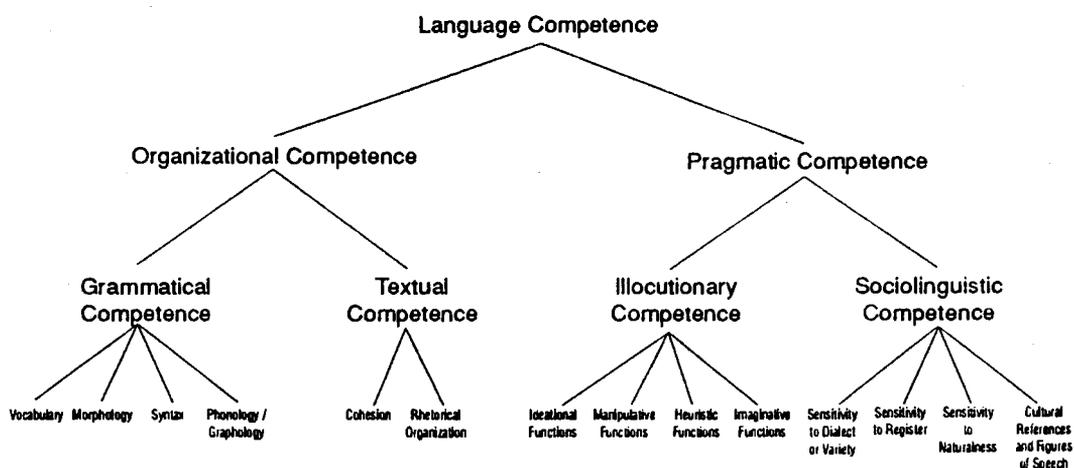
This matter of the teachers and their methods will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

Possibly the simplest, yet most comprehensive diagrammatic representation of communicative competence is that of Bachman (1990) reproduced by Brown (1994 : 229). In this schematisation of 'language competence' Bachman presented a model that was both nodular and hierarchical; hierarchical in the sense that each level of nodes of competence was supportive of a higher composite competence. To some extent the representation by Bachman (fig 8 below), epitomises the modifications that have been made to the definition as presented earlier by Canale and Swain and by Savignon. The inclusion of the category ' pragmatic competence' - which in turn is sub-divided into functional and sociolinguistic aspects- is a response to the perceived importance of pragmatics in recent theories of communicative

competence. (Berns 1990 : 1-28) was to point out the impact that pragmatic constraints have on language production while Brown was to emphasise that 'second language acquisition becomes an exceedingly difficult task when sociopragmatic or pragmalinguistic constraints are brought to bear' (1990 : 231) because, compared to the comparatively simple task of learning the organisational rules of the L2, 'the complexity of catching on to a seemingly never-ending list of pragmatic constraints' leads in many instances to a misunderstanding of the intended meanings (or what Bachman calls illocutionary force) of utterances within the context of the communication.

Fig. 8

Components of Language Competence (after Bachman 1990:87)



The other sub-category of the pragmatic node in the model is that of the functional nature of language, the illocutionary competence. In simple terms 'function' while being variously interpreted, is possibly best expressed in the work of Michael

Halliday who in 1973 used the term to mean the purposive nature of communication. (Brown 1994 : 232) Brown drew on Halliday's work in his representation of seven different functions of language. These were:

1. Instrumental : where the user manipulates the environment
2. Regulatory : language is used to control events
3. Representational : language is used to portray reality as seen by the user
4. Interactional : language is used to ensure social maintenance
5. Personal : language is used in an affective way to expose feelings and emotions
6. Heuristic : language is used to acquire knowledge
7. Imaginative : language is used to create a world of fantasy in which imaginary systems or ideas are called into existence.

Whether a learner's competence is measured in terms of one or more of the above - Brown suggests that all are neither discrete nor are they mutually exclusive- or whether one accepts a shift in focus from the above at the basic sentence level in an interaction, to a whole discourse level, there appears to be tacit acceptance in the literature that there needs to be the acquisition and mastery of these aspects before a learner can be termed communicatively competent.

3.6. CLT teachers and their methods

In the changing world of English L2 teaching as outlined in Chapter 3.1 the perception may arise that when one speaks of CLT one is speaking of something 'new'. Before discussing the teaching methods associated with CLT the reader needs to be aware of two fundamental issues that pertain to CLT:

1. CLT is an approach rather than a distinctive method. As with the so-called Eclectic Method of language, teaching CLT has borrowed from other distinctive L2 teaching methodologies those features which will enable it as an approach, to achieve its aims.
2. CLT is not a new approach. There are no 'truly' new approaches to language teaching. Rather this newness lies in the rearrangement of ideas that have periodically enjoyed both favour and disapproval as linguists have speculated on language learning and teaching (Nuttal, 1988 : 4).

This issue of the teacher and the methods employed is important because it is the particular teaching style, that presentation of 'the configuration of elements on a specific dimension of teaching' (Gayle 1982 : 255), which in all likelihood will determine the effect of the teacher on the learner or how the L2 teacher will affect the desired L2 learning. These various elements, techniques, call them what one will, give to practice a distinctiveness which enables one to clarify such a method or approach as one which fits a particular nomenclature because of what the practitioner does.

A danger, however, is that the teacher might succumb to the temptation to consider the approach adopted as an 'either-or' approach. One either has a communicative approach or a 'not- so-communicative' approach, whereas it should be conceivable for elements of both types to be present in a single teacher's classroom practice.

Massey (1985 : 264-265) and Ellis (1982 : 77) support such a warning, precisely because, as has been stated earlier (chapter 3.1), there is no unified theory of CLT. Thus to Massey it makes more sense to speak of strong or weak versions of communicative practice. The strong version has 'communication interaction at the heart of the curriculum' while the weaker version 'still preserves a structural core

curriculum and when the learner knows the language it promotes activities that will engage the student in communicative interaction' (1985 : 269).

As has been observed earlier (chapter 3.2) changes in perspectives of linguistics and psychology have influenced changing fashions in language teaching (Krahnke & Christison (1983 : 1). This input from theory, together with an accumulation of classroom experience, has provided the direction in which language teaching has moved.

In spite of such direction being clearly signposted by the experiences of the classroom and the contributions of theory, it is still apparent that among many teachers, especially non-native teachers of the language, there is 'a reluctance to embrace the CLT approach (Medgyes 1986 : 107). This reluctance is at the heart of this study. Medgyes, in a study of CLT in Hungary, raised a number of queries. In doing so he highlighted a number of issues directly affecting CLT teachers. His contention is that too often the CLT approach presents enormous difficulties to the language teacher:

- * There is the problem arising out of the relationship between group coherence and group divergence. How to cater for the needs of a group of learners as a whole yet attend to individual aspirations.
- * How to accommodate both 'what' the learner says and 'how' it is said. This focus on meaning and form simultaneously is often stressful to the teacher.
- * How to create the favourable conditions within which real needs can arise and real messages can be exchanged. For teachers this often requires that they 'abandon the role of general language monitor in the classroom' (1986: 109) and supplement their teaching self with the role of co-communicator.

- * Because CLT teachers are instruments to facilitate learning and are not the sole repositories of wisdom they are required to 'withdraw' yet they must find a way to keep near-full control while at the same time allowing the learner to exercise near-full initiative. This 'withdrawn-and-yet- all-present attitude' demands from CLT teachers an 'extremely high degree of personal subtlety and professional sophistication' (1986 : 110).
- * CLT methodologists and material writers often seem unaware of problems such as these above, probably because the theoretician's perspective is so different from that of the practising teacher who is faced with a programme of lessons each day. What to the theoretician seems a little when measured against the whole scope of CLT is often a major hurdle facing the individual class teacher.

In the light of the above Medgyes' concluding plea is for theoreticians and language teaching experts who would work 'halfway between the zealot and the weary' (1986 : 112), especially when it comes to attempts to marry the often 'far-fetched ideas' to the moderate. He suggests that the 'non-native teacher of English (such as those within the context of this study) often find it difficult to cope with the complexities of a second language as well as with the demands of a 'new' methodology such as that suggested by CLT.

Mitchell (1988 : 3) examined foreign language teaching in Scottish secondary schools which had been part of a Communicative Interaction Research Project. Specifically, she was concerned with the dimensions of the communicative approach as it operated in these Scottish schools and with the methodology used. The central aspect of her study was a series of teacher interviews in which the opinions of teachers engaged in the innovation were surveyed. One of the findings was that these teachers:

perceived themselves as currently undertaking a fundamental reshaping of their own objectives and methodology. (1988 : 166)

Mitchell contends that this evidence of methodological development among teachers was possibly the most important information to emerge from her study. It supports the belief that the classroom language environment is alterable. This is, after all, what CLT seeks to achieve.

The positive responses from teachers in the Mitchell report were not without qualification, however. Teachers did have some reservations regarding the pressures exerted on them, the general observation being that they found their focal role as initiator and sustainer of the target language both stressful and tiring. At times such stress can become almost unbearable. A possible explanation for this stress is that teachers, while seeking what is probably the ultimate objective of L2 teaching, the learning and acquisition of the necessary language competencies, have tended to avoid coming to grips with the dynamics of classroom interaction. Johnson (1995: 3) suggests that if teachers would only make the effort to understand the manner and extent to which the dynamics of classroom interaction influences the students' perceptions of, and participation in, classroom activity:

they may be better able to monitor and adjust the patterns of classroom communication in order to create an environment that is conducive to both classroom learning and second language acquisition. (1995 : 3)

Furthermore, the successful attainment of this classroom learning and SLA is directly related to the level of what Wilkinson (1982) was to label 'classroom communicative competence'(Johnson 1995 : 4). In Chapter 3.4 above, one of the implications of the term linked this competence to full participation in the culture of the language, where competence was viewed in a holistic sense and essential for this full participation. In like manner, Johnson suggests, classroom communicative competence is essential for L2 pupils 'to participate in and learn from their L2 classroom experiences' (1995 : 6).

It would, therefore, appear incumbent upon teachers to recognize that the dynamics of classroom interaction are formed by the classroom context and the norms for

participation in this context. In doing this the teacher is more likely to be sensitive to the 'communicative demands' placed on the students.

3.7 CLT and materials development

Clarke (1989), in a discussion of the theory and practice of materials design for CLT established that there was a 'notable degree of contradiction' among the various theoretical statements concerning such materials. Mostly this contradiction had to do with whether the need to provide 'relevant and purposeful language learning activity set in a meaningful context which reflects real-world language' (1989 : 84) should be met through authentic or pseudo-authentic materials; through the simplification of such authentic materials or not. Clarke observed further that some writers asserted that the creation of false authenticity in the classroom did not fool learners while others felt that such deception, to some degree or other was justified.

The shift of focus away from the forms of language towards the meaning potential of language; from linguistic competence to communicative competence (see chapter 3.3 above) has meant that materials have to be provided which will accommodate the theoretical underpinnings of CLT and at the same time provide a way to reach the goal of communicative competence. While such provision is theoretically desired, in practice it is often very difficult to meet the needs of the truly communicative classroom.

At the school level many countries cannot for economic reasons replace the existing heavily structure-based coursebooks with materials which will permit, and indeed encourage, a more communicative approach Mosback (1984 : 178). Also, new material writers need to have the opportunity to test their own 'grasp of communicative principles and the suitability of communicative activities' (Mosback 1984 : 178). What has happened is that teachers who have turned to CLT have often had to make use of such structured materials as those referred to above. An attempt

has been made to teach communicatively, using these traditional texts. Such action, while expedient given a particular set of supply circumstances, is far from ideal and ignores the warning of Hawkes (1981 : 36 - cited by Mosback : 185) that the planning of syllabuses and the accompanying classroom materials must take into account the implications of communicative methodology.

Even when new materials are produced and take into account the principles and precepts of CLT there still seems to exist:

a dichotomy between what is theoretically recommended as desirable and what in fact gets published and used on a wide scale.' (Clarke 1989 : 73)

That this dichotomy exists is somewhat surprising for, as Clarke observes, the considerable discussion about CLT has meant that it is no longer revolutionary in its movement away from form to meaning in language teaching. This shift is illustrated in the many new syllabuses which all seek to give effect to the principles of CLT. Thus, it should be expected that, given the debate on CLT and the general consensus of opinion on the desirability of this shift in emphasis from form to meaning, there should be a concomitant revolution in materials exhibiting a similar shift in focus.

One of the most characteristic features of CLT materials during the last 15 years has been the preoccupation with 'authentic materials'; the language of the real world. This has meant a move away from materials which have been designed specifically for language teaching. Real-life language is the model and the goal and is obtained from real-life contexts (e.g. subject textbooks, lectures, media, etc.). These authentic materials are 'essential in any communicative syllabus' (Robinson 1980 : 35). While this would appear to be generally accepted there are those, such as Widdowson, who have questioned whether authentic materials should always be used. Widdowson felt that at times texts can be adapted or even contrived, although he concedes that the nature of this contrivance or adaptation has to be strictly controlled. To Widdowson authenticity does not rest on the selection of particular material(s) but it is rather a matter of methodology (1984 : 240).

Swan, in his critique of CLT (chapter 3.4) accepts that the contriving of a particular text for a specific linguistic purpose is acceptable for it is a text which has been created for a particular purpose.

Grellet (1981 : 7) echoes the sentiments of many when she accepts that authentic texts should be used 'whenever possible'. By 'authentic' is meant an original text that is used unchanged, both in terms of lexis and structure as well as presentation and layout. She points out that the danger of simplifying a text might in fact have the opposite outcome in that the adaptation of the original might result in a finished product more difficult linguistically than the original.

But authenticity of text is only one aspect. Attention should also be focused on the way in which such texts are exploited in the classroom. Widdowson argues that tasks set on authentic materials should adequately reflect the authentic communicative purpose of that text and that students should be engaged in finding solutions to 'problems they feel are worth solving' (1984 : 240).

This 'reality' factor (Clarke 1989) contains within it the central elements of CLT theory (chapter 3.3). Thus information-gap, unpredictability, freedom of choice in both the initiation of and response to discourse, are all seen as authentic communicative experiences. What is required is that classroom activity should closely copy real-life activity (Canale and Swain 1980 : 33; Littlewood 1981 : 95). In this way the learner is supplied with a sense of purpose in what transpires in the classroom.

What has been said thus far might create the impression that as long as the writer has ensured the 'communicative nature' of his text, such a text will meet all the requirements of the new approach. Clarke (1989) sounds a stern warning that it is not only the text which has to be considered in establishing whether or not such a text is communicative. The learner, too, has to be considered. The authenticity of

the text is found not only in the text itself, but also in the reader's (learner's) response. As Breen (1985 : 61) suggests, the very term 'authenticity' is relative, not only to the materials themselves but also to the learner's performance in the light of his or her existing competency . Clarke quotes Hutchin and Waters (1987):

The question should not be; 'Is this text authentic?', but 'What role do I want the text to play in the learning process?' We should be looking not to some abstract concept of 'authenticity' but rather the practical concept of fitness to the learning purpose. (1989 : 78)

For this reason it appears that materials designed to be communicative in terms of authenticity also need to be learner-centred. It is the learner's needs that are required to be paramount and should reflect their clear ascendancy over the teaching materials.

In 1989 Clarke undertook an examination of a sample (arbitrary) of course books published during the previous 15 years and which purported, in some degree or other, to be communicative. After considering issues such as the prevalence of authentic texts; the appropriacy of task to text; the importance of the context of the language used in these texts; and the authenticity of the task to the learner, he concluded that:

While most modern textbooks work hard at achieving at least the aura of authenticity, it should be noted that much of their content still focuses on knowledge of the language rather than its use. Materials which appear authentic are exploited in order to develop 'general comprehension' or to extend awareness of particular structures while meaningful contexts are frequently not established and the information-gap and task-dependency principles remain only principles. (1989 : 84)

3.7. The ELT textbook as an agent of change

It could be argued that the discussion that follows would be more appropriately located in Chapter 2 - Innovation. However, CLT and its implementation raises pertinent issues regarding ELT coursebooks. Hence it was decided to consider the matter as part of Chapter 3.

In an era when the use of an ELT coursebook has fallen into disfavour because of its perceived restricting influence upon teachers and the way in which it appears to encourage an abdication of initiative and authority on the part of the teacher, Hutchins and Torres (1994 : 328) argue that such coursebooks have a positive role to play in the teaching and learning of English. Furthermore, the importance of coursebooks becomes heightened during periods of change. This is in spite of developments in the field of applied linguistics related to the interactive nature of the learning process and the desirability of syllabuses negotiated between learner and teacher and supported by materials produced through collaboration between the teacher and these learners.

Hutchins and Torres highlight an apparent contradiction between the:

movement of language teaching theory towards greater negotiation and individual choice in the classroom and the development of ever more comprehensive and structured textbooks. (1994 : 316)

The explanation for this contradiction appears to them to be that the textbook remains the most convenient means of providing teachers with a structure that the teaching-learning system requires. They contend that this is especially the case when a system is involved in some or other form of change such as CLT for example.

A possible explanation as to why this should be so relates to the fact that as a shared enterprise with known goals any teaching-learning process requires a map to give direction. Common sense would suggest that such a map could reside in only three possible places:

- * within the teacher's head,
- * within a syllabus (whether negotiated or imposed by external authorities), and,
- * in some form of pre-planned materials (i.e. textbook, computer assisted learning programme)

It can be argued that in the case of the first possibility such a map would be inaccessible to anyone other than the teacher. Secondly, a syllabus imposes a particular code upon the reader. Failure to understand the code means a communication breakdown with an accompanying failure to grasp the directions indicated by the map. Because of these limitations the textbook possibly provides the best source, accessible to all.

With the unsettled context of change which seems to have become endemic in ELT in recent decades (as evidenced by the many new approaches and concepts, etc.) the visible structure provided by the textbook provides a fixed framework which can serve both as a guide and a support for teachers as they grapple with the changes demanded of them. This framework can also serve as a 'jumping off' point for any creative developments teachers and learners might like to attempt.

Hutchins and Torres refer to Van den Akkers's contention (1988), arising out of his research into how materials can help teachers implement change, that a highly structured approach is more effective in getting curriculum change into classrooms. That this should be so is linked directly to the observation that change is usually a disruptive and threatening process. For change implementers to cope with such threats and disruption some form of security would appear necessary. The textbook it is argued, provides the means to such security against which smooth and lasting change can be achieved.

The above contention would seem to run counter to the call in some ELT circles for a move away from textbooks in favour of some or other negotiated structure and materials. Hutchins and Torres were able to argue lucidly against some of the common assumptions that led to this call. A detailed account of this rebuttal is beyond the scope of this discussion. However they were able to refute assumptions such as the following:

- * Maximum freedom of choice, desirable and desired, is restricted by the textbook,
- * Fixed-format textbooks make negotiation difficult,
- * The more highly structured textbook leads to a deskilling of teachers,
- * The textbook cannot meet all the needs of any learning -teaching situation.
(1994 : 324-326)

It would appear that such anti-textbook arguments are based on ideological or cultural values. In the light of the above study, in the context of the ELT classroom, research seems to suggest that the textbook is possibly an important means of satisfying a wide range of needs that emerge.

3.9. The level of English in Ciskeian schools

Odendaal (1985) undertook a literature survey intended to establish the level of English in the so-called Black primary and secondary schools. She stated that 'every source consulted either explicitly or by implication' was of the opinion that the English used by 'black Africans' was below standard, although no attempt was made to define such standards (1985 : 152). This generally low level of proficiency was linked to a number of possible causes. Among those which had been substantiated by empirical research were:

- * inadequate teacher qualifications and inadequate English proficiency on the part of many teachers
- * English coursebooks that were either too difficult in terms of the level of language used or the courses themselves were inadequate for the aims of the course.

Bruckman (1984:139) observes that based upon classification figures contained in the De Lange Report:

it is reasonably certain that at least 80% of them (the pupils) come from homes where standard English is either non-existent or a second language or a second dialect.

If this is the case with the majority of pupils in the South African situation then according to Bruckman, this 80% of pupils is likely to be seriously defective in functional English. Pupils at schools in the Ciskei form part of this 80% for whom English is at best a second language. They, therefore, form part of that sector of the school-going population which is likely to have a questionable proficiency in English upon entry into the secondary school phase. It is among pupils such as these that the teachers observed in this study operate.

In an earlier research exercise involving an analysis of problems arising out of English medium instruction in a number of Ciskeian secondary schools one of the findings related to problems of low pupil L2 proficiency (Weimann, 1986 : 81).

This would tend to support Odendaal's earlier conclusion that the level of English learning in the Black schools was very low. It is against such a background that this study was undertaken.

3.10 The place of CLT in the Ciskei.

Lechinsky (1983 : xiii) maintains that before a teacher, school or education department can realistically decide which method or approach should be followed to realize particular teaching outcomes most effectively, it is essential to decide what is to be achieved by teaching the second language; in this case English.

The point is made that in South Africa (and Ciskei as an integral part of the R.S.A. is included here), the second language was taught primarily for statutory reasons (prior to 1994) as well as for practical necessity. Because of this practical necessity it seems that communicative competence or what Lechinsky calls 'functional skill' should be regarded as the primary aim of English second language

instruction. Consideration of the general aims of ESL at the secondary level (Stds 6 - 10) support Lechinsky's contention.

In 1985 the then D.E.T. introduced a new series of ESL syllabuses which would replace those that had been applicable since 1975. A review of the 1975 vintage syllabuses and subject policy reveals that there was no direct reference to communicative competence as one of the main aims of the syllabus. Neither was there any mention made of communicative language teaching as one of the possible teaching approaches. However, certain features that were to figure more prominently in later 'communicative syllabuses' were contained (e.g. an emphasis on oral interaction, the teaching of language in a situational context, and an integrated approach to handling the various language skills).

In the 1985 Syllabuses for Stds. 6 - 10 the following statement precedes the list of specific aims and objectives:

The over-riding aim of this syllabus is communicative competence for personal, social, educational and occupational purposes. (D.E.T. 1985: 2)

This syllabus advocates an integrated approach to the teaching of the various language skills. Furthermore, the syllabus states that:

However language is used, it should be seen in relation to context; i.e. to purpose, audience and circumstance (1985a : 2),

while under the heading of 'Assessment' it refers to 'the communicative aims of the syllabus' and instructs that any evaluation should be concerned with 'what is successfully communicated'.

Further support is given to the communicative nature of the secondary school ESL syllabuses of the mid 1980's by the syllabuses in operation at the colleges of education serving the Ciskei. The teachers in this study were all products of such a college.

The 1987 Secondary Teacher's Diploma (STD) syllabus makes provision for an item 1.1.4.2 - Communicative Language Teaching, but no detail or elaboration of the concept is provided (D.E.T. 1987a : 3). Syllabuses revised for introduction at the end of that decade in 1990 all refer in greater detail to CLT.

Thus, the STD English Medium of Instruction syllabus in 1990 stated:

Aim (b) To teach students to apply a methodology derived from modern communicative language teaching in order to promote language development. (D.E.T. 1990 a: 1),

while the STD English Didactics syllabus (D.E.T. 1990b : 7) contained two modules devoted entirely to CLT, e.g.

Module 5 - The basic characteristics of CLT, and

Module 6 - The application of the principles of CLT in developing a methodology for teaching content subjects across the curriculum.

The STD English Academic syllabus urges that:

Methodologies used by the lecturer should be transferred to the English Language classroom. The assumption here is that language development is best served when learners are engaged in activities that:

- require the transfer of information across an information gap to provide a genuine reason for communicating,
- focus on getting the message across rather than on form or correctness,
- focus on outcome, i.e. the effectiveness of the communication rather than the process of communicating,
- involve the learner in negotiating meaning in the light of feedback.

(D.E.T. 1990c : 1-2)

The 1990 English Didactics syllabus states all its objectives in direct relation to CLT and in fact CLT is the only teaching approach advocated.

Admittedly it is only with the 1990 structure STD syllabuses that CLT features so prominently yet all the post-1985 syllabuses at school and college level make mention of it.

Confirmation of this, especially in terms of the secondary school ESL syllabuses is seen when the main list of approved English language course books for D.E.T. schools is consulted. Before 1985 and the introduction of the 'new syllabuses' the D.E.T. circulated a list which contained many series titles .

None of these series claimed to be geared to communicative language teaching, possible because at the time of writing in the mid-1970's CLT was still a new concept, especially on the South African ESL scene. However, with the introduction of the 1985 syllabuses the number of approved series titles was limited to five, viz.:

Let's Use English

Advance with English

New Horizons

Successful English

A Book of English

Apart from *Advance with English* which was a revision and modification of a series that had been written during the 1970's, all the series claimed to be written in direct response to the communicative orientation of the new syllabuses. e.g. *Successful English for Std. 10* (1988) was described on the jacket as:

A new generation of English textbooks for the learner of English as a second or foreign language which attempted to 'address the needs of teacher and pupils, helping them meet the requirements of the new communicative syllabus.'

Successful English Std. 7 saw itself as 'a complete , integrated English course...based upon the principles of controlled, habit-forming communicative

practice'. *Let's Use English Stds. 6-10* - All books in this series have as part of their jacket description the following:

This book is part of a new English course for Secondary Schools in South Africa. It follows a communicative approach to language teaching.

One of the main aims stated in all the books in this series is an attempt:

to improve the pupil's ability to use English fluently by encouraging natural communication in the classroom.

New Horizons - This series aims to give students a 'realistic communicative competence' in the language. Pair and group work is advocated extensively with an emphasis on an oral and functional approach.

Even *Advance With English* was revised to include the 'communicative approach' as one of its principles whereby the language is used for genuine communication between pupil and teacher and between pupil and pupil and is not just an artificial exercise.

An examination of the approved list of course books for the L.L. Sebe College of Education, as it was then known, reveals that from 1984 onwards the students were required to use *Advance with English* as their content-book series while the Didactics Handbook prescribed was *English as a Second Language in Secondary schools* by Kuhn and Meiring. At no place in this latter work is there any direct reference to CLT. Although the authors do devote one chapter to the integration of the 'four language skills' the entire book is geared towards a conventional handling of various techniques of language teaching. Much attention is given to techniques which involve the drilling or practice of discrete language items.

The approved list was lengthened to include two new titles in the late 1980's, viz., *Techniques and Principles of Language Teaching* by Dianne Larsen-Freeman, and *Learn 2 Teach* by Kilfoil. Larsen-Freeman included a chapter on CLT while Kilfoil's work was firmly grounded upon communicative principles.

Finally, a consideration of the STD final year external examination papers mirrors the gradual swing towards CLT that has just been outlined.

The first direct reference to CLT is contained in the 1986 Paper 2 where candidates were asked in one of their questions to

use a page of the prescribed book to teach grammar items contextually and communicatively. (D.E.T. - S.T.D. English Content Examination paper 1986: 4)

In March 1987 a similar question was set but the rest of the paper consisted of questions dealing with formal teaching of aspects of reading, writing and grammar.

November 1988 saw the first question which referred directly to CLT when candidates were asked to:

Compare and contrast the Audio-Lingual Method with the Communicative Approach and then reach a conclusion as to which approach would be more effective in South African schools. (D.E.T. S.T.D. Examination - Didactics 1988: 1)

In the same paper in a question on 'Testing' CLT again received attention. A discussion was required on problems involved in the communicative testing of language. Candidates were asked to suggest how they could make tests and examinations more communicative.

The above discussion in this section serves to highlight the prominence that CLT as a teaching approach was fast coming to acquire. Syllabuses, coursebooks and to a lesser extent, examinations, all focused increasing attention upon the approach.

CHAPTER 4. CLASSROOM RESEARCH

4.1. Introduction - Four traditions in classroom investigation.

As long as there have been teachers engaged in classroom activities there have been those who have attempted to evaluate what it is that these teachers have been doing. Chaudron (1988 : 1) suggests that the ultimate objective of classroom research is probably to identify the various characteristics of classrooms that lead to efficient learning. Expressed in another way he would suggest that the researcher seeks to identify which variable(s) best or most frequently lead to scholastic achievement. Chaudron suggests further that these attempts at understanding what happens in classrooms have usually employed distinctive strategies which fall into one of four traditions in classroom investigation. These traditions he identifies as Psychometric, Interaction Analysis, Discourse analysis, and Ethnographic.

Psychometric - here Chaudron refers to studies by Schere and Wertheimer (1964), Politzer and Weiss (1969) and Ramirez and Stromquist (1979), which examined aspects of this tradition. Early evaluations of classroom activity, especially that of Second language classrooms, mostly followed standard educational psychometric procedures in which a comparison was undertaken between treatment and non-treatment groups of subjects together with the measurement of outcomes on some form of proficiency test.

Kyriacou and Newsom (1982 : 3), in the area of teacher effectiveness research, identified a number of problems associated with attempts to evaluate results of teaching and learning by such measurement of outcomes resulting from the administration of some particular treatment. Among these was the lack of consensus in the literature on the criteria defining what constituted a successful outcome of teacher effectiveness.

Of a more serious nature is the problem associated with the design and analysis of experimental process-product studies. If as Cuttance (1980 - cited by Kyriacou & Newson 1982 : 8) maintains, pupil outcomes are to a large extent attributable to context variables, and where such variables come into play, the limit to the number of these variables that can be controlled means that 'any effects obtained may be confounded with variation in those context variables not controlled'(1982 : 8). (see chapter 4.2 for examples of such variables). There appears also to be disagreement concerning the extent to which various research designs and statistical techniques can control for the effects of context variables. Also, because a variety of methods and behaviours may be used in a single lesson, or teachers may differ in using the same method, adequate control of the 'treatment' students receive may be very difficult. Again, the findings may be confounded. Furthermore, such research design, it would seem, needs to take note of particular constraints under which the teacher's efforts are being studied. Physical and subject constraints might unduly influence the outcomes being measured.

Interaction Analysis - under the influence of sociological investigations into group processes, systems for observation and analysis of classroom interaction were devised. In this respect the ground-breaking work of Flanders (1960, 1970) suggested directions for understanding the social meanings of an inferred classroom climate. Here the interest focused upon the nature and dependency of pupil behaviours on the atmosphere and interaction created in the classroom by the teacher. The basis of this 'interaction analysis tradition' was to look at classroom language as a component of the interaction and 'to see what it can reveal about teaching and learning processes' (Malamah-Thomas 1987 : 20). In looking at verbal interaction in the classroom as an aid to understanding the teaching and learning behaviour going on, many observers set up descriptive systems as a means of recording what transpired. Such studies appeared to have no interest in quantitative analyses. Many instruments were constructed to standardize both the observer's data collection procedures and focus.

By 1970 Simon and Boyer had brought out their *Mirrors for Behaviour* which contained references to 92 observation systems designed to observe classroom behaviour. According to Rosenshine and Furst (1973 : 137) the category systems described by Simon and Boyer 'appeared representative of the hundreds of systems which have been developed and which are being developed'. By far the largest number of systems classified by Simon and Boyer was that under the title of 'descriptive' with the dominant purpose being to describe or analyse or observe. If description was the dominant purpose identified, description was also the dominant use made of the instruments. However, one should be aware of the fact that, as pointed out by Rosenshine and Furst, such observation studies did not lead to correlational or experimental studies but for the most part they only led to further descriptive studies.

Long (1980 : 3) identifies 200 such instruments used to describe classroom behaviour of teachers and students. Such an interaction-analysis approach was easy to learn, simple to use and provided a common terminology for describing classroom life. It did, however, have certain weaknesses according to some commentators, the chief one being a lack of emphasis on the changes that take place continuously in the classroom through the very process of interaction being viewed. Classroom interaction is something that is continually being negotiated and the teacher does not always control it. Another major weakness was that information on behaviour being observed is recorded and interpreted from the perspective of the observer rather than from that of the participants in the interaction. Further criticism from Chaudron (1988 : 31-40, based on comments by Stubbs [1975], Coulthard [1977] and Hatch and Long [1980]) is that by its very nature interaction-analysis is reductionist and because of this many dimensions of classroom activity are ignored.

Van Lier (1984 : 168) goes as far as to suggest that it might actually be counter-productive to adopt commonly used systems of coding classroom interaction because in their attempts to find the 'structure or discourse . . . they fail

to attend to the dynamism of interaction; the structuring work undertaken by all participants'.

Discourse Analysis - this tradition originated in a linguistic perspective and focused on attempts to analyse the discourse present in classroom interaction in 'structural-functional linguistic terms rather than in inferred social meanings. (Chaudron 1988 : 14)

Ethnographic - since the early 1980's this tradition has gained widespread acceptance in classroom research (Chaudron 1988 : 14). Classroom behaviours are interpreted from the perspective of different understandings rather than solely from any supposedly objective analysis by the researcher.

LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 23) citing, Jaeger (1988), assert that since the 1980's:

ethnographic and qualitative designs have moved from marginal or merely complementary methods in the social sciences to a position of assured legitimacy.

Gage (1985 - referred to by Nitsaisook & Postlethwaite 1986 : 428) viewed the development of educational research in terms of a number of different paradigms, the best known of which he contended was the Process-product Paradigm which equates to that of Chaudron's quantitative psychometric tradition. He identified a further five paradigms, viz.:

Behaviour modification paradigm
Interactive educational technology paradigm
Instructional design paradigm
Intact teaching styles paradigm,
Ethnographic-sociolinguistic paradigm.

Of these none, other than the Process-product and the Ethnographic paradigms, appear to be concerned chiefly with what is taking place in the classroom. The Product-process method of enquiry has been criticized because investigators are

often inclined to use deficient operational definitions of variables. Also many studies have been guilty of a failure to use appropriate dependent measures or to show theoretical or empirical linkages between independent and dependent variables (McNeil & Popham, 1973 : 218). By focusing upon predetermined procedural or process criteria many aspects of classroom interaction are likely to be ignored.

Of the two paradigms it appears that it is only the Ethnographic that seems ideally suited to an in-depth understanding of classroom activity because it attempts to arrive at 'thick, critical descriptions' of what is happening in the classrooms (Nitsaisook & Postlethwaite, 1986 : 428). See Chapter 4.4 below for a more detailed discussion of this paradigm and its distinctive attributes.

4.2 Developments in educational research

The late 1960's saw a surge of interest in qualitative research methodologies (Fetterman 1984 : 13; LeCompte & Goetz 1984 : 37; Long 1980 : 1). This growing interest in qualitative research appears to have stemmed mainly from the reaction to the exclusively quantitative approaches which dominated educational research design for decades (Firestone & Herriot 1984 : 65). These writers suggest that the reasons for this reaction seemed to involve a mixture of considerations based chiefly on matters of 'political utility and scientific validity'.

Prior to this decade the prominent research strategy used in the study of teaching had been that of quantitative, correlational studies which almost exclusively used an 'input-output' research design; akin to that in Chaudron's psychometric tradition and Gage's Process-product paradigm described above (Mehan 1981 : 36).

In this strategy what were examined were various aspects of classroom contexts, usually expressed as variables in a particular context of teaching. In reality such studies could do no more than test the relationship between input-output variables by making use of statistical procedures (Ornstein 1986b : 177). Ornstein suggests

further, that these input-output variables should be identified as independent (related to teacher behaviour) and dependent (having to do with teacher effects).

He goes further in viewing research into teaching as assessing classroom practice in terms of four variables which should be viewed sequentially. Thus he recognizes:

- * presage variables - teacher and student characteristics such as age, sex, education, social class
- * context variables - subject matter, class size, classroom grouping, instructional activities including methods and materials
- * process variables - what goes on in the classroom, teacher-learning conditions, teacher- student interaction
- * product variables - changes in student behaviour as measured by short or long-term student effects

Parlett and Hamilton (1977 : 7) had earlier argued that this type of research which fell into their 'classical' or 'agricultural-botany paradigm' and which used hypothetical-deductive methodology derived from 'the experimental and mental testing traditions of psychology', often led to a tendency for the researchers to think in terms of 'parameters' and 'factors' rather than in terms of 'individuals' and 'institutions'. While not arguing for a complete avoidance of this longitudinal, experimental research they did suggest that this preoccupation with variables and experimentation would possibly impose arbitrary and artificial restrictions on the scope of a study. Furthermore, such a preoccupation might possibly lead to the neglect of significant data, especially because of the need for the researcher to 'to remain true to the research design' whereas in all probability the teaching programmes and activities under investigation would be likely to undergo some change during the period of study.

Some years earlier, Barber (1973 : 382-401), too, had drawn attention to possible ways in which 'experimental researchers'- both investigators and experimenters (where these personages differed) could err, not only in the implementation of a study but also in the analysis and interpretation of data obtained. He identified nine

'effects' which were pertinent to this type of research. Discussion of these is not warranted here although the first, 'The Investigator Paradigm Effect' will be referred to elsewhere (see chapter 4.5).

For interest sake, and because many of the pitfalls are central to some of the arguments relating to the suitability and efficacy of this experimental research paradigm discussed in this section, the nine 'effects' are tabulated below:

Table 7

Investigator and Experimenter Pitfalls in Experimental Research (after Barber 1973 : 383)

Investigator Effects

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Investigator Paradigm Effect - | Results biased through effect of Investigator's basic assumptions. |
| 2. Investigator Loose Protocol - Effect | Looseness\imprecision of experimental study\design |
| 3. Investigator Analysis Effect - | Focus only on data that looks promising |
| 4. Investigator Fudging Effect - | Results purposively altered or fudged |

Experimenter Effects

- | | |
|---|---|
| 5. Experimenter Attributes - Effect | Personal attributes influence implementation |
| 6. Experimenter Failure to Follow protocol effect | Deviates from specified experimental procedures |
| 7. Experimenter Misreading response Effect | Incorrect recording of results\subject's |
| 8. Experimenter Fudging Effect | Fabricating of data |
| 9. Experimenter Unintentional Expectancy Effect | Experimenter expectations consciously fulfilled by manner in which data is recorded |

Parlett and Hamilton (1977 : 8-9) maintained that major weaknesses of the quantification approach were associated with its practice of limiting its domain to

the tabulation of behaviour into discrete categories. In doing this the research often obscured much of the contingent nature of the learning milieu.

Ornstein (1986 a : 170) expressed similar reservations. He was critical of much of the earlier research linked to teaching and student outcomes. Such research had sought for 'context- free generalisations about what leads to effective teaching', but no classroom situation could be adequately researched without considering multiple variables and contexts within which teachers and students interacted.

Medley (1982 : 1898) earlier, had considered similar shortcomings of the 'popular process-product paradigm' which aspired mainly to 'correlations between certain variables and learning outcomes'. To him, a major weakness of such research was that the model did not 'tap-into' information on pupil learning in terms of varying pupil gains as they are related to differing pupil perceptions. Also, the approach tended to ignore teacher perceptions and, more importantly, the teacher intentions that arise from such perceptions of what is happening, and what should happen, in classrooms.

While it is unlikely that Gage (1972 : 58) had in mind what was later to be termed the 'qualitative paradigm', his plea for what at the end of the 1960's was very much a new theme in research and development on teaching - an analysis approach that would break down the complexities that faced investigations into classroom life - seems to share common ground with that of Medley, above. Gage called for a finer analysis of what transpired in classrooms to offset what he considered to be the 'fruitlessness' of much of the research which had attempted the well-nigh impossible task of analysing and understanding the complex variables present within any context of teaching. This finer analysis, hopefully he felt, would take cognisance of the influences on these variables of the thoughts and feelings of the participants in the study.

Kyriacou and Newsom (1982 : 3) had indicated that in the decade prior to their comments, the overwhelming emphasis in research into teachers and teaching had

been one of classroom processes. With such an emphasis they felt that 'context-free generalisations' (such as those referred to by Ornstein above, are extremely unlikely for one cannot investigate these processes unless there is a sensitivity to the relationships that form the basis for much of these processes, and to the perceptions that lead the participants (teacher and students) in these processes to act and react in the ways that they do (1982 : 12).

As Ornstein was to caution , ' The human behaviours and interactions taking place in the classroom may not easily be translatable into clear and clean-cut research designs' , .because it is likely that;

the rhythm of the classroom may not correspond with an orderly set of behaviours that can be identified and measured. (1986 a : 171)

Thus it was that the awakening interest in qualitative research methodology alluded to at the beginning of this section, and the change in orientation of research perspectives that was to accompany this growing interest, happened mainly as a result of the rejection of the experimental quantitative approaches in vogue at the time. This rejection stemmed largely from a disillusionment on the part of the researchers with their inability to control what went on in the classroom. This disillusionment extended further to the very experimental designs being used, and as Cronbach et al (1980 : 213 - 214) have pointed out, it is this experiment design which is at the very heart of quantitative methodology in social investigation and evaluation.

Parlett and Hamilton (1977 : 7) referred to what they viewed as a paradigm shift from the classical experimental 'black-box' approach in classroom research to a 'social- anthropology', paradigm which was closely related to social- anthropology, psychiatry and participant observation research in sociology. They argued strongly for the adoption of illuminative evaluation or research strategies together with the acceptance of new suppositions, concepts and terminology. This was especially necessary if one accepted the fundamental premise that any teaching practice or

innovatory programme itself sets off a chain of repercussions throughout a particular learning milieu.

A 'milieu' to them was the social-psychological and material environment in which teachers and students interacted. Unintended changes and consequences of this interaction in the milieu affect the innovation itself so that it is continually undergoing modification and transformation. It is these changes that the quantitative methodologies with their codifying and quantifying of phenomena to facilitate large-scale comparative analyses seem to ignore (Griffin 1985 : 100).

This is not to say that quantitative methods are no longer a valid vehicle for examining what goes on in classrooms. This form of research has dominated Western social sciences for decades and has produced much worthwhile knowledge and understanding of educational practice (Chaudron 1988 : 28). Recognition should be noted of the differential status of the two paradigms. Each has its own potential advantages and limitations. It is not a question of right or wrong; rather one should recognize that the relation between the two is comparable to a tension between the 'depth' and 'breadth' of an analysis being undertaken.

Specifically in the field of classroom research, Long (1980 : 32) found that in the earlier part of the 1970's the majority of such studies 'continued to be of the input-output variety and correlational in nature'.

Such a predominance of quantitative, experimental, correlational methods - however they are termed - has not been confined to Western social sciences. In a review of research into teacher effectiveness related to teacher training, in 'developing and third world countries', Avalos (1980 : 47) identified studies by local researchers in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Arab Middle-East and N. Africa, India, Thailand, Malaysia and the Phillipines. She reveals that almost without exception they employed a measure of statistical correlation irrespective of whether the research design was experimental, quasi-experimental or survey by nature.

Vulliamy (1987 : 221) too, observed that the predominant approach to research in schools in third World countries remained correlational. He suggested that such studies could be usefully supplemented by those which paid greater attention to 'qualitative aspects of school life'.

It has been argued that quantitative and qualitative research methods are mutually dependent (Reichardt & Cooke 1979 - cited by Chaudron 1988:15). Bynner (1980 : 14) lays great emphasis on the change of attitude in a writer such as Campbell who was active in the area of educational research between 1969 and 1980. Campbell accepted the primacy of true experimental method but his writings over the period indicated seem to suggest a growing acceptance of the merit of qualitative investigations. By 1980 Campbell 'now advocates the full exploitation of the narrative records of participants...to run alongside experimental procedures' (Bynner 1980 : 10). Campbell came to believe that:

all science ultimately derives from and must refer back to commonsense notions. Evaluators of programmes and experimenters need to check their quantitative findings continually against the perceptions of participants and when the two fail to tally the quantitative findings are more likely to be suspect. (Cited by Bynner 1980 : 10)

To Campbell, and Bynner, the two paradigms do no more than provide different perspectives on the most appropriate methods to adopt for particular research questions. Chaudron (1988 : 16), in support of this, suggests that tests of hypotheses by quantitative methods are usually derived from qualitative considerations. Similarly, qualitatively generated hypotheses need to be categorized and their replicability considered. Admittedly for much of descriptive research the purpose would seem to be to document behaviour, desired or undesired, rather than to construct or test such hypotheses.

4.3. Qualitative or illuminative research

The term 'qualitative research' can often be confusing, meaning as it does 'different things to different people' (Strauss & Corbin 1990 : 17). The terms 'ethnography' and 'ethnographic' similarly give rise to like differences of interpretation (see chapter 4.4)

The statement that qualitative refers to ‘ any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification’ (Strauss & Corbin 1990 : 17), is possibly the closest one might come to consensus.

What is the distinctive difference between the quantitative and the qualitative approaches? As explained above, (see chapter 4.1), in quantitative research the investigator attempts to codify and quantify phenomena, usually in an experimental setting , and then to draw from the results generalisations applicable. In qualitative research, on the other hand, the questions posed by the investigator are more open-ended where free response answers are desired (Griffin 1985 : 100). Such research attempts to distinguish and understand significant features of classroom practice and to comprehend the relationships between participant beliefs and practices and between organisational patterns and the response of individuals (Parlett & Hamilton 1977 : 10-11). It is possible to postulate three stages in such a process; to observe, to enquire further, and to seek to explain. Within this sequential process what is observed is allowed to vary during the course of the observation as the observer's developing understanding of what is being studied varies. The researcher, in theory, refrains from starting out with any pre-conceived notions as to what variables should be studied or with what hypothesis to test (Long 1980 : 21).

McMillan and Schumacher (1993 : 14) suggest that it is helpful to consider the terms 'quantitative' and qualitative' on two levels. Firstly, these terms refer to ‘distinctions about the nature of knowledge; how one understands the world and the ultimate purpose of research’. Secondly, on a more practical level they refer to the manner in which data is collected and analyzed and the generalizations derived from the data. At this level it is really a consideration of various research methods.

When considering the first of the levels McMillan and Schumacher contend that quantitative research takes as its basis a 'logical, positivist philosophy'. The assumption here is that there are social, measurable facts which consist of a ‘single objective reality’. These are distinctly separated from the affective domain; the

feelings and beliefs of people. On the other hand, qualitative research draws on a 'naturalistic phenomenological philosophy'. The assumption now is that through individual and collective definitions of a situation 'multiple realities are socially constructed'. On this level, too, is the issue of the research purpose with quantitative endeavours attempting to establish relationships and to explain causes of changes in measured social facts. Qualitative research, however, appears more focused upon an understanding of the social phenomena from the participant's perspective. Practically, the second level of viewing these terms raises a number of pertinent characteristics applicable to the approaches. In quantitative studies the procedures used to gather data belong to a pre-established design and the researcher is guided by the steps or components of that design. In qualitative studies use is made of 'emergent design', i.e., the collection strategy develops and is amended and modified during the actual course of the data collection (McMillan & Schumacher 1993 : 15).

A further distinction drawn is between experimental or correlation designs in quantitative research where the intention is 'to reduce error, bias and extraneous variables' and that of qualitative investigation which uses the term 'ethnography' to label research which purposely takes cognisance of 'subjectivity in the data analysis and description'. For this to happen the qualitative researcher becomes involved, indeed immersed, in the phenomenon being studied, usually through the assumption of an interactive role. In what Erickson (1984 , cited by McMillan & Schumacher 1993 : 15) called 'disciplined subjectivity' the data is recorded through observation and interviews with the participants in the study within a range of contexts. On the other hand, in quantitative research the investigator consciously remains detached from the study. By using an instrument, for example, to record the data, the researcher, in this detachment, intends to avoid bias in the study.

The final distinction highlighted by McMillan and Schumacher is that related to the 'importance of context' in the study. The qualitative researcher is convinced of the important influence of the settings within which the study occurs, while those of a

quantitative persuasion would downplay, if not outrightly demean, these 'context-bound generalizations' in favour of 'universal, context-free generalizations'.

LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 23), in highlighting the debate which has raged in research circles since the focus of Erickson (1986) on the legitimacy and value of 'interpretive methods ' (i.e. ethnographic, qualitative, participant observation, case study, etc.) attempt to clarify the differences between the positivist approaches - those which Erickson would have described 'as 'interpretive' - and approaches stemming out of such interpretive techniques but going further in integrating the interpretive methods of ethnography with 'an activist critical theory'; an approach that has become labelled as 'critical ethnography'. Table 8 comprises pertinent extracts from their 'Comparison of ways of Knowing and Enquiring'.

Table 8

A Comparison of Ways of Knowing and Enquiring (LeCompte & Priessle 1993 : 24 - 25)

Positivist

Interpretive

Critical

Role of the Researcher

Detached, objective	Involved, Subjective	Educative, analytic. Active teacher\learner
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Role of the Researched

Passive informant	Active collaborator	Educative, collaborative. active learner\teacher
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Procedures

Definition of terms by researcher	Definition of terms by subjects	Definition of terms by researcher and subjects
Description by researcher	Description by subject	Description by subject and researcher
Classification\codification by researcher	Classification\codification by researcher, subject to member checks	Classification\codification by researcher, subject to member checks
Enumeration	Enumeration	Enumeration
Correlation	Correlation\association	Correlation\association
Verification	Interpretation	Interpretation
Prediction	Communication between researcher and subject	Communication by researcher. Action\transformation

Goals

Generalization of results to subsequent similar events	Comparison of results to similar\dissimilar processes	Analysis of results to unmask inequalities
Development of universal laws	Development of workable and shared undertakings	Development of emancipatory stance towards determinants of human behaviour

Concern

What's going on outside individuals	What's going on within and between individuals	What's going on within and between individuals as a result of their material and historical conditions
-------------------------------------	--	--

Process

Modelled on science. Achieving control of behaviour	Analysis of social interaction. Achieving understanding of behaviour	Exposing hidden patterns. Achieving change in behaviour
---	--	---

Origins of Knowledge

By definition; by deduction	From shared understandings	From differential access to knowledge
-----------------------------	----------------------------	---------------------------------------

Focus

Observable behaviour . measurement and quantification	Elicited meanings . Intersubjective understanding	Structural symmetry. Hidden meanings, critical consciousness
Controlling bias and variance	Explaining bias and variance	Exposing bias and variance

What becomes important is the type of observation system adopted. If one accepts that ethnographic studies seek to capitalize on what is unique in each classroom then it follows that any observation system which emphasizes a systematic approach is likely to ignore the unique and rather highlight commonalities between classrooms. This is understandable if Medley's contention that forms of systematic observation are useful primarily in the context of hypothesis verification is accepted (1985 : 1842-1851). Ethnographic observations however, are primarily useful within a context of discovery, of illuminating the unique rather than verifying what is postulated (Medley 1982 : 1845). Long (1980) subscribes to this viewpoint with his suggestion that ethnography (and by association ethnographic studies) do not set out to test or verify particular hypotheses in any formal sense. Instead they try to describe all aspects of whatever they experience in the greatest possible detail. Out of such description ethnographic fieldwork then attempts to generate hypotheses (Long 1980 : 21).

LeCompte and Goetz refer directly to what they regard as the seminal work on ethnographic research techniques, that of Pelto and Pelto (1978). Pelto and Pelto distinguished two broad categories of ethnographic research tools:

- a) data collecting procedures involving interactive relationships between researcher and participants, and
- b) unobtrusive, less reactive techniques.

In the Interactive group they included; participant observation, key-informant interviewing, career histories and surveys.

The Non-interactive category in which little or no exchange with participants was generated, included non-participant observation, archival studies and physical trace collection.

Whatever technique is used, LeCompte and Goetz maintain that the design of ethnographic studies mandates investigatory strategies which are 'conducive to cultural reconstruction (1980 : 38). Thus what is desirable is:

- i) A strategy that will elicit data that is phenomenological, i.e. representing the world view of the participants, what Fetterman terms the 'emic' perspective (Fetterman 1984:23)
- ii) A strategy that is naturalistic. Data is drawn from first-hand, sensory accounts of phenomena as they happen in real world contexts.
- iii) A strategy that is holistic where the descriptions constructed encompass total phenomena within the various contexts.
- iv) A strategy that is multi-nodal for ethnographic researchers should be encouraged to use a variety of research technologies.

4.4. Ethnography

[ethno - race, people, cultural group

graphic - writing or representing in a specific way a specified field.]

In recent times 'Ethnography' has become a popular 'buzz- word' in educational research (Fetterman 1984 : 21). Smith (1982 : 587-591) states that the term refers to a collection of field research methods commonly used by anthropologists in the study of primitive, non-literate cultures. She is careful to point out two notable characteristics about the term and the methods that it represents :

- * it is a concept that is changing and evolving rapidly
 - * the term does not represent a single methodology but rather it is; 'only one label for several social science methodologies used by different disciplines and in different research communities that have a number of fundamental similarities.
- (1985 : 587)

Mehan was careful to point out that the term could mean many things. To some it would seem to describe any study conducted outside laboratory conditions while for others it is some version of participant observation in the field. This second generalization is understandable for traditionally ethnographers have used field notes as their data base (Mehan 1981 : 47).

In similar vein and at the risk of stating the obvious, LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 1) suggest that , 'there are probably as many approaches to anthropology - ethnography and qualitative research in education as there are practitioners of the craft'.

Guthrie and Hall (1981 : 22) explain what this research does best in the following way:

describe key incidents in functionally relevant terms and place them in some relationship to the wider social context using key incidents as a concrete instance of the workings of abstract principles of social organization.

Fetterman (1984 : 23), similarly, views the term as indicative of a distinct methodological approach with specific procedures, techniques and methods of analysis.

Guthrie and Hall (1981 : 8) focus attention on early attempts at defining the term; quoting those of Bauman (1978) and Hymes (1977).

Bauman sees ethnography in its purest sense as;

The process of constructing through direct personal observation of social behaviour, a theory of the workings of a particular culture in terms as close as possible to the way that members of that culture view the universe and organize their behaviour within it.

Hymes sought to define it in terms of its application to educational research;

What happens to children in schools appears to depend on how children interpret their world, given such categories as they have available. To find out what they see and do, to convey that knowledge in a way that permits some of the texture of their lives and world to come through, would be what I mean by 'ethnography'. (1977 : 172)

Hymes went further to claim that of all forms of scientific knowledge, ethnography is the most open, the most compatible with a democratic way of life and the least likely to produce a world in which the experts control knowledge at the expense of those who are studied (Hymes 1981 : 57). In spite of its open nature it remains for him a disciplined way of looking at, asking, recording, reflecting, comparing and reporting on aspects of education.

Synonymous with the term are 'case-study', 'field-study', 'naturalistic methods', 'participant observation', 'responsive evaluation' and 'qualitative methods'. One early commentator, Wax (1971), contended that it is possible to conceive of a continuity, historically as well as conceptually among the terms ethnography, participant observation and field study (Smith 1982 : 587).

With the evolution of the concept has come conflicting calls for, on the one hand, a generalisation of the term to label any field-based research illuminated through anthropological means simply as 'ethnography, and on the other to differentiate conceptually between the various disciplines and theoretical positions encompassed by the term (Spindler 1981 - cited by Smith : 591).

LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 1) view ethnography as both a product - the story told about a group of people- and as a process - the method of enquiry giving rise to the story. In its application to education however, they caution against the common practice of using the terms ethnography and ethnology synonymously. To them ethnography is 'the study of a phenomenon conceived of as a single entity' while ethnology is distinctly 'a comparative analysis of multiple entities, usually made by mainstream anthropologists' (1993 : 2).

As a product an ethnography is an analytical description or reconstruction of a cultural scene or group and as such it provides the reader with a re-creation of 'the shared beliefs, practices, artifacts, folk knowledge and behaviours of a particular group of people' (1993 : 2). Even very commonplace groups lend themselves to this type of research for the researcher is able to view them in new and different ways.

Erickson (1973 - quoted by LeCompte & Preissle 1993 : 3) coined the phrase 'making it strange' for this process. By so doing the researcher sets out to reconstruct the characteristics of the phenomenon being studied.

As a process ethnographic investigation can be viewed as resting on four pillars for support. Firstly the researcher sets out to elicit phenomenological data, and thereby represent the world view of the group being studied. Secondly, the research strategies are empirical and naturalistic. The task here is to arrive at firsthand, sensory accounts of phenomena as they occur in a real manipulation-free world. Thirdly, by attempting to construct descriptions of total phenomena and by including descriptors of all the interrelationships of causes and consequences that affect human behaviour and beliefs, ethnography can claim to be holistic by nature. Lastly, ethnography is eclectic in that researchers use a variety of data collection techniques.

Table 9 below gives an indication of the multiplicity of synonyms and quasi-synonyms which can be subsumed under the broad heading of 'ethnography'. Against such a plethora of terms arising out of a single decade of educational research the reader might be forgiven for despairing of consensus ever being reached on the term 'ethnography'. Perhaps one should go back to the origins of the term.

'Ethnography' is not a new concept. Smith describes the work of Malinowski who in 1922 used the approach for a sociological study in the western Pacific. According to Malinowski ethnography should deal with the totality of all social, cultural and psychological aspects of the community which is being studied. In purely anthropological studies the goal should be 'to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life to realize his vision of his world' (Malinowski, *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific* 1922 : 25, quoted by Smith 1985 : 588).

Table 9

Variants of 'ethnography' among education researchers. (Smith 1985:588)

Variant	Researcher(s)
Anthroethnography	Spindler, 1981
Anthropological educational ethnography	Delamont and Atkinson, 1980
Athropological ethnography of schooling	Spindler, 1981
Anthropedagogy	Morin, 1980
Blitzkrieg ethnography	Rist, 1980
Classical ethnography	Mehan, 1980
Classroom ethnography	Hammersley, 1980
Constitutive ethnography	Mehan, 1978
Contract ethnography	Wolcott, 1975
Cooperative ethnography	Hymes, 1980
Educational ethnography	Spindler, 1981
Educational ethnology	Hymes, 1980
Ethnographic approach	Fitzsimmons, 1975
Ethnographic case studies	Herriot, 1977
Ethnographic methods	Lutz, 1980
Ethnographic monitoring	Hymes, 1980
Ethnographies of classroom life	Hamilton, 1981
Ethnography and policy making	Mulhauser, 1975
Ethnography of schooling	Wolcott, 1975
Ethnopedagogy	Burger, 1971
Evaluation ethnography	Rist, 1980
Focused ethnography	Erickson, 1977
Macroethnography	Lutz, 1980
Microethnography of the classroom	Smith, 1967
Neoethnography	Bullivant, 1978
New ethnography	Erickson, 1973
Psychoethnography	Spindler, 1981
Socioethnography	Spindler, 1981
Sociological educational ethnography	Delamont and Atkinson, 1980

In reality the origins of ethnography can quite easily be traced back considerably earlier to the late 19th and early 20th centuries when scholars became interested in the culture of a certain group (or groups). Smith refers to (Wax 1971) and this writer's work, *Doing Fieldwork*, to support the contention that there was a growing groundswell for this type of research. Adding impetus to this groundswell was the work of the social reformers in Europe. The systematic observation of social problems through techniques such as surveys, questionnaires and variants of what has become known as participant observation, gave rise to many of the present techniques of modern-day ethnography. It would be erroneous to suggest that these early studies were part of a systematic approach to field work. Rather, it was left to Malinowski (above) to initiate fieldwork that could claim to be systematic and technical.

The significant disillusionment with quantitative methods (referred to elsewhere in this chapter) led to a surge of interest in qualitative research methods. This was especially noticeable in the late 1960's and early 1970's, with a good deal of ethnographic research being published (Fetterman 1984 : 25; Galton & Delamont 1985 : 171).

Smith (1985 : 588) describes further the contribution to ethnography by, firstly, Whyte (1955) who came to represent a behaviouristically oriented approach to anthropology and secondly by Geertz (1973) whose focus was more theoretical and whose variation of ethnography came to be termed 'interpretive perspective'. This was what Eisner (1972) had earlier called 'thick description' which aimed at describing the significance of behaviour as it occurs in a cultural network saturated with meaning (Cited by Hamilton... et al, 1977 : 97).

The contributions of these three scholars can be summed up into several major perspectives and orientations (after Smith 1985 : 589):

1. Extended contact time (living) in the group studied allows the researcher, through direct participation, observation and note taking to become the major source of data.

2. All 'events' of the day-to-day existence are relevant. It is not only the important events that merit recording - Eisner's thick description.
3. Focus needs to be directed towards the individual's perspectives, meanings and interpretations of their world .
4. Attempts to build a synthetic and contextualised view of life in the group being studied.
5. A view which sees the conceptual structures of the research as evolving and being discovered throughout the course of the research.
6. Reporting based on deliberate blending of storytelling or narrating with a more abstract conceptualizing or theorizing.

While researchers may differ in theoretical perspective and while differences exist in the form of ethnographic research, one perception appears common to all; educational ethnographers have opened almost every facet of education to enquiry and the approach now 'encompasses a domain of great variety, controversy and multiple referents' (Smith 1985 : 591).

While Smith seeks to describe what ethnography is, Wolcott (1985 : 187-203) approaches the issue from another direction and describes what ethnography 'is not'.

- * Ethnography is not a field technique for it is possible to use one, many, or all major fieldwork techniques and still produce a study that is not ethnographic.
- * Ethnography is not length of time in the field. Time alone cannot guarantee that an observer can come to know and understand a setting.
- * Ethnography is not simply good description. Although conceding that good description can lead to good ethnography Wolcott maintains that the 'good ethnographer' needs to go further and recognize what elements most warrant attention where ethnography is the intended outcome rather than a 'novel or travelogue'. The suggestion is made that the very nature of ethnography in which data and interpretation evolve together with each informing the other, precludes any claims for a definitive 'good description' of a situation.

- * Ethnography is not created through gaining and maintaining rapport with subjects. An exceptional ability to build trust, respect and to elicit a sharing of the subjects' innermost beliefs and practices will not necessarily lead to successful ethnography.

Having dispensed with what ethnography is not Wolcott suggests that it is research which purposes to describe and interpret cultural behaviour (1985 : 190). Because of this preoccupation with culture Wolcott is highly critical of educational research which attempts to label any descriptive research as 'ethnography'. He pleads rather for another broad generic term to portray this particular research strategy, e.g. on-site research, participant observation study, descriptive research, qualitative research, field study. He views most school ethnography as 'quick description', the purpose of which is to point out weaknesses or needs. Because it can be described as 'ad hoc, pragmatic and utilitarian ethnography' Wolcott cautions that wherever researchers harbour objectives that transcend ethnography such researchers should clearly state whenever 'they are borrowing ethnographic techniques' (1985 : 200). He insists, therefore, on a distinction between 'borrowing ethnographic techniques' and 'doing ethnography'.

Where ethnographic studies may use some or all the methods of classical ethnography, but generally do not use 'the interpretive, conceptual and theoretical framework of cultural anthropology' then, according to LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 9), it might be wiser to consider 'quasiethnography' as a more satisfactory title. Also some studies which might use traditional ethnographic concepts and methods but seek to combine these with methods and conceptual frameworks belonging to a different paradigm, within an interdisciplinary or inter-paradigmatic approach, would fit more aptly under this heading of 'quasiethnographic'.

Fetterman (1984 : 24-25), consciously or unconsciously, appears to subscribe to a similar viewpoint. In his work on ethnography in educational evaluation there is frequent use of the descriptive term 'ethnographic' rather than ethnography. Like Wax (above) he sees merit in presenting ethnographic evaluation projects as lying

along a continuum with some approximating closely conventional ethnography, while others tend towards what he terms 'traditional fieldwork oriented studies'. He accepts that what most researchers do are 'ethnographic evaluations' and not 'ethnographies' (1984 : 13). He suggests that while the criticism levelled at educational researchers by writers such as Wolcott has an element of truth from a purely anthropological perspective, there needs to be a balanced consideration of the issue. He refutes Geertz (1973) who maintained that doing ethnography had to do with cultural interpretation, rather than just with the methods of research employed. Fetterman pleads for both a cultural and a methodological perspective and argues as follows:

A cultural perspective is substantially weakened if the data is collected haphazardly. Similarly, the data, however carefully collected, is unlikely to be ethnographic if analyzed from a purely nomothetic perspective.(1984 : 24)

He is careful to dispel the perception that ethnography is a panacea to all educational research ills. Rather, it should be viewed as one useful methodological tool used in addressing educational problems. Its value lies in its ability to focus on the 'whole trait complex' of a particular situation under examination and not just on a few traits.

It is this 'thick description' of what is happening in classrooms (referred to elsewhere in this chapter) that makes the approach particularly useful in unearthing known as well as unknown phenomena in the classroom. The presentation of descriptions full of concrete detail and the ensuing attempts to attach to these descriptions possible explanatory propositions enables the researcher, 'to validate these interpretations against their consistency with recurrences of the events' (Nitsaisook & Postlethwaite 1986 : 428).

According to Nitsaisook and Postlethwaite, this is possible if one accepts, as Geertz had done, that this 'thick description' is intended to permit a researcher to ascertain 'multiple levels and kinds of meanings' associated with a phenomenon or set of circumstances being observed.

At this point it might be circumspect to note the warning sounded by Henning (1995 : 30) regarding the tendency of many researchers to view such 'thick description' simply in terms of 'the density of empirical description' and neglect to emphasize the depth of theory which 'impregnates such thick description' (Phillips 1987 : 62; cited by Henning).Theoretical aspects of such descriptive research will be discussed in Chapter 4.5 below.

The nature of the data collection strategy in descriptive research, which usually employs a multiplicity of approaches, allows such range of meaning because it provides a flexibility which is needed for the variety of situations that are being assessed (Guba 1980- quoted by LeCompte & Goetz 1984 : 39). This use of multiple data collection is one of the strengths of ethnography and ethnographic approaches. Many commentators advocate that researchers, in their quest for validity and reliability, should use such a variety of techniques alongside each other (Burgess 1985 : 2-6). This process - often called Triangulation- is one of the ways in which the integrity of the observer's data collection can be tested. (See chapter 4.5.)

Admittedly, as Nitsaisook and Postlethwaite, drawing on Gage (1985) were to point out, a single ethnographic study did no more than confirm that a particular phenomenon was possible. For the probability or the frequency of such a phenomenon to be established a number of ethnographies would be required. (1986 : 428)

4.5. Theoretical considerations

Chaudron (1988 : 23) contends that possibly the most general research goal in education is:

to produce descriptions and interpretations of classroom events, and the relationships between them, that will be identified by others as real and meaningful for teachers, learners and learning.

Irrespective of whether the research design used falls within one of the so-called varying paradigms, the above goal, coupled with the desire, whether expressed

implicitly or explicitly, that the findings acquire a measure of generalisability, is behind the quest for research validity.

Chaudron charges that while educational researchers in the 'psychometric, quantitatively oriented tradition' have always realised the need for reliable measurement in tests and the control of variables for research validity (both internal and external) it is relatively infrequently that the reliability and validity of their research findings have been confirmed. Similarly, he maintains that many researchers who favour a 'process oriented or descriptive, qualitative approach', have replaced or circumvented such theoretical issues in their research with an emphasis on the vividness of their description as sufficient confirmation of the validity of their descriptions.

Therefore it is understandable that ethnography and ethnographic studies have, as with other qualitatively oriented approaches to educational research, not escaped negative comment. Various commentators have attempted to highlight what are perceived to be the shortcomings of the ethnographic approach. Any study based upon, or borrowing, aspects of the approach would do well to take cognizance of such comments.

Fetterman (1984 : 21-35), in assessing the growing trend among educational researchers towards using ethnographic techniques in preference to conducting full-fledged ethnographies, cautions against getting caught up in an education research fad. Because ethnography is a methodological approach with specific procedures, techniques and methods of analysis the adoption of random (ethnographic) elements of the method without attention to the whole, may result in the loss of many of the built-in safeguards of reliability and validity in data collection and analysis.

Expressed in slightly different terms the problem is that where ethnographic techniques have been carried over into educational research values such as

phenomenology, holism, non-judgmental orientation and contextualisation, might well be left behind.

Furthermore, because of the essentially descriptive nature of ethnography with its stated goal of faithfulness in description sought through immersion in the culture being studied there is the constant danger that theory construction might be blocked (Woods 1985 : 53). This is because the researcher is trying to, immerse himself emotionally and intellectually in the situation being observed, yet at the same time he is trying to withdraw from the selfsame situation to enable an examination of the research activities.

According to Woods 'theory' does not simply 'emerge' or come into being. While one may argue that such theory is grounded in the facts of a particular situation it is not immediately revealed. With even the most detailed and perceptive of observations there must be at some stage a leap of the imagination as the researcher conceptualizes from raw field notes' (1985 : 52).

Thus it can be argued that where the ethnographer seeks immersion in a culture under study (so as to be faithful to that culture), such a researcher creates a tension situation because it is difficult to be both immersed (for revealing all the finer details) and retracted (so as to examine the activities from a broader perspective. This tension occurs, probably because, as Wolcott had earlier suggested, most applications of ethnographic techniques are more likely to be associated with short-term efforts to evaluate and improve specific educational programmes, rather than with long-term efforts to understand entire education systems. Wolcott found such an orientation disappointing for he saw ethnography or ethnographic studies serving as an alternative to, rather than merely as an alternative form of, evaluation of a programme. In this alternative he saw a descriptive and interpretive activity whose purposes is to understand rather than to judge and should aim to examine 'facets of human behaviour as part of larger cultural systems' (1985 : 177).

Mehan (1978 - cited by Long 1980 : 30) had earlier criticised ethnography on two grounds. Firstly the anecdotal nature of the research led him to question the generalisability of any findings. Secondly, because ethnographies are summaries of events observed the reader has no access to original data. This means that a reader is prevented from arriving at his or her own interpretations. He did however recognise what he considered its major strength. This lies in the fact that in an ethnography data is treated exhaustively i.e. all the data and not just the most frequently occurring patterns are analysed. Such a comment would seem to ignore the common nomothetic tradition of educational research, viz. to seek out patterns.

Concern has been expressed too, over the subjective nature of the approach because of the personal involvement of the observer. Parlett and Hamilton (1977 : 18) would argue that such a concern is based upon a misconception which claims that there are forms of research which are immune to prejudice, experimenter bias and human error. They suggest that any research study is vulnerable because it requires skilled human judgments, and it is these judgments that are often influenced by preconceptions and idiosyncrasies on the part of the researcher.

Long (1980 : 27) sought to answer a similar misgiving. He wondered just how free from preoccupations a classroom ethnographer might be. He concluded that a preconception-free observer is unlikely because such a researcher would not be doing ethnography unless he or she was already interested in some aspect(s) of life in the classroom. It is this preoccupation which suggests that there is likely to be bias present in the reporting of the data (see also Chaudron 1988 : 47). Such a bias calls into question the generalisability of the findings. This lack of generalisation is not due, Long contends, to the 'N-size' of the studies. Rather it lies in the way in which any observations are related to the particular context in which the events were observed and to the personal make-up of the 'actors' (including the observer) as individuals. Furthermore, the presence of a non-participatory observer means that there can never be certainty that what is observed would have occurred had the observer not been there.

Yet the approach remains for Long exceptionally powerful if one accepts its bias towards hypothesis-formation as opposed to hypothesis testing. He saw its advantages as primarily three-fold:

- * A potential for (re)discovering factors which appear to be important rather than simply taking over variables identified in other fields.
- * Describing the perceived relevance of such variables in concrete settings.
- * Describing the situation from the perspective of the participants and not just from the outsider.

Consideration of theoretical aspects of educational research would appear incomplete without reference to those issues which underpin any research design, namely, validity, reliability, generalisability and replicability, and the question of research ethics.

McMillan and Schumacher (1993: 391) define the concept of internal validity in a research exercise as the degree to which the explanation of phenomena match the realities of the world. This issue addresses the questions:

- * Do researchers actually observe what they think they observe? and
- * Do researchers actually hear the meanings they think they hear?

These writers maintain that the issue of internal validity appears a serious threat to much qualitative research yet at the same time they accept, almost paradoxically, that validity may be the major strength of qualitative research because of the depth of the description obtained, as well as the length of time usually spent in collecting data. Thus it is their contention that the claims made for high internal validity of ethnographic data rests firmly on the data collection and analysis techniques available in the ethnographic repertoire. They suggest a number of strategies which they maintain support this contention. Foremost amongst these are the lengthy data collection periods usually involved, the use of what they term 'participant language'

where interviews are phrased in language familiar to participants and the fact that much of the field research interviews, participant observation, etc., is conducted in normal settings, such as in the classrooms of teachers. Also, the tendency for researchers to subject themselves to self-monitoring (what Erickson called disciplined subjectivity - referred to by McMillan & Schumacher 1993 : 392) means that all phases of the research process are continuously and rigorously questioned.

A further aspect of validity in research is that of external validity. Unlike quantitative studies where statistical generalizations are directly related to probability sampling in the field of qualitative research it appears that the term is defined differently (McMillan & Schumacher 1993 : 394). A reason suggested is that the definition is influenced by the purpose of the studies for, while quantitative studies usually have as their aim the generalization of results, the qualitative researcher is more likely to seek 'an extension of understanding'. Therefore threats that confront external validity are considered those that are likely to limit the usefulness of the research exercise in achieving this extension of understanding.

This usefulness is directly related to the degree of comparability and translatability arising out a study. The first of these refers to the extent to which the research design is adequately described so that the study may be used to extend its findings to other studies. Expressed differently, the researcher uses standard and non-idiosyncratic terms so as to make the study readily accessible to others. McMillan and Schumacher suggest further, that the characteristics of the group studied or the constructs arising from the study, should be so clearly described that they can provide a basis for comparison with other similar or dissimilar groups.

Translatability, the second of the terms above, relates to the degree to which the research uses theoretical frameworks and research strategies that are understood by other researchers. As with comparability, here too these frameworks and strategies need to be so explicitly stated so that they permit comparisons 'to be conducted confidently and used meaningfully across groups and disciplines' (LeCompte &

Preissle (1993 : 47). These writers go so far as to suggest that it is these qualities of comparability and translatability that 'contribute to effective generalizations regardless of research design; however they are of paramount importance in the legitimacy of ethnographic research'(1993: 47). Such legitimacy needs to be learned if for no reason other than to counter the charge that too few researchers with ethnographic orientations have really bothered to provide 'the validation necessary for generalization to other contexts' (Chaudron 1988 : 49).

What the qualitative researcher attempts to do differs from the statistical generalisations related to probability sampling so common in quantitative methods. As has been indicated above, because the qualitative researcher defines external validity differently, knowledge in this form of research is produced not so much by replication, but by the 'preponderance of evidence found in individual studies' (McMillan & Schumacher 1993 : 394). These writers contend that the comparability and translatability aimed for is established when the researcher reports 'the extent of typicality' of a phenomenon being studied. Once such typicality is established it is suggested that a basis for the extension of understandings is created and these findings may then be translated for 'applicability across situations'. In the creation of this 'basis' the researcher is adequately protected against charges of a lack of generalisability.

Henning (1991: 123) cites Erikson who suggests that the generalisability of ethnographic, and by association , qualitative research results does not lie,

...in the hands of the researcher. The researcher presents an internally valid research package to the research and educational community and invites them to generalize where they see fit.

Thus, once the qualitative researcher has presented an 'in-depth' analysis and conclusion and such research findings become accessible to the whole 'teaching community', then it is for the members of that community to decide for themselves' whether the results are applicable to their own unique situations (1991 : 127).

To promote such comparability and translatability it appears necessary to be sensitive to four aspects that are likely to affect meaningful cross-group extensions. These are posited in Table 10 below.

Table 10

External Validity of Qualitative Designs - To Increase Comparability and Translatability in Research Findings (after McMillan & Schumacher 1993: 395)

Threat	Description
Selection Effects	A problem when characteristics of group or contextual features of a site are omitted
Setting Effects	Occurs when data are not corroborated between researcher and participants
History Effects	Becomes a problem when common or contrasting dimensions of groups or subcultures are omitted
Theoretical Effects	Occurs when findings are not contrasted to the results of prior research

Strauss and Corbin (1990 : 244) suggest that the possible replicability of a research exercise is one of the canons by which a study is judged. In general terms this means that any given study should be capable of being replicated and if the findings produced in the study appear to be present in the subsequent studies then such findings are deemed to possess additional credibility. They do however sound a warning.

It is their belief that no theory that deals with a social phenomenon is actually replicable because it is unlikely that a completely similar set of circumstances will be encountered where the conditions match exactly those in the original study. As a suitable way around this seemingly insoluble predicament they encourage an alternative approach. Their suggestion is that if another investigator starts with the same theoretical perspective and follows the same general rules for data gathering and analysis, within a similar, but not exact, set of conditions, then this investigator

should be able to arrive at the same theoretical explanation of the phenomena observed.

Lynda Measor (1985 : 73) observes that with the growth of interest in qualitative research have come a number of strategies that have been put forward for the validation of qualitative data. One of the most frequently cited tactics in her view is that of 'triangulation'. Firestone and Herriot (1984 : 68) had earlier suggested that this was one of the ways in which qualitative researchers sought to improve the accuracy of their research. LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 48) would concur with this suggestion with their claim that triangulation not only prevents the researcher from, accepting 'too readily the validity of initial impressions', as well as enhancing 'the scope, density, and clarity of constructs developed'. Furthermore these writers maintain that the procedure also helps in correcting biases that occur because of the ethnographer being the only observer of the phenomenon being scrutinized.

In this chapter the subjective nature of ethnographic research approaches has been raised. One way to overcome possible observer bias is to apply this process called 'Triangulation'. According to Long (1980 : 15) this procedure was developed by Adelman (1972) and Adelman and Walker (1975) from the ethnomethodology of Garfinkel (1967), Cicourel (1973), and Mehan and Wood (1975). (See Table 9).

In their research both Adelman and Wood sought to elicit 'second order' interpretations by using audio-visual recordings of phenomena observed. By doing this it was possible to resuscitate the actual moments in the interaction observed. It was thus possible to obtain interpretations of the actual subjects involved in the interaction observed. Through this 'triangulation' successive interpretations of the classroom interaction were possible. In this way the researcher could help to correct possible disparities between the observer's 'common-sense interpretation of the action and that of the teacher-students being observed' (1980 : 15). Through this the inter-subjective meaning of the actors in a research situation in relation to the interpretations of the observer could be illustrated.

The term 'triangulation' has similarly been applied to the multiplicity of data collection techniques used by many researchers and the fact that the multiple coding of different observed phenomena using various data collection techniques serves to confirm that what has been observed has not been subject to any subjective influences deriving from the observer.

Galton and Delamont (1985 : 168), in describing the research design in one of their research initiatives, the ORACLE Project (Observational Research and Classroom Learning Evaluation) raise the issue of triangulation. They used Cohen and Manion's (1980) distinction of three kinds of triangulation.

1. 'Between method' triangulation where various research methods are employed 'to surround' a problem.
2. 'Investigator' triangulation where, in an attempt to reduce investigator idiosyncrasies, a number of different investigators are used to gather data.
3. 'Within method' triangulation which as the name suggests, refers to varying strategies adopted within the method chosen, to bolster the validity of the data gathered.

Chaudron (1988 : 385) refers to reliability in qualitative research as the consistency of the researcher's interactive style, data collection and recording, data analysis and the interpretation of such data, as well as the interpretation of the participant meanings from the data. He suggests that this desire for consistency is especially difficult for researchers interested in events which by their nature are unique, social phenomena. He proposed that by making explicit six aspects relating to a research design the researcher is likely to enhance the reliability of the study. These aspects he listed as:

- * researcher role - here the suggestion is that an outsider coming into a situation is preferable to a participant who is part of the behaviour context being observed
- * informant selection - what is required is not only a detailed description of the informants or participants chosen but also a careful explanation of the process followed in this selection

- * social context - the researcher needs to accept that the social context of research is likely to influence the data content, and a careful description of participants (informant selection above) as well as of the time and place and the social context of the research exercise will assist in the data analysis
- * data collection - there should be a careful explanation of the variety of observer and interviewing techniques used as well as a detailed description of how the data was recorded and under what circumstances such data collection took place
- * data analysis strategies - the researcher should provide retrospective accounts of how the data was synthesized as well as clearly identifying the general strategies of data analysis and interpretation
- * analytic premises - the researcher needs to make explicit the conceptual framework upon which the study is based. The selection of such a framework implies that other researchers seeking to replicate aspects of the study begin from similar analytic premises

On the question of data collection Chaudron identifies a group of eight strategies that, used either alone or in combination, are intended to counter charges of unreliability being leveled against the procedures involved in data collection. Now, not all are pertinent to this study, but certain of the strategies are. Thus, the researcher may consider the possible use of low-inference description, such as those contained in customised observation protocols or instruments that have been proved reliable through successful application in a number of studies. The intention is to arrive at concrete, precise descriptions. In many respects such descriptions are almost literal with the most important terms being understood by the participants. Or, the decision may be to use mechanical recording of data, e.g. audio or video, so as to provide a corroborating record of the data collected by other means.

LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 332-340) discuss at length the issue of reliability in ethnographic studies. Their position is that, with regard to both internal validity and external validity, the study of what in most respects is a set of unique circumstances and behaviours would preclude perfect external and internal reliabilities. They

recognise that because of the 'individualistic and personalistic nature of the ethnographic process' achievement of a measure of external reliability is more difficult for ethnographers than for researchers who might use other research models. They acknowledge that where an ethnographic study has opted to use a standardised observational protocol which would permit, if needs be, some form of quantitative assessment of internal reliability, then in all likelihood a greater degree of internal reliability would be possible.

Henning (1993 : 124-126) contends that this issue of reliability fulfils a much smaller role in ethnographic research because of the unlikelihood of one researcher being able to replicate exactly the research procedures of another. However, where a research exercise employs a measuring instrument of one form or another, such as the use of an observation instrument, (e.g. COLT as in this study), then replicability and consequently, reliability become important considerations, for;

The assessment of replicability of procedure and the resulting conclusions from findings are essential if research is to be accepted as sound. (1993 : 124)

Reference has been made to the belief of Woods (above) that the ethnographic research design is likely to compel the practitioner to undertake a 'conceptual leap' and seek to arrive at some or other theoretical construct arising out of the study.

Henning (1991 : 113) maintains that ethnography appears 'inextricably linked to the concept of grounded theory'. These linkages exist, not only in the potential of ethnography for generating theory, but also in its capacity to lead to an understanding of theory.

Woods (1985 : 51) prefaces his discussion on theory construction in ethnographic research by referring to the very influential role that Glaser and Strauss (1967) have played in outlining the way in which an understanding of the place and manner of theory construction and an understanding of such theory, is possible. Other commentators have done likewise . (LeCompte & Preissle 1993 : 239; Strauss & Corbin 1990 : 24)

Chaudron (1988 : 28) in a discussion on the validation of various observation instruments used in L2 classroom observation highlights the need for the construction of 'an empirically and conceptually grounded theory of interaction and language learning in such L2 classrooms'.

If, as McMillan and Schumacher (1993 : 7) contend, the ultimate aim of science is the generalisation and verification of theory then possibly this section would be incomplete without a brief discussion of what theory is and what it does. They refer to the definition of Kerlinger (1986) who conceived of theory as a:

set of interrelated constructs and propositions that specify relations and variables to explain and predict phenomena.

The above definition focuses on three distinct aspects. Firstly, a general theory is a set of propositions comprising defined constructs. Secondly, the theory enunciates the interrelations among a set of variables. Thirdly, such a theory explains phenomena. For instance, instead of trying to explain each discrete, separate behaviour of the subject(s) in a study, the researcher would aim at general explanations which would link these different behaviours together.

McMillan and Schumacher acknowledge that much social science is not specifically theory oriented but instead focuses on the uncovering of specific relations. Yet the most useful and valued relations would seem to be those that are most generalised in that they are 'tied to other relations' in a theory (1993:7).

Besides a simple definition of theory (after Kerlinger above) it is possible to go further and identify certain criteria that allow a theory to become useful in the development of scientific knowledge. These criteria, (after McMillan and Schumacher) are:

- * Provide a simple explanation of the observed relations relevant to a particular problem
- * Be consistent with the observed relations and with an already established body of knowledge,

- * Should be considered a tentative explanation and should allow for verification and revision,
- * Should lead to further research in areas that need investigation.

LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 240) regard theorizing as,

The cognitive process of discovering and manipulating abstract categories and relationships among these categories.

This process, it is suggested, is used to develop and confirm the explanation that the researcher seeks for how and why things happen as they do, and the process itself would seem to rest upon a number of tasks. Thus, perceiving, comparing, contrasting, aggregating, ordering, establishing linkages and relationships and speculating are all viewed as components of theorising and should be approached in a formal and systematic way.

These processes or tasks, linked to the selection of particular procedures for analysing the data lead on to the development of theory which is 'grounded' in the data. It is this mode of qualitative analysis or 'grounded theory' that has been elucidated and developed over almost two decades, both by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and then independently by Glaser (1978) and Strauss (1987) and more recently by Strauss and Corbin (1990). The common objective in all the work appears an attempt to offer an approach to doing qualitative analysis with a specific purpose in mind; that of building theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990 : 9).

If one follows the reasoning of these latter writers then this grounded theory can be defined as theory which is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. Through systematic data collection and the detailed analysis of this data a theory pertaining to the phenomenon being studied 'is discovered, developed and provisionally verified'. If such a theory is to be accepted as grounded theory then it would be required to meet four central criteria. These are listed as, Fit, Understanding, Generality and Control. Strauss and Corbin suggest that these criteria operate as follows;

- Fit - if the theory is faithful to the everyday reality of the substantive area and if it is induced from the data carefully, then it should fit the substantive area,
- Understanding - because it is a representation of reality it should be understood by, and make sense to, both the subjects of the study and to those who are practising in that area,
- Generality - the theory should be abstract enough and include enough variation to permit it to be applicable to a variety of contexts related to the phenomenon,
- Control - the theory should provide control with regard to action toward the phenomenon. (1990: 23)

Strauss and Corbin contend that adherence to the above criteria would build theory that 'is faithful to and illuminates the area under study', and that ultimately such a theory may be related to others within the same discipline and that through such a cumulative process the theory's implications 'will have useful application'(1990 : 23).

This discussion relating to various theoretical aspects of educational research in general, and to qualitative and ethnographic research in particular, would be incomplete without a brief consideration of the ethical principles applicable to research in general.

McMillan and Schumacher (1993 : 397) contend that these principles, as they relate to qualitative research, are not dissimilar to those for quantitative research. They warn that qualitative research needs to be particularly sensitive to the ethical principles governing the research because of the nature of the research, the interactive data collection and the reciprocity of the participants. Some potential ethical dilemmas are identified as follows:

- * Informed consent - not only are participants in the study informed of the purpose but they are assured of confidentiality and anonymity,
- * Confidentiality and Anonymity - in attempts to ensure these aspects researchers usually use code names for both people and places. In this the researcher seeks to fulfil the dual responsibility of the researcher towards his subjects, viz., protection of participant confidences so as not to allow identification and the protection of the informants or subjects from the general reading public,
- * Deception, Privacy and Empowerment - any deception would violate the informed consent and privacy of the participants. Sometimes researchers are encouraged to negotiate with the participants so that they can understand clearly the power that they possess in the research process. Often, this sense of power is viewed as an exchange for the loss of privacy through participation in the study.
- * Caring, Fairness - some researchers would suggest that a sense of caring and fairness should enter into the researcher's actions and thinking, and that the investigator guards against any personal humiliation or lack of personal trust.

4.6 Classroom observation instruments

Table 9. is an indication of the multiplicity of observation instruments developed for classroom observation. Yet it represents only a small proportion of the great number of observational category systems and rating systems that have been developed. Rosenshine and Furst (1971 : 56), at their time of writing, could identify at least four hundred such systems. In all likelihood the number has probably grown considerably since then.

Many of these were designed to describe or classify all verbal interaction in a classroom and all are based on one or other or a combination of description or classification. Some focus on a 'category' of interaction i.e. behaviour is coded using distinctive codes. These codes for behaviour are recorded every time that they occur. The alternative is to focus on a 'sign' approach i.e. to record whether a

distinctive behaviour occurs within a specific period of time. Of the two the category procedure contains greater potential to identify every behavioural event that occurs while that of the sign approach tends to avoid the extra weighting likely to occur for events that occur frequently. Its value lies in enhancing the weighting of relatively rarer events.

Irrespective of which approach is used, the researcher should take note of the cautionary comments of Long (1980 : 12-13), who maintained that such observational instruments are in reality, 'no more than theoretical claims about...learning and teaching.' In Long's case such claims would have been about L2 learning and teaching. Because the compilers had hypothesised that the behaviours recorded by the various categories were those that influenced the success, or otherwise, of L2 learning, and because Long could find little evidence of substantial efforts being made to test the hypotheses, therefore it followed that the observational systems themselves were no less subjective than other impressionistic observations. Because of this Long considered that the value of such observational systems lay in their potential for 'revealing insights into the relationships between classroom practices and L2 learning'.

In what was probably a search for such potential Chaudron (1988:21-23) discussed various observation instruments. He examined four observation instruments pertinent to the study of ESL classrooms. All stated as their goal the desire,

to provide descriptions and interpretations of classroom events, and the relationship between them, that will be identified by others as real and meaningful for teachers, learning and learners. (1988 : 23)

Chaudron examined those of Fanselow (1977), Mitchel... et al (1981), Ullman and Geva (1983) and Allen (1984). These writers all agreed that the various individuals participating in a classroom interaction should be identified. They also agreed that there was a need to analyse also, the context or topic in the classroom being observed, and not to be limited to the type of participation observed on the part of

the participants. However, of the four instruments Allen's was the only one to include analyses of verbal interaction below that of the general pedagogical level.

Each instrument was used in a study to provide certain details or analyses of specific areas of interaction which were observed and analysed using qualitative and interpretive procedures. As such they should not be seen as providing complete ethnographies because they did not fulfil the broadest expectations of an ethnography; i.e. they did not attempt an exhaustive treatment of the roles of interaction in general. What could be claimed for them was that the ethnographic methodology used was 'was able to illuminate the underlying social norms for interpreting the specific interactive events' (1988 : 46).

LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 261) warn, similarly, against the tendency of investigators who claim the use of such instruments - what they term 'standardised observational protocols' - as ethnography. They acknowledge this data technique to be a combination of data collection and analysis however. If the use of such an instrument is to fall within the boundaries of ethnography then the strategy would require the researcher to utilise the initial phases of the fieldwork to develop an instrument or instruments, usually enumerative, in which the units of analysis are clearly and precisely defined. What these 'categories do is select 'very precise aspects of behaviour from the general stream of behaviour' and according to these writers, usually the categories have been carefully field-tested to ensure suitable levels of reliability and validity are maintained. Phenomena observed are thus coded into previously chosen and validated categories.

LeCompte and Preissle suggest further, that, unlike many of the analytical strategies which are often included in the ethnographic stable, such protocols are usually used to test hypotheses, rather than assist in their formulation. Thus they do not share the inductive bias of most ethnographic data collection strategies; rather they are deductive by nature.

This is not to say, however, that the use of such protocols is anathema to ethnographers. LeCompte and Preissle observe that while such observation instruments have usually been ignored by ethnographers they have been widely used in evaluative studies. They suggest, also, that such protocols, if wisely chosen to reveal emerging patterns of behaviour in the analysis, can quite successfully be incorporated into the ethnographic data techniques. In addition, it would appear that where,

the overall research design requires limited observational data the substitution of appropriate standardized protocols for the costlier and more time-consuming alternative of participant observation should be seriously considered. (1993 : 263)

This position would seem to be supported by Wolcott's (1988 : 194) earlier suggestion (see chapter 4.4.) that where the researcher, through varying circumstances, is obliged to fill the role of a limited or privileged observer then there seems justification for the use of other qualitative techniques of data collection which might not easily permit the use of the term 'ethnography' to describe the research design.

4.7 Analysing qualitative data

Until now this chapter has focused on various aspects of the nature of educational research in general and of qualitative research in particular. Much of the discussion has centred on research methodology and the implications for the investigator of a chosen research design. Central to this is the issue of data collection, yet it appears that many researchers err in their assumption that this facet, data collection, is the most important stage of the research exercise (LeCompte & Preissle 1993 : 234). For example, from an ethnographer's point of view, it is only when the data is analysed that it becomes ethnography (Wolcott 1988 : 188). Therefore, it would appear imperative that the researcher be sensitive to issues relating to the analysis of qualitative data.

A logical starting point would seem to be clarity on what exactly the researcher is hoping to achieve. This entails, in simple terms, facing up to the following queries:

- * How do I make sense of the data?
- * Where do I start?
- * How do I organise it so that I can locate important findings?

McMillan and Schumacher (1990 : 479) define the process which answers these questions as 'primarily an inductive process of organizing the data into categories and identifying patterns (relationships) and categories'. From an ethnographic viewpoint the goal of such a process would appear to be to create 'a vivid reconstruction of the culture studied' (LeCompte & Preissle 1993 : 234) Not only does it require such vivid or 'thick' description (chapter 4.1) but it implies that ethnographers distinguish between the empirical meanings that they assign to behaviours and beliefs, and those meanings that the participants in the study use to make sense of such behaviours and beliefs.

In general qualitative research terms, a distinction needs to be drawn between interactive qualitative research and that of non-interactive initiatives if there is to be an understanding of the narrower differences in data analysis stemming from each of these broad approaches to qualitative data collection (McMillan & Schumacher 1993 : 479).

In interactive research the predilection seems to be towards an inductive process of organising data into categories and then identifying patterns which are noticeable among these categories. Categories represent an abstract name representing the meaning of similar topics, and can be subdivided into 'ethic' categories where they represent the views of an outsider to a situation, and 'emic' where the views represent those of the insiders in a particular situation. Patterns indicate the relationship among such categories (McMillan & Schumacher 1993 : 493). The contention is that data analysis is an ongoing 'cyclical' process integrated into all phases of the research exercise. If this is so then it appears that categories and patterns are likely to 'emerge' from the data being collected, rather than being 'imposed' on it prior to the collection. According to McMillan and Schumacher this

cyclical process recurs, and it is possible to identify clearly, distinct phases in such a cycle. These are posited as:

- * continuous discussion in order to identify tentative patterns;
- * categorizing and ordering data;
- * qualitatively assessing the trustworthiness of the data; and,
- * producing an abstract of themes and or concepts.

This is not to suggest that such a cyclical process is fixed. It would appear to vary, dependent upon pertinent aspects of each individual research design. Yet, as with the phases identifiable above, it is also possible to list a number of general principles and practices which govern such data analysis.

In the field, analysis should usually begin as soon as the first set of data has been collected. Then, such data should be arranged in relevant parts or 'chunks of meaning'. Usually, after the field collection has come to an end, the data is categorized according to a range or system of topics that have been derived mainly from the selfsame data. Finally, the result of the above analysis should be some form of 'higher-level synthesis' with the express purpose of aiding the emergence of a larger, comprehensive picture. This incorporates attempts to make general statements about relationships among the categories by discovering patterns in the data. In doing this the analysis aims at an understanding of the 'complex links between various aspects of people's situations, mental processes, beliefs and actions' (McMillan and Schumacher 1990 : 495). It would thus appear incumbent upon each researcher to choose the analytical strategies which would illuminate best the patterns in his or her particular data.

Non-interactive research design appears to direct the investigator along a more deductive path where the use of pre-determined categories in compilation and assessing of the data is more amenable to the verification of hypotheses and the illuminative evaluation of a particular set of conditions or circumstances.

LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 234-248) outline a four-stage, sequential strategy for the analysis of qualitative data. These writers appear to accept data stemming from various collection techniques, interactive as well as non-interactive (e.g. using protocols), as suitable for processing in terms of their strategy. The purpose of this strategy is to establish linkages between categories and events.

The discovery of these connections among individual as well as classes of constructs, would appear to involve clarifying the time order among incidents and then through inferences, attempting an explanation of 'how such incidents are associated, covary or cause one another to occur' (1993 : 246).

Speculation and making inferences would thus seem to figure largely in the researcher's analysis 'modus operandi'. However, the distinction drawn earlier between the interactive and non-interactive nature of data collection would here determine the timing of such inferences and speculation. In ethnography inference and speculation seem very much an integral part of the entire research design and these actions are used throughout generative and inductive studies. Where data collection on the other hand has been by means of predetermined categories, such as with the use of standardized observation protocols in deductive, verification studies, the researcher consciously avoids making inferences explaining phenomena until the data collection is complete.

Either way, the researcher should be characterized by 'inquisitive behaviour' (LeCompte & Preissle 1993 : 24) as he or she seeks to move from an existing conceptual position through observation and analysis linked to existing theory, to finally reach a position where 'new connections and enriched or changed concepts' are forthcoming (Henning 1991 : 135).

4.8 The Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT) protocol

The COLT observation instrument was developed in order to, capture differences in the communicative orientation of L2 classroom, interaction in a variety of settings, (Frolich, Spada & Allen, 1985 : 27) and by so doing discriminate among language teaching programmes by means of the categories in the instrument. It was developed, furthermore, in response to a perceived lack of such instruments which enabled satisfactory research into the relationship between actual classroom practices and the development of communicative competence.

Frolich... et al were concerned about the validation of the instrument as a measure of the degree of communicative language teaching in a classroom situation. The validity was tested in a study by Allen of 13 classes in four second language programmes. Of these, four classes were French L2 and five were ESL classes. The purpose of the study was not to evaluate the L2 programmes in these classrooms but rather to determine whether this particular observation scheme was capable of 'capturing differences in the communicative orientation of L2 classrooms' (1985 : 28). Their results provided evidence that COLT was capable of doing what was intended and they were able to claim that the instrument has validity in ascertaining differences among programmes and classes as measured by the relative frequency of communicative behaviours and activities observed.

COLT is one of a small number of observation instruments designed specifically for the second language classroom where language is not only the medium but also the object of instruction (1985 : 29). Its construction followed a review of various instruments designed to emphasize features which were deemed relevant to L2 classrooms. COLT contained observation categories derived from:

- * theories of communicative competence
- * literature on communicative language teaching
- * literature reporting research into first and second language acquisition.

The COLT instrument consists of two parts:

Part A contains categories associated with pedagogical issues in the CLT literature and describes classroom interaction in terms of the types of activity that occur.

Part B contains categories reflecting issues in first and second language acquisition research and describes the verbal interactions which take place within the classroom activities.

The express purpose of the five major parameters in Part A: Activity, Participant Organization, Content, Student Modality and Materials, is to establish the extent to which any instructional treatment may be characterized as communicatively oriented. As this aspect is the major thrust of the classroom observation in this present study it is understandable that Part A received greater prominence in the application of COLT to the classrooms observed than did Part B. (The accompanying *Field Note File* contains observation sheets for each individual lesson observed)

Part B analyses classroom activity at the level of verbal interaction. This is done through the selection and application of seven communicative features which measure the use of the target language and the extent to which the learners,

are given the opportunity to produce language without teacher-imposed linguistic restrictions, to engage in sustained speech, to initiate discourse, to react to the meaning of what is being said, to elaborate on one another's utterances and to exchange unknown or relatively unpredictable information. (1985 : 30)

A detailed description of the complete instrument as well as a definition of the various categories employed appears in Appendix 2.

4.9 Conclusion

In the light of the above discussion of various aspects of educational research it would seem advisable to locate the aspects of data collection and analysis in this study within a particular theoretical framework.

This researcher is mindful of Wolcott's (1985 : 200) exhortation to educational researchers not to claim to be doing ethnography when in fact what they are doing is borrowing ethnographic techniques.

It was intended that the nature of the research exercise be qualitative. Enumeration was used in the application of the questionnaire with a very specific outcome in mind, viz., that of enabling a purposeful sample (see chapter 5.2) to be drawn for classroom observation.

The writer accepts that the use of a standard observation protocol, that of the Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching, (COLT) places this, the major component of the data collection within the descriptor 'privileged observation' The use of the COLT instrument was intentional as is indicated in Chapter 5.5.

The use of the audio recording of the lessons observed was intended to provide suitable verification of the accuracy of the coding of the various behaviours observed. At a point in deciding on the data collection corroboration strategy, i.e. the triangulation desired, the use of video technology had been considered but it was felt that the use of such 'large -scale', high profile equipment might prove to be too intrusive. The use of a compact audio recorder of extremely small dimensions meant that after the first lesson or so the participants in the classroom exhibited no noticeable interest in the equipment. While it must be accepted that no visitor to a classroom, no matter how regular or prolonged such visits are, will ever gain the status of the proverbial 'fly on the wall', the use of a small recorder, however, passed relatively unnoticed. The only time it was obvious was on the few occasions when group work was attempted. It was placed in close proximity to one or other group, so as better to pick up the verbal interaction taking place.

The compilation of various snippets of additional information, presented as field notes included on the observation protocol sheets, was intended to add to the description of what was transpiring in the ESL classrooms visited. It was hoped that this additional descriptive data might assist in supporting and explaining the

eventual findings and might thus add to the researcher's description of what happened.

In the attempt at understanding the ESL teaching observed, this research aimed at thick, critical descriptions which, to Gage(1986, cited by Nitsaisook & Postlethwaite 1986 : 428), should be full of concrete detail to which, interpretations pointing to the significant patterns or phenomena, and explanatory propositions are attached.

According to Taft (referred to by Nitsaisook & Postlethwaite (1986 : 428) the ultimate measure of the extent of the ethnographic nature of a research design should be that it is qualitative and systematic. By that measure this research initiative would qualify for the description 'ethnographic' in that it has borrowed ethnographic techniques and it has sought to ground all such explanatory propositions in the data observed. However the exercise can by no means be labelled an ethnography.

CHAPTER 5. THE DESIGN OF THE FIELD STUDY

5.1 Preparation

1991

Permission was obtained from the Director-General of the Ciskei Education Department for the writer to undertake a programme of school visitation for the purpose of observing a sample of ESL teachers in their classrooms.

Lists were compiled of the names of all students who had entered for, and passed, the third-year Secondary Teacher's Diploma English Didactics course at the L.L.Sebe College of Education between 1984 and 1990. (The name of this college was subsequently changed to the Griffiths Mxenge College of Education). Table 11 below indicates the number of teachers who qualified in English Didactics and who would probably enter the teaching field with English as one of their specialist subjects.

Table 11

Students who received an S.T.D. qualification in English Didactics; 1984 - 1990

1984	-	69
1985	-	53
1986	-	51
1987	-	24
1988	-	37
1989	-	53
1990	-	34

Total - 321

By 1991 the Ciskei Department of Education had commissioned a comprehensive computerised system of records at their Head Office in Bisho. Not only did these records permit the writer to establish where the ex-L.L.Sebe students were teaching, but in most cases the records also indicated the subjects taught and at what level these were being handled. Head Office personnel kindly assisted the writer in cross-

Of the 321 students produced over the seven-year period only 145 were in the employ of the Department and were teaching at least one secondary standard of English during the course of 1991. This represents a percentage of only 45 % of these teachers being utilised in teaching English in the Ciskei schools. Many teachers had probably obtained positions in schools in other departments or had left the profession entirely. Some were still teaching in Ciskei schools but in departments other than English. This low percentage of teachers retained by the Department to teach one of their specialist subjects should be a cause for concern. Further research should be done to establish both the causes and the effects of this attrition and whether such a situation persists to the present day.

Originally it had been intended that 4 school circuits out of the 9 in the Ciskei be selected and questionnaires be sent to the relevant teachers in these circuits only. The four circuits chosen, viz., Mdantsane Central, Mdantsane South-East, Zwelitsha South and Zwelitsha North represented a cross section of urban and rural schools. However, the high rate of loss of teachers both to the Ciskei and to English teaching, as revealed in the cross-referencing exercise referred to above, meant that the questionnaire strategy was changed. It was decided that questionnaires would be sent to all 145 teachers still on the departmental lists.

It was during 1991 that scholars in Ciskeian secondary schools embarked on a programme of mass-action as part of the liberation struggle in South Africa. Effective schooling was disrupted for much of the year. It was decided therefore, that the fieldwork would only be attempted during the following year.

1992

The questionnaire, together with a stamped, self-addressed envelope, was distributed by post early in 1992 to all the names appearing on the list of teachers still active in English in the Ciskei. The response was most disappointing, possibly because at the time the entire Ciskei region was experiencing great difficulties as

regards the distribution and delivery of mail. Approximately 30 teachers responded to the first mailing. This represented a percentage return of approximately 20 % and was considered to be too low.

The questionnaire was distributed a second time to all those teachers who had not responded. This time the distribution was done via the various district Circuit Offices. The Assistant Directors, (regional controllers), kindly agreed to hand the envelopes to the principals of schools where the specific teachers were employed. In this way a further 20 responses were forthcoming. This raised the response percentage to about 35 %.

The questionnaire was distributed a third time to those who had not responded, again through the kind favour of the various Assistant Directors. A few more responses were received bringing the total number received up to 74. A number of responses were invalid because respondents' names were not on the original class lists. On inquiry it appeared that in these cases the teacher for whom the questionnaire had been intended had simply passed it on to a colleague for completion. Some questionnaires were returned without names and therefore they were excluded as well. Ultimately a total of 52 questionnaires were scored.

This process of questionnaire distribution and collection had taken the better part of 1992. Because the fieldwork was scheduled to start early in 1993 it was felt that questionnaires should not be distributed a fourth time. Rather the teachers to be selected for classroom observation should be identified on the strength of the responses received.

It should be stated that the purpose of the questionnaire was not to deduce laws or to validate theory. Rather it was to guide the writer in making a selection of teachers for classroom observation; the selection being based upon the extent to which such teachers had exhibited a predilection for CLT in their responses.

5.2 The questionnaire

A questionnaire was compiled to establish how teachers perceived themselves to be teaching English. It was anticipated that responses to items in the questionnaire would provide an indication of how inclined respondents were towards the communicative teaching of English. (the entire questionnaire is reproduced in appendix 1). The intention was to draw a purposeful sample for investigation. Whether the terminology is that of McMillan and Schumacher (1993 : 378), viz., 'purposeful sampling' or whether the preference is to use some other term such as LeCompte and Goetz's (1984 : 71) 'criterion-based selection', the intention remains the same; to 'increase the utility of information obtained from small groups' (1993 : 378).

As McMillan and Schumacher explain further;

The researcher searches for '*information-rich*', (their emphasis) key informants, groups, places and events to study. In other words these samples are chosen because they are likely to be knowledgeable and informative about the phenomena the researcher is investigating.(1993 : 378)

It was hoped that the information obtained about the 'variation in the sub-units', in this case the varying orientations towards CLT, would lead to the choosing of a sample which in its investigation could yield an in-depth insight into CLT classrooms in the Ciskei.

As the purpose was not to arrive at findings which were aimed primarily at generalisation, but rather to produce 'thick descriptions' of certain ESL classrooms in some Ciskeian schools, it was felt that such purposeful sampling was justified. Admittedly, the eventual choice of teachers so as to reflect a variation in their perceived orientation and practice of CLT, could well be included under the heading of another sampling strategy, viz., 'maximum variation sampling' where a selection is made to obtain maximum differences, whether in perception or practice, about a topic among information-rich informants or a group (McMillan & Schumacher 1993 : 379). However, as the prime reason for deciding on the particular sampling strategy chosen was to obtain a set of teachers who were most

likely to yield rich data in terms of CLT and their orientation towards it, the description 'purposeful sampling, is in all probability the best description of the strategy employed at this stage of the study.

In only one item in the questionnaire was the term 'communicative ' used. This was in the context of a 'communicative task' (item 9). A close reading of the 25 items in section B will confirm that the focus of the items was on aspects of CLT. At no stage, however, was there direct reference to CLT. This was done purposefully to circumvent any tendency that respondents might have had to provide answers they felt the questioner might require.

As Dillman (1978), and later Leedy (1985), (both cited by Karweit 1982 : 1840), pointed out, in any research design involving a questionnaire care should be taken to ensure that the actual questions set relate directly to the purpose of the exercise. It is necessary for the analyst or compiler to be clear about the type of information wanted. Dillman suggested that most questionnaire items are aimed at gauging how respondents feel, how they act, who they are or what they think. Thus each question, should be constructed with a clear view of whether it assesses attitudes, behaviours, attributes or beliefs (Karweit 1982 : 1840). Analysis of the 25 items in the questionnaire shows that 19 of the items relate specifically to how the respondents act in their classroom teaching (i.e. behaviour) while only 6 relate to their thinking (beliefs) on issues directly related to CLT (Items 1, 5-7, 20-21).

A basic principle of question wording, namely that only one concept or issue or meaning should be included in a question was adhered to (Dillman 1978 - cited by Karweit 1982 : 1841; Labaw 1980 : 154). Also care was taken to avoid generic words because the use of such words might possibly contribute to misunderstanding on the part of the respondent.

The questions were framed with a view to minimising the following situations:

- * respondents may misunderstand the purpose or intent of the question or some may understand it differently from others

- * respondents may understand the question fully but may not answer the question truthfully, i.e. they may include an element of bias in their responses
- * respondents for some reason may refuse to answer a particular question
- * the answer categories provided may not allow the respondent to express his or her true feelings, behaviour or knowledge
- * the answer categories provided may mean something different to the respondent than they do to the researcher
- * a respondent may never before have given any thought to the issues dealt with in the items and as such the answers supplied may be completely uninformed or misinformed
- * a respondent may have no personal interest whatsoever in the issues being raised and thus the answers may reflect salience rather than any concern or thought of his own

Linked to the above are three problems that Labaw views as common to open-ended questions. The researcher needs to:

1. Find words that convey accurately what is meant to the respondent;
2. Find words that the respondent understands on a grammatical level;
3. Understand what the respondent means when a particular response is chosen and whether the gradation of meaning to one respondent is the same as that of another. (1980 : 145)

It would appear that when a question is unnecessarily complex in its wording or a particular jargon is used, the situation outlined in No. 1 above might be encountered. The second situation is often found where phrasing is such that a particular response appears socially, or in the case of this questionnaire, educationally desirable. It was hoped that by using wording that was neutral and by purposely avoiding an emphasis on the terms 'communicative' or 'communicative language teaching' the possibility of this type of biased response could be avoided. Thirdly, questions usually remain unanswered when the

phrasing related to sensitive areas appears too probing. In none of the returned questionnaires were any items omitted.

The questionnaire used employed a 'closed-question' approach in which actual answer categories were provided. This form of question is opposite to 'open-ended' questions which allow the respondent to give a totally free answer, whether or not such an answer is analysed by means of pre-coded categories or not. On this issue of closed questions, Labaw (above) suggests that the researcher be aware of possible misunderstanding because the researcher might not say what he or she means, or the researcher might say what he or she means but this would be open to variation in interpretation.

A UNISA (1986 : 14) guide to field research concludes the chapter on questionnaires by emphasising that the necessity of knowing what is going to be done with the responses is crucial to the whole issue of questionnaire compilation. This 'knowing what is to be done' is a very serious issue, especially as 'the actual statistical analysis of closed questions presents a much more serious research problem' (Labaw 1980 : 148). The problem is linked to the way in which the statistical handling of closed questions gives equal weight to responses, regardless of whether the responses are from people who know what they are talking about or not. Fortunately, the questionnaire used in this study was not affected in this manner because the purpose was not one of statistical analysis but rather a means to teacher identification.

Section A of the questionnaire asked for general biographical information. This included the name of the respondent as well as details regarding post-college studies, the current post held and the present standards being taught. It was necessary to have this information so as to ensure that only responses from teachers who had received training in the English Didactics courses at the college were accepted for processing. As indicated earlier a number of responses were received from teachers who had not been trained at the L.L. Sebe College. Upon investigation (telephonically) it transpired that in many of these instances the

person to whom the questionnaire had been addressed was no longer teaching the subject so the questionnaire was passed on to a colleague who was. Also, some teachers had made photocopies of the questionnaire and had provided unsolicited responses. These latter responses were either a result of their own initiative or they had been acting upon instructions from the school principal or head of department for English. Such responses were not processed as the respondents fell outside of the study population.

Section B contained the 25 items that were to be scored to arrive at an indication of the respondent's inclination towards CLT. The items were arranged on a four-point rating scale and apart from Item 1 which used the terms, 'Very important, Quite important, Sometimes important' and 'Not important' all other items used the terms, 'Always, Frequently, Seldom' and 'Never'. A four point-scale was chosen because it prevents a respondent from adopting a neutral position on any item. In Items 2 - 6 the response 'Not important' suggested that the respondent's classroom activity was in the CLT mode. For Items 7 - 25 the terms were reversed with 'Always' indicating that the respondent was more inclined towards CLT while a response of 'Never' showed a leaning towards a more formal and less communicative mode of teaching.

All responses were awarded a score of between 1 and 4 points. In Item 1 'Very important' rated 1 point while 'Not important' rated 4 points. In Items 2 - 6 it was 'Always' that rated 1 point while 'Never' rated 4 points. From items 7 - 25 the opposite applied with 'Always' now rating 4 points and 'Never' rating only 1 point.

All questionnaires processed were awarded a score out of a possible 100 points. While it should be stated that the score obtained by any one respondent did no more than state that respondent 'X', for instance, scored 45 points while respondent 'Y' achieved a score of 65, the scores did provide an indication of how the teachers perceived of their English teaching. The higher the score the more inclined that respondent was likely to be towards CLT.

The purpose of the questionnaire, as has been mentioned already, was to enable the writer to identify and differentiate between,

- a) teachers who in their own minds, appear to be making a conscious effort 'to put into practice communicative approaches to language teaching, and
- b) teachers whose responses indicated less of a leaning towards CLT.

The 25 items were constructed on the basis of the theory and practice of CLT as discussed in Chapter 3. As added confirmation that what was being sought was the respondents' attitudes and behaviours in terms of CLT in their classroom practice, the items included were also scrutinised in terms of six criteria suggested by Ellis (1986 : 96) as a reliable measure of the communicative nature of classroom activities. Thus each of the 25 items should be able to be linked to one or more of the criteria as set out below:

1. Communicative purpose : the activity must involve the students in performing a real communicative purpose rather than just practising language for its own sake.
2. Communicative desire: the activity must create a desire to communicate in the students, i.e. even though speaking might be forced on students they must feel a real need to communicate.
3. Content not form: when doing an activity students must be concentrating on 'what' they are saying and not on 'how' they are saying it.
4. Variety of language: the activity must involve students in using a variety of language and not just one language form.
5. No teacher intervention: the activity must be designed to be done by the students working by themselves rather than with the teacher. The activity should not involve the teacher correcting or evaluating how the students do in the activity. Assessment should be based on whether students have achieved their communicative purpose and not whether the language used was correct.

6. No materials control: the activity should not be designed to control what language the students should use. The choice of what language to use should rest with the student.

5.3 Identification of teachers for observation

As indicated in 5.1 above, a total of 74 completed questionnaires were returned, of which 52 appeared satisfactory for scoring. 2 Were later excluded because the pattern of responses across the 25 items were identical and both respondents were employed at the same school. Collusion in the completion of the items was suspected.

When it is considered that a respondent who scored only 1 point on each item would still post a score of 25 then the average of 62.1 % is not indicative of an exceptionally high overall inclination towards CLT.

Six teachers who had obtained scores of almost 70 or greater were selected. Of the five, two represented urban schools and four rural schools. Thus: Teacher 1 - 78; 2 - 76; 3 - 76; 4 - 71; 5 - 70 and 6 - 69. An additional four teachers, who obtained the group average or less were also selected. These represented two urban schools and three rural schools. Thus: Teacher 7 - 62; 8 - 61; 9 - 55; and 10 - 52.

The ten teachers were contacted telephonically and an appointment was made for a meeting where the purpose of the study would be explained. No attempt was made to discuss or analyse their responses although they were informed as to whether they were at the top end of the recorded scores or whether they had obtained an average or slightly below- average score.

Of the ten teachers it was ultimately decided to drop Teacher 1 from the list because of logistical reasons, the school being in an inaccessible locality. Teacher 9 was also excluded from the list. In the time between the return of the questionnaire and the telephonic contact this teacher had accepted a new post at a

school which also presented problems of access because of the considerable distance it was located from the writer's base.

Of the remaining eight teachers, seven agreed to participate in the classroom observation segment of the study. The eighth teacher was not averse to participation but was removed from the list because in the period following the return of the questionnaire he had been moved from an English teaching post to a Science post within the same school.

The seven teachers were now identified by letters of the alphabet and this means of identification was maintained throughout the classroom observation and the interviews that took place at the end of the observation exercise. Thus the teachers observed and their responses to the questionnaire were as follows:

A - 70
B - 71
C - 76
D - 69
E - 52
F - 76
G - 61

5.4 Scheduling the classroom visits

1993

It was anticipated that lessons presented by the seven teachers would be observed from the beginning of the second school quarter of 1993. As this exercise had to be accommodated within the writer's schedule of official duties at an in-service training institution, the seven were asked to supply a copy of their weekly teaching timetable. Information was requested with reference to both the time and period number of each English lesson, as well as the predominant focus of the lesson (e.g. oral work, literature, writing etc.).

A visitation programme was compiled whereby all teachers would be viewed for a minimum of 10 periods. These lessons were planned so as to provide a variation in classroom focus. It was anticipated that observations of various English lessons

would give a truer reflection of the level of CLT used than if only one type of lesson was viewed and coded.

This classroom viewing was scheduled to commence during the second week of April 1993 but within days of returning to their schools, teachers across the Ciskei involved in a dispute with the Ciskei Education Department over the recognition of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU). This boycott was to disrupt effective schooling in virtually all schools for the greater part of the year. In view of the fact that very little, if any, classroom teaching was taking place it was decided to postpone the fieldwork to the following year. The seven teachers were visited and informed accordingly. All agreed to participate at a later date.

1994

Early in the first quarter (but after a month had passed so as to allow schools to fix their timetables), teachers were again visited and copies of their 1994 teaching timetables were obtained. These timetables enabled the writer to set out a programme of school visits to the teachers concerned, commencing at the end of February.

1994 Appeared to be almost a repetition of the previous year. The whole of the Border region (later to form part of the Eastern Cape Province), of which the Ciskei was part, was caught up in what seemed to be random acts of violence leading up to the April 1994 General Election. The situation became so volatile that various tertiary institutions were obliged to send their staff home. The institution where the writer was employed was closed for a period of almost three months because of fears for the safety of staff members.

In view of the postponement experienced in 1993 and because the preparation for a programme of visits in 1994 had been completed, the writer felt that another postponement was unwise. Permission from the relevant authorities was obtained to proceed with the programme on the understanding that any safety risks would be the sole responsibility of the writer. Fortunately the various schools seemed

relatively free from disruption and so it was possible to commence the programme of field visits during the last week of February 1994.

5.5 The programme of classroom observation

As indicated in Chapter 4.6, a number of observation instruments, including that compiled by Allen and reported in Frolich, Spada, and Allen (1985) seemed eminently suited to the study of ESL in classrooms. The COLT instrument had been designed to show variations in the communicative orientation of L2 classrooms. Because the instrument had been designed specifically for L2 classrooms and its observation categories derived from the theoretical and practical aspects of CLT, it was felt that it would be a useful instrument to use in the present study. Concurrent with the coding of the classroom activity of each lesson according to the various categories of COLT, each lesson was audio-recorded. The purpose of such recordings was to provide a means of triangulation and thus confirm the coding done during the lesson (see chapter 4.5).

What now follows (page 185), is a diary-format account of each planned visit. The purpose here is to illustrate the great difficulties experienced in completing the field work. It is not intended to enter into a description or discussion of what the application of COLT revealed about CLT in each lesson.

Date	Teacher	Observed	Remarks
February			
Thurs 24	F	Yes	Teacher couldn't accommodate. writer - teaching another subject at the time
	B	No	
Fri 25	F	No	Teacher had left school for Port Elizabeth
	B	Yes	
March			
Wed 2	F	Yes	Teacher off ill. Teacher felt was not a suitable time.
	A	No	
	E	No	
Thurs 3	F	Yes	In spite of a telephone call to confirm appointment this lesson did not take place Teacher informed writer that time- table had changed.
	A	No	
	E	No	
Fri 4	A	No	Schools given a special holiday at last moment
	C	No	" "
Wed 9	F	Yes	A number of periods had been planned but teacher suggested that another date would be more suitable.
	B	No	
Thurs 10	B	No	This visit arranged to replace that of Teacher again suggested it was not a suitable time.
Fri 11	A	Yes	Teacher sitting in staffroom; felt that visit was not possible at that time. 2 periods planned but teacher was not on school premises. Attending election meeting.
	C	No	
	D	No	

Wed 16	C E	Yes No	Arrived at school to be told that teacher's timetable had changed that week.
Thurs 17	F A E	Yes No No	Arrived at school to discover that whole school was using Friday's timetable. Teacher not on school premises.
Fri 18	A D	No Yes	Meeting of teachers to discuss programme of voter education. 3 periods scheduled- only observed 1 as pupils dismissed themselves at 11H00.
Mon 21	F	No	Pupils given day off in commemoration of Sharpville Day.
Tues 22	E C A	No No No	All teachers summoned to a teachers' meeting at Bisho - school deserted. " " " "
Wed 23	E C A	No No No	All teachers had been summoned to another teachers' meeting at Bisho - schools were deserted " " " "
Thurs 24	C E	No No	Teachers not on school premises Teacher was absent from school
Fri 25	D	Yes	Planned to observe 3 classrooms - first lesson did not take place. 3rd lesson not observed as pupils went off for weekend at 11:55
May			
Wed 18	C E	Yes Yes	Two periods observed " "
Thurs 19	G F	Yes Yes	Two periods observed " "

Fri 20	E	Yes	One period observed
Tues 24	F	Yes	Two periods observed
Wed 25	A	No	The mistake was fault of writer - had confused periods on timetable
Thurs 26	C	Yes	Two periods observed
	A	Yes	One period observed
Fri 27	D	Yes	
June			
Wed 1	F	No	Pupils were writing an exam. Writer had not been informed.
	G	No	Teacher was doing revision - had given class notes to copy from chalkboard
	D	No	Teacher had swapped period on timetable
Thurs 2	E	No	Teacher was unprepared - claimed that writer was expected on previous day (Wed 1)
Fri 3	E	No	Teacher had class write a composition examination
	C	Yes	One period observed
	D	Yes	Two periods observed
July			
Mon 25	B	No	Teacher not prepared
	F	No	Teacher asked for a visit on another day
Tues 26	C	No	Teacher was missing from school. Principal informed observer that there appeared to be some form of personal crisis.
Wed 27	D	No	Scheduled for 13H00- no pupils
Fri 29	A	Yes	Two periods observed
	E	No	Teacher phoned to cancel visit

August

Mon 1	F	No	Teacher had not returned to school after weekend
	C	No	Teacher had absconded from school
Tues 2	A	Yes	One period observed
Thurs 4	B	Yes	Two periods observed
	F	Yes	One period observed
Mon 8	B	No	Writer was informed that teacher still in Port Elizabeth because of an illness in the family
Fri 12	E	No	Writer was ill - both teachers informed telephonically
	D	No	Not suitable - no reason given
Mon 15	B	No	Once again teacher had not returned from weekend in Port Elizabeth.
Mon 22	B	No	Last minute crisis at writer's work prevented observer from undertaking visit. School informed telephonically.
Wed 24	E	No	Arrived at school to discover pupils were writing tests.
Thurs 25	G	No	Teacher was not prepared - indicated that principal had not informed her of arrangement
	B	No	Pupils were involved in writing monthly tests
Fri 26	E	Yes	Two periods observed
	D	Yes	Two periods observed
Mon 29	B	Yes	Three periods observed
	G	No	Timetable had been changed
	A	Yes	Two periods observed
Tues 30	A	Yes	One period observed
	E	Yes	One period observed
	G	No	Teacher had to attend a meeting

Wed 31	D	Yes	One period observed
	E	No	Teacher indicated that she was engaged in the marking of tests.

September

Thurs 1	G	Yes	One period observed
	E	Yes	" "
	B	Yes	" "

Fri 2	A	Yes	Two periods observed
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Mon 5	B	No	Teacher had not returned to school after weekend
	G	No	Teacher not prepared for visit. Indicated day not suitable.
	A	No	After phoning to confirm whether teacher prepared - informed so by Head of Department - when writer arrived at school discovered that teacher was not on premises.

Wed 7	G	No	Teacher asked for another day
	B	No	Teacher suggested day not suitable

Fri 9	E	No	Teacher phoned to cancel visit
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Mon 12	B	Yes	Two periods observed
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Wed 14	E	No	No reason given
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Fri 16	A	No	No reason given
	G	No	Teacher not prepared for visit

Mon 19	B	Yes	One period observed
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Fri 23	A	Yes	Writer had planned two periods but school assembly ran over into first period and took up entire period.
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Mon 26	G	No	Teacher suggested another day
	A	Yes	One period observed

Wed 28	A	Yes	
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October

Tues 18	E	No	Very few pupils at school
	G	No	Teacher involved in revision programme

END OF VISITS FOR 1994

March 1995

Wed 8	G	No	Teacher said she was using a new timetable - only in operation since Monday, 6 March
Mon 13	G	No	Asked writer to come following day
Tues 14	G	Yes	
Thurs 23	G	No	Teacher not prepared for visit
Mon 27	G	No	Teacher suggested time not suitable.

April

Mon 24	E	Yes	One period observed
	G	Yes	" "

May

Thurs 11	G	No	Teacher not available
	E	No	Teacher unprepared
Fri 12	E	No	Teacher in Town
Mon 15	G	Yes	One period observed
	E	Yes	One period observed
Wed 17	E	Yes	Two periods observed
Mon 22	G	No	Teacher absent from school
Wed 23	G	No	Teacher still absent

located are an atypical group. The figures highlight the measure of persistence required to complete such a programme of visits.

It was not possible to complete the intended number of observations for all teachers. For example, Teacher C absconded from his place of employment and only 7 lessons were observed. Such attrition would appear to be a normal event in qualitative research (McMillan & Schumacher 1993 : 394). Furthermore, because qualitative research values each individual, human participants are not interchangeable. Thus the 'loss' of Teacher C is acceptable and in no way lessens the value of the findings.

The total number of lessons (periods observed for each teacher is indicated in column 4 of Table 12.

5.5 Teacher interviews

Cohen and Manion (1994 : 271) consider the research interview as serving three purposes:

- * To serve as the principal means of gathering information relating directly to the research objectives by measuring what the respondent knows, likes or dislikes and thinks.
- * To test hypotheses or suggest new ones or to assist in identifying variables and relationships.
- * to be used in conjunction with other data gathering methods.

McMillan and Schumacher (1993 : 416) consider interviewing as one of a series of important qualitative data collection strategies, ideally suited, through open-response questions, to obtain data of 'pertinent meanings' (1993 : 423). This is irrespective of whether such interviews are used as the primary source of data collection or are viewed as a 'natural outgrowth of observation strategies (1993 : 426).

Not only may interviews be seen to serve a number of distinct purposes (Cohen and Manion above) but they may also be categorized into several forms. Qualitative interviews, for example, may take the form of informal conversational interviews, the interview guided approach, or the standardized open-ended interview. Each of these forms of interview varies in terms of the degree of structure and planning that goes into the questions to be asked. While rigidly structured interviews should be avoided in qualitative research (Stenhouse 1985 cited by Measor, 1985 : 670), it is recognized that the researcher will find helpful a set of theoretical areas which will eventually form the focus of the interview (Cohen & Manion 1994 : 273; Measor 1985 : 670).

The purpose of the teacher interviews in this study was to obtain some response from the teachers to questions relating to English teaching in general, and to what transpired in the lessons observed in their classrooms in particular. It was also hoped to gauge their feelings towards a number of the teaching strategies identified during the observation phase. Reference to the transcriptions of the recorded interviews (see the *Fieldwork File*), will show that many of the questions were directed towards aspects of the respondents' teaching observed in their classrooms. Thus, in terms of interview type, using McMillan and Schumacher's nomenclature, it would be legitimate to label the teacher interviews in this study, as belonging to the 'interview guided approach' where topics are selected in advance but the researcher decides the sequence and the wording of the questions during the interview. A characteristic of this form of interview is that it is conversational and situational (1993 : 426).

The interviews were intended to serve a two-fold approach in terms of Cohen and Manion's interview purposes mentioned above. The interviews would attempt to establish what the respondents thought about aspects of their classroom practice, and at the same time they would be used in conjunction with the other data gathering method, (The COLT observation protocol), to add to the understanding of what was observed in the classrooms.

Measor (1985 : 57) suggests that a problem often facing a researcher who wishes to use interviews as part of the data collection strategy is that of building relationships with the people to be interviewed, for it is only through building such relationships that one obtains access to parts of the respondent's life, and more importantly, to their 'view of the world.' Measor indicates further, that her own research experience supported the idea that the quality of the data is dependent upon the 'quality of the relationships you build with the people being interviewed' (1985 : 57). When one speaks of access to people what is involved is acceptance of the interviewer by the respondents, and this acceptance involves ultimately getting their trust.

In this research exercise the teacher interviews were conducted at the end of the classroom observation phase. Reference to Table 12 and to the record of visits and failed visits in the previous section of this chapter reveals that there had been numerous classroom and telephonic contacts with the respondents and it was hoped that these contacts, over a considerable period of time, would have assisted in developing the type of access referred to above.

Not only is this matter of interviewer-respondent trust vital, but there are other dangers inherent in any interview situation and the prospective interviewer needs to be sensitive to such issues. While recognising that the interview has the potential to provide 'pure informational transfer (Cohen & Manion 1995 : 274), there is the danger of bias or avoidance by the respondents of providing the 'real answer' in favour of providing a response that is perceived to be more likely acceptable to the interviewer (Measor 1985 : 72). There is the danger too, that a preponderance of dichotomous-response questions, in which the answers elicited are either 'Yes/No' or short phrase responses, may lead to the entire character of the interview changing from a conversational tone to an interrogative one. Reference to the interview transcriptions in the accompanying *Field Note File* reveals that at times the interviews with teachers A and D did have a number of such short responses. However, these were in keeping with the general tone of

these two interviews. Generally, the responses from these two teachers did not reveal the depth of the other three.

The issue of bias may be linked to the desire that the respondent has to 'show herself in a good light' (Measor, 1985 : 72), and to the extent to which a particular question could influence the respondent to attempt, through an honest desire to be helpful, 'to anticipate what the interviewer wants to hear (Cohen & Manion, 1994 : 283). It was hoped that the relationships built up during the course of this study would help in some way to lessen such bias and unreliable responses. Also, as stated above, the purpose of the interview was to add to the in-depth description and understanding of the practices observed in the respective classrooms and thus data obtained during the interviews would serve as a supplement to that already obtained through the classroom observation. Also, the intention was to establish general themes arising out of the interviews, as well as issues unique to a particular teachers. As Cohen and Manion (1994 : 293 - citing Hycner 1985) maintain, such a search after both the general and the unique is one of the final stages in any attempt at a phenomenological analysis of interview data. Thus firstly, to note if there are issues or themes common to all or a majority of respondents, and secondly, to be aware of any themes and issues that are unique to a single interview or to a minority of respondents.

A series of single interviews was held with five teachers. As explained above, Teacher C had absconded from the school where he had been employed, during the course of 1994. It was thus impossible to interview this teacher.

Teacher B left the local school where he was employed, near the end of 1994, for a new position in Port Elizabeth. Despite numerous telephone calls, and arranging to meet this teacher during a week-end visit to east London, and tentatively setting a time for the appointment, the writer was not able to interview this teacher.

Discussion of aspects of the interviews is incorporated into the analysis of data undertaken in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6. DATA PORTRAYAL AND INTERPRETATION

6.1 Introduction

The ultimate purpose of any empirical research exercise is surely to respond to the questions and issues raised at the outset of the research initiative. In the case of this study such questions were listed in Chapter 1.4. LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 235) suggest that the first step in qualitative data analysis should be to 'relocate the original research questions'. In this study the questions posed in chapter 1 focus on two fundamental issues:

- * The changes that have occurred in ELT teaching methods with particular reference to CLT and the claim that can be made for CLT to be considered as an educational innovation.
- * The extent to which CLT was encountered in the Ciskeian classrooms observed, and the role that the teachers in these classrooms fulfil as agents of change in the light of the innovative nature of CLT.

The first of these two issues has been dealt with in Chapter 2 (Educational Innovation), and in Chapter 3 (CLT). The second of these issues will be dealt with in this and the succeeding chapter, by way of data analysis and interpretation.

In an effort to respond to the three questions relating to data analysis listed in Chapter 4.7, the writer proposes to be guided by the framework suggested by LeCompte and Preissle (1993 : 150). These writers maintain that ethnographic studies need to address four distinct components of data analysis:

- * A presentation of the analysed raw data in a form accessible to readers.
- * The interpretation of the raw data.
- * The integration of such interpretations and meanings into a more theoretical framework.
- * A statement of the significance and possible applications of the study's results.

In this chapter the first two of these components will be addressed. The complete series of field notes generated by the application of the COLT observation protocol, as well as the complete transcriptions of the teacher interviews, are contained in the accompanying *Field Note File*.

In an effort to present a comprehensive description of each classroom and the ESL teaching practices observed, an analysis was made of each teacher's classroom activity, as recorded on the COLT observation protocol sheets, in terms of four parameters contained in Part A of COLT and two parameters contained in Part B of COLT. The observation sheets were analysed in conjunction with the audio recordings of the lessons in order to confirm that what was noted did in fact occur.

The classroom activity was analysed in terms of the following parameters (The full explanation of the COLT protocol is contained in Appendix 2):

Participant Organization : This parameter attempts to differentiate between basic patterns of classroom organization in terms of participant interaction. Of the three options, 'Whole class' and 'Individual Seat work' would most likely fall into the mould of 'Transmission teaching ' as discussed by Hargreaves (see chapter 2.6). In terms of the nature of CLT (see chapter 3.3) it is suggested that a participant organisation which utilises group work, either focusing on the same or different tasks, might facilitate activities that are likely to be communicative.

Content : This parameter is wide ranging and includes categories for the 'Management' of the class, the particular 'Language focus of the lesson', and the 'Subject matter' of the classroom activities. It includes, as well, a category for 'Topic control' in which a distinction is made as to who it is in the classroom who selects the topic being used.

CLT theory (see chapter 3.3) would suggest that a classroom of CLT orientation would be likely to encourage a focus on the sociolinguistic aspects of the language, through topics which are broad and imaginative and which encourage purposeful communication, and in which all participants have made some contribution towards topic selection.

Student Modality : This parameter attempts to identify the various language skills involved in the classroom activities. Genuine communication would utilise a combination of most, if not all, such skills in an integrated way (see chapter 3.3).

Materials : The final parameter of Part A of the protocol deals with the type of 'Materials' used in the lesson. Of major interest in this study is the source of such material and the control which is exercised in its use. CLT theory suggests that there should be a striving for the use of authentic materials in an authentic manner so as to mirror the real language world of the learner (see chapter 3.7), while control of such material use should be negotiated by all participants in the learning situation.

Teacher Verbal Interaction : This parameter is taken from Part B of the COLT protocol which focuses upon the communicative nature of the verbal interaction in the classroom.

Student Verbal Interaction : This is the second parameter of Part B of COLT.

Within each of the last two parameters, above, (from Part B), a number of categories are considered that are central to CLT (see chapter 3.3). Thus 'Information gap activities', 'Sustained speech', and the 'Incorporation' of another person's utterances in the form of feedback should all contribute to the CLT orientation, or lack of it, in a particular classroom.

Reference to Table 5 indicates that prior to the commencement of the classroom observation teachers were assigned an identifying letter so as to protect their anonymity. What now follows is a result of the analysis of each teacher's classroom activity in terms of the parameters listed above, as well as a summary of their teaching practices in terms of the orientation or otherwise towards CLT. A more detailed summation and integration of these results will follow in the concluding chapter of this study.

6.2 . Teacher A

This teacher is employed at a school in a rural village adjoining a substantial urban township. At the start of the classroom observation phase the teacher had already had 9 years experience in the teaching of English.

A total of 19 visits were scheduled with 9 classroom visits taking place. 3 lessons focused on literature, 3 on language work- grammar, 2 on oral language and 1 on writing. Student numbers varied widely from lesson to lesson and ranged from a high of 57 to a low of 23.

Seating arrangements in the classroom were formal with clearly defined rows. The furniture consisted of lightweight single tables and loose chairs.

Lessons were subject to numerous disruptions. On a number of occasions , e.g. lessons 2 and 10, pupils continued to enter the classroom for almost 15 minutes after the lesson had commenced. No comment was made by the teacher.

The school environment was very noisy, e.g. during lessons 8 and 10 it appeared as if many other classes were left unattended, judging by the amount of noise emanating from these classrooms.

Participant organisation.

Analysis of the lessons revealed that students were organized mainly in terms of a Whole-class approach which fell into the category 'Teacher - student\class' (T - s\c), but there were occasions (during lessons 1, 2, 6, 8 and 9) when there was an activity organised in terms of a 'Student - student\class' (S - s\c) pattern. However, when the amount of time occupied by such participation is considered (e.g. during lessons 3, a double period which lasted for over 60 minutes, approximately 18 minutes were devoted to this type of classroom organization), the predominant participant organisation was 'T - s\c' coupled with Individual seat work (Ind), involving individual tasks. There were a few occasions where Choral activity was used, e.g. lessons 5 and 7, where the class was involved in choral reading. In those lessons with an oral bias however, (lessons 3, 6 and 9) some group work occurred. During lesson 3, (dialogue), for instance, small groups were asked to discuss opinions arising out of a dialogue given by the teacher, while in lesson 6, (comprehension) small groups were required to role-play incidents from the passage set for comprehension.

Content

In virtually all lessons observed the topics could be labelled 'Narrow-classroom' topics. In both language lessons (lessons 1 and 6), oral (lesson 3) and literature (lessons 2, 5 and 7) the teacher exercised tight control over what took place during the lesson. At no time was topic control relinquished by the teacher.

As expected in the lessons with a language focus (lessons 1 and 3) the explicit focus was on the 'Form' of the language while during the literature and writing lessons, lessons 2 and 7), the language focus was more on that of 'Discourse' and 'Socio-linguistic' aspects.

Student modality

The predominant language skill involved in most lessons was that of 'Listening' although, understandably, where a lesson dealt with the prescribed literature works, there was a considerable amount of reading, both silent and aloud; both individually and as choral reading involving the entire class. In the language lessons, as well as in the writing lesson, there were occasions where the skill of writing was involved but in most cases it was writing in response to specific tasks set by the teacher, (e.g. lesson 1, where pupils wrote answers to questions in their classwork books), or it involved pupils in copying down items and instructions from the chalkboard.

Materials

Analysis revealed that in those cases where materials, other than what the teacher had written up on the chalkboard, were used, (lessons 1, 7, 8 and 9), such materials could be labelled 'Pedagogic' or in one instance, 'Semi-pedagogic'. Thus virtually all materials used were geared to ESL teaching. The teacher ensured that there was close adherence to such materials through a high level of control.

Teacher verbal interaction

In all the lessons observed the teacher was careful to use English, the target language. This teacher made almost no use of the L1, Xhosa, in classroom speech.

In terms of 'Information gap activities' the teacher provided information which fell mainly into the category of 'Predictable' yet there were occasions where the information given was 'Unpredictable'. On the matter of 'Requesting information' the teacher made use exclusively of requests for information that were not genuine and could thus be labelled 'Pseudo'.

Student verbal interaction

Students made exclusive use of the L2 target language, English, during open, whole-class time, although during the group work session frequent use was made of the vernacular in the group recorded (teacher A- audio-tape No. 2). There were no

examples of 'Discourse initiation' on the part of the students during whole-class activities, although during a lesson involving group work, (lesson 3), pupils were involved in some measure of discourse initiation.

Most speech examples by the students were 'Ultra-minimal' or "Minimal' with few examples of 'Sustained' speech. During the language lessons the linguistic form used showed limited restriction while in the other lessons pupil interaction was not restricted linguistically.

Orientation towards CLT.

This teacher had obtained a score of 70 in the initial questionnaire so it could reasonably be expected that the teacher would exhibit aspects of CLT in the classroom practice. For instance, in response to Item 9 - 'How often is the focus of your classroom activity the performance of some communicative task?'; Item 11 - 'How often do pupils decide on the direction that the classroom activity should take?'; Item 16 - 'How often do you have classroom activities where pupils have to exchange unpredictable information?'; Item 22 - 'How often do your pupils engage in activities based on texts other than the language textbook?' and Item 25 'How often do you form your pupils into groups?' the teacher had responded with 'Always' or 'Frequently'

Analysis of the teacher's classroom practice suggests that while the response to Item 25 (group work) was confirmed to some extent, the teacher's responses to the other items were unsupported by later, observed practice. There was an example of role-play and in the subsequent interview (interview A, p7) the teacher implied that role-play was used from time to time as the students were considered to become 'active and free'.

In relation to group work (interview A, p10) the teacher identified class size as an inhibiting factor. The teacher commented, too, that the attitude of students, as evidenced by late arrival in class, was a demotivating factor.

- Teacher : These people just control themselves.
 Interviewer : They just come - I noticed they come and go when they want to?
 Teacher : Ya, and want to - so its even difficult. they don't motivate a teacher at all.

Another inhibiting factor in the students' lack of participation in group work, (and possibly in other classroom interaction as well), was identified by the teacher as being the student's home background.

- Interviewer ; What do you think is the cause of the problem, that they don't want to talk?
 Teacher : It's the background.
 Interviewer : Yes.
 Teacher : We are told not to talk, not to answer the person talking to you, so they become shy. They grow up shy people.

Generally, the teacher adopted a 'Transmission' style of teaching (as evidenced by the predominance of whole-class, 'T - s\c' approaches. No opportunity was given to students to initiate discussion Little unpredictable information was exchanged while all requests for information were categorised as 'Pseudo' , i.e. not genuine.

Materials used were 'Pedagogic' or 'Semi-pedagogic' and the teacher ensured close adherence to such material. When questioned on the possible use of materials other than coursebooks, the teacher indicated that examples of such authentic materials had not been used, (interview A, p8).

- Interviewer : Have you ever tried to let your pupils do things in texts, material which is not in the textbook?
 Teacher : Ah... (pause)...
 Interviewer : What sort of materials do you think we could use?
 Teacher : Like newspapers?
 Interviewer : Newspapers. Have you ever tried newspapers?
 Teacher : Yes. No just tell them. I've never tried.

6.3 Teacher B

Teacher B had been teaching English for six years. At the time of this study Teacher B was employed at an urban school located in the largest township in the Eastern Cape. At the end of the observation phase the teacher moved to Port

Elizabeth. As explained in Chapter 5.6 the writer was unable to arrange an interview.

A total of 16 visits were scheduled with 7 actual classroom visits taking place covering 11 school timetable periods. 4 Lessons focused on literature, 2 on writing and 1 on oral. Student numbers varied considerably ranging from 34 students during Lesson 2 to 20 pupils in lessons 3 and 6.

Classroom furniture consisted of individual tables and chairs but as was noted (see lesson 4) this furniture was distributed around the classroom in a very haphazard manner. There was no apparent attempt at any particular arrangement of classroom furniture.

Participant Organisation

Analysis of the lessons observed indicated that the participant organisation was predominantly according to the mode, 'T-s\c' although in lesson 4 (oral), the nature of the lesson encouraged an organisation that was predominantly 'S-s\c'. In lesson 3 (literature) the teacher used a combination of 'T-s\c' and 'S-s\c' as the entire lesson involved various individual students reading aloud to the remainder of the class.

In only 1 lesson, (lesson 2) did the teacher use some form of group-work. Students were grouped to allow access to handouts, yet the lesson continued as a 'T-s\c' and an 'Individual' lesson. Thus most of student activity encountered took the form of individual seat work with students all working individually on the same tasks and exercises,

Content

During most of the lessons the teacher's main emphasis in terms of the explicit language focus was on the 'Form' of the language, although in lesson 1 (poetry) some attention was given to 'Function', while in lessons 4 and 6 the focus could be labelled as being on the 'Sociolinguistic' aspects of the language. Topics, generally,

were 'Narrow' or 'Limited' and were classified in a number of lessons as being 'Classroom topics'. Even when the lesson dealt with 'Personal' issues (lesson 2 - writing of a diary), or 'Routine-social' (as in lesson 4 - prepared oral talks), the nature of the content remained limited.

Except for lesson 4 (oral), where pupils were able to exercise some control over the content of the lesson through the personal topics chosen, topic control was firmly in the hands of the teacher.

Student modality

Listening and speaking predominated in most lessons, although the particular focus of a lesson (e.g. lesson 1 - poetry; and lesson 4 - novel) dictated the student modality to some extent. Thus, in these two lessons, besides the listening skill being exercised, there was a considerable amount of reading.

Materials

Materials used, (as with a particular literature work for example), were generally of a 'Pedagogic' or 'Semi-pedagogic' source and purpose. Only in lesson 6 (writing of telegrams) could the materials be labelled 'Non-pedagogic' as the teacher provided pupils with copies of Post Office telegram forms.

Teacher verbal interaction

In those lessons that involved teacher-led discussion and teacher explanations, Teacher B used both the L1 and the L2. Reference to the observation sheets for lessons 2, 3 and 5 reveals that the teacher used a considerable amount of L1 in explanations and in offering assistance to students. A noticeable feature (e.g. lesson 5 - poetry) was that when students experienced difficulty in responding to questions phrased in the L2 (English) the teacher often repeated such questions in the L1.

The giving of information by the teacher consisted mainly of information that was 'Predictable', although during some lessons, (lesson 3-novel, and lesson 6-diary) the teacher provided 'Unpredictable' information. When requesting information,

apart from some of the questions asked during lesson 7 (poetry), all questioning could be classified as 'Pseudo', in which genuine information was not elicited.

Student Verbal Interaction.

Students participated by using the L2 target language although, as noted above (lesson 5), students did appear to have trouble responding to questions couched in English. As lesson 6 revealed, when the teacher set students a task for completion during the lesson period, many students needed assistance as they appeared not to understand the nature of the tasks. The teacher then repeated nearly all the instructions in the L1.

In none of the lessons was there any indication that students had initiated discussion.

Generally, the providing of information was 'Predictable', especially in the light of the fact that Teacher B had not used genuine questioning in the verbal interaction (see above). The same applied to students requesting information. In some entire lessons (lessons 3, 5 and 6) there was not a single interaction where the students requested information. Only in one lesson (lesson 4-oral), where selected pupils gave an oral presentations and the rest of the class were encouraged to ask questions, were there examples of genuine questions being asked.

Most examples of student speech were 'Ultra-minimal, (Yes\No or short phrase answers), or 'Minimal'. It was only during the student questions and responses in the oral - lesson 4 (see paragraph above) that student utterances could be classified as 'Sustained'.

The amount of student interaction in some lessons was meagre and the writer was unable to categorise such interaction under the category 'Incorporation of student\teacher utterances'. When there were student utterances no attempts were made by other students to incorporate such utterances into the verbal feedback.

Orientation towards CLT

Teacher B had scored 71 in the Questionnaire. As was the case with Teacher A, a score of this magnitude suggested that there would be aspects of CLT noticeable in this teacher's classroom practice. Items 9, 11, 12 ('How often do you allow your pupils to move away from a topic you have decided to deal with in a lesson?'), 22 and 25 drew responses of 'frequently'.

Analysis of the lessons observed did not support such responses. In terms of CLT theory this teacher's classroom practice was not oriented towards CLT. Classroom interaction was predominantly of the 'T - s\c' variety. When group work was used the nature of the lesson remained 'T - s\c' with pupils apparently grouped for logistical reasons to allow access to materials. The 'Narrow-limited' topics were controlled by the teacher.

Materials used were 'Pedagogic' or 'Semi-pedagogic' with 'Authentic' materials being introduced into the classroom on one occasion only.

Students were allowed no opportunity to change the direction of the lessons. On the few occasions that students requested information there was nothing to suggest that such questioning was anything but 'Pseudo'.

The impression given by this teacher was that of a traditional 'Transmission-type' teacher. The few instances where aspects which fell within the orbit of CLT were observed, could not detract from the general non-CLT orientation of this teacher.

6.4 Teacher C

Teacher C worked in a rural school situated a considerable distance from any substantial urban area. This teacher had been teaching English for 8 years. During the observation phase of this study the classes being taught were Std. 9 classes.

This teacher absconded from the place of employment after the writer had been able to complete only 4 classroom visits. Of the lessons observed, 3 were based on literature while 1 had a language focus.

Student numbers fluctuated from lesson to lesson and ranged from 25 to 17. Classroom furniture consisted of a mixture of heavy, old-fashioned two-seater desks incorporating a bench for seating, and a number of lightweight double classroom tables with individual, loose chairs. The seating was arranged very formally in clearly demarcated rows.

Participant organisation

During lesson 1 (language), and lessons 2, 3, and 4, (literature), the classroom organisation could be categorized as 'T - s\c' with a central activity going on involving the teacher interacting with individual students and with the entire class. During lesson 1 there were a number of occasions where the class were involved in choral repetition of items on the chalkboard.

There was no attempt in any of the lessons at group work. All student activity was confined to individual seat work.

Content

In lesson 1 (language), the explicit focus was on the 'Form' of the language. Topics were 'Narrow' or 'Limited', and dealt mainly with materials from the course book or the prescribed literature works.

Topic control rested in the hands of the teacher.

Student modality

Listening predominated in this classroom, especially in the language lesson (lesson 1). Surprisingly, even during the three literature lessons, listening was most noticeable, even though students had opportunities to involve the reading skill.

Materials

As is the nature of the prescribed texts, the materials used in the literature periods could be classified as 'Extended' texts, but of a source that was 'Pedagogic'. In the language lesson (lesson 1) the only material used was that which the teacher wrote up on the chalkboard.

Material use was highly controlled by the teacher with little extension beyond the content of the materials being used.

Teacher verbal interaction

Teacher C used the target language exclusively in a manner classified as sustained. The type of information provided, under the heading 'Information gap' was both 'Predictable' and 'Unpredictable'. However, the teacher's requests, except for one occasion, could all be classified as 'Pseudo'. On this occasion, during lesson 2 (literature), genuine information was requested.

Student verbal interaction

Students attempted to respond to questions in the target language, L2. There was no evidence of students initiating discussion. In terms of providing information, students gave 'Predictable' replies in response to the teacher's questions. The four lessons were marked by a lack of students requesting information. The writer was therefore, unable to classify such requests as 'Genuine' or 'Pseudo'.

Student speech was 'Ultra-minimal' or 'Minimal', and except for lesson 1 (language), where there was 'Restricted' use of the linguistic forms, as evidenced in the choral activities, there was 'Unrestricted' use of language forms permitted.

Orientation towards CLT

The teacher had scored second highest in the Questionnaire, viz., 76. It was anticipated that there would be an inclination towards CLT in the classrooms observed. It was unfortunate that the visitation programme had to be curtailed.

However, there was little by way of classroom practice in the 4 lessons observed which supported such a questionnaire score.

No group work was encountered while the general approach could be classified as 'Transmission', teaching. Across all the parameters there was little which indicated an inclination towards CLT.

6.5. Teacher D

Teacher D was based at a remote rural school. Because of the distance from the writer's base at Mdantsane, near East London, planning for the observation of lessons in this school made provision for a series of lessons to be observed during each visit. As indicated in Chapter 5.5, it proved impossible to achieve such an objective on some days as the students left the school premises early and without official permission. Discussion with Teacher D led the writer to believe that such occurrences were regular and that the students often absconded from the school premises during the course of a normal school day. It appeared, for instance, that this was the norm on a Friday and that the students usually dismissed themselves at eleven o'clock in the morning.

Of the 9 lessons observed all but 1 dealt with literature. Initially, (1993) the writer had excluded the Std. 10 classes from the proposed visitation programme as personal experience suggested that the demands of the external Std. 10 examination in November would over-ride any attempts at creative or innovative teaching as teachers are inclined to teach 'for the examination'. However, in 1994, Teacher D had been assigned all the Std. 10 classes in the school and thus a substantial portion of the teacher's personal timetable was devoted to these classes. Also, the provision that a number of successive lessons be observed during each visit to the school, meant that the writer had to accept Std. 10 classes in the observation programme.

As Teacher D taught a number of classes of the same standard, in some cases lessons observed were a duplication of a lesson that had been observed earlier in the

day (e.g. lessons 3 and 8). Observation sheets were not completed in these cases, apart from noting a few pertinent comments on aspects of these lessons.

Student numbers fluctuated widely, e.g. lesson 2 - 17, lesson 4 - 45, while lesson 6 saw a number of classes combined giving a student count in excess of 90.

Classroom furniture was of the single table and loose chair type but there was no apparent pattern to its arrangement.

In some classes (e.g. lesson 4) the classroom where the lesson took place was separated from a neighbouring classroom by a plywood room divider. A great deal of noise emanated from this other classroom.

Participant organisation

The classroom organisation in all classes observed could be categorised as 'T - s/c' with one central activity being led by the teacher. In all instances work attempted by the students was individual seat work with students engaged on their own on the same tasks.

Content

In the single language lesson (lesson 4), the explicit language focus was of 'Form', while in all the literature lessons it was not possible to identify an explicit focus.

Topics in the literature lessons were all based on the prescribed literature works and could be classified as 'Narrow' or 'Limited'. The teacher exercised tight 'Topic control'.

Student modality

In all lessons listening was the predominant language skill required; exclusively in lesson 4 (language), where no other skill was demanded from the students. In the literature lessons reading was the other basic skill involved, yet in most lessons (e.g.

lessons 1, 2 and 6) it was the teacher who read aloud and paraphrased what had been read. Students were required to follow the reading passages silently.

Materials

The prescribed literature works can all be classified as 'Extended' texts. All were of a 'Pedagogic' or 'Semi-pedagogic' nature and the teacher ensured close adherence to these materials.

Teacher verbal interaction

The teacher used the L2 target language predominantly, although there were numerous occasions where the L1 (Xhosa) was used for explanation, (e.g. during lesson 1).

While the teacher presented examples of both 'Predictable' and 'Unpredictable' information when offering such information to students, the teacher's requests for information were in all cases 'Pseudo', as there were no examples of the teacher requesting information not already possessed.

Student verbal interaction

Generally, it was noticed that the teacher struggled to get students to respond to questions. As noted during lesson 1, the same three or four pupils answered most of the questions with only one or two asking questions.

While the students' use of language would be categorized as the L2 target language, it was noted that their command of the L2 was weak (e.g. lesson 4) with many students prone to making tense and concord errors. At all times the teacher sought to correct a tendency on the part of students to respond to the teacher's questions in the L1.

There were no examples of 'Discourse initiation' on the part of the students. The teacher did, however, indicate in the interview (interview D, p6) that attempts by students to negotiate the direction of the lesson would be encouraged.

Interviewer : ...or they want to switch to discussion of something else arising out of your lesson, or something like that. Has it ever happened to you?

Teacher : Yes, I encourage it.

Interviewer : You encourage it. Why do you think we as teachers should encourage this sort of thing?

Teacher : It is because each teacher is a language teacher. You have to 'lert them talk about other topics

In only one of the lessons observed did students ask questions that could be viewed as 'Genuine', (lesson 7- Poetry). These questions arose out of the poem 'The Thought Fox'. Information given by students in response to teacher questioning was 'Predictable'.

The student level of discourse was 'Ultra-minimal' or 'Minimal'. Students were not restricted to a particular linguistic form in their responses although the paucity of student responses to many of the teacher's questions meant that it proved difficult at times to categorize this feature. The same problem applied to the final feature, the 'Incorporation of student or teacher utterances', as there was little or no communication feedback observed.

Orientation towards CLT.

Teacher D had obtained a score of 69 in the Questionnaire. As was the case with other teachers (above) this teacher's perceptions relating to specific aspects of CLT and expressed in many of the questionnaire responses were not supported by the practices observed. For example, Item 10, (' How often do you allow your pupils to engage in sustained speech in English even though such speech is full of mistakes?') was not supported by what was observed. Student speech was at the 'Ultra-minimal' or 'Minimal' level. As noted above, a feature of the classes observed was the paucity of student responses.

The 'T - s\c' organization and the absence of group work could possibly be related to problems perceived by the teacher. This teacher considered the classroom furniture and overcrowding as inhibiting factors.

Interviewer : Do you think that the way in which the classrooms are arranged, the furniture in the classrooms and the number of pupils in the class. Do you think it makes it easy for the teacher to try group work?

Teacher : It becomes difficult.

Interviewer : Difficult. Why is it so difficult?

Teacher : Overcrowding.

Interviewer : Overcrowding.

Teacher : Furniture.

In terms of the above parameters there was no suggestion of an inclination towards CLT in this teacher's classes.

6.6. Teacher E

This teacher taught English at a rural village school located approximately ten kilometres from a substantial urban complex. The teacher had 6 years experience in the teaching of English prior to the commencement of the classroom observation.

The programme of visitation proved exceptionally frustrating to the writer. A total of 29 separate visits were scheduled leading to 8 actual lessons being observed. Reference to Table 12 reveals that on 17 occasions no classroom visit took place because of actions on the part of the teacher or the school. On numerous occasions the writer had arrived at the school to keep a pre-arranged appointment, only to be informed that a classroom visit could not take place.

A series of lessons in three Std. 8 classrooms was observed. A total of 8 lessons were observed; 4 language lessons (although lesson 4 was a duplication of lesson 3), 2 literature, 1 oral and 1 writing lesson. The writer had originally intended to restrict classroom observation to the same class of students, but the difficulties experienced in actually getting into a classroom (mentioned above) meant that ultimately the writer was prepared to use whatever opportunities presented themselves to observe lessons.

Classroom furniture consisted of heavy, old-fashioned, double desks (i.e. desk and double bench in a single unit). The desks were formally arranged in clearly defined rows. As noted during lesson 5, when this teacher attempted some group work

activity the furniture did not lend itself to this purpose. It was observed that some students had to twist around in their seats, and appeared to find the experience physically uncomfortable.

Pupil numbers ranged from 70 in one Std 8 class (lesson 4) to 24 in another class.

Participant organisation

The predominant participant organisation was that of 'T - s\c' based upon teacher-led activities. However, in a number of lessons, (e.g. lesson 5-oral and lesson 7 - language) there were occasions where the organisation could be classed as 'S - s\c'. During these lessons, too, the teacher divided the classes into groups. Most of the work observed, however, remained individual seat work, with students working on their own.

Content

In the 4 language lessons observed, the focus on language was on the 'Form' of the language. Topics during these lessons could be classified as 'Narrow'. In lesson 5 (oral) topics that were used fell into the category of 'Limited'.

In all lessons, except lesson 5, 'Topic control' by the teacher appeared tight as it was obvious that in each case the teacher was the selector of the topics handled. Even in the oral lesson the topics discussed and then presented to the class appeared rather artificial e.g. 'How to wash dishes' and 'How a primus works'.

Student modality

In the lessons observed the primary language skill involved was listening, although speaking was involved in a number of lessons as well.

Materials

During the language lessons the teacher made use only of the chalkboard to write up the content of the lesson. The source of this material was 'Pedagogic'. In the literature lessons (lessons 2 and 8) the materials used, i.e. the prescribed novel and

poetry anthology, were in short supply with up to 4 students sharing a book. The nature of this material could be classed as 'Semi-pedagogic'. In all instances the teacher ensured close adherence to the materials being used.

Teacher verbal interaction

This teacher used both the L1 and the L2 target language frequently. In both the giving and requesting of information the teacher was 'Predictable' with no evidence of 'Genuine' questions being put to the students.

Student verbal interaction

The students' use of language was predominantly that of the L2 target language, although the L1 was used frequently at times. Information gap activities were categorised as 'Predictable' in terms of giving information while there were no attempts at asking for 'Genuine' information.

Speech was generally 'Ultra-minimal' or 'Minimal', except during the oral (lesson 5) where students used 'Sustained' speech during group work. Students appeared to experience great difficulty in responding to the teacher's questions in English.

In the language lessons student responses were restricted to the linguistic 'Form' being practised while during the oral and literature lessons students were 'Unrestricted' in their use of the language.

There was almost no 'Incorporation' of student utterances indicating that no feedback arising out of verbal exchanges took place. The exception was in lesson 5, (oral group work), where students repeated and expanded on what others in the group had said. Quite often the L1 was used as the medium of interaction. Extract from lesson 5

- S1 : It is important in our country
- S2 : By using electricity...
- S3 : We don't have enough money to, to have electricity.
- S1 : Ok, we have electricity...

- S2 : We cannot afford... you... primus stove is important. Primus stove is important, eh, i-stove. Primus stove is important because we are using, i-primus stove. We, we use paraffin, we use, because we use paraffin
- S1 : We use paraffin. By using paraffin we, we...
- S3 : The primus stove is the reason why we are using, why we... the reason why we say it is important. We cannot afford using electricity. We don't have money to, to...

Consideration of the audio recording of the group work suggested that by deciding on a topic that was rather 'artificial', i.e. 'The primus stove' the conversation that transpired seemed somewhat artificial as well, although there were moments where students were involved in communication, such as the above transcript shows

Orientation towards CLT

This teacher had obtained a score of 52 in the Questionnaire. It was envisaged that this teacher's classrooms would be less likely to be CLT- oriented than the classrooms of other teachers who had scored in the high 60's and 70's

Analysis of the lessons tended to support many of this teacher's responses, e.g. Item 12 (How often do you allow your pupils to move away from a topic?), drew a 'Never'. The same applied to Item 16 (exchanging unpredictable information), while Item 22 (activities based on a text other than the coursebook) drew a 'Seldom' in response.

In certain instances e.g. Item 10 (sustained speech) the teacher indicated an 'Always' when allowing pupils to engage in sustained speech. Classroom practice did not support such a response. There was also an implication, during the teacher interview (interview E, p1) that such sustained speech was not usually common.

- Interviewer : ...Ah, one thing I noticed was that your students seem to be very hesitant to speak. Why do you think that is?
- Teacher : It's because they are not used to speaking English.
- Interviewer : Not used to speaking English.
- Teacher : Ya.
- Interviewer : At home?
- Teacher : At home, when they're playing on their own. With the class.

On this issue of student interaction, as well as that of discourse initiation, the teacher drew attention to an inhibiting factor, similar to that mentioned by teacher A (See interview A, p 1 and interview D, p2). The interviewer had posed a question about possible reasons for a lack of student speech being related to the attitudes of adults to children and suggested that part of the problem was that students did not stay with their parents but with grandparents. The attitude of this older generation towards children would probably be very traditional in terms of cross-generation interaction.

- Teacher : Ya. That's one of the reasons.
 Interviewer : Do you think it's still prevalent today amongst them?
 Teacher : Ya. It is. Especially in the rural areas because the children don't stay with their, their real parents. They stay with grandparents.

This teacher also commented on a problem perceived to exist in some schools, when it was stated that, 'Our children are ungovernable' (interview E, p5).

In response to a question during the interview dealing with problems in introducing new methods into the schools, it was suggested that possibly some of the problems facing a teacher in ESL could be traced back to pre-service college years. (interview E, p 13-14)

- Interviewer : So you think some of the problems we can trace back possibly to the colleges and things like that.?
 Teacher : I think so, you know, because when you, ...go to the in-service training you say, you'd find that this is another way of doing it, and yet we did not know you see. So even teachers they need to be... I don't know how to say it To be retaught or what.
 Interviewer : Or, ya, to be refreshed, maybe.
 ...
 Teacher : Ya. to be given new techniques. You know, when I was at college, some of these group works that we were told we should do, we were not even practising them in class because of the large numbers.

The above comments raise interesting considerations as to why teachers possibly find it difficult to introduce a new methodology such as CLT. The writer will return to such issues in the concluding chapter.

In this teacher's case, analysis of the classroom practice in terms of the COLT parameters supports the conclusion that the teacher was engaged in traditional 'Transmission' teaching with no inclination towards CLT

6.7. Teacher F

The school where Teacher F taught was situated in a rural village near an expressway linking two major urban complexes. This teacher had been teaching English for five years.

14 Visits to this teacher were scheduled and they provided 9 classroom observation sessions, consisting of 4 language lessons, 2 literature lessons, 1 oral lesson and 1 writing lesson.

Student numbers in the class observed, Std. 9A, remained fairly constant during the lessons observed with class size in the '40's. It was noted that on a number of occasions, students entered the class 5-10 minutes after the commencement of a lesson. It appeared that such practice on the part of the pupils was accepted by the teacher as no reference was made to the such late arrival by the teacher.

The organization of the classroom furniture, single tables and loose chairs, was formal with clearly defined rows.

Participant organisation

While the predominant form of participant organisation was 'T - s/c' centring upon a single, teacher-led topic, there were numerous examples of 'S - s/c' interaction. During lesson 2 (language) there were examples of choral repetition of sentences from the blackboard by the class.

Group work was a part of the teacher's practice during lessons 5, 6 and 9. It was noted, however, that the purpose of such group organisation appeared at times to be logistic rather than didactic. The students were grouped so as to provide all with access to a limited number of handouts and other material. During these 'group

work' times the predominant class activity remained a teacher-led, whole class activity. In lessons 1, 4 and 5 there were occasions where students engaged in group discussions. The general impression however, was that individual work on a set task dominated classroom proceedings.

Content

While there was an explicit focus on language it varied from lesson to lesson. In only 2 of the 9 lessons (i.e. language work), was the focus on the 'Form' of the language; on other occasions it varied from 'Function', through 'Discourse' to a 'Sociolinguistic' focus.

Topics dealt with could generally be categorized as 'Narrow' or 'Limited', but there were examples of 'Broad' topics, e.g. during lesson 1 (oral), where a discussion was conducted on the subject of 'Democracy'. The teacher was the one who had selected topics dealt with, thus 'Topic control' was classified as tight.

Student modality

The language skill most involved was that of Listening, although there were lessons (e.g. lessons 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8) where a range of language skills were involved.

Materials

Materials used were generally of an 'Extended' nature and in most instances were of a 'Pedagogic' or 'Semi-pedagogic' nature. Apart from lessons 2 and 3 (oral and class discussion of a picture put up at the front of the class) where, at the outset of the lesson, students were partly in control of the materials, the teacher ensured close adherence to the materials being used.

Teacher verbal interaction

This teacher used the L2 target language and employed a considerable amount of questioning in all lessons. However, in terms of 'Information gap' activities, most

of the information offered by the teacher was 'Predictable', while teacher questioning fell into the category of 'Pseudo' questioning.

Student verbal interaction.

Students, generally, attempted to use the L2. During lesson 5 (literature), where the class had been divided up into groups, but the teacher conducted a teacher-led exercise(see above under Participant Organization), it was noted that pupils in some groups were conducting their own discussions in the L1, Xhosa, while the rest of the class continued with the set questions and answers.

Pupil responses to questions were at times rather restrained. In lesson 9 (writing and paragraphing) it was noted that the teacher had to 'squeeze' and cajole students to respond to questions asked.

There was no evidence of student initiated discussion or interaction.

Student interaction in terms of 'Information gap' activities consisted of giving information that was 'Predictable' (i.e. in response to teacher questioning). There were no examples of requests for 'Genuine' information noted.

Student speech was predominantly 'Minimal', although there were occasions where it was possible to categorise student speech as 'Sustained'. Students were not restricted in the use of linguistic forms. There was no incorporation of student utterances in the feedback of student to student.

Orientation towards CLT.

Teacher F had obtained a score of 76 in the Questionnaire. Thus, it was expected that there would be an inclination towards CLT. While what transpired in the lessons observed could not be termed communicative teaching as defined in terms of Chapter 3.3 of this study, there were more examples of aspects of L2 teaching that were related to CLT in this teacher's classes than in any of the other classrooms observed (e.g. the group work in lessons 1, 4 and 5). However, CLT is more than

just attempting group work, and in terms of criteria such as Participant Organization, Information Gap activities and Discourse Initiation this teacher could not be labelled as a teacher in the CLT mould. There was much in this teacher's classroom practice that was not dissimilar to the practices observed in the classrooms of other teachers who were described as 'Transmission' teachers.

A feature noted, and also commented on during the interview (interview F, p3) was that of student errors.

- Interviewer : What's your attitude towards errors ...that the students make?
I noted that some of your lessons...there was quite a lot of talking on the part of the students.,
- Teacher : Mm
- Interviewer : I noticed that you didn't correct them at all. you just let them talk. Is that because there is a particular idea you've got about that?
- Teacher : Ya. I don't mind. I don't mind as long as they express themselves.

In both this respect, and others, the teacher's responses to questions during the interview suggested that the teacher had a fundamental grasp of some of the aspects of CLT.

e.g. On 'Materials' (interview F, p4)

- Teacher : Ah...I will ask them to go out there and try to buy magazines.
- Interviewer : Ah ha!
- Teacher : Bcause I believe that they can get something in those.
- Interviewer : Have you found they do buy?
- Teacher : They do.
- Interviewer : Have you actually worked with magazines?
- Teacher : Yes, 'cause I do use them and students like them

On the issue of 'Topic control' (interview F, p5).

- Interviewer : How often do you find that the students actually...once you start dealing with a story or play, that the students get sidetracked and they start discussing things which arise out of the play?
- Teacher : ...see there is - what is happening in this particular story they can relate it to what is happening outside.
- Interviewer : I follow; and if that happens? You encourage it?
- Teacher : I do let them go.

On CLT in general (interview F, p7).

- Teacher : ...I believe these days, what is important is this communicative approach.
- Interviewer : Right.
- Teacher : (Here Teacher F refers to the coursebook) They got to have many activities so that my students, a single activity, so that the students can feel that really what they get here...now...they've got to get something that they can link with the outside world.

On the problems facing teachers who try to introduce new, or different approaches into their teaching (interview F, p8).

- Interviewer : You find they enjoy games?
- Teacher : They enjoy games.
- Interviewer : You think, do you think, there's more scope for games in the language class generally?
- Teacher : Ah, there's no scope because really , because, even...(indistinct)...you know these kids, when you look at them and you try to introduce this communicative approach to them, there are those who say 'Ah, this chap is not telling us those rules. Where are those rules now?'
- Interviewer : Have you been able to change their attitude towards your communicative stuff that you try and do in the class?
- Teacher : Yes, I do manage. I do change them, but when you meet them at first, when you, when you meet that group they look at you and say, 'Ah, this...Why is it like this?'
- Interviewer : Do you think this is a major problem for teachers who are trying to do communicative teaching?
- Teacher : Ya. It's a problem. They, they, they are still believing in teaching them the rules and not letting them use those.

Consideration of the above extracts reveals that the teacher appears to have an understanding of aspects of CLT. More importantly, as far as this is concerned - in the opinion of the writer- this teacher's responses were not phrased in the 'jargon' of CLT, yet the ideas expressed touch on issues central to CLT. Nevertheless, the lessons observed suggest no reason not to group this teacher together with the others under the broad term of 'Transmission' teaching

6.8 Teacher G

At the beginning of 1994 the teacher was teaching at an urban school. In April of that year the teacher was transferred to a rural school. This school served a number of rural villages and suffered serious overcrowding. Shortly after joining the staff at this second school the school was split into two and the teacher joined three colleagues who were to start a new school in one of the villages previously served by the rural school. This new school was to share accommodation and facilities with a higher primary school that already existed in the village.

This teacher had taught English at Std. 8 level for six years.

As with teacher E (see above), the programme of classroom visits was most unsuccessful, when measured in terms of the number of lessons that were eventually observed. A total of 24 visits were scheduled but 19 had to be abandoned for various reasons. Table 12 indicates that of these, in 18 instances the non-occurrence of the visit was directly caused by the teacher or conditions in the school. At one point during the research the writer was tempted to drop this teacher from the list of those visited, but in view of the attrition which had already occurred with the dropping of teacher C (see chapter 5.5) it was decided to persevere. In June of 1995 the teacher left the teaching profession to pursue a career in publishing.

As indicated above it was only possible to achieve 5 classroom visits, spanning the period May 1994 to May 1995.

During 1995 the teacher was required to combine two groups of Std 6 students into one class. Even with the combined classes the student numbers in 1995, (45 -54) were less than those in 1994 when the teacher had 62 pupils in lesson 1.

Classroom furniture was arranged formally in rows and consisted of double tables and chairs in units of two. What made seating conditions difficult for pupils was that the furniture had been designed for primary school children. Many of the pupils appeared to be rather uncomfortable in under-sized desks. Added to this was

a shortage of classroom furniture which meant for the most part that pupils were seated three to a desk.

Of the 5 lessons observed 3 were language lessons while 2 were based on the prescribed literature works.

Participant organisation

Participant organisation could be classified in all lessons as 'T - s\c' with students engaged in teacher-led , whole class activity. During the first three lessons the teacher used 'Choral' chanting or chorus reading. No group work was evident during any of the lessons observed and all students were involved exclusively in individual seat work.

Content

The explicit focus on language was on 'Form' during the 3 language lessons observed. Topics were 'Narrow' and classroom oriented, except in the literature lessons where the events portrayed in the prescribed books were the focus of attention.

Topic control was by the teacher in all the lessons observed.

Student modality

The skill most involved in all lessons was that of listening. It was during the literature lessons that reading received attention. In the case of lesson 1 it was noted that the teacher read from the prescribed book and the pupils followed silently in their shared books. For the purposes of the reading activities students had to share copies of the books being used. In some cases four students were obliged to share a single copy.

Materials

Materials used, including what was written on the chalkboard by the teacher, were 'Pedagogic' in terms of source. The only materials used were the English L2 coursebook (*Advance With English*) and the prescribed literature works.

Teacher verbal interaction

The teacher was coded as using 'Sustained' speech in the L2 target language but there was frequent use of the L1, Xhosa. It was noted that the teacher used the vernacular for virtually all 'T-s' interaction (e.g. lessons 1 and 3). During lesson 5 it was estimated that 50% of the teacher's talk was in the L1.

Except for one example during lesson 4 (literature), where 'Genuine' information was requested by the teacher, all such requests for information were 'Pseudo'. When the teacher gave information such requests were for 'Predictable' information.

Student verbal interaction

While the teacher outwardly encouraged use of the L2 target language the teacher's own frequent use of the L1, Xhosa, (see above) probably influenced students in their language use in the classroom.

There were no examples of student initiated discussion.

Student responses under information gap activities were 'Predictable' replies to the teacher's questions. No examples of students requesting information during the lessons were noted.

Student speech was 'Ultra-minimal' or 'Minimal'. Many of the teacher's questions were dichotomous questions (see chapter 5.6) which required a chorused 'Yes' response from the class. It was noted too, especially in lesson 2, that often when students responded to the teacher it was as if the students were engaged in a

reflexive response. At times they seemed to answer aloud with a chorused 'Yes' without really understanding what it was they were responding to.

During the language lessons the teacher required 'Restricted' use of linguistic forms while the literature lessons saw an 'Unrestricted' use of the language, although, as mentioned above, many responses were no more than 'Yes' or 'no' replies.

Orientation towards CLT.

This teacher obtained a score of 61 in the Questionnaire. It would be expected, therefore, that Teacher G would be less inclined towards CLT. Analysis of the lessons observed supported this expectation.

'Transmission', teacher-led, whole-class activity was encountered in all lessons observed. The teacher exercised tight control over "Narrow", classroom-oriented topics. Materials used were of a 'Pedagogic' nature. In terms of 'Information gap' activities virtually all information offered was 'Predictable' with only examples of 'Pseudo' requests for information being coded.

A considerable amount of L1 was used in the classroom with, as noted above, the teacher's speech often comprising considerable Xhosa. The lessons observed were the 'least CLT oriented' of all those observed. This was borne out by the use of frequent chorusing on the part of the students and the reflexive answers given to many of the teacher's questions. When questioned on the observation that the teacher was seen to be doing most of the talking during lessons Teacher G discounted large class numbers as a possible cause. The problem was seen to be linked, rather, to student fears about being seen to be making mistakes while talking in English in the classroom (interview G, p1)

Interviewer : Is that because of the number problem?

Teacher : I don't think it's the number problem now - it is the communication problem. Our kids are afraid to, to...

Interviewer : Why do you think they are afraid to talk in this case?

Teacher : They are afraid of making mistakes in their English and yet you will always tell them that you are here for them- they should make mistakes so that you can correct them.

Even though the teacher's classroom practice revealed no relaxation of teacher controls, during discussion in the interview (Interview G, p8) this teacher revealed a sensitivity to this issue of tight teacher control

Teacher : Sometimes I usually think that we the teachers, we, we start to do too much with them. Operate in class.

Interviewer : Hold control?

Teacher : And ah, we start to control the class, and they developing that idea, you know, 'She's going to tell us what to do. She's going to tell, to tell us which, which book to read. She's going to tell us what.' You, you see- they're always waiting for you to say, to say something. At least if we can let them have some, ah, latitude of their own development. Maybe things would be better.

6.9 Conclusion

Analysis of the data obtained during the fieldwork phase of this study, in respect of all the teachers observed (above), leads the writer to the conclusion that in the classrooms visited all the teachers, to a greater or lesser extent, could be described as 'Transmission' teachers. Although some teachers (e.g. teacher F) revealed isolated examples of aspects of ESL teaching which would be at home in the CLT classroom, generally the overall inclination of the teachers in the study was not towards CLT.

In the next, and concluding, chapter of this study an attempt will be made to arrive at an integration of the findings outlined above. Also an attempt will be made to relate these findings to the theory underpinning the introduction of innovative teaching practices, and to the nature of CLT.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction

In terms of the framework for data analysis suggested by Lecompte and Preissle (1993 see chapter 4.7) the final two components of data analysis should be an integration of interpretations reached during initial data analysis into a more theoretical framework and the formulation of a statement(s) of significance of such interpretations. Arising out of the perceived significance the researcher should offer comment on the possible application of the study's results, as well as suggest directions for further research.

7.2. Integration of interpretations

McMillan and Schumacher (1993 : 495) maintain that 'the ultimate goal in qualitative research is to make general statements about relationships among categories by discovering patterns in the data.' As has been explained elsewhere (see chapter 4.7) the use of a predominantly non-interactive data collection strategy, as was the case when using the COLT observation protocol, is usually aimed at presenting data suitable for verifying hypotheses or for the illuminative evaluation of a particular set of conditions. This study set out to illuminate the use of CLT in certain Ciskeian secondary school classrooms.

It should be acknowledged that the nature of the data collection meant that the categories applied could be described as Etic categories although the use of teacher interviews did introduce an element of the Emic into the data (see chapter 4.3).

What is now proposed is a consideration of the patterns or relationships among categories across the various teacher practices observed, as well as an interpretation of such relationships in which the researcher 'notes how categories of phenomena' and their attitudes are related to each other (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993 : 277). The final step is hopefully, to link the interpretation of the data to broader 'areas of interest'. This could include attempts to compare or contrast the findings with those

from other studies; they may be examined in the context of existing theory, or there may be an attempt to locate them within the context of policy implications. It is during these final stages that the researcher would find himself involved in inference making and speculation (see chapter 4.7).

It should be noted that during the various stages of this exercise the writer has constantly been aware of the dangers potentially inherent in this type of qualitative research, especially as spelled out by Wolcott (see chapter 4.4). Should such an initiative be viewed purely as an evaluative exercise the purpose of the study would have been misdirected. Not only during data collection but also during any descriptive and interpretive activity, the objective should be a desire to understand rather than to judge. This study has also been undertaken in the light of Long's (1980-see chapter 4.5) warning that a pre-conception free observer is unlikely and that there always exists the possibility of bias in the reporting of data. Such a consideration is not unlike that raised by Henning (1991 : 219), who referred to Miles and Huberman's (1988) 'holistic fallacy', where events are interpreted as being 'more patterned and congruent than they really are', through the action of the researcher 'lopping off,' loose ends.

Throughout the fieldwork phase and the data portrayal (see chapter 6) the writer has sought to avoid making value judgments on the practices observed in the light of the writer's own theoretical persuasion.

McMillan and Schumacher (1993 : 507) suggest four approaches to the interpretational analysis of qualitative data; Descriptive Narration, Topology, Theme Analysis and Grounded Theory. Of the four, Topology, i.e. dividing 'the findings according to categories of experiences, beliefs, perspectives or actions of the participants' would most usefully permit the desired intergrated analysis of the findings portrayed in Chapter 6. The writer thus proposes to follow a similar procedure to that used in the previous chapter where each teacher's CLT orientation was considered in terms of the various parameters of COLT. At the same time such parameters will be linked to features of CLT as enunciated in Chapter 3.3.

Participant organisation

In all classrooms observed, whether there were examples of group organisation (e.g. Teacher F) or not, most activity was organised in terms of a 'Teacher - student\class' format focusing on teacher-led, whole -class activities. Participant organisation was linked to teacher-centred activities which did not promote pupil activity but encouraged learners to be reactive (see chapter 3.3). It was established that often where group work was attempted the purposes behind such an organisation were logistic rather than didactic (see teacher B, chapter 6.2). In certain instances (e.g. teacher E, chapter 6.7), it was the nature of the classroom furniture which militated against successful group work. Another possible inhibiting factor, mentioned by Teacher F (interview F, p1) was that of the arrangement of the school by class standard (.i.e. classes remain in a specific classroom while teachers move from classroom to classroom.) Overcrowding, too, was identified as a possible restricting feature when teachers attempted learner-centred activities, (e.g. group work - interview D, p11).

If as Ellis (see chapter 3.2) maintains, LA is viewed as a natural process and as such there is the need to provide a linguistic environment within which this LA can operate, a question arises as to the extent that a 'T - s\c' participant organisation is likely to permit the creation of a classroom environment conducive to successful language acquisition. Did the classrooms observed provide experiences and opportunities for learners to communicate naturally by helping to create the nature of communication? Or did the 'T-s\c' arrangement stifle such opportunity?

It is obvious from the analysis of data in Chapter 6 that the L2 classrooms observed provided few, (as in the case of some teachers -e.g. Teacher F), if any, opportunities for students to attempt natural communication. While various teachers had indicated in their questionnaire responses to Items 7 - 13 that aspects of such natural communication were frequently permitted in their classrooms, observation refuted these responses. During teacher interviews (e.g. teacher F) there were occasions where a teacher would indicate a sensitivity towards, or support of, such natural

interaction, yet careful analysis of the lessons did not reveal examples of such 'real-life' language.

Discourse initiation

A general finding was that students were given no opportunity to initiate discourse. Apart from one instance (teacher F, lesson 3), where students were able to initiate and direct discussion on pictures before the class, everything that transpired was pre-arranged and ordered by the respective teachers. Acton (see chapter 3.3) has suggested that the creation of opportunities for learners to play an active role in deciding the course of the communication would appear to be necessary for SLA and the language classroom should therefore afford learners such opportunities. Various other writers (Chick, Ellis, Kumaradivelu and Maley, - see chapter 3.3) support this contention.

It would thus not be incorrect to suggest that the denial of opportunities for students to engage in such discourse initiation is likely to influence the success of the L2 learning activities. In the words of Freire, such students would not be empowered through the use of the language and so would not be participants in the 'generative power' of language, (see chapter 3.2). The language teaching strategies adopted by the teachers in the classrooms in this study, especially in terms of permitting students to initiate discourse, were more likely to produce what Shor (see chapter 3.3), described as 'cultural deficits' than students who are able to experience language fully.

The traditional 'Transmission' teaching (Hargreaves see chapter 2.6) parallels Freire's description of classroom activity that seeks to impose themes, language and materials from the 'top-down'. It also runs counter to what Crawford-Lange (see chapter 3.3) viewed as one of the two major principles of effective language learning, viz., that the primary outcome of an educational experience should be creative action on the part of the learners. In terms of this parameter, discourse initiation, the classrooms observed showed little, if any, creative action.

In his suggestion of ways to maximize learning potential in CLT classrooms Kumaradivelu (1993 -see chapter 3.3) considered the negotiation of interaction between the participants in a classroom to be one of a number of macro-strategies suited to maximize such learning. The absence of opportunities for students to negotiate, initiate and direct interaction in the classrooms observed would suggest that in, terms of Kumaradivelu's thesis, the classrooms in the study are unlikely to be places where students can achieve optimum L2 learning.

Student modality

Johnson , Maley, and Oxford... et al (see chapter 3.3), emphasize the integration of the 'so-called language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) in the learning of L2. By integration is meant not just examples of these skills being encountered at different stages of the learning experience, but a realistic involvement of students in activities that encourage the genuine integrated use of all of these skills. Analysis of the lessons reveals clearly that listening predominated in all classroom activities. There was little evidence of teachers implementing an integrated strategy of language skills use. This predominance of listening (by the students to the teacher) is in keeping with Freire's 'banking concept' of education (see chapter 3.3), in which the teacher transmits a body of knowledge. This in effect, is what was encountered in the lessons observed.

Content and materials

Across all classrooms the classification of topics used, other than during specifically oriented language lessons where there was exclusive focus on the form of the language, was 'Narrow ' or 'Limited'. Topic control was firmly in the hands of the teachers with only isolated examples (teacher F, lesson 3) of students influencing the topic dealt with.

If one of the cornerstones of CLT orthodoxy is a striving towards authenticity (see chapter 1.1) in the classroom, then it follows that what is encountered in terms of

the content of the lessons, as well as in the materials used to give substance to that lesson, should be authentic and should, as far as possible, mirror the 'real-life' use of the language in situations that approximate those applicable to natural communication. Even if one accepts, as Seedhouse does (see chapter 3.4), that there should be a move away from considering CLT interaction as genuine (because of the impossibility of recreating a genuine interaction in a classroom which is, to all intents and purposes, an artificial situation), in favour of viewing classroom interaction as a particular sociolinguistic variety of 'institutional discourse', the type of interaction encountered in this study , when considered in terms of content and materials, would fail to qualify for the description of 'sociolinguistic'. Analysis of the data revealed only isolated occasions where interaction could be categorised as 'sociolinguistic'.

Almost without exception materials used were of a pedagogic nature. As discussion in Chapter 3,3 indicates, nearly all attempts at identifying characteristics of CLT include reference to a requirement that authentic materials be used. During one lesson only, (teacher B - lesson 6) was there an example of the use of real-world materials. Materials used in the classrooms, with the exception of the example referred to above, would not qualify for the label 'authentic'.

Furthermore, if as Berns (see chapter 3.3) understands, one of the characteristics of CLT is that learners should be engaged in 'doing things' with the language by using it for a variety of purposes, the content of the various lessons observed was such that pupils were seldom engaged in a realistic use of the L2. What transpired could not be seen to mirror Chick's (see chapter 3.3) real use of language.

Information gap

Central to CLT theory as expounded in Chapter 3.3 is the concept of 'Information gap', i.e. the exchange of information, either unsolicited, or in response to some stimulus. Of the categories listed under the two parameters from COLT Part B (Teacher Verbal Interaction and Student Verbal Interaction) this feature probably

most closely approximates the purposeful use of language in 'real-world' contexts. As Chick indicated, the element of doubt in any communication process leads to this information gap. Interaction is initiated in response to a perceived lack of information and such interaction is considered crucial to CLT. Almost without exception commentators, referred to in Chapter 3.3, focus upon information gap activities where communication is open-ended and occurs in response to a particular need for information or out of a desire to share information for a particular purpose.

In the classroom interaction encountered during the course of this study, the nature of information exchanged and requested was predominantly 'Predictable' and 'Pseudo'. The paucity of genuine requests for information leads to the conclusion that examples of communication observed could not be labelled 'natural'. In one lesson only, (teacher B, lesson 4) was genuine questioning encountered. This emphasises the 'unnaturalness' of classroom language observed in all the classrooms. Such an unnatural use of language runs counter to what Weidemann (see chapter 3.3) considered to be a fundamental requirement of any CLT classroom, viz., an element of realism where teaching is related as closely as possible to 'real-life' language use.

Sustained speech

It is unlikely that one is able to conceive of normal communicative interaction without the participants engaging in 'Sustained' speech (i.e. at a level greater than that of single clause sentences). Yet the level of student interaction across virtually all the classrooms was 'Ultra-minimal' (single word responses) or 'Minimal' (short, single clause sentences). Sustained speech, it is suggested, is more likely to be encountered during examples of 'open-ended' communication, (Maley, see chapter 3.3) where the learners have to deal with the unpredictability of a particular communication situation as they seek to interpret the meanings that reside in the interaction being carried out. It is this process of 'finding each other' that gives to the interaction its genuineness. Such genuine dialogue between teacher and student, and student and student, was viewed by Freire as necessary for learning.

Participants in the classroom need to work as partners 'for a humane transformation rather than a passive accommodation to the world'(Marker 1993 : 77).

In a L2 classroom then, one would expect that any interaction which replicates something of this negotiation of meaning would be more likely to result in sustained speech than the type of language activity encountered in many teacher-centred classrooms where interaction takes the form of what Nunan (1987 : 137) was to describe as 'the basic exchange structure' where the teacher initiates, the learner responds, and the teacher follows -up to reinforce a particular point.

Statement of research findings

It should now be possible to present a series of statements which encapsulate the CLT orientation of the L2 teaching in the Ciskeian secondary school classrooms studied.

Statement 1. Classrooms are organized around teacher-centred, teacher-led, whole-class activities supporting a 'Transmission' mode of teaching, in which little opportunity is provided for 'natural communication' in the classroom..

Statement 2. Students are not afforded opportunities for initiating discourse and thus play no role in the negotiation and creating of learning opportunities.

Statement 3. Students are afforded few opportunities for practising language skills in an integrated, 'whole-language' manner using sustained speech.

Statement 4. Classroom interaction perpetuates the exchange of information which is predictable and artificial.

Statement 5. Classroom practice utilises materials that are pedagogic in nature and thus do not exemplify the type of language material that students are likely to encounter in 'real-world' language environments.

The issue that now needs to be addressed is to what extent the findings in 7.2 above mesh with the theory regarding educational innovation as links are sought between the theoretical aspects and the empirical findings.

7.3. Links to theoretical areas

Educational innovation

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that in the diffusion and implementation of educational change the teacher fulfils a vital role (see chapter 2). In any conscious attempt to alter the educational character of classroom life (what Freire would term 'Transformative education') the teacher is at the 'cutting edge' of change.

It has been suggested in Chapter 2 that CLT warrants the description 'innovative'. As such the findings in Chapter 6 and in Chapter 7.2 above, need to be considered in terms of the theoretical underpinnings of educational change. If, as Adams was to suggest (see chapter 2.2), the character of any innovation is determined by the capacities and perspectives of those involved, then the findings in this study require interpretation in the light of such capacities and perspectives.

As has been indicated above, the findings of the empirical part of this study reveal a marked disinclination towards CLT on the part of the Ciskeian secondary school teachers involved. The issue which now arises is the extent to which the rejection of CLT (because that is what was encountered in the classrooms) is a result of such capabilities and perceptions? Personal experience suggests that teachers are a product of a number of clearly identifiable influences. Among these are firstly, their own classroom experiences during the time that they were students in school, and secondly, the pre-service training received at an educational institution. Admittedly, further academic and professional training would modify or complement personal teaching capabilities. All the teachers in this study were products of the same college of education. None had achieved further academic or professional qualifications, therefore their classroom practices could justifiably be viewed in the light of the two influences mentioned above. It was earlier indicated

(see Hogben, chapter 2.6) that teachers, upon entry into the field after completion of pre-service training, often revert to the teaching styles encountered during their own school careers as students.

Reference to Chapter 3 suggests that after 1985 CLT featured largely in the structure and materials of both the S.T.D.-Didactics and the Stds 6-10 ESL syllabuses and coursebooks. In terms of course requirements then, the teachers in the sample observed, could be expected to have received a thorough grounding in the theory and practice of CLT. That all the teachers observed, to a greater or lesser extent (as was the case with Teacher F), revealed an approach to ESL teaching which was clearly not oriented towards CLT can possibly be ascribed in some measure, either to the tendency (mentioned above) that teachers have to perpetuate teaching styles to which they have been subjected, or the nature of the ESL Didactics course and the models presented by college lecturers during that course, which possibly failed to provide sufficient understanding of, and practice in, CLT.

The latter was the case implied by Teacher E in the interview (interview E, p13-14), when, in relation to group work, there was the suggestion that there had not been opportunity for the practice of this technique at college, because of the size of the college classes. The extent to which colleges of education prepare prospective ESL teachers to handle CLT through a sound application of CLT principles and practice in the ESL Didactics course should be a matter for further research. Hogben's warning (above), expressed almost two decades ago, might still be pertinent. There is possibly still a need for colleges to relate educational theory, in this respect CLT, more closely to practice.

The findings in this study, would echo those of Crossley (see chapter 2.3) who contended that despite 'massive investment in centrally institutionalized curriculum development' there had been little noticeable impact on current teaching practices. The literature on educational change appears replete with similar findings (see Chapter 2.3), linked in many cases to the growing belief that curriculum reforms cannot be imposed on schools unilaterally. Furthermore, such 'top-down'

imposition, ignoring as it usually does, the perceptions of the participants (see chapter 2.4) is likely to result in initial resistance to the innovation. The writer did not encounter examples of teachers in this study directly articulating their resistance to CLT, but the classroom practices encountered gave expression to some form of tacit resistance, whether such resistance was a conscious one or not.

Among the reasons why innovations fail (identified by Gross...et al, see chapter 2.4), are a number that have a direct relationship to aspects of schooling identified in this study. Pertinent, is the suggestion that often the organizational aspects of an institution are incompatible with the requirements of the innovation. Among the unexpected features of classroom life encountered during this study were a number that could possibly be seen as incompatible with the promotion of change. The fluctuating student numbers, the apparent lack of control observed in some schools with students entering classrooms up to 15 minutes late, the perception on the part of teachers (see interview E, p5) that students were ungovernable (as evidenced in the case of teacher D with students regularly dismissing themselves from school): these are likely to lead to a relationship between teachers and students that is founded more on distrust and suspicion than on mutual respect and cooperation. A positive attitude between staff and students was identified as one of the imperatives that Fullan (see chapter 2.4) noted as crucial for successful educational change. Fullan's 'effective teacher-student connections' are thus important if the climate of a school, or classroom, is to be one where the desired cooperation between teacher and students as co-participants in the CLT learning situation is to be achieved.

Furthermore, the manner in which school time-tables were altered, often at short - notice, to accommodate extraneous attractions means that teachers who plan a particular lesson are often thwarted. (reference to the record of school visits in chapter 5.5 indicates how prevalent such ad hoc changes were). This issue of inconsistency in school programmes and the likely effect upon school efficiency in general, and upon teacher morale and ESL teaching in particular, is one which is

likely to have a noticeable effect upon a teacher's attempts at introducing new approaches.

Perhaps too, as Whitely was to suggest (see chapter 3.4), a reason why teachers find it difficult to put new language teaching theory into practice is that they are more concerned with survival. This study has revealed that conditions encountered in the schools visited, in terms of school organization and student-teacher attitudes, lend credence to Whitely's suggestion. Even the provision of CLT materials for classroom use did not necessarily encourage teachers to attempt aspects of CLT. This would be in keeping with a further finding of Whitely, who maintained that even with a communicative textbook, 'teachers will retain traces of old approaches as they adapt it to their own conceptions'. The teachers in this study were teaching in a dispensation where ESL coursebooks approved by the Education Department, and used in the schools, belonged to a 'new generation' of CLT-oriented texts (see chapter 3.10). In spite of the presence of such course books the actual classroom teaching, especially during language lessons, was rigidly formal with an almost total emphasis on the form of the language in preference to meaning. During one of the teacher interviews the respondent (interview E, p10) indicated a preference for the former style of formal grammar books when reference was made to the book *Plain Sailing* as one where students could find many activities that 'they could do on their own'. This would tend to support the predilection that teachers in the study appeared to have for textbook-linked, individual seat work on the part of the students.

Hurst (see chapter 2.4) had suggested that it appeared futile to ask teachers to change practices or to promote reform where the rate of return is no better than with existing practices. CLT has as one of its characteristics the use of the L2 in genuine, 'real-world' activities. Many of the teachers interviewed (e.g. interview A, p3; and interview E, p 3-4), commented on the difficulties they encountered in encouraging their students to take part in classroom interaction. It is possible that the persistence of such difficulties may have led teachers to accept that the 'rate of return' (after

Hurst above) does not warrant further attempts at genuine communicative activities in the classroom.

An issue not addressed during the empirical phase of this study was that of the influence of the cultural background of the teachers and students and the effect that such culturally related attitudes might have on educational change such as CLT. In spite of this omission, it might be possible to speculate upon the influence of an issue such as the division between generations (as highlighted by Kay, see chapter 2.7), which might go some way towards explaining the reluctance on the part of teachers to allow students to initiate classroom activities. It might also account for reticence on the part of the students to accept this responsibility to initiate and drive much of what transpires in the classroom. One can only speculate as to whether or not such reticence is linked to student perceptions arising out of their cultural background or whether it is related to assumptions about classroom life that are not culture bound. It may well be, as Prodromou established, that the assumptions of teachers and their students 'do not always coincide' (1992 : 49). All classes observed revealed a penchant for teacher-centred activities. Teacher F commented that attempts to introduce a more communicative approach were likely to be met with skepticism and query by students (interview F, p8). The problem possibly would seem to lie in the observation by Crago (1992 : 499) that there appeared to be a growing body of work demonstrating that 'all cultures do not have the same pattern of communicative interaction'. It is unlikely that one can conceive of language teaching and learning as distinct and separate from 'culturally integral ways of communicating'. This issue of the learner's culture, and as Alptekin suggests, (see chapter 2.7), the teacher's culture, and its effects upon the introduction of learner-initiated communicative activities, is one that might profit from further research.

Finally, the introduction of CLT as a system-wide innovation through the revision of Departmental syllabuses and the approval of 'communicative' coursebooks, in a 'top-down' manner appears to have ignored one of the major problems often encountered in translating an innovation into practice. It is unlikely that attempts

were made to involve teachers in such revision; neither is it likely that cognisance was taken of teacher perceptions in so far as CLT was concerned. It was the experience of the writer, as the Ciskei Department of Education representative on the Central Subject Committee for ESL during the mid 1980's, when the syllabuses (at both college and school level) for English-Academic and Didactics were revised, that such revision was undertaken by a group comprising, for the most part, representatives from colleges of education and from the head offices of the then departments of education of the different so called, 'National' and 'Independent' states. As Kennedy was to observe, 'ownership' of an innovation greatly influences the adoption of such change (see chapter 2.6). It is unlikely that CLT, as introduced across South Africa in general, and in the Ciskei in particular, could claim to represent the proprietary interests of the teachers involved in its implementation.

7.4. Implications of this study

McMillan and Schumacher (1993 : 160) suggest that research can be classified according to the functions intended, and arising out of, the research exercise, into three types, as follows:

- * Basic - to test theories, scientific laws and principles in an effort to add to scientific knowledge of such basic laws and principles, and without the intention of applying results of the research to practical issues.

- * Applied - to test the usefulness of theories provided by basic research in a particular field and to endeavour to apply findings to the development of research-based knowledge about about practices in that field by testing the usefulness of scientific theories and arriving at 'an understanding of empirical and analytical relationships within the field (1993 : 19).

- * Evaluation - to consider the merit and value of a particular practice by focusing upon the application of that practice at a given site in terms of its suitability, cost-effectiveness and adoption.

Examination of the research design of this study, as well as the research issues raised in Chapter 1.4, suggests that the exercise can be classified as primarily an evaluative research initiative. As stated earlier (see chapter 4.6), it was the intention of the writer to understand the CLT classroom orientation and practices of the teachers in the study rather than to judge any observed 'deficits'. It is hoped that this study will add to the knowledge of CLT in practice in the field, as well as stimulate further research into issues identified as being pertinent to ESL teaching.

Hargreaves (1988 : 227) is sensitive to the tendency among researchers and education officials to respond to findings such as those contained in this study, by placing 'most of the blame for quality deficits onto teachers themselves, or those who train them'. He suggests, rather, that a more positive response would be to examine 'the characteristics of the environment in which teachers operate', and use such investigation to develop an understanding of the ways in which teachers 'make sense of, and adjust to, that environment'.

As suggested in Chapter 4.5, once the 'typicality' of a phenomenon or group of phenomena has been established, a basis for the extension of understandings has been created. Findings may then be translated for applicability across situations.

The findings in this study (as discussed in chapters 6 and 7 above), suggest certain implications for teachers and management staff within schools, for those involved in the training of ESL teachers and for the Eastern Province Education Department, as the inheritor of the now defunct Ciskei Education Department.

Firstly, as regards the teachers involved in the study; it has been shown that CLT is not prevalent in classrooms. Chapters 7.2 and 7.3 above, have attempted to relate this lack of CLT to conditions prevailing within the schools and to theoretical

aspects of CLT and Educational Innovation as they affect teachers in the field. It is apparent that even when teachers (such as teacher F) exhibit some theoretical knowledge and isolated features of CLT practice in their classrooms, they remain largely oriented towards traditional 'transmission' teaching. The possible causes, discussed in 7.2 above, would seem to be associated with the 'conservative' nature of teachers, and the relative inertia within schools and school systems that Kendall observed (see chapter 2.6).

What is also apparent from a study of the literature relating to the introduction of educational change is that until teachers accept responsibility for such change in response to the perceived advantages, both to themselves, and to their pupils, such change is unlikely. Translation into practice would seem to demand a commitment to the programme being introduced, in this case CLT. A lack of such commitment, for whatever reason, is likely to encourage persistence of those practices and attitudes that the intended change is designed to replace.

For the teachers in this study, the task of implementing CLT in their classrooms is a challenge, especially against the background of some of the conditions pertaining to classroom and school organization. Nevertheless, they should be encouraged to fulfil the requirements of their ESL syllabuses and to utilise the CLT oriented coursebooks, not merely as a matter of course, but because of their acceptance, in the light of substantial SLA theory, that communicative tasks appear superior to linguistic exercises. They should be encouraged to develop a 'communicative world view' (see chapter 3.5) because such a view will largely determine what they can and will teach..

Secondly, there are implications for the college of education. The focus in ESL teaching as prescribed in various syllabuses and approved coursebooks (chapter 3.10), is unequivocally on CLT. The assumption then, is that colleges of education ensure that the prospective teachers they produce are adequately equipped, both theoretically and practically, to teach English communicatively. The college which produced the various teachers involved in this study, should be sensitive to the

finding that these teachers do not reveal an inclination towards CLT. While the college might take refuge in Hogben's contention (above), that once new teachers enter the field they revert to models of teaching that they were exposed to during their own school days, the onus remains upon the college to ensure that they have provided the students with the knowledge and practice of CLT.

The implications for colleges appear to be two-fold. Firstly, to ensure that prospective ESL teachers are given a firm theoretical grounding. In her study of a Std 6 classroom in an urban multicultural school, Henning (1991 : 239) recommended that all teachers 'are educated in basic linguistics', so that they may understand the role of language in learning and communication. In terms of this study, such a theoretical foundation appears necessary so that should teachers be faced with a 'survival' situation, they do not summarily reject CLT and what it has to offer in favour of a traditional, teacher-centred approach with which they might seem more comfortable, and which the exigencies of their personal teaching conditions might encourage.

Secondly, it appears imperative that trainee teachers are given frequent opportunities for exposure to CLT approaches during their college years. This would entail not only opportunities to practise techniques and methods that are part of CLT, but also that college lecturers model aspects of CLT in their own classes. The experience shared by one of the teachers in the study that class size at the college precluded opportunity to practice group work, for example, should alert lecturers to the need that there is to create such opportunities.

The implications for the Eastern Province Department of Education are serious. The study has revealed an almost total absence of CLT in the classrooms observed. That this should be the case in spite of official syllabuses and the use of approved ESL coursebooks, which were designed to encourage communicative activities, should be a reason for concern. The apparent 'rejection' of CLT in Ciskeian classrooms in favour of a traditional 'transmission' mode of ESL teaching has meant that teachers find themselves in a situation similar to that which pertained in

the late 1960's (see chapter 3.1), where the failure of such traditional methods led to a search for a more efficient, and theoretically sound, way of ESL teaching. As indicated in Chapter 3, the outcome was what came to be known as the communicative approach. Thus, in relation to ESL teaching, it is contended that teachers in the study find themselves no further down the road towards positive and effective ESL teaching than was the case a number of decades ago.

The question which arises is to what extent is the typicality of the findings of this study applicable to ESL classrooms across the province. If the lack of orientation towards CLT is widespread then it would suggest that the vast amounts spent in training ESL teachers at both pre-service and INSET level, in providing new generation ESL syllabuses, textbooks, and other materials, have not been cost effective in achieving the desired results, i.e. in producing pupils who are able to communicate effectively in English through the development of a sound communicative competence.

In the new era of political and social freedom and empowerment, the Department should recognise that the perpetuation of a mode of teaching far removed from anything resembling Freire's emancipatory 'transformative' education, is likely to have disturbing consequences for ESL students. If it is generally accepted that the introduction of CLT was an attempt to improve students' levels of L2 competence through participation in, and learning from, their ESL classroom experiences; and if the Department is committed both in principle and practice to such an objective then urgent attention needs to be given to this issue of effective ESL instruction.

That qualified teachers are active in the field in ESL teaching in a manner which appears quite distant from that intended in ESL syllabuses suggests that the Department needs to consider a comprehensive and sustained CLT INSET initiative. This initiative should not only encourage the use of CLT techniques, but it should also ensure that teachers have some elementary understanding of the theoretical foundations of the approach.

Attempts to address the issue of the successful dissemination of, and support for, CLT philosophy and practice should take cognisance of the observation by Hutchinson and Klepac (1982 : 142) that a factor militating against the successful introduction of new, learner-centred approaches is that such approaches are often introduced at 'the top of the curriculum where learning styles and attitudes are more or less fixed.' Therefore acceptance of an approach such as CLT in the secondary phase of schooling has the effect of 'not creating new learning styles' but rather 'changing old ones.' The BANA experience would suggest that most learner-centred initiatives were developed in the primary phases and only 'belatedly' and often 'reluctantly' accepted higher up the school system. Therefore, should the Department accept the need for concerted CLT INSET initiatives, such initiatives should target all phases of the school curriculum.

7.5. Suggestions for further research

The findings in this study suggest a number of issues that might benefit from further investigation:

- * To what extent do aspects of school organization, such as the 'ad hoc' changes to programmes encountered in this study, affect the development and strengthening of teacher morale and encourage creativity and the possible adoption of new methodologies. Linked to such research should be the issue of teacher-student attitudes and the resulting 'ungovernability' of students, (to use the example of teacher 8).
- * What teaching and lecturing 'models' do college staff entrusted with ESL Didactics or Academic courses present to their students? Does college classroom practice support or refute the theoretical content of such Didactic courses, especially in the realm of CLT? To what extent does Fox's finding (see chapter 3.4), that often practice-oriented training programmes are inadequate when it comes to preparing students for CLT, hold true?

- * This study focused on CLT in practice in certain Ciskeian classrooms. What is required is further research into teacher perspectives regarding CLT. Included should be attention to teacher opinion regarding the rate of return of a new approach such as CLT. Attempts should be made to establish empirically the extent to which such teacher perceptions influence the acceptance of practices which depart considerably from what is accepted as traditional or normal teaching practice.

- * This study took cognisance of the possible influences of Xhosa culture on the classroom interaction suggested by proponents of CLT. However, no attempt was made to establish the extent of such influences. Given that many ESL students across the province, and for that matter South Africa, represent a cultural background that is distinctly African (e.g. Xhosa, Sotho, Tswana, etc.), it should be of benefit to teachers and administrators if some measure of understanding of such cultural influences on CLT classroom interaction was forthcoming.

7.6. Explanation of sources consulted

During the reading of this thesis the reader will have noticed that some of the sources quoted date back over a number of decades. That we live in an era of rapid change, both technologically and socially (as the recent history of South Africa shows), is common knowledge. The field of Education and Educational Theory is no exception. herefore investigation of educational issues should ensure theoretical input which is current.

This research exercise commenced in 1989 with the obtaining of bibliographies of possible sources from Rhodes University, where the writer had registered as a part-time doctoral student. At the end of 1989 the two co-promoters of the research project excused themselves; one because of an increase in workload associated with duties at the Molteno Project, and the other to pursue a teaching career in a remote rural school in Lebowa. The Department of Education at Rhodes University was unable to supply, or recommend, a successor and the writer was advised to

seek a transfer to another university. Before such a transfer could be arranged the institution where the writer was employed was seriously damaged in the political upheavals that accompanied the Ciskei coup de 'etat in 1990. The writer's office, containing a great many personal books and papers was completely destroyed by fire.

In 1991 the writer registered with UNISA and the research exercise was resumed, culminating in the submission of this document at the end of 1996. Thus, the circumstances and the time-frame involved meant that some of the sources consulted might appear dated. The writer recognizes this possible shortcoming, although much of this material remains relevant to the topic under investigation.

7.7. Final remarks

The implications of a research study inform the reader as to how useful the research is beyond an intriguing analysis of a unique case (LeCompte and Priessle 1993 : 267). The significance of the study permits judgments about 'how valuable the implications are for circumstances beyond the study site'. This study has raised certain important implications for various roleplayers in the field of ESL in the Eastern Cape Province.

It must be confessed that the writer's experiences after fourteen years of involvement in ESL, while working amongst Ciskeian teachers, as well as the findings obtained in this study, leave a spirit of pessimism regarding the effective application of CLT in classrooms in schools in what was then the Ciskei region of the Eastern Cape Province.

In a previous research exercise (Weimann 1986 : 80), it was established that the type of classroom teaching evident in the classrooms visited during that study, was clearly 'teacher-centred'. What emerged in that study was the exceptionally important role that English plays in the educational experience of pupils in Ciskeian schools. A lack of L2 proficiency could therefore be seen to influence the academic

performance of pupils. Thus any attempt at encouraging the development of English L2 competence is to be welcomed. The system-wide introduction of CLT was an attempt to achieve this end, i.e. to improve the L2 proficiency of the students.

The findings of this study, contained in the five statements in Chapter 7.2, suggest that ESL teachers in the Ciskei persist with transmission modes of teaching. The discussion has gone further in trying to identify and understand the classroom and school conditions which impinge upon attempts by teachers to change from transmission teaching to a more learner-centred pattern, such as that represented by CLT. Possibly the lack of CLT identified in the study should be considered, not in terms of a conscious attempt to resist change and continue with transmission teaching, but in terms of the purposes that such transmission teaching serves teachers in their particular school environment.

That the practice of CLT has not given full expression to the potential for proficient L2 development remains a cause for concern. It is hoped that as a result of this study, teachers, schools and provincial management staff will re-evaluate the strategies of pre-service and in service training, and the programme of in-school support, aimed at developing communicative language teaching amongst pupils for whom English remains a very important language, both academically and possibly, to a lesser extent, socially.

APPENDIX 1 - THE QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE : A.G. WEIMANN 1992

SECTION A : GENERAL INFORMATION

Please complete the following items by printing your response

NAME..... TITLE (Mr etc.).....

SCHOOL.....

SCHOOL ADDRESS.....

.....

AGE.....NO. OF YEARS TEACHING EXPERIENCE

QUALIFICATIONS (Other than your S.T.D. obtained at the then L.L. Sebe College of Education).....

.....

PRESENT POST HELD.....

PRESENT STANDARD(S) BEING TAUGHT ENGLISH (Also indicate the number of years teaching these standards)

STDS.	NO. OF YEARS.

SECTION B

Please complete each item by drawing a cross in the block which most appropriately answers the question.

1. How important is it in English Second Language (ESL) teaching for pupils to first acquire language structures which can then be filled with meaning?

Very
important

Quite
important

Sometimes
important

Not
important

2. How often in your ESL classroom activities is your main concern that your pupils use the language correctly?

Always

Frequently

Seldom

Never

3. How often do you give your pupils a list of language items (eg. proverbs, ; degrees of comparison) to learn?

Always

Frequently

Seldom

Never

4. How often are your pupils involved in working at their desks where it is unnecessary to communicate with their fellow pupils in English?

Always

Frequently

Seldom

Never

5. How often do you feel it necessary to teach aspects of grammar in a formal lesson?

Always

Frequently

Seldom

Never

6. How often do you think language functions occur in isolation in any interaction between people?

Always

Frequently

Seldom

Never

Page 3.

7. How often do you think your pupils tell you their own opinions in preference to what they think you, the teacher, want to hear?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

8. How often do your pupils use English during a lesson while you are exercising control over that lesson?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

9. How often is the focus of your classroom activity the performance of some communicative task?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

10. How often do you allow your pupils to engage in sustained speech in English even though such speech is full of mistakes?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

11. How often do you allow pupils to decide on the direction which classroom activity should take?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

12. How often do you allow your pupils to move away from a topic that you have decided to deal with in a lesson?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

13. How often during literature lessons are pupils allowed to initiate a discussion arising out of what has been read?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

Page 4.

14. How often are your pupils involved in role-playing activities during your lessons?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

15. How often do your pupils engage in English activities which involve the giving of instructions to another pupil?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

16. How often do you have classroom activities where pupils have to exchange unpredictable information?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

17. How often do you ask questions for which your pupils do not already have the answer?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

18. How often do you have classroom activities where pupils have to exchange information which is unknown to another person with which that pupil is interacting?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

19. How often in interaction activities in your classroom is one of the communicators (pupils) uncertain what another is about to say?

Always	Frequently	Seldom	Never
--------	------------	--------	-------

Page 5.

20. How often do you think the language in the textbook that you are using is closely related to real language use?

 Always

 Frequently

 Seldom

 Never

21. How often does your English textbook allow pupils to grasp the overall meaning of something before it focuses on smaller aspects of the issue?

 Always

 Frequently

 Seldom

 Never

22. How often do your pupils engage in English activities based on a text other than the language textbook?

 Always

 Frequently

 Seldom

 Never

23. How often are your pupils involved in English lessons where the material is taken from other school subjects?

 Always

 Frequently

 Seldom

 Never

24. How often do you play some type of co-operative language game during your English lessons?

(Note: a co-operative game is one where pupils need to assist each other by exchanging information in order to successfully complete the game.)

 Always

 Frequently

 Seldom

 Never

25. How often do you form your pupils into groups during your English classroom activities?

 Always

 Frequently

 Seldom

 Never

PLEASE GO BACK OVER THIS QUESTIONNAIRE AND MAKE SURE THAT YOU HAVE RESPONDED TO ALL ITEMS.
THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

APPENDIX 2.

THE COMMUNICATIVE ORIENTATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHING (COLT) OBSERVATION PROTOCOL (Frolich, Spada & Allen 1985 : 53 -55)

The COLT observation scheme is divided into two parts.

Part A describes classroom events at the level of episode and activity.

Part B analyses the communicative features of verbal exchanges between teachers and students as they occur within each activity.

PART A : Classroom Events

I. Activity

This parameter is open-ended in that no predetermined descriptors have to be checked off by the observer. Each activity and its constituent episodes are separately described: e.g. drill, translation discussion, game etc. Alternatively they may be described as; teacher introduces poem, teacher reads poem aloud, students read poem aloud, teacher raises issues for discussion, (four episodes of one activity).

II. Participant Organisation

This parameter describes three basic patterns of organisation.

A. Whole Class

1. Teacher to student or class, and vice versa. (T - s\c).

(One central activity is going on and the teacher interacts with the whole class and/or with individual students.)

2. Student to student, or student(s) to class. (S - s\c)

Students talk to each other, either as part of the lesson or as informal socialising as in one central activity directed by a student which may

be going on, e.g. a group of students dramatise an incident while the rest of the class are the audience.

3. Choral work by students.

The whole class or groups participate in the choral activity, repeating a model provided by the teacher or textbook.

B. Group Work

1. All groups work on the same task.

2. Groups work on different tasks.

C. Individual seat work.

Students work on their own, all on the same task or on different tasks.

D. Group/Individual work.

Some students are involved in group work while others work on their own.

III. Content

This parameter describes the subject matter of the activities, that is what the teacher and students are talking, reading or writing about or what they have been listening to. Three major content areas have been differentiated, along with the category Content or Topic Control.

A. Management

1. Procedural directives.

Guidance by the teacher as to what the students are expected to do In the particular activity or task.

2. Disciplinary statements.

The exercise of classroom control by the teacher

B. Explicit focus on language.

1. Form.

Here there is explicit focus on grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation.

2. Function.

The explicit focus is on illocutionary acts such as requesting, apologizing, and explaining.

3. Discourse.

The explicit focus is on the way in which sentences combine into cohesive and coherent sequences.

4. Sociolinguistics.

The explicit focus is on the features which make utterances appropriate for particular contexts.

C. Other Topics

This has to do with the subject matter of classroom discourse apart from management and explicit focus on language.

1. Narrow range of reference.

This sub-category refers to the immediate classroom environment and to stereotyped exchanges such as 'Good morning' or 'How are you?' which have phatic value but little conceptual content. Included in this

category are routine classroom references to the date, day of the week, weather, and so on.

2. Limited range of reference.

Topics included here refer to information beyond the classroom but still conceptually limited; e.g. movies, holidays, school topics such as extra-curricular activities, and topics which relate to the student's immediate personal and family affairs, such as place of residence, number of brothers and sisters and so on.

3. Broad range of reference.

Topics of broad range go well beyond the immediate environment and include reference to controversial public issues, world events, abstract ideas, reflective personal information, and other academic subject matters such as maths and geography.

D. Topic control.

Here attention is focused on who selects the topic that is being talked about- the teacher, the student or both.

IV. Student modality

This section identifies the various skills involved in a classroom activity. The focus is on the students, and the purpose is to discover whether they are listening, speaking, reading or writing, or whether these activities occur in combination. The category Other covers such activities as drawing, modelling, acting or arranging classroom displays.

V. **Materials.**

This parameter describes the materials used in connection with classroom activities.

A. Type of materials

1. Text (written)

- a. Minimal, such as captions, isolated sentences, word lists etc.
- b. Extended; such as stories, dialogues, connected paragraphs.

2. Audio

3. Visual

B. Source/purpose of the materials.

1. Pedagogic.

Materials specifically designed for second language teaching.

2. Semi-pedagogic.

Materials utilising real-life objects and texts but in a modified form.

3. Non-pedagogic.

Materials originally intended for non-school purposes.

C. Use of materials.

1. Highly controlled.

Close adherence to the materials is maintained.

2. Semi-controlled.

Occasional extension beyond the restrictions imposed by the materials.

3. Minimally controlled.

Materials provide a starting point for ensuing conversation which may cover a wide range of topics.

Part B : Communicative Features

Teacher Verbal Interaction and Student Verbal Interaction

I. Use of target language.

A. Use of first language (L1).

B. Use of second language(L2).

II. Information gap

This feature refers to the extent to which the information requested and/or exchanged is unpredictable, i.e. not known in advance.

A. Requesting information.

1. Pseudo.

The speaker already possesses the information requested.

2. Genuine.

The information requested is not known in advance.

B. Giving information

1. Relatively predictable.

The message is easily anticipated in that there is a very limited range of information that can be given. In the case of responses only one answer is possible semantically although there may be different correct grammatical realisations.

2. Relatively unpredictable.

The message is not easily anticipated in that a wide range of information can be given. If a number of responses is possible each can provide different information.

III. Sustained speech.

This feature is intended to measure the extent to which speakers engage in extended discourse or restrict their utterances to a minimum length of one sentence, clause or word.

A. Ultraminimal.

Utterances usually consist of one word - coded student speech only.

B. Minimal.

Student utterances consisting of one clause or sentence and teacher utterances consisting of one word.

C. Sustained speech.

Utterances longer than one sentence or consisting of at least two main clauses.

IV. Reaction to code or message

This feature refers to a correction or other explicit statement which draws attention to the linguistic form of an utterance.

V. Incorporation of preceding utterances.

A. No incorporation.

No feedback or reaction is given.

B. Repetition.

This refers to full or partial repetition of previous utterance(s).

C. Paraphrase

Completion and/or reformulation of previous utterance(s).

D. Comment.

Positive or negative comment on, but not correcting previous utterance(s).

E. Expansion.

Extension of the content of preceding utterance(s) through the addition of related information.

F. **Elaboration.**

Requests for further information related to the subject matter of the preceding utterance(s).

VI. Discourse initiation.

This feature refers to the frequency of self-initiated turns (spontaneously initiated talk) by students.

VII. Relative restrictions on linguistic form.

A. **Restricted use.**

The production or manipulation of one specific form, as in transformation or substitution drill.

B. **Limited restriction.**

A choice of more than one linguistic form but in a very narrow range, e.g. responses to 'yes/no' questions, statements about the day, date time and so on.

C. **Unrestricted use.**

No expectation of any particular linguistic form, as in free conversation, oral reports, or personal diary writing.

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