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**TEACHERS' BELIEFS ABOUT TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE
(ESL): TWO CASE STUDIES OF ESL INSTRUCTION IN ZIMBABWE**

By

Vitalis Nyawaranda

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in English as a Second Language**

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October, 1998



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My study owes a lot to my supervisor, Doctor Janet Donin, for her guidance from the conception to the completion of this study. I want to particularly thank her for making herself readily available whenever I approached her for advice and help in matters concerning my studies at McGill in general and on my dissertation in particular.

I wish also to express my great appreciation to my Doctoral Committee members; to Doctor Mary Maguire, for her constructive and encouraging comments on the drafts of my study; to Doctor Ailie Cleghorn, who gave me valuable support and encouragement as I prepared this study; and to Doctor Carl Frederiksen, for the many discussions I had with him which helped in sharpening a number of conceptual issues that shaped this study. Together with these members of faculty, I would also like to thank my fellow graduate students at McGill University with whom I interacted in discussions and presentations of parts of this study from which I gained many insightful ideas and constructive criticism that went a long way towards shaping this present study.

Many thanks also go to all the participants in this study who, for confidential reasons, I shall not mention by name. My thanks and gratitude are also extended to my colleagues in the Department of Curriculum and Arts Education at the University of Zimbabwe who, while I was on study leave, had to shoulder the extra teaching load in the department.

I have a special place in my heart for my family for their consistent moral support, encouragement and patience during my long absence from them while I sought the "coveted papers".

Finally, this study would not have been possible without the financial assistance I received from the International Development and Research Centre of Canada (I.D.R.C.). For their support, I would like to say: thank you very much for affording me the opportunity and experience of studying at McGill University.

ABSTRACT

This inquiry involves two case studies that examine the beliefs of two selected ESL teachers in Zimbabwe teaching at the secondary school level. The study looks at the various nested contexts of the two case studies at the international, national, provincial, school and classroom levels with respect to Zimbabwe before and after independence in 1980. The analysis of the nested contexts aims to show how the various factors at the different levels impinge on the ESL instruction of the two teachers.

The study adopts a naturalistic, classroom-based approach that allows for the holistic investigation of teacher-learner interactions in socially-situated cognitive instruction. Specific research questions addressed are: (a) What are the classroom interaction patterns of each of the two teachers selected for the study? What do these patterns and the teachers' classroom artifacts reveal about their beliefs about the construction of social knowledge at secondary school level? (b) How does each teacher in the study construct academic knowledge in his/her ESL instruction? What do the patterns of construction and the teachers' classroom artifacts reveal about their beliefs about the instruction of ESL academic knowledge at the secondary school level?

The study uses tools of data collection and analysis from constitutive ethnography and ethnomethodology. Data from interviews, classroom observations, field notes, artifacts and documents are analyzed to see what they reveal about each teacher's beliefs about ESL instruction. Four major themes emerge from the analysis of these data: (a) teachers' beliefs about curriculum documents (b) teachers' beliefs about ESL models for instruction (c) teachers' beliefs about interactional rights and obligations in the classroom and (d) teachers' beliefs about teaching linguistic and communicative competence. A major finding of this inquiry is that the two selected teachers, guided by their personal beliefs, respond in different ways to the many contextual factors that impinge on their teaching, giving rise to each teacher's unique teaching repertoires. In the light of this major finding, it is recommended that ESL teacher education programmes in Zimbabwe begin with the student teachers' beliefs rather than the traditional "method" paradigm.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette enquête porte sur deux études de cas enchâssées et examine les convictions de deux professeurs zimbabwéens ayant été sélectionnés et enseignant l'anglais comme langue seconde (ALS) dans le secondaire. Cette étude se passe au Zimbabwe et analyse les divers contextes “ emboîtés ” de ces deux études de cas aussi bien aux niveaux international, national, provincial qu'à ceux de l'école et de la salle de classe, avant et après l'accession du Zimbabwe à l'indépendance en 1980. L'analyse de ces contextes a pour but de connaître de quelle façon, aux divers niveaux, certains facteurs affectent l'enseignement des professeurs d'ALS.

Cette étude adopte une méthode naturaliste dans la salle de classe permettant une recherche holistique des échanges professeurs-élèves dans le cadre d'un système pédagogique cognitif situé dans un contexte social. Cette étude s'est attachée plus particulièrement à répondre aux questions suivantes: (a) Quelles sont au sein de la classe les caractéristiques d'interaction de chacun des professeurs? Que révèlent les méthodes et les artefacts employés par les enseignants concernant leurs convictions quant à la construction d'un acquis social au niveau de l'enseignement secondaire? Dans son enseignement de l'ALS, de quelle façon chacun des enseignants structure-t-il son cours pour permettre aux élèves d'acquérir des connaissances scolaires ? Que révèlent ces diverses méthodes de composition d'un cours et les artefacts utilisés en classe par l'enseignant sur leurs opinions concernant l'apprentissage de connaissances théoriques au niveau du secondaire?

Cette étude emploie des méthodes de collecte et d'analyse des données utilisées en ethnographie constitutive et en ethnométhodologie. Toutes ces données ont été rassemblées au cours d'interviews, d'observations au sein de la classe; il s'agit également de notes prises sur place, d'artefacts et de divers documents. Ces données ont été analysées afin de connaître les convictions des professeurs en matière d'enseignement de l'anglais langue seconde. L'analyse de ces données nous permet de dégager quatre thèmes: (a) les opinions des professeurs en ce qui concerne les documents du programme (b) les opinions des professeurs sur les modèles d'enseignement de l'ALS (c) les

convictions des professeurs quant aux droits et aux obligations des enseignants et des élèves au sein de la classe et (d) les opinions des professeurs sur l'enseignement de la linguistique et sur les compétences en matière de communication. De cette enquête, il ressort principalement que les deux professeurs sélectionnés, influencés par leurs croyances personnelles, ont des réactions totalement différentes face aux nombreux facteurs contextuels qui affectent leur enseignement, faisant naître des répertoires d'enseignement spécifiques à chacun d'entre eux. Cette conclusion importante nous permet de recommander que les programmes destinés aux professeurs d'ALS au Zimbabwe se basent sur les convictions des élèves professeurs plutôt que sur le paradigme de la méthode traditionnelle.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Chapter one begins by discussing the research problem arising from my eighteen years of teaching ESL in Zimbabwe, that of the teachers' inability to transfer the theory they "had learnt" into practice. My study arose from a need to search for a solution to this problem. The research problem, therefore, raises two related research questions which I attempt to answer. I give definitions of key terms, social and academic knowledge, as used in this study, together with a delineation of the study. The study looks at models of ESL instruction in the Zimbabwean classroom setting. The chapter ends by discussing the contribution to knowledge made by my study.

1. Describing the Study

1. 2 The Research Problem

My interest in studying English as a Second Language dates back to my early school days in Zimbabwe when the subject was perceived, whether rightly or wrongly, as a key to success in life, particularly economic success. This was the general perception of most of my contemporaries. I would even venture to add that, as the literature on the contextual background reviewed in chapter two of my study shows, this position has not changed much even now eighteen years after Zimbabwe attained her independence. The goals which motivate the study of English in Zimbabwe are largely summed up by Cook (1991, p. 1) writing on the importance of teaching and learning languages, when he says:

Language is at the centre of human life. It is one of the most important ways of expressing our love or our hatred for people; it is vital to achieving many of our goals and our careers; it is a source of artistic satisfaction or simple pleasure. We use language for planning our lives and remembering our past; we exchange ideas and experiences through language; we identify ourselves with people who speak the same language. Some people are able to do this in more than one language. Knowing another language may mean: getting a job; a chance to get educated; the

ability to take a fuller part in the life of one's own country or the opportunity to emigrate to another; an expansion of one's literary and cultural horizons; the expression of one's political opinions or religious beliefs. It affects people's careers and possible futures, their lives and very identities. In a world where probably more people speak two languages than speak one, language learning and language teaching are vital to the everyday lives of millions.

I still remember very well my college days when I was training to be an ESL teacher. I remember my training programme consisting mainly of applied linguistics and a study of how children learn a language. A lot of emphasis was placed on methods and techniques of teaching. Common modes of instruction were the lecture method and tutorials, during which we took copious notes on everything our lecturers said. There were also demonstration lessons in the second year of my training, as preparation for teaching practice in the third year.

It struck me in those days that when I went out to do teaching practice in the schools, the copious notes I had taken zealously during lectures on how to teach and on how children learn did not seem to help me at all when I was faced with a real problem in a real classroom. It may be possible that the knowledge I had gained in college was helping me in my teaching; but I was not aware of its presence when I most needed it. All I remember is that once I stepped into a classroom, everything seemed to take on a life of its own. Once the lesson had started, I did not seem able to exert much control over what happened. At the end of my teaching practice lesson, I would sadly receive what I thought were my just deserts in the form of stinging criticism from my despairing tutors who would point out how I had missed great opportunities for real learning in my lesson. Had I already forgotten the sound theories of teaching we had just covered in college, sometimes my tutor would scream at me in exasperation.

I must confess that, for me, the real learning of how to teach was slow to come; at least it appeared to me it did not happen while I was training to be a teacher. I believe it came slowly when I had left college, and I had a class of my own to experiment with, without having constantly to look over my shoulder for my tutor's ready intervention. The first two years of my nine years of ESL teaching at secondary school level in Zimbabwe

were disastrous, particularly if one judges by the poor examination results my classes produced. Unfortunately for me, in those days as now, a teacher's worth in Zimbabwe was measured solely on the observable results s/he produced in a public exam. This meant that for two years in a row I had failed to perform my expected function as a teacher! And indeed, the problem was not only with exam results, but with my teaching in general. I kept wondering why all I had learnt on my teaching course seemed unable to help me now.

I would like to think that it was sheer effort on my part to do things differently in the classroom, rather than the theories I had learnt in college, that gradually began to produce some improvements in my teaching, even if the improvements were only in the exam results I produced. Of course, I had no choice but to improve if I was to remain in my chosen career. I had to find ways, on my own, of fulfilling the expectations of my school and those of the community I served. In those nine years of ESL teaching in high school, I worried about finding better methods of teaching, but it never occurred to me that the problem lay with my teacher educators who should, perhaps, have looked outside the method paradigm for a solution to the problems I was facing. But the one thing I did realize in those early years of my teaching was that the teaching methods I had learned in college had failed me.

When nine years later I became a teacher educator in my turn and started preparing ESL teachers myself, I still had not resolved the problem of why our teaching theories could not be put into practice. My approach to teacher preparation was not very different from what I had been exposed to as a student teacher. Like my former teacher educators, I suffered for nine years the frustration of seeing my students apparently ignoring all they had been taught as soon as they stepped into the classroom to do their teaching practice. The instructional theories we had covered in college seemed to be suddenly or mysteriously forgotten by the student teachers, once they were faced with a real class to teach. It was at this time that I began to question some of our approaches to teacher education. If the prescribed ESL teaching methods seemed not to help our students, surely we, as teacher educators, should be looking elsewhere.

In 1994 I received an award and study leave that enabled me to conduct the

present study in which I investigated ESL instruction in Zimbabwe with a view to finding ways of bringing about change in the classroom. It is my hope that my eighteen years of ESL teaching experience in Zimbabwe combined with the results of this present inquiry will bring some insights into how the journey from being a novice teacher to being an expert one might be shortened by the introduction of a different view of teacher education.

1. 2 Organization of the Study

Chapter one describes the research problem, the research questions and delineation of the study. Chapter two presents the nested contexts of the study from the international to the classroom levels. Chapter three is a review of related literature; and chapter four describes the methods used for the study. Chapters five and six present and discuss the results of the study. Chapter seven discusses the implications of the results and recommendations are offered in light of the findings.

1. 3 Research Questions

I focus on the following research questions:

- 1) What are the classroom interaction patterns of each of the two teachers selected for this study? What do these patterns and the teachers' classroom artifacts reveal about their beliefs about the construction of social knowledge at secondary school level?
- 2) How do the two teachers in the study construct academic knowledge in their ESL instruction? What do the patterns of construction and the teachers' classroom artifacts reveal about their beliefs about the instruction of ESL academic knowledge at secondary school level?

1. 4 Definitions of Academic and Social Knowledge

For this study, I interpret academic knowledge to mean cognitive reasoning that can be equated with content or subject matter; and social knowledge will mean the social rules or patterns of participation in a classroom lesson. These definitions come from Erickson (1982) who defines academic knowledge as a "patterned set of constraints provided by the logic of sequencing in the subject-matter context of the lesson" (p. 154). This he distinguishes from social knowledge, which he describes as "a patterned set of constraints on the allocation of interactional rights and obligations of various members of the interacting group" (p. 154). Green, Weade and Graham (1988) give similar definitions for the two concepts. They refer to academic knowledge as academic text, and social knowledge as social text. They say that academic text refers to the content of the lessons and the structure of this content, while the social text involves expectations about participation, in terms of who can talk, when, where, how, with whom, and for what purpose. They go on to say that these expectations for participation set the procedures for lesson participation, such as students giving answers in turn, and waiting to be called upon rather than shouting out answers. The academic and the social texts are said to co-occur and are interrelated, with the academic text being embedded in and realized through a social text (Green, Weade and Graham, 1988).

Erickson (1982) argues that sociolinguistically-oriented researchers have tended to study mainly the social participation structure of lessons, whereas curriculum researchers and cognitive scientists have concerned themselves primarily with the academic or cognitive task structure of the lessons. Other researchers maintain that both aspects, academic and social, co-occur and are interrelated so that they ought to be considered together in the study of a teacher's behaviour in the classroom (Erickson, 1982; Green et al., 1988; Olson, 1988; Fox, 1993). It is for this reason that I look at both the social and academic components of classroom instruction, but from the perspective of the teachers. This emic approach is in keeping with the growing empirical evidence that cognition is not divided up among the areas of the mind, body, activity and culturally organized settings.

Instead, there is growing evidence that it is distributed among all these factors (Fox, 1993). The same is true of the methodological perspectives I have adopted for my study, which are guided more by what is pragmatically appropriate for the investigation of my problem, rather than being tied down to one particular perspective, which might or might not apply to the context of Zimbabwe where my study is situated.

1. 5 Delineation of the Study

I used Clark and Peterson's (1986) conceptual framework of teacher thought and action as a basis for defining and delineating my study. This conceptual framework is best understood in terms of how the two authors define teaching and learning. Accordingly, it is important that I first define the terms teaching and learning, to show clearly how they are used throughout my study.

A concept can be defined in different ways depending on one's perspective. Tochon and Dionne (1994) offer a broad and multi-perspective definition of teaching that will fit in with the conceptual framework of Clark and Peterson which will be discussed in the following paragraphs. Tochon and Dionne (1994) describe teaching as "a dynamic function between instructional design and pedagogy, that is, respectively, long-term epistemic structures and short-term situated cognitions" (p.82). In this definition, the two authors distinguish between preparations made by a teacher prior to encountering students in class, which they call long-term epistemic structures, and the actual encounter in the classroom, which they call short-term situated cognition. For this study, the definition of learning is taken from Gee (1990) who, from a sociological perspective, distinguishes informal learning, which he calls acquisition, from formal learning. Acquisition is a subconscious or informal process of learning through exposure, trial and error, and practice within social groups. Formal learning, on the other hand, is defined as a conscious gain of knowledge through teaching or through certain life experiences that trigger conscious reflection. From a cognitive perspective, learning is conceived as a process of acquisition by an individual of specific skills or expertise (Larkin, 1989). The above

definitional perspectives of teaching and learning are all used in my study, because they complement rather than conflict with each other. The following figure 1 illustrates the conceptual framework of teacher thought and action which I use to delineate my study. Each of the features indicated by each concentric circle in figure 1 should be interpreted as being present across all the different layers of the concentric circles.

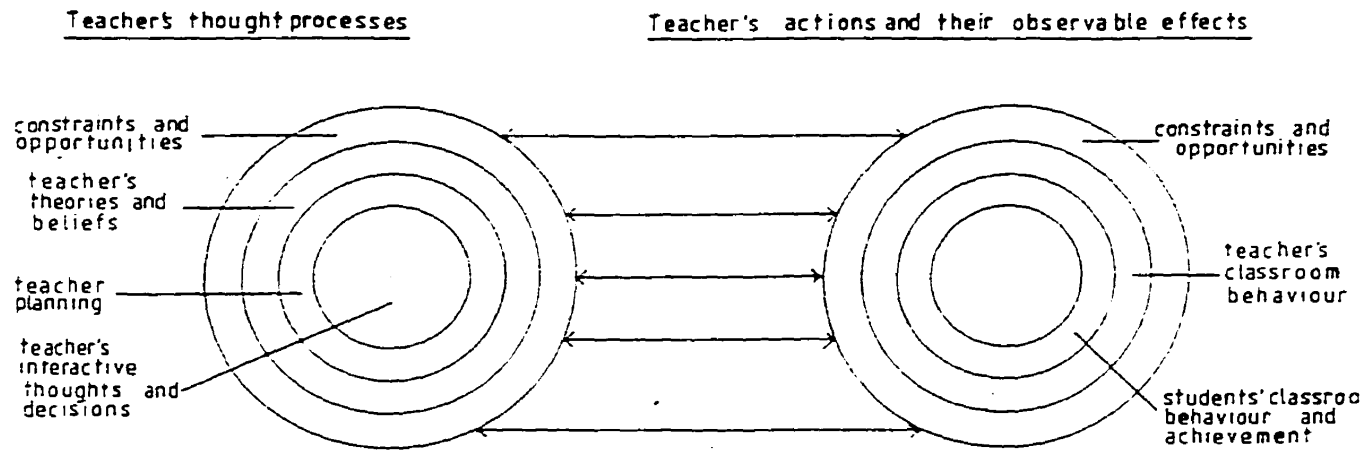


Figure 1 : A conceptual framework of teacher thought and action

According to Clark and Peterson (1986), the vast majority of work on the cognitive processes involved in teaching has been conducted since 1976. The two authors maintain that prior to 1975, the dominant paradigm was the process-product approach to the study of teaching effectiveness. This claim may not be an accurate portrait of research in L1 teaching, in which the process-product approach was dominant in the early seventies. According to Clark and Peterson (1986), the process-product studies were mainly concerned with finding the relationship between teachers' classroom behaviour, students' classroom behaviour, and students' achievement. Woods (1996) also sees a shift in research concerns over the years from the original focus on the method of teaching as it affects the learner and learning processes to the present focus on the classroom setting in which formal learning is taking place.

According to my conceptual framework in figure 1, and according to the definitions of teaching given earlier, there are two areas that are involved in the process of teaching. They are teachers' thought processes and teachers' actions and their observable effects. Although the two areas in the framework are reciprocally related, and therefore should ideally be studied together, my study will focus on thought processes of two teachers, as revealed by their actions and behaviours. The study does not look at the observable effects of the teacher's thought processes and actions, except in very general terms, as this would necessitate a separate study. Instead, my main concern is to find out the two teachers' beliefs about ESL instruction from their own perspective. Specific areas for investigation are: (i) the teachers' theories and beliefs (ii) their planning and (iii) the teachers' interactive thoughts and decisions, as shown in figure 1.

From a cognitive perspective, a teacher's theories can be taken to represent his or her domain, also called tacit knowledge; and a teacher's beliefs can also be called his personal knowledge. Domain and personal knowledge can exist in either declarative or procedural form. In a teaching situation, there can be tension and contradictions between domain and personal knowledge, except where, as will be explained in chapter two under the definition of belief, both theory and belief have become integrated, by so resolving the possible tension and contradictions that can exist between them. There can also be

tensions and contradictions among beliefs (Rokeach, 1968; Maguire, 1989). Thus, one can say that both the domain knowledge and the teacher's beliefs are involved in a teacher's planning, interactive thoughts and decisions, with each vying for influence over the other. From my study, I argue that it is the teacher's beliefs that have the stronger influence on a teacher's planning, interactive thoughts and decisions. In other words, my argument is that teaching, irrespective of other contextual variables that may also come into play, is influenced most strongly by a teacher's beliefs.

The teaching act involves both the social and cognitive components. A teacher's interactive thoughts and decisions are his or her moment-to-moment actions while carrying out the actual task of instruction, which task is modified by prevailing instructional contexts. We can infer a teacher's beliefs about his or her teaching from his or her plans, classroom behaviours and artifacts. A teacher's plan can be seen as his or her hypothesis, or idealised schema which is to be realised in focal teaching (Suchman, 1987; Yin, 1993; Seliger and Shahomy, 1990; National Institute of Education, 1975). Thus, in my conceptual framework, we have the four major components of the teaching task with which this study is concerned. These are the domain, the teachers' personal knowledge, their plans, and their actions. All of these must be investigated in a valid study of teachers' beliefs, as Pajares (1992) argues: "It is also clear that, if reasonable inferences about beliefs require assessments of what individuals say, intend, and do, then teachers' verbal expressions, predispositions to action, and teaching behaviours must all be included in assessments of beliefs" (p. 327).

Inconsistencies are often found between what we know, what we believe, what we would like to do, and what we actually do (Johnson, 1992). An explanation for this inconsistency may be found in one of the basic assumptions of the mental model (Newell and Simon, 1972), which assumes that a person's knowledge output, whether declarative or procedural, is a mental representation of his or her cognitive knowledge structure. According to this assumption, if there were no contextual factors outside the mind, one would expect a perfect match between the two, the mental representation and observable behaviour. But teaching does not occur in a vacuum or in the mind alone, but in a social

context, which Clark and Peterson (1986) refer to as constraints and opportunities. Thus, Clark and Peterson (1986) argue that a complete understanding of the process of teaching also demands an understanding of the constraints and opportunities that impinge on the teacher. It is these constraints and opportunities that account for the inconsistencies among the four components of teaching mentioned earlier. Examples of these constraints and opportunities, their definitions and distinctions, are dealt with in chapter two. They occur at the international level, at the national level of government, at the regional level, as well as in the home environment, the neighbourhood and the school (see Mayher, 1990).

1. 6 Contribution to Knowledge

This study contributes to knowledge in two ways. Firstly, it contributes some fresh insights into the on-going debate among applied linguists on classroom research and theoretically and practically sound methods of teaching in general, and on ESL teaching in Zimbabwe in particular. Insights into how teachers perceive their teaching are of direct benefit to teacher education, because the ultimate objective of classroom research is to improve the pupils' learning of instructional content through the development of sound teacher education programmes.

Secondly, the study makes a contribution to research methodology, because it uses multiple techniques of data collecting, processing and analysis. The approach gives a holistic approach to the study of classroom interaction through the process of triangulated results for cross-validation measurement. The qualitative approach to classroom research adopted for this study is both comprehensive and unique in that it investigates both the social and academic components of socially-situated ESL instruction, with a view to finding empirically how the two co-occur in focal teaching. To my knowledge, no similar investigation involving both the social and academic components of instruction, using an embedded case study design, multi-method and multi-data collection and analysis techniques, has been done in ESL instruction at secondary school level in a developing country like Zimbabwe with a vastly different socio-linguistic setting from that of

developed countries, such as America and Britain, as the next chapter illustrates.

CHAPTER 2: THE STUDY'S NESTED CONTEXTS

Chapter two has two sections. Section one describes the nested contexts for the two case studies at the international and national levels. This contextual information covers the geographical, historical, social, political, economic and educational aspects of the case studies. Section two presents contextual descriptions of the two case studies at the levels of the province, the school and the classroom. Criteria are given for choosing the two schools and the two teachers, as well as background information on them. Most of the contextual information in this chapter was collected during fieldwork.

2 A: Nested Contexts at the International and National Levels

My study uses an embedded case study approach. Figure 2 illustrates the different levels implicated in the design. My approach to the discussion in this chapter is to move from the outer circles of the embedded case study to the inner circles, as illustrated in figure 2.

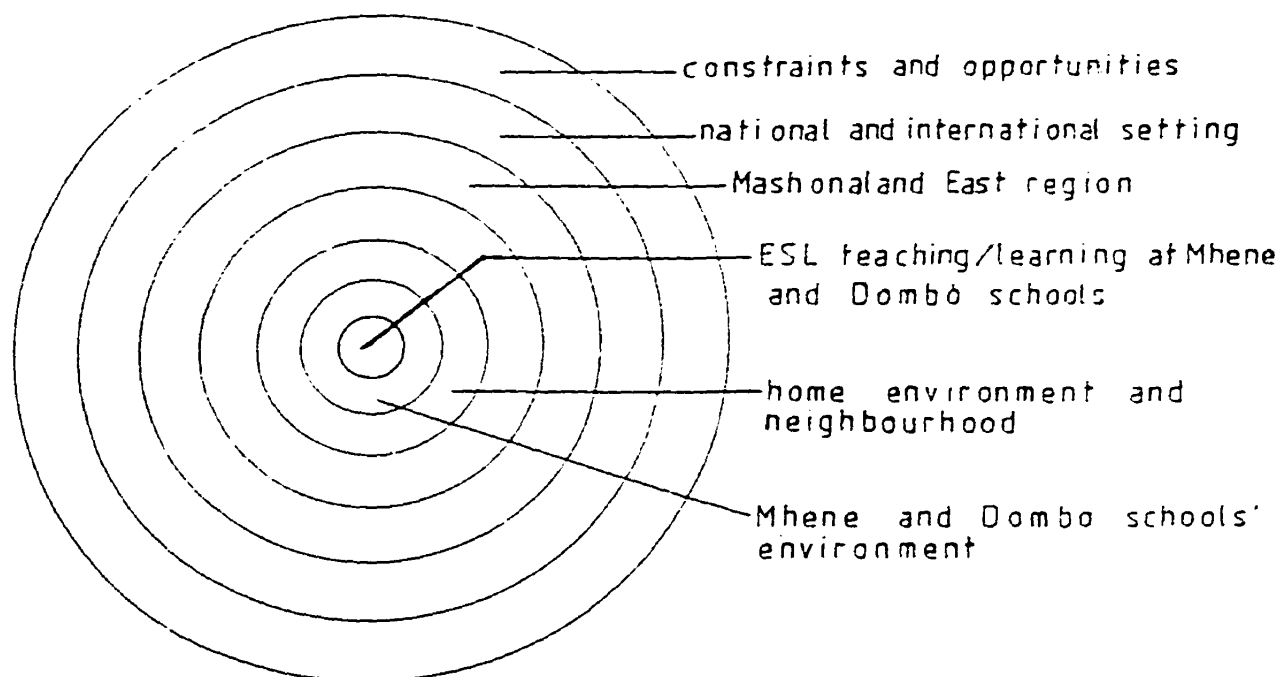


Figure 2: An embedded case study design used for the study

Yin (1986) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evidenced; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (p.23). My study, which looks at ESL teaching in Zimbabwe within its real-life contexts, has no control over these contexts and the way they may impinge on the teaching, but seeks instead to understand the process through which they do this (Maguire, 1989; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1993; Seliger and Shohamy, 1990). In general, case studies are an appropriate strategy in a study where "how" and "why" questions are posed, where the researcher has little control over the events and where the subject of investigation is within some real-life context (Yin, 1986; Yin, 1993; Heras, 1994). Because of this, it is important that my research design involve flexible, reflexive and recursive processes which operate throughout every stage of the study.

A case study design also enables me to compare the two selected teachers operating in a more or less similar context, and to generate hypotheses from this comparison, within a natural setting of teaching and learning. An investigation of teachers' beliefs particularly requires a research design that takes into consideration the real life context of the phenomenon to be investigated. This is because a teacher's belief system may be modified by context in which he or she operates, as Abelson (1979) points out:

At one extreme, as in many teaching systems, the teacher's behaviour may be rigidly regimented by a supervisor or the method or materials may become a virtual script for the lesson. Teachers are held responsible for getting students through the material and exams that test whether the material was learned and are observed and evaluated on their adherence to the "method" (p.118).

At the other extreme is a situation in which the learner may be responsible for structuring the course (Abelson, 1979). In both situations, the ways in which a teacher's beliefs operate in the classroom are determined by the contexts of the teaching system. This has implications for the design of this present study, such as the need to document fully the contexts in which the two teachers in my study work.

The nested contexts described in this chapter are specifically relevant to ESL

teaching in Zimbabwe at the secondary school level. The background information or nested contexts are necessary for a better understanding and appreciation of the instructional issues raised and discussed in chapters five and six on results (Maguire, 1989). The political and socio-cultural context of ESL teaching in Zimbabwe is also very important for the two case studies because the environment in which the teachers operate has a bearing on their classroom behaviour. Ulichny and Watson-Gegeo (1989), citing McNeill's (1986) argument, say:

Patterns in the classroom are linked to the reward structure built into schools as bureaucratic institutions. Teachers normally have no input into the organisational structure of the school, which is managed by local authorities and school administrators, and altered by periodic reform initiatives. A chain of authority from school administrators to staff developers decides class loads, class composition, curricula, and schedules. The only place teachers exercise control is in their classrooms. In fact, they must demonstrate control, in the form of disciplined students and acceptable test scores, in order to be rewarded in the system (pp. 234 - 5)

A number of studies have shown the enormous contextual constraints under which classroom teachers may be forced to work (e.g. studies by Judd, in Long and Richards, 1987; Duranti, 1992; Ulichny and Watson-Gegeo, 1989; Kleinsasser, 1993). These contextual influences on language teaching may not be self-evident, although they may sometimes act as a constraint or an enhancement of opportunities for language teaching (Stern, 1983).

2. 1 Zimbabwe: Brief Geographical Setting

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country with a total area of about 391, 000 square kilometres, about the size of California, or 60% greater than the United Kingdom. The whole country lies north of the Tropic of Capricorn, between latitudes 15 degrees 33 minutes and 22 degrees 24 minutes (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989). The following map of southern Africa shows the position of the country within the continent of Africa. The map

of Zimbabwe shows the nine political and educational administrative provinces and major towns. The capital city, Harare, forms the ninth province in its own right. This study was carried out in the province of Mashonaland East, whose provincial capital is Marondera.



Figure 3 : A map of Southern Africa showing the position of Zimbabwe on the continent; and the provincial boundaries and major towns. Source: Stoneman and Cliffe (1989, p xxi).

Zimbabwe has a sub-tropical climate with two main seasons of summer and winter. Summers are wet and last from November to March. The dry winter season is from May to August (Simson, 1979). About eighty percent of the country is high veldt, over 2000 feet, and this has the effect of moderating the potentially hot temperatures in summer. The average temperature is 22 degrees centigrade in the hottest month of October, and 13 degrees centigrade in the coldest month of July. In the low veldt, temperatures average between 20 degrees centigrade and 30 degrees centigrade (Simson, 1979). The total population estimate in 1992 was 10.8 million (Weiss, 1994). According to Stoneman and Cliffe (1989), Shonas make up 75% of the population, Ndebeles, 19% and others about 6%. Others include Whites, mostly of European origin, Tonga, Venda and Shangaan. The different first languages in Zimbabwe are not mutually comprehensible. Nearly half of the white population left the country at independence, and those that remained make up about 2% of the total population. About 4 million of the population is urbanised, although many of the urbanised blacks still maintain both direct and indirect links with the rural areas.

The three major languages spoken in the country as L1 are Shona (75%), Ndebele (19%), English (2%). Others make up 4% and include Tonga, Venda and Shangaan (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989). English is the official language; and Shona and Ndebele are national languages. A national language is one that is used for official purposes in such public places as parliament and law courts, besides having a social purpose.

2. 2 Pre-independence Zimbabwe

2.2.1 Historical Background

Zimbabwe is a former colony of Britain. Colonialism in Zimbabwe is better understood in the context of international colonialism, as this was not an experience peculiar to Zimbabwe. A brief look at colonialism in the larger world context will be followed by a brief history of the colonial experience in Zimbabwe.

In his discussion of colonialism, Perley (1993) distinguishes two types of colonialism. The first type is what is normally understood as colonialism, namely, domination of a geographically political unit by a different race or culture. An example of this is what took place in most parts of Africa soon after the Berlin Conference in 1884 - 5. Characteristics of this traditional colonialism, according to Perley (1993), are exploitation of the land, raw materials, and labour of the colonised nations, whose values are also eroded. The colonizer is discriminatory and oppressive and the colonised nation becomes a dependant of the colonizer.

The second type of colonialism discussed by Perley (1993) is internal colonialism, which has its roots in traditional colonialism. This kind of colonialism has four components, which Perley (1993: 119) gives as (a) forced involuntary entry (b) suppression, transformation or destruction of native values, orientation and ways of life (c) using education and missionaries to manipulate and manage the colonized (d) domination, exploitation and oppression of the colonized who are looked upon as inferior. To achieve the four objectives above, education is planned and controlled by the colonisers to serve their interests. Missionaries work to destroy the national way of life of the colonised. Perley (1993) then gives examples of how the four components of internal colonialism above have been applied to subjugate the Indian people of North America, Welsh and the Australian Aborigines.

Welch (1988) also discusses the same theory of internal colonialism as Perley (1993) does, but with special reference to its application to the Aborigines of Australia, where missionaries are said to have imposed their spiritual and material superiority over the natives; and where education still serves "as an instrument of internal colonialism by socializing the colonised into an acceptance of inferior status, power and wealth" (p. 206). In the same context, Welch (1988) also discusses other victims of internal colonialism, such as black South Africans and North and Latin American Indians. I turn now to the situation in Zimbabwe with regards to the colonial experience there.

According to Simson (1979), present-day Zimbabwe was peopled as early as 400,000 BC by Bantu people who make up the majority of the country's present

population. These Bantu people had migrated from the north of the continent by the fourth century AD (Simson, 1979). After the Berlin Conference in 1884 -5, Cecil John Rhodes planned to open a road from the Cape, in South Africa, to Cairo, in North Africa. This led to the colonisation of Rhodesia in 1890, which was later named after him (Mandaza, 1986).

Zimbabwe experienced the traditional type of colonialism described by Parley (1993). During colonial rule, the African chiefs, who had been the traditional rulers of the land, lost their power. Instead, the Native Commissioners and missionaries were supposed to represent Black interests (Maravanyika, 1990; Chiwome, 1996). Linden (1980) says that the colonisation of Zimbabwe in 1890 "brought the Zimbabwe people into the world stage as wage-labourers, competing farmers and labour tenants" (p.3). Except for sixteen years, from 1965 to 1980, under the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), Rhodesia remained a British colony up until 1980 when the country gained independence. Today, Zimbabwe is a member of the Commonwealth, among other organisations.

2.2.2 Economic life

On the Zimbabwean economy and society before independence, Simson (1979) observes: "The Zimbabwean economy and society are extremely dualistic, in all spheres of social life. A sharp dividing line exists between whites and blacks" (p.1). The Zimbabwean economy in the pre-independence era was always dominated by whites in the sectors of farming, mining, industry and commerce. Asians of Indian origin were mainly found in the commercial sector while most Whites were in farming and industry, with Blacks providing most of the labour for these sectors (Simson, 1979). Zimbabwe's economy before and after independence has been based largely on agriculture and mining. The country's main exports were and still are tobacco, asbestos, gold, meat, copper, chrome ore, raw sugar and clothing (Simson, 1979).

2.2.3 Social life

Zimbabwean society before and also after independence has always been split into urban and rural dwellers. Although the rural-to-urban drift is now growing fast, before independence eighty percent of the population of the country lived in the rural areas. At independence in 1980, Weiss (1994) gives the rural population as 60%. Simson (1979) says that the urban African population was disproportionately made up of working-age males and to a lesser degree females. The main cause of the drift by mostly young people to the urban centres was economic. However, most adult African men circulated continually between town and country. They went to town to seek work that would give them money with which to supplement subsistence farming in the rural areas. Simson (1979), writing before independence, says "50% to 60% of the African households in the rural areas are partly or wholly dependent on incomes earned in the wage economy, rather than from subsistence farming" (p.10). A majority of the Africans who came to urban centres to work always regarded the rural areas as their permanent homes, where they would eventually retire and die (Linden, 1980). The attachment to the land by the majority of the Africans is said to be immensely strong and religious (Linden, 1980).

The urbanization of African workers along the patterns described earlier brought about the disruption of the African family. For example, the drift into urban centres of the young people left an excess of old people in the rural areas who were not able to work on the land productively. Urban working men were able to visit their families only occasionally during leave or public holidays. Sometimes the wife and children visited the man in town during winter, when there was less work to do on the land (Chavhunduka, 1970). However, as more people were coming into towns to work, the link between the urban and the rural got weaker and weaker, as is described in the section on social life after independence.

Zimbabwean culture before and after independence is as much a product of European as well as indigenous influences. Although the country is mostly Christian, this Christianity is often married with indigenous religion (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989). This is

why Simson (1979) says that the majority of the African population in Zimbabwe is not Christian in the true sense of the word: the majority "believe in traditional religion or independent African sects which combine Christian and traditional spiritual beliefs and practices" (p. 4) (see also Rajan, 1996, for a similar situation in Kenya). In 1978, out of a population of seven million Africans, about one million were members of Christian churches, with the Catholics forming the largest group (Simson, 1979). The white population at that time was Christian and predominantly Protestant.

2.2.4 Education

The education system in pre-independence Zimbabwe was divided into three separate systems: the European education system, the Coloured and Indian education system, and the African education system. My discussion of pre-independence education in Zimbabwe is with special reference to the African education system and ESL. As in many African countries, early education in Zimbabwe was associated with early missionary efforts to teach Africans to read and write, so that they could read the Bible for themselves (Maravanyika, 1990; Chiwome, 1996). Atkinson (1972) says that contact between local African peoples and white missionaries in Zimbabwe began half a century before European settlers moved in in 1890. For example, in 1859, the mission at Inyati was founded by the London Missionary Society. Linden (1980) says that the missionaries saw education, coupled with the work of hospitals and dispensaries, as their contribution to the African people: "the Rhodesian church was almost entirely recruited from school converts" (p.41). As a result, it is said that in the local language, Shona, going to school and going to church became synonymous.

The first Roman Catholic mission at Empanjeni predates the settler occupation of Zimbabwe in 1890. The Dutch Reformed Church had its earliest mission established at Morgenster in 1891. The first secondary school for Africans in Zimbabwe was established at St. Augustine's, Penhalonga, in 1939, by the Anglicans. As in many parts of the Commonwealth, the expansion in secondary education was greatly influenced by

examining bodies in the United Kingdom, such as those at Cambridge and London University (Atkinson, 1972).

At first the colonial government opposed the idea of educating local Africans, because of a fear of insecurity: "The feeling of insecurity among the European community has frequently proved a decisive factor in the development of educational policy in Rhodesia" (Atkinson, 1972, p.4). In order to put all educational matters under their control, the colonial government introduced the system of grants to those schools that toed the government line, and most mission-run schools fell victim to this, as they needed money for their operation. The limitations on African education that were set by the government resulted in African education being limited to producing workers for agriculture and industry. Atkinson (1972) says that up to the early 1940s the only available form of schooling for the Africans was at the elementary level.

The first government secondary schools were Goromonzi and Fletcher high schools, which were opened in 1946 and 1957 respectively. Previous to that, there had only been two industrial schools for Africans, one at Domboshawa, opened in 1920, and the other at Tjolotjlo, founded in 1922. Most schools in Zimbabwe today were founded by the missionaries, although many were handed over to local authorities over the years, through government coercion.

Apart from the financial constraints that were faced by the early mission schools, there was also the problem of getting qualified teachers to staff them. The country did not have a teachers' college of its own, until the first European teachers' college was established at Evelyn High School, Bulawayo, in 1918; and it was not until much later that African teachers for the African schools were trained in the country. For example, in 1929, out of a total of 1,723 African teachers in primary schools, 1,624 held qualifications lower than standard six, which is eight years of primary education (Atkinson, 1972).

From the outset, it had been decided that the teaching of English, which was the country's official language, would help to bring about settler influence on the local Africans. Accordingly, an educational Ordinance was passed in 1903 which recommended that African pupils be taught to speak and understand the English language. This was

intended for purely functional purposes (Atkinson, 1972). For example, one inspector of schools quoted in Atkinson (1972:90) had this to say on the issue: "Injustice arises from the fact that natives and whites are mutually unintelligible, and this might be made to disappear gradually if understanding the English language was insisted on".

But the teaching of English to Africans met with a lot of problems. To begin with, the European farmers, who were conservative and consisted mostly of people of Afrikaans stock, resisted the attempt to introduce English and preferred a pidgin language, called *Chilapalapa*, which was widely used on white farms. *Chilapalapa* is a mixture of Bantu languages, Afrikaans and English. Atkinson (1972) says that the teachers who were supposed to teach English to African students had no guidance on ESL teaching, as this knowledge was virtually non-existent in the country. As a result, they relied on the "rough and reading fashion of the phrase book" that had been developed by Jesuit Fathers at Chishawasha Mission and recommended by the School Inspectors, a procedure which produced only poor results (Atkinson, 1972).

The curriculum for both White and Black schools in pre-independence Zimbabwe was modelled on the British system. Atkinson (1972: 13) explains its main weakness for Zimbabwe: the fact that it was too bookish and the reasons for this:

No doubt this was partly due to the Africans' own preference for book-work - something which he saw as a necessary preparation for the sedentary occupations capable of bringing him nearest to the prestige and influence of European civilization. This preference was not without some justification in view of the fact that book-training was essential for admission to such avenues of employment as teaching, catechetical and clerical work, commerce and the like. Yet there also appears to have been a tendency among educational administrators - whether they found themselves in government or missionary services - to take their blue-prints for educational planning direct from overseas, with remarkably little attempt to re-adapt them to the needs of an African background.

According to Challis (1980), pre-independence schools in Zimbabwe were primarily for the maintenance of European political power and moral responsibility, all geared specifically at "the promotion of British empire loyalty and Public school ideal"

(p.53). These ideals were greatly stimulated by "the recruitment of senior teachers and members of the inspectorate who had received the education of gentlemen" (p. 53).

2.3 Post-independence Zimbabwe

2.3.1 The Economic Situation

Weiss (1994) provides a comprehensive account of the economic and social life in Zimbabwe after independence in 1980. At independence, there was an attempt by the new black government to follow a socialist transformation, but various factors, global and domestic, forced the country into establishing a free-market economy (Weiss, 1994; Maravanyika, 1990). Independence ushered in economic opportunities for blacks who in the pre-independence era had been marginalised economically, educationally and socially. With independence there emerged a new class of 'elite blacks with a lifestyle distinct from that of the peasants and the low-income urban black workers. The black 'elite's lifestyle and interests began to match those of the whites who had been the rulers of the land before independence. This new class of blacks is made up of educated professionals and business leadership (Weiss, 1994). Most businesses run by this 'elite are commercial, such as liquor stores, and agricultural. Weiss (1994) says that after independence "few blacks entered the manufacturing industry because of a lack of capital and expertise" (p. 141).

The start of the 1990s saw efforts by the new black government to empower blacks economically. Weiss (1994) gives a few examples to demonstrate this. In 1990, the Indigenous Business Development Council (IBDC) was instituted to advise its members and educate them on how to identify business opportunities, as well as to seek donor funds which were to be channelled to its members. One of the major objectives of the Small Enterprise Development Corporation (SEDICO) is to seek funds to train black businessmen and women (Weiss, 1994). The new black government has also entered into business ventures, such as in mining, banking and the media (Weiss, 1994).

2.3.2 The Social Situation

The rural-to-urban drift still continued after independence; and it was usually the low-income earners who looked upon the rural areas as their retirement homes. For the black elite, the link between the urban and the rural areas weakened, as did the traditional bonds of the extended family which were increasingly strained by the pressures of the modern economy, forcing many of the black elite and indeed many others to restrict their attention to their nuclear families. On the condition of the workers and peasants after independence, Weiss (1994:144), says: "... by the 1990s most peasants had not risen above subsistence levels. The buying power of the urban low-income group had also not improved over the 1980 level". Books and educational media in both L1 and L2 are scarce resources for these economically-disadvantaged groups.

Meanwhile, the income gap between the new 'elite and the workers, the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants, continued to widen. After independence the rural-to-urban drift intensified. Weiss (1994) says that in the 1990s, some four million out of ten million blacks were urbanised. After independence, the education system continued to produce significant numbers of academically qualified high school graduates for white collar jobs, which were, however, very scarce. The large unemployment pool of school leavers therefore grew up. Weiss (1994) puts the figure at 90,000 school leavers per year. Unemployment among urban youth was recently estimated at 45% and that for rural youth at 15% (Weiss, 1994).

At independence, the new government initiated ambitious social programmes in education and health care which cost the government enormous amounts of money. However, as the economy could not support and sustain these social programmes, the quality of the service they provided was eroded. This mainly affected the poorer urban and rural dwellers. The new black elite, who could afford the high fees, sent their children to very expensive private schools; and depended for their health care on similarly expensive private clinics.

It soon became apparent that the economy of independent Zimbabwe could not

support and sustain the ambitious social reform programmes initiated at independence; and the government was forced to adopt some structural adjustment to the economy to save it from collapsing. In 1990, the government accepted the IMF/World Bank Economical Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (Weiss, 1994); and the programme has gone through various phases up to the time of this present study.

2.3.3 Education

In his paper on Zimbabwean education, in The World Bank Report Number 91 of 1990, Maravanyika argues that "pre-independence education policies are still a very strong factor in influencing envisaged post-independence policy changes" (p.1). He gives three reasons for the lack of qualitative transformation in the Zimbabwean education system. At independence in 1980, the new black government advocated an education system that would develop along socialist lines. But, as the new government did not have the economic muscle to effect this new direction in educational policy, it became more of an empty slogan than a reality. On this, Maravanyika (1990:1) observes: "...in spite of the post-independence enunciations that education should develop along socialist lines, more has been achieved in quantitative changes of the inherited system than in its qualitative transformation".

The second reason Maravanyika gives for lack of change in the education system has to do with a lack of coordination on the part of the policy-makers between the socio-cultural processes and the educational plans. And the third reason is that the policy-makers are themselves products of pre-independence education, a factor that tends to make them want for their children the same kind of education they themselves received, an education they believe will make their children escape from rural poverty. These problems are not only peculiar to Zimbabwe, but occur "... in other developing countries, especially in Africa at analogous periods in their histories" (Maravanyika, 1990, p. 2). Following is a description of the Zimbabwean system of education in post-independence Zimbabwe in which my two case studies are situated.

The structure of the ministry of education.

The following figure 4 summarises the structure of the Ministry of Education in which the two teachers selected for this study, Willie and Cathy, worked . The double arrows in the figure indicate a two-way communication channel. As mentioned earlier, there are nine educational regions in the country. Each region is headed by a Regional Director, who is equivalent to a Chief Education Officer.

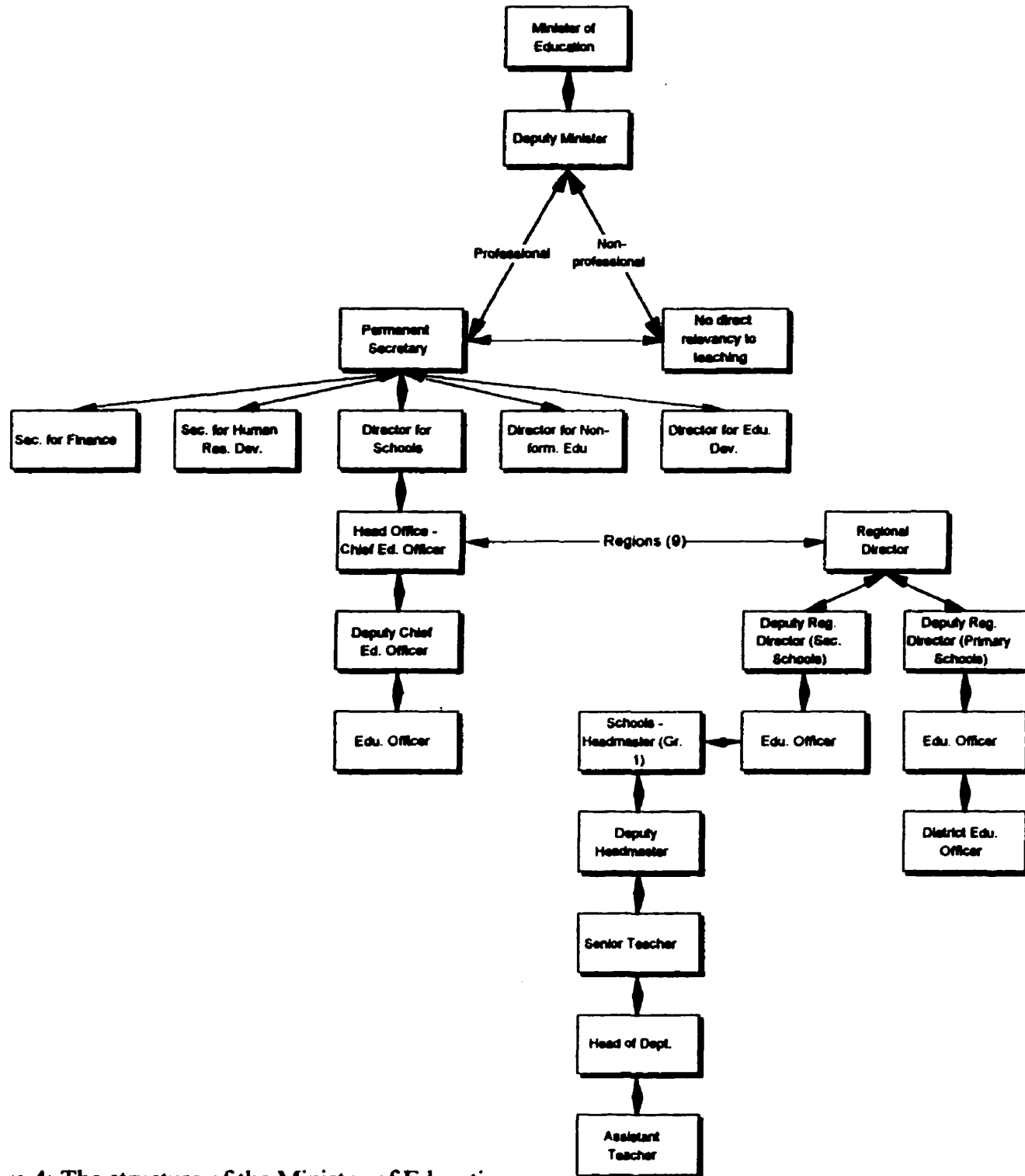


Figure 4: The structure of the Ministry of Education

Composed from data obtained in an interview with Sam, Mashonaland East Regional Director of Education, March, 1997.

After the Regional Director come two deputies, one for primary schools and the other for secondary schools. Below the deputies there are a number of Education Officers¹. At secondary school level, the education officers are responsible for different subject areas. They visit schools to monitor and nurture the standards of teaching and learning in their subject areas. In the primary school section, education officers are responsible for supervising at the provincial level all the subjects on the curriculum. Below them are District Education Officers, who are responsible for a circuit, a group of schools in a specific zone or district. At the school level, we have the Headmaster and the deputy, followed by the Senior Teacher and the Head of Department, in that order.

The school curriculum

The Ministry of Education's Curriculum Development Unit is responsible for the development of all curricula for both primary and secondary schools. The Zimbabwean system of education is still very much a model of pre-independence education system, which continued to be modelled on the old British system, long after it had disappeared from Britain itself. Weiss (1994) has this to say on this point: "Foreigners were dismayed at the rigidity of the Zimbabwe's school system, modelled on white pre-independence education. It surprised visitors to see black boys in formal attire, with blazers, ties and caps, even old-style boaters" (p.116). This rigidity in the school system is also reflected in the curriculum, which is still largely pre-independence and conservative (Maravanyika, 1990). On this, Stoneman and Cliffe (1989:170) note: "An equally serious problem has been the limited degree of change in the curriculum. Despite new syllabuses at primary and secondary levels, classroom practice obstinately remains set in a pre-independence mould". Stoneman and Cliffe (1989) cite the inadequacy of teacher training, the high number of unqualified and under-qualified teachers and insufficient investment in facilities and

¹In the past, Education Officers in Zimbabwe were called inspectors. Their role was like that of the old inspectors in Canada before there were consultants in School Boards. But Education Officers in Zimbabwe still perform the same evaluative roles.

equipment as some of the major causes of lack of innovation in the curriculum and its implementation. The two authors conclude that as a result "classroom practice often remains tied to rote-learning of facts" (p.17). Atkinson (1972) describes pre-independence education in Zimbabwe as "too bookish", an observation that can still be seen in the post-independence education situation. An example of this bookishness is the lack of an alternative to the over- academic "O" level examination. However, Weiss (1994) says that in the private schools, there is a definite move towards more modern methods of teaching. Maravanyika (1990:3) sees a lack of change in the curriculum as part of a general lack of desire for change at all levels of the country's society: " ... the majority of the people did not always regard independence as an opportunity to transform society but as an opportunity to have access to those social, economic, political and educational institutions that they felt they had been denied".

The school system.

The school system follows the 7- 6- 3 educational pattern. Primary school in Zimbabwe is for seven years. In the infant grades, one to three, instruction is in the child's first language, with English being taught as a subject along with the rest of the other subjects on the curriculum. At present, Shona and Ndebele are the two indigenous languages used for instruction in the infant grades. Current government policy is to extend instruction in L1 in the first three grades to cover indigenous minority language groups, such as Tonga, Venda and Shangaan. These minority language groups form about 4% of the country's total population. From grade four of primary school, except in the teaching of indigenous languages, the official policy is to give instruction in English in all other subjects on the school curriculum.

At the end of seven years of primary education, students take a public exam, the Grade seven exam. Entry into secondary school is competitive, based on the results of the Grade seven exam. At the end of the first two years of secondary school, students take another public exam, the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate Examination (ZJC). A majority of

students leave school after a four-year secondary education, marked by the 'O' level exams, meaning ordinary level. Those who pass "O" level join the labour market or follow training in various professions, such as in education, health and agriculture. But not all can be absorbed into the labour market. Unemployment among these and other school leavers is very high. According to the 1991 Intercensal Demographic Survey, 57% of secondary school leavers were unemployed. Currently, the national unemployment rate is given as 45% (Dakwa, 1997).

At the end of six years of secondary schooling, students sit the 'A' level exam, meaning advanced level, and there is a stiff competition to enter the country's six universities. Entry is based on the results of this exam. The University of Zimbabwe is the largest absorber of 'A' level graduates. The other five universities, National University of Science and Technology, Africa University, Solusi University, Gweru University and the Great Zimbabwe University are still in their infancy, and their total enrolments are very small compared to that of the University of Zimbabwe, which is about 9,000. Currently there is talk of plans to build and open more universities in the country, such as The Catholic and Open Universities, to cater for the many "A" level graduates who are failing to secure places at existing universities in the country.

School terms (semesters).

The academic year in Zimbabwe for teachers' colleges, primary and secondary schools starts from mid-January and ends around the first week of December. There are three school vacations during the year. The first one is from approximately mid-April to about beginning of May; the second is from mid-August to early September; and the third from early December to mid-January. Currently, the country's universities, such as the University of Zimbabwe, whose academic calendar years used to run from mid-March to the end of December, are in the process of changing to the semester system similar to that of European and North American universities.

Teacher education centres in Zimbabwe.

Table 1 shows teacher education colleges in Zimbabwe, and the nature of the programmes they offer.

Table 1

Teacher Education Centres in Zimbabwe and their Programmes

Name of Teachers' College	Minimum Academic Entry Qualification	Length of Programme	Level Taught by Teacher
Belvedere	(a) Post-"O" Level (Academic) (b) Post-agricultural Diploma in Edu. (c) Post-"O" Level Voc-technical	(a) Three Years (Academic) (b) Sixteen Months (Technical) (c) Four Years (vocational)	Secondary (Academic & Technical)
Bondolfi	"O" Level	Three Years	Primary
Chinhoyi	Post-"O" Level Voc-technical	Four Years	Secondary (Voc-technical)
Gwanda	"O" Level (ZINTEC)	Four Years	Primary
Gweru	(a) Post-agric. Diploma in Edu. (b) "O" Level (H. Economics) (c) Post-"A" Level Dip. Ed. (d) Post-"A" Level B.Ed. (science)	(a) Sixteen Months (b) Three Years (c) Two years (d) Three Years	Secondary (Technical & Academic)
Hillside	(a) Post-"O" Level (Fine Arts) (b) Post-"A" Level (Academic)	(a) Three Years (b) Two Years (Academic)	Secondary (Fine Arts & Academic)
Marymount	"O" Level	Three Years	Primary
Masvingo	"O" Level	Three Years	Primary
Mkoba	"O" Level	Three Years	Primary

Mutare	"O" Level	Three Years	Secondary
Morgan	"O" Level (ZINTEC)	Four Years	Primary
Morgenster	"O" Level	Three Years	Primary
Nyadire	"O" Level	Three Years	Primary
Seke	"O" Level	Three Years	Primary
United College of Education	"O" Level	Three Years	Primary

Programmes in the teachers' colleges in Table 1 are always changing in order to meet current requirements for teachers for the country. The University of Zimbabwe and its affiliate, the University College of Bindura, are currently the only centres producing university graduate teachers for the country. Teacher training programmes are still in the pipeline in the other five universities. Of the fifteen teachers' colleges listed in Table 1, five offer secondary school training; these are Belvedere, Chinhoyi, Gweru, Hillside, and Mutare. The rest offer training for primary school teachers. All the fifteen teachers' colleges in Table 1 are associate colleges of the University of Zimbabwe.

Not all the teachers working in the country's secondary schools today come from the teachers' centres already mentioned. The following Table 2 gives a range of sources of secondary school teachers in Zimbabwe, ranging from the untrained teacher to the certified honours graduate.

Table 2

Zimbabwe Teachers by Qualification in Secondary Schools in 1993

Qualification	Male	Female	Total
Certified Honours Graduate	314	126	440
Certified Graduate	954	419	1373
Bachelor of Education	916	249	1165
Uncertified Honours Graduate	446	145	591
Uncertified Graduate	1007	547	1554
Zintec Graduate	156	61	217
"O" Level plus 4 Years Training (Primary)	335	290	625
"O" Level plus 4 Years Training (Secondary Academic)	3536	1778	5314
"O" Level plus 4 Years Training (Secondary Technical)	824	480	1304
"O" Level plus 3 Years Training (Primary)	533	353	886

"O" Level plus 3 Years Training (Secondary Academic)	2163	1218	3381
"O" Level plus 3 Years Training (Secondary Technical)	385	321	706
"O" Level plus 2 Years Training (Primary)	83	50	133
"O" Level plus 2 Years Training (Secondary Academic)	248	106	354
"O" Level plus 2 Years Training (Secondary Technical)	71	31	102
Junior Certificate plus 3 Years Training	6	8	14
Junior Certificate plus 2 Years Training	21	15	36
Standard 6 plus 2 Years Training	34	14	48
5 Years Teacher Training	27	7	34

4 Years Teacher Training	410	206	616
Journeyman	183	42	225
Zintec Trainee	72	43	115
Student Trainee	690	509	1199
Non-teaching Diplomas	126	68	194
Unrecognised Degree	119	52	171
Untrained	2338	872	3210
Total 1993	15997	8010	2400

Table 2 was composed from data obtained from the Annual Report of the Secretary for Education and Culture of 31 December, 1993, Zimbabwe Government Publications.

There are a number of statistical points worth noting in table 2. The first one is that the majority of secondary school teachers in 1993 were non-university graduates. The other feature worth noting is that in 1993 there were still a large number of untrained teachers in Zimbabwean secondary schools, a little over one eighth of all teachers in the secondary schools. The majority of secondary school teachers in 1993 was made up of post-"O" level three-and-four-year trained teachers. Five years later, in 1998, I believe that these trends have not changed very much.

Most of the untrained teachers in the secondary school came with the huge expansion in secondary education soon after independence. For example, the number of secondary schools increased from 177 at independence to 1206 in 1984, an increase of 681%. Total enrolment rose by 538% from 66,215 in 1980 to 422,538 during the same period (Maravanyika, 1990). Table 3 illustrates this quantitative expansion in both primary and secondary education.

Table 3

Primary and Secondary Schools Enrolments: 1980 - 1995

Year	Primary (in thousands)	Secondary (in thousands)
1980	1,250	1,275
1981	1,750	1,800
1982	1,900	2,100
1983	2,000	2,280
1984	2,250	2,600
1985	2,250	2,650
1986	2,260	2,700
1987	2,260	2,800
1988	2,250	2,800
1989	2,255	2,850
1990	2,100	2,750
1991	2,270	2,900
1992	2,270	2,950
1993	2,300	3,000
1994	2,280	3,200
1995	2,290	3,300

Table 3 was composed from data obtained from Computers and Statistics Unit (1995), Ministry of Education and Culture, Zimbabwe Government Publications.

Stoneman and Cliffe (1989) say that between 1979 and 1983, the proportion of untrained teachers rose from 9% to 47%; and in the secondary schools in 1985, 32% of the teachers were untrained. Maravanyika (1990) says that by 1984, out of the 54,424 primary school teachers, 49% were untrained; of the secondary school teachers, 60% were either untrained or were operating above their levels. In an attempt to solve the problem of untrained teachers, the government of Zimbabwe took two steps. First, expatriate teachers were recruited, mainly from Australia, Britain, Canada and West Germany. Secondly, a four-year teacher distance education programme, called ZINTEC, (Zimbabwe Integrated National Training Education College), was instituted in January, 1981, as an additional teacher education programme (Chivore, 1990). The main goal of the programme, as originally conceived, was to accelerate the production of primary school teachers in a cost-effective manner. Over the years, however, it has been adapted according to the country's changing needs for trained teachers, in terms of the form and pattern of training.

All trained teachers in Zimbabwe are currently able to get a teaching job on completion of their training, although this may be in remote areas where they may shun to work. Trained teachers, particularly in science and maths, are still in great demand in secondary and tertiary institutions.

Types of secondary schools in Zimbabwe.

As we have seen, there are many categories of secondary school teachers, but there are only three major types of secondary schools in the country. These categories are mainly based on the resources available to a school; and this makes it possible to make valid comparisons between schools in the same category and between schools in different categories. In this study, I have used the three general categories used by the Mashonaland East Regional Office of Education for its analysis of "O" level results in the province. My discussion of school categories is limited to provincial rather than national figures, but they can be seen as representative of the whole country.

The first category includes all the secondary boarding schools in the province. This

category has some sub-categories, namely: private boarding schools, government boarding schools and mission-run boarding schools. The last sub-category, mission boarding school, has the largest number of schools of this kind in the province.

Mission boarding schools have a long tradition; some of them date back to pre-colonial days; and over the years they have grown in size and established high standards of education. As a result, this type of school tends to be very popular with exam-results-conscious parents and students. The mission schools have also been able to accumulate significant teaching and learning resources, such as books, over the long years of their existence. Before independence, many of them received some financial aid from their parent churches overseas. Because of the high demand for places at these boarding schools, many of them have strict entrance examinations for their Form one intakes, unlike the rural and urban secondary day schools that take in virtually any Grade seven graduate aspiring to a secondary education.

The second type of secondary school covers all government rural and urban day schools. In the urban areas, these include the government, mission and municipal council-run schools. In terms of teaching and learning facilities, these schools are roughly the same, except that the urban secondary day-school student tends to be more exposed to pro-formal education learning experiences provided by his or her environment. This type of school is mainly a feature of the huge post-independence expansion in secondary education. The two teachers selected for my study, Willie and Cathy, both teach in this type of school.

The third category is the rural secondary day school, most of which are run by the local district council. This type of school is again a result of the huge expansion in secondary education soon after independence. In terms of resources, this is the least well-provided, and yet it is one of the most common types of school in the province in terms of numbers. Mainly because of the lack of resources, this kind of school does not attract qualified and effective teachers (Siyakwazi and Nyawaranda, 1993).

There is also a fourth group of schools, but they are too few to be labelled a category. These are the private, very expensive, well-equipped boarding schools. This type

of school has been included under category one already discussed.

The pattern of national exam results tended to follow the three main categories of secondary schools described, as illustrated by the province's 1995 overall and English Language "O" level results, shown in tables 4 and 5. The great discrepancy in the distribution of resources, material and human, is reflected in the results of the national "O" level examination, shown in the two tables. It is clear that the pattern of results is determined by the differences between the three categories of school.

Table 4

Mashonaland East 1995 "O" Level Overall Pass Rate per Category of School

<u>Type of School</u>	<u>% Pass Rate</u>	<u>Position in the Region</u>
1) Boarding Schools	53.9	1
2) Govt. Rural and Urban Day Schools	11.2	2
3) Rural Day Schools	5.7	3

N. B. A pass is five subjects or more including English.

Table 5

Mashonaland East 1995 "O" Level English Language Pass Rate per School Category

<u>Type of School</u>	<u>% Pass Rate</u>	<u>Position in the Region</u>
1) Boarding Schools	59.3	1
2) Govt. Rural and Urban Day Schools	17.3	2
3) Rural Day Schools	8.7	3

Tables 4 and 5 were composed from data obtained from Mashonaland East Regional Office of Education, 1995 "O" Level Analysis of Results, Marondera.

Weiss (1994), cites the adverse economic conditions of the 1980s, combined with a high birth rate in the country, as being responsible for stalling growth in school enrolment, and for the deterioration in the quality of education at all levels. The country's resources have not kept up with the vast demand for education. The huge expansion in education soon after independence was at the expense of quality education.

A school with better teaching and learning facilities tends to attract better qualified teachers (Siyakwazi and Nyawaranda, 1993). This has the effect of leaving the remotest parts of the country with the most poorly qualified teachers, a situation which results in the perpetuation of poor quality education in these schools. Today, the government seems to be fighting a losing battle in trying to deploy teachers fairly and evenly to all parts of the country. For example, a policy to promote teachers based on their rural service and to give them an allowance for working in the rural area was instituted soon after independence. However, these incentives have since been abolished for lack of money and also because more teachers are being produced by teachers' colleges.

Poor exam results could also be attributed to the type of exam the students are made to take. Weiss (1994) argues that it is not good for all Zimbabwean secondary schools to aspire to British-style "O" levels. He suggests that students be streamed to accommodate the less academic children, as a way of addressing the problem of thousands of unemployed school leavers and the high number of dropouts. It would appear that this important issue has not yet received the serious consideration and debate that it deserves.

The place of English in the secondary school curriculum: The diglossic situation.

Ferguson (1959), coined the term **diglossia** to refer to the different functions assigned to one or more varieties of the same language in use in a speech community. This definition of classical diglossia has since been expanded to include the relationship between one or more different languages. The superposed variety of language is referred to as "High", and other varieties or languages "Low". Romaine (1995) says that "usually the more powerful groups in any society are able to force their language upon the less

powerful" (p. 23). She gives an example of Finland, where the Sami (Lapps), Romanies and Sweeds have to learn Finnish, while the Finns do not have to learn these other languages. Another example she gives is that of the Panjabi and Welsh speakers in Britain who are expected to learn English, but the English-speaking people do not have to learn these other languages. In Quebec, where Bill 101 made French the only official language in the province, internal colonialism is said to operate because the bill tends to marginalise the languages and cultures of minority peoples (Romaine, 1995; Meisel, 1978), including, ironically enough, the use of English.

After the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa, eleven languages were given official status. But even in a situation where all languages are given equal status in theory, in practice there will always be one or a few among them that are "High", because diglossia is a stable phenomenon (Romaine, 1995). In most countries of Africa, where there are many indigenous languages, exoglossic language policies have been adopted for political reasons, such as for nation building and for the convenience of the workings of the modern post-industrial state (Schiffman, 1996). In most of these cases, the language of the former colonizing power is adopted as the official language, or a language for wider communication. Examples of this are Zimbabwe, Kenya and Nigeria. With this brief look at a few examples of diglossia at the international level, we will now look at the diglossic situation between English and the local languages, as it applies to Zimbabwe in general and to this study in particular.

Western education was initially welcomed by Zimbabwe's Africans as a means of escaping from the rural poverty in which they lived. However, as this education took hold, students were gradually divorced from their African sensibilities, as Chiwome (1996:17) argues:

Colonial education made Western values an integral part of the minds of African students. European imperialist beliefs and assumptions got integrated into the perceptions of the literate people. These perceptions made students partly identify with colonial religion and, in general, with the settler culture.

The English language was particularly highly regarded by African students, as Chiwome (1996:7) explains:

The English language was prestigious. It was the medium of most instruction. For that reason it came to be viewed as the gateway to success. Its literature was viewed as world literature. The aesthetic sensibilities of the literature were canonized as universal. Candidates aspired towards passing English, the language without which the Cambridge School Certificate would not be valid.

In the diglossic situation described by Chiwome, the mother tongue "was associated with the rural poverty from which successful candidates were expected to dissociate themselves" (Chiwome, 1996, p. 7). Chiwome's (1996) description of the diglossic state between English and the Zimbabwean local languages in pre-independence Zimbabwe still holds eighteen years after independence. English is a very important subject on the school curriculum in Zimbabwe today. Because of its high status as an official language, because of its perceived international status, and because it is a compulsory subject at "O" level, English receives a disproportionate amount of attention in the secondary school curriculum; in fact, it takes the lion's share of the time allocated to subjects on the school's timetable. Even outside school life, English is still highly regarded in the wider community. For example, it is a requirement for entry into most tertiary institutions or employment. Indeed, as Chiwome (1996) says, it is seen as a gateway to success in life, in both social and economic terms (cf. Nyawaranda, 1988; Weiss, 1994).

The exam system.

Before independence, most 'O' and 'A' level exams were controlled by either Cambridge or London University. After independence, the process of localising these exams began, and all school exams in the country up to "O" level have now been localised and put under the control of the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, a parastatal body created from the old Examination Branch of the Ministry of Education. Localisation at "A" level is still in process.

2 B: Nested Contexts at Provincial, School and Classroom Levels

Having discussed in section one the larger contexts in which my two case studies are embedded, I will now look closely at the immediate contexts in which Willie and Cathy, the two teachers forming the two case studies, worked. I begin at the provincial level and move to the level of the school and that of the classroom in that order.

There seem to be conflicting views among researchers as to whether to use letters or fictitious names for participants in a study in order to protect their identity. Using letters is said to dehumanize the participants and yet fictitious names are said to carry certain connotations (see Woods, 1996). In keeping with the ethnographic tradition chosen for this study, I have opted to use pseudonyms rather than letters of the alphabet both for all my participants and for the schools in which they taught. The two teachers selected as the main participants in this study will thus be known as Willie and Cathy. Other pseudonyms used are Costa, for the Headmaster of Mhene High school; Nathan, for the Headmaster of Dombo High School; Sam, for the Regional Director of Education, Mashonaland East province; David, for the Education Officer for English for the province; and Jane, for the Head of the English department at Dombo High school.

2.4 Phase One: Gaining Entry into Schools in Mashonaland East Province

My two case studies were conducted in the province of Mashonaland East (see figure 3 for a map of Zimbabwe showing the nine political and educational administrative provinces in the country). The province has a population of 219,516, according to the Central Statistical Office, 1992 census. Its provincial capital is Marondera, a town of some 50,000 people, according to the Marondera Municipality Master Plan, 1996. The town is mainly a commercial and administrative centre. It is 75 kilometres east of Harare, the capital city of the country. The province's economy is based mainly on agriculture, with tobacco as the main cash crop grown on commercial farms. Subsistence farming is practised by peasants in communal areas of the province. Shona is the dominant L1

spoken throughout the province. English is normally used, even by non-L1 speakers, in more formal situations and institutions, such as the law courts and schools, where it is the official language for any business conducted. My entry into the province of Mashonaland East for fieldwork was done in three phases.

Phase one involved my initial attempts to gain access into schools in Mashonaland East from Canada. This phase covered the period from 1 April, 1996 to 30 November, 1996. It involved seeking permission to conduct fieldwork in the province from the Regional Director of Education for the province and also from the headmasters of the schools where I was planning to collect my data. It also involved looking for volunteers among ESL teachers who would participate in my study. In April, 1996, I wrote to the Regional Director of Education in the province asking for permission to conduct research in two secondary schools in his province. Protocol in the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe requires that one first gets permission from the Regional Director of Education of a province before one can approach the schools about doing research there. I explained to the Regional Director the nature and purpose of my study. In the letter I also indicated the date I hoped to start and finish my fieldwork. (see Appendix A for a letter from the Acting Deputy Regional Director agreeing to my request).

With the permission from the Regional Director, I then started trying to gain entry at the next level, that of the school. Initially, I wrote to twelve secondary schools in the province asking their headmasters for permission to conduct research in their schools. I explained to them the nature and purpose of my study. I also told them that I was approaching them with the permission from the Regional Director of Education in the province. Of the twelve schools I wrote to, four were in the town of Marondera and the other eight were in the rural areas of the province. Of these twelve schools, three rural schools and three urban schools agreed to participate in my study. From these six schools, I had to choose two. The criteria I used will be discussed later under the heading: "Criteria for Selecting the Two Schools".

Obviously, before the schools could be chosen, suitable teachers willing to be participants, had to be identified. I therefore had to write to the actual teachers of English

in the six schools asking for volunteers to participate in my study. Again protocol required that I contact these teachers through their Headmasters or Headmistresses. In practice, this simply meant writing a covering letter to the Headmaster or Headmistress of each school explaining that I was asking for volunteers among his or her teachers of English. I then enclosed the letters to the teachers in my letter to the headmaster/mistress. In the letter to the teachers, I explained the nature and purpose of my study and the rights and benefits of participants. I asked those teachers who were willing to participate to fill out a questionnaire involving a few details, such as their qualifications and length of teaching experience (see Appendix B for a copy of the letter to the teachers). In all, ten questionnaires were returned, and it is from these that I selected the two teachers, Willie and Cathy. The criteria for the selection will be discussed under the heading: "Criteria for Selecting the Two Teachers". After choosing the two teachers and thus the two schools, I started preparing the necessary equipment and tools I would need for the fieldwork.

2.5 Phase Two: Initial Contacts with Participants

Phase two covered the period from 4 December, 1996, up to when schools opened for the new academic year on 15 January, 1997. For phases two and three, I was in Zimbabwe. Phase two involved making appointments and meeting the participants involved in the study. All of us needed to get to know each other before I was to start my classroom observation when the schools opened. We had to discuss my study more fully, and I had to answer any questions the participants had about what was to happen. During this phase, I also obtained consent forms signed by the two selected teachers, and started collecting other data, such as documents on recent provincial "O" level results, from the Regional Office.

2.6 Phase Three: Collection of Background Information and Fieldwork

Phase three lasted from 15 January, 1997, the date that the new school year began,

until 1 April, 1997. Most of the data were collected during this phase. The following sections describe in more detail the background information that I collected during the three phases. Discussion of findings regarding Willie and Cathy's respective beliefs about ESL teaching has been postponed until the section on results in chapters five and six, as this seemed more appropriate.

2.6.1 The Regional Director of Education: Mashonaland East Province.

In an interview in March, 1997, Sam, the Regional Director of Education for Mashonaland East, says that he sees his role as that of monitoring the activities of all those people who work under him; ensuring equitable distribution of available resources to all the schools in the province; looking after the provincial education budget and motivating and selling ministry policy. In the interview, he says that he is able to influence what goes on in the schools in his province through workshops and seminars with the heads of schools. The seminars are held at least once a term. The forum for the dissemination of information is provided by the National Association of Secondary Heads of Schools (NASH). We also discussed his views on the teaching of English in his province. The following excerpt illustrates his views on the role of the English language in the school curriculum (Bold emphasis mine: see footnote 2 following).

Excerpt 1: English is central in the school curriculum.

English, as a subject, is **a very important subject**² ... because it is the **official language** of this country. It has a **special place** in our schools. It is taught from grade one upwards; and is a **medium of instruction from grade three**. It gets **more attention than the rest of the subjects**. It is a subject which is necessary for anyone to do his or her teacher-training course; and it is a subject that is required for **employment in any sector**; so that without English, a person cannot get a good job (March, 1997).

²I have used bold face in the excerpts to highlight key words and phrases upon which subsequent discussion and analysis are focused.

From excerpt 1, we can infer the high status accorded to the English language in schools under Sam's charge. However, in this excerpt, Sam is not being accurate when he says that English is a medium of instruction from grade three upwards. The official policy is that it is a medium of instruction from grade four upwards. On the standard of English, written and spoken in the schools in his province, Sam, in the same interview, says that this varies from school to school. Sam thinks it is quite satisfactory in the urban schools, because students have greater chances of coming into contact with the target language. This is not necessarily the case in the rural areas where students generally have a poor command of English. However, Sam sees an improvement in the general performance of students in the "O" level exams, as he says in the interview, "By looking at how our students perform in examinations, especially at the "O" level, you will notice that over the years there has been an improvement in the grades that students generally get". Sam attributes this to what he calls in the interview "an improvement in the availability of qualified teachers to teach their special subjects". On the availability of teachers of English, he says that English is adequately staffed, as the following excerpt 2 shows.

Excerpt 2: The English department is adequately staffed.

We have teachers, **adequate teachers**, to teach English in our secondary schools, from form one to form four ... In some cases, we have **university graduates** who do not have a graduate certificate in education, but, nevertheless, for the purposes of teaching English, they are **doing a very good job** (March, 1997).

In the interview, Sam admits that the existence of the problem of unemployment of school leavers stems from a system of education that is too academic. However, he indicates that steps are being taken to remedy this problem, as the following excerpt 3 shows.

Excerpt 3: Education reform is in the pipeline.

What we are trying to do now is to **look again at the system, review it and see whether it is possible for us to provide a programme of secondary education for the less gifted - a programme that will prepare them for life.** Perhaps you have heard people talking of education reform; we are talking of **education reform**, which means looking at our education system to see whether it's **relevant** (March, 1997).

Before independence in Zimbabwe, there were two streams of secondary schools. One was vocationally-oriented. It was called the F2 secondary. The one that was academically-oriented was called F1 secondary. The F2 secondary stream was phased out soon after independence. In excerpt 3, Sam seems to suggest that the idea of reintroducing two streams of secondary schools as before is being considered.

2.6.2 Criteria for Selecting the Two Schools

Two schools were selected for the two case studies, after they had met the following criteria:

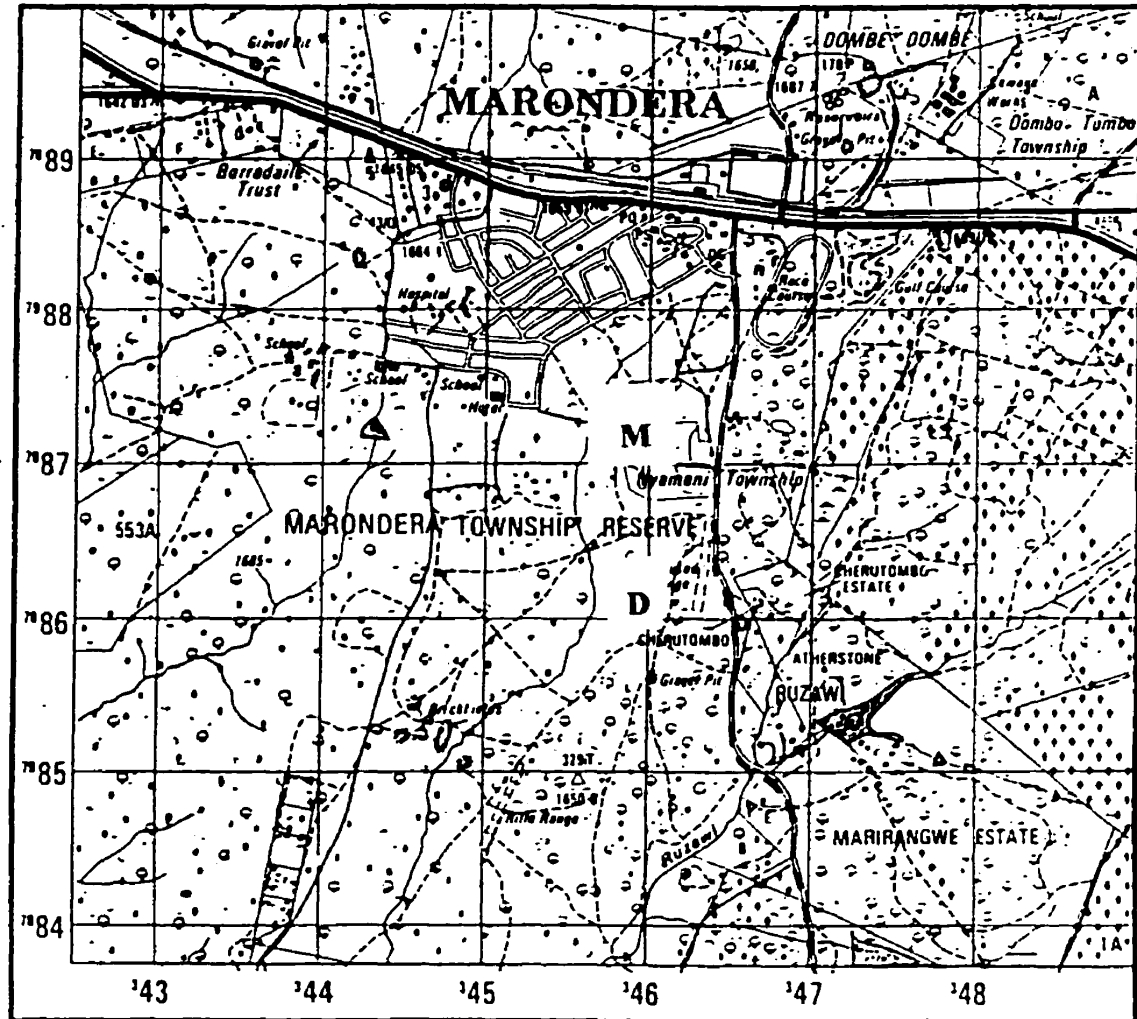
- a) The headmaster had to agree to my carrying out research in his or her school.
- b) In order to make a fair comparison between the two cases, the two schools had to share a more or less similar contextual environment (e.g. both had to be in a rural area or an urban area, to minimize the differences between them).
- c) There had to be teachers of ESL in the school who were willing to take part in my study; and who met the criteria for the selection of the teachers.
- d) Each school had also to be one of the "commonest" types of secondary schools in the province, in terms of numbers. The two commonest types of school were the rural council-run secondary day school and the urban secondary day school.

2.6.3 The Two Selected Secondary Schools

My two selected schools are Mhene and Dombo secondary schools. They are situated about a kilometre apart in the same high-density ³ suburb of the provincial town of Marondera. (cf. map in figure 5). Students attending Mhene and Dombo secondary schools come from the surrounding high-density suburbs of the town of Marondera. Most children from the low-density suburbs attend former whites-only schools. Some go to expensive private boarding schools in different parts of the country. Following is a map of Marondera showing the location of Mhene and Dombo secondary schools.

³In Zimbabwe, residential areas are economically segregated into high- and low-density suburbs. High-density suburbs are home to the majority of the population, the lower-income groups. The higher-income group, who can afford more spacious housing, are found in the low-density suburbs. Before independence, low-density suburbs were reserved exclusively for whites, but now they are more racially mixed.

1:50 000



M.....Mhene Sec. School DDombo Sec. School

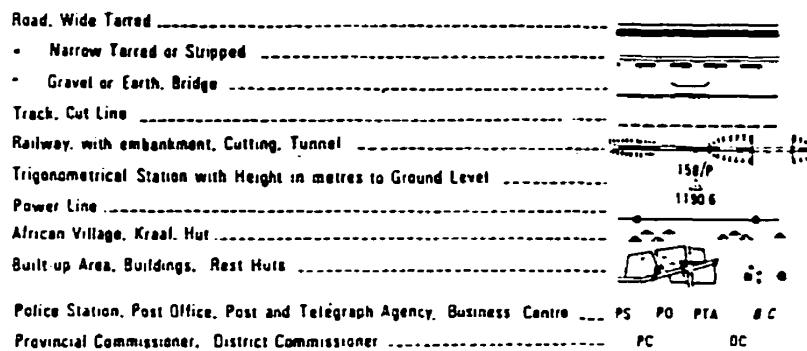


Figure 5: Map of Marondera town showing the location of Mhene and Dombo schools. The map is reproduced by permission of the Surveyor General, Zimbabwe Government Publications.

Mhene and Dombo secondary schools were founded after independence in 1982 and 1989 respectively. Both are run by the Municipal Council of Marondera town. All teachers in Zimbabwe are paid by the government, with the exception of a few in mostly private schools. Each of the schools has a total student population of about 800. The two schools were still enrolling new students at the time data for this study were being collected. Students are not streamed in either schools. Both schools require their students to wear school uniform; each has its own uniform. The classroom blocks and the school offices are solidly built of brick under asbestos roofs. Both schools have running water and are electrified. This is not always the case in poorer and more remote schools.

In interviews with the headmasters of these schools in February, 1997, both freely expressed their views about their roles. Costa, the Headmaster of Mhene Secondary School, sees his role as that of "creating an enabling environment, so that those who have the ability, those who work hard, will find it easy to pass the examinations". He believes that a school gets its tone from its headmaster. Costa is a firm believer in orderliness and discipline for both teachers and students: "Teachers can't do as they wish. If Mohammed cannot go to the mountain, then the mountain can go to Mohammed. I am an ardent believer of discipline and that learning is not possible without it".⁴ Nathan, Headmaster of Dombo Secondary School, says that his role as an administrator is that of "implementing government policy in the school in liaison with Education Officers in the Regional Office" (February, 1997). Both headmasters agree that the Regional Office should give them the power to recruit their own staff. The current practice is that the staffing of schools is the responsibility of the Regional Office.

The two headmasters are able to run their schools through a system of

⁴Readers will note that Costa's English is not entirely that of a native speaker. Here, for example, the saying he chooses is not the most pertinent and does not actually convey his intended meaning, namely that if teachers and students are not self-disciplined, discipline must be imposed from above. However, I have deliberately chosen **not** to alter the utterances of the participants in this study, so as to give the full flavour of their speech and to indicate the linguistic constraints within which they are operating. I have adopted the same approach in translating participants' utterances from the mother tongue into English, so as not to lose the sense of locality in the description of their experiences.

departments, each in turn being administered by a Head of Department. Although a headmaster can inspect the work of a teacher, he usually delegates this responsibility to the head of department. However, both headmasters say they prefer to approve or veto any decisions that are made in the departments in their schools.

Neither school has any explicit policy on language use, except for the Ministry policy that stipulates that instruction should be in the medium of English. In both schools, English has the highest number of lessons per class and per week. A lesson in this study refers to a teaching session, usually of thirty-five minutes to forty minutes, depending on the school. Mhene school has forty-minute lessons, while Dombo school has thirty-five. A double lesson is one that has seventy to eighty minutes without a break in between.

Costa sees English as a very important subject on the school curriculum. He allocates more instructional time to it than to any other subject in his school, so that English has nine lessons per class per week, while other subjects have an average of six each. He says that he cannot force students to use English outside the classroom because the practice "was frowned upon by the politicians" (February, 1997). Nathan has a more ambivalent view of English: "There is a danger of promoting English at the expense of Shona ... We're trying to be nice with everybody" (February, 1997). Both headmasters, however, say that they encourage both students and staff to use English as much as possible. In the same province of Mashonaland East, there is at least one secondary school I know, Monte Cassino Boarding Secondary School, a girls' boarding school, where students are required to communicate in English at all times; this is a school rule and deliberate policy.

In interviews, both Costa and Nathan saw their students' standard of English as low, and blamed this on the poor environment in which the students live. They also saw it as a result of the low calibre of students in their schools, and of what they see as a discontinuity of teaching and learning patterns between primary and secondary schools. Primary schools are blamed for teaching most subjects, including English, in Shona, and for their multiple-choice type of examination. These factors are interpreted to mean that students are not trained in sentence construction and the production of longer pieces of

written discourse. This is said to have a damaging effect on the standard of English at the secondary school level. However, both headmasters admitted that the practice of teaching nearly all subjects in Shona is not peculiar to the primary school alone. It is also a common practice in the secondary schools.

Mass education and the resultant shortages of teaching and learning materials are also blamed for the poor standard of English in the country in general and in the two schools in particular. Both Costa and Nathan feel that academically less-able students should not be allowed to follow an "O" level academic stream, as is the case at the moment. Costa expresses strong feelings about the waste resulting from the present system of education, which he says is totally irrelevant to the more than eighty percent of the students who are not academically-inclined. He uses the patterns of the "O" level results discussed earlier to illustrate his point. Instead, the two Headmasters suggested that the old skill-oriented secondary school programme, the F2 secondary, should be reintroduced in one form or another.

In terms of teaching and learning facilities, Mhene and Dombo schools both have each a library with more books than those found in rural council-run secondary day schools. The two schools also have science labs, facilities that are not usually available in council-run rural secondary schools. However, in an interview, Jane, the Head of Department for English (HOD, English) in Dombo school, says that her school library "is not well-equipped with books" (March, 1997). The HOD English for Mhene school, Willie, has initiated a library fee for students who want to borrow school library books. This money is used to buy more books for the school library. Those students who cannot afford to pay the library fee are allowed to read books in the school library, but they may not borrow books from there.

2.6.4 The Linguistic Context of the Two Schools

The socio-political environment in which English language instruction occurs has a direct impact on the shape of English instruction (Judd, 1987). Strictly speaking, the

linguistic context of Mhene and Dombo schools vis-a-vis the use of English cannot be called an ESL context. It is what Judd (1987) calls English as an Additional Language (EAL). An EAL situation is "one in which speakers learn English after they learn another primary language and use it for the purposes of communicating with others who have different primary languages" (Judd, 1987, p.5). This situation obtains in multilingual societies where English is used for intra-country communication or as a *lingua franca*. This is a more limited use of the language than in an ESL situation (Judd, 1987). Examples given by the author in which EAL obtains are former British colonies like Nigeria, Botswana and Ghana. These examples are not very different from Zimbabwe, another former British colony from the same region as Judd's examples. However, English is officially regarded as both an official and a second language in Zimbabwe.

Judd (1987) describes an ESL situation as "one in which non-native English speakers spend a vast majority of their time communicating in English. More precisely, the speakers will be using English to express basically all of their ideas and feelings, with the possible exception of intimate conversation with close friends and family" (p. 5). One of the examples he gives of an ESL situation is Canada. In Montreal, for example, many ethnic groups who are non-native speakers of either French or English, use one of these languages, that are second languages to them, to communicate with each other. Hardly any of Judd's descriptors of an ESL context apply to Mhene and Dombo schools. In both schools, both teachers and their students use English only minimally outside the English classroom. Shona is the language used in the students' homes as well as those of their teachers. One can actually say that the "second languageness" forms a continuum, with ESL in a perfect bilingual situation on one extreme and EFL on the other. The rest fall in-between, as in the following figure 6.

Figure 6: The second "language" continuum

Only a few students who leave the province of Mashonaland East or go outside Zimbabwe would need English as a language for wider communication (ELWC). However, English is not a foreign language in Zimbabwe, because the language still serves the function of official language of communication in most formal situations, such as law courts, many business situations and in some professions like teaching. I have, however, observed that in many business situations, such as in management seminars, participants insist on English in the seminar, but all speak their mother tongue in the tea-break. In a situation where English is a foreign language, it hardly plays a communicative function (Judd, 1987). For example, it may only be used in translations of essential information, such as technical manuals, medical articles and so on. An example of a country that would study English as a foreign language is Russia.

Both Mhene and Dombo schools fit typology four of Mackey's (1970) nine typologies of bilingual education. Table 6 summarizes the nine typologies that describe the home language of the students attending Mhene and Dombo schools in relation to other languages spoken at national, area and school levels. Here the term spoken is used loosely, because at the school level, while English is officially the language of instruction, it is hardly spoken at all once the students walk out of the classroom.

Table 6

The Linguistic Environment of Mhene and Dombo Schools

Typology	Country	Area	School	Home
1	Nil	Nil	Nil	x
2	x	Nil	Nil	x
3	Nil	x	Nil	x
4	x	x	Nil	x
5	Nil	x (may be bilingual)	Nil	x
6	x (may be bilingual)	Nil	Nil	x
7	x (may be bilingual)	x (may be bilingual)	Nil	x
8	x	x (may be bilingual)	Nil	x
9	x (may be bilingual)	x	Nil	x

Key:

x = Presence of home language as unilingual or bilingual

Nil = Absence of home language

The linguistic situation in my study is an example of typology four in table 6. There have been very few studies, if any, similar to mine, that have looked at this type of context. In typology four, the language of the area and the national language are the same as that of the home language of the students and their teachers. In my study, the national language and the language of the home are both Shona. Willie and Cathy are required by instructional language policy in Zimbabwe to give instruction in English, except in the teaching of Shona, despite the fact that their national, area and home language is Shona. But this is only the official line; in practice, most teachers teach in both English and Shona, as Costa and Nathan, the two headmasters, have said. This indicates the strong diglossic tensions in the two schools between the two languages, English and Shona. The following Figure 7 illustrates the position of Shona, the home language of the students and teachers at Mhene and Dombo schools, in relation to other languages spoken in the country, in the area and in the schools.

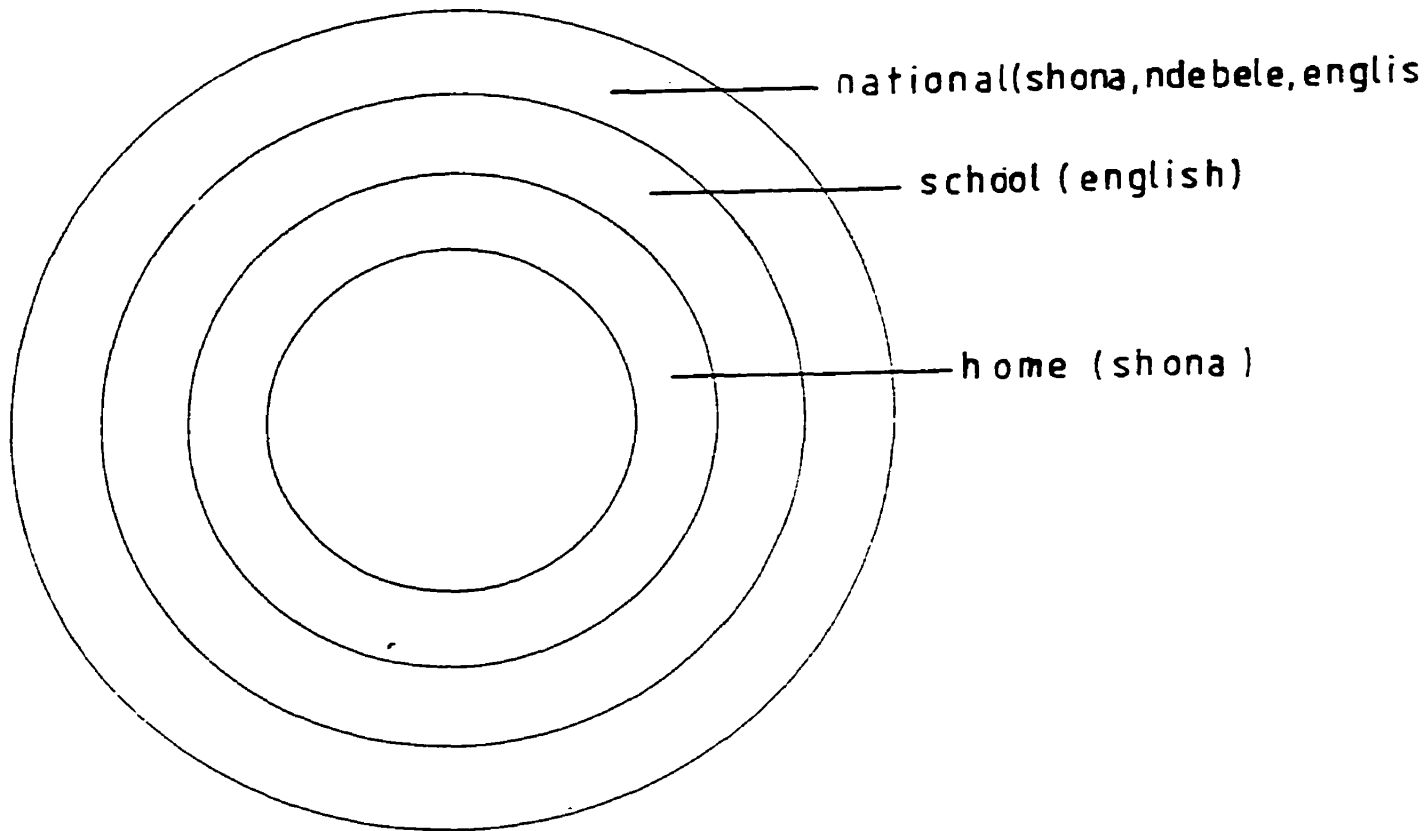


Figure 7: The position of Shona in relation to other major languages in Zimbabwe

A further look at typology four helps to explain a point made earlier why English in Mhene and Dombo schools only serves the function of being an additional language (EAL). Typology four also helps to explain why it is that most students have hardly any contact with written or spoken English other than that of the textbook and their classroom teachers. This is because they are surrounded by a predominant language that also happens to be their L1, but which is not the language of the school. This situation has serious implications for students' examination results not only in English but also in all other subjects, since nearly all examinations are in English.

In interpreting the nine typologies in table 6, national language has been taken to mean the language commonly used by the majority of the population, which may not necessarily be the official language. In Zimbabwe, Shona and Ndebele, the two main indigenous languages, were elevated at independence from vernaculars to national language status. This means that they can now be used as auxiliary languages to English in such formal situations as parliament and the law courts. However, this does not apply to schools.

2.6.5 Criteria for Selecting the Two Teachers

I used the following criteria to select teachers for this study:

- a) Both teachers were to have at least five years of ESL teaching experience, because it was assumed by then that their beliefs about teaching ESL would be well-set or defined.
- b) In order to allow for possible comparisons, the two ESL teachers had to be teaching in a more or less similar environment.
- c) Both teachers were to be trained ESL teachers, because this study looks only at professionally qualified teachers in the field.
- d) They could be male or female teachers. What mattered in this study was each teacher's beliefs about ESL teaching; and I felt that the gender factor would not influence this in any significant way.
- e) Teachers could be degreed or non-degreed. The teacher's academic qualification or type

of professional qualification was not considered in this study.

f) The teachers' L1 was to be the same as that of their students. In this study, both teachers spoke Shona as their L1, like their students.

g) The two teachers were to be teaching English as a Second Language at the secondary school level in Zimbabwe; but they could be teaching any form in the secondary school.

2.6.6 Background Information on Willie and Cathy

In giving background information on Willie and Cathy, it is necessary to strike a careful balance between giving sufficient detail to be useful and the need to protect the identity of the participants, which is harder to do when they hold senior positions in the school. However, I was happy to be able to select two heads of department because they were more experienced than other teachers who volunteered, and were thus more confident and happy to participate in my study. The following Table 7 summarises background information on Willie and Cathy.

Table 7

Background Information on Willie and Cathy

Attribute	Willie	Cathy
Gender	Male	Female
Highest Academic Qualification	"O" Level (Kutama High School)	B. A. Linguistics & History (University of Zimbabwe)
Highest Professional Qualification	University Certificate in Education (Gweru Teachers' College)	Post Graduate Certificate in Education (University of Zimbabwe)
Position Held in Present School	Head of English Department	Head of History Department
ESL Teaching Experience	14 Years	7 Years
Grades Taught for ESL	2 Form 3s; 1 Form 4	1 Form 2; 1 Form 4
Total Number of ESL Lessons Taught per Week	23	9
Length of Each Lesson	40 Minutes	35 Minutes

Since Willie was head of the English department, I gained some insights into how the other teachers in his department were operating, a fact which usefully widened my information base. However, Willie did not seem to see or encourage a great deal of diversity, as he explained: "Our approach is almost the same. It is standardized by the HOD who visits and advises the teachers under him. I visit them and write reports on their teaching. I tell them: this should have been done this way; this that way. That's how we standardise our approach" (January, 1997). Willie's comments provide a good example of his acceptance of power and authority and the hierarchical nature of the school system. Willie is forty-five. He has a clear, sonorous voice. His teaching is characterized by energetic and enthusiastic movements across the full breadth and length of the classroom, while facing six rows of uniformed students seated at their desks. Willie has a good sense of humour, and both he and his students definitely appear to enjoy his teaching. Most of his lessons are punctuated with hearty laughter from him and his class.

Cathy heads the History department, and teaches more History than English lessons. She conducts most of her lessons while standing in a more or less fixed position in front of the class. She deliberately speaks slowly. Her voice is loud and clear. She has a serious and business-like approach to her teaching, and likes her classes to be orderly, above all else. It would appear that, for her, time spent cracking jokes in class is time wasted.

Although Willie differs from Cathy both in being male and a non-university graduate, the two have many things in common that validate a comparative examination of their teaching:

- a) Both their schools are in the same category of government rural and urban day schools.
- b) Both their schools are situated in the same high-density suburb of Nyameni.
- c) Both teachers have English and History as their majors, although Willie is currently teaching English only.
- d) Willie is Head of the English Department, and Cathy is Head of the History Department. Cathy was Head of the English Department at her previous school, Muonde High School.

e) Both teachers have more than five years of ESL teaching experience at secondary school level.

Having looked at the various contexts of my embedded case studies, I wish now to turn to the review of literature related to my study.

CHAPTER 3: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Chapter three reviews different language teaching methods and approaches from an historical perspective covering the period from around AD 35 - 95, to the present day, the late 1990s. The general conclusion of this review is that it is futile to follow the method paradigm in the search for "the best method" of teaching language. The 1990s are marked by a break with the method paradigm, and a sense of the need to look for new and better ways of teaching language. In my study, I argue that one possible way of approaching the problem is by focusing on teachers' beliefs. Thus, after giving an historical outline of the language teaching methods and approaches, this chapter ends with a review of the topic of teachers' beliefs on teaching. A review of literature on teachers' beliefs suggests that beliefs are crucial to a teacher's behaviour in the classroom. The literature review chapter gave rise to the two research questions stated earlier in chapter one of this study.

3 A: The Search for the "Best" Method: An Historical Perspective

The history of language teaching methods is important because from it we are able to appreciate its contemporary state (Simpson, 1979). The history of how language teaching methods have developed over the centuries is particularly important to language teachers and researchers because they need to be aware of the historical roots of their profession; to avoid the risk of reinventing the wheel. This can also help to put into proper perspective any changes one may propose to existing methods (Nunan, 1991; van Els, Bongaerts, Extra, van Os, Jansen-van Dieten, 1984; Darian, 1972). Stern (1983) says that if a study has no historical perspective, its theories will lack depth and continuity, with the possible risk that we end up in a vicious circle of repeating the same studies without making any progress.

There have been very few studies on the history of language teaching methods, and little historical documentation exists (Kelly, 1976; Stern, 1983). What makes the subject

particularly difficult to discuss at a global level is that methods in certain countries and in certain periods, especially before the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, have never been described (van Els et al., 1984). The authors go on to say that even with the best-documented period, that spanning the last 150 years, many details are still unrecorded. These limiting factors are reflected in this section of my review, where the focus is on Europe and America; and with special reference to English as a Second Language; but it must be remembered that these areas I describe form a small part of the world history of language teaching methods.

Another problem in discussing the history of language teaching methods is that developments did not take place in the same way and at the same rate and to the same extent in different countries. As a result, the history of language teaching methods does not fall into neat time frames. There are a lot of overlaps, as the methodological movements are not universal. This makes it difficult to discuss the changes in the methods chronologically, because some of the methods that have been developed but superseded are still being used in some of our classrooms today (Nunan, 1991; Celce-Murcia, 1991; van Els et al., 1984). On the same issue, Kelly (1976) says that nobody really knows what is new and what is old in present-day language teaching procedures. With these provisos, however, I will attempt to characterize, in global terms and in chronological sequence, the historical development of language teaching methods, although the difficulties I have outlined restrict the scope of this discussion.

Stern (1983) sees language teaching methods as originating from a response to the demands for language education; and as there are constant changes in these demands, so too the methods change, or new ones are invented. Methods are also said to change as a result of changes in language theories. And, finally, changes in method result from changes in the experience, intuitions and opinions of practising teachers (Stern, 1983).

Richards and Rodgers (1986) say that language teaching methods come from two possible sources: the theory of the nature of language and the theory of language learning. The theory of language contains four possible sources of language teaching methods. There are those methods that come about from a structural view of language, those that

come from a functional view, and those that come from an interactional and social constructivist views. Most traditional methods, as we shall see later, share the structural view of language. Those affected by the functional view see language as a vehicle for expressing meaning, their emphasis being on language use (Halliday, 1978). The interactional and social constructivist views of language lead to methods that view language as a vehicle for the realization of interpersonal relations and for the performance of social and cultural transactions between individuals respectively (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). Examples of all these methods are discussed later in this section.

According to Richards and Rodgers (1986), methods that derive primarily from a theory of language learning respond to two basic questions. The first one asks about the psycholinguistic and cognitive processes involved in language teaching. The second asks about the conditions necessary for the learning processes to be activated. Nunan (1991: 229) uses three slightly different categories to classify language teaching methods. These are the psychological tradition, the methodological tradition and the humanistic tradition. Methods following the psychological tradition are a result of a reaction, particularly in the 40s and 50s, against more traditional methods. Their principal rationale is provided by behaviourist and cognitive psychology, and structuralist theories of language. Methods arising from the humanistic tradition are founded not on linguistic or psychological tenets, but on a common belief in the primacy of affective and emotional factors within the learning process. Methodological tradition methods draw directly on research and theory into the generation of first and second languages, and attempt to apply this to second language classrooms (Nunan, 1991). To Nunan's three categories of method, I would add a fourth one, the traditional methods, modelled on the teaching of Latin grammar which characterize most of the early history of language teaching.

3.1 Definition of Method, Approach, Design and Procedure

Language teaching methods have been called by different names, and this makes it difficult to conceptualize some of them for discussion purposes, because their names have

not been applied in a consistent and unambiguous way. This results in some of the methods being "hidden behind names and techniques" (Kelly, 1976, p. 2). Before discussing any of these methods, therefore, it is important that a definition of method be given as well as a conceptual framework into which the various teaching methods will be discussed.

A number of studies have attempted to operationalize the term "method". Stern (1983) views the generic term "method" as being equivocal, at least as it is used by different people. He defines method as a procedure involving the selection of material to be taught, the gradation of material, its presentation, and any pedagogical implementation which will induce learning. An approach is seen as axiomatic or the theoretical basis of language teaching. Stern (1983) goes on to say that technique is implementational; in the form of particular tricks, stratagems or contrivances used in the classroom. Techniques must harmonize with the underlying approach and method.

Stern's (1983) definitions of method, approach and technique are similar to those of Richards and Rodgers (1986), who define method as an umbrella term for the specification and interrelation of theory and practice. An approach is defined by Richards and Rodgers (1986) as "those assumptions, beliefs, and theories about the nature of language and the nature of language learning which operate as axiomatic constructs or reference points and provide a theoretical foundation for what language teachers ultimately do with learners in classrooms" (p.146). For them, approach involves design, through which theories of language and language learning are related to both the form and function of instructional materials and classroom teaching activities. Procedures are defined as classroom techniques and practices which result from particular approaches and designs. All language teaching methods are seen to operate explicitly from a theory of language and beliefs or theories about how language is learned.

3.2 A Conceptual Framework for Discussing Language Teaching Methods

A conceptual framework for discussing language teaching methods can most

helpfully be described as consisting of four components, namely, models of language, models of language generation, models of what content to teach, and models of how this content should be taught (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). The first two components determine the last two. The following figure 8 shows visually the conceptual framework which I use in this chapter for discussing language teaching methods. My main focus in this chapter is on models of how ESL content should be taught, traditionally known as language teaching methods. Under method we have approach, design and procedure. Approach includes theories about the nature of language and language teaching and learning. Design covers four areas of linguistic content, the role of learners, the role of teachers, and the role of language teaching materials. Procedure involves techniques and practices in instructional situations.

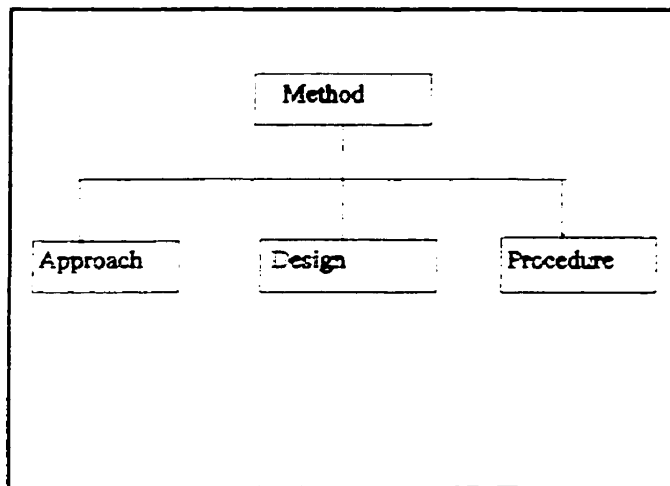


Figure 8 : A conceptual framework of teaching method

With a conceptual definition of what constitutes method, we will now look at how different language teaching methods have evolved over the years.

3.3 Early Language Teaching Methods

Darian (1972) tells us that in the days of antiquity, AD 35 - 95, language teaching consisted mainly of reading a passage aloud, say, an Aesop fable. The students would then retell the story in their own words and later rewrite the story in simple language. Other learning and teaching activities were paraphrasing in class and composition writing. In the Middle Ages, students had to memorize everything that was taught. They did this by "debating methods drawn from medieval philosophy", which remained "until they were displaced by the Grammar-Translation Method, an eighteenth century development" (Kelly, 1976, p. 44). During the period of the Roman Empire, the Romans used to study Greek as a second language by employing Greek tutors and also by having Greek-speaking slaves and servants in the household (Mackey, 1975). But as the Roman Empire expanded, so did the study of Latin grammar, which came to replace the study of Greek. It was the need to study Latin that later gave rise to the Grammar-Translation Method. The method was a response to a growing demand for the teaching and learning of foreign languages.

Some methods which are still in use today can be traced back to this time, when Latin was the world's most widely studied foreign language, holding the place that English does today. Long after the collapse of the Roman Empire, Latin grammar, rhetoric and literature continued to be widely studied in different parts of the world. Latin was largely taught through rote learning of grammar rules. Richards and Rogers (1986) say that the model for the study of Latin became the model for all foreign language study from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century. The wide study of Latin grammar was justified on the grounds that it developed general intellectual abilities; and even when there was no need for the actual language, study of the grammar became an end in itself (Stern, 1983; Kelly, 1976).

When modern languages were introduced into European school curriculums in the eighteenth century, they were taught along the same lines as Latin. Howatt (1985) says that throughout the seventeenth century, the teaching of modern languages remained a small-scale enterprise, usually involving an individual student with a private tutor, but occasionally in small classes. The Grammar-Translation Method was imposed on the study of modern languages because its framework was already familiar to both teachers and students from their classical studies (Howatt, 1985).

3.4 The Grammar-Translation Method

The modern form of the Grammar-Translation Method is said to be an offspring of German scholarship; but originally it was developed in the Middle Ages to teach Greek and Latin speakers the formal skeleton of their own languages (Kelly, 1976; Howatt, 1985). Its main objective is to know everything about the language rather than to be able to use it (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). Stern (1983) says that this method is sometimes also referred to as the Traditional Method. Howatt (1985) calls it "the grammar-school method", because it was primarily developed for the secondary schools of the time. In the U.S.A., the Grammar-Translation Method was first known as the Prussian Method (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). Kelly (1976) says that most nineteenth century teachers saw translation as the only sure method of transmitting meaning, an article of faith that was later to be challenged by the new and innovative methods that were to follow it.

The Grammar-Translation Method is not founded on any empirical theory of language or language learning. It has no basis in linguistics, psychology or educational theory (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). The method emphasizes the teaching of reading in the foreign language, so as to benefit either from its literature or from the mental discipline involved in studying it. The method is modelled on the study of Latin Grammar and rhetoric, an approach that views the formal analysis of a language as a valuable intellectual exercise in itself (Kelly, 1976). Knowledge of language is seen to necessitate little more than memorizing and accurately reproducing the grammar rules of a language. Speaking

and listening skills are largely neglected.

The basic unit of teaching and language practice in the Grammar-Translation Method is the non-contextualized sentence. Vocabulary for teaching is selected from the texts read, and is taught through translation or bilingual word lists, dictionary study, and memorization (Stern, 1983; Howatt, 1985). The method's central feature is the replacement of traditional texts by exemplificatory sentences which are treated in isolation (Howatt, 1985). Richards and Rodgers (1986) say that the Grammar-Translation Method dominated European and foreign language teaching from the 1840s to the 1940s, and, in a modified form, is still being used in some parts of the world today.

Stern (1983) argues that the Grammar-Translation Method, because of its emphasis on the memorization of linguistic rules and facts, its high proportion of teacher-talk, and the fact that students are merely passive recipients, is often criticised for being cold and lifeless. Learning and teaching under the method must be a tedious and torturous experience for both teachers and learners. However, the method is said to make few demands on the teachers; and its grammar teaching may be useful to second-language learners (Stern, 1983).

3.5 Language Teaching Innovations

Innovations in language teaching methods towards the mid-nineteenth century were facilitated by a need for oral communication in foreign languages as more opportunities for communication arose among the European nations. This need led to criticism of the practices of the Grammar-Translation Method. During this period, interest in how children learn languages was also developing. These new ideas were able to take root towards the end of the nineteenth century when professional organisations, such as the Reform Movement, and the International Phonetic Association, were founded, the latter in 1886. Howett (1985) describes this period as one of international and interdisciplinary cooperation, with a lot of debate among linguists focused on the best ways of teaching foreign languages. For example, Henry Sweet in England argued that

sound methodological principles should be based on a scientific analysis of language and a study of psychology (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). Wilhelm Viëtor in Germany stressed the teaching of the new science of phonetics to enable accurate pronunciation of the target language. The end of the nineteenth century, therefore, saw a movement towards the study of language based on a scientific approach. The period also marks the beginnings of Applied Linguistics as a discipline. There was "interest in developing principles for language teaching out of naturalistic principles of language learning, such as are seen in first language acquisition" (Richards and Rodgers, 1986, p. 8).

3.6 The Direct Method

The innovative ideas discussed in the previous section led to the creation of natural methods of language teaching, that is, those based on observation and imitation of children's first-language learning. This emphasis led ultimately to the development of what came to be known as the Direct Method, whose primary aim is to follow "naturalistic" principles of language learning. According to Nunan's (1991) the Direct Method falls under the methodological tradition. The target language is taught without the use of the learners' first language, through demonstration and action, and active use of the target language in the classroom (Stern, 1983). The emphasis is on the spoken skills of the language. The Direct Method thus brought about an important shift from the literacy language of the Grammar-Translation Method to spoken everyday language as the object of early instruction. Stern (1983) claims that the Direct Method is the predecessor of the present-day immersion techniques, such as those used in Canada.

In the Direct Method, the standard procedure is the teacher's presentation of a text. Difficult expressions in the text are explained in the target language. Any grammar items for teaching are taken from the text which is being studied. The teacher also asks questions about the text; and later students read it aloud. Other practice exercises consist of transpositions, substitutions, dictation and free composition (Stern, 1983).

The Direct Method was practical and successful only in private language schools,

but was found difficult to implement in public secondary schools (Richards and Rodgers, 1986; Stern, 1983). It was found that the method overemphasized and distorted similarities between the first language and the foreign language. As the method depended heavily on the teacher's knowledge of the first language, it failed where teachers lacked adequate skills in this area. As a result, by 1920, the use of the Direct Method in public schools in Europe had declined. In France and Germany, the method began to be supplemented with grammar-based activities.

In the U. S. A., the 1923 Coleman Report on foreign language teaching concluded that no single method could guarantee successful results. The report argued for more practical goals in foreign language teaching and the "gradual introduction of words and grammatical structures in simple reading texts" (Richards and Rodgers, 1986, p. 11). The Coleman Report resulted in a shift in foreign language teaching in the U. S. A. away from an emphasis on oral skills, as in the Direct Method, and towards an emphasis on reading (Mackey, 1975). This continued up until the Second World War when new demands were made on foreign language teaching methods, and further changes brought about.

3.7 The Reading Method

The main result of the Coleman Report was the short-lived Reading Method, which deliberately restricted the goal of language teaching to training in reading comprehension, both intensive and extensive. The Reading Method did not reflect theories of reading. Its theoretical assumptions, design and procedures are not very different from those of the Grammar-Translation Method (Stern, 1983). Lists of words are taught through text, translation or picture. Simplified novels are employed as supplementary readers in order to consolidate students' vocabulary (Mackey, 1975).

By the 1920s and 1930s, there was already dissatisfaction with the Reading Method, and a search for something new. This led to a review of some of the basic ideas of the earlier Reform Movement. The main aim was to come up with a language teaching method with a sound theoretical basis. This was reinforced by the linguistic needs of the

Second World War which led the U. S. into the development of what came to be known as the Audiolingual Method of foreign language teaching. The equivalent method in Britain was called the Oral Approach or Situational Language Teaching (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

3.8 The Oral Approach or Situational Language Teaching

This methodology forms part of the psychological tradition, according to Nunan's (1991) classification of language teaching methods. It was developed between the 1930s and the 1960s by British applied linguists. Harold Palmer and A. S. Hornby were its main proponents. They were influenced both by the Direct Method, and also by the works of Otto Jaspersen and Daniel Jones (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

The Oral Approach or Situational Language Teaching resulted from a desire to develop a more scientific foundation for an oral approach to teaching English, and to improve on the Direct Method. In the 60s, the method came to be called simply the Situational Approach, because one of its main characteristics was the introduction and practice of new language points in specific situations. The term Situational Language Teaching includes both the Structural-Situational and the Oral Approach (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). But the methods used lacked the conceptual thinking about situatedness that contemporary theorists assume.

The Situational Approach was based on British Structuralism, and its emphasis on speaking as the most important language skill. The method attempted to link knowledge of the structures of language and situations and moving towards a more functional trend in language teaching. Linguists such as Firth and Halliday, and their stress on the importance of context in negotiating meaning, provided much of the influence behind this (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

The Situational Approach is a type of behaviourist habit-learning theory (Stern, 1983; Richards and Rodgers, 1986). And its inductive approach to the teaching of grammar is similar to that of the Direct Method. From the inductive process of learning

through taught-situations, the learners are expected to generalize to situations outside the classroom, in the same way that they are assumed to do in the first language. The main objective of the Situational Approach is to teach a practical command of the four basic skills of language, which are listening, speaking, reading and writing. The approach is structural, with emphasis on accuracy in pronunciation, grammatical structures and sentence patterns. From its structural objectives, the Situational Approach also generates a structural syllabus, which consists in the main of lists of sentence patterns and of vocabulary lists for specific situations. While apparently similar, it should not be confused with the situational syllabus developed on the basis of the communicative language teaching approach.

In terms of learning and teaching activities, the Situational Approach is dominated by the practice of sentence pattern drills. This consists mainly of guided repetition and substitution activities, including chorus repetition, dictation, drills and controlled oral-based reading and writing tasks (Stern, 1983; Richards and Rodgers, 1986). Pair and group work are also employed for practice. As far as possible, learning and teaching activities are located in a context or situation. This is created or aided by the use of concrete objects, pictures and realia, action, mime, and so on. (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

In the Situational Approach, the main role of the learner is simply to listen, respond to the teacher's commands and participate in drill exercises. He or she has no control over the content and pace of the learning process. The only opportunity in which a learner is likely to take an active role in the learning process is during pair or group work, although this too is strictly controlled by the teacher. The teacher acts as a model performer and presenter who is also expected to be a skilful conductor of the learning process, as well as a skilful supervisor of practice drills. A textbook and visual aids are the key tools in this process. The main aim of the method is to "move from controlled to freer practice of structures and from oral use of sentence patterns to the automatic use in speech, reading, and writing" (Richards and Rodgers, 1986, p. 39). Many British text books today still bear the stamp of the Situational Approach, which continued to be widely used even in the

1980s (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). We will now turn to the Audiolingual Method, a counterpart of the Situational Approach.

3.9 The Audiolingual Method

Like the Situational Approach, this method is part of the psychological tradition in language teaching approaches (Nunan, 1991). It was based largely on the work of Yale University's Bloomfield, and is a product of the American entry into World War Two, an act which brought a demand for conversational proficiency in foreign languages, particularly among the servicemen who were fighting in foreign lands (Kelly, 1976; Mackey, 1975). Because of this, it is sometimes referred to as the Army Method.

The Audiolingual Method was used to serve the American war effort for only two years before the war came to an end. After the war, some linguists seized the opportunity created by a growing demand for an oral-based approach to refine and adapt the Army Method. The teaching of English as a Foreign Language would serve the economic and political interests of the U. S, which was emerging as a new world power. Although the Situational Approach in Britain was the counterpart of the Audio-lingual in the States, the two methods seem to have developed independently of each other (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). The American method was strongly allied to American structural linguistics and its applied linguistic applications, particularly contrastive analysis (Richards and Rodgers, 1986; Stern, 1983); and was the result of an amalgamation of the structural approach, insights from behaviourist psychology, structural linguistic theory and the contrastive analysis of the 50s and 60s (Stern, 1983; Nunan, 1991). Looking at the final product in 1964, Professor Nelson Brooks claimed that it had changed language teaching from an art to a science; and up until the late 1960s the method was in great favour in both the U. S. and Canada (Richards and Rodgers, 1986; Nunan, 1991).

The Audiolingual Method is based on the structural theory of language, a view that language consists of a pyramidal structure of small linguistic blocks beginning with phonemes and extending to sentence types; learning a language is seen as a process of

mastering these building blocks of language, and learning the rules by which the elements are combined (Celce-Murcia, 1991). The method emphasises the primacy of speech; and the theory of learning is behavioral in that language mastery is represented as acquiring a set of appropriate stimulus-response language chains (Stern, 1983; Celce-Murcia, 1991). Instruction which follows the Audiolingual Method places heavy emphasis on speech ability (Mackey, 1975). The short-range objectives are teaching listening comprehension, accurate pronunciation, recognition of speech symbols as graphic signs on a printed page, and the ability to reproduce these in writing. The ultimate aim is for the learner to achieve native-speaker-level use of the foreign language. After the war, modifications to the method added larger doses of reading and writing (Mackey, 1975).

The syllabus for the Audiolingual Method is structure-based. The skills are taught in order, namely, listening, speaking, reading and writing. Teaching and learning activities include dialogues, drills and pattern practice exercises. The learner's main role is a reactive one; he or she simply responds to stimuli provided by the teacher, and has little or no control over the content, pace or style of learning (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). Learners are discouraged from initiating interaction so as to avoid situations where they might make mistakes (Celce-Murcia, 1991). Instead, it is the teacher who plays the dominant role by modelling the target language, controlling the direction and pace of the learning, and monitoring and correcting learners' performance. Instructional material is primarily teacher-centred; in the elementary stages, the use of textbooks by students is discouraged. Tape recorders and other audiolingual equipment, such as the language lab, are widely used and virtually essential for Audiolingual Method-teaching.

Classroom procedure consists mainly of oral instruction with little formal grammar teaching. The focus of instruction rarely moves beyond the level of the sentence, and the target language is used as the medium of instruction. A typical lesson would start off with the teacher or tape giving a model dialogue, which the students would then read aloud in chorus. The dialogue would form a basis for pattern drills of various kinds, during which grammatical explanations might also be given. Reading, writing, or vocabulary activities based on the dialogue could be introduced, and further practice work would be done in the

language lab.

The popularity of the Audiolingual Method reached its peak in the 1960s but thereafter began to fall as a result of the challenge of Noam Chomsky and a number of psychologists who criticised the structuralist approach to language description and the behaviourist theory of language teaching, the two foundations upon which the Audiolingual Method was based (Celce-Murcia, 1991; Nunan, 1991). Instead, Chomsky put forward the theory of transformational grammar which stresses the innate capacities of the mind giving rise to a universal grammar.

3.10 Cognitive Code Learning

Cognitive Code Learning was derived from Chomsky's transformational grammar and cognitive psychology in the mid-sixties, and provided an alternative to the Audiolingual Method (Stern, 1983). However, this method never caught on in foreign language teaching, because it did not offer clear methodological guidelines (Nunan, 1991; Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

3.11 Audiovisual Method

In the period from the 1950s to the early 1970s, when the Audiolingual Method was taking hold in the U.S. and the Situational Approach was doing the same in Britain, another approach was being developed in France, the Audiovisual Method. Like the others, it is part of what Nunan (1991) calls the psychological tradition of language teaching. It was intended for use with adult learners. Its principal feature is the visual presentation of various scenarios in order to involve learners in meaningful utterances and contexts. The theoretical assumptions which underlie the Audiovisual Method are based on a view of language as social and situational phenomena (Stern, 1983). The main goal is to familiarize the learner with everyday language. The main teaching technique involves the teaching of everyday language through such technology as film strips and audio-tapes.

The teacher's role is to explain, demonstrate, and question, while students engage in dialogue and drills as practice and to help them memorize. Gradually, the students are supposed to graduate from tape-film strip to their own independent production of everyday language. The Audiovisual Method, like the Direct Method, has been criticised for its unproven assumptions that learners will transfer skills from visual material to real life situations, and for taking for granted that strictly-controlled learning sequences and a rigid order of activities will result in effective learning (Stern, 1983).

Chomsky's challenge to the Audiolingual Method and the Situational Approach resulted in a period marked by confusion, experiment and adaptation, which only stabilised with the advent of Communicative Language Teaching.

3.12 Communicative Language Teaching

Communicative Language Teaching has been described as an approach rather than a teaching method (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). It developed, as we have noted, as a result of criticism, by Chomsky among others, of both American Audiolingual Method and the British Situational Approach. The most significant early advocates of Communicative Language Teaching were the British linguists Christopher Candlin and Henry Widdowson, who were in turn strongly influenced by the systemic linguistics of Firth, Halliday, and the American sociolinguists, D. Hymes, J. Gumpertz and W. Labov. Chandlin and Widdowson were also affected by John Austin and J. Searle's work on speech act theory (Howatt, 1985). Communicative Language Teaching also met the growing demand for closer communication among the member countries of the European Common Market and the Council of Europe.

There is no single model of Communicative Language Teaching that is universally accepted as authoritative, although there is one common thread that runs through all its models, the attention paid to the functional as well as the structural aspects of language. There are therefore strong and weak versions of Communicative Language Teaching (Howatt, 1985; Yalden, 1987). Communicative Language Teaching widened further in the

1970s with Hymes' challenge to Chomsky's distinction between competence and performance. The approach is based on a theory of language as communication; and, accordingly, its main teaching goal is the development of the students' communicative competence. It is a learner-centred and experience-based view of second language teaching. Learning and teaching objectives of Communicative Language Teaching are determined by the needs of the learners. These objectives work on many levels: linguistic and instrumental, affective and interpersonal, individual and educational, all approached as integrative content (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

Despite a fairly- broad consensus on the overall objectives of Communicative Language Teaching, and despite the proposal of a number of models, there appears to be no agreement as to what the content and organization of a communicative syllabus should be (Howatt, 1985; Yalden, 1987). Examples of learning and teaching activities are unlimited; the only guiding principle is that these activities should engage the learner in authentic communication. The teacher's role is that of facilitator of the learner's communicative experience. The secondary roles of the teacher are those of needs analyst, counsellor and group process manager (Celce-Murcia, 1991). The main role of the instructional material is similar to that of the teacher, namely, to promote communication. Teaching materials can be text-based or task-based, the latter involving games, realia, for example. Because of this great variety of possible procedures and classroom techniques, it is impossible to characterize any set of procedures for Communicative Language Teaching.

Although Communicative Language Teaching was much in favour in the 80s, some of its claims have recently been questioned. Celce-Murcia (1991), for example, argues that "... there is no actual empirical evidence that proves 'communicative' language classrooms, especially those that preclude any learner focus on form, produce better language learners than do more traditional classrooms" (p. 462). Questions are also being raised as to whether Communicative Language Teaching produces equally effective results at all levels of learning; and whether it can be handled efficiently when the teachers are not native speakers of the target language. In addition, the problems of syllabus design and the

teaching of grammar are still largely unresolved (Yalden, 1987; Howatt, 1985). While all this criticism suggests that the heyday of Communicative Language Teaching is over, its principles are still being recommended for ESL teaching in Zimbabwe, as my data seem to suggest.

3.13 Total Physical Response

This method, whose development is associated with James Asher, is constructed on principles supposedly derived from theories about first language generation, although many first language theorists would not agree with Asher's claims. However, whether or not Asher's claims are accepted, his method falls into what Nunan (1991) describes as the methodological or second-language-generation tradition of language teaching methodology, in which the learning of a second language is seen as a process similar to first language learning. It is an attempt to teach language through physical or motor activity. Asher does not directly discuss the nature of language and how it should be organised for teaching and learning (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). We can infer from his actual classroom activities that he is working with assumptions similar to structuralist or grammar-based views of language methodologies.

The theory of learning which underpins the Total Physical Response Method is reminiscent of the stimulus-response models of behaviorism. Based on Piaget's developmental psychology, this method claims that language is generated through motor movement, with the initial period being limited to watching and listening; until gradually the learner is led to produce his or her own language and later to initiate other more abstract language processes (Nunan, 1991). Learning language in this way is also said to reduce stress in learning, because it fosters but does not force language generation (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). The ultimate aim of Total Physical Response is to teach speaking skills at beginner level, with comprehension used as a means to an end. The approach is teacher-centred and controlled. The syllabus is sentence-based, dominated by the use of imperatives in combination with other techniques such as conversational

dialogue, role-plays and slide presentations.

The role of the learner is primarily that of listener or performer; learners have very little influence over the content to be learned. The teacher acts both as a model and as director of the learning process. In the initial stages, the teacher rarely corrects the learner, and, in general, the textbook is only used in the later learning stages. In the early stages, the teacher relies more on detailed lesson plans, and on his or her voice, actions and gestures as a basis for classroom activities. In the later stages, the teacher employs realia that are commonly found in the classroom, such as books, pens, furniture, pictures and charts.

A typical lesson following the Total Physical Response Method would start off with a review of the previous work, to be followed by the introduction of new commands by the teacher. For example, in introducing a new command, the teacher might begin by saying: "Mary, stand up! Touch your leg! Walk two steps forward, etc., " and the student would try to follow the commands. The new commands that are introduced are later practised in such activities as dialogues, role plays and slide presentations. The main criticism that has been levelled against such methodology is that this is not the way people normally communicate or act. Moreover, The Total Physical Response Method offers no explanation or theory on the relationship between comprehension, language production and communication. From a communicative language teaching perspective, one would question the relevance of the method's sentence-syllabus and limited utterances to the learner's language needs in the real world. Asher himself must have realised limitations of his method, because he recommends that it be used in association with other language teaching methods and techniques (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

3.14 The Natural Approach

This method also falls under the methodological tradition, as it draws on research and theory into first and second language generation and attempts to apply the findings to second language learning (Nunan, 1991). The method was created by Tracy Torrell, a

teacher of Spanish in California, U. S., in 1977, and is based on Krashen's Monitor Model. The Natural Approach should not be confused with the Natural Method, already discussed under its other name, the Direct Method. Although both use the model of a child's learning of its first language, the Natural Approach is different in that it attempts to find a scientific rationale for its procedures. As defined by Torrell and Krashen, the method conforms to the naturalistic principles found in successful second-language learning. The Natural Approach emphasises input and exposure to the language rather than on practice, and thus resembles the hearing-before-production model of the Direct Method (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

Torrell sees the primary function of language as of communication, although his main approach is still structural, and thus resembles the Audiolingual Method. The input hypothesis imposes a hierarchical structural complexity of language, as it demands that the language be divided into different structures that are served up as input at different stages of learning. In this way, we can say that the Natural Approach does not offer an insightful view of language learning. The specific syllabus objectives of the Natural Approach depend on the needs of learners. The syllabus consists of a number of general goals for the language course and a list of situations and topics as syllabus suggestions. While the syllabus may be rather vague, great importance is placed on combatting learners' anxiety. The Monitor Model therefore demands that the lesson atmosphere be made interesting, friendly and relaxed, in order to achieve a low affective filter, a low level of emotional resistance to the subject being learnt (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

The Natural Approach requires that the choice of teaching and learning activities be determined by the need for comprehensible input in the target language. From the initial stage of listening to teacher talk, the students are gradually challenged into doing most of the talking themselves. Teaching techniques taken from other methods, such as mime, gesture, group work, are also used. The teacher acts as a primary source of comprehensible input and the creator of an appropriately relaxed classroom atmosphere that will allow for a " low affective filter". Instructional materials, such as pictures, schedules, maps, and the like are authentic rather than specially produced for the

classroom or found in textbooks (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). A wide variety of lesson procedures is borrowed from other methods; but these procedures are adapted so that they suit the Natural Approach.

Richards and Rodgers (1986) conclude that the emergence of the Natural Approach is evolutionary rather than revolutionary, in that it grew out of other trends, and it shares the weaknesses of some of the methods on which it is based. For example, the Monitor Model, on which the Natural Approach draws heavily, has recently been criticised because of the lack of empirical evidence to back up its claims (cf. McLaughlin, 1988).

3.15 The Humanistic Tradition

In the early 70s, a different type of approach to foreign language teaching started to develop independently. It derived its ideas from humanistic psychology and can be placed in a humanistic tradition, although it has been claimed that some of the methods that form part of this tradition are inhumane to the learners (Nunan, 1991). The primary feature of humanistic language teaching is its claim which takes into consideration the learners' affective domain, such as their emotional fears and needs (Nunan, 1991). Several different approaches lay claim to the humanistic tradition. Despite their differences, they all share a common belief in the primacy of affective and emotional factors within the learning process. Their basic tenet is that teaching should be made subservient to learning, although this does not mean that teachers should abandon all control to learners (Nunan, 1991). The main movements within the humanistic tradition are the Silent Way, Community Language Teaching and Suggestopedia.

The Silent Way

The Silent Way was created by Caleb Gattegno in 1972 using concepts derived from Bruner's early works (e. g. Bruner, 1968). Its basic assumption is that language learning can most effectively take place when the teacher is as silent as possible, but

encourages his or her learners to produce as much language as they can (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). The method claims that learning is best facilitated by a problem-solving approach to the material they are to learn, where students discover rather than memorize how the target language works.

Gettegno views language as a substitute for experience, and meaning as given by experience. Like several other approaches, the Silent Way uses the processes of first language generation as a basis for the teaching of foreign languages. However, because the approach is so strictly controlled by the teacher, it cannot be equated with any natural approaches to language learning (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). Silence is considered important because it is presumed to give the student space in which to concentrate on the learning task. The method claims that learning is achieved by self-correction through a state of relaxed self-awareness which comes from an emotionally peaceful state of mind. The aim at the beginning stages is for students to comprehend the basic elements of the target language when spoken, while the general goal is to achieve near-native fluency in the target language. The syllabus takes a structural approach to the organization of language content. This content is taught through artificial situations, with the sentence as the basic unit of teaching. There is said to be no general Silent Way syllabus; and no details are given on the actual arrangement and prioritising of the content to be taught (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

Learning is largely inductive, and silent way teaching and learning activities consist of simple, linguistic tasks where, for example, a teacher models a word, phrase or sentence with the help of charts, rods or other physical objects. The teacher then elicits a learner-response. Modelling is kept to a minimum, so as to create opportunities for the learners to produce as much language as possible. The learners start by listening, during which time they are supposed to carry out a systematic analysis of what they hear. With more directed practice and experimentation, learners are expected gradually to assume independence, and take responsibility for their own learning (Crawford-Lange, 1987). As much as possible, the learners are encouraged to interact so as to learn from each other. The teacher's main role is basically to teach, to test and then to as quickly as possible get out of

the way of the students' learning (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). The teacher is supposed to refrain from speaking aloud, but should silently monitor the interactions of his or her learners, and communicate by means of pantomime, puppetry and the like.

Physical objects are an essential accompaniment to silent way teaching. The common instructional material consists of coloured rods, colour-coded pronunciation and vocabulary wall charts, a pointer and reading and writing exercises. Colours are intended to stimulate student learning, and the pointer is used to indicate the sound symbols that students should practise. The wall charts are for helping students to remember pronunciation and for vocabulary building. The colour rods are used in various ways to show the meanings of words and structures visually, rather than by translation into the learners' native language. The rods can be used for many purposes by an inventive teacher.

The Silent Way follows a standard lesson format. The lesson starts off with pronunciation models and a practice exercise, followed by the teacher silently pointing to individual symbols for students to identify. The same applies to the treatment of vocabulary. Students practise in artificial situations which are based on the lesson's theme. From this description, it can be seen that the Silent Way is not entirely revolutionary. It does, however, have innovation elements, namely, the less dominant role of the teacher, the responsibility placed on the students and the instructional materials used (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

Community Language Teaching

Community Language Teaching is another example of a method in the humanistic tradition. It was developed by Charles Curran and his associates, and applies the theory and techniques of psychological counselling to language learning. The basic element of the counselling is empathic understanding, advocated by such psychologists as C. Rodgers (1969). Because of this, the method is sometimes referred to as the Counselling-Learning Method (Nunan, 1991; Crawford-Lange, 1987). It also draws on bilingual education programmes, and considers such factors as the role and functions of the first language in

the instruction and learning of the second language.

Curran himself wrote very little about his theory of language, but his ideas were expounded by his student, La Forge. Language is seen as a social process which differs from language as communication. Language as a social process goes beyond the communication role of language and defines a speaking subject in relationship to its other (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). The method advocates a holistic approach to language learning, which must thus take account of both cognitive and affective domains. The learning of a new language is compared to the five processes of development in humans whereby a newly born child moves from a stage of initial insecurity to a measure of independence from a parent, and then to the ability to speak independently, the capacity to accept criticism, and, finally, as an adult, to a full and a well-developed style (Crawford-Lange, 1987; Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

The general goal of Community Language Teaching Method is the attainment of near-native mastery of the target language; smaller, more specific objectives are not given. The method does not have a conventional language syllabus; instead the course is based on topics which are chosen by the learners according to their needs. Specific grammatical items are sometimes isolated by the teacher for more detailed study and analysis. Teaching and learning activities used consist mainly of translation, group work, recording, transcription, analysis, reflection and observation, listening and free conversation (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

Learning takes place through learners interacting with each other, typically in groups of six to twelve sitting in a circle. The teacher's role is primarily to provide whatever language learners might need to express themselves on their chosen topics. The teacher also acts as a counsellor, supporting the learners as the class goes through the five stages outlined earlier. Teaching materials can be teacher- or student-developed. They may consist of summaries of whatever linguistic features are raised by the conversations produced by students. These summaries are presented on the board or overhead projector. Textbooks are seen as unnecessary and limiting.

No description of a typical community language teaching lesson can be given, as

each course is unique (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). In general terms, however, a typical lesson would have a circle of learners facing each other, and would consist of a period of silence, followed by discussion, a summary of the discussion or a dramatic presentation, with music, puppets, drums and pictures and so on. All these activities would be student-led, with the teacher coming in with the required language input only when needed. Both the first and the target languages are used in the lesson. Students might audio-tape some of their deliberations, transcribe and later analyze them or present them as drama. The lesson would usually end with the teacher asking the class to reflect on what they had done.

The Community Language Learning Method makes a lot of demands on the language teacher, who must prepare instructional materials and evaluate the learning process with no syllabus to act as guide. The teacher must also be proficient in both the learners' first language and the target language. The teacher would also need formal training in counselling, which is central to this method, if he or she is to play his or her role efficiently. However, there has been some scepticism as to whether the counselling process actually parallels new language learning (Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

Suggestopedia.

Suggestopedia, also classified by Nunan (1991) as a humanistic method, was developed by Georgi Lozanov, a Bulgarian psychiatric educator. Its approach to learning is derived from Suggestology, a science concerned with the systematic study of the non-rational and non-conscious influences to which humans are seen as constantly responding (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). The method also borrows on the Eastern yoga tradition and on elements of Soviet psychology. Yoga provides the states of consciousness and concentration, and the use of rhythmic breathing claimed to aid learning; while Soviet psychology provides the notion of the appropriate learning environment and the belief that all students are capable of achieving the same level of skill in a subject.

Lozanov did not articulate a systematic theory of language, but from his emphasis

on memorization, we can infer that most importance is attached to lexis and lexical translation, although a holistic approach to texts is recommended. In terms of learning theory, the idea of suggestion is at the heart of Suggestopedia (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). This involves the teacher acting as an authoritative source of knowledge, and the student playing a subordinate role like that of a child to a parent. Most important, though, is the creation of an environment appropriate for learning: that is an environment which will release tension, enhance the power of concentration, and thus facilitate the absorption of new material (Crawford-Lange, 1987). This environment is best created by such techniques as varying the tone and rhythm of repeated material and the use of dramatisation, music, decoration and reclining chairs arranged in a circle and so on.

The ultimate aim of Suggestopedia is to deliver advanced conversational proficiency quickly. The method is offered under a ten-unit package covered in thirty days; meetings for study last four hours a day, six days a week. The focus is on acquiring a stipulated number of items of lexis along with their grammatical associations (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). Dialogues and grammar are built around the graded lexis. Learning and teaching activities consist in the main of imitation of the teacher, questions and answers, role-playing, games, songs, gymnastic exercises, most of which are common to other methods of language teaching.

Suggestopedia sees the mental state of the learner as critical to success, because only the right state of mind can allow new material to be absorbed. The teacher's primary role is therefore to create situations in which the learner "is most suggestible and to present linguistic material in a way most likely to encourage positive reception and retention by the learner" (Richards and Rodgers, 1986, p. 149). Texts and tapes are the primary instructional materials, and classroom fixtures and music are used to support these.

Suggestopedia does provide a basic lesson procedure, but room is always available for variations and adaptations (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). In general, the teacher starts with an oral review of the previous lesson, with students in reclining chairs arranged in a circle. The review takes the form of a seminar. In the next stage, new material is presented

and discussed in the target language, although students are free to use their first language. The material may focus on dialogue patterns, grammar and vocabulary. The third stage is called the seance or concert session, which forms the real heart of Suggestopedia. Here, the slow movements (largo) of Baroque musical compositions with sixty-beat rhythm are played on a tape recorder while students read the texts they are to learn. The session is punctuated with periods of silence. The students then close their books and listen to the teacher reading the text aloud. Finally, the students are asked to read the text again once before going to bed, and once on getting up in the morning. All this is aimed at inducing a kind of hypnotic effect on the learners, which is believed to stimulate learning (Nunan, 1991; Crawford-lange, 1987). These claims are said to be based on scientific theory, but in fact have been frequently criticised for being only pseudoscientific (cf. Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

Table 8 provides a summary of all the methods discussed in this section.

Table 8

A Summary of Change and Innovation in Language Teaching Methods: Antiquity to Present-day

PERIOD	DECADE	MAIN FEATURES
1	Antiquity to 1880	Early language teaching methods; Grammar-Translation Method
2	1880 - 1920	Reform Movement; Direct Method; Phonetics
3	1920 - 1940	Coleman Report; Reading Method
4	1940 - 1950	American Army Method; Linguistics
5	1950 - 1960	Situational Language Teaching (Britain); Audiolingual Method (U. S. and Canada); Audiovisual Method (France); Psycholinguistics
6	1960 - 1970	Audiolingual and Situational Methods Challenged by Chomsky; Transformational Grammar; Cognitive Code Learning; Sociolinguistics

7	1970 - 1980	New Methods; The Humanistic tradition; Language Learning Research; Curriculum emphasis
8	1980 - 1990	Communicative Approaches
9	1990 to Present-day	Breakaway from Method Concept; Research into Language Classrooms

A look at the history of language teaching methods summarised in table 8 shows clearly that, as Stern (1983) argues, language teaching theories, and especially theories of teaching method, have had a long, fascinating and somewhat tortuous history. Despite this, theorists are still far from reaching a consensus as to the most effective or scientific methods of language teaching. Nunan (1991), for example, writing about the search for the best method, says somewhat despairingly, "We have yet to devise a method which is capable of teaching anybody anything" (p. 248). Van Els et al. (1984) also argue that there have been times in the history of language teaching methods where there has been development without progress; this is caused by what they call the pendulum effect: "...much that is presented as new and revolutionary is in fact nothing more than thinking but once again and labelling old ideas and procedures" (p. 141).

Mackey (1975) uses images similar to that of the pendulum to lament the past and present state of language teaching. He sees the large number of unresolved methodological issues as the "causes of the periodical swing of language teaching opinion from one extreme to the other, a vacillation deplored long ago by scholars like Sweet and Palmer, since it makes language teaching a matter of fad and fashion, a matter of opinion rather than fact" (p. 1x). Van Els et al. (1984) see the lack of progress in foreign language teaching throughout the centuries as due mainly to "the state of our knowledge about language learning" (p. 143), a state they see as inadequate. For them, the whole history of foreign language teaching methods can be summed up as "a long past but only a short history" (p. 143). For them, the real history of language teaching, when something real actually happened, came about as a result of the adoption of a more scientific approach in linguistics and the rise of experimental psychology, and insights into memory and learning. In a preface to his book, Chaudron (1988) argues that before the advent of this scientific era, the language teaching methods that were proposed were rarely based on theory:

Theories and claims about language teaching methods, effective curriculum, or the importance of learner characteristics have rarely been based on actual research in language classrooms, despite the integral role that the classroom teaching and learning plays in theoretical and practical proposals (p. xv).

Language teaching historians largely agree that fads and fashions are still a main characteristic of the present-day language teaching profession. They are particularly evident in the area of methodology where they come and go with monotonous regularity (Nunan, 1991; Van Els et al. 1984; Mackey, 1975). Unfortunately, it is language teachers who have always borne the blunt of these trends and haphazard changes. Stern (1983: 515) gives details:

Language teachers - probably more than other professionals - find that they are constantly bombarded from all sides with a surfeit of information, prescriptions, directions, advice, suggestions, innovations, research results, and what purports to be scientific evidence.

While this situation may well be universal, it is particularly evident in developing countries like Zimbabwe, where virtually anything that comes with a new label tends to be accepted uncritically:

The Third World has frequently been the victim in the past of the over-enthusiastic promotion of "packaged" methods originally devised for quite different circumstances, and there has been instances of the same kind of "salesmanship" with communicative approaches" (Howatt, 1985, p. 288).

In order to avoid the stressful and even dangerous situation where the language teacher is constantly being led up blind alleys, it would be extremely useful if the language teaching profession could come up with a workable criteria with which to investigate the empirical worthiness of new methods and approaches. One such framework has been proposed by Von Eckardt (1995), who provides criteria for investigating the scientific basis of a teaching method in the form of research questions.

There are at present encouraging signs that a break with the futile search for "the best method" will finally take us out of the vicious circle in which we have been trapped for centuries. Current research on language teaching methods is turning increasingly to the examination of what actually happens in language classrooms in order that researchers will

be able to generate theories based on scientific evidence. An example of such a view is given by Prabhu (1990: 175):

...if we regard our professional effort as a search for the best method which, when found, will replace all other methods, we may not only be working towards an unrealizable goal but, in the process, be misconstruing the nature of teaching as a set of procedures that can by themselves carry a guarantee of learning outcomes.

Prabhu (1990) as well as Natalicio and Heresford (1971) are proposing a new definition of method, which they see now as ingrained in the qualities that give a teacher his or her special individuality. It is this individuality that determines the unique ways in which each teacher handles any teaching method. This investigation of actual language classrooms may well be a useful area for research into teaching methods (cf. Ellis, 1992). The next section reviews the literature on teachers' beliefs, an area which may prove more fruitful than the method paradigm, if we wish to find ways of influencing teachers' behaviour in the classroom.

3 B: A Break with the Method Paradigm: Into Teachers' Beliefs

3.16 The Nature of Teachers' Beliefs

The literature reviewed concerning the search for the "best method" of teaching language seems to point to the general conclusion that it is futile to search for ways of effective teaching within the method paradigm. It is this conclusion that led me towards an examination of teachers' beliefs about teaching and learning with the underlying aim of improving ESL teaching. Nespor (1987), quoted in Pajares (1992) says on this subject: "... in spite of their idiosyncracies, beliefs are far more influential than knowledge in determining how individuals organize and define tasks and problems and are stronger predictors of behaviour" (see also Geertz, 1973; Long, 1991; Goodson, 1992).

Although many educationists and researchers acknowledge that a teacher's beliefs

are crucial for his or her classroom behaviour (e.g. Geertz, 1973; Long, 1991; Goodson, 1992), very few researchers have been willing to study this phenomenon, because of the definitional problems it raises. In any study, it is important first to define the construct under investigation and then to explain how it differs from that of similar constructs. It is also necessary for a researcher to specify the nature of the phenomenon under investigation "so that research may be informed by the assumptions this understanding will create" (Pajares, 1992, p. 308). Pajares (1992) argues that the reason that teachers' beliefs have not been adequately examined is the difficulty of definition as well as the problem of poor conceptualizations and differing understandings by researchers of beliefs and belief structures. He says that the topic of teachers' beliefs is also avoided because, as a global construct, belief does not lend itself easily to empirical investigation. It is "often seen as the more proper concern of philosophy or, in its more spiritual aspects, religion" (Pajares, 1992, p.309). But Pajares (1992) argues that beliefs are "a legitimate subject of linguistic inquiry in fields as diverse as medicine, law, anthropology, sociology, political science, and business, as well as psychology, where attitudes and values have long been a focus of social and personality research" (p.308). Moreover, as the notion of belief is a key concept in my study, it is essential that a comprehensive definition is proposed.

Studies that have attempted to study teachers' beliefs have brought a variety of definitions and conceptualizations to the phenomenon. Many of these researchers rarely define "belief" or use it explicitly as a conceptual tool in the educational community; obviously, though a great deal depends on the researcher's orientation and perspective (Eisenhart, Shrum, Harding and Cuthbert, 1988). Some of the definitional names listed by Pajares (1992) that have appeared in studies of the same phenomenon are: attitudes, values, judgements, axioms, opinions, ideology, perceptions, conceptions, conceptual systems, preconceptions, dispositions, implicit theories, explicit theories, lay theories, personal theories, internal mental processes, action strategies, rules of practice, practical principles, perspectives of understanding, social strategy, and so on. (see also Halkes, 1988; Roehler, Duff, Herrmann, Conley and Johnson, 1988; Bullough, 1991; Goodman, 1988; Calderhead and Robson, 1991). Pajares (1992: 314) refers to all these names as

"new jargon, old meaning"; that is, he sees them all as an attempt to describe the same thing.

In traditional cognitive science, beliefs are conceived of in terms of the symbolic representation, or the mental model which is manifested in a person's behaviour. In this traditional cognitive science mould, the world is centred in the mind. In recent years, however, there have been attempts within cognitive science to widen this traditional mentalistic model so that it includes the notion of situated cognition. This views knowledge as residing in both the head and the world, thus making it a socio-cognitive phenomenon (Brown, Collins and Duguid, 1988; Norman, 1993). This widening of the field of cognitive science has resulted in a shift from investigating simple components of a system in isolation from each other to examining naturally occurring behaviour which is both purposeful and context-dependent (Graves, 1996). As well as accepting the idea of the traditional symbolic processing, situated cognition takes into account the role of the environment, the context, the social and cultural setting, and the situations in which actors, here teachers and learners, find themselves (Norman, 1993). Duranti, in Duranti and Goodwin (1992), sees discourse as mediating between the different versions of the world which people have when they interact with each other. Gumperz, also in Duranti and Goodwin (1992), sees context as a cognitive process through which cultural and other types of background knowledge are brought into the interpretive process.

While these ideas are helpful, Bogdan, in Bogdan (ed.) (1986), a philosopher of science, has come up with a clearer and more useful socio-cognitive definition and conceptualization of belief, which my study will take as its operational definition of the belief phenomenon. Bogdan's definitional and conceptual framework of belief, which suits my objective of looking at ESL instruction from a socio-cultural-cognitive perspective, is shown in summary fashion in figure 9 that follows, and is also explained in my text.

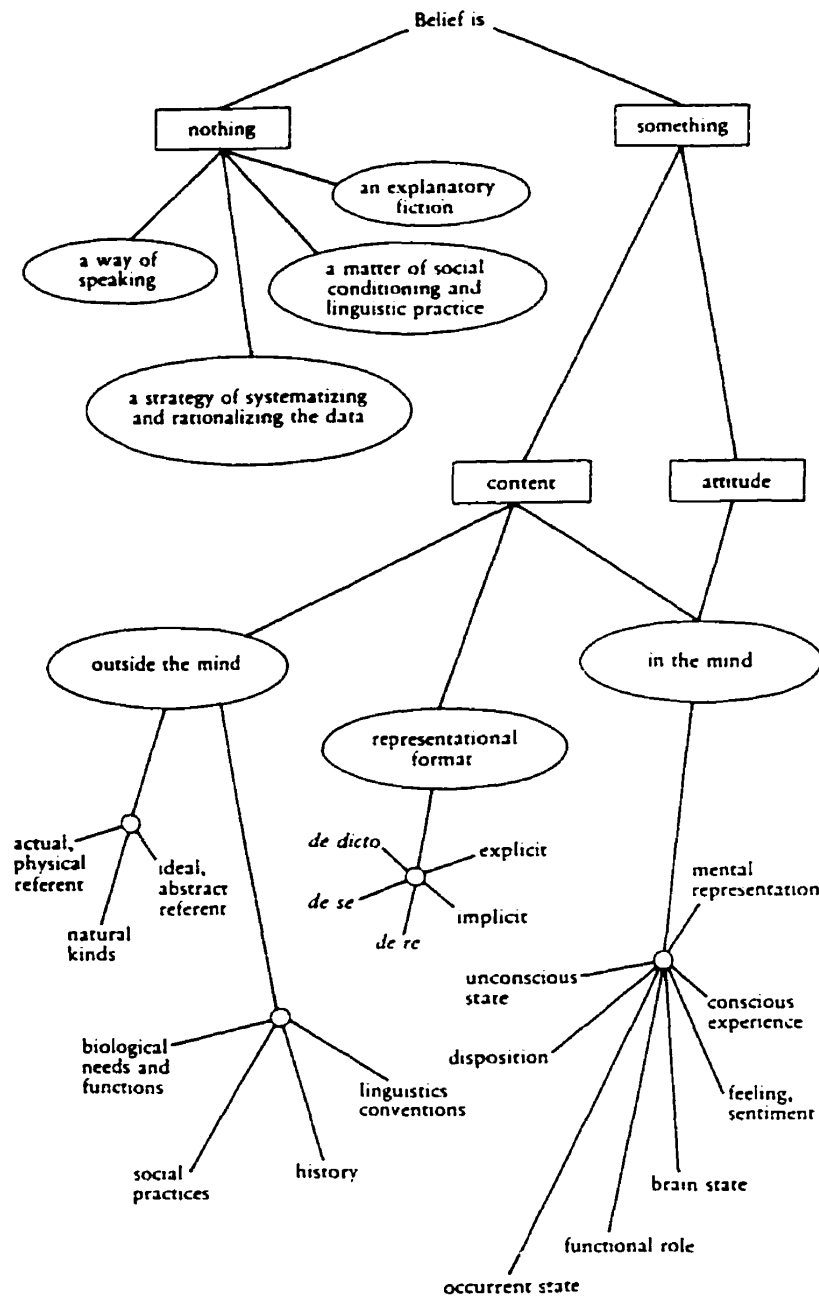


Figure 9: Bogdan's conceptual framework of belief

Source: Bogdan, R. E. (ed.) (1986, p. 5). Reproduction of figure 10 is by permission of Oxford University Press.

According to Bogdan's theoretical framework of belief, as shown in figure 9, there are two possible ways of looking at the concept of belief; it is either existent or non-existent. The belief eliminativists, as Bogdan (1986) calls them, would say belief is nothing, meaning that the notion describes nothing in the mind or outside it. They would dismiss the notion of belief as merely a linguistic practice and usage. I cannot subscribe to this view, because, as will be shown later, there is plenty of evidence that the phenomenon called belief does exist.

Bogdan (1986) explains that there are currently two overall schools of thought dividing those who subscribe to the existence of belief. Briefly, the older Platonic view takes belief to be an attitude, or a capacity directed towards certain aspects of the world and responsible for producing certain specific cognitive experiences. This is a dispositional view which tends to appeal to the more scientifically and behavioristically inclined (Bogdan, 1986). The second view regards belief as a conscious experience; more introspective or mentalist researchers tend to subscribe to this more modern notion.

Bogdan (1986) is quick to point out, however, that neither view is completely adequate to describe the notion of belief. For example, the dispositional capacity is shared by other mental attitudes and understandings, such as desires and intentions; and the overt action cannot be the only manifestation of belief. Overt action can, for example, be manifested by other beliefs, mental attitudes, inferences and other phenomena. The Platonic view cannot pass the reliability property, one of a set of criteria laid down by von Eckardt (1995) for testing the scientific worthiness of any claim a study may make. The view will fail the test because of its inconsistency and inclusiveness. As for the concept of belief as conscious experience, it is not clear whether it is the belief itself or a result of believing, or both, that are the evidence for believing. It has also been argued that the notion of conscious experience cannot accommodate unconscious belief, a widely, if not universally accepted, phenomenon. Thus, neither concept of belief outlined above stands up as a valid definition.

One alternative way of looking at belief, according to Bogdan (1986), is to view it as a mental representation in either a visual image or a sentence or proposition in some

natural language. For some people, propositions or meanings only exist in the head as syntactic forms under concepts, and yet others claim that what is in the head is not enough to fix a meaning or a proposition. The latter argue that external, non-mental co-ordinates are also needed, a view that I share in this study. These external non-mental co-ordinates may be either abstract and ideal or particular and physical.

However, these external co-ordinates are not by themselves sufficient to characterize the essence of belief. To understand the full meaning of belief, linguistic conventions and social practices must also be included, because an individual who possesses a belief is a product of a given linguistic community, a factor that will affect what he or she thinks and believes, as well as the way we should construe and explain what he or she thinks and believes (Bogdan, 1986). What all this means is that belief is neither purely cognitive nor purely a psychological construct (Bogdan, 1986). A naturalist approach views the head as being part of the world, and therefore to understand its contents is to understand what external inputs have reached it. Bogdan (1986) convincingly argues that "... social and language games, hence factors external to the mind, shape the contents of human thoughts, beliefs, and speech acts" (p. 11).

Accordingly, Bogdan (1986) likens a belief to a map by which we steer. A map represents a particular territory, and the graphic representation of a map corresponds to the syntactic form of belief. The purpose of a map, to represent a territory, corresponds to the intentional content of belief. The next key question is how the map is going to do the steering. Bogdan (1986) argues that a map cannot achieve this simply by existing. What is needed, he says, is a traveller who knows where he or she is and where he or she is going, besides having certain specific objectives and expectations. The traveller in the analogy corresponds to the external coordinates already discussed. It is this locational information that is needed in order to make the map guide the steering.

Bogdan (1986) says that the external determinants of content and belief are not necessarily represented in the mind. Instead, they may possess the capacity to shape content without being explicitly encoded in it. Examples of such external factors are the environment, the social and linguistic community and the personal history of the

individual in question. In order for these factors to be able to shape contents and beliefs, they have to be deep and enduring. There are some people who regard the inclusion of the external factors in mentalism as making an otherwise neat paradigm messy. In answer to this, Bogdan (1986) would say that it is unfortunate that "truth" is often messy. Our final definition of belief then, resulting from a discussion of all its potential components and attributes, is that it is an attitude to certain mental representations, and has a formal structure, an intentional content, and semantic co-ordinates (Bogdan, 1986). Following is a description of the relationship between a cognitive and ethnographic interpretations of belief.

3.17 A Cognitive and Ethnographic Interpretation of Beliefs

Shulman (1986) sees a striking similarity between some aspects of research in the traditions of school ethnography and some in cognitive science. Both approaches ascribe substantial cognitive and/or social organization to the participants, and both assume that prior knowledge, experience, or attitude frames any new encounters and the participants' interpretation of them, and that the performances being viewed are rule-governed. Shulman goes on to say that the system of rules for the cognitive scientist is often expressed in the form of a computer simulation programme, or, if it concerns memory organization and processes, as a semantic network or flow diagrams. On the other hand, the system of rules for the school ethnographer is typically presented in narrative form, or as a set of propositions.

Pattern theories, as they apply to human behaviour, can be explained in terms of a script-based theory of understanding (Schank and Abelson, 1977). The theory stipulates that in order to understand what is going on in a given situation, a person must have been in that situation before. This means that understanding is knowledge-based (Schank and Abelson, 1977). People are able to understand the actions of others, and whether they make sense or not, in so far as they are part of a shared pattern of previous actions and experiences. We build new knowledge on old, and any deviation from the expected pattern

causes difficulty for the interpreter.

Shared patterns of action can be called scripts or frames. We acquire them early on in life as part of our process of socialization through human experience. These scripts provide us with two types of knowledge that enable us to act appropriately: general and specific knowledge. General knowledge enables one to interpret the actions of others from shared human experiences; and specific knowledge allows for the interpretation of and participation in events we have been through many times before (Schank and Abelson, 1977). Because certain events occur very frequently, they come to form large conceptual units called scripts. Schank and Abelson (1977) define a script as "a structure that describes appropriate sequence of events in a particular context" (p.41). Like frames, scripts are made up of slots, and there are clear requirements as to what can fill these slots. Scripts are non-productive; they are fixed, stereotyped sequences of actions that define well-known situations, such as buying stamps in a post office. An instantiated script is a particular script called upon to perform a particular role; and a number of these interconnected scripts form what may be referred to as "the whole view" of an event or situation (Schank and Abelson, 1977).

Certain prompts, called "headers", will determine when a script should be called into play, and the strength of their prediction for an instantiation will determine whether or not they are selected. Sometimes there are interferences and detractors of these headers, such as an unrelated sentence in a script which may cause a break in the link. These detractors may be corrected, or one may give up the attempt to interpret an event or action. However, detractors can also initiate new goals that may lead the actor temporarily or permanently out of the original script. This is a major way in which scripts grow (Schank and Abelson, 1977). New participants are said to have much simpler scripts. Scripts can be used to explain stereotyped patterns of culturally consensual behaviour. These behaviour patterns can also be varied. Several scripts can operate at the same time in a competing way; and it is possible for one player or two players to operate within different scripts at the same time, which often creates confusion and misunderstanding.

Since scripts are predetermined, fixed patterns, they cannot be useful in new situations. For that, one would need a plan, which is a repository of general information that will connect events that cannot be connected by any available script. Schank and Abelson (1977) define a plan as the "reasoning by which an individual decides upon one or more actions, each of which can then lead to chains or results and enablements" (p.70). Plans are therefore sets of choices at one's disposal when one is attempting to accomplish a goal. When plans have been employed for some time, they give rise to scripts, the difference between them being that scripts are specific and plans are general. If understanding is defined as the process of knowing the overall intent of an action, and forming links among different related actions, then plans are used only where there is no direct connectability. In more recognisable situations, a script is used instead.

The relationship between plans and goals is an essential part of any discussion about belief. The function of goals is to organize so that standard sub-goals may be achieved (Schank and Abelson, 1977). A plan can only be chosen after a goal has been selected. Knowledge of goals comes from our knowledge of universal motivations and of the usual functions of objects and places; these goals may be ordered in a vast hierarchy (Schank and Abelson, 1977).

Cognitive scientists see goals as derived primarily from actions rather than from statements about goals. Goals frequently occur together as a response to input. They may form a theme that can be equated with a belief. Most humans can be assumed to share certain basic sets of beliefs about human behaviour, and this is what makes human interaction possible. Human interaction is thus governed by belief expectancy rules, that is, rules of behaviour which assume or expect common beliefs. It would appear that goals are set up either when an expectancy rule is satisfied, or when the goals themselves are thematically driven (Schank and Abelson, 1977). The selection of a goal depends largely on motivation, on the relative balance of positive over negative incentives and on the perceived probability that the goal is attainable (Schank and Abelson, 1977). A person's goals are said to be determined by his or her role in life, for example, that of a soldier or teacher. Language plays a crucial role in the acquisition of scripts, plans and goals.

Reviews of studies for this present inquiry indicate that a teacher's orientation, preferences and beliefs play a crucial role in determining how his or her classroom, social, and academic knowledge will evolve (e.g. Gutierrez, 1994; Pajares, 1992). The interaction patterns in a classroom are largely determined by a teacher's beliefs about teaching and learning (Cazden, 1988). Since these cannot be directly observed or measured, they have to be inferred from the teacher's patterns of interaction, which in turn are based on and involve what he or she intends, says, does and evaluates. These factors can be categorized as plan, words, action and review (Pajares, 1992). These will be some of the key elements used in the investigation of Willie and Cathy's teaching. I turn now to some specific studies that have been conducted on teachers' beliefs.

3.18 Teachers' Beliefs and the Creation of Social Knowledge

Philips (1983) says that in traditional classroom teaching, children are expected to master both the content of the curriculum material and the socially appropriate use of communicative resources through which learning takes place. This socially appropriate classroom behaviour is necessary for the successful transmission of the curriculum content. Particularly in the early grades of schooling, teachers make a conscious effort to teach children how to behave in a manner that is socially appropriate for the maintenance of official classroom interaction (Philips, 1983). The teacher uses what is traditionally known as class control or discipline in order to maintain what Philips (1983:74) calls "the official structure of interaction", while students may engage in covert exchanges among themselves which have little to do with curriculum content. In a classroom situation, therefore, there is constant reconstruction and negotiation of socially appropriate classroom behaviours by both teacher and students. There is thus no one single classroom culture, but several subcultures which exist alongside the official teacher-controlled one (Philips, 1983; Gumperz and Hymes, 1989). There are other factors which influence a teacher's classroom behaviour, notably the actions and ideas of the headmaster or headmistress. The headmaster's or headmistress' behaviour can itself be influenced by

other external factors, such as the relationship with the people who supervise and control school heads (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1994; Maguire, 1995).

3.19 Definition of Classroom Culture

The term "classroom culture" will be used in my description of classroom interaction patterns in this study. It is therefore important that I explain the sense in which the term is used here. In this study, the term "classroom culture" is used to refer to established rules or shared frames of reference, in the form of concepts, beliefs, and principles of action. These shared frames can be academic or social (Green et al., 1988). The culture of a group is not usually available or explicit; instead it has to be inferred from the words and actions of the members of the group who are being studied and being exposed to new concepts (Geertz, 1983).

Edwards and Mercer (1989) analyzed transcripts of classroom interaction to find out how shared knowledge is established between the teacher and pupils. The study concluded that education is the conditioning of pupils to fit in with the established culture of educated thought and practice, and that the teacher is the agent of this enculturation. Gutierrez (1994) says that through their interaction with students, teachers signal what they prefer from students, so that students learn what actions are appropriate, what roles are possible and how they should play their role as students. It is also the individual teacher's beliefs about teaching and learning that shape and establish particular repertoires for that teacher's classroom culture. Each classroom, although it may share common organizational patterns with other classrooms, offers particular opportunities for interaction to create different ways of being and knowing (Heras, 1994; Ernst, 1994; Ulichny and Watson-Gegeo, 1989; Maguire, 1989). Becoming a student, therefore, means becoming involved with complex mediating structures, including teacher agency, which impinge on the process of learning (cf. Maguire, 1994).

3.20 Teachers' Beliefs and the Creation of Academic Knowledge

Fox (1993) gives a detailed description of how tutoring occurs in Maths; and most of the phenomena she describes in the teaching of maths can also be found in other instructional types, such as ESL instruction. She sees the function of tutoring as chiefly that of providing an arena for the contextualization of abstract formal concepts and notations for the student. This tutoring is described as a situated activity in which both the tutor and the student co-construct meaning. According to Fox (1993), face-to-face tutoring consists of two main activities, the description and explanation of a selected domain by the tutor, and the working out of solutions by the student. The tutor's description and explanation can be viewed as narrative (Fox, 1993), which is produced essentially by one person, the tutor, with opportunities for the students to give feedback either by completing the tutor's utterances, or by asking clarification questions. The tutoring narrative may also include requests by the teacher for confirmation and checks of the students' understanding.

Writing on similar lines, Tochon, quoted in Tochon and Dionne (1994), distinguishes three pragmatic functions specifically related to language teaching; these are narrative, instrumental and experiential. The narrative level is said to transform declarative knowledge into stories, themes and images as different ways of transmitting knowledge. The instrumental pragmatic function organizes procedural intentions into skills, operations and procedures that can be transferred from one domain to another. The experiential pragmatic function transforms conditional or contextual knowledge into global actions, interactions and actualized experiences. In other words, the first function is that of transmitting knowledge by simple telling. The second involves the teacher's strategies for transmitting knowledge; and the third involves the teacher's use of his or her background knowledge to make moment-by-moment decisions in actual classroom encounters with the students. The first function can be called domain knowledge; the second procedural; and the third involves the teacher's beliefs.

Other studies have been carried out to determine the role of a teacher's cognitive

reasoning in his or her teaching of subject matter. Greenleaf and Freedman (1993) used the conversational analysis framework to analyze classroom talk in order to describe the intellectual work of the classroom. Another study of the cognitive reasoning of a teacher is by Macbeth (1994). He divided fifth grade English lesson transcripts into segments and each segment was analyzed to show what was instructive about it and how the instruction was managed. The study showed that the way teachers organize their instruction is determined by their perception of what teaching is and what they believe about how students learn. This accounts for some of the unique ways in which individual teachers approach their teaching.

3.21 Teachers' Espoused Beliefs and Actual Practice

A number of studies interestingly show that discrepancies can exist between teachers' espoused beliefs and what they actually do in the practice of teaching (Noll, 1993; Cole and Knowles, 1993; Kleinsasser, 1993; Rust, 1994). Findings from these studies underline the need for researchers on teachers' beliefs to go beyond what teachers profess to do in a classroom and to observe their teaching and actual classroom practice. The discrepancy between theory and practice has been used in the studies reviewed to explain why, even after successfully going through a teacher education course, some trained teachers still teach in ways contrary to the methods they encountered and learnt during training. This is, of course, only one of the factors affecting this situation.

3.22 Pre-service Teacher Education and Student Teachers' Beliefs

Studies under this heading look at what actually goes on in teacher education programmes and classrooms with respect to the beliefs student teachers bring with them to Pre-service teacher education. The basic question these studies are asking is: what assumptions about student teachers' learning are embedded in teacher education programmes? Researchers generally agree that initial teacher education has little impact

on how student teachers perceive and practise their teaching (Bednar, 1993; Bird, Anderson, Sullivan and Swidler, 1993; Bramald, Hardman and Leat, 1995; Carrasquillo and Teng, 1994; Powell, 1992; Calderhead and Robson, 1991; Goodman, 1986; Hollingsworth, 1989). There is resistance on the part of student teachers to utilize new ideas learnt during training, because teacher education programmes fail to address the deeply entrenched beliefs that trainees bring to teacher education. It is these beliefs on which they continue to operate, in spite of any education programmes they might be exposed to. However, not all training is wasted, because some studies have shown that, approached in an appropriate way, some of the teachers' entrenched beliefs can be dislodged. I discuss this phenomenon in the following section on changing teachers' beliefs.

3.23 Teachers' Beliefs and the Instruction of Culturally-related Texts

Shkedi and Horenczyk (1995) say that teachers' beliefs can especially affect the way they teach a culturally-related text, such as the Bible or a literature set text. In their study, they found that such a text is approached differently by different teachers, depending on how each teacher relates to its contents. At stake here are the teacher's own views or beliefs and how they are affected by those suggested in the culturally-valued text. This puts the teacher in a dilemma, caused by what Shkedi et al (1995) call a "meeting of horizons between the presuppositions of the reader and the claims of the text" (p. 107). The researchers concluded their study by saying that teachers' ideological views are a major component of the pedagogical content knowledge.

3.24 Changing Teachers' Beliefs

Attempts have been made to find ways of making teacher education effective in spite of the initial beliefs that student teachers bring to their training. Studies have also been carried out on how trained teachers handle change after in-service workshops which

are aimed at introducing new teaching programmes. Maguire's (1989) study on understanding and implementing a whole-language programme in Quebec found that reflective teachers were far ahead of their colleagues in their willingness and ability to implement a new programme. Eclectic teachers were partial converts, and finally came a group who completely resisted any change. The study shows how complex and difficult it can be to make teachers change. A study by Rossman, Corbett and Firestone (1988), on the process of change in three different schools, concluded that in order to reform schools, it is necessary to pay close attention to the belief systems of the individuals within schools. Any attempt that is perceived as challenging individuals' sacredly-held beliefs is bound to be resisted. A number of other studies (e.g. Fullan, 1992) have also raised the pertinent question of what it means to bring about educational change, and what is needed to do this.

Unless teacher educators make a serious and conscious attempt to find a variety of approaches to deal with the beliefs student teachers initially bring with them to teacher education, they are likely to fail to have effects they desire, especially as regards the actual practice of teaching (Calderhead, 1988; Goodman, 1986; Grossman, 1992; Guillaume and Rudney, 1993; Kegan, 1992; Knowles and Holt-Reynolds, 1991; Wubbels, 1992; Bird et al, 1993; Floden, 1985; Guskey, 1986; Bullough, 1991). The knowledge of set scripts, as described by Schank and Abelson, (1977) discussed earlier, should enable us to find or create teacher education programmes that can capitalize on this knowledge and thus reorient the beliefs of trainees coming into pre-service teacher education programmes. The following literature discussed indicates that teaching is basically an individual activity, a personal journey of self-discovery of what really works for an individual teacher in a specific classroom context.

The search to change teachers' beliefs presupposes a common goal among teacher educators. Brousseau and Freeman (1988) carried out a study to find out how education faculty members define desirable teacher beliefs; and the results showed that while there was general agreement on what beliefs are desirable, there was no agreement on what methods could be used to shape students' beliefs.

3.25 The Relative Importance of Teachers' Beliefs

There seem to be very few studies that have disputed the claim that teachers' beliefs are crucial for a teacher's classroom behaviour. However, those that do attempt to dispute this claim do not dismiss teachers' beliefs as completely irrelevant, but rather debate the degree to which these beliefs actually determine a teacher's classroom behaviour. Roehler, Duff, Hermann, Conley, and Johnson (1988) argue that it is the teacher's knowledge structures, rather than beliefs, that play a decisive role in what he or she does in the classroom. Tabachnick and Zeichner's study (1994) concluded that while the beliefs a student teacher brings to teacher education give direction to the outcome of socialisation, the interactive process of a teacher education programme also plays a major part in the final outcome of the socialization process.

Bednar's study (1993) traced change in reading cognition development of teachers from their junior year reading course through their student teaching to their first year as actual teachers. During training, the student teachers were exposed to specific reading theories, principles and practices. The study found that the more comfortable and knowledgeable teachers were about their discipline, the more the change was evident in their teaching. The implication of these results is that a teacher education programme can only be effective if its impact is felt by the student teacher. Programmes need to make this aim the cornerstone of their approach.

Kegan (1992) produced a review of forty studies on teachers' beliefs published between 1987 and 1991. His aim was to discover if there were any coherent themes running through these studies. The findings were, first that student teachers enter teacher education with preconceived beliefs, and second, that the themes of teachers just learning to teach are very similar to those of long-practising teachers, which suggests a lack of change in classroom practice, leading Bourdieu (1994) to argue that one just reifies or reproduces the former. The results of the studies reviewed by Kegan were found to be consistent with those prior to 1987 (Kegan, 1992).

Kegan's review, however, was criticised by Grossman (1992) who accused Kegan

of selecting only those studies that tend to agree with his preconceived ideas. Despite this criticism, Grossman did not totally reject the claim about the importance of teachers' beliefs but focused his attack on what he saw as a weakness in Kegan's review paradigm, his lack of a critical perspective on the studies he reviewed and his failure to point out the weak methodology employed in some of the studies he reviewed.

Teachers use their beliefs to make sense of the different contexts and environments within which they work. These varied contexts are fraught with problems that are ill-defined and deeply entangled (Nespor, 1987). Kegan, quoted in Pajares (1992: 329) summarizes the importance of a teacher's beliefs working in such contexts, when he says: "... the more one reads of teacher belief, the more strongly one suspects that this piebald of personal knowledge lies at the very heart of teaching".

3 C: My Theoretical Assumptions Arising from the Literature Reviewed

Following are the theoretical assumptions underlying my study. They are derived from the literature on language teaching methods and teachers' beliefs which I have discussed earlier, and also from literature on methodological approaches adopted for this study, which are discussed in the next chapter. However, because of the complex nature of teaching and learning, I cannot claim that my assumptions are entirely comprehensive and complete.

The general conclusion from the literature reviewed in this study appears to indicate that in any research into the ways that ordinary members of a cultural or social group make meaning of their experiences, the researcher must start from the perspectives of the participants under study. This is necessary because the social world of the participants is built upon the meanings that they assign to the world that surrounds them (Coulon, 1995; Denzin, 1992). Members of a cultural or social group negotiate meaningful reality of their varied worlds from their everyday experiences. This social reality is described and constituted in language (Coulon, 1995). Because of this, it is essential that participants be investigated in their authentic settings. My study's research

into Willie and Cathy's beliefs about ESL teaching must focus on their actual language classrooms if change is to be effected there (Gertz, 1973; Long, 1991; Goodson, 1992).

Moreover, in a teaching-learning situation, the construction of social and academic knowledge involves negotiation by both the teacher and the students (Mehan, 1979; Heras, 1994). In this situation, different roles are assigned for the teacher and the students and are defined by the school's organisational structure and society. The roles are manifested and realized in routine classroom interactions (Mehan, 1979; Heras, 1994). Because social and academic knowledge are negotiated by both the teacher and the students, classroom teaching always involves an act of improvisation (Erickson, 1982; Denzin, 1992); but because teacher and student power are unequal, and because of their different roles, it is the teacher's beliefs which largely dominate ways of being and knowing in the classroom. It is therefore futile to search for answers to effective language teaching within the method paradigm (Prabhu, 1990; Nunan, 1991). Instead, teaching should be looked upon as an activity whose success depends on "whether it is informed or not informed on the teacher's sense of possibility and subjective sense of plausibility" (Prabhu, 1990, p. 175). This, in essence, means searching "for ways in which teachers' and specialists' pedagogic perceptions can most widely interact with one another, so that teaching can become most widely and maximally real" (Prabhu, 1990, p.176). The assumptions I have reached and described here gave rise to the research questions stated earlier in chapter one of this study, and which are repeated here as follows:

- (1) What are the ESL classroom interactive patterns of the two teachers selected for the study? What do these patterns and the teachers' classroom artifacts reveal about their beliefs about the construction of social knowledge at secondary school level?
- (2) How does each teacher construct academic knowledge in his/her ESL instruction? What do the patterns of construction and the teachers' classroom artifacts reveal about their beliefs about the instruction of ESL academic knowledge at secondary school level?

In the next chapter, I present the methodological approaches that I used for the study.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES AND PERSPECTIVES USED FOR THE STUDY

In chapter four I look at the theoretical and methodological perspectives adopted for the study. This is an embedded case study that draws its methodological perspectives on constitutive ethnography and ethnomethodology. Data for the study were collected through interviews, classroom observations, field notes, documents and artifacts. A comparative theme analysis of the data is done within an interpretive framework. Results in the following chapters five and six are presented in the form of inferential and explanatory descriptive analyses.

4 A: Approaches I Used for the Study

A researcher's methodological procedures are influenced by his or her theoretical perspectives. This study takes a qualitative approach, using tools of data collection and analysis from constitutive ethnography (Denzin, 1992) and ethnomethodology (Mehan, 1979). The approach allows for the holistic investigation of teacher-learner interaction in socially-situated cognitive instruction. My study is similar to some qualitative research studies and researchers who aim "to discover phenomena such as patterns of second language behaviour not previously described and to understand those phenomena from the perspective of participants in the activity" (Seliger and Shahomy, 1990, p.120). Accordingly, methodological approaches of my study are grounded in "pattern theories" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Pattern theories are based on a number of sub-theories, such as theories of language socialisation; socio-cultural development theories; socio-historical and cross-cultural development theories, and theories from linguistic anthropology and conversational analysis (Gutierrez, 1994).

4.1 Constitutive Ethnography

Constitutive ethnography, the methodological perspective I used for the collection and analysis of my data, is a social psychological theory that is rooted in American pragmatism (see Mead, 1962). Mehan (1979) describes it as "... the description of the social organization of routine, everyday events" (p. 8). He goes on to say: "... constitutive ethnographers study the structuring activities and the social facts of education they constitute rather than merely describing recurrent patterns or seeking correlations among antecedent and consequent variables" (Mehan, 1979, p. 18). The goal of constitutive ethnography, therefore, is to construct a model that accounts for the organization of each and every instance under study. Mehan's classic structure of teachers' lessons (the I-R-E pattern) is one example of a model of a classroom lesson. Constitutive ethnography emphasizes the use of participant observation as an appropriate method for studying social reality. This means that I as a researcher had to take into account the detailed processes of the role played by my participants in the construction of their own world: "A researcher must first take into account the points of view of the actors under study, because it is through the meaning that they assign to objects, to people, and to the symbols that surround them that the actors build up their social world" (Coulon, 1995, p.7).

4.2 Ethnomethodology

I see constitutive ethnography going hand in hand with the ethnomethodological perspective I also took in the collection and analysis of my data. Ethnomethodology is the study of the ordinary methods that are used by ordinary people to realize their actions. In an introduction to his book, Coulon (1995) describes ethnomethodology as "... the careful and systematic examination of the reality-generating mechanisms of everyday life". Ethnomethodology is a research perspective that can be traced back to Garfinkel (1967); who writes: "I use the term 'ethnomethodology' to refer to the investigation of rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent ongoing

accomplishments of organized artful practices of everyday life" (p. 11).

Ethnomethodology can also be traced to cognitive sociology (e.g. Cicourel, 1974). The approach to social inquiry is based on the assumption that ordinary people are endowed with social reality, and this reality is described and constituted in language. This approach to social inquiry focuses on the day-to-day practical reasoning of how people construct their definitions of social structures. I draw on ethnomethodology in analyzing and describing the methods and procedures that Willie and Cathy use for carrying out the different teaching tasks that they accomplish in their ordinary lives (c f. Heritage, 1984; Sevnigny, 1981). Members of any society, such as a classroom, are able to acquire a sense of belonging and acceptance because they are able to negotiate and adapt to the shared frame of reference of the society. However, because social reality is not a preexisting entry but is constantly being created by the actors within it, there are often contradictions in the process of adaptation (Coulon, 1995). Ethnomethodology focuses on the discovery of the methods by which actors in a society actualize the rules of negotiation and adaptation. These rules are normally revealed in the actors' narrative accounts; but ethnomethodology does not regard these accounts as description of reality; rather they are a revelation of how the actors' world is constituted. Coulon (1995) explains the process:

Contrary to what is sometimes asserted, ethnomethodologists do not regard actors' accounts as descriptions of social reality. The analysis of these accounts is only useful for them in so far as it reveals in what way actors permanently reconstruct a fragile and precarious social order to understand each other and to be able to communicate (p. 26).

Coulon (1995) also states that ethnomethodology has not yet developed its own tools for field research, but borrows these from ethnography. Such tools may be borrowed from conversational analysis, the ethnography of communication, cognitive sociology and constitutive ethnography (cf. Jacob, 1987; Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). These approaches are differentiated by their focus on and views of language. For example, the ethnography of communication focuses on language and communication as cultural behaviour; while conversation analysis is concerned with the construction of social order as revealed in the

sequential structures in conversation (Schiffrin, 1994). The view I adopt and language focus are grounded in constitutive ethnography; but I tend to agree with Mehan and Wood (1975) who argue that the question of which particular ethnomethodological analysis is used is irrelevant; and that some people may even create their own method, as long as the analysis is able to capture the underlying system of the interactive phenomenon being studied. Both constitutive ethnography and ethnomethodology are necessary for my study because of the complexity of the multi-layered and overlapping activities involved in classroom interaction. These activities involve both the social and the cognitive components of teaching and learning. Capturing the complexity of these activities requires multiple perspectives (Gutierrez, 1994; Yin, 1986; Seliger and Shohamy, 1990).

4.3 Pattern Theories as Applied to Constitutive Ethnography and Ethnomethodology

Pattern theories, or shared frames of understandings, have their basis in the notion of discourse as a medium of social interaction. Specific rules or shared experiences make it possible for members of an organization or group to interact or communicate with each other (Crago, 1992; Erickson, 1982; Heras, 1994; Jacob, 1987). These theories operate at different levels of human society, including that of the classroom, which can be treated as a social organization in its own right (Cazden, 1988).

In analyzing data using an ethnomethodological approach, I looked for the "system" or patterns of a society's everyday activities using my background expectancies and common-sense knowledge of the facts of social life (Garfinkel, 1967). I engaged in interpretive work under the assumption that understanding a phenomenon under observation is dependent on understanding matters or patterns based on common knowledge about the society under investigation. In this way, it was possible for me to provide an integrated picture that includes some theory about the events under examination.

Shared frames of understanding make it possible for both the teacher and the students to cooperate in a lesson. Ideally, both should be active participants in the creation

of a classroom culture, although this is not always the case (Erickson, 1982). Both teachers and students come to classrooms with prior intentions, expectations and experiences, but through interaction in the classroom, each influences the other and they establish ground rules which will guide them in their interactions and ultimately act as social policies. In an ideal situation, students and teachers reach a common knowledge and understanding that enables them to work together as a group. But in their moment-by-moment interaction, they also negotiate their cultural differences and different understandings, a process which occurs simultaneously with the teaching/learning of the content of the curriculum.

4.4 Defining my Role as a Researcher

In carrying out this present classroom-based inquiry, I was aware that I was entering the field as "an insider". I had taught English in two Zimbabwean high schools for nine years and a further nine years had been spent in teacher education in the same country. I was able to take advantage of the knowledge I had gained from this experience to perceive and interpret the significance of the data I was obtaining in my observations and that which was given or lent to me. For example, I knew that ESL teachers in Zimbabwe keep personal curriculum documents such as scheme-cum-plans, an emic term for a scheme of work combined with a lesson plan. I also had a general idea of how ESL teachers in Zimbabwe think and function. In approaching the teachers, I therefore had an idea of what to look for. In this way, my position as a researcher allowed me to exploit "the self as an instrument" (Eisner, 1991, p. 34).

My role as an "insider" can raise the question of objectivity in my inquiry. Objectivism, which is normally associated with positivism, separates an observer from the observed by relegating the researcher to an outside position (Coulon, 1995). Constitutive ethnography and ethnomethodology, on which my study draws its theoretical and methodological perspectives, embrace the concept of subjectivity in research through reflexivity. Reflexivity is a self-conscious engagement between a researcher and the world

s/he investigates. The concept recognizes that the researcher is part of the social world s/he studies (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1993). The reflexivity that is embraced by constitutive ethnography and ethnomethodology allowed my subjectivity as a researcher to be "appreciated as a phenomenon that belongs naturally to the field under study" (Coulon, 1995). In this way, my research process became a joint production between myself and the participants in the inquiry (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1993). This interrelationship between I, the researcher, and the participants meant that there was no epistemological break between us.

However, a number of tensions and contradictions did arise because I was inhabiting multiple roles. Such tensions and contradictions are, however, normally taken as given in qualitative research like mine. For example, my efforts to see the research process as a joint production by myself and the participants contradicted with my position as the "owner" and stakeholder of the research project. I was the owner because I was the initiator of the project's agenda; and my participants knew that I was the only one who stood to gain a higher educational qualification from my study. This then meant that I alone had full responsibility for the definition and design of my study and for choosing the participants who would figure in it. The participants only came in at a later stage, and at my invitation. This made them unequal stakeholders in the project. However, in choosing the participants, I exercised my responsibilities to explain to them the purpose of my study and their rights and benefits. In doing this, I was guided by the McGill Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee Guidelines given in Appendix C.

Another tension arose from my awareness that my position as a teacher at the University of Zimbabwe, and as a Ph. D. student in an overseas university, presented some difficulties when I attempted to share or discuss some common experiences with the participant teachers. I would like to think that this unequal balance of power, brought about by my positions and circumstances, did affect the level and amount of information I obtained from my participants. I therefore could not help feeling "an outsider", in spite of my wide experience in local education and my attempts to engage the participants in a joint production.

4 B: How I Collected My Data

I spent four months in Zimbabwe collecting data for my study, from the beginning of December, 1996, to the end of March, 1997. I collected five types of data; namely, audio-taped lessons, interviews, field notes, documents and physical and cultural artifacts. Data was collected in the following ways.

4.5 Audio-taped Lessons

It was important to audio-tape Willie and Cathy's lessons in order to infer their beliefs from the analysis of their verbal behaviour. I came into personal contact with Willie and Cathy two weeks before schools opened; the timing was deliberate so that I could get to know them and their work. When schools opened, I spent the first two weeks familiarising myself with the classroom teaching-learning environment of each teacher. It was important that I was "accepted" into their classroom environments, trusted and respected by both teachers and their students to facilitate the collection of valid data. It was especially important to me that the teachers, Willie and Cathy, did not confuse my role with that of an Education Officer out to pass judgement on their teaching. By explaining fully my role and my study to them, I sought their trust and respect. Getting to know Willie and Cathy and their students before I audio-taped their lessons also meant that the data I later collected was, I believe, as authentic as possible (Jacob, 1987; Seedman, 1991; Nunan, 1988; LeCompte and Goetz, 1982; Bogdan and Taylor, 1975).

In my familiarization weeks, before audio-taping the lessons, I made two interesting observations. The first involved the fact that there were definite variations in the way Willie and Cathy interacted with their classes where one lesson plan was used to teach two or more different classes from the same grade. Although there were common elements in the way the teachers interacted with different classes, I decided to occasionally audio-tape several examples of the same lesson taught to two or more different classes in the hope of capturing both the basic patterns and the divergencies. My second observation

was that generally the first lesson taught each day tended to be delivered with more zeal and enthusiasm than the subsequent ones, irrespective of whether or not the same subject was repeated. This trend was more noticeable in Willie than in Cathy. As I was aware that my presence in the classroom did have an effect on the behaviours of both teachers and students, I felt this pattern may have meant that the teachers acted as under observation in the first lesson, but by the second had reverted to their "normal" teaching style.

Over a period of ten weeks, I audio-taped ten of each teacher's lessons, and observations noted earlier led me occasionally to audio-tape two of Willie and Cathy's lessons per day, to capture as much of the variety of each teacher's classroom interaction patterns as was possible. I deliberately avoided video-taping in order to minimize the distraction that it would be likely to have caused for both the teachers and the students. A summary of the lessons I recorded is given in table 9 following.

Table 9

Log of Lessons by Willie and Cathy that were Audio-taped

N= 20

Name of Teacher	Lesson Number	Date and Form	Topic
Willie	1	6-2-97 (3E)	Summary
"	2	7-2-97 (4C)	Noun-Noun Confusion (gr)
"	3	14-2-97 (3E)	Errors (gr)
"	4	14-2-97 (3E)	Registers
"	5	21-2-97 (4C)	Parts of Speech (gr)
"	6	21-2-97 (3G)	Composition
"	7	21-2-97 (3G)	Vocabulary
"	8	4-3-97 (3G)	Nouns (gr)
"	9	4-3-97 (3G)	Summary
"	10	18-3-97 (3G)	Library
Cathy	1	31-1-97 (4A3)	Comprehension
"	2	6-2-97 (4A3)	Indirect Speech (gr)
"	3	10-2-97 (4A3)	Composition
"	4	11-2-97 (4A3)	Summary
"	5	12-2-97 (4A3)	Registers
"	6	13-2-97 (2A2)	Lit. Set Book
"	7	13-2-97 (4A3)	Clauses (gr)
"	8	14-2-97 (2A2)	Lit. Set Book
"	9	14-2-97 (4A3)	Study Hints
"	10	17-2-97 (4A3)	Aural Comprehension

4.6 Interviews

I conducted interviews with the participants for three main reasons: (1) to gain insights into the behaviours of my participants which I could not get from observation alone. I wished to explore their feelings, intentions and the way they interpreted the world around them (2) to obtain background information on the participants, such as their qualifications and length of teaching experience (3) to identify other relevant sources of evidence (Yin, 1986). Table 10 shows the participants who were interviewed, the number of interviews conducted and their length (see Appendix D and Appendix E for the guidelines I used for interviewing Willie and Cathy, and those used when interviewing administrators⁵).

⁵I have used "Administrators" as a collective loose term to refer to the Regional Director, Education Officers, Headmasters and Heads of Departments.

Table 10

Log of In-depth Interviews Conducted

N= 9

Name of Interviewee	Position/Title	Date	Length of Interview
Willie	ESL Teacher & H.O.D. English: Mhene Sec. School	29-1-97	3.5 Hrs
Willie	ESL Teacher & H.O.D. English: Mhene Sec. School	12-3-97	3 Hrs
Cathy	ESL Teacher: Dombo Sec. School	31-1-97	2.5 Hrs
Cathy	ESL Teacher: Dombo Sec. School	26-2-97	3 Hrs
Jane	Head of English Department: Dombo Sec. School	11-3-97	2 Hrs
Costa	Headmaster: Mhene Sec. School	19-2-97	1 Hr
Nathan	Headmaster: Dombo Sec. School	27-2-97	1.25 Hrs
David	Education Officer for English: Mash. East	10-2-97	2 Hrs
Sam	Regional Director of Education: Mash. East	11-3-97	1.5 Hrs

Total = 19.75 Hrs

I had planned that my interviews with Willie and Cathy would be mainly conducted in Shona, the teachers' L1. This was because I did not want to create the formal, evaluative atmosphere associated with inspection visits by Education Officers, who are required to conduct their business in the official language, English. I would later translate these interviews into English. In practice, however, I found that in most of these interviews, we ended up switching freely from English to Shona and vice versa, according to the preferences of each participant. Conducting interviews in Shona presented its own challenges and problems of translation. Many times I felt that I could not capture in my English translation all the nuances my participants were expressing in Shona, their mother tongue. At times I even felt the inadequacy of either language, whether Shona or English, to express what was conveyed by the participants' gestures, facial expressions and tone. However, it is inevitable that a personal interview cannot be entirely represented by a mere transcript of the conversation.

My first interviews with Willie and Cathy enabled me to formulate questions for subsequent and retrospective interviews, which were planned for nearer the end of the observation period (Nunan, 1988). The retrospective interviews were carried out towards the end of my observations in order to check for patterns of consistency in the data supplied, and thus helped to validate the data collected. The interviews were open-ended rather than structured, because the former tend to generate naturally occurring talk which allows the participants to define their own reality (Mehan and Wood, 1975; Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). In between the two in-depth interviews, I conducted many informal conversations with Willie and Cathy during tea time or as we walked together to or from their schools.

Unfortunately, there were fewer opportunities for this type of informal chat with Cathy than with Willie, because of my male gender and the cultural constraints of the society. For example, tea time at both Mhene and Dombo schools is at around ten in the morning and lasts for thirty minutes. Teachers take their tea in the staff-room. I observed that there were two factors affecting the way teachers sat together at tea-time; these were the same in both schools. Teachers who taught the same subject or subjects tended to sit

together for tea. The other determining factor was gender, so that male and female teachers sat in separate areas of the staff-room. This is almost certainly because of the Shona practice which encourages the separation of the two genders, so that in a traditional family setting, such as in a traditional "kitchen-living room", female members of a family, including the mother, sit and eat on one side of the room, while the men sit and eat on the other.

Because of this apparently cultural practice, it was much easier for me to have informal chats with Willie than with Cathy. I was also a member of the Shona community, so was expected to behave according to what custom prescribed. I had to be careful not to offend the sensibilities of the school community in which I was working, nor could I risk offending my participants by trying to "cross" sensitive boundaries set by custom. For example, it would have been regarded as "improper" for me and Cathy to be seen together very often in informal situations, which is why most of my informal chats with her were conducted in the presence of other teachers, usually the woman with whom she shared an office.

On these informal occasions, both Willie and Cathy tended to talk about their work informally. For example, on 23/2/97, while we walked home together after school finished at 4: 00 pm, Willie complained about how some student teachers were out of touch with the realities of the classroom. When I asked him to elaborate, he told me that he was having problems with some student teachers in his department whom he said were planning their lessons with an ideal student in mind. "These student-teachers do not know that there is no ideal student in any school", he said. These and similar comments helped me infer some of Willie's beliefs about ESL teaching. The one problem I faced here was that I never jotted down notes while we were talking, with the result that I could not always recall every detail of the conversation later, when I would jot down some notes on the conversations. Thus, while I had the advantage of not disturbing the natural flow of the conversation, I lost some of the details discussed.

Willie and Cathy helped me in transcribing their interview and lesson transcripts. After audio-taping a lesson or an interview, I would leave it with the teacher concerned

who would then do the transcribing. When each tape was transcribed, I verified the accuracy of the transcription by playing back the tape and comparing its contents with the transcription done by the teacher. When I finished checking for accuracy of each original transcription, I then asked the teacher to comment informally on the contents of the transcription. I also asked the two teachers if there was anything they did not agree with and would like changed on the original transcriptions. I noted their comments and made the necessary changes, while still keeping the original versions. I also asked Willie and Cathy to comment on my initial interpretations of the transcriptions. In allowing Willie and Cathy to interact with their own texts, by confirming and recreating them, I was guided by the need to develop an emic perspective of the teachers' beliefs about ESL teaching in order to give my inquiry an "ecological validity" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). Maguire and McAlpine (1996) define ecological validity as a process of ensuring that the form of the findings, interpretations, and reporting are useful and credible to those being researched. They say that in order to achieve this, the findings, interpretations and reporting should be in a language and context in which the participants both understand and feel comfortable.

However, I also discovered that by allowing the participants to interact with their texts, this tended to bring about the practice effect. For example, in a casual conversation with Willie about his lesson transcript, he remarked, "Oh, I now have a better idea of what I do when I am teaching!" It appeared that this discovery came as a surprise to him; and I wondered what effect such similar discoveries had on Willie and Cathy's subsequent lessons which I went on to observe and audio-tape.

4.7 Field Notes

During my fieldwork period, I also took field notes in order to gain added understanding of Willie and Cathy's teaching, and of the contexts in which their teaching was taking place (Yin, 1986; Watson-Gegeo, 1988; Merriam, 1990). Each set of my field notes carried details of the title, the date, the time and place of observation and were in the form of narrative scenarios. The field notes contained descriptions of the participants and

events, narrative accounts of classroom proceedings, research plans, and a record of my general impressions, opinions and working hypotheses. The setting was also described in detail, with sketches or diagrams where appropriate. I tried to take these notes as inconspicuously as possible, so that the participants did not feel inhibited. Initially, the notes were collected in spiral-bound note-books, and written in personal shorthand. Later, I expanded and typed them out so that they could be accessed easily. I left wide margins on both sides of the paper for comments, coding and analysis.

4.8 Documents

I looked at Willie and Cathy's personal curriculum documents, such as their schemes of work mainly in order to gain insight into the purposes, assumptions and perspectives of the two teachers (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). These personal documents were also useful for corroborating and augmenting evidence from other sources, and for raising issues which required further inquiry, such as retrospective interviews (Yin, 1986; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Mishler, 1986). I also collected official documents, such as the national ESL syllabus and other Ministry of Education publications to gain knowledge of the context of the two case studies. Table 11 following gives details of the documents collected.

Table 11

Log of Documents Collected

Document No.	Nature of Document	Source	Date
1	English "O" Level School Syllabus	Willie	11-3-97
2	Z. J. C. English School Syllabus	"	11-3-97
3	Willie's C. V.	"	29-1-97
4	Minutes of English Department Meeting	"	29-1-97
5	Personal English Timetable	"	17-1-97
6	English Results: (1995 & 1996) Mhene Sec. School	"	11-3-97
7	Teachers' Evaluation Reports by H.O.D. English: Mhene Sec. School	"	11-3-97
8	English Schemes of Work: Forms 3 & 4	"	11-3-97
9	Mhene Sec. School English Department Mission Statement/Targets	"	6-2-97

10	Mhene Sec. School English Departmental Policy	"	6-2-97
11	Form 2 Scheme of Work	Cathy	6-3-97
12	Personal English Timetable	"	20-1-97
13	Form 4 English Scheme of Work	"	6-3-97
14	Dombo Sec. School English Departmental Policy	Jane: H.O.D. English: Dombo Sec. School	6-2-97
15	Supplement to Dombo Sec. School English School Syllabus	"	6-2-97
16	"O" Level Mash. East Results (1995)	Mash. East Regional Office	6-2-97
17	1997-8 "O" Level English National Syllabus (1122)	E.O. Curriculum Development Unit	23-7-96
18	30 March, 1990 School Demographic Statistics	Ministry of Education & Culture Head Office	23-1-97
19	Term 1 (1991) "	"	23-1-97
20	Term 1 (1992) "	"	23-1-97
21	Term 1 (1993) "	"	23-1-97
22	Term 1 (1994) "	"	23-1-97

23	Term 1 (1995) "	"	23-1-97
24	Term 1 (1996) "	"	23-1-97
25	Secretary of Education Annual Report (1991)	"	23-1-97

Total = 25

4.9 Physical and Cultural Artifacts

Artifacts are tools, instruments or works of art (Yin, 1986). Examples of artifacts I assumed Willie and Cathy would be using in their teaching are teacher-prepared teaching aids, such as charts and models. In most of their classes I observed, however, there were only a few instances in which the teachers used anything other than the traditional textbook, chalk and talk. Table 12 shows a list of the basic textbooks that Willie and Cathy were observed using. My own personal observation from the nine years I was in teacher education is that many ESL teachers in Zimbabwe believe that, apart from the textbook, ESL teaching does not require any teaching aid. When I went out to do my fieldwork, I was therefore interested to know what Willie and Cathy felt about the use of teaching aids in ESL instruction.

Table 12

Basic Textbooks Used by Willie and Cathy

Name of Teacher	Title & Author of Text	Form
Willie	<u>Step Ahead Book 4</u> by S. Chinodya	4
Willie	<u>Step Ahead Book 3</u> by S. Chinodya	3
Willie	<u>A Handbook on Common Errors</u> by M. Lewis & W. Masters	3 & 4
Willie	<u>English for Zimbabwe Book 3</u> by N.J.H. Grant & E.O. Mamutse	3
Cathy	<u>Structures & Skills in English Book 4</u> by D. Dawson	4
Cathy	<u>Step Ahead Book 4</u> by S. Chinodya	4
Cathy	<u>English for Overseas Candidates</u> by G. Cox	4
Cathy	<u>Structures & Skills in English Book 2</u> by D. Dawson	2
Cathy	<u>God's case: No Appeal</u> by D. Fulani (ZJC set book)	2

Initially, I had planned to record Willie and Cathy's artifacts by taking photographs with a small camera. However, as most of the artifacts were in the form of the teacher's chalkboard work, this was rarely possible and proved very distracting, especially when a lesson was in progress. Nor could I take the photographs of the chalkboard work at the end of the lesson, because the board was frequently cleaned and re-used in the course of each lesson. My only solution was to rely on the field notes I took as each lesson progressed, which included the teacher's illustrations on the board.

In the four months I was in the field, I came to realize that there was so much data to collect that I often felt I needed more time to get to know adequately the participants I was working with and the environment in which they taught. LeCompte et. al (1982) recommend six months to three years in the field as the optimum length of time for ethnographic studies in which the focus is on assessing the rate and direction of change in a phenomenon. They say this is necessary to account for the process of history and maturation. My study, however, looks only at the history of the teachers' career in ESL teaching up to the time of the study. It does not attempt to measure the rate and direction of change in the teachers. However, I feel strongly that my data would have been enriched by a longer period of interaction with my participants and their environments. Financial constraints, unfortunately, made this impossible.

4 C: How I Coded the Data

The scheme of categories and the analytic frame I designed were created to suit the data I collected and the concerns of my study. My ultimate aim in the coding and analysis of my data was to gain a better understanding of Willie and Cathy's experiences of and beliefs about ESL teaching and learning. I was attempting to grasp the ways in which these two teachers construct their meanings of ESL teaching. I also wanted to describe that meaning as validly as possible. I carried out the coding of the data myself, because it was an on-going process, dialectic and recursive (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992; Lin, 1994; Maguire, 1989), not just a routine task. Doing the coding and analysis myself meant that I

also gained a deeper understanding of the issues involved. I was also able to call upon my own experience and judgement to make sense out of data which might otherwise have been ambiguous and subject to varied interpretations. This process is called researcher reflexivity; a tool I used for critically inspecting my research process. Reflexivity in a qualitative inquiry like mine is the process of self-reflection of one's biases and preferences (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992).

Excerpts from my field notes and one interview are included in Appendices F and G respectively to illustrate how the analysis was carried out. In analyzing the field notes, lesson transcripts and interviews, as in the appendices referred to, I divided a page into three columns. With the text in the middle of the page, I used the left margin to record notes on strategies, reflections, organization of data, hunches, and so on; and, in the right margin, I wrote down the emerging patterns or themes. Several steps were taken to develop a coding scheme for all the data. First, I developed a preliminary coding scheme based on a small batch of data. I read through the data and coded it according to these preliminary categories, in order to primarily assess their workability. When I was going through all the data, the initial categories were discarded, modified or new ones developed, according to the concerns of my study and the nature of the data I was working with. A category on queries, however, was maintained throughout the analysis; and is being offered here as an example of how I developed my own coding scheme. Excerpt 4 from Cathy's lesson transcript of 14/2/97 illustrates an item in a category on queries. The queried part in the excerpt is the laughter by the students, and is shown in bold. At the point at which the excerpt is taken, the teacher is asking groups to report on their findings.

Excerpt 4: An illustration of the query category⁶

- 1 Cathy: O. K. Since two or three groups are working on one aspect, let's find out
- 2 what we have, and then we can build up from there; otherwise we'll
- 3 not have enough time to discuss. So, let's start.
- 4 Class: (laughter)
- 5 Cathy: Your group, Ordias! Let's hear what you have done.

At first, incidents of laughter by Cathy's classes did not make much sense to me in my analysis. I therefore classified them as queries. But with more of the laughter occurring in my data, the phenomenon began to make some sense to me. My method was to ask myself: why is the laughter occurring? This led me to postulate a number of working hypotheses on a number of items in the query category, including the laughter, as I sifted through my data recursively. I tried linking queries to other categories in my data in an attempt to find patterns in their occurrence. I tested hypotheses and their interpretations against more evidence from my data. It is through this recursive process that some items in the query category began to make sense to me, and thus I was able to re-categorize them appropriately. For example, I was able to infer that an error by a student in Cathy's class was generally regarded by other students as a source of wry humour. In excerpt 4, the students' laughter seems to be aimed at both Ordias and the teacher. It appears the laughter is meant to make Ordias look stupid, because he cannot respond to the teacher's elicitation. In addition, the teacher is made to also appear stupid for asking an apparently daydreaming student to respond to her question. From such analyses, I was led to ask myself: what kind of relationship obtains between Cathy and her class, and among the students themselves? By asking such questions, I was able to link the episodes of laughters to other patterns of interaction emerging in the lessons, such as the noise made by Cathy's students soon after she walked out of the classroom. From such links and inferences, I was able to arrive at the category on "discipline". It would appear her students perceived her

⁶Excerpts from lesson transcripts used in this dissertation, unlike those from interviews and documents, normally carry a number of voices and, for easy reference in their discussion and analysis, their lines are numbered.

need for "orderliness" in her classes as an imposition on their perceived personal freedom. Cathy's students tended to resist this imposition in various muted forms, such as by their laughter and wry humour. Other categories, not necessarily originating as queries, were arrived at in a similar manner to that on queries.

My new and complete list of categories was then tested again by using it to code through all the data until I was satisfied I had an appropriate coding scheme; this I then used for the analysis of all my data. In coding the data, I underlined key exemplars and made brief notes on them for possible inclusion in narrative segments; they were to serve as illustration of the points made in the descriptions. In the end, major domains and themes falling under the exemplars were written separately on small cards which were then sorted and organised according to the way they would appear in the report. I analyzed documents and artifacts in the same way as field notes, lesson transcripts and interviews; that is they were also coded according to emerging themes.

Following are the four major domains that emerged from the data I analyzed.

- (a) Teachers' beliefs about curriculum documents
- (b) Teachers' beliefs about ESL models for instruction
- (c) Teachers' beliefs about interactional rights and obligations in the classroom
- (d) Teachers' beliefs about the teaching of linguistic and communicative competence.

In (d), I am using linguistic competence to refer to the ability to use the system of the language, such as its structure and grammar. Communicative competence, on the other hand, is the ability to use a language to create meaning. The first three domains are discussed in chapter five following, and the fourth is discussed in chapter six. In my discussion of the findings, I use a comparative theme analysis to examine Willie and Cathy's teaching; drawing evidence from the data collected from the five sources, and triangulating them for convergent validation. In the triangulation of the data, explanations are sought for any tensions and contradictions that emerge. The analysis of academic knowledge which is needed to answer research question two in chapter six is treated in the same way as the analysis of social knowledge in chapter five.

4 D: How I Present the Results

I present the results in the form of exemplars from field notes, interviews, documents and lesson transcripts. From these exemplars, I make inferential and explanatory descriptive analyses. In the descriptions, I use quantitative approaches, such as frequency counts where these are appropriate. Following is an analysis of the data and the discussion of research question one.

CHAPTER 5: WILLIE AND CATHY'S BELIEFS ABOUT THE CONSTRUCTION OF ESL SOCIAL TEXT

First of all, I have a **very firm and friendly approach** in the sense that I can even get in a class joking or laughing. And then I stop laughing and **students wonder**. Then I say: Please pick any piece of paper that is near you and straighten your desks (Willie, January, 1997).

The words in bold in the preceding excerpt from an interview with Willie highlight the tension and contradictions I found in both Willie and Cathy's ESL instruction. These tensions and contradictions revealed to me the complexity of Willie and Cathy's beliefs about ESL instruction discussed in this chapter and the next.

Chapter five discusses research question one. The question asks: What are the ESL classroom interaction patterns of Willie and Cathy? What do these patterns and the teachers' classroom artifacts reveal about their beliefs about the construction of social knowledge at secondary school level? This chapter deals with the expectations about participation in the classroom and the norms developed. In this part of the inquiry, I also discuss themes falling under the broader aspects of teaching and learning, such as the two teachers' beliefs about curriculum documents. Because a teacher's preparations prior to classroom encounters influence the interactional rights and obligations which are revealed during classroom encounters, it is important that I start off by looking at the major pre-encounter themes emerging from my data analysis. I have grouped these pre-encounter themes under two main domains. The domains are (a) teachers' beliefs about curriculum documents and (b) teachers' beliefs about ESL models for instruction. I also discuss sub-themes emerging from these two domains. A discussion of the two main domains is followed by that of the third domain, that of classroom interactional rights and obligations and its sub-themes. The third domain involves social encounters between the teacher and the students. Thus, my approach in this chapter is to move from the curriculum documents used by Willie and Cathy to classroom interactional rights and obligations embedded in their classroom practice. Curriculum documents include both official and personal

documents. Official documents include the national syllabus, the school syllabus and the course textbooks. Teacher-created documents include schemes of work, records of work, records of marks and lesson plans. Both Willie and Cathy's ESL classroom interaction patterns, although different in some aspects, suggest a largely traditional role for the teacher and the students.

5 A: Teachers' Beliefs about Curriculum Documents: Tensions and Contradictions

Under this main domain, I discuss official curriculum documents and personal curriculum documents used by Cathy and Willie.

5.1 Cathy's Views on the National and School Syllabuses

Cathy is the female teacher at Dombo Secondary School; she is also a university graduate. Following is excerpt 5 from an interview with her which illustrates her views on the national and school syllabuses.

Excerpt 5: We find out if we have covered everything.

When I was at Muonde High School, I was Head of the English Department. So, **I would devise, of course, the school syllabus.** But I would sit together with the "O" level teachers. What we would do is: **we opened the textbook and found out what it offered,** for example, **from unit one to unit six.** And that's the work for term one. So, for term one, we say, depending on how long the term is, maybe **six compositions** and maybe **thirteen comprehension passages** in most cases. Under language, we then found out **what could be covered;** maybe prepositions, whatever. **But I don't think it was of any use.** It was there in the file **to be seen by officials,** because **no one ever made use of it ...** It was **rather limiting,** I think, because it would **prescribe** how you were going to deal with prepositions only; how you were going to deal with the simple present tense only; how you were going to deal with the simple past tense only. **It was limiting** because the teacher would find out that **there was more his class would need.** And maybe his particular class did not need that depth on the simple present tense or the simple past tense only ... The problem is: most of us **teachers do not**

actually find out what we have done and what we haven't. So, teachers would do it in a haphazard way, in which **they wouldn't cover everything.** But, for example, the way we do it here (her present school), we sit down and we plan. We say: this term we are doing this and that. That helps us to **evaluate ourselves,** to find out if we have **covered everything.** But the way we did it at Muonde High, honestly, we just did it anyhow (January, 1997).

A model of language teaching that emerges from excerpt 5 is that of a teacher who is torn between meeting the needs of her students and "covering everything" prescribed by the syllabus and the textbook. The phrase "covering everything" is repeated more than three times in excerpt 5. This lexical repetition suggests that Cathy is very much concerned with covering a lot of ground with her classes. This need to cover everything seems to be motivated by the public exam in which her students could be tested on anything on the syllabus. Thus, for Cathy, covering everything appears to absolve her from any blame that might be levelled against her if her students should face a question in an exam which they have not covered in class.

An emphasis on the quantity of work covered is supported by Cathy's mention of the possible number of comprehension exercises and written compositions her class is expected to cover in a term of about thirteen weeks. In this case, Cathy gives a possible coverage of six written compositions and thirteen comprehension exercises per term. The idea of covering everything can also be inferred from Cathy's reference to teachers who do not find out what they have covered with their classes. She is critical of such teachers for their "haphazard way". According to Cathy, teachers who do not take stock of the work covered with their classes are not able to "evaluate" their teaching. It would appear that for her the quantity of work covered is the measure of one's teaching. In the interview, she does not mention the quality of this work covered, suggesting that her main concern is on the quantity rather than quality of work covered. My conclusion here, however, is tentative, as it is possible that I might have failed in the interview to elicit from her answers that have to do with quality work.

Linked to the idea of "covering everything" is Cathy's reliance on the textbook when making up her scheme. She describes her method as following the teaching units in a

textbook sequentially, as if to make sure that she does not miss anything: "We opened the textbook and found out what it offered, for example, from unit one to unit six. And that's the work for term one". The words "from unit one to unit six" suggest a linear and sequential view of language teaching rather than a cyclic one. Tension arises from Cathy's need to follow sequentially the work laid out in the textbook and the need to meet the individual needs of her students at the same time. This tension arises because there is no guarantee that the sequential teaching units in a textbook will agree with the individual needs of her students.

The reason why Cathy prefers to scheme⁷ her work from a textbook rather than from the national or school syllabus is probably that the textbooks available appear more user-friendly than the syllabuses. For example, the textbook which she was observed using offers detailed guidelines on ESL content and how to teach it. The teaching content is laid out for the teacher into weekly teaching units. This is not so with the national syllabus, which simply lists topics for teaching. It is therefore not surprising that Cathy considers the national and school syllabuses to be "limiting" and keeps them in the file only "to be seen by officials". In Zimbabwean secondary schools, the ESL school syllabus is supposed to be drawn up from the national syllabus to meet the individual needs of each school. ESL teachers are supposed to scheme from the school syllabus. Preparing a school syllabus from the national syllabus demands a lot of work and creativity on the part of the teacher. This burden is made lighter by the textbooks which are especially written for Zimbabwe and geared to the current syllabus and tend to do most of the work for the teacher. It is therefore not surprising that Cathy prefers the textbook to the syllabus for her scheming. I was able to confirm her reliance on a textbook to underpin her preparing of schemes of work during the observations I made on her classroom teaching. Table 14 following gives an indication of the extent to which Cathy uses the textbook.

⁷"To scheme" is an emic term used in Zimbabwe for "making up a scheme".

5.2 Willie and the National Syllabus

Willie is the non-university graduate male ESL teacher at Mhene secondary school. He argues that his teaching is guided by the national syllabus: "We teach to the **expectations of the national syllabus**; and in third term we are **drilling for the exam**. If the syllabus says I teach **nouns or adjectives from Step Ahead** (a course book), which book I don't have, it is necessary to make arrangements to get it through **swopping of texts with another teacher** " (January, 1997).

Willie's words suggest a structural rather than the currently recommended integrative approach to language teaching. This structural approach seems to be prescribed by the nature of the ESL syllabus which is structural. Prescription of the instructional approach is suggested by Willie's words: "If the syllabus says I teach nouns or adjectives...", suggesting these linguistic items are taught as discrete linguistic skills rather than as integrative language units or discourse. The words "drilling for the exam" also suggest a mechanical and repetitive approach to the teaching of these linguistic structures as exam preparation. "Drilling" also suggests a behaviouristic view on language, a view that places emphasis on habit formation through repetition.

The model of language teaching suggested by Willie's words is not very different from that implied by Cathy. Both teachers appear to share a traditional approach to ESL teaching that is typified by the grammar-translation method, which dates back to the days of the ancient Roman empire, as reviewed in chapter three. However, Willie tends to place more value than Cathy on the national syllabus as opposed to course textbook. Both teachers, however, appear to be motivated by the requirements of the exam rather than by any real linguistic needs of their students. Although Willie says he finds the national syllabus useful in his teaching, he still refers to the textbook, such as Step Ahead, as one of his major sources of both content and methodology.

Willie and Cathy's traditional approach to ESL teaching could be explained by the fact that both teachers are probably themselves products of traditional ESL teaching. Both teachers were not explicit about this point in the interviews. But from the way both of

them spoke in support of traditional grammar teaching, as we shall see later, we are able to infer that their early experiences could well have influenced their beliefs on ESL teaching (cf. Bird, Sullivan and Swidler, 1993). It is also possible that their training as ESL teachers was within the mould of traditional ESL instruction or that their training, whether traditional or otherwise, had little impact on them (cf. Rossman, Corbett and Firestone, 1988). Another factor that might also affect the way Willie and Cathy view their teaching is the lack of availability of teaching and learning materials in their schools. For example, Willie talks of "swopping of texts with another teacher", suggesting a critical shortage of teaching resources, such as textbooks, in his school in general and also in his English department in particular. The availability of teaching materials or their lack can affect teacher behaviour in the classroom. Following is how Willie and Cathy use the textbook in their teaching.

5.3 Use of the Textbook

The following tables 13 and 14 show the extent to which Willie and Cathy respectively use the basic textbook as a source of teaching material. Information in the tables is obtained from the two teachers' schemes of work for one form four class each. The work considered in each scheme of work is from 15 January, 1997, when schools opened for the new academic year, to 21 February, 1997. The choice of this period of teaching and the grade of the class is arbitrary. Tables 13 and 14 show numerically each teacher's sources of material for the lessons taught in the selected period.

Table 13

Willie's Sources of Teaching Materials for Form 4 C

Item Number	Title of Topic	Source of Material
1	Orientation work	No indication
2	Oral work on phrasal verbs	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
3	Corrections as remedial work	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
4	Composition	No indication
5	Common errors	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
6	Language written exercise	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
7	Comprehension	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
8	Summary	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
9	Combining sentences	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
10	Composition	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
11	Sentence transformation	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
12	Oral comprehension	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
13	Composition	Pupils' previous essays and "mistakes". Randall's posters
14	Summary	Past exam paper
15	Sentence transformation	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
16	Noun-noun confusion	<u>A Handbook on common errors</u>
17	Composition	Randall's posters
18	Verb tenses	<u>English for Zimbabwe</u>
19	Appropriate registers	Past exam paper
20	Comprehension	Past exam paper
21	Library	Novels

22	Composition	Randall's materials
23	Total for textbook sources	13
24	Total for "others" ⁸	8
25	Total for all sources	21

⁸Others include where no indication of source of material is made and any other source that is not a course book.

Table 14

Cathy's Sources of Teaching Materials for Form 4 A3

Item Number	Title of Topic	Source of Material
1	Issuing of textbooks	Not applicable
2	Course outline and comprehension	<u>Structures and skills book 4</u>
3	The simple present tense	<u>Structures and skills book 4</u>
4	Comprehension	<u>Structures and skills book 4</u>
5	Library	Not indicated
6	Communication skills	Not indicated
7	Composition	Not indicated
8	Composition	<u>Structures and skills book 4</u>
9	Library	Not indicated
10	Introductions	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
11	Summary	<u>Structures and skills book 4</u>
12	Phrasal verbs	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
13	Library	Not indicated
14	Comprehension	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
15	Summary	<u>Structures and skills book 4</u>
16	Misplaced clauses	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
17	Aural comprehension	<u>English for overseas candidates</u>
18	Composition	Not indicated
19	Improving study habits	<u>Step ahead book 4</u>
20	Library	Not indicated
21	Comprehension	<u>Structures and skills book 4</u>

22	Total for textbook sources	13
23	Total for "others"	7
24	Total for all sources	20

Tables 13 and 14 show clearly that the textbook is Willie and Cathy's dominant source of teaching material. For both teachers, frequency of use of the textbook is about 65% compared to the use of other sources of teaching material. This percentage is calculated from the number of times each source of teaching material appears in each teacher's scheme of work for the selected classes during the period covered by tables 13 and 14. The tables 13 and 14 also reflect an underlying assumption by Willie and Cathy that ESL instructional content is found between the leaves of a textbook rather than in real life. Other sources of teaching materials, such as newspapers, the radio, the computer and so on are rarely, if at all, mentioned in the teachers' schemes of work, suggesting that their use in these classrooms is also rare.

Willie's belief in the value of a textbook in ESL teaching and learning is illustrated by the following excerpt 6 from an interview. In the excerpt, Willie is narrating the story of how he always manages to get supplies of textbooks for his department, in spite of the protests of his school that it does not have money to buy them.

Excerpt 6: I asked for textbooks and library books.

I persisted in the department. **I asked for textbooks and library books.** In my first staff meeting, I asked the secretary to quote me saying: "I cannot see the department (English) suffering a deaf ear". I **persisted** and the minutes were taken. And they (Administration) said, "Let's get him out of the way". I got the money and I went to Longmans and bought those books. And for the library, **I made every student to pay \$5.00 a term for library**, and those are the students who borrow books from the library. Those who don't pay do not borrow books (March, 1997).

Excerpt 6 suggests Willie's strong belief that a textbook is an important tool and resource for both the ESL teacher and the student. The repetition of the word "persisted" in the excerpt demonstrates the strength of Willie's attachment to the textbook in his teaching. The following excerpt from an interview with Cathy indicates that she too has a strong belief in the usefulness of the textbook in the classroom.

Excerpt 7: I don't think a teacher can teach without a textbook.

I don't think a teacher can teach without one (textbook). For example, when you are dealing with comprehension work, you wouldn't have the passages, unless you take them from a novel. **You extract a passage from it (novel) and devise questions based on it.** But then the problem with this is that **the exercise might not be up to standard for pupils.** Maybe it might be too high or too low depending on **the skill of the teacher.** And then also there should be a **relationship between what we have in the textbook and what the exam requires.** So, I think **it's necessary to have a textbook every time** (February, 1997).

Excerpt 7 shows that Cathy is aware of other possible sources of ESL teaching materials and resources apart from the textbook. We are able to infer this from her mention of the use of a novel as a possible source of comprehension material. But it would appear, to Cathy, that these other sources and resources are not as authoritative as the textbook. For example, Cathy says that a teacher-prepared comprehension exercise based on a novel "might not be up to standard for pupils". Her reason for saying this is that the quality and suitability of the teacher-prepared exercise depends on "the skill of the teacher". It would appear that Cathy doubts the ability of an ESL teacher to devise a comprehension exercise, or any other ESL language exercise, that would be "up to standard for pupils". This "standard for pupils" is, in fact, the exam-standard. Cathy seems to see the exam as the measure of all things. This is why she says that there "... should be a relationship between what we have in the textbook and what the exam requires". Cathy, therefore, regards a textbook as an authority that is written to the requirements of the exam. To her, a textbook derives its authority from meeting the exam requirements. From all this, we are able to see how the exam explicitly and implicitly influences Cathy's teaching. Excerpt 8, from my field notes of 14/2/97 on Cathy's lesson on study skills, taught to Form 4A3, illustrates how the textbook forms the central part of Cathy's teaching. The excerpt describes the beginning of the lesson.

Excerpt 8: Take out your books and open on page

Cathy's lesson was based on material from Step Ahead, Book 4, page 17. On mentioning the title, the class **scrambled for a partner to share a book with**. In the process, they made so much noise when moving desks that it was almost impossible to hear the teacher's instructions. She had to scream at the top of her voice: "You are irritating me!" in response to this noise. Basically, the teacher's introduction involved **allocating tasks on page 17 of the textbook** to the class who were to work in groups of four. **She read out the instructions on the tasks as given in the book**. In these groups, students were asked to find out what they remembered about the study hints they had discussed in the previous lesson. Each group was allocated a different task to do, **as described on page 17 of the textbook**.

In this early part of the lesson, Cathy typically announces the agenda for the lesson. This is followed by the mention of the textbook page for the material the lesson is based on. From my personal observations of ESL teachers in Zimbabwe, the way that Cathy opens her lesson is typical of most ESL teachers' lessons in Zimbabwe, except for the noisy openings which characterized most of her lessons I observed. From excerpt 8, we are able to infer how Cathy uses the textbook as a source of both teaching material and teaching techniques. In the excerpt, for example, both the tasks and the way they should be tackled come word for word from the instructions in the textbook, which is followed almost slavishly from page to page. This practice suggests a linear sequential view of language teaching. We have already seen how Cathy thinks that following the linear sequence of teaching material, as laid out in a textbook, will ensure that she covers everything her students have to know about the target language for the exam. To Cathy, therefore, a textbook provides reliable guide for preparing her students for the exam. Her students' scramble for textbooks to share shows how this basic resource, in spite of the high value placed on it, is in short supply in her school.

Cathy's over-reliance on the textbook tends to contradict what she says about language learning in the following excerpt 9 from an interview.

Excerpt 9: We acquire a language by using it.

I think when someone **acquires a language by using it**, applying what they have acquired, then the students actually **learn that language better** than when they just read about the language, and **they don't use what they read**; they reserve it for written work. They **don't learn the language as much that way** (February, 1997).

Excerpt 9 shows an awareness in Cathy that language teaching should be for use rather than usage. But teaching language for real use suggests moving away from textbook-oriented teaching to teaching language for life. Cathy, however, does not seem to be aware of the contradiction between how she uses a textbook in her teaching and what she says about the need to teach language for use, that is, between the frozen language of the textbook and that of the living language in everyday use. This is an illustration of the tension between what Cathy claims she believes and values and what she actually does.

The contradictions arising from both Willie and Cathy's over-reliance on textbooks can be explained in many ways. We have already seen how this could be the result of the teacher's need to meet the demands of the exam. It could also be a survival tactic for a teacher who is under pressure from tight schedules and the demands of administrators (Mayher, 1990). It could also be a sign of a lack of self-confidence in the teacher (see, for example, Richards and Rodgers, 1986). I also observed that a lesson based on a textbook tends to be more predictable, more formal and quieter than a non-textbook lesson, because it is not driven by moment-to-moment needs of the students (cf. Nunan, 1991; Green, Weade and Graham, 1988). While a textbook can give models of content, this model, like all print, tends to freeze meaning by constraining the potential meaning. This is because textbook language cannot present the ever-changing living language of everyday use, particularly the spoken language. Nor does it present language in an authentic period and context. This may explain something I have frequently observed in Zimbabwe, the fact that many ESL students tend to use formal English for most occasions, even where this is not appropriate. Their spoken English sounds more written or textbookish than everyday

spoken language. For example, when in buying a train ticket, these students would say: "Could I have one ticket to Gweru and one return one", while the normal spoken form for this would be: "One return ticket to Gweru, please". These students are acknowledged to be particularly weak in the recognition and use of appropriate register in natural contexts.

Closely linked to the textbook are other teaching and learning aids, such as charts and models, which Cathy and Willie referred to in interviews. Following are their views of these symbolic representational tools of teaching.

5.4 No Role for Charts in ESL Teaching

Willie says that charts and other teaching and learning artefacts, such as models, have no place in ESL teaching and learning; "Maybe it's **more workable for science teachers** who use diagrams. I don't really see how an English teacher can use charts as the other content subjects do. This is **very rare**. We rely on magazines" (January, 1997).

In my field notes I noted that neither Willie nor Cathy used any teaching and learning aids, to supplement the textbook. This suggests a lack of invitational learning environments in their classrooms. Entries in my field notes for each observed lesson make frequent mention of "blank walls, no charts or other teaching aids in the classroom". This confirms Willie's words that ESL teachers tend to rely more on printed teaching and learning materials, such as the textbook. I will now move the discussion to personal curriculum documents.

5.5 The Scheme of Work

Both Willie and Cathy use a scheme-cum-plan. This is an emic term used in Zimbabwe for a scheme of work that combines teaching to be covered with lesson plans for teaching it. In this study, the document will simply be referred to as scheme of work. A scheme of work is a double-spread sheet divided into columns for dates, lesson topics, source of teaching material, objectives, methods, and teacher-student activities. The last

two columns are left blank for general and specific evaluation comments which are filled in after the lesson has been taught. Figure 10 is an illustration of the layout of a scheme of work that is combined with lesson plans. The figure is an excerpt from Cathy's scheme of work for Form 4 A3.

The format of Cathy and Willie's schemes of work where language is divided into separate lesson topics, source of teaching material, objectives, methods and teacher-student tasks, seems to suggest that ESL content can be parcelled up into smaller units, called lessons, which can then be taught as separate linguistic entities. This is a rigidly structural approach to language teaching and learning. This view of language can also be found in the syllabuses and the textbooks that Cathy and Willie use in their teaching. The structural view of language goes against the currently-recommended integrative approach to language teaching. Integrative language teaching argues that any attempt to fragment language into its componential sub-skills, whether as functional patterns, vocabulary lists or pronunciation patterns, destroys it. Integrative language teaching is based on the assumption that knowledge is socially constructed by both the teacher and the students, and that the major purpose of language is for the creation and communication of meaning. To fragment language into its various components for teaching and learning purposes is therefore to violate the basic purpose of language.

Week	Lesson Planned	SOM	Objectives	Activities & Assignments	Comments	
					General	Individual
I 17-01-19	a) Issuing out of textbooks		By the end of the week ppls should have all the textbooks they will use		All work planned was successfully covered though	
	b) Course outline and notes on comprehension skills	S/S bk 4 p 6	- Take down notes on course outline and on comprehension skills	Tr exposition & note-taking	Most ppls were keen to pay up fees and return books.	
II U-01-19	Language Revision - The simple Present Tense	S/S bk 4 p 8	By the end of the lesson ppls should be able to give the correct forms of the tenses	- Ppls write an exercise - Revision and correction - Group work - doing exercise orally - Class discussion	The work was rather disappointing since most ppls had forgotten the tense. After revising the old work was more promising	
	Comprehension skills Adventure in the mts' part 1	S/S bk 4 p 18	By the end of the lesson ppls should be able to: a) apply the skills they learnt b) Answer questions precisely without constantly looking back at the passage	- Scanning together as a class - Screening individually - Answering questions individually	The work went well and ppls seemed to enjoy the work.	

Figure 10: An example of the layout of a scheme of work used by Cathy and Willie

From a teacher's evaluation comments on the lesson taught, we can infer his or her views on the purpose and value of a scheme of work. Following is Table 15 excerpted from Cathy's scheme of work illustrating the nature of her evaluation comments. The comments are for lessons taught to Form 4 A3 during a five-day school week beginning 20 January, 1997, and ending 24 January, 1997. The lesson number is found in the first column of the table. In the second column are the topics schemed for each lesson. The third column contains Cathy's comments on each lesson taught. My discussion is particularly concerned with the nature of Cathy's evaluation comments in the third column.

Table 15

Cathy's Evaluation Comments on Lessons Taught

Lesson Number	Topic	Evaluation Comments
1	The Simple Present Tense	The work was rather disappointing , since most pupils had forgotten how to form the tense . After revising, the oral work was more promising.
2 & 3	Comprehension	The work went well and pupils seemed to enjoy the work .
4	Library (Discussion of Importance of Extensive Reading)	The discussion was lively and interesting . It is disappointing that pupils lack resources hence they had not read over the vacation.
5 & 6	Communication Skills	The work was quite interesting , but time could not allow for the exercise. It will be done in another lesson.

From Cathy's evaluation comments, we are able to infer her views about ESL models of instruction and the concepts underlying her work. From table 15, we can again infer Cathy's concern about covering the planned curriculum. We can tell this from her disappointment, e.g. with lesson one and four, because she cannot cover what she has planned to do with her class. In lesson one, she appears to lay the blame for not covering the planned work on her students who have forgotten how to form tenses. In lessons four, five and six, a lack of adequate resources, such as textbooks and time, are blamed for the failure to cover the curriculum. Where Cathy is able to cover the planned curriculum, she records that as being "more promising", and that the work "went well". Thus, to Cathy, as we have already seen with her use of the textbook, covering everything has become the main focus of her teaching. Nowhere in the evaluation comments I scrutinised does she question her own teaching approach or its role in determining what happens in her lessons. This shows a lack of reflective teaching on her part.

Another conceptual connection we can make from Cathy's evaluation comments is what appears to be her assumption that learning ESL should be an enjoyable experience for students. We are able to infer this from her comments, such as "... pupils seemed to enjoy the work", and "the work was quite interesting". This assumption suggests an awareness of the concept of Krashen's (1987) affective filter hypothesis. The hypothesis argues that success in L2 acquisition is enhanced by an environment that allows the learner to be free of anxiety. Thus, when students enjoy a lesson, they are assumed to be self-motivated and self-confident, factors that are assumed to facilitate the acquisition of L2. However, there seems to be no awareness of implications of this for overall methodology.

Following is an excerpt from an interview with Cathy showing her views on her record of work, which illustrates her consistency in wishing to cover everything.

Excerpt 11: A record of work: A guide for work not covered.

I find the evaluations in the scheme of work very useful in the sense that if you haven't covered a certain aspect and you have recorded that you haven't covered it, you still have to come to it. After teaching a lesson, you make a

comment that there is a **need to go back to this**. This will **guide you next time when you are scheming** for the following weeks. You **go back** to that aspect which you think is **lacking in the students**. I think it's **quite useful** (January, 1997).

Again, Cathy's words in excerpt 11 confirm the conclusions from Table 15 that her evaluations of work taught are done primarily to keep a record of what work has been covered. Her evaluations lack depth and any coverage of how and why the work was covered in a particular manner, and what lessons could be drawn from this experience. Such a depth of analysis is associated with reflective teaching, for which Cathy shows little evidence. One of the fundamental principles of reflective teaching involves the teacher questioning and reflecting on his or her approaches and in the process combining his or her personal knowledge and doing, technical knowledge and artistry (cf. Schon, 1987; Goodson, 1992).

Cathy's views on the record of marks for students are reflected in the following excerpt from an interview, and fit in with other beliefs she showed.

Excerpt 12: Record of marks for monitoring students' progress.

Now, with the record of marks, I find it **very useful**. When you have written the names of the students and done the recordings of their marks, you can find out **who is doing the work and who is not**. You can also find out whether the student is **going up or going down**, and then you can **advise** the student. You can **counsel** the student, or you can find out **why** he is going down, and then you can **help** him and build up his skills (January, 1997).

From excerpt 12, we can infer that Cathy has two main reasons for recording her students' marks. The first one has to do with checking to see which students are doing their work and which are not. In this way, the record of marks acts as a kind of detection device for catching those students who are not working as hard as they should. The second purpose is diagnostic. A student who is identified as slacking or "going down" in his or her work is counselled. The teacher helps the student to "build up his skills". These

two aims in keeping a record of marks show how Cathy regards it as playing a checking role. I will now turn to Willie's views on the same topics, beginning with personal curriculum documents.

We are able to infer Willie's beliefs on schemes of work, records of work and records of students' marks from the inspection reports he writes on teachers in his department in his role as Head of the English department. Following is an excerpt from one of these inspection reports which makes explicit his beliefs on personal curriculum documents. The excerpt is from a report of 3/3/97 on an inspection carried out by Willie on one of the teachers in his department. The excerpt covers section (C) of the report, which is on the inspection of the teacher's schemes and records of work.

Excerpt 13: Willie's expectations on personal curriculum documents.

(C) SCHEMES AND RECORD BOOKS

The teacher's schemes have been inspected on this day, (4/3/97), and the following noted:

- (a) All week-end dates are shown.
 - (b) The relevant columns are all meaningfully completed with the Reference tests showing pages from which work is coming.
 - (c) The covered work is currently evaluated for general and individual comments and the schemes have been made to required end of this quarter (2/3/97).
 - (d) I expected that some parts of your schemes should show a re-schemed piece of work as remedial work from the previously done exercises - none seems to have been noted.
- Both form three and form one schemes of work and mark records are all up to date with One "F" having so far the highest recorded number of exercises and tests. Please enter the other marks for the other classes.

From excerpt 13 we can infer that Willie attaches great importance to the details given in curriculum documents, such details as the dates, page references and appropriate layout. He also believes that there should be a meaningful evaluation of lessons taught. Point (d) in excerpt 13 shows that Willie regards the evaluation comments in a scheme of work as necessary for identifying which work needs further coverage in the form of remedial exercises. Following is an excerpt from an interview which shows his observations on the personal curriculum documents kept by the teachers in his department.

Excerpt 14: A teacher should always be researching

And then we go to a teacher who re-schemes a poorly done lesson, and teaches it in a different way altogether. Then we have teachers who are weak. **They take teaching as a routine.** A teacher **should always be researching** most of the time, because things are changing. Some (teachers) simply change dates and they keep on using the very same scheme. They don't change. Some can even say: why should we scheme (when) we can just go in and teach? After all, it (scheming) is **more clerical than is necessary**. This is a weakness which is very **prevalent** among old teachers, the I-don't-care type (March, 1997).

From excerpt 14, we are able to infer again the importance Willie attaches to personal curriculum documents. He regards them as an important learning experience for a teacher, old or new, in the profession. This is clearly shown in his assertion that a teacher should always be a researcher so as not to let his teaching become routine. One way of doing this is by planning new work in light of the experiences of previous lessons. This implies that a teacher has to evaluate his or her lessons meaningfully so that he or she can benefit from the experience of teaching each lesson. This kind of approach to lesson evaluation is akin to reflective teaching (Schon, 1983; 1987).

The following table 16 is constructed from Willie's scheme of work, and I quote it here as an illustration of the extent to which he practises what he preaches. The table focuses on his evaluations on the lessons taught. It is excerpted from his scheme of work for Form 3 E and 3 G, and covers work for a full teaching week beginning 27/1/97 and ending 31/1/97. The choice of this part of his scheme is random.

Table 16

Willie's Evaluation Comments for Forms 3 E and 3 G Lessons

Lesson Number	Topic of Lesson	Evaluation Comments
1	Composition	Generally, both classes listed up very interesting experiences in their groups. Written work to follow next week .
2	Punctuation	It was interesting to find that pupils in 3E found this very interesting . 3G did not do this.
3	Use of <i>so, too, and very</i>	This work to be relocated next . As the term progresses, there is need for grammar work , e.g. verb tenses.
4	Library Reading	Pupils seemed to enjoy reading in the library. However, there must be lots of discipline on the part of other teachers to safeguard our books .

There are some similarities but also some subtle differences between beliefs revealed by Cathy's and Willie's evaluation comments, as shown in tables 15 and 16 respectively. Both teachers' comments show a belief in a linear sequence of language teaching. An example of this can be found in Willie's words, "written work to follow next week", and "to be relocated next". Unlike Cathy, however, Willie does not lay blame on his students for the failure to cover the work he has planned. In this way, Willie appears to take it as normal and acceptable that work planned for teaching may not all be covered within a set time frame. This suggests that the pace at which Willie covers his planned work is determined more by the needs of his students than by the time frame laid out in the scheme of work.

Another recurrent theme in Willie's evaluation comments is the lack of teaching and learning resources in his school. In his comments on lesson four, Willie mentions the inadequate reading resources in his school library, hence the need to conserve what few books there are by preventing their being stolen.

Willie also appears to be aware of the need for pupil engagement. We are able to infer this from his comments on lessons two and three. On lesson two, he writes, "Pupils in 3E found this interesting"; and on lesson three he writes, "Pupils seemed to enjoy reading in the library". As we have already seen, similar comments are also found in Cathy's lesson evaluations. But, unlike Cathy, Willie appears to be consciously observing and reacting to his students' responses to his lessons, a feature that seems to be absent in Cathy's evaluation comments. For example, on lesson one, Willie notes that the lists given by his two classes on their holiday activities are "interesting experiences". On lesson two, he says, "It was interesting to find that pupils ..." These two examples show that Willie is at least partially a reflective teacher, attempting to reflect on the effects of his own teaching. In these examples, Willie is reacting to the interactions he experiences with his students. This is different from Cathy's comments which tend to describe only the behaviour of the students, e.g. "pupils seemed to enjoy the work", instead of reflecting on the effects of the teacher's strategies on the students, as Willie tends to do. Because of this, Cathy's comments can be said to be student-focused and Willie's teacher-focused. It is

this subtle difference in focus that make Willie's comments more reflective than those of Cathy. Willie, however, does not go very far in analyzing why, for example, he finds the students' lists interesting. In other words, he does not analyze what it is in his own teaching technique that has brought about interesting lists from the students. However, even this degree of analysis can lead a teacher into reflecting more on his or her teaching strategies with a view to finding ways of improving them.

From Willie's comments on lesson three, we are able to infer that, from his perspective, more formal grammar lessons enable his students to accomplish some tasks in the target language. This assumption seems to result from Willie's assessment of his students' needs. For example, he observes that his students need a knowledge of verb tenses to enable them to perform better on their learning tasks. This observation suggests that Willie not only aims to cover the planned work, but is also sensitive to the needs of his students, at least of their overall academic language needs.

Barnes (1992) distinguishes two views of teaching and learning, what he calls the transmission view and the interpretation view. The transmission view focuses on the acquisition of knowledge and is product-oriented. The interpretation view lays emphasis on the personal, cognitive development of the learner by taking him or her as a partner in the construction of knowledge. The data provided by Cathy and Willie's documents would suggest that their teaching is oriented more towards teaching in the transmission model rather than teaching as joint construction of knowledge by the teacher and the students. The next section deals with a new domain, that of Willie and Cathy's views on models for ESL instruction.

5 B: Teachers' Beliefs about ESL Models for Instruction: Tensions and Contradictions

Following is an excerpt from an interview with Willie which illustrates his understanding of how ESL instruction differs from L1 instruction.

Excerpt 15 : You have got to teach second language.

From my experience, I think they (L1 and L2) are different. If L1 is Shona, L2 is English. You have these **interferences**, so the approach (to teaching) is different in the sense that you would want the child to have the **habits of an L1 speaker**, yet the child is learning the target language as a second language. The learning of the first language is sort of **inborn**. For example, you don't teach the child pronunciation, spelling, tone. They come naturally. But with second language, you **have got to teach** pronunciation, tone, pausing, diction, stress and emphasis and all those things. So, **the approach is different. I strongly believe it is different** (January, 1997).

Willie adopts a nativist view of L1. We can infer this from his reference to L1 as "inborn". He says L1 comes "naturally". Willie contrasts what he calls the natural learning of L1 with that of L2 which he says involves conscious teaching and learning: "... you have got to teach ...". This makes the learning of L2, from Willie's perspective, a matter of habit formation. However, he found difficulty in articulating the differences between what he would consider to be L1 and L2 instructional approaches. In excerpt 15, Willie is only able to state that L1 instruction is different from that of L2, and the description of the difference in approach stops here. Willie sees L1 interfering with the learning of L2. The interference view was popular in the 50s and 60s and was closely related to contrastive analysis, which claims that it is possible to predict an L2 learner's problems by contrasting the linguistic systems of the target language with that of the learner's first language. Where there are differences, contrastive analysis claims, the L2 learner will find those areas problematic and vice versa. Today, however, claims by contrastive analysis have been found to be limited. In examining the relationship between L1 and L2, the emphasis has shifted from L1 interference, a term that carries negative connotations, to such theories as the interlanguage continuum and the common underlying proficiency hypothesis (cf. Cummins, 1979).

When I asked Cathy if there were any differences in approaches to L1 and L2 teaching, she answered as follows:

Excerpt 16: It depends on how challenging the language is.

I find that for most of our children who have **not been exposed to English in the home situation**, it is quite taxing for them. It is **quite difficult for them**. When I was at Muonde High School, I found that most of the students I was teaching were quite fluent in English. And most of the **exercises** I gave them were not as challenging as students at this school (her present school) find them, because they (at Muonde High) were more conversant with the language than the students I have at this school. At Muonde High, the students there are of, I could say, of a little middle class backgrounds. And most of the children there are of ministers, **children of rich people**. So, they have been **exposed to English for quite a longer time than the students here** ... So, our teaching approach here is very **different** (January, 1997).

To some extent, Cathy, like Willie, seems to hold the view that L2 demands a consciously different teaching and learning approach as compared to L1. This view comes out clearly in her comparison of students at her former school, Muonde High, with those at her present school, Dombo High. Muonde High is situated in a low-density, multiracial, comparatively affluent suburb of Marondera town. Dombo High, on the other hand, is in a high-density, lower-class suburb of the town. In excerpt 16, Cathy expresses an awareness of the social and class issues affecting ESL teaching and learning in the two schools. For example, she seems to imply that students from rich families, although they may not be L1 speakers of the target language, are greatly helped in the learning of the target language by their greater exposure to the target language compared to students from lower class families. Students from the lower class families, many of whom attend Dombo High school, find the learning of the target language "quite difficult for them". Because she is aware of how a student's background influences his or her learning, Cathy sees a need for a difference in her approach depending on the students' backgrounds: "So, our teaching approach here is very different", she says. However, as occurred with Willie, I could not get her to spell out any specific ways in which the approaches to teaching the two types of student would be different. Their failure to articulate the differences in approach to teaching L1 and L2 suggests to me that neither of them may be aware of the differences between L1 and L2 instructional approaches. Interestingly, current thinking suggests that

the differences in approach to the teaching of the two languages, L1 and L2, should be less emphasized than they have been until now. It is now being argued that the teaching of L2 should be approached from the student's own familiar background, his L1, and that should be used in order to lead him or her gradually on to newer ground, that of the L2, so as to minimize possible discontinuities between the home and the school (cf. Cleghorn, 1992). It would appear, however, that Cathy and Willie have no access to such conceptual development in the teaching of language.

Use of mother tongue in L2 instruction and learning.

In a situation where the L2 is very rarely used outside the school, there is frequently much debate about the use of L1 in the classroom. Following is excerpt 17 from an interview with Cathy which illustrates her views on the use of the mother tongue in ESL classes.

Excerpt 17: No role for the mother tongue in ESL teaching.

I don't think anyone should even resort to the use of the mother tongue (when teaching a target language), even though at times I do when I'm in a tight corner. For example, with the class I had here last year, I would say something but they would not understand. I get worked up and I tell them in Shona ... I mean when I'm trying to communicate with the student but I can't. But I have, of course, the language. I can use the English language, for example, to explain a word. I think I normally use the other language (L2) in giving instructions, like in explaining: you have to do this, or you do it this way. But they (students) don't follow that instruction, very simple instruction. They don't follow that. So, you may get emotional (January, 1997).

In excerpt 17, we can see that Cathy strongly believes in the use of the target language for instruction, in spite of the problems students might have in understanding the teacher. This shows her strong disapproval of the use of the mother tongue in second language instruction. Cathy gets frustrated when students fail to follow what she considers

to be simple instructions. Her dilemma arises from the fact that the target language, her preferred medium of instruction, cannot always achieve the desired results, something that can easily be achieved by using the mother tongue of the students. But, of course, her convictions will not allow her to use the mother tongue, except when she gets "emotional" or worked up. My interpretation of her getting "emotional" is when she gets so frustrated that she drops her guard and resorts to the use of the mother tongue. However, there was only one incident I observed in her teaching when this occurred, which I will discuss in detail later in the next section.

In the following excerpt, Cathy elaborates on why teachers should not use the mother tongue in second language instruction.

Excerpt 18: Teachers should be good models.

I think the impression is (given by teachers who use Shona in ESL instruction) yes, you can learn English. But, it's **just there to be learnt to pass**. It's a language that you can learn **just to acquire it for the sake of it**. I think that's the **attitude** they (students) get. And also, maybe, they don't develop a **good attitude towards that language (L2)**, using it frequently; because they know, anyway, whatever they want to know, they will know it in their mother tongue (February, 1997).

Excerpt 18 suggests Cathy's concern about negative attitudes students might develop towards ESL if the mother tongue is used in ESL instruction. She fears students might lose the motivation to learn the target language when an alternative language is used for communication in the classroom. If she employs Shona in her ESL class, Cathy fears that her students might be deprived of the opportunity to practise the target language. From this, we can infer that she believes in the saying that practice makes perfect. She appears to take herself as a good model for her students. In all ten of Cathy's lessons that were audio-taped, there is only one instance in which she uses Shona in her instruction. The instance involves her use of a one short sentence, a mixture of one Shona word and one slang word. The sentence is found in her lesson of 10/2/97, on situational composition, taught to Form 4A3. The sentence is: *Iwe chopaz!* (You, be quick!). It is

uttered in response to a student who is taking his time in getting his book and delaying her when she wants to start. This isolated instance of non-use of English by Cathy shows how strong her beliefs are in the use of the target language for its instruction. In a way, Cathy's non-use of the mother tongue in theory and practice suggests an ESL model for instruction that is informed by a 'purist' view.

Excerpt 18 also suggests Cathy's concern that English is not only for the exam. But this view of hers is not supported by her classroom practice, as we shall see later.

Willie's position is very different, and his belief in the usefulness of Shona in ESL instruction can be illustrated by the following excerpt from an interview.

Excerpt 19: Shona is helpful in ESL instruction.

We can also say that Shona is dynamic. It is accepted in other languages, because there are **certain words we have which other languages do not have**, for example, the word *sadza*. (thick porridge, a staple Shona dish). English does not have *sadza*. So, we are using those words in our written compositions. I think, in that way, **Shona is helping. It makes the child feel that their language is almost as international as others, which is very positive.**

And then you try and make students know that our language is as rich as others by saying: I want you to take this Shona passage and translate it into English. Or I want you to translate an English passage into Shona. And then you can say: the way we write in English is different from the way we write in Shona, because **we are trying to run away from literal translations**. So, from that respect, the exercise will make them (students) realize **English is not written in the same way as Shona**. And if they know **the difference, this can help them to avoid literal translations and redundancy** ... I would say **Shona is helpful**. Like I was doing yesterday. I want the child to know the meaning of: "He is too much of a father". The child cannot know that metaphorical language. And we also have our metaphor in Shona: *Zigomo rerume*. This means he is a big person. So, **you can use that example in Shona to show that in English we do have also metaphors which function the same as those in Shona**. So, you start from the known to the unknown ... I sometimes use Shona to explain certain concepts when I want them (students) to understand; and I always get **positive results**. I don't think **there is anything wrong in trying to use the mother language to explain what students don't understand in English, and thereafter give them the correct explanation in English, when they know what you mean in their language**. This is the **most positive way of doing it** (January, 1997).

From excerpt 19, we can infer that, unlike Cathy, Willie sees "nothing wrong in trying to use the mother language to explain what students don't understand in English". Sachiko (1992) argues that there are different opinions among teachers on the use of the mother tongue in instruction, and that these reflect the differences in the teachers' wider beliefs about the best way to learn a language. Willie's use of Shona in his ESL instruction seems to be motivated by a need to approach teaching and learning from the known to the unknown. It would appear that he wants to capitalize on what his students bring to the ESL classroom in the form of knowledge of their L1. His approach seems to be built on the assumption that new knowledge is built on old. Using Shona in ESL instruction is, therefore, an attempt by Willie to bridge discontinuities that may emerge between the students' L1 and the target language. Willie shows his strong belief in the use of the mother tongue in ESL instruction by repeating, for effect, such phrases as, "Shona is helping", "Shona is helpful", "positive results", and "most positive way of doing it".

Willie sees various functions being performed by Shona in his ESL instruction. In the first part of excerpt 19, Willie seems to imply that students gain confidence if they are made to be proud of their L1. This confidence is exploited in order to form a good foundation on which to lay the target language, English. Shona is also used by Willie as an extra resource for lexical items that may not be available in the target language, such as the word *sadza*. Willie also uses the contrastive approach to teach new concepts in ESL, such as literal translation and metaphors. It is thus evident he regards the two languages, Shona and English, as complementary.

What Willie says in excerpt 19 from an interview is confirmed by observations I made on his classroom practice. Excerpt 20, from his lesson transcript,⁹ illustrates how he uses Shona in ESL instruction. The excerpt is from a transcript of 6/2/97, of a lesson in summary writing, taught to Form 3E. Shona words are italicised to distinguish them from

⁹The teacher and students' pseudonyms are used to identify the speakers. Where students speak in unison, they are identified as class. Short descriptions of lesson procedures which are non-verbal, e.g. pauses, duration for group work, etc. are given in brackets.

English words.

Excerpt 20: Two complementary languages.

- 1 Willie: Now, what is character, apart from a character being an actor in a
- 2 book? What else is character? Can you give that meaning of
- 3 character in Shona? Meki?
- 4 Meki: *Mutauri.* (A speaker).
- 5 Willie: Yes, it's *mutauri*, isn't? (Yes, it's a speaker, isn't?)
- 6 Chipo: *Zviito.* (Manners).
- 7 Willie: Ah, *zviito hadzisi tsika here?* (Is *zviito* not manners?)
- 8 Chipo: *Chimiro* (Appearance).
- 9 Willie: *Chimiro chako.* (Your appearance). A-h, I wouldn't say that.
- 10 Mary: *Unhu.* (Behaviour).
- 11 Willie: *Unhu?* Your behaviour? Character is behaviour? You can say this
- 12 person has a very good character. *Munhu uyu ane unhu.* That's a
- 13 well behaved person. *Tikati hauna unhu, tiri kureva chii? Iwe*
- 14 *musikana?* (What do we mean when we say you are not well
- 15 behaved? You, Mercy?) *Hauna unhu iwe!* (You are bad mannered!)
- 16 Class: (laughter) E-h!
- 17 Mercy: *Une tsika dzakaipa.* (You have bad manners).

In excerpt 20, Willie is attempting to teach the concept of "character" by asking students to give Shona equivalents of the English word. In exchanges between Willie and the students, both freely switch from English to Shona and vice versa. From the excerpt, we can see how, in this instance, Shona is used by the teacher both to give contextual clues and to accommodate the students' lack of proficiency in the target language (cf. Martin-Jones, 1995). The teacher also uses Shona lexical items to contrast with English ones as a way of teaching English vocabulary. This is exemplified by how the word "character" is treated in excerpt 20. In this example, the teacher asks students to give him a Shona equivalent word for "character". Thus, through this translation and contrastive approach, the teacher is able to convey to his students the concept of "character." This treatment of the word is a good example of teaching which moves from the known to the unknown. It would appear that, through this approach, Willie is attempting to link the students' knowledge of L1, Shona, to that of the target language, English.

It is difficult to quantify the extent of Willie's use of Shona in his ESL instruction. However, the amount of Shona used tends to vary slightly from lesson to lesson. To give an idea of this variation and the amount of Shona used in his lessons, I divided the sentences he spoke in two of his lessons into three categories. The first category is made up of sentences that are wholly in English; the second by those that are wholly in Shona; and the third by those that are a mixture of English and Shona. The first lesson transcript taken randomly for illustration is that of 21/2/97, taught to Form 4C, on parts of speech. The results are presented in table 17. The second transcript is for a lesson of 14/2/97, taught to Form 3E, on appropriate registers. Table 18 shows the results.

Table 17

The Extent to which Willie Uses Shona in his ESL instruction (Lesson 1)

Number	Type of Sentences	Frequency	%
1	All-English Sentences	252	86.301
2	All-Shona Sentences	18	6.164
3	English-mixed-with-Shona Sentences	22	7.534
4	Total Number of Sentences	292	100

Table 17 shows that Willie's lesson contains about 86% all-English sentences, about 6% all-Shona sentences and about 7% English-mixed-with-Shona sentences. Willie shows a slight tendency in this lesson to use a mixture of English and Shona rather than pure Shona sentences. Following is table 18 which analyses the transcript of Willie's second lesson.

Table 18

The Extent to which Willie Uses Shona in his ESL instruction (Lesson 2)

Number	Type of Sentences	Frequency	%
1	All-English Sentences	213	86.235
2	All-Shona Sentences	12	4.858
3	English-mixed-with-Shona Sentences	22	8.907
4	Total Number of Sentences	247	100

The extent of Willie's use of Shona in ESL instruction exceeds by a large margin that of Cathy. Willie's pattern of Shona use in table 17 is almost similar to that in table 18, with the two tables showing only a slight variation in the amount of Shona used in the two lessons. An analysis of Willie's other eight lessons would, I am sure, show more or less similar results. However, Wong-Fillmore (1980), who has analyzed a much wider range of teachers, argues that the amount of L1 used in a classroom often depends both on the kind of classroom activity and/or the individualized instruction between the teacher and the students.

A general observation I made about Willie's lessons is that ESL lessons with Shona tended to flow more easily than English-only lessons (cf. Cleghorn, 1992). Following is excerpt 21 which illustrates this point. The excerpt is taken from my field notes on a lesson conducted by Willie.

Excerpt 21: English-with-Shona lessons are more relaxed.

Pupils were advised to read magazines and newspapers. They were also encouraged to speak in English with each other, but not to mimic English tones.

The teacher code-switches freely from English to Shona, especially when he is stressing a point. The students tend to take this as a cue to also switch to Shona whenever the teacher does so. The atmosphere in the class appears to relax when the class switches from English to Shona. This may be due to the effect of a familiar code, Shona, in which both the teacher and the students feel more at home to express their ideas (Field Notes, 15/1/97).

Willie's use of Shona in ESL instruction contradicts the language policy of Zimbabwe. The policy says that all instruction, except in the teaching of indigenous languages, should be in English after grade three of the primary school. However, the continued use of Shona in ESL instruction, let alone its use in the teaching of other subjects, shows the complexity of choosing what language to use in the classroom. This complexity demonstrates that language use in the classroom cannot be effectively legislated by language policy (Martin-Jones, 1995). Moreover, Zimbabwe's policy on the language of instruction seems to be a contradiction of what recent research has revealed about the use of the first language in second language instruction. Some recent studies have indicated a possible transfer between L1 and L2 (cf. Cleghorn, Merritt and Abagi, 1989; Anerback, 1993; Frederiksen, Donin and Decary, 1995). Atkinson (1987), although warning against the danger of an overuse of the mother tongue, argues that a teacher ignoring the mother tongue in a monolingual classroom "is almost certainly to teach with less than maximum efficiency" (p. 247). The complementary role played by Shona in Willie's ESL instruction seems to add weight to Cummins' (1979) common underlying hypothesis, which states that there is a common or interdependent relationship between some aspects of L1 and L2 proficiency in a bilingual across languages. However, the debate on the transfer between L1 and L2 is not conclusive. Other research studies (e.g. Roller, 1988) have seen little evidence of this transfer; and some of L2 writing have indicated that transfer involves more than just the language (Maguire, 1994).

Not only is there debate about the use of L1 in ESL teaching, but the problem of what kind of English to teach was also raised by Cathy and Willie. What follows are Willie and Cathy's models of ESL for instruction. The following interview excerpt illustrates Cathy's views on this topic. Here, she felt no ambivalence.

Excerpt 22: English English, not regional Englishes.

I prefer **English English** (to regional English), because that's what would be **expected at the end of the course** when students actually **write the exam**. (By English English) I mean the **English which an L1 speaker can read without having any problems**; the English which I can read then I know what the **candidate wants to say ...** English is an **international language**, and if it is regionalized, then it's no longer **international**, and I would not understand it. Then, why are we learning English, anyway? We are learning it as an **international language for communication**. So, if we regionalize it, would it be possible for us to communicate with people from other regions? (February, 1997).

Excerpt 22 makes it clear that Cathy prefers to teach the variety of English provided by L1 speakers of English. By English English, I assume Cathy means standard English as spoken by L1 speakers of English. Cathy rejects regional Englishes for two reasons. The first has to do with the demands of the exam: "... what would be expected at the end of the course when students actually write the exam". It would appear that for her the nature of the exam dictates what variety of English to teach. Until recently, Zimbabwe's "O" and "A" level exams were marked in Britain, where one can assume the markers were L1 speakers of English. It is then easy to see why Cathy models her English for instruction on L1 speakers of English. Her acknowledgement of the exam in her choice of an ESL teaching model is easy to understand in the context of the Zimbabwean system of education and of a society which places immense emphasis on passing the "O" level exam.

The second reason for Cathy's preference for the L1 variety of English for instruction has to do with her belief in the need for a wider goal of communication. She argues that this can best be achieved by standardizing the English language, using L1 speakers as the yardstick. From excerpt 22, it would appear that Cathy takes a firm view on the perennial debate about the need for a single variety of standard English versus regional standards of English. Current thinking on the issue (e.g. Kachru, 1986) tends to take a non-prescriptive view; more emphasis being placed on efficient and effective

communication than on the need for uniformity in the type of English used in different regions of the world.

In the following interview excerpt 23, however, we see that Cathy makes an exception on the issue of regional accents. She seems to believe that different regions, while they should strive to speak standard English, they should, at the same time, maintain their accents (cf. Hughes and Trudgill, 1979).

Excerpt 23: No need to change the student's accent.

I think we should **retain the African accent**, because that's what we are; that's the way we speak. But at times I have spoken to a Nigerian doctor. There are times that **you cannot understand what they (Nigerians) are saying to you**. So, I think they (students) should take the English pronunciation. But they **shouldn't take the accent**. I don't think it is important ... I think the harm (in adopting the L1 English accent) is that the pupils **could be divorced from their own world**, from their own context. They are **not emulating the whites**; and they may become more white than the whites themselves, as you know (February, 1997).

In excerpt 23, Cathy makes a distinction between accent and pronunciation. What she calls English pronunciation is probably R P (Received Pronunciation, a variety of English associated with the upper classes and accepted as standard in Britain), which, however, she allows to carry regional accents. Here, Cathy seems to be unaware of a contradiction arising from the fact that the English pronunciation she advocates cannot, in fact, accommodate other various regional accents. Another contradiction arising from her views on what type of English to teach concerns the feasibility of ESL teachers, the majority of whom are second-language speakers of English, attempting to provide the L1 model of English she advocates. I would argue that this is not possible in present-day Zimbabwe. In her advocacy of standard English, Cathy also seems to be unaware that there is no one variety of standard English, but regional standards; even in Britain where English is the first language (cf. Kachru, 1986). Another contradiction is that what may be called standard English is itself a variety of English that has been chosen and given the label standard, not that there is anything intrinsically "standard" about it (see, for example,

Romaine, 1995; Grosjoan, 1982; Hughes and Trudgill, 1979).

Excerpt 23 also raises issues of class and identity. It is clear that Cathy sees language as a great classifier. For example, she seems to be aware of the need to maintain the identity of her students, fearing that if they adopted L1 English accents, they might lose their African identity and become "more white than the whites themselves", something she sees as undesirable. Because of the high status accorded to English in Zimbabwe today, Cathy's fears are by no means unfounded. For example, "Nose Brigade" is a rather derogatory term used in Zimbabwe to describe those Africans who go out of their way to mimic L1 speakers of English and hold the mistaken view that to sound like a real native speaker of English is the highest form of accomplishment in the learning of the target language.

Cathy also has definite views on what model of literature in English she should expose her students to, as the next interview excerpt illustrates.

Excerpt 24: ESL writers mislead students who are learning English.

The first speaker will explore his world (in literature). He will talk about what is **familiar**, something of the seaside and so forth, something which we (L2s) are not so familiar with here. And so, **the wealth of language, the depth, the vocabulary, the expression, there is more wealth in that.** That's what I have found out, especially when I read a number of Pacesetters written by several African authors. Now, most of them will **resort to mother tongue here and there.** And then, it's rather **misleading for the student who is learning English, the direct translations from the mother tongue.** Because I have discovered, as an "O" level marker, that the student who is the **candidate is the loser.** They (students) don't know what word to use; and then they just resort to the mother tongue. But they do not explain the mother tongue words used. They assume the marker knows what they are talking about. Of course, I know; but I'm marking as if I do not know (February, 1997).

In excerpt 24, we can see again how the exam influences Cathy's views on what variety of English to teach and her assumptions about students' intentions and needs. Her belief in L1 speakers of English as the best models of what variety of English to teach

encompasses even the domain of literature to which her students should be exposed. From the excerpt, we can infer that Cathy believes that African ESL writers do not provide a good model of English for her exam-bound students. She feels that the variety of English used by African writers is at variance with the demands of the national exam in English to which her students are subjected at the end of their course. It would appear, therefore, that Cathy's preference for the L1 model of literature is again determined by what she perceives to be the demands of the national exam in English, and her constant concern is to see that her students successfully pass this exam.

I would argue, however, that there is a contradiction in imposing a rigid exam that denies a candidate the opportunity of enriching his or her repertoire of ESL from borrowing, where necessary, from local languages. This borrowing could be, for example, at the lexical level where English might lack the appropriate lexical items to describe a local phenomenon. I believe that this actually enriches the English language rather than impoverishes it. One of the reasons often given for English having been able to spread so easily throughout the world is its capacity to be "bent" to suit local conditions. Many African writers in English, such as Achebe, Mungoshi and Ngugi, occasionally incorporate into their writing in English translations of expressions from the local languages, in what Cathy disapprovingly calls "direct translations from the mother tongue", in order to capture the authentic flavour of the locality they are writing about. There is, of course, as in any area, the danger of going to extremes in this practice. I agree, stretched too far, the regionalizing and indiginizing of English may result in the creation of pidgin English, as has been the case in certain African countries, such as Nigeria. When this happens, as Cathy says, it ends up defeating one of the main purposes for learning English, that of wider communication.

In spite of Cathy's preference for L1 writers of English as a model for her students, I observed her teaching a literature set-book written by an African writer in English. The title of the book was: God's case: No appeal, written by Dan Fulani. This is another example of the contradictions resulting from what the curriculum prescribes and what teachers prefer. In Cathy's case, since the literature set-book is prescribed by the national

curriculum, she has no choice but to teach the set text.

Willie appears to take an opposite view to that of Cathy on the subject of indiginization of English. Following is excerpt 25 from an interview with Willie illustrating the variety of English he prefers for instruction.

Excerpt 25: We can end up having Zimbabwean English.

You see, we can end up having what's known as **Zimbabwean English** (from the influence of the indigenous languages). For instance, if we looked at the tones across Africa, you hear them say: "That is a bla - ck ma - n driving a bla - ck car". So, you can easily tell that this is a Zambian. And you can tell that this is a Nigerian and Ghanaian. **That distinction you cannot take off**, as you can easily tell that this is a Portuguese by the accent. His English is still inclined to Portuguese. In that context, therefore, I have always asked my students to **emulate the people in this country**, myself as an example. And I have often asked them to listen to the Headmaster (March, 1997).

In excerpt 25, we can see that Willie, unlike Cathy, values the use of regional varieties of English in instruction. I also saw evidence in his lessons of his belief in the value of regional varieties of English. A few examples will suffice here. In a lesson on 6/2/97, taught to Form 3E, on summary writing, Willie tells his class, "I don't think it's necessary to speak like the English of the British. Our accent will remain ours". In another lesson of 4/3/97 on teaching summary writing, taught to Form 3G, the passage Willie chose for summary was from the novel, Son of the Soil, by Wilson Katiyo, a Zimbabwean ESL writer. In the course of discussing the summary passage, Willie admired the literal translations from Shona to English employed by the author. His words to this effect are found in the following excerpt 26 from the lesson.

Excerpt 26: Describing situations as they are.

- 1 Willie: I am glad that our authors are **coming up and describing the situations**
- 2 **as they are**, by trying to interpret the Shona culture as they write (in
- 3 English). A pure example here is when the two boys (in the passage) are

4 talking to Ambuya. They say, "My man", and "My wife". Then you can say:
 5 "*Vadzimai vangu ava; mwana wemwana wavo muzukuru*" (My wife, I am
 6 your grand child, the child of your child). This is **very special** ... And
 7 even if this book was read in England, the **reader would reason out**
 8 **the meaning from the strength of the mother language** (Shona), as it
 9 appears. That's where we try to battle to put on this mother language
 10 (Shona) when we are writing our books.

Excerpt 26 suggests Willie's perception that L2 writers of English are best suited to write about their own experiences. In the excerpt, he admires such writers for incorporating certain lexical items from the local language into their writings in English in order to achieve authenticity and realism. It would appear this is why Willie exposes his students to such literature. Borrowing lexical items from a local language and occasionally using literal translations is appropriate in that it enhances communication between the writer and the reader. The practice only becomes a liability when communication is compromised.

One would expect Willie and Cathy to correct their students' errors according to what they respectively believe to be suitable varieties of English for their students. Excerpt 27, from an interview with Cathy, and excerpt 28, from an interview with Willie, illustrate their respective approaches to correcting their students' errors. Both teachers' strategies for dealing with errors suggest a "treating" rather than a "curing" approach to students' errors. This important distinction was made by Allwright and Bailey (1994). They say that treating of errors is simply removing the signs and symptoms of a problem without eradicating its cause. Curing, on the other hand, means effecting a lasting solution to a problem, in this case the problem of errors.

Excerpt 27: Dwell on them (errors) in a kind of remedial exercise.

I give them a composition to write and then I find common errors, often noting the common errors. Then I put it up as an exercise after the composition. I discovered that it was very difficult to do the corrections in composition. With the form threes that I had at Muonde High School, I would say: if you get a sentence wrong, you rewrite the whole sentence correcting

the wrong one. If it's only a single word that is wrong in a sentence, you **write the word three times in a line.** So, here (present school) I found that the incidence of error was very dense. So, what I would do was, **extract the common errors and then dwell on them in a kind of remedial exercise.** After the composition, when I bring the books back to class when we want to do another composition, before we do that composition, **we do the remedial exercise.** We do that exercise so that we know how to handle the wrong sentences or whatever the students will have got wrong. **Then they do the corrections in their composition exercise books below the previously written composition.** Those will be the corrections (January, 1997).

Excerpt 28: You do one thing at a time.

Generally, **we talk about the general mistakes as a class,** like if they are using the block system, a common error of the class. Then I tell them: in composition, we use indentation, not the block system which is reserved for letter writing. If you are blocking in composition, how do you show dialogue and the paragraph? I explain the reasons why we indent, and explain why the block is used in letter writing.

With grammar mistakes, I would write those separately, and then read the wrong sentences in class and ask the class to identify the errors and to correct them. This is how they come to correct their errors in the exercise book. **You do one thing at a time.** If it's grammar, it's grammar. You don't touch on spelling. If you see that their grammar is coming up, you go to spelling. But this composition I marked is like maiden marking for them. I am marking as it would be marked at Cambridge. I am marking everything. I tell them, next time I'm going to mark, I'm going to look at grammar or spelling. **To involve them,** you can ask them to exchange their books and ask them to mark each other's spellings only. You ask the other student to use the dictionary and **underline the spelling mistakes only** (January, 1997).

From excerpts 27 and 28 from interviews with Cathy and Willie respectively, we can infer that both teachers, rather than curing them, deal with errors by treating, that is they attack the symptoms rather than the underlying "disease". The remedial exercises referred to by both Cathy and Willie, and the practice of asking students to do corrections seem to be built on the assumption that providing students with correct models of language will eradicate their wrong models of language. In the Zimbabwean context, the practice seems to be motivated by the type of exam which tends to reward candidates for

correct forms only. In this case, the exam has the backwash effect of making ESL teachers, such as Cathy and Willie, look at their teaching as mainly an error-purifying process leading to the exam. This suggests a view that regards the production of text as a process of immaculate conception (Maguire, 1991).

Cathy and Willie both use the terms "error" and "mistake" apparently indiscriminately to describe the wrong models of language produced by their students. Cathy's preference for the term "error" is more appropriate given the situation both teachers are in, as it is a term normally associated with a lack of knowledge of the correct model of language rather than "mistake", which should be used to describe a slip of the tongue or pen which, once pointed out, can easily be corrected by the writer or speaker. In other words, a mistake is not an indicator of ignorance of the correct model of language to use, while an error is. In excerpt 28, Willie also appears unaware that spelling is also a grammatical issue. This lack of awareness comes out in his words: "You do one thing at a time. If it's grammar, it's grammar. You don't touch on spelling."

Excerpts 27 and 28 also tell us a lot about Cathy and Willie's assumptions about writing. The view of writing that emerges from the two excerpts is the transmission view (Barnes, 1992). In this model, writing is treated as a mere recording and acquisition of information, such as the correct forms of the target language. This is a product-oriented approach that is centred on student tasks, their assessment and correction. Barnes (1992) contrasts this transmission model of writing with the interpretation model, which takes into consideration the personal cognitive development of the student, his attitude and the context in which the teaching and learning of writing is done. A detailed discussion of Willie and Cathy's models of writing will be given in the next chapter.

Treating students' errors rather than curing them can be a frustrating experience for a teacher. Excerpt 29 following from an interview illustrates some of this frustration. In the excerpt, Cathy is discussing the recurring grammar errors in her students' written compositions.

Excerpt 29: They (students) still repeat the errors.

In teaching of grammar, I have not been successful. At times I am frustrated, because I have tried to, I have had lessons on that. But still when pupils write compositions and their summaries, they still repeat the errors we have learnt in the lesson. So, I have been discouraged by that. I am failing to find out how then I could teach them so that they can really apply what they have learnt to the written work and so on (February, 1997).

According to the theory of interlanguage continuum, students' errors may continue to surface in spite of the teacher's efforts to eradicate them. This theory assumes that the learner has responsibility for texts, and that sooner or later the student's performance will improve, irrespective of the teacher's treatment of the student's errors. This is why the communicative approach lays emphasis on communicative effectiveness rather than on formal accuracy. Repeated errors by Cathy's students can be explained in terms of the interlanguage continuum theory. Based on this theory, it would be advisable for Cathy to save her energy and to lessen her frustrations by concentrating on cultivating communicative efficiency of her students rather than focusing on their current errors.

Domain one looked at the teachers' beliefs about curriculum documents and domain two looked at the teachers' beliefs about ESL models for instruction. I would like now to move to the third domain, where I will look at Willie and Cathy's beliefs about interactional rights and obligations in the classroom.

5 C: Teachers' Beliefs about Interactional Rights and Obligations in the Classroom: Tensions and Contradictions

The discussion of the sub-themes categorized under this domain focuses on student-teacher, and student-student interactions rather than on the analysis of the content of the classroom lessons. This is in keeping with my adopted definition of social knowledge construction and the nature of the themes which arose from my data analysis.

My data collection was done at the beginning of the academic year in Zimbabwe. I

was therefore able to observe the first stages of the negotiation of shared frames of reference between the teachers, Willie and Cathy, and their respective students, and their gradual establishment of socially appropriate classroom behaviour (Philips, 1983; Gumperz and Hymes, 1989). The following excerpt 30, from an interview, illustrates Willie's beliefs about establishing socially appropriate classroom behaviour during the early encounters with his students.

Excerpt 30: I tell them (students) from the onset and from my actions.

First of all I have a **very firm and friendly approach** in the sense that I can even get in class joking or laughing. And then I stop laughing **and students wonder**. Then I say: **please pick any piece of paper that is near you and straighten your desks**. I rub the board; and already I have **captured their (students') attention**. They are listening to me wondering what I was laughing at. Then I **tell them from the outset**: when I am coming for my English lessons, I want you to sit like this. Pick papers, and bring daily all English books to class. And I don't want people who come to class late. So, **from the outset, they know** (January, 1997).

What Willie says in excerpt 30 about telling and demonstrating his preferred classroom behaviour is confirmed by his classroom practice, as the following excerpt from my field notes shows. The field notes were taken during an observation of Willie's comprehension lesson of 21/1/97, taught to Form 3G, in the third lesson of the new school year.

Excerpt 31: Reinforcing the rules.

The teacher greeted the class and asked them if they still remembered my name. (I had been introduced to the class before). **There was no bid to answer the teacher's question.** Willie then asked the class to ask me for my name after the lesson.

Before the start of the lesson, the class was asked to pick any pieces of paper that might be lying on the floor. **Composition exercise books that had not been covered according to the teacher's rules were returned to their owners unmarked.** The books would only be marked after they were covered in khaki and

plastic cover. They were also to be properly labelled according to the teacher's instructions given in earlier lessons. Willie appears to be particular about tidiness and order in his classroom (Field Notes, 21/1/97).

Excerpts 30 and 31 show how Willie, in early encounters with new students, deliberately and explicitly gives his class some basic organizational classroom rules and norms for order. One can infer from this Willie's preference for an orderly classroom atmosphere and a belief that this is conducive to teaching and learning. This is shown by his insistence on straightening the desks and picking any pieces of paper that might be lying on the classroom floor. All this comes before the beginning of the actual lesson for the day. Willie's socialization of his students into what he regards as appropriate classroom behaviour is effected mostly through the teacher's use of directives and commands, rather than through a process of joint negotiation of the frame of reference. For example, in excerpt 30, one can infer a teacher-directed and teacher-dominated socialization of the students from Willie's use of such terms as "I tell them...", "I want you to...", "Pick papers...", and "I don't want people who..." In excerpt 31, Willie reveals a similar approach to students' socialization. The process of socialization he uses is teacher-driven and teacher-centred. Appropriate behaviour in Willie's class is "... according to the teacher's rules" and "... according to the teacher's instructions." It would appear that in both excerpts 30 and 31, Willie is using his accumulated teaching experience to short-circuit what might appear to him to be a long process of negotiated classroom expectations and norms of behaviour.

In the two excerpts 30 and 31, we can see examples of some of the rules that Willie gives to his students. New rules are reinforced in subsequent lessons, as we see happening in excerpt 31. In this way, the students are socialized into particular ways that Willie expects business in his classes to be conducted. Willie's approach is contrary to the ideal state of joint negotiation of frames of reference by both the teacher and the students.

There are, however, some participation rules that are tacitly and not directly communicated to students by Willie. These rules are not organizational, as are in excerpts 30 and 31. They are rules governing the norms and expectations for classroom

participation. The students' answering of the teacher's greetings at the beginning of a lesson is an example of a tacit rule that the students follow. They do not need the teacher to tell them to answer his greetings in a particular way. Here, Willie makes some assumptions about students' texts. Another example of a tacit rule are students' bids, indicated by the raising of hands in response to the teacher's elicitations. Students have learnt these tacit rules over the years they have been in school (Mehan, 1979).

Cathy's procedures are similar to Willie's. The following excerpt from my field notes illustrates how Cathy's organizational rules are established in early encounters with her students. The notes are based on one of her early lessons, a language exercise with Form 4A3.

Excerpt 32: Establishing appropriate rules of classroom behaviour.

After I was introduced to the class, the teacher reminded the students about the importance of good discipline in class. The students were told to work hard, as this was going to be a very short year. The teacher stressed the importance of neatness, covering and labelling books appropriately. The class would write a monthly test on a Friday. They were told that all form fours in the school would write the same test (Field Notes, 20/1/97).

Excerpt 32 is an illustration of how Cathy explicitly spells out the norms and expectations of behaviour and tasks for her class, such as the need for good discipline, the need for neatness, and covering and labelling books according to her instructions. By putting the need for good classroom discipline upfront in the day's business suggests Cathy's preoccupation with managerial aspects of ESL classroom instruction rather than the actual engagement of students in a lesson. Reminding students before the lesson begins that they are expected to be well-behaved, places the responsibility for the success of the lesson squarely on the shoulders of her students. This, to me, suggests a teaching and learning situation in which the maintenance of appropriate classroom behaviour is shaped and directed by norms and expectations preset by the teacher. This leaves Cathy's students, like Willie's, with very little room for active participation in what should ideally

be a process of a negotiated frame of reference.

The following excerpt 33 is from Cathy's lesson of 13/2/97 taught to Form 4A3 on clauses. It illustrates again how she establishes the social rules of behaviour for her class. The excerpt describes the end of the lesson where she is giving students instructions on the writing task she has set them.

Excerpt 33: Remember to write neatly.

1 Cathy: Now, we are not going to do that one orally. I want you to **quickly write**
 2 **down your answers**; to transform these sentences so that they read
 3 correctly. You will start off from number three up to number ten; **as**
 4 **quickly as you can**. Then we will do them together. **Remember to write**
 5 **neatly. You write the day, the date and the title. You write the**
 6 **number one in the line, number two in the line and so on.** (Individual
 7 written work for four minutes) You **don't have to copy the sentences**,
 8 because you will have the textbook when you revise the exercise. (Bell to
 9 announce end of lesson goes). Please finish off quickly. How many people
 10 are through? Will you **show by raising your hand**?

In excerpt 33, Cathy reinforces some of the rules she has given to her class in earlier lessons. Again, both the rules themselves and the way they are given to students, mainly by way of commands, show how little negotiation of classroom norms and expectations there is in the class. In this way, Cathy assumes the ideal canonical text, with one of the teacher's main roles being that of law-giver and manager of orderly learning in the classroom. One example of this is her emphasis on neatness, a symbol of her preference for orderliness in all aspects of the classroom. We know that the rule about neatness has been given before, because of her use of the word "remember". The students who are writing an exercise are reminded of the rule. In any lesson, teachers can reinforce old rules as well as introduce new ones. For example, it is possible that the rule about writing the day, date and title, and that about numbering questions, are new to Cathy's class. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that such rules may have been given to the students before by the teachers who may have taught them before Cathy. The rule

about raising hands to show that one has finished writing an exercise could also be both a new or an old rule imposed by Cathy. In situations where no rule has been given, students negotiate appropriate responses and behaviours in a moment-to-moment interpretation of the teaching-learning context. A similar process may also apply to the teacher who is conducting a lesson. This is what makes non-routine teaching and learning improvisation acts in which both the teacher and the students are actively involved in the construction and negotiation of meaningful ways of being and learning (Heras, 1994; Maguire, 1997).

I now look at Willie and Cathy's views on the roles of the teacher and the students in classroom interaction. I will begin by looking at Willie's views, as exemplified in excerpt 34 following.

Excerpt 34: A good listener and a maximum participant.

A student **should be a good listener and a maximum participant** ... They (students) **should not keep quiet**. If you don't give them a chance to speak, you don't know whether they are doing the correct thing. They **should** expose their errors, then you correct them. Now, if you dose them and dose them, they end up not knowing what's going on, because you don't give them a chance to speak. That is why I have often asked them (students): "You are thinking of something. What is it that you are thinking?" Then the student would speak. So, by this, at least they will participate. So, the children **should be participating** and they **should be good listeners**; and **must** also be able to speak and answer (the teacher's questions) (March, 1997).

Excerpt 34 suggests the roles that Willie wants his students to play: (a) being good listeners (b) talking in class so that they expose their errors for the teacher to correct and (c) answering the teacher's questions. From the same excerpt 34, we are also able to infer what Willie considers to be the teacher's roles. These are (a) creating opportunities for students to talk in class so that they expose their errors to the teacher and (b) correcting students' errors. It is obvious that not all the students' and the teacher's roles are covered in this one short excerpt presented as an illustration. But those that are found here strongly suggest that Willie believes in the traditional roles of the classroom teacher, for example,

as initiator of classroom talk through his elicitations, and as correcter of students' errors. Willie's repetition of the modal verb "should" and his insistence that students should be good listeners also imply an assumption that the teacher should do most of the talking in class. The logic of his reasoning might be interpreted as: If students listen carefully to what the teacher says, then they are most likely to answer his or her questions well. When they answer the teacher's questions, he or she can detect errors in the students' use of the target language. At this point the teacher can transfer to his or her other role, that of correcter of students. The whole strategy is extremely contrived and totally controlled by the teacher.

What Willie says in excerpt 34 is confirmed by the observations I made on his teaching. Of his ten lessons I audiotaped, there is only one occasion, occurring in the lesson of 21/2/97, in which a student asks Willie a question, thereby initiating classroom talk. On all other occasions, it is the teacher who sets the agenda for each lesson and initiates all classroom talk, except where his students are working in groups.

In Cathy's ten audiotaped lessons, there are no occasions at all in which students initiate classroom talk. The following excerpts 35 and 36 illustrate Cathy's views on the roles of the teacher and students in classroom interaction.

Excerpt 35: Keep them busy.

I think the secret behind (good discipline in class) is giving them (students) **adequate work; keeping them busy**. Now, if they are busy, they have **no time to fidget**; they have **no time to play around**. Now, also, if you insist on quality work, if you insist they should bring their books to class, and then they bring their books to class, **they won't give one any problems**, where someone is not writing because they have left their textbook at home. Of course, from time to time you have two or three pupils who want to find out what you will do to them (if they misbehave) ... But, in most cases, I find that **most of them comply** (January, 1997).

Excerpt 36: Allowing a little bit of play and being very firm.

We were taught by a lady, Mrs Pobi. She influenced me because she would insist on **quality work**. She would **allow us a little bit of play** in the classroom but, **all the same, she was in control**. She was **very firm**. We would work effectively, but all the same in a relaxed atmosphere ... **A relaxed atmosphere is an atmosphere where the students are not in fear of the teacher**. They respect the teacher. The student knows he is in a classroom. So, they work freely without feeling they have to do this **for the sake of the teacher** (January, 1997).

In excerpt 36, Cathy admits admiring and being influenced by one of her former teachers who was firmly "in control" of her students. From excerpts 35 and 36, we can see that Cathy opts for, indeed imposes, the following roles on her students: (a) performing tasks given by the teacher (b) producing quality work on the set tasks (c) following the teacher's rules, such as bringing all textbooks to class (d) showing respect for the teacher (e) knowing appropriate modes of classroom behaviour. Both excerpts also indicate the following roles for the teacher: (a) maintaining discipline in the classroom by occupying students with work (b) seeing to it that classroom rules are observed by the students (c) creating a firm and yet relaxed classroom atmosphere to enable teaching and learning to take place. The roles assigned by Cathy to the teacher and students make it clear that she sees the teacher as the law-giver and as essential control. This leaves the student as a mere follower of the teacher's rules. Cathy's emphasis on classroom discipline, which comes out clearly in both excerpts, suggests that she strongly advocates a firm handling of students and strict discipline in her class. Although Cathy mentions the need for a relaxed classroom atmosphere in excerpt 36, this is tempered by the need for the student to respect the teacher and to know that "he is in a classroom". What this seems to imply is that the relaxed atmosphere is defined by the teacher rather than the students.

Following is an excerpt from my field notes which illustrates the classroom atmosphere I observed in a number of Cathy's lessons. The notes are on a lesson she taught to Form 4A3 on 10/2/97.

Excerpt 37: Bottled up energy?

Once the students have settled down and the lesson has started, **all is quiet in the classroom for most of the lesson**. When finally the bell goes, to announce the end of the lesson, and as I and Cathy walk out of the classroom, **suddenly the noise, as at the beginning of the lesson, erupts again, as if it had been bottled up during the lesson**. This is **not the first time I have observed this noise on these occasions**. The noise could be a **response to the teacher's watchful eye on discipline in the classroom**. This could result in **students being forced to maintain an artificial semblance of quietness**, which can only be broken once the teacher walks out of the classroom (Field Notes, 10/2/97).

Excerpt 37 suggests Cathy's tight grip on class discipline and a resultant outburst of noise at the end of her lessons. From all this, it would appear that the balance between a relaxed classroom atmosphere and the firmness Cathy talks about in excerpt 36 is, in actuality, tilted heavily towards firmness. In this way, excerpts 35 and 36, in which Cathy explains what she believes in and values, needs to be set against what she actually does. Specifically, Cathy's claim to admire a relaxed classroom atmosphere in excerpt 36 is not supported by her real classroom practice, as revealed in excerpt 37. The next section is on the nature of the participant structures I observed in Willie and Cathy's classrooms.

Participant structures.

This section discusses the nature of interactions in Willie and Cathy's classrooms. I am looking at how each teacher organizes his or her classes for teaching and learning in terms of participant structures (see Philips, 1983). The focus of my discussion is on the interaction patterns between the two teachers and their students and also on how students interact among themselves, rather than on the actual content of the lessons I observed. Following is table 19 showing the frequency of the participant structures in Willie and Cathy's ten audio-taped lessons each. The time, in minutes, taken up by each participant structure is shown in brackets.

Willie's lessons were for forty minutes each, and those for Cathy were thirty-five minutes each. For the purposes of compiling table 19, and in order to come up with a uniform length of time for each lesson for each teacher, I decided to record the time taken up by each participant structure occurring from the time the teacher started teaching, up to the end of forty minutes of teaching for Willie, and thirty five minutes for Cathy, and disregarded any participant structure occurring outside these boundaries. This ensured that my observations of the participant structures occurred within a uniform duration for each teacher, forty minutes per lesson for Willie and thirty-five minutes per lesson for Cathy.

Table 19

Participant Structures Observed in Willie and Cathy's Lessons

	Pair Work		Group Work (+2)		One-to-One		Desk Work		Whole Class	
Less. No.	Willi	Cath	Willi	Cath	Willi	Cath	Willi	Cath	Willi	Cath
1	0	0	1 (5)	0	0	0	0	0	(35)	(35)
2	0	0	1 (6)	0	0	0	0	1 (4)	(34)	(31)
3	1 (4)	1 (3)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (5)	(36)	(27)
4	0	1 (4)	1 (5)	0	0	0	0	0	(35)	(31)
5	0	1 (4)	0	0	0	0	0	0	(40)	(31)
6	0	0	0	0	1 (1)	0	0	0	(39)	(35)
7	1 (5)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (5)	(35)	(30)
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (4)	(40)	(31)
9	0	0	0	1 (5)	0	0	0	0	(40)	(30)
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (3)	1 (5)	(37)	(30)
Total	(9)	(11)	(16)	(5)	(1)	(0)	(3)	(23)	(371)	(311)
Time	2.25	3.14	4%	1.43	0.25	0%	0.75	6.57	92.75	88.85
& %	%	%		%	%		%	%	%	%

Although participant structures in a lesson are sequential, the order in which they appear in table 19 is not necessarily their sequential order in the actual lessons taught. Instead the table gives the number of occasions on which Willie or Cathy used a particular type of participant structure in each of the teachers' ten audiotaped lessons. An occasion is defined as the duration during which a participant structure is in operation in a classroom lesson. In all five participant structures were identified as operating in Willie and Cathy's classrooms. They are pair work, group work, one-to-one encounters between the teacher and an individual student, individual desk work, and whole-class participation. I divided group work into two sub-categories. The categories are pair work, involving two students working together, and group work, where more than two students work together.

The whole-class participant structure is when the teacher is engaged in whole-class teaching. When Willie and Cathy were not employing the other four participant structures, they were teaching their classes as one group, the whole-class participant structure; and this was observed to be the case on most occasions. Whole-class teaching took up most of the time for each lesson, as shown in table 19. The one-to-one encounter between a teacher and an individual student was observed to occur mostly while students were doing written work in class. In the ten audiotaped lessons for each teacher, no student was observed going to the teacher's table for consultations with the teacher. In the one instance of a one-to-one encounter, it was Willie, the teacher, who was observed going to a student's desk to give individual attention. This is to say, the one-to-one encounter was initiated by the teacher. There were very few occasions when Willie or Cathy combined any of the five participant structures in their lessons; and these combinations have not been considered in the table.

Table 19 shows that Cathy gives her students more time for individual work than Willie does. For both teachers, the one-to-one encounter between a teacher and a student is the least-used participant structure. Cathy tends to prefer her students working in pairs rather than in larger groups, while Willie tends to use pair work and larger group work in almost equal proportions. Galton, Simon and Croll's study (1989) of 158 primary school teachers in Britain over one year found out that 90 per cent of the teachers never used co-

operative group work. The most commonly used participant structure was whole-class teaching.

My observations of Willie and Cathy's teaching also suggests a dominance of the whole-class participant structure over any other structure. This suggests classroom interaction in which basically the teacher is doing most of the classroom talking, in what Fox (1993) refers to as a "conduit metaphor" (p. 95). A conduit metaphor follows the transmission model of teaching where the teacher takes on the role of passing on information or knowledge to students, instead of actively involving them in the process of creating knowledge, such as by allowing them to initiate and direct class discussions. Where the teacher is doing most of the talking to a class of say forty students, the goal of engaging the students is minimized. Even if the teacher occasionally directs a few questions to the class, the opportunity for each of the forty students to have meaningful interaction with the teacher or with other students in the class is very limited. This is what tends to make the whole-class participant structure a transmission model of teaching (cf. Philips, 1983; Fuller and Snyder, 1991; Ernst, 1994). Galton et al. (1989) found that while a teacher might interact with pupils for most of a teaching session, irrespective of what type of participant structure is in use, the individual pupil interacts with the teacher for only a small proportion of this time. They further observed that the bulk of this interaction with the teacher is when the teacher is addressing the class as a whole.

However, not all researchers share the view that the more the students are given the opportunity to speak in class the more they are likely to be partners with the teacher in the creation of knowledge. For example, Mehan (1979) argues convincingly that even where the teacher is doing all the talking, students can still be joint participants in classroom events. He argues that students are not completely passive when the teacher is doing the talking, but are actively listening, nodding heads and engaging in eye contact with the teacher, by so "demonstrating that the assembly of classroom events is a joint accomplishment of teachers and students" (p. 40).

Following is excerpt 38 from an interview that suggests Cathy's preference for whole-class teaching.

Excerpt 38: Whole class teaching: I find it's more effective.

Most of the time I use whole class teaching. I find **it's more effective**. I think it's much more effective because I discovered that when students are working in groups, **one person dominates with most of the ideas. The others sit and relax, and they don't benefit anything**. That's why I usually use the whole class approach (January, 1997).

From excerpt 38, it would appear that Cathy uses the whole-class participant structure as an instrument of control and power. I would support this claim with Cathy's statement that by using the whole-class participant structure, she is able to monitor the participation of most students in her class, which clearly suggests the exercise of power and control. My observations of Cathy's classes showed that those students who showed signs of not working as hard as she thought they should were made to do so. This is no doubt why Cathy sees the whole-class participant structure as the most effective. For her, the appeal of the whole-class participant structure doubtless lies in the fact that it makes fewer demands on her than do other structures, and in its capacity to allow full control of classroom events by the teacher. McNeil, cited in Ulichny and Watson-Gegeo (1989) says that teachers who teach defensively tend to choose a mode of presentation they perceive will make their workload more efficient. He goes on to say that the choice of presentation is usually one that creates as little resistance from the students as possible.

The following two excerpts 39 and 40 illustrate some common interaction patterns I observed in Cathy's classes. Excerpt 39 is from her lesson of 14/2/97, taught to Form 2A. The class is reading a literature set-book. In the previous lesson, the class was assigned to read a chapter ahead as preparation for the present lesson from which the excerpt is taken. The excerpt is taken from the beginning of the lesson, where Cathy is finding out how well the students have understood the chapter she assigned for reading as homework.

Excerpt 39: Cathy's whole-class interaction patterns.

- 1Cathy: Now, yesterday we were looking at God's Case: No Appeal. We discussed
 2 the title of the text, and we know what the title of the text means. Then we
 3 looked at the introduction to the book. Now, I asked you to go and read
 4 the rest of the chapter. I said you should go and read the rest of the chapter
 5 and find out about the letter. Who had written the letter? Who had written
 6 the letter? Yes?
 7Eddy: Yunah.
 8Cathy: What is the relationship between this man and Theo?
 9Eddy: He is Theo's brother.
 10Cathy: He is Theo's brother. What was he writing about? What was he writing
 11 about in the letter? Yes?
 12Rose: He was telling Theo about his father, Behoma, who had died.
 13Cathy: His father, Behoma, had died; and he was writing this letter explaining to
 14 him that he was going to do what? What was Theo to do? Betty?
 15Betty: To leave his job and return to Adagara.

In excerpt 39, we see Cathy making all the initiations of classroom talk. The initiations are of the elicitation type. This makes the teacher both the initiator of the agenda for the lesson and also the director of its pace and direction. Exchanges between Cathy and her students follow the three-part I-R-E pattern, and these reflect traditional classroom pedagogy (see Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1979). Cathy normally pauses after asking a question and before inviting responses from her students. She tends to repeat her questions or rephrase them when no bids are forthcoming from the class (e.g. lines 10 and 11). From excerpt 39, we can see that Cathy's evaluations of students' answers are mostly in the form of repetition of a student's answer (e.g. line 10). Where the given answer is wrong, she tends to rephrase her elicitations, or to simplify them. She usually elaborates when a student gives an incomplete response, rather than seeking further details from other students (e.g. line 13).

The next excerpt 40 is taken from a comprehension lesson taught by Cathy to Form 4A3 on 17/2/97, and further illustrates the interaction patterns in her classes. In this lesson, groups are reporting back on their findings.

Excerpt 40: Interaction patterns during report-backs by groups in Cathy's lesson.

- 1 Cathy: Group 2, what, what did you learn about life long ago?
 2 Chip: There were no proper schools. They learned under the trees.
 3 Cathy: That is not in the text. We are looking at the passage and we want to find
 4 out what the passage is saying about life long ago. What did you find out
 5 from the passage?
 6 Chip: They believed that when a person dies, he will become a ghost (laughter by
 7 class).
 8 Cathy: It's not there in the passage. Next group, then we will discuss the first part
 9 of it. No, the other group that was working on number one (Pause). Now,
 10 life long ago, what did we find out in our groups? First of all, we heard
 11 about education. In this text, it says there were mission schools. And from
 12 the evidence we are given, it shows that schools were very few. What else?
 13 Ruth?
 14 Ruth: They read the white man's books.
 15 Cathy: They read the white man's books. Why do you think they called them the
 17 white man's books? Yes?

The common interaction pattern found in excerpt 40 is again the three-part I-R-E type. In the excerpt, Cathy initiates the talk, even though the groups are supposed to be reporting on their findings. The teacher uses initiations of the elicitation, informative and directive types. All the teacher's questions in the excerpt are examples of the elicitation type of initiations. The informative initiations are found, for example, in lines 8 to 10, where the teacher is telling the class what they have already covered in the passage, that is education in the past. An example of the directive type of initiation is found in lines 6 and 7, where the teacher is asking the next group to start reporting on their findings. In line 6, Cathy is directing the course of the discussion by telling the class what they should do first before going on to the next step.

An interesting point that is not directly related to my concerns in this section is Cathy's belief in the authority of the text, as revealed in lines 3 to 4 and in line 8, where she is directing her students to the meaning that she assumes to be contained in the text. I will discuss this text-as-authority model of reading in more detail in the next chapter where it is more appropriate.

Cathy does not approve of chorus answers in her lessons. The following excerpt from her summary lesson of 11/2/97, taught to Form 4A3, illustrates this:

Excerpt 41: No shouting, no chorus answers.

- 1 Cathy: How do you spell ankles?
- 2 Class: A-N-K-L-E-S!
- 3 Cathy: We are not in a fire, are we?
- 4 Class: No!
- 5 Cathy: Neither are we in a kindergarten, are we?

Cathy prefers that her students bid for answers by raising their hands and wait for her to invite them to speak. Her use of sarcasm in line 3 of excerpt 41 demonstrates her aversion to chorus answers. Where student names are known, Cathy uses them to appoint who should speak. Her disapproval of chorus answers suggests her concern for orderliness in her classes. This is also in keeping with her preference for whole-class teaching in which she is able to monitor and control the participation of each student. If students gave chorus answers, Cathy would not be able to tell who was participating and who was not, again an indication of power and control by the teacher.

I observed Cathy speaking in a deliberately slow, clear and loud voice in most of her lessons. Following is an except from an interview in which she explains why she adjusts her speech to accommodate her students.

Excerpt 42: I had to speak very slowly.

When I first came here (her present school), I was teaching form threes. They had a problem in understanding the way I was speaking. It's as if I was speaking very fast, and they could not grasp what I was saying. And I had to speak very slowly, and even repeat some of the words so that they (students) could understand me. So, I could say, with English, you do more to help the students (January, 1997).

In subsequent discussions following excerpt 42, Cathy says that the standard of

her students' English at her present school is very low, hence her attempt to accommodate them by adjusting the way she speaks to them. This act on her part shows that she is aware of the problems of her students, and she makes attempts to accommodate them. In this way at least, her classroom talk can be said to be student-centred (cf. Brinton, Snow and Wesche, 1989).

There are similarities and differences between Willie's classroom interaction patterns and those for Cathy. Following is excerpt 43 from Willie's lesson of 14/2/97, taught to Form 3E on appropriate registers, and illustrating some common interaction patterns in his classes. In the lesson from which excerpt 43 is taken, the class is reading descriptions of various scenarios from a textbook. The task for the class is to describe the tone depicted by each scenario.

Excerpt 43: Common interaction patterns in Willie's classes.

- | | | |
|----|---------|--|
| 1 | Willie: | Number 2. Yes, read number 2. |
| 2 | John: | (reading question number 2 from a textbook) Your father says: |
| 3 | | Cecilia is coming to stay with us". Then you say: "Oh, no! Not |
| 4 | | her again!" You will find that there is only one response there. |
| 5 | | What does this reveal about your attitude? |
| 6 | Willie: | (repeats the question). What does that mean? |
| 7 | Lucy: | It shows that Cecilia hates that person. |
| 8 | Willie: | Yes, it shows you hate that person. Yes. Why? You can think of a |
| 9 | | reason why. Yes? |
| 10 | Neri: | I think the person has come again; and she doesn't want her to |
| 11 | | come again. |
| 12 | Willie: | Yes; it shows that the person has previously been there and is |
| 13 | | coming again. "Oh, no! Not him again!" There must be, therefore, |
| 14 | | something he did which this person does not like. <i>Handiti?</i> (Isn't |
| 15 | | that so?). |
| 16 | Class: | U-uh! |
| 17 | Willie: | You see that? |
| 18 | Class: | U-uh! |
| 20 | Willie: | Yes; this is what I'm saying. The answer must show that you hate |
| 21 | | this person, or you like him. You must have an explanation of the |
| 22 | | reason. Obviously it's written, but the punctuation mark, the |
| 23 | | exclamation mark, shows whether he's happy or not. "Oh, no!" |

- 24 There is an exclamation mark. Is that right? It shows that this
 25 person is surprised, is alarmed at that this person is coming
 26 again, and is disturbed. But I want us to come to know this one.
 27 Which person are our cousins? In Shona, which persons are
 28 your cousins? Yes, *iwe muphanha iwe!* (You young man!)
 29 Who is the person you call your cousin?

In excerpt 43, we can see that Willie's exchange sequences, like Cathy's, are of the I-R-E type. He tends to repeat student answers and elaborates them in his evaluations. Willie's elicitations, such as "Isn't that so?" and "You see that?" explicitly invite chorus answers and agreement (Mehan, 1979). Willie, unlike Cathy, does not seem to mind the chorus answers, because nowhere in his ten audiotaped lessons does he speak against them. I observed that Willie tends to pause after asking the class a question. During the pause, students make bids for answers. If the bids are slow to come, Willie gives prompts or repeats or simplifies the elicitations. In his evaluations, he usually acknowledges correct answers with encouraging comments such as "very good", "good", and so on, something that Cathy rarely does. Willie encourages participation by all students, and sometimes invites individual students to respond to his elicitations, such as in excerpt 43, where he invites "the young man" to tell him in Shona what he understands by the term "cousin".

Willie and Cathy's classroom interaction patterns, as demonstrated in the excerpts discussed in this section, show the cooperative nature of classroom acts. The smooth development of a lesson is determined by the degree to which the teacher and the students can establish and maintain a shared frame of reference (Mehan, 1979; Heras, 1994). Table 20 gives the framework for summarizing my discussion of research question one, on the construction of social knowledge by the two teachers, using Gutierrez's (1994) three types of classroom interaction patterns and situating Willie and Cathy's classroom interaction patterns within the continuum which they form. Each teacher's position is indicated by the "x" signs in table 20. Neither teacher's patterns of interaction and participant structures can be said to be responsive or collaborative script, a fact which is indicated by a "0" under the appropriate column in the table.

Table 20

Positions of Willie and Cathy on Gutierrez's (1994) Classroom Interaction Patterns Continuum

Type of Interaction (1)	Type of Interaction (2)	Type of Interaction (3)
Recitation Script	Responsive Script	Responsive and Collaborative Script
Limited in terms of students' opportunities for initiating and receiving assistance from peers and in generating discourse and knowledge	More relaxed in teacher control; students' responses are solicited and encouraged; interactions are multi-directional; both teacher and students initiate relevant sub-topics of a lesson.	Highly dynamic; involves co-construction of both discourse and knowledge between the teacher and the student
x (Cathy's position)	x (Willie's Position)	0

CHAPTER 6: WILLIE AND CATHY'S BELIEFS ABOUT THE INSTRUCTION OF ESL ACADEMIC TEXT

I use the **communicative approach** where we, say it's an oral lesson, then the pupils interact. Then, through the **interactions**, they are actually **acquiring the grammar**. And then also through what I can say, actually what I can say **teacher exposition**, where you are **telling them** what a noun is, and then giving them **notes on the noun**; and then making them **apply the rules**, if there are any rules; then you give them **an exercise on that** (Cathy, February, 1997).

The preceding excerpt is taken from an interview with Cathy and illustrates how Cathy, and indeed Willie, claim to construct the academic content of their ESL instruction. This topic forms the subject of this chapter, which provides analysis and discussion of my second research question two: How do Willie and Cathy construct content or academic knowledge in their ESL instruction? What do the patterns of construction and the teachers' classroom artifacts reveal about their beliefs about the instruction of ESL academic knowledge at secondary school level? The discussion in this chapter is concerned with the general issue of teaching linguistic and communicative competence, and this is broken into four related sub-themes: (a) the teaching of formal grammar versus a communicative approach (b) the teaching of writing (c) the teaching of reading and (d) the teaching of listening and speaking. As in chapter five, I use a comparative theme analysis in my discussion. Any tensions and contradictions arising from the analysis of data are discussed within the interpretive framework.

6 A: Teachers' Beliefs about Teaching Linguistic and Communicative Competence: Tensions and Contradictions

6.1 The Communicative Approach and the Zimbabwean "O" Level English Syllabus

The current 1997-8 Zimbabwean "O" level English language syllabus (1122) does

not mention the communicative approach by name in its recommendations to ESL teachers, but it does use the terms "functional and purposeful" (p. 2) to describe the approach it desires. The syllabus states that one of its main aims is to prepare learners for the different roles and situations in which they are likely to find themselves after leaving school. Accordingly, the ESL teacher's approach should be "more functional and purposeful by drawing language structures and examples from, and relating them to, such roles and situations the learner is likely to find himself or herself after leaving school" (p. 2). By emphasizing meaningful and purposeful communication, the syllabus can be said to be in favour of a version of the communicative approach, although this is not spelt out explicitly in the document. That the syllabus is, in fact, intended to be communicative can be inferred from the section which deals with teaching objectives. An excerpt from this section reads:

Some teachers think that using the communicative approach means that they should not teach language structures and should never use the words *noun*, *verb*, and *adjective*. This is not true! The communicative approach tries to discourage teachers from having pupils learn structures in isolation - for instance, memorizing adjectives without using them, conjugating verbs without putting them in sentences, learning grammatical terms such as 'relative clauses', and 'predicate phrases', etc. Helping pupils learn and use language structures is perfectly consistent with the communicative approach (p. 10).

These lines suggest that teachers will already have been taught that their main teaching approach should be communicative, but we can also infer the syllabus designers' fear that the approach might be misinterpreted by some teachers; hence an attempt to define the approach more clearly. There are, of course, many versions of the communicative approach, ranging from weak to strong along a continuum, and it would appear that the version prescribed to Zimbabwean teachers by the "O" level syllabus is a concoction of the communicative and structural approaches to ESL instruction. Elements of the traditional structural approach to language teaching can be seen in the insistence that linguistic items such as verbs and relative clauses should be taught according to the

prescriptions of the syllabus., and the syllabus is indeed attempting to reassure those who fear that structures will be neglected. However, merely using the learnt structures, like verbs, in sentences, as recommended, does not in itself make for communicative teaching, if this is not done in the context of purposeful and meaningful communication. So, in spite of the attempt to define what the communicative approach is, the syllabus does not go far enough, and it is still possible for some teachers to misinterpret the real nature of the approach. For example, some teachers might think they are using the communicative approach when they are merely using structures in isolated sentences which bear no resemblance to purposeful, meaningful, coherent and cohesive discourse.

The communicative approach: A prescription for teachers.

In an interview, Willie states that the communicative approach is prescribed to teachers by the Curriculum Development Unit, who in turn are influenced by the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, the examiners who have taken over from overseas examining bodies such as Cambridge University: "**They (syllabus makers) are saying**, as much as we wouldn't go into the classroom and say: We're doing verbs. Right from the word go, you conjugate go, went, gone, has gone. **They don't want you to do that. They say** you are teaching the language in isolation" (January, 1997).

Willie's use and repetition of the pronoun "they" shows that he does not see himself as forming part of the process of syllabus design, which suggests that the document is something external and imposed on him. The syllabus seems to be opposed to formal grammar teaching of the type where verbs are conjugated in isolation in Willie's example. However, Willie's words and tone suggest that, given a choice, he would not himself follow a communicative approach in his teaching, despite the fact that the communicative approach is currently the official approach recommended for ESL teaching in Zimbabwe. According to the literature reviewed in chapter three of this dissertation on the history of teaching methods, the nineties have been characterized by a break with the method paradigm. Researchers have begun to look outside it to find more effective ways of

teaching, but it would appear, from Willie's words, that he has not yet encountered this shift in perspective.

In interview excerpt 44, Willie recalls his definition and vision of the communicative approach.

Excerpt 44: The communicative approach is in terms of registers.

You teach them (students) in a functional situation: "Every day I go to school", so they know that a repeated action which is continuous for a period is present tense ... Don't teach "went" alone. The child must see the word in context - that's the functional approach. And the communicative approach is actually in terms of registers. It's also situational communicative approach to language, what is the appropriate register (January, 1997).

We can infer from this that the communicative approach involves a variety of things for Willie. First he sees it as the teaching of appropriate registers, but he also introduces other descriptors for the approach by using such phrases as "the functional situation" and the "situational communicative approach". He gives an example of a sentence to show what he means by a "functional situation" that enables the child to "see the word in context". However, his example still confuses an isolated sentence with the functional situation, suggesting that, in Willie's view, language in context, what he mistakenly calls the functional approach, stops at the level of the sentence rather than embracing the level of discourse. This example illustrates my earlier argument that the meaning of communicative teaching as defined in the current "O" level Zimbabwean English syllabus still leaves room for misinterpretation by teachers.

Moreover, Willie is not entirely clear as to exactly what the communicative approach entails. His confusion is shown by his use of three different terms in his attempt to describe what it means: "functional approach", "situational communicative approach" and "appropriate register". If teachers - and Willie is the Head of an English Department - do not have a proper grasp of the approach they are supposed to implement, it raises the serious question of whether they were ever adequately prepared for the introduction of the

approach. In an interview, Willie admits that the launch of the communicative approach in Zimbabwe, simply by its unheralded appearance in the early 80s, threw many ESL teachers into a state of confusion: "Teachers have actually abandoned grammar in the name of communicative teaching. The result is a great number of failures" (January, 1997). Similarly, Nunan (1991) says that the communicative approach has also brought uncertainty to the teaching of grammar in many other places. This is why, perhaps, the Zimbabwean "O" level syllabus warns against abandoning the teaching of language structures. In fact, as I have already pointed out, I see part of the teachers' problem as arising from the contradiction in the ESL "O" level syllabus; it uses a structural framework while insisting that teachers use it in a communicative way. Given this very basic contradiction, it is not surprising to see a lot of "confusion" in those teachers who attempt to use whatever they see as "the communicative approach".

Willie's comments certainly show that he is not convinced that the communicative approach can produce good results. His scepticism is evident in the following interview excerpt 45.

Excerpt 45: Grammar should be taught as it was taught before.

I'm **not convinced** (by the argument for the communicative approach). I'd rather deal with them, say verbs. I will **construct sentences** when they (students) have known what a verb is. If they don't know "went" is the past tense of "go", you are teaching them from what they don't know, because they have not done the verb conjugation. So, I'd believe **grammar should be taught as it was taught before**, as background knowledge. **But not heavy doses though** (January, 1997).

This excerpt clearly illustrates Willie's bottom-up approach to grammar teaching; he starts at word level, builds up to the phrase level and finally moves to the sentence level. Willie clarifies his belief in this bottom-up approach when he says further on in the interview, "You **cannot write a more interesting sentence without knowing that this phrase is an adjectival clause**. If you can't see that, **there is no way you can write good English**. This **analysis** (of sentences), I think, basically, **we need to have it**" (January,

1997).

Willie's approach to grammar teaching, according to excerpt 45, is basically traditional, as indicated by his assertion that grammar "should be taught as it was taught before". This surely refers to some kind of traditional way. Hence, there is a degree of tension between Willie's personal lack of faith in the communicative approach and the officially prescribed approach to ESL teaching. Willie admits that, in tense situations, such as inspections by an Education Officer, he gears his teaching to the expectations of the Education Officer rather than following his own convictions.

Willie says that his preference for formal grammar teaching is partly influenced by his being a product of traditional grammar teaching, as he puts it in a March 1997 interview: "I did the sub-standards. I did the standards which had the appropriate approach, not the communicative one. I didn't do the grades." The terms "sub-standards" and "the standards" Willie is referring to are the terms used to refer to class levels in the old system of education in Zimbabwe. These were replaced by the new education system, and new terms in the late sixties. The new system used the term "grade" instead of "standard" to refer to levels of primary school classes. From Willie's reference to the old system as "the appropriate approach", it seems that he views the new system of education as a watered-down version of the old system he experienced as a student and is still influenced by as a teacher. This example of Willie lends support to Rokeach (1968) and Bird, Anderson, Sullivan and Swidler (1993) who claim that teachers' most solid beliefs about teaching are formed early on in life when they are still students.

The following examples of Willie's grammar lessons express and substantiate his views on the teaching of grammar which, according to evidence from the interview, are largely traditional. In an observed lesson on 15/1/97 taught to Form 4 C, which was recorded in field notes but not audiotaped, Willie uses my introduction to his class as an occasion to teach how introductions are constructed in English. An illustration of this is found in the following excerpt 46 from my field notes showing how Willie sometimes brings situational language teaching into his formal grammar lessons, a practice which I take to be further evidence of the conflicting tensions between his personal convictions

and a desire to tow the official line.

Excerpt 46: Exploiting the opportunity of the moment.

Date: 15 January, 1997. Time: 9:05

It is the second lesson that Willie is teaching today. It is Form 4 c.

I accompany Willie to this class. On entering the classroom, **the class stands up at once to greet us by shouting in a chorus.** This scenario unfolds as follows:

- 1 Class: Good morning, Sirs!
- 2 Willie: Good morning class; and sit down.
- 3 Today, **we have a visitor**, MrNow, in English, **how do you introduce**
- 4 **a person? Zvakasiyanaka nezvamunoita muShona!** (It's different from
- 5 what you do in Shona). **How do you introduce your friend?** Chipo?
- 6 Chipo: When I introduce my friend, I say, I first tell them her name and then they
- 7 shake hands (laughter by class).
- 8 Willie: **And then they shake hands?** Alright, alright; someone else to try? I want
- 9 you to say the actual words you use. Yes? **I want you to see how the**
- 10 **practice is different in the two languages, ...**

For the next five minutes, the class, led by the teacher, looks at how introductions are constructed in both English and Shona. Then the lesson for the day starts with the teacher explaining to the class the syllabus and other requirements for the course. This is followed by **a formal grammar lesson on verb tenses** (Field Notes, 15/1/97).

In excerpt 46, e.g. from lines 3–4, we can see that Willie is exploiting the opportunity of my presence and introducing me to teach registers in English. In this case, he uses a real situation to teach language. This is an example of situational language teaching, as he himself explains in a March, 1997, interview: "This is trying to make pupils learn in situations they find themselves". Excerpt 46 shows that Willie's teaching strategies at times genuinely reflect the Situational Approach, which was common in British and Zimbabwean schools from the 60s through to the 80s. As we have already seen in the literature reviewing chapter three, the Situational Approach was founded on British Structuralism, and one of its main characteristics is that of introducing and practising new language points situationally in an attempt to link knowledge of the structures of a

language to situations in which those structures are used (Richards and Rodgers, 1986). The approach also represents a move towards functional language teaching. This is probably why Willie, in excerpt 44, tends to confuse the Situational with the Communicative Approach, where he talks of "situational communicative approach to language teaching". Because of its inductive approach to the teaching of grammar, the Situational Approach can be classified as a behaviourist habit-learning theory. It assumes that a language pattern that is practised in one situation will be later generalised by students to other situations (Stern, 1983; Richards and Rodgers, 1986).

My field notes on Willie's grammar lessons, however, suggest a strong tendency to an eclectic approach; a repeated pattern is his switch from situational language teaching to formal language teaching. His lesson of 21/2/97 taught to Form 4C is a clear example of an extremely formal grammar lesson recorded in my field notes taken during observation. The lesson is on parts of speech. Willie starts off the lesson in a typically traditional style, and this sets the tone for the whole lesson, as follows:

Excerpt 47: Sentences are analysed into their various components.

Willie: "Right, today we're going to look at adjectives. What is an adjective? In fact, don't look up in your books! Close your books. What is an adjective?" A summary of the rest of the lesson goes like this: Sentences are analyzed into their various components, in the old formal grammar fashion. Parts of the analyzed sentences are used by students in sentences to test their understanding of their meaning and function. In the course of the analyses, rules of grammar are given by the teacher to the students on how to form adjectives (Field Notes, 21/2/97).

Willie's language teaching tendencies emerge consistently from these excerpts from interviews and observed lessons. For example, the observed lesson of 21/2/97 shows that Willie's approach to ESL teaching often involves formal explanations of grammar rules rather than communicative activities. Occasionally, however, Willie employs situational language teaching, as in excerpt 46 from an observed lesson. There remains a discrepancy between this behaviour and his claim in interview excerpt 45 that grammar should be

taught as it has always been taught before, in the traditional way. It would appear that when Willie is not teaching formal grammar, he is consciously making an effort to align his teaching to what he perceives to be the official line of approach to ESL instruction, the communicative approach. It is because of these tensions and contradictions that Willie's overall ESL instruction approach can be called eclectic.

Nunan (1991) maintains that there are three approaches to the teaching of grammar. In the first one, grammar can be taught formally. The second approach is situational language teaching, which involves teaching grammar patterns through the process of analogy rather than the explanation of rules. The third approach to grammar teaching is the most communicative: giving students opportunities to use the target language in a variety of realistic situations. Each of these approaches has its advantages and disadvantages. Stern (1983) argues that where grammar teaching is not related to society (excerpt 47 is an example), language ceases to perform one of its main functions, that of establishing contact and communication among members of a group or society. Nunan (1991) maintains that where common grammatical patterns are processed through analogy rather than explanation of rules, as Willie does in excerpt 46, students may not be able to use the taught structures in genuine communication outside the classroom. In the third approach, which is purely communicative, students may lack the grammatical rules of the target language, which, according to Celce-Murcia (1991), can lead to "the development of a broken, ungrammatical, pidginized form of the target language" (p. 462). I would like to add to Nunan's three approaches a fourth one, the eclectic approach, which we have seen in Willie. The problem with this approach is that it is not informed by any instructional theory and the learning of ESL is left to chance. In the tightly-scheduled programme of ESL instruction in Zimbabwe, one cannot afford to do this, and the eclectic approach is thus unsatisfactory.

Current debate among applied linguists is not about whether grammar should be taught at all, but about how to define grammar, when to teach it, and how and how much should be taught. Nunan (1991: 149) sees "little support for an approach in which all explicit grammatical instruction is eschewed". The current recommendation on the

teaching of grammar, and one which I go along with, is that the teaching of form, meaning and content be integrated. Using this approach, grammar is integrated at discourse level rather than being treated as a number of discrete language entities (cf. Frederiksen, Donin, and Decary, 1995; Celce-Murcia, 1991; Nunan, 1991).

In contrast to Willie, Cathy admits in the January 1997 interview that she is not familiar with the communicative approach. She even says on this occasion that she has never heard of the term, although she later uses it in the February 1997 interview from which the following excerpt 48 is taken to illustrate her own teaching.

Excerpt 48: Cathy's perception of the communicative approach.

I use the communicative approach where, let's say it's an oral lesson, then the pupils interact. Then, through the interaction, they are actually acquiring grammar. Then also through what I can call teacher exposition, where you tell them what a noun is and then giving them notes on the noun, and then making them apply the rules - if there are any rules - then you can give them an exercise on that (February, 1997).

Cathy's description of the communicative approach in excerpt 48 confirms her admission in the January 1997 interview that she is not familiar with the approach. Her description of the communicative approach reads like that of formal grammar teaching. We are able to infer this from her use of such phrases as "teacher exposition", "tell them what a noun is", "giving them notes on the noun", "making them apply the rules" and "give them an exercise". These phrases and the sequential lesson steps characterize a formal grammar lesson rather than a communicative one. Here again, one wonders how a teacher can be expected to implement a recommended, indeed required, approach for which he or she has not been prepared. It is not surprising if teachers stick to their own familiar ways of teaching in such situations. Mayher (1990) maintains that teachers tend to teach in ways that are familiar to them. This may be a truism, but it has important implications.

Although Cathy's situation is similar to Willie's, she differs from him in her

perception of her role in the classroom when teaching formal grammar. Cathy relies more on "telling" her students the rules of grammar through what she calls "teacher exposition" than does Willie. In her case, the grammar rules come straight from the textbook, which she tends to use more often than Willie does. However, both teachers share a firm belief in formal grammar teaching. This may well result from the fact that Cathy, like Willie, is a product of the old system of education and its emphasis on formal grammar teaching. Excerpt 49 from an interview illustrates Cathy's support for this method.

Excerpt 49: Formal grammar is more effective.

I feel that from the way we were taught grammar, **it was more effective**. But not what is **being prescribed to us, that we shouldn't teach grammar as grammar, but rather according to context**, where we derive the language structures from the passage or from a certain context that we have dealt with. And I find that **it is less effective with our students** (January, 1997).

Cathy's belief in formal grammar teaching is supported by evidence from her observed teaching, which is more consistently traditional than Willie's. Nunan (1991) describes a traditional language classroom as "a place where learners received systematic instruction in the grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation of the language - provided with opportunities for practising the new features of the language as these were introduced" (pp. 143-144). The following excerpt 50, from one of Cathy's lessons, also reveals her preference for formal grammar teaching. The lesson was taught on 6/2/97 to Form 4A3 on indirect speech. The excerpt comes from the first part of the lesson; and a summary of the rest of the lesson comes from my accompanying lesson notes.

Excerpt 50: Cathy's formal grammar lesson

- 1 Cathy: Good morning, class!
- 2 Class: Good morning, **madam!**
- 3 Cathy: Alright, sit down. **What's the difference between direct and indirect**
- 4 **speech?** What's the difference between direct and indirect speech? Is there

- 5 any difference?
- 6 Chipó: Direct speech, you say the actual words and indirect speech, you will be
7 reporting what someone said.
- 8 Cathy: **Any other difference, when you are writing the two?** Is there any other
9 difference?
- 10 Meki: We use quotation marks..
- 11 Cathy: I'm sure he is referring to punctuation. That is quotation marks. **We use
12 quotation marks in direct speech.** Is it? (writing the quotes on the
13 board). **So, you write inverted commas (pause). This is how you write
14 it.** It's different from indirect speech. **So, in direct speech you have
15 inverted commas, opening inverted commas, closing inverted commas.**
16 For example: He said, "We may find Peter here tomorrow". That's direct
17 speech. **How do we change it to indirect speech?**
- 18 Petty: He said that...
- 19 Cathy: **Speak up so that everyone can hear you.**
- 20 Petty: He said that we may find Peter here tomorrow.
- 21 Cathy: **He said that we may find Peter here tomorrow?**
- 22 Petty: He said that they would find Peter there the next day.
- 23 Cathy: **"We" changes to "they".** What else changes in that?

A summary of the rest of the lesson is as follows: The class is given a few more sentences in direct speech and are asked to change them into indirect speech. In the process, the teacher gives rules on indirect speech. In the last part of the lesson, the teacher assigns the class a written exercise from a textbook. The exercise requires the students to change sentences from direct speech into indirect in a writing exercise (Field Notes, 6/2/97).

In excerpt 50, Cathy's lesson embodies typical features of formal grammar teaching. For example, the grammar-translation approach is evident in the type of tasks that are given to the class. These tasks involve transforming sentences from direct to indirect speech. Cathy gives the transformation rules while students are doing these tasks. Here, language elements are treated as discrete entities; and the highest level of operation is at the sentence rather than discourse level. A written practice exercise set as a follow-up to oral work, a characteristic of formal grammar teaching, is given at the end.

In an interview, and using the teaching of tenses as an example, Cathy describes how she normally teaches her grammar lessons: "I usually teach the tenses, to start with, by developing **what** to use, **when** to use it, and **how** to use it. And then from time to time doing a **variety of exercises**. We refer to the tenses through the **tests, exercises...**"

(January, 1997). In this excerpt, we again see Cathy's emphasis on explicitly "telling" her students the grammar rules. This can be inferred from her use of the words "what", "when" and "how" to describe how she normally approaches her grammar lessons.

Although Cathy believes in formal grammar teaching, she says she is not free to teach ESL according to her convictions, because of the methodological prescriptions that are imposed on her: "I **wouldn't** really go into it (formal grammar teaching) **as I think I should**" (January, 1997). She feels that her hands are tied by the prescriptions from the syllabus, the textbook and the Education Officer (E.O.) in charge of English in her province. In the February interview, she complains that "the E. O. **insists** on the communicative approach quite a lot" (February, 1997).

When I asked Cathy in an interview how she thought language items taught and learnt as formal grammar can be transferred into language use, she explains: "The **link** is made when they (students) **write a composition**. You find they have not mastered the **rules** ... and then, in the **revision**, you **relate what they have learnt in grammar to what they have produced in the composition**" (February, 1997). From her words, we can infer that Cathy believes that grammar rules can help her students master the target language. In this case she seems to operate on the assumption that a knowledge of formal grammar structures generates language use, although she does not spell out exactly how this comes about. In practice, however, Cathy has come to realize that a knowledge of formal grammar does not always transfer into language use. She explains the problem in an interview when she says: "I **am failing** to find out how I could teach them (students) **so that they can really apply what they have learnt to the written work and so on**" (February, 1997). There is, therefore, a contradiction between Cathy's beliefs on the one hand and her practice, on the other. At one time Cathy says she finds the teaching of formal grammar to be more effective than the recommended communicative approach. Yet she also admits that there are problems with the transfer of knowledge of formal grammar rules to language use, problems which would not surprise researchers like Mayher (1990) who have found that there may not necessarily be any transfer between knowledge of formal grammar and language use.

Tension is also revealed when Cathy says that language should be taught so that it can be used in real life, but also believes in formal grammar teaching, which puts little or no emphasis on language use. This contradiction emerges clearly in an interview excerpt: "I think when someone **acquires a language by using it**, applying what they have acquired, then the students **actually learn that language better than when they just read about the language**; and they reserve it for written work. They **don't learn the language much that way**" (February, 1997). This seems to imply that Cathy sees linguistic competence and communicative competence as one and the same thing. This is perhaps why she is able to substitute one for the other, when she says in the same interview, "I think there is need to learn the grammar and use it effectively, communicatively" (February, 1997). She is unable to see the inability of formal grammar to bring about the communicative competence she refers to. This contradiction seems to stem from her lack of a clear conceptualization of the communicative approach, the result of her being asked to adopt an approach to ESL instruction with which she is not familiar. This helps to explain in part the persistence of Cathy and Willie's use of formal grammar teaching. Corder (1979) sees this kind of persistence as stemming from the fact that traditional grammar is the only language component that has received sufficient development in terms of well-defined teaching content. As we have already seen, teachers tend to teach what they best know how to describe (Corder, 1979; Mayher, 1990).

6.2 Teaching Writing

This section compares Cathy and Willie's beliefs on the teaching of writing, based on interviews, observations of their classes, field notes and their personal documents. I would like to suggest that Cathy and Willie's approaches to teaching writing can best be understood in the context of four major theoretical perspectives that have dominated the teaching of writing and, to some extent, reading as well, from the 70s through to the present day. It is appropriate, therefore, that I first discuss these approaches in order to gain a theoretical framework within which to discuss Cathy and Willie's approaches to the

teaching of writing. The models will also underlie the discussion on the teaching of reading in the next section. Despite having chosen to start from the theoretical perspective rather than from the data itself, I am fully aware of the danger of trying to "fit" data into an existing model.

The first of the four approaches to writing is that of the expressionists (e. g. Britton, 1972), who were prominent in the 70s. Their focus is on the writer's individual personality, and they regard writing as a creative act which, through self-expression, fulfils the function of self-discovery. In the expressionist model of writing, the writing process is generative rather than linear, something typical in Cathy and Willie's approaches. An example of the linear writing process can be found in the following excerpt from an interview with Cathy.

Excerpt 51: A linear approach to teaching writing.

"... at the beginning, we talk about the introduction, the body and the conclusion. And then when we are talking about the introduction, we are talking about the function of the introduction. Then we go to the body..." (Cathy, January, 1997).

In excerpt 51, Cathy has divided up the writing task into linear and sequential units, here the introduction, the body and the conclusion. The expressionist model of writing is integrative rather than linear. The model, however, is limited to the writing of narratives, and is difficult to apply to descriptive, expository or discursive writing. It therefore may not adequately prepare Zimbabwean students for an ESL exam that demands skills in writing several different types of texts.

The cognitive model, which constitutes the second approach, appeared in the 70s and 80s. An example is provided by Flower (1966). Cognitivists focus on the writer's individual characteristics. They regard writing as a mental process involving problem-solving and writer strategies. An example of problem-solving can be found in planning a composition, in which the writer sets goals and organizes his or her ideas before writing.

Translating and reviewing are examples of writer strategies that may be used. Cognitivists view writing in terms of text structures and representation features. Specific disciplinary features of the text are associated with the writer's cognitive growth. The problem with the cognitive model of writing is that of verifying its claims and assumptions about the mental processes involved in writing. How does one tell, for example, that the orderly flow of text structures and representations are mental processes and not the result of some of the methods used for eliciting data, such as the think-aloud method?

The last two models of writing share a social perspective, and have their basis in T. Kuhn's claim that scientific knowledge is essentially the common property of a group. Social interactionists came into prominence in the 1980s, and their influence is still felt today. They focus on writers' dialogues and meanings, and the model they posit regards writing as dialogic interactions involving the co-construction of meanings between the writer and the reader. Because of this interactive nature, writing is regarded as a rhetorical act involving inter-subjectivity. In the interaction between the writer and the reader, texts function as forums for mutuality and collaboration.

Social constructivists, as exemplified by Vygotsky, in Rieber and Carton (1987), and Emig (1971), focus on the writer and his or her social context. They regard writing as a social practice involving the construction of meaning. This process involves multiple voices, writer identities, a process in which the audience constitutes a discourse community. In this model of writing, texts function as social-cultural meanings.

As we have already seen in excerpt 51, Cathy normally approaches the teaching of writing by moving from controlled writing to freer writing. The students' writing is controlled by her practice of teaching one writing skill at a time, such as introductions, the body and the conclusion. With Cathy, controlled writing is mostly done at Form one and two levels, and free writing is normally done at the upper levels of Forms three and four. The following longer excerpt 52, from which excerpt 51 is extracted, offers a broader picture of Cathy's views on the topic.

Excerpt 52: From words to topic sentences, and then to paragraphs.

When you are teaching composition, the students should know the **different types of compositions**, so that they know what they are handling. When you are teaching them, my approach with the form ones has been to give them a composition and **find out where they are in terms of expression; in terms of tenses**. And then when I teach them the composition, I **expose them** to a variety of compositions and then, let's say I have given them a composition: "A Journey by Bus", we'll try **and find out the language that will be appropriate** - the wood, the scenery, the busstop, maybe how busy...

At times I tell them appropriate words to use to start with, then **gradually they find their own** in addition to what I will have given them. In their **composition plan**, I **emphasize that they should have a central idea**. If it's a journey by bus, what about the journey? For example, when you are travelling from Marondera to Harare, something there should be a central idea which should guide the reader. Like, for example, if there was a fight with the conductor maybe, that's the central idea. And then they look at the characters. In their **plan**, they should have characters, **few characters to avoid confusion**. So, they find what characters they are going to include in the composition. Then, as I said, the **vocabulary**; what new words do they come across which they think they should include in the composition? And then, all that, they have it in their outline. After that they can write the composition. But, **at the beginning, we talk about the introduction, the body and the conclusion**. And then when we are talking about the **introduction, we are talking of the function of the introduction, the effectiveness of the introduction**. Then we go to the **body**. When we are talking about the chronology of ideas, we are talking of the **paragraph structure, a topic sentence and supporting ideas, and then we talk about the conclusion** ... When the students have now grasped the **composition structure**, they can write it chronologically. They can now write it with coherence. We then look at the **sentence structure**, whether they are able to vary their sentences, whether they are able to include short sentences, complex sentences and idioms and whatever, in building the wealth of the language (January, 1997).

Excerpt 52 gives a detailed picture of Cathy's views on teaching writing. What emerges clearly from the excerpt is the product-oriented approach to writing that characterized much teaching of writing in the sixties and seventies. The approach involves a focus on linguistic and rhetorical forms. For example, Cathy mentions her preoccupation with such linguistic elements as "tenses" and appropriate "vocabulary" to describe, for example, a journey by bus. She also refers to teaching the structures of simple and

complex sentences and idioms. All these examples relate to linguistic and rhetorical forms of discourse. It would appear that at the early stages of secondary school, Forms one and two, Cathy is preoccupied with developing in her students these basic linguistic and rhetorical forms, tools she believes are essential for the "proper" writing task to come later. This probably explains why on meeting her Form ones for the first time she gives them a diagnostic composition "to find out where they are in terms of expression, in terms of tenses". Her need to find out the students' standard of "expression" and "tenses" shows her concern with linguistic and rhetorical forms. Her concern that her students recognize the "central idea that guides the reader" and use "few characters to avoid confusion" suggests a preoccupation with rhetorical forms of discourse coherence.

While Cathy is gearing her approach to the lower levels of secondary school only, within her underlying concepts is the danger of making the teaching of writing an extension of the teaching of linguistic structures rather than an approach to writing as an integrative whole. The controlled approach to writing that Cathy uses at form one and two levels has much in common with the audiolingual method reviewed in chapter three of this study. The audiolingual method makes the actual process of writing subservient to such linguistic control devices as fill-ins, substitutions, completions and use of topic sentences (Raimes, 1991).

In adopting the product-oriented approach to writing, Cathy's rationale seems to be that her students lack the basic language structures and rhetorical forms to enable them to follow any model of writing. For her, any model of writing first requires a basic knowledge of the target language, hence her focus on "giving" them first what she perceives to be "the language" they will need to embark on their writing. I am not suggesting that Cathy is conscious of making these decisions in her teaching; indeed, she seems unaware that any theoretical choices exist. Her approach to the teaching of writing does not fit into any of the four models described at the beginning of this section, because she treats the act of writing as the mastery of discrete entities of discourse. But this is not to say that there may not be found in her actual teaching certain elements borrowed from the models of writing discussed earlier in this section. At Form three and four levels,

Cathy's focus on writing tends to be centred on exam practice, as she says in the following excerpt from an interview.

Excerpt 53: Incident of error is so dense.

I give them a composition. They write the composition, and then **I find common errors, often putting the common errors down. Then I put that up as an exercise, after the composition. I discovered that it was very difficult to do corrections in compositions.** With the form threes that I had at Muonde High school, I would say, if you get a sentence wrong, you write the whole sentence down. If it's only a single word, you write the word three times in a line. Here (present school), I found that **the incident of error was so dense.** So, what I would do was **extract the common errors and then dwell on them in a kind of remedial exercise.** After the composition, when I bring the books back to class when we want to do another composition, before we do that composition, we do that exercise. When they (students) **know how to handle the sentences or whatever they will have got wrong, then they correct that in their composition exercise books** (January, 1997).

Cathy's focus in excerpt 53 is on the detection of students' errors, which she later treats as "remedial" exercises. It would appear that this product-oriented approach to writing, where emphasis is placed on imitating, copying and correcting wrong models of language is a wash-back effect of the Zimbabwean exam system whose reward system is largely based on correct forms of language. The following is an excerpt from my field notes on Cathy's lesson of 10/2/97, taught to Form 4A3. It is an illustration of how Cathy's teaching of writing is greatly influenced by the exam. The excerpt also offers a comparison between what Cathy says in the interview and what she actually does in the classroom. Her classroom practice is illustrated by excerpts 54 and 55.

Excerpt 54: An example of Cathy's lesson on writing.

The lesson involves the writing of a report. The objectives of the lesson, as they appear in the scheme of work, are listed as:
By end of the lesson, pupils should be able to
(a) say **what the situational composition is**

(b) make an effective **plan**

(c) **write up** the composition.

The source of teaching material is put down as Structures and Skills Book 4 (a **course book**). The stages for the lesson, as they appear in the lesson plan, are:

(a) Class discussion on what a situational composition is

(b) **Reminder on skills required**

(c) The question discussed in class i. e. **groups** first then whole class

(d) Written work (**individual**)

The lesson follows more or less the same steps as outlined above. The textbook title on which the lesson is based is **different from the one in the teacher's scheme of work**. The lesson is from Step Ahead, book 4, page 47. **Pairs** are asked to imagine they are a Ranger who has been called to rescue a man who is being attacked by a lion. After the rescue operation, the Ranger writes a report to his Senior Officer on the incident. **Points to include in the report are given in the textbook**. The task for each pair is to **identify key words of the question** to show their understanding of the question (Field Notes, 10/2/97).

Excerpt 55 following is taken at the point where pairs in the lesson from which excerpt 54 is taken are reporting their findings to the class.

Excerpt 55: Look at the question (in the textbook).

- 1 Cathy: Let's find out what you have so far. Let's find out what you have gathered
- 2 so far. Look at the question. **What have you identified as the key points**
- 3 **of the question?** (pause) What have you identified as the key words that
- 4 will guide you?
- 5 Peter: Just...
- 6 Cathy: Just what?
- 7 Peter: To kill down the lion as well as reassure the villagers of their safety.
- 8 Cathy: Esther?
- 9 Esther: It's a report
- 10 Cathy: Yes, it's a report. You have identified that you are supposed to write a
- 11 report. That's the first thing. What else?
- 12 John: ???(not clear)
- 13 Cathy: **What did you underline in the question?**
- 14 John: Actions you took to rescue the wounded man.
- 15 Cathy: Who is writing the report? Who is going to write the report?
- 16 John: A ranger.
- 17 Cathy: A ranger. You are a ranger and you are writing to? **To whom are you**

- 18 **addressing the report?**
 19 Mary: To the Senior Officer.
 20 Cathy: To the Senior officer. And what are you writing about? What are you
 21 writing about? Yes, Tendai?
 22 Tendai: About a man who has been attacked
 23 Cathy: About a man who has been attacked; man attacked by lion. **What else is of**
 24 **importance there?** Rumbidzai?
 25 Rumbi: The action you took to rescue the wounded man and to track down the
 26 lion.
 27 Cathy: What else? Yes?
 28 Koro: Tracking down the lion.
 29 Cathy: What else, Joyce?
 30 Joyce: As well as to reassure the villagers of their safety.
 31 Cathy: **What did you underline as the key idea there?** Are you going to
 32 underline "as well as"?
 33 Joyce: Reassure the villagers of their safety.
 34 Cathy: Reassure the villagers of their safety. So, those are the key issues. **Those**
 35 **are the key ideas which should be there in your report to the Senior**
 36 **Officer.** And then it (question) says: Use some or all of the
 37 points, and add other ideas of your own. Now, when you
 38 look at the first one, "men out hunting", **what is it saying? You**
 39 **need to understand the notes first before you start to rearrange them**
 40 **or before you start to expound on them.**

Excerpt 55 is an illustration of Cathy's preoccupation with interpreting an exam-type of question. The question is taken from a course book. Because of the importance attached to passing the exam in the Zimbabwean context, it is easy to see why Cathy is so concerned about students getting the correct interpretation of the question. This, however, has the effect of reducing the writing task to a comprehension-type exercise. Cathy's reliance on the course book for the lesson's content and guidance on teaching strategies exposes her to the possibilities of using outdated models of writing that may be at odds with current theories on writing and the prevailing teaching and learning conditions in her classroom. Nunan (1991) argues that a textbook is "incapable of catering for the diversity of needs which exist in most language classrooms" (p.209). However, he also sees the textbook as fulfilling a teacher education function, as well as that of time-saving for a teacher who would otherwise have to prepare teaching materials from scratch.

Willie's general approach to the teaching of writing resembles that of Cathy, as

illustrated by the following excerpt from an interview.

Excerpt 56: Starting with basic things.

We enhance writing by **starting with basic things**, making **sentences**, using **phrases**; and perhaps **telling the students** to use these **words** to describe something. You give a picture, say to the form ones. You ask them to **write ten sentences related to this picture**. And there you just look for the **use of the subject**, the **use of the verb**, the **use of adjectives** and something like that. And **then** you go on to say, perhaps: **I want you to write about your childhood or your first day at school**, the most common one; or **My New School**. Then you say: **I want you to write just the first paragraph about your new school**. Then you ask them to read the paragraph. Then you ask them to **write the next three paragraphs**; and then write the **conclusion**, something like that (January, 1997).

In excerpt 56, we can see that, like Cathy, Willie's approach is bottom-up, which is typical of the product-oriented approach. Using this approach, writing skills are broken up into discrete entities that are taught separately. The assumption underlying this approach is that language is built up of small blocks or units that can be dismantled for teaching and learning purposes. At the end of the day, the learner is expected to put together all these building blocks in order to form meaningful discourse. This is a linear, structural view of writing, and is sometimes also referred to as the instructional approach. In the following excerpt 57 from an interview, Willie explains his rationale for adopting this atomic and linear approach.

Excerpt 57: Building them up step by step.

The idea is to make sure that they (students) are coming **from stage one, then to the next stage**; and also for you the teacher to know how far the children have gone in the previous year. You have got to **build them up**; and it's acceptable that **you write one paragraph and then you mark it**. You **start off on the right path**, and you also get to know who is a slow learner whom you can tell to rewrite the poorly written paragraph (January, 1997).

Willie, like Cathy, uses composition writing as a vehicle for teaching linguistic structures, such as vocabulary. The following excerpt 58 is an illustration of this point. The excerpt is from Willie's lesson of 21/2/97. The excerpt comes from a point in the lesson where groups are reporting on their holiday experiences to the whole class. Willie jots down on the board the points that are being raised by the class.

Excerpt 58: Teaching vocabulary through writing.

- | | | |
|----|---------|--|
| 1 | Willie: | You were herding cattle. (Writes on the board) Yes? |
| 2 | | Somebody said: I was keeping chicken yesterday! |
| 3 | Class: | (laughter) |
| 4 | Willie: | What should you say when you talk about chicken? It's not |
| 5 | | keeping chicken. |
| 6 | Mary: | I was eating food. |
| 7 | Willie: | What do we say? |
| 8 | Tom: | I was watching chicken. |
| 9 | Class: | (laughter) |
| 10 | Willie: | Yes? Again? |
| 11 | Tom: | I was looking after chicken. |
| 12 | Willie: | Looking after....; that's more so. I was keeping chicken is |
| 13 | | more Shona, isn't? Yes? |
| 14 | Neni: | I was rearing chicken. |
| 15 | Willie: | No. Yes. It is Shona-English... |

In excerpt 58, we can see that, apart from teaching content and its organization, Willie uses the opportunity offered by the composition lesson to teach lexical forms that go with this content. This is another example of the transmission model where the teacher attempts to "give" the target language to the students, a practice we have also seen in Cathy's teaching. For example, in lines 4, 7 and 12, Willie asks his students leading questions to help them find the appropriate word or expression to describe a holiday experience, that of looking after chickens. Willie's main strategy for doing this, as we have already seen, is to move from the known, the students' L1, to equivalent translations into the target language. Willie probably assumes, like Cathy, that his students lack the appropriate forms to express themselves in the target language. He therefore attempts to

integrate vocabulary teaching into writing lessons. Either he is acting upon this "deficit theory" (Bernstein, 1977); or he believes writing can best be taught through the study of linguistic structures.

Like Cathy's, Willie's approach to writing, as exemplified in excerpts 56 and 57, does not fit into any of the four current theories of writing described earlier in this section. Both teachers' approaches appear to be based on writing models that were in operation in the sixties and early seventies, and which were influenced by product-oriented research studies on teaching and by the audiolingual method. Willie's words in excerpt 57, such as "from stage one, then to the next stage", "build them up" and "one paragraph" at a time, suggest a linear approach to writing, which is contrary to the expressionist non-linear generative view of the writing process. The linear approach embraced by both Cathy and Willie, in which the teacher's main concern appears to be the "transmission" of the target language, rather than its generation in the students, also distinguishes it from the problem-solving approach of the cognitivist theory of writing. The absence of active involvement by students in the creation of discourse, because of the teacher's control of the writing tasks, means that the students are largely excluded from the collaborative act of creating a discourse which is relevant and meaningful to them. Willie and Cathy's focus on the linguistic and rhetorical forms further excludes any social dimension from their approach to writing, so that their model cannot be categorized as either interactionist or constructivist. In failing to reflect any of the current thinking on writing, Cathy and Willie's classes run the risk of degenerating into a series of dry drills on isolated linguistic and rhetorical forms of discourse as exam preparation. However, observations of both teachers' actual teaching did show the incorporation of some elements of the newer theoretical perspectives discussed earlier in this section. Excerpt 59, from my field notes, is an illustration of this point. The composition lesson is by Willie and is entitled: My Holiday Experiences. It was taught by Willie on 21/2/97 to Form 3G.

Excerpt 59: Some few elements are borrowed from different writing models.

Objectives for Willie's lesson, as they appear in his scheme of work, are as follows:

(a) Pupils to **narrate their experiences in groups.**

(b) They **list down the experiences as part of the plan.**

Under the column "Source of Teaching Materials", Willie writes:

"Teacher's ideas based on pupils' previous knowledge". The steps for the lesson, as they appear in the lesson plan, are listed as follows:

(a) Introduce the topic.

(b) Ask pupils to **work in groups** as they list down their experiences.

(c) **General class discussion**

(d) **Homework**

The actual lesson taught follows the above steps and is guided by the stated objectives. In groups, students list down their holiday experiences. These are then reported to the whole class in a **brainstorming manner**. The teacher jots down on the board in point form the contributions from groups. The ideas are then **arranged into paragraphs according to themes**. In the end the class is assigned composition topic to write on as **homework** (Field Notes, 21/2/97).

Some elements of the social constructivist theory on writing can be inferred from the group-work task of brainstorming the composition topic. By working together as a group, the students might come up with experiences and discourses that they have in common, so that what they eventually put down on paper is meaningful and relevant to them. In this way, the group is able to produce discourse collaboratively with themselves as the possible audience. This bears some resemblance to the social constructivist model of writing in which multiple voices are involved in the construction of meaning. In this way, the actual writing task becomes a social act.

The planning phase, in objective (b) of Willie's lesson, suggests an element of the cognitive perspective on writing, although there is not much explicit evidence of the problem-solving that normally goes with this kind of planning. Brainstorming in groups and during a class discussion might also be considered to form one of the writer's strategies which are key elements in the cognitive process of writing. Brainstorming suggests a process-oriented approach to writing which takes into consideration the process through which writers normally go in composing text. Some of these processes include the writing of many drafts, conferencing and collaboration, elements that tend to

reflect a social perspective on writing rather than a cognitive one. I see it as a problem of ideas here, that Willie and Cathy have not been exposed to current thinking on writing. Thus citation of the few examples of elements borrowed from the current theoretical perspectives on writing is not included to suggest that Cathy and Willie's approaches to writing are influenced by any of the given models of writing. Rather one might best describe the approaches of both teachers as eclectic. This eclecticism is more noticeable in Willie than in Cathy. The eclecticism seems to result from Willie and Cathy's ad hoc responses to the different contextual factors which they encounter in their teaching environments, such as the demands of the exam, prescriptions from the E. Os. and the influence of the textbooks. It may also be true that the four models of writing discussed at the beginning of this section are not as applicable to L2 teaching and learning situations as they are to L1. I suggest this because of the different contextual factors that are likely to impinge on the two situations, and would force teachers to modify their approaches and instructional strategies to suit their teaching and learning environments. This, I would argue, is where teaching becomes dynamic and an act of improvisation, qualities that may make the categorization of this teaching into neat and preconceived theories or "methods" of instruction impossible.

6.3 Teaching Reading

Theoretical perspectives on reading closely parallel those on writing (Christian, 1994). The reading-as-translation model assumes a bottom-up approach. One of its main assumptions is that meaning is found in a text. Each component sub-skill, e.g. graphic recognition, the meanings of individual words and phrases, are processed as discrete entities.

The cognitive model of reading focuses on the process of reading rather than its product. In this model, readers are viewed as active information processors in that they construct meaning through interacting with the text. The schema theory was originally offered as an explanation of the reader's acceptance or rejection of a writer's hypothesis in

the process of reading and meaning construction. In the face of heavy criticism, however, this theory was superseded, because it could not explain several key factors, such as the origin of a reader's schema. Other theories, such as the frame theory (cf. Frederiksen, 1975) took its place. The current cognitivist theory of reading adopts both a top-down and bottom-up approach to the reading process, arguing that the two processes can occur simultaneously. When this happens, the upper layers of discourse are processed from the top down by more proficient readers while less proficient readers, and for unfamiliar texts, a bottom-up processing is done at the lower level of linguistic structure (Grabe, 1991; Frederiksen and Donin, 1991).

The social interactive model of reading views knowledge as transferable from one source to another; for example, a reader's knowledge of L1 is said to be transferred to L2 learning situations. In this model, the reader also interacts in meaningful dialogues with a text to bring about the joint construction of meaning. This act makes reading, like writing, a rhetorical act involving the inter-subjective joint construction of meaning by both reader and writer. The social constructivist, or the environmentalist model of reading, as it is sometimes called, focuses more on the social contexts of the reader, the text, the writer and society. In this model, reading is viewed as a socio-cultural practice involving the construction of meaning; and the writer and the reader are viewed as members of a discourse community. Socio-cultural meaning in a text is negotiated by the reader in the context of the reader, the writer, the text and the society. With this brief outline of current models of reading as a framework, I wish now to turn to a discussion of Willie and Cathy's perspectives on reading and their actual teaching strategies.

My field notes show that Willie's reading programmes include both extensive and intensive reading. Extensive reading is mostly done in the school library and in the students' homes. Willie's timetable shows that each of his forms has one lesson a week allocated for library reading. He says he encourages his students to read as many books, magazines and newspapers as possible, so as to get maximum exposure to the target language. Following is an excerpt from an interview in which Willie explains how he normally conducts extensive reading with his classes.

Excerpt 60: We encourage extensive reading.

We take students to the library for extensive reading. **They read anything; and we encourage them to read as much as possible** without getting much detail, getting the gist, the general outline of a story. They have four exercise books; one for stories, one for composition, one for literature and one for language. The one we call supplementary and story is for summarizing what they have read. They can do that in this fourth book. **And that way we encourage extensive reading** (January, 1997).

Willie's encouragement of extensive reading appears to be driven by his own model that may be equivalent to Krashen's (1987) comprehensible input hypothesis. The hypothesis assumes that L2 acquisition can be enhanced by exposing learners to language which is just a little beyond their current level of competence. This could explain Willie's apparent bombardment of his students with the target language, through his encouragement of extensive reading. In this case, the comprehensible input comes from extensive reading of materials from the school library. Grabe (1991) argues that extensive reading promotes the learning of vocabulary, fluency, structural awareness, confidence and an appreciation of reading.

What Willie says in excerpt 60 is supported by evidence from his actual teaching. An example can be found in his library lesson of 18/3/97 with a Form 3G class which I observed. In this lesson, students sat quietly in the library throughout the period reading books, newspapers and magazines. This silent reading resembles the sustained reading programme recommended for the building of fluency, confidence and appreciation of reading (Grabe, 1991). However, Willie's effort to improve his students' command of the target language through extensive reading is hampered by a significant lack of suitable or even unsuitable reading resources. The few reading materials I saw in his school library do not allow the student much choice, especially considering the size of Mhene School. This lack of adequate reading material is an obvious constraint on one of the major aims of extensive reading, that of cultivating in the students a life-long love of reading. A large supply of reading material in terms of quantity as well as quality ensures that the students

have a wide enough choice to cater for their different reading tastes. It is when students' interests are catered for in their reading that they are likely to develop a habit of reading which will continue even after leaving school. I shall return later in my discussion to this theme of reading resources in Willie and Cathy's schools when I discuss teaching and learning resources at Mhene and Dombo schools.

Willie teaches intensive reading mainly through summary and comprehension exercises. In addition to these, he also has a class reader for intensive study with his classes. Willie defines summary and comprehension tasks in terms of the skills each demands. In an interview, he gives an example of the stages he normally goes through in teaching summary writing, which he sees as an aspect of intensive reading. Following is an excerpt from an interview which illustrates this approach.

Excerpt 61: What do you do when you summarize?

In fact, in summary and comprehension, there is **content**. The content in summary would involve **defining a summary so that the students know that to summarize is** to shorten a story or a passage. And then **what do you do when you summarize?** You look for the main points; you look for the characters; you look for the places, events, which are important. And then, once you have done that, you say, in summary, you are looking for the key word, e.g. Explain the reasons why the child cried from 2 o'clock to 4 o'clock. **There is a summary question.** And the **key words** are reasons, the reasons for crying. You are now answering the **key words in the summary question**. You are looking for the reasons. Not reasons for not eating but reasons for crying. And then you **tell them** that once you know the key words, you also remember what are called task boundaries. You start from line so and so. You look for these points within that area, not outside this area. So, those are the task boundaries. **The examiners can say: summarize the whole passage. They tell you where to start and where to end.** And then **you also tell the students**, after listing the points, you now try and join them coherently, putting similar ideas together. And then, by all means, try to use your own words in joining your points into coherent discourse. And it is therefore **wrong to plagiarize** if you are making a summary (January, 1997).

After going through all the steps for summary writing, Willie says he assigns his students passages to summarize as practice. Excerpt 61 shows how Willie focuses on

meeting the requirements of the summary question in the exam, thus reducing the whole purpose of doing intensive reading to the single aim of mastering techniques for summary writing in order to score a high mark in the relevant exam question. This is another example of the "wash-back" effect of the exam in Willie's teaching. It is evident that Willie has the exam at the back of his mind in excerpt 61 from his use of such words as "the examiner can say", "key words in the summary question" and "wrong to plagiarize". He seems to be almost exclusively concerned with getting his students to interpret correctly the meaning of the question - that is, the exam question - by identifying its "key" words. This preoccupation shows how strongly Willie's teaching is influenced by the exam. What seems to emerge overall from excerpt 61 is the skill-oriented approach to summary writing. Examples of the skills mentioned are identifying key points, identifying key words, making notes, and joining and expanding notes into discourse; each of these is treated separately. This is a bottom-up approach to reading in that the summary task is broken up into sub-skills which are taught separately. The approach fits the reading-as-translation model outlined at the beginning of this section, an approach whose main assumption is that meaning is found in the text, and whose focus is on the mastery of each of the component sub-skills that make up the text.

The reading-as-translation model that Willie uses for the teaching of summary is not very different from the one he uses for teaching comprehension, as the following excerpt from an interview shows.

Excerpt 62: Students read the passage about three times.

I give them (students) two different types of approaches. If they are intelligent, I would **ask them to read the questions first**, so that when they read the passage, **they are reading it to find answers to the questions**. Normally, one would read the passage **first for the general outline**, for the gist, and the **second time for detail**. And then we read the questions and then try to answer them. **We try to understand the new words by inference**. So, basically, the **students would read the passage about three times**; the first reading for the general outline; the second for detail and inference of words; and reading as they answer the questions. Sometimes I just come into the classroom and say: Open your books on page 2.

Do such and such a comprehension, without talking much to the class. Here I am testing their comprehension skills under exam conditions. We then discuss the answers and the passage after written work (January, 1997).

The main assumption underlying excerpt 62 is that meaning is contained in a text, and has to be decoded. Reading to decode meaning focuses on the mastery of each component sub-skill. This comes out clearly from the several readings Willie's students have to do in order to "find" the meaning supposedly "hidden" in the text. At other times Willie treats the comprehension task simply as a "testing" exercise, instead of making it a learning experience in which the reader is able to interact with the text in negotiating meaning during the reading process. Treating comprehension as a test again appears to be motivated by a need to practise for the exam.

The reading-as-translation model reflected here received a lot of input from the audiolingual method whose focus in reading is to examine grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation as separate entities. My experience of teaching and observing ESL teaching in Zimbabwe shows that the reading-as-translation model is widespread in Zimbabwean ESL classrooms. This is in spite of the fact that it has received little support from current reading research. Current research on reading tends to support those models of reading that focus on the reading process rather than the product, such as the cognitivist or the two social models of reading discussed earlier.

Willie normally teaches new vocabulary in both summary and comprehension lessons, just as he teaches it in composition classes. Excerpt 63 from an interview shows how he normally handles vocabulary teaching in summary and comprehension lessons.

Excerpt 63: We never move about with a dictionary.

I normally ask them (students) not to continually refer to dictionaries, because we are saying: **in real life**, we never move about with a dictionary. You are reading a newspaper and you find the word pandemonium: you cannot say: let me see what the dictionary says. The news is on! You just try to get the meaning out of it! And again, another aspect, **I have also used big Shona words** (students' L1). And I say: what do you think these words mean: *Uri mharapatsatsa yemunhu*. From the

way I have used the word *mharapatsatsa*, what do you think it means? And the child says: I think it's somebody without good manners. So, **we encourage deducing meaning from the context** (January, 1997).

Excerpt 63 illustrates Willie's use of context to infer meanings of new words. He also uses examples of Shona words, the students' L1, to demonstrate the concept of inference. Once again, Willie can be seen to approach the teaching of concepts by leading students from the known to the unknown. His use of Shona to teach universal language concepts is one of his important teaching strategies. He consciously uses what his students bring with them by way of their L1 linguistic and communicative competence, to teach ESL. The assumption implied here is that at least some linguistic and communicative strategies in L1 are transferrable to the target language. It is not as if the students, in their study of L2, are starting from zero. They already know how to mean in their own language. This phenomenon is explained by Cummins' (1979) common underlying proficiency hypothesis. The hypothesis assumes that literary-related aspects of a bilingual's proficiency in L1 and L2 are common or interdependent across languages.

What Willie says on the use of context to infer the meaning of new words is supported by evidence from his teaching. Excerpt 64 from my field notes on his comprehension lesson of 21/1/97 illustrates this.

Excerpt 64: From the known to the unknown.

The oral comprehension exercise involved the teacher asking leading questions on meanings of words and phrases in the passage read, **each time referring the class to the context provided by the passage**. The teacher used a Shona word, *tsvigiri*, in the sentence: Do you take your tea with *tsvigiri*, as a way of **demonstrating how the concept of context operates in both Shona and English**. I thought this was **a useful way of linking student's experiences in their L1 to the new experiences in L2** (Field Notes, 21/1/97).

Here, again, in excerpt 64, we are able to see how Willie uses Shona concepts, which his students already possess, to teach ESL strategies for inferring meanings of new

words from context.

Cathy, like Willie, also believes that extensive reading is necessary for second-language generation, for both the student and the teacher, as she says in excerpt 65 from an interview.

Excerpt 65: Through reading students can acquire language.

I think reading is very important, because, through reading, **through extensive reading, that's where students can acquire the language.** So, at this school, there is little one can do, because **the students are poor.** We tried to initiate a circulation library, where students would bring in novels and exchange them in class, but the students did not bring the books. They don't have them. And **our library is so limited that the students can only have one book in a number of weeks, which is not enough** (January, 1997).

In the February, 1997 interview, Cathy repeats the idea of the value of reading for both the student and the teacher when she says: "I think English is aided by reading a lot. Because when you are reading a lot, you get an experience with the language. And any teacher who teaches English and does not read, you find that his English goes down and down." Cathy's words suggest that teachers of English should set a good example of reading to their students. This comes out clearly when she says: "I don't know if it would be possible, maybe even to have a week of reading, where teachers and students come together for a week of reading" (February, 1997). Cathy sees the benefit of extensive reading as "getting experience with the language". Her view seems to be informed by a need to give the students maximum exposure to the target language, something that seems again to be equivalent to Krashen's (1987) comprehensible input hypothesis. Cathy believes she can counteract an environment that is greatly deprived of opportunities to experience the target language by encouraging extensive reading. But, as she points out in excerpt 65, the problem of lack of reading materials often constrains her efforts to do this. There is thus a tension between the need to promote wide reading by the students and enhance their experience of the target language, and the lack of the reading material which

would encourage this reading. This tension can be summed up in one phrase: literacy without literature.

As we have already seen, Cathy prefers to expose her students to L1 models of literature. In her case, this means literature by L1 speakers of English. We have also seen that her choice of model has to do with her concern to see her students through an exam at the end of their course. In the Zimbabwean situation, for historical reasons, the L1 model of English, in particular British English, is often used as the model by which exam scripts in English are measured. However, I would like to think that with the localization of the Zimbabwean exams now complete, it may be possible that some other model of English will emerge as the model for the English exam in the country.

Cathy does not seem to be aware of the cultural contradictions inherent in the L1 model of literature she would choose to present to her students. One could validly ask how culturally relevant such a literature is to her ESL students? But, as we have already seen, it would appear that Cathy's choice is influenced more by the demands of the exam than by the need for cultural relevance. In this, Cathy differs from Willie's who both uses and praises literature in English by local ESL writers, and is thus at least implicitly concerned with cultural relevance.

In her treatment of intensive reading, Cathy resembles Willie in her use of comprehension and summary exercises. Her normal approach to the teaching of these depends on the level of class she is teaching, as she explains in the following excerpt 66 from an interview.

Excerpt 66: We find out whether they have grasped anything.

When it's Z.J.C. (form one and two), I do the **prereading activities**. We look at the pictures **through stimulating questions to find out what we are going to read** in the passage. Then, after the prereading, usually I read out the passage to the students. After reading the passage, **we do some discussions to find out whether they have understood all the words and so on**. After that, I will ask the students to read the passage again. Then they go on to **answer the questions on the passage**. But at times we do not give meanings to the words, because I want

them to **find out from the context, to find out meanings from the context**. So, instead of doing it together as a class, I would rather let them **do it on their own**. As a class we discuss the answers after they have tried to do the exercise on their own. That's the way I do it with the Z.J.C.

Then, with the "O" levels, usually they **go over the passage silently**. Then after the first silent reading, **we find out whether they have grasped anything**. That is, I will ask the **questions which require just bringing to memory what they have been reading**. So, they identify what they have been reading, whether they know the **general outline of the story**; maybe look at some of the **difficult structures**. At times they don't read silently. **At times they take turns to read aloud**. At times I read to them; and then after that they **will read through the passage again silently**. Then **they do the questions**. At times we **do a few of the questions orally** as a guide, and then they will do the rest. At times I ask them to do the questions **in pairs**; and then they write down whatever their findings are as **written work** (January, 1997).

Cathy's pre-reading activities, aimed at "priming" or "activating" the mind of the reader are typical of the pre-reading tasks that were prescribed by the old schema theory (Grabe, 1991). However, a definite pattern of reading-as-translation model emerges from the other details in excerpt 66. When Cathy says she conducts a discussion to find out whether her students have "understood all the words and so on", and to find out "whether they have grasped anything", it illustrates an assumption that the text is the authority and that meaning is found in the text. The quoted words suggest that it is the reader who has to "find" the meaning that is supposed to reside in the text, rather than, for example, the reader negotiating meaning in the text in a collaborative effort between the reader and the writer, as in the interactive model of reading. To further illustrate Cathy's assumption that the text is a canonical authority, we see her asking her students to do several readings of the comprehension passage as a way of making sure that they do not miss any "hidden" meaning that might be contained in the text. Cathy's fact-finding questions, whose purpose is for "just bringing to memory what they (students) have been reading," also suggest her assumption that meaning resides in the text. Her use of the word "memory" would suggest a mere parroting of the contents of a passage without any meaningful interaction of the reader with the text. All this and the fact that the reading comprehension task is broken up into discrete componential sub-skills, such as the study of the meanings of the "words" and

"some of the difficult structures" suggest that Cathy follows almost exclusively a reading-as-translation model.

As we have seen in the discussion on Willie, the reading-as-translation model goes contrary to current models of reading discussed earlier, such as the social constructivist model that looks at reading as a joint construction of meaning between the writer and the reader. In the reading-as-translation model, readers are passive receivers of information which is assumed to reside in the text, rather than being active information processors as in the cognitivist and social constructivist models of reading, to give only two examples of current reading models.

Cathy's reliance on the reading-as-translation model was also observed in her actual reading lessons, such as her lesson of 31/1/97 taught to Form 4A3. Even within this model, however, there are contradictions. For example, in excerpt 66, Cathy says she encourages the use of context to infer meanings of new words, something that Willie claims and appears to practise. But in the lesson of 13/2/97, Cathy instead encourages her Form 2A2 class to use dictionaries to find the meanings of new words. This is done even before the students have tried to guess at the meaning of the new words in their context. Following is excerpt 67 from the lesson when this took place.

Excerpt 67: Let's hear what your dictionary says.

- 1 Cathy: If you have your dictionary, please take it out. **Let's hear what your**
- 2 **dictionary says** about "a case". You have your dictionaries **but you don't**
- 3 **know how to use them!** How do you use your dictionary? You look up
- 4 under "c". Then move down the page until you find the word "case".
- 5 Then read out the meanings. **What meaning do you find?**

In excerpt 67 from Cathy's lesson, instead of the students inferring the meanings of new words from the context provided by the text, their task becomes simply that of replacing selected new words in the passage with new words from the dictionary. Cathy's approach to vocabulary teaching here is a direct contradiction of what she claims to do in excerpt 66.

Cathy was twice observed when teaching a literature set text to Form 2A2 on 13/2/97 and 14/2/97. For the lesson of 13/2/97, the class had been assigned to read the text in advance and during the lesson they took turns to read the story aloud. This lesson suggests Cathy's belief that the main goal of studying literature is not to gain pleasure from reading but to master the details of the text for exam purposes. For example, she tells this to her Form 2A2 class in the lesson of 13/2/97, from which excerpt 68 is taken.

Excerpt 68: A set text is not read for enjoyment.

1 Cathy: When you are reading this book, the literature text, **it's not a novel that you**
 2 **are reading for enjoyment.** It is **very different** from your reading of the
 3 Mills and Boons (romance genre for adolescents) that you borrow from the
 4 library; or the Pacesetters (adventure series for adolescents) that you
 5 borrow from the library. **You are reading this book to master**
 6 **the book, to know it well.**

The sharp distinction that Cathy makes here between reading for pleasure and studying a text for the exam, could go a long way to explain why there seems to be a discontinuity between the reading that is done in school and the reading that takes place when one finishes school. It has been observed that students in Zimbabwe generally do not continue to read once they leave school (cf. Chiwome, 1996). This might have something to do with an overemphasis on reading to pass the exam in the schools: "You are reading this book to master the book, to know it well". These words by Cathy further suggest her assumption that meaning is within a text, which students have to "master". The word "master" further suggests the passive reader associated with the reading-as-translation model. Cathy's statement that the study of literature is simply an acquisition of information for the exam, and her open rejection of the possibility that it could be a pleasurable experience, means that any love of reading is doomed, as students begin to associate all reading with the exam. And once the exam is over, students do see no need to continue reading, an attitude which has resulted in the death of a reading culture in Zimbabwe.

I also observed Cathy giving notes to her literature class, a practice in keeping with her views that the study of a set text is for the mastery of its contents. An example is found in the lesson of 14/2/97, where the class is given teacher-prepared notes on the chapters that had been covered in class. The tasks she sets on the set text are generally exam-oriented. They appear to be comprehension-type tasks based on the parts of the text students have read. Most of the questions simply ask for the reproduction of "facts" in the set text, a phenomenon typical of the reading-as-translation model. Examples of questions given as written work are found in the lesson of 13/2/97, taught to a Form 2A2 class. Following are Cathy's questions as extracted from my field notes on the lesson.

Excerpt 69: All fact-finding questions.

- 1) What do you know about Theo so far?
 - 2) What have you learnt about the court situation?
 - 3) New words and expressions: give their meanings.
 - a) gravely
 - b) sobbing with emotion
 - c) adversary
 - d) barrister
 - e) the sky is the limit
 - f) jury
- (Field Notes, 13/2/97).

From the above questions, we are able to infer that for Cathy the study of literature is an extension of the summary and comprehension work we have already seen her doing with intensive reading texts. Similar fact-finding questions are given for written homework in her lesson of 14/2/97, except that in this lesson one divergent question-type is included out of a total of five questions. The divergent question reads: If you were Theo, what would make it difficult for you to leave England?

An examination of the data on Cathy and Willie's approaches to teaching reading leads me to conclude that they are strongly indebted to the 1960s and early 1970s reading-as-translation model. In addition, the Zimbabwean English exams at secondary school level have a lot to account for in their influence on Cathy and Willie's approaches

to teaching reading. It would appear that as long as the exams remain cast in their old, traditional mould, teachers like Willie and Cathy will find it difficult to break away from its backwash effects, as such an attempt would be perceived as risking a disaster, both for the students who might fail the exam, and for the teachers, who are judged by the results they "produce".

6.4 Teaching Listening and Speaking: The Two Neglected Areas?

In this section, it is important that I make a distinction between "speaking" and "talk", because the two terms convey different orientations. Speaking is associated with the traditional view which regards language as divisible into the separate skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. The current integrative approach to teaching language uses the term "talk" to distinguish itself from the traditional approach associated with the term "speaking". However, in describing Willie and Cathy's perspectives on oral work, I have tended to use the term "speaking" rather than "talk", because it seems more appropriate to describe their teaching approaches.

Listening and speaking were definitely neglected areas in Willie and Cathy's teaching of ESL. I arrived at this conclusion after making a count of the actual content topics that appear in the scheme of work of each teacher for one Form four class for the full month of February, 1997. My choice of the month of February and the two Form four classes was random. By content topic I mean an occasion when a language component appears in a scheme of work, irrespective of the number of lessons the component may actually have taken to teach. Following are tables 21 and 22 showing the frequency of appearance of topics in Willie and Cathy's schemes of work.

Table 21

Willie's Form 4 C Schemed Topics

Topic	Frequency
Composition	3
Summary	1
Grammar	5
Library	3
Comprehension	2
Total	14

Table 22

Cathy's Form 4A3 Schemed Topics

Topic	Frequency
Composition	2
Summary	2
Grammar	3
Library	2
Comprehension	2
Spoken (Introductions)	1
Listening (Aural Comprehension)	1
Total	13

In tables 21 and 22, we can see that Willie, in the whole month of February, 1997, has schemed no formal time for teaching speaking and listening. For the same period, Cathy has one mention each for teaching listening and speaking. These results suggest that both teachers pay significantly less attention to speaking and listening than to other ESL topics. This view is strengthened when we realise that Cathy only teaches the two skills because her scheme of work is so closely based on the textbook. One possible explanation for lack of emphasis on speaking and listening is that in Zimbabwe they are not formally examined in either the ZJC or the "O" level exams. An oral exam in English, once part of the ZJC exam, was discontinued in the early seventies. Morley (1991) says that between the forties and the sixties, pronunciation was viewed as an important part of the curriculum. But from the sixties onwards, its importance was heavily questioned. Many programmes dropped the component altogether, with the 80's and 90's laying more emphasis on the development of functional communicative speech or pronunciation patterns.

Although Table 21 shows that Willie has not formally schemed any teaching involving listening and speaking, he believes that his students should speak the target language as much as possible, as he says in an interview: "I always want them (students) to talk and discuss in class, **the way they would speak naturally** ... In fact, **I don't want students to stare at me when I ask them a question**, because they can't answer **I get angry** at them for that" (January, 1997). From Willie's words, "the way they would speak naturally", we can infer that one of his prime goals is for students to achieve a natural facility with the spoken target language. However, he does not seem to be aware of the contradiction that as long as his approach is cast in the traditional mould of teaching "speaking" rather than "talk", that goal will be frustrated. Willie's approach to the teaching of "speaking" is largely traditional. For example, he says he is angry at his students for not answering his questions in class. Willie does not seem to be aware here that classroom "speaking", including his questions to the class, is not natural "talk". For example, in real life, people do not go about asking people questions whose answers they know, as a teacher tends to do in the classroom. If the teacher's speaking in the classroom is

unnatural, it is unreasonable to expect natural speaking by the students. The greatest challenge facing Willie, therefore, if he wants to provide opportunities for natural "talk" to occur, is to find or create teaching and learning activities that encourage natural talk in his students. The current approach recommended is to treat language as an integration of skills rather than as a number of component sub-skills. This is where Willie's largely traditional approach lets him down. Following are excerpts from my data to further illustrate Willie's largely traditional approach to the teaching of speaking.

Willie was observed in a number of his lessons encouraging his students to practise speaking in the target language. Examples of such observed lessons are that of 6/2/97 and 14/2/97. The following excerpt 70 from his lesson of 6/2/97, taught to Form 3E, illustrates Willie encouraging his students to practise speaking in the target language. The lesson is on summary writing. The class has been given the task of listing the reasons for Nhamo's, a character in the passage, wanting to leave home. Students are working individually on the task.

Excerpt 70: Make as much noise as you can in English.

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1 Willie: | Right, so you are going to make a list of Nhamo's reasons for leaving |
| 2 | home, then summarize them in a short paragraph of continuous |
| 3 | writing of not more than thirty words. Now, which is the key, or which are |
| 4 | the key words in the summary? That's the summary question or the |
| 5 | summary statement. Which is the key word? Now, discuss it. I want to |
| 6 | come to you, and you will show me the word. Talk to your friends. |
| 7 | Identify the key word in the summary question or in the summary |
| 8 | statement. You should talk. You are supposed to talk. Make as much |
| 9 | noise as you can in English (Group work). |

For Willie, encouraging students to practise speaking the target language is done mostly through the use of imperatives, such as "discuss", "talk" and "make". For a more positive response from the class, Willie would perhaps need to create situations in the classroom in which his students would talk naturally rather than simply commanding them to do so. This could involve the dramatisation of real-life situations, such as buying

groceries in a shop or going to the hospital. Although dramatisation of such situations in the classroom is still a contrived activity, it may be the second best way to teach natural talk in a classroom situation, assuming that the ideal is to immerse the students in an environment in which the target language is spoken, so that they pick it up naturally. In the Zimbabwean situation, this kind of immersion is not feasible.

Excerpt 71 also shows Willie encouraging his students to speak in the target language. The excerpt is from my field notes of 21/1/97, when I observed him teaching an oral comprehension lesson to Form 3G.

Excerpt 71: Say something - even if it's wrong.

The teacher wrote neatly on the board the date and the topic of the lesson. Both titles were underlined. He introduced the topic by asking the class to define "oral work". **The teacher used one of the students' answers to teach that the word "discuss" does not carry a preposition "about"**. The class was asked to choose their own groups for reading and discussing a passage entitled "Following the Honey Bird".

During report back to the whole class, the teacher asked for the Shona names of birds, including that of the honey bird. He told the class a legendary story of the honey bird. As he told the story, he wrote the new words he was using on the board, such as "entice". Students were asked to go and ask their parents to tell them more legends on the honey bird. In dealing with new words, the teacher stressed the importance of inferring meaning from context, but he did not demonstrate how this could be done.

The teacher paid individual attention to his class by calling on students who appeared confused to tell him if they were facing any problems. Complements such as "Good!" were given for good answers. **The teacher encouraged participation by all students**. For example, he told those students he thought were not talking much in the class, **"Please, say something, even if it's wrong."** However, **the teacher tends to do more talking ...** (Field Notes, 21/1/97).

Willie's strategies for encouraging his students to talk in the target language are still largely the same as those in excerpt 70 and 71. He encourages his students to use the target language and he explains in the interview excerpt 72 his reasons for doing so.

Excerpt 72: (If the students talk) I can tell if they are correct or wrong.

I want them to talk because this is how I can tell if the sentences they are using are correct or wrong. And, I don't want them to give me short sentences, the conversational sentences. And if they are in groups, I encourage them to talk. But because I don't want noise, they are always talking in low voices (January, 1997).

Willie contradicts himself where on one hand he wants his students to use natural language, and yet on the other, as in excerpt 72, he insists that his students produce long sentences. Willie does not seem to be aware that this insistence on long sentences is not at all reflective of natural speech, which is usually pithy and uses one-word or even incomplete sentences. Willie's insistence on long sentences seems to be based on the assumption that the more sentences the students speak, and the longer they are, the more they are likely to make errors which the teacher can correct. This assumption would suggest that Willie's ESL instruction has one of its bases rooted in students' errors. This tends to make his teaching error-focused rather than being focused on functional language use. From all this, we are able to infer that for Willie, the ultimate aim of encouraging spoken English is to "change" his students' language into correct forms of speech. However, in real life, such correct forms of speech appear only at the lower levels of discourse. Willie's approach to spoken English is thus far from the contextual, suggesting that he is unaware of the currently accepted approach to the teaching of natural talk, which lays emphasis on communicative interactions and functional language use (Morley, 1991; Nunan, 1991).

It would also appear that the kind of reasons Willie gives for wanting his students to talk are unlikely to encourage them to talk; on the contrary, they would always be conscious of being corrected by the teacher. This may account for Willie's observation that his students are "always talking in low voices". Willie thinks this is because he does not approve of noise in classes, but it may well be because his listening makes them self-conscious and inhibited. And here lies another contradiction. In excerpt 70, he asks his students to make as much noise in English as possible, as practice in using the target

language; and yet in the January, 1997, interview he says he does not like noise in his classes. With these kinds of contradictions, it is not surprising that the students may find his messages confusing and opt for the safety of silence.

Willie employs a number of techniques to encourage his students to talk in class. He gives examples of these in the January 1997 interview. One of them, which has already been described in chapter five, is his use of Shona, the students' L1, in his ESL lessons. He says he also employs such techniques as impromptu speeches, debates, games, jokes and dramatisations. He says he occasionally invites his students to ask him some personal questions which he answers as a way of encouraging talk between him and his students. In the lesson of 21/2/97, Willie uses the game of "target" to teach vocabulary. Excerpt 73 following from my field notes of 13/2/97 shows Willie's use of demonstrations and jokes to relax the atmosphere in the classroom so as to make his students feel free to talk in the target language.

Excerpt 73: Getting them to laugh so that they talk.

The teacher is trying to convey the concept of the present, the past, the present perfect, the past perfect and the past continuous. He demonstrates these verb forms by **performing different amusing actions in front of the class**, and then asking the class to describe his actions using the appropriate verb tenses. For example, after **kicking a dust bin into one corner of the classroom**, he asks the class to describe what he has just done. The class **responds to the teacher's actions and jokes by laughing uproariously**. Many students appear **keen to participate** in this lesson which seems to be **very exciting** (Field Notes, 13/2/97).

On the value of his techniques, Willie says in an interview: "You want them (students) to **feel free**, then you can now talk, and you **build as you go** ... expose them to oral communication as much as possible **before any written work**" (January, 1997). Willie's mention of the need to expose his students to as much spoken English as possible seems to go against the position taken by Allwright and Bailey (1994), who write: "All we can say with confidence is that it is a dangerous oversimplification to suggest that verbal interaction in the classroom is just a case of the more the merrier" (p. 145).

Allwright and Bailey's argument seems to suggest that Willie needs to think out real teaching strategies within which classroom talk can occur, rather than simply encouraging aimless talk by his students.

Willie treats the teaching of pronunciation incidentally. This usually involves a quick correction of a mispronounced word by a student. He gives the model pronunciation which the student is asked to repeat after him. Sometimes Willie gives a short explanation, using the contrastive approach, on how some sounds differ in English from those found in Shona. Excerpt 74 from Willie's lesson of 6/2/97, taught to Form 3E on summary writing, is an illustration of how Willie normally handles pronunciation in his lessons.

Excerpt 74: You don't say "askeed!"

- 1 Willie: **You don't say "askeed!" I want you to listen to the way I pronounce**
- 2 **that word. "Askd", not "askeed". Can you say that?**
- 3 Class: **Askd!**
- 4 Willie: **Yes, yes, askd! Good!**
- 5 Nani: **Askd! (laughter by class)**
- 6 Willie: **Askd! Well, don't say "askeed!"**

Willie resorts to teaching pronunciation when the need arises. Sometimes he gives short drills on particular words which his students find difficult, as in excerpt 74.

Students Should be Good Listeners

Although in the January, 1997, interview Willie says he normally teaches listening by making his classes listen to taped material, there was no evidence of this in either the lessons I observed or in his schemes of work. One of the general observations I made about Willie's teaching is that he tends to talk a lot in most of his lessons. This has the effect of limiting student talk. But Willie seems to believe that the major role of a student is to answer his questions and listen to him attentively. In the January, 1997, interview, he says: " ... they (students) should be **good listeners**, and **must also be able to speak and**

answer." The role Willie assigns to his students may account for the very limited instances of student initiations in his lessons, except, perhaps, when the students are involved in a group task.

The next excerpt 75 from an interview with Cathy illustrates how she normally teaches speaking and listening.

Excerpt 75: There is no oral exam.

As it is now, **there is no oral exam.** But there is that part which we call registers, in **Section B of Paper 2**, where the pupils would be required to respond to situations, to evaluate responses, to find out whether it is appropriate and so on. When we are dealing with that, we will be dealing with things like **introductions, apologies, etc.** So, that's how I have done the oral part of the English language. **As for pronunciation, that I just do within, maybe, when we are doing language or comprehension.** Whatever we may be doing, we just correct mispronunciation. **We don't teach them formally but incidentally** (January, 1997).

Excerpt 75 suggests that for Cathy speaking would be given serious consideration only if it were examined at the end of a course. For example, aspects of speech behaviour, and register such as how to make introductions and giving apologies, which Cathy talks about in excerpt 75, are currently examined in the Zimbabwean "O" level English exam; and Cathy therefore has reason to teach it. It would once again appear that what Cathy chooses to teach is dictated purely by the exam. In this way, her teaching can be said to be a "wash-back" effect of the exam. The fact that pronunciation is not examined means that it is relegated to incidental teaching, as she says in excerpt 75. This explains why this area does not feature as much as other topics in Cathy's scheme of work. Following is an excerpt from my field notes on how Cathy normally handles the teaching of register.

Excerpt 76: Read out the introductions taking turns.

Cathy's lesson of 12/2/97 on registers, taught to Form 4A3, involves **reading from**

a textbook about how formal and informal introductions are made in English. She tells her class: "So, we are looking at those introductions on page eight. Below are the introductions. Study them with the person sitting next to you. I'll ask you to read out the introductions taking turns." This lesson does not go beyond the examples given in the book. Students are not given the opportunity to actually practise introducing someone in English (Field Notes, 12/2/97).

What seems to emerge from excerpt 76 is the textbook model of teaching speaking rather than natural talk. Cathy cannot take her class beyond the language of the textbook, so that they can experience it first-hand. In her classes, learning language is not even seen as functional, because the students cannot use it in real life for human interaction and communication. This is the result of too much reliance on the textbook and attempting to meet the demands of the exam.

Excerpt 77 from Cathy's lesson of 10/2/97, taught to Form 4A3, illustrates how she teaches pronunciation incidentally. The lesson is on situational composition. The excerpt is taken at a point where the class, through the teacher's elicitations, is describing a character who has hurt himself in an adventure.

Excerpt 77: Is that "hart" or "hurt"?

- 1 Cathy: Who can explain in other words? Joseph?
- 2 Joe: Whether he was *hart*, whether he was badly *hart*.
- 3 Cathy: ***Hart? How do you spell hart?***
- 4 Joe: *H-U-R-T.*
- 5 Cathy: ***Hurt! Is that hart?***
- 6 Joe: No.
- 7 Cathy: ***That's hurt.***
- 8 Joe: *Hurt.*

Treating pronunciation incidentally, as Willie and Cathy do, means that it lacks the functional framework of communicative interaction. For example, unfamiliar words that are encountered in the course of the teaching of other language topics are drilled in isolation.

Cathy's listening comprehension lesson of 17/2/97, taught to Form 4A3, involves

the teacher reading a passage aloud three times while the class listens without seeing the text she is reading. After the third reading, students are asked to answer comprehension questions, still without seeing the passage. After the written exercise, the teacher revises it with the class. What seems to emerge from Cathy's lesson on listening is the listener-as-a-tape-recorder model (Nunan, 1991). The exercise is limited to the level of memorization. This is the lowest level of listening where students are not actively involved in the reconstruction and interpretation of the text being read. In order for the students to be made active participants in the construction of meaning in the aural comprehension exercise, they would need to be equipped first with some listening strategies, a dimension that seems to be lacking in Cathy's approach. As a result, the aural comprehension is reduced to a testing rather than a learning experience.

I conclude this section by pointing out some major tensions arising from, on one hand, the way that Willie and Cathy's handle speaking and listening, and on the other, what the current Zimbabwean national English syllabus says about the teaching of these skills. One of the three aims of teaching English stated in the current 1997-98 Zimbabwean "O" level English Language syllabus is "to provide Zimbabwean pupils with functional communicative skills which they will need in their working situations " (p. 2). Specific objectives for teaching and learning speaking are listed (pp. 6-7) as:

- a) identify pauses and stressed words in spoken English, and speak with acceptable phrasing and pauses;
- b) express ideas orally;
- c) speak freely, courteously and appropriately in a variety of social interactions;
- d) speak in the correct register.

Objectives for teaching and learning listening (p.7) are listed as:

- a) listen with concentration and patience;
- b) follow the plot of a story being read aloud, and a speaker's line of argument;
- c) understand and act on oral messages, announcements, explanations, instructions and directions;
- d) answer factual, interpretive and evaluative questions based on what they (students)

have listened to.

In neither the speaking nor the listening objectives stated in the syllabus is there any reference to treating any of the stated objectives in the context of actual discourse. How these objectives are to be met is a problem left to each individual teacher. It is hardly surprising that Willie and Cathy, in their attempts to realize some of the speaking and listening objectives, tend to treat them as separate and disjointed linguistic entities, just as they are stated in the syllabus. This, as we have already seen, results in the teaching of these skills as separate sub-skills rather than as integrative discourse. This may also account for the eclectic manner in which the skills are taught by both teachers. Tables 21 and 22 also show that little attention is paid to these objectives, as Willie and Cathy tend to choose their teaching area according to whether they are examined or not. Their apparent neglect of speaking and listening means that the important syllabus aims of preparing students for the world of work after school is not being adequately fulfilled. This is a contradiction because speaking and listening are very useful in the world of work, and indeed in much social interaction. The contradiction and tension seem to result from a conflict between the two goals: teaching for life and teaching for the exam.

6 B: Basic Structuring of ESL Content by Willie and Cathy

The expression "structuring of the content of a lesson" is used here to discuss the ways Willie and Cathy present academic content or text in their lessons, and this is naturally determined by what each teacher regards as ESL content. Cathy's content, as we have already seen, tends to be defined and structured by the textbook she normally relies on. Willie's content tends to extend beyond the textbook, as he relies less on this resource than does Cathy. Most of Willie's lessons are, in fact, characterized by deviations from the main focus of the lesson. I define deviation here as an occasion in a lesson when a teacher is "off task." Whether a teacher is "on task" or "off task" is measured against the main objectives of each lesson. For example, if in a lesson whose main objective is to teach summary writing, a teacher engages his or her class in narrating folk-tales and analyzing

their structures, that would be considered a deviation from the main objective of teaching summary writing.

Observing Willie's construction of academic knowledge in his lessons can be compared to travelling along a wide road that is full of twists and turns and which sometimes bring surprises to a traveller on the road. Cathy's lessons, by contrast, resemble a straight and narrow road that enables a traveller to see where he or she is going. I will take one lesson by Willie and another by Cathy as illustrations of these metaphors. Each lesson is summarised in terms of its teaching units in order to show the range and structure of its various units of content. For each lesson I give the sequential list of teaching units to illustrate how each teacher generally defines and organizes ESL content.

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) define a teaching unit as "a stage in the lesson involving teaching exchanges that are bounded by framing moves" (p. 44). Framing moves indicate the end of one stage in a lesson and the beginning of another. They are distinguished by a marker, such as the verbal form "right". This marker is followed by a silent stress (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). Garfinkel (1967) calls the teaching units scenic practices, which are said to accomplish the particularity of particular situations. Mehan (1979) calls these teaching units topically related sets. A topically related set is identified in a lesson transcript by being bounded by "a closed set of verbal forms that appear at no other places in the lesson" (Mehan, 1979, p. 66). Examples of these verbal forms include uh, now, ok, but, uh - let's see, last of all. These verbal forms are produced with a sharp staccato tone (Mehan, 1979). The following excerpt from one of Willie's lesson transcripts shows an example of a bounded topically related unit. The topically related unit is found between the first marker "now", in bold, and the next marker "right", also in bold. Excerpt 78 following is an example of a teaching unit that I used to show the divergence between Willie's and Cathy's lessons.

Excerpt 78: An example of a bounded topically related unit.

1 Willie: **Now**, she has brought in something, another thing. We call boys handsome.

- 2 What about girls?
- 3 Class: Pretty !/Beautiful!
- 4 Willie: Beautiful; pretty, yes. If someone says, if I say: John is a beautiful boy,
- 5 what does that mean?
- 6 Class: Ah...a! (laughter)
- 7 Willie: Yes, we can say that!
- 8 John: We say he is a good boy.
- 9 Willie: No.
- 10 Peter: He means he looks like a girl.
- 11 Class: Ah....ah!
- 12 Willie: More, more than handsome. There are some men who are more beautiful
- 13 than women.
- 14 Peter: Uh..huh.
- 15 Willie: And then if I say, you are handsome, referring to a girl, it means you are
- 16 ugly.
- 17 Class: (laughter).
- 18 Willie: **Right**, adjectives describe nouns. What about adverbs? Adverbs? Yes?

In a lesson of 6/2/97, taught to Form 3E on summary writing, Willie is able to accomplish in a forty-minute lesson the following sequential teaching units (see figure 11). A time line indicating approximate time (in minutes) taken up by each unit is given in brackets.

- a) He announces and explains to his class the National Essay Writing Competition that is currently on (2 min.).
- b) He covers an aspect of local geography by discussing with his class the names of the different provinces in the country (4 min.).
- c) He discusses with his class appropriate vocabulary and prepositions to use in specific situations, such as watching and listening to news; listening at and listening to news, etc. This leads to a discussion of current programs on local T. V. and radio (3 min.).
- d) He goes over previous work with class (4 min.).
- e) He discusses with class the steps to take in summarizing a passage (6 min.).
- f) There is a discussion of new vocabulary arising from the lesson, such as the word "character". This spills over into a discussion of characteristics of living and dead things (5 min.).

- g) New vocabulary arising from the class discussion, such as shopping list, grocery, grocer's, grocer, and terminology used in describing relationships is discussed (3 min.).
- h) The lesson touches on pronunciation , e.g. of the word "asked" (2 min.).
- i) There is a discussion on soccer commentary on the local radio (3 min.).
- j) The teacher dwells on the importance of following instructions in an exam (2 min.).
- k) The constituents of a sentence, such as the subject, verb and the object are covered (2 min.).
- l) Some spelling rules are given (1 min.).
- m) There is group work on summary writing (3 min.).

Willie covers most of the teaching units without referring to a textbook. The patterning of teaching units here reveals a highly fragmented lesson. The teaching units in figure 11, ranging from unit (a) to unit (m), seem largely unconnected. Considering the main objective of the lesson to be the teaching of summary writing, it becomes difficult to determine where the real summary lesson begins and ends, because of so many other fragments. On this topic, Lin (1994) points out the problems involved in determining where in an English lesson actual English teaching begins and ends. Deviations are a common phenomenon in most of Willie's lessons I observed. In an interview, Willie explains this characteristic in terms of what he calls situational teaching and learning. "This is trying to make pupils learn in situations they find themselves in" (March, 1997). The following figure 11 shows graphically how Willie's lesson is structured. The letters (a) to (m) show the sequential teaching units of the lesson. Teaching units that deviate from the main focus of the lesson are shown in a line above that of the more focused units. The approximate time (in minutes) taken up by each teaching unit is shown in brackets.

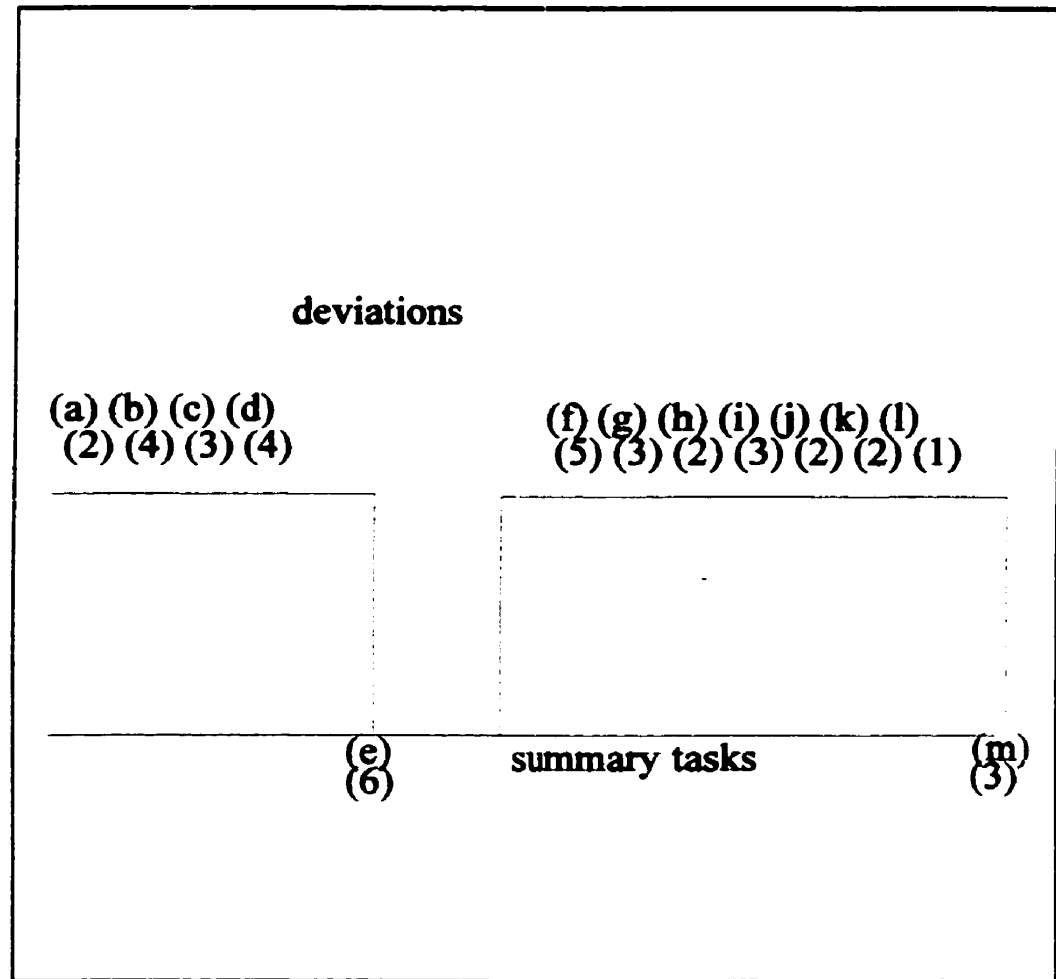


Figure 11. The structure of Willie's lesson

At the beginning of the lesson represented by figure 11, Willie does not state that the day's lesson is on summary writing, although this is clear from his scheme of work. It is only at unit (e) that an observer and the students, who have not seen Willie's scheme of work, will probably become aware that the lesson's main objective and focus are summary writing. Teaching units (a) to (d) do not appear to be related to the summary task. No sooner does Willie introduce the summary writing task in unit (e) than he deviates again into units (f) through to unit (l). In the last teaching unit (m), Willie comes back to the summary task. This is when the class breaks up into group work. Very little time is actually devoted to the main objective of the lesson, the teaching of summary writing, as compared to the time spent on apparently "off task" deviations. As a percentage, 22.5% of the time is spent on task while 77.5 % of the time appears to be off task.

Cathy's observed lessons, unlike Willie's, are usually straight-to-the-point lessons with very little deviations. Figure 12 is a graphic illustration of one of Cathy's lessons. It is a thirty-five minute lesson, also on summary writing, taught to Form 4A3 on 11/2/97. The letters (a) and (b) show the deviations in the lesson, and letters (c) through to (f) are the sequential teaching units that are directly related to the summary writing task. Figures in brackets indicate the time (in minutes) taken up by each teaching unit.

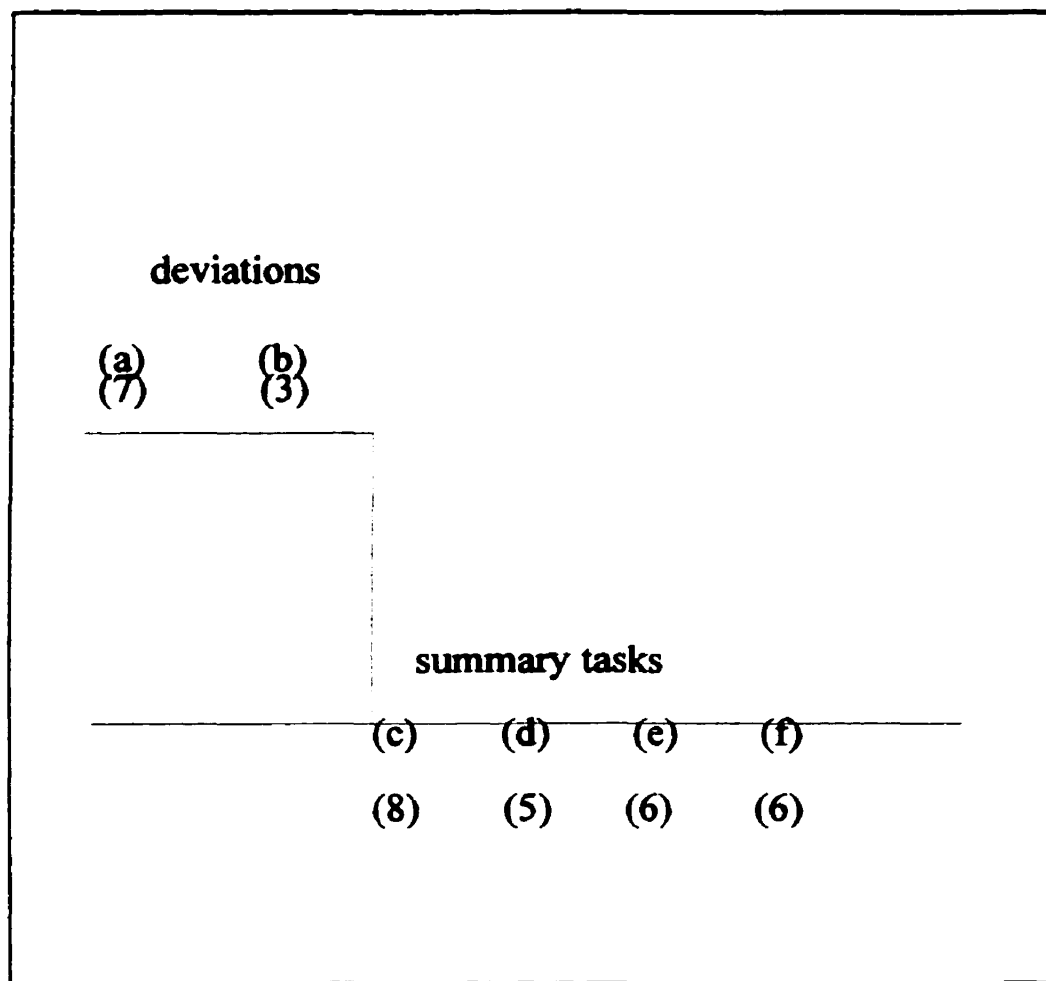


Figure 12: The structure of Cathy's lesson

In this lesson, Cathy accomplishes the following:

- a) She revises with her class a comprehension exercise given previously to students as written homework (7 min.).
- b) Pronunciation and spelling of a few words are covered during the revision (3 min.).
- c) Cathy goes over with her class steps involved in summarizing a passage. The steps are read out from the textbook (8 min.).
- d) Pairs are asked to make plans for their summaries (5 min.).
- e) Pairs report back to the whole class on their plans discussed (6 min.).
- f) Cathy gives the class a passage to summarize as homework (6 min.).

Cathy's observed lessons typically start with a revision of the written work done by students in the previous lesson. In figure 12, the revision is marked by the letters (a) and (b). This is about 28% of the total time spent on the day's lesson. After the revision, teaching units (c) through to (f) are devoted entirely to the task of summary writing, which is the main objective of the day's lesson. This takes up about 72 % of the total time of the whole lesson. Cathy's lesson is far more focused than Willie's on the main objective of the lesson. There are fewer deviations, mainly because she is following the textbook rather than the moment-to-moment dictates of the classroom situation.

There are differing views as to which lesson-type is better. Erickson (1982) sees deviations, such as those favoured by Willie, as necessary adaptations by a teacher to the dictates of the moment-to-moment teaching and learning: "... deviations from an ideal formal order are not just to be thought as random errors (noise in the system) but are better characterized as adaptation to the exigencies of the moment - actions that make sense within an adequately specified context" (p. 169). In spite of what Erickson (1982) says about a teacher's deviations, one might still ask how much time should be allowed for these deviations in view of the need to accomplish the main objectives of a lesson? In fact, one could even go further to ask whether a teacher's stated lesson objectives should be the yardstick for defining the lesson's main focus. This question is particularly difficult to answer in a discipline such as ESL where the boundary between what is relevant lesson content and what is not is often blurred (Lin, 1994).

An examination of Willie and Cathy's teaching has shown that lessons by individual teachers can be placed on a continuum in terms of their structure. On one end can be found those that are ritualistic and on the other those that are totally unplanned and improvised acts of teaching (Erickson, 1982). Based on the evidence given in chapters five and six, Cathy's lessons can be said to lean more towards the ritualistic; that is they are predictable and follow a routine or a familiar script (see Schank and Abelson, 1977). The routine in Cathy's lessons, as we have already seen, appears to result from her overreliance on the course book and the need to prepare her students for the exam. Willie's lessons, on the other hand, certainly contain frequent periods of improvisation, though they cannot be said to be unplanned. Willie is less dependent on the textbook than Cathy, and he sometimes takes this freedom to extremes in lessons which seem to have little direction or aim, as evidenced by the many deviations in his lessons.

6 C: A Summary of the Issues Emerging from Chapters Five and Six

In the process of investigating Willie and Cathy's beliefs about teaching ESL, I have become aware of the complex nature of such a task and the difficulties inherent in it. This is due to the variety of contextual influences that impinge on the teachers' theoretical and practical ways of dealing with their worlds of classroom teaching. The problem is particularly complex and difficult in a study like mine that looks at the various nested contexts in which Willie and Cathy work. These nested contexts range from the large ones at the international level down to those of the world of the classroom. These factors, as described in chapter two, may include political, socio-cultural, educational, economic, linguistic and geographical factors, and many factors may be interrelated. My experience of teaching ESL in Zimbabwe for eighteen years, and an examination of Willie and Cathy's teaching, has shown me that a number of these contextual factors can strongly influence a teacher's behaviour in the classroom. The influences may be tacit or overt.

The many contextual factors in which teaching takes place make language pedagogy complex and very difficult to capture coherently and comprehensively through

descriptive systems or any set of categories. The complexity is brought about by the different expectations of both the teacher and students, and the different contexts and goals each teacher and students bring to the classroom. It is therefore possible that, in comparing the ways that Willie and Cathy deal with the construction of their social and academic knowledge, I may have oversimplified the issues involved (Green and Harker, 1982). There is the possibility that I may have over-interpreted such complex phenomena as classroom teaching and learning; or under-interpreted them in the analysis and interpretation of my data, thus falling into either type one or type two errors (Geertz, 1973). However, I hope that my insistence on discovering Willie and Cathy's own beliefs about ESL instruction from their own perspectives has made such errors less likely. This is why at the various stages of data collection and in my early informal analyses of the data collected, I sought the participants' input (Mehan, 1979).

I would also like to think that my detailed analysis of Cathy and Willie's patterns of teaching does reveal a number of interesting overall instructional patterns. Willie's general teaching style appears to be eclectic and full of contradictions. It is possible, for example, to find two theoretically opposite teaching styles employed in one lesson; these styles could be, for example, traditional and innovative. Analyzed data have shown the co-occurrence of such dual elements in Willie's teaching. It is this phenomenon that forces us to see Willie's teaching as eclectic, and thus difficult to fit into any one model of ESL instruction. Elements of eclecticism in Willie's teaching could be a result of his efforts to switch from traditional teaching to what he perceives to be current innovative teaching, a switch which he appears to be making through a conscious effort, an effort necessitated, among other reasons, by a desire to meet the pedagogical requirements of his Education Officer. Occasionally, though, when he lowers his guard, Willie reverts to traditional teaching, which seems to come to him more naturally, in spite of himself. This traditional teaching is largely influenced by the type of exam Willie's students are prepared for.

Cathy's general style of teaching, on the other hand, is more consistent and less contradictory than that of Willie. Many of her teaching strategies are those associated with traditional ESL instruction. Examples are the generally non-functional and linear

approaches clearly indicated by the different excerpts from the analyzed data offered here as illustrations. Cathy seems to make no pretences to be innovative in her teaching. She appears content to remain firmly rooted in the familiar script of traditional ESL instruction, which is anchored in the course book. This, as we have already seen, tends to make her teaching arid and more routine than the moment-to-moment improvisation, which may characterize more searching and innovative approaches to teaching.

Of more interest in my study, I think, is how each of the two teachers, guided by his or her beliefs, negotiates his or her own teaching style through their complex and unique teaching environments. Following is a summary of the complex and unique context in which Cathy and Willie teach. It may be possible that some elements of this context may be found in other teaching environments not covered by this study.

In Zimbabwe, the study of English has always been perceived as bringing economic success among other benefits. Because of this perception, both the teacher and the students are motivated to teach and study the subject respectively. For example, in my two case studies, English in both schools, Mhene and Dombo, receives the greatest amount of time and attention as compared to any other subject on the curriculum. In Zimbabwe, English is also the only subject that is compulsory at "O" level. This special treatment accorded to English gives it a high status both in and outside school life. This may explain why teachers and students tend to be more motivated in the subject.

But, as we have already seen, the high status accorded to English results in a lot of tensions and contradictions arising from the nation's need to promote mother tongues. For example, soon after independence in Zimbabwe in the early 1980s, the country was gripped by a nationalistic fever that called for the promotion of the mother tongues in the country for cultural identity. Indeed, for some time, English ceased to be a compulsory subject at "O" level. Many debates were initiated about the teaching and learning of English in Zimbabwe vis-a-vis that of the mother tongues in the country. In those early days of independence, as is still the case even now, it was usually left to the classroom teacher to effect the delicate balance of fulfilling the nationalistic aspirations, such as the promotion of the mother tongue, and the perceived economic benefits associated with the

teaching of English as an international language. The tensions resulting from this are still being felt even to this day; and are aptly summed up by the following excerpt 79 from an interview with Nathan, the Headmaster of Dombo secondary school.

Excerpt 79: Students could train to teach without English.

The problem of teachers' poor English dates back to those days (soon after independence) when students could train to teach without English language. But now that a pass in English is compulsory for entry into teacher education, maybe the people will take the subject more seriously ... But there is always the problem of conflict between English and Shona. There is a danger of promoting English at the expense of Shona. People will see this as downplaying the importance of Shona. But we say, at least in class, teachers should use English when communicating with the students ... We are trying to be nice with everyone (February, 1997).

Excerpt 79 is an example of the tension arising from the diglossic situation between English and Shona in my two case studies. As we have already seen, Cathy and Willie respond differently to such tensions. For example, Cathy settles for an all-English medium of instruction in her classes while Willie seeks a compromise between the two competing languages by making them complementary in his ESL instruction. This difference in their response is a small but far from isolated examples of how teachers are affected by and respond differently to the many contextual factors that may impinge on their teaching. The situation can become even more complex where these contextual factors are interrelated, resulting in further tensions and contradictions through which a teacher has to negotiate his or her classroom lesson, guided by his or her beliefs.

Apart from the conflict between English and Shona in my two case studies, there are other constraints that Willie and Cathy face in their instruction of English. For example, the linguistic environment in which English is taught and learnt in the two schools offers little opportunity to the students for practising the target language. Contact with the target language is usually limited to the formal classroom situation. Outside the classroom, the students are immersed in their mother tongue environment, Shona, a

position that, as we have already seen, Cathy seems to be greatly concerned about.

The problem of poor exposure to the target language is exacerbated by a situation where the target language, English, happens also to be the official language of the country. This means that, unlike in the case where English is studied as a foreign language, English in Zimbabwe should be taught for use in public places, such as the law courts and the world of work. However, a contradiction arises when we consider that authentic language use is normally found outside the frozen language of the textbook and the four walls of the formal classroom. It would seem that the few hours spent a week on the study of English under classroom conditions result in the poor generation of natural spoken English by both the teacher and the students. Students, some of whom will become ESL teachers, lack appropriate living models of the target language, and end up fossilising at a weaker version of interlanguage between Shona and English. A similar observation was made some years back by Hofman (1974, p. 42), on the teaching and learning of English in pre-independence Zimbabwe, when he wrote:

The African child is now completely at the mercy of second - or - third -hand English provided by African teachers, and the direct contact with well-intentioned mother tongue speakers of English would do them much good.

The situation in pre-independence Zimbabwe that Hofman (1974) is describing in the preceding excerpt is more critical eighteen years after Zimbabwe gained her independence in 1980 when about half of the native speakers of English left the country, so that those that remained behind make up only about 2% of the total population of the country. I would argue that a distinct, low variety of Zimbabwean English is evolving in Willie and Cathy's situation where English is taught and learnt almost entirely in the absence of any contact with its native speakers, and in circumstances that are poor in terms of teaching and learning materials. This point is borne out by the great difference in "O" level English results among the different categories of schools in the country, as discussed in chapter two of this study. The situation is slightly different with more affluent black Zimbabweans who, through such modern technology as radios and T. Vs., can still

come into contact with English as it is used by its native speakers. This 'elite group also has an abundance of teaching and learning materials comparatively speaking. It is from among this 'elite class of black Zimbabweans that I think a high variety of Zimbabwean English is in the making.

Extensive reading in the target language as a second best way of addressing the problem of the lack of exposure to the target language, in the case of Willie and Cathy, is frustrated by a lack of adequate and suitable teaching and learning materials in their schools. Books and educational media are scarce resources in both L1 and L2. The main reason for this lack is economic. As we have already seen, Cathy and Willie's students are from the economically disadvantaged sector of the community of Marondera who cannot afford good quality education. For example, the parents are too poor to buy enough teaching and learning materials for their children, such as books. As we have already seen, a lack of reading materials results in the death of a reading culture in the students and even in the community as a whole.

Coupled with a lack of reading materials are the largely traditional curriculum and examination which affect Cathy and Willie's teaching in varying ways. For example, the demands of the largely traditional exam, with an emphasis on the correct forms of language rather than effective communication, force Cathy and Willie to approach their teaching in ways they perceive will give them good exam results. For both teachers, it is a question of survival in the profession. To the teachers, therefore, the end justifies the means. In the process innovative teaching is compromised by a need to meet the expectations of the community served by the two teachers. Members of this community may include the E.O, the Headmaster, the H.O. D. and the parents of the students. Teaching that is subjected to the pressures of the exam is likely to be arid, because it tends to follow a familiar script, usually of a drilling and memorization type, perceived to produce good exam results. This is particularly so if the exam's focus happens to be on the reproduction of "facts", as the current Zimbabwean "O" level ESL exam seems to be. In following a familiar script, the teacher moves mechanically through predictable, well-defined lesson steps rather than letting the classroom events take on a life of their own in a

creative and stimulating way. Following a familiar teaching script is a negation of the natural generation of the target language by the students. I would also add that such teaching must be boring to the students who in the process are reduced to passive recipients of knowledge passed on to them by the conduit or transmission model of teaching. However, following a familiar script may bring security and comfort to a less confident teacher, because its demands are less than those of a lesson involving improvisation.

The familiar teaching script followed by Willie and Cathy could be taken to represent the well-formed or strong beliefs which enable each teacher to survive in the classroom, no matter how illogical and contradictory the script may be. As we have already seen in chapter three on the review of teachers' beliefs, it would take an appropriate approach and a great deal of effort to dislodge the well-set beliefs teachers may hold. Literature reviewed in chapter three on teachers' beliefs and the results discussed in chapters five and six of this study have led me to the general conclusion that although there might be other factors influencing a teacher's thought processes, ultimately it is his or her beliefs that are decisive in the choices he or she makes in the actual practice of teaching. In my inquiry, I have come to the general conclusion that in studying a teacher's beliefs about teaching, it is important to consider the environmental factors that may impinge on his or her teaching, since it is in the teaching environment that a teacher's beliefs are constantly being created and shaped. Each teacher's beliefs and teaching practice are so unique that it is almost impossible to fix them into the straight jacket or any neat ESL instructional model; but the attempt to place them somewhere on "fragmented theories" or on a "broken continuum" has not, I hope, been unhelpful.

Finally, a pertinent question arises as to whether Willie and Cathy could effectively teach ESL anywhere in the world outside their familiar environments. In fact, the question is asking: how flexible are Willie and Cathy's beliefs about ESL instruction?

It would appear that Willie and Cathy's beliefs about ESL instruction are firmly set in the traditional mode of instruction. Based on the results of chapters five and six, it would appear that the two teachers would find it difficult to adjust their teaching styles to

the new demands of a different teaching context. My conclusion is based mainly on the largely traditional and routine teaching observed in the two teachers, which suggests a lack of flexibility on their part to respond to the demands of a new and unfamiliar teaching environment. I attribute this lack of flexibility mainly to the type of teacher education that Willie and Cathy have gone through. The next chapter discusses how ESL teacher education programmes in Zimbabwe might be designed to produce a cadre of teacher with the capacity to adapt to the varied and ever-changing teaching contexts of the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER 7: IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter seven starts by giving a summary of the main results of my study in order to relate them to their implications for the preparation of ESL teachers in Zimbabwe. My argument is that if change in an ESL classroom in Zimbabwe is to be effected, it has to start at the teacher preparation stage. Using a conceptual framework in which theoretical and applied linguistics and language learning interact with classroom practice, I argue that teacher education programmes that are based on giving prescriptions to student teachers are not likely to have an impact on the student teachers. Instead, I suggest that teachers be empowered with research and reflective teaching skills in order to become adaptable and autonomous professionals.

7 A: Why Expert Teachers and the Method Paradigm Cannot be Used as Models of ESL Teacher Education Programme

Results discussed in chapters five and six of this study show that Willie and Cathy respond differently to the many different contextual factors that impinge on their teaching. This accounts for the two teachers' unique teaching repertoires. It has been argued in this study that each teacher's responses to the various contextual factors are guided by his or her beliefs about ESL instruction. If teaching is basically an individual task, and is always occurring in ever-changing contexts, it is therefore necessary that a teacher education programme be informed by these theoretical considerations. This chapter is an attempt to describe an ESL teacher education programme that is so informed.

Preparing teachers for a complex and ever-changing teaching and learning world does not call for simplistic solutions, because the issues involved are inevitably complex. The challenge is to educate teachers who are able to adapt to the many ever-changing contexts that daily impinge on their work. In the light of my findings, and from my personal experiences as a teacher educator in Zimbabwe, I now believe that traditional prescriptions of teaching methods and demonstrations by expert teachers, as is currently

the case in Zimbabwe, are not enough to solve the problem of bringing about change for the better in the ESL classroom. The following section of my concluding chapter explains why this is so.

The practice of modelling teacher education on expert teachers and the method paradigm is very common among teacher educators in Zimbabwe today. The main techniques is micro-teaching, often in the form of demonstration lessons and prescriptive lectures on methodology (cf. Freeman, 1994). The literature on teachers' beliefs and the results of my study question the effectiveness of this prevalent approach to teacher preparation in Zimbabwe.

My study has shown that teaching ESL in the contextual environment, as Willie and Cathy do, basically brings out an individualistic response to the various factors impinging on the teacher's work. Centrally, though, these responses are guided by each individual teacher's beliefs. It does not, therefore, make much sense to use a teacher preparation strategy which prescribes "expertise" on teaching to a student-teacher who already has his or her own well-formed beliefs about teaching and learning in his or her unique context. It has been argued in my study that no outside prescription will take root in such a teacher, because the assumption that "knowing something in one context will convert into doing it in another" is mistaken (Freeman, 1994, p. 1). Modelling one's teaching on the properties of good teachers reduces the model to the level of technique. As I pointed out in my introductory chapter, the problem is not one of not knowing how to teach, like experts do, but of why the known expertise is not put into practice by those who have acquired it. This is the problem that initially gave rise to my study. Teaching a model is another way of prescribing a method of teaching which, as I have already argued, will not lead to the solution of the problem. This is because prescription is based on the mistaken assumption that teaching is uniquely a matter of objective principles about language and learning, and that all aspects of good teaching can be taught to a student-teacher or even a practising teacher. On this, I agree with Freeman (1990: 107) who argues:

... such a doctrinaire approach can lead to formulaic teaching and to prescriptive intervention by the educator in everything the student teacher does. Idiosyncratic aspects of the students' teaching are stymied as the relationship becomes a matter of the student replicating the educator's views and practices in the classroom.

Teaching, in its broadest sense and as we have seen with Willie and Cathy, includes such large units as material and syllabus preparation, scheming and lesson planning. All these upper levels of the teaching act can be obtained from the textbook, a colleague or an institutional directive. But nothing short of a teacher's unique beliefs about teaching and learning can fill out the lower but crucial levels of the actual utterances in the classroom, such as the initiations, the moves, and the responses to the varying contexts of the classroom. Moreover, these lower level units do determine the relationship of the upper units of teaching (Woods, 1996). The grey area of the lower level units is precisely where prescriptions cease to impact on an individual's focal teaching, because of the uniqueness of the contexts in which these lower level units are played out.

However, some basic principles of good teaching about which people can agree can be found at the high level units of teaching. But, as I have already argued, these high level units of teaching are dependent on the lower units of teaching, that is, at the level of a teacher's personal belief. It is here at the personal level that emphasis should be put if we are to influence teachers to change. A combination of the high level and low level units in focal teaching is what makes the conducting of a classroom lesson an act of improvisation (Erickson, 1982). This improvisation applies to both teacher and students, thus making ideal classroom talk a "collective improvisation of meaning and social organization from moment to moment" (Erickson, 1982, p. 153).

From the preceding argument, it is logical to ask how teacher education is possible without some form of prescription from the teacher educator? This may be a wrong question to ask, but it raises what Richards, in Richards and Nunan (1990, p. 1) refers to as "the dilemma of teacher education in second language teaching." Here, the hard choice is between the micro approach, what Freeman (1994, p.15) calls "front loading approach to teacher education", and the macro approach, a holistic examination of the total context

of classroom teaching and learning. In other terms, it is a reductionist versus an inquiry model of teacher education. Richards, in Richards and Nunan (1990) argues that observable categories or skills for good teaching are easy to identify, but these do not constitute all there is to teaching. Also involved are high-influence categories that go beyond training, such personal qualities as the teacher's interest in the topic, his or her creativity, judgement and adaptability. This is the area of personal beliefs. These are factors that can also affect how one teaches. Breaking down teacher preparation into atomized, discrete and trainable skills is a training rather than educating view of teacher preparation. It is merely another version of the method approach. Richards (1990) argues instead for a theory of language teaching that would work through the study of the teaching process itself. And, as teaching is intimately related to learning, a theory of language learning has also to be considered in this process. This is the view I also share, a view that largely motivated this present study. It is a view based on the assumption that teaching is an individual activity that is driven by one's unique beliefs about teaching and learning.

A study of the teaching process itself would focus on the nature and significance of classroom events. It would involve both low-inference and high-inference categories. It would approach teacher education through a process of clarifying and elucidating the concepts and thinking processes that guide effective second language teaching. In short, it would be teacher preparation along the lines of reflective teaching. It would become a process of questioning personal beliefs about teaching and learning. It would be an approach which would aim at making a student teacher an autonomous learner and researcher in addition to being an apprentice (Richards, 1990). A teacher who is an autonomous learner and researcher is one who is constantly finding for himself or herself ways of enhancing the learning of his or her students. This can be done by inquiry into how students learn, so that the teacher can marry in practice his or her theories of language teaching with those of language learning. Using the actual teaching process approach, the role of the teacher educator goes beyond that of trainer to become the "guide in the process of generating and testing hypotheses and in using the knowledge so

acquired as a basis for further development" (Richards, 1990, p.15).

This argument for the macro approach to teacher education would be incomplete without suggesting how it could be implemented in practice. Following is a proposed model for such implementation.

7 B: A Proposed Model of ESL Teacher Education Programme

From the literature reviewed in my study and from the results of the study, it would appear that what is required in today's changing instructional contexts are teachers with the capacity to combine a model of instruction with an understanding of their particular content area, personal beliefs and insights into student learning. A teacher who is able to survive the many changing teaching environments and teaching fads that have characterized the teaching profession over the last century (cf. chapter 3 on literature review) is one who is prepared to understand and be able to explain the "why" of his or her teaching (Yalden, 1987). This is the kind of teacher who is able "to draw on knowledge and skills in making on line decisions to solve problems that are unique to a particular teaching situation" (Richards et al, 1990, p.2). Such a teacher will have more in common with other professionals, such as doctors, lawyers and architects, in that he or she will not act like a technician who executes skilled performances according to prescriptions or algorithms defined by others. Instead, he or she will be able to understand the growing body of empirical and theoretical knowledge which constitute the literature of teacher research. S/he will be able to combine all this knowledge with his or her own experience in order to arrive at informed judgements about his or her own teaching (National Institute of Education, 1975).

In an ideal teacher preparation programme, the three components of theoretical linguistics, student learning theories and applied linguistics would all inform or interact with the fourth component, classroom practice, as shown in the following figure 13. A teacher who is able to draw upon the three knowledge sources of theoretical linguistics, student learning theories and applied linguistics is the teacher who has been exposed to the

three areas in such a way that they become part of his or her personal belief system and deeper self. Throughout this study, the argument has not been aimed against the teaching of any of these three areas, but rather at how they should be taught. The four teaching components of theoretical linguistics, student learning theories, applied linguistics and classroom practice, of course, do not occur in a vacuum, but in a social, cultural, political and economic contexts, only to name a few factors. The challenge is, therefore, to prepare a cadre of teachers who are able to respond adequately to each of these contextual factors.

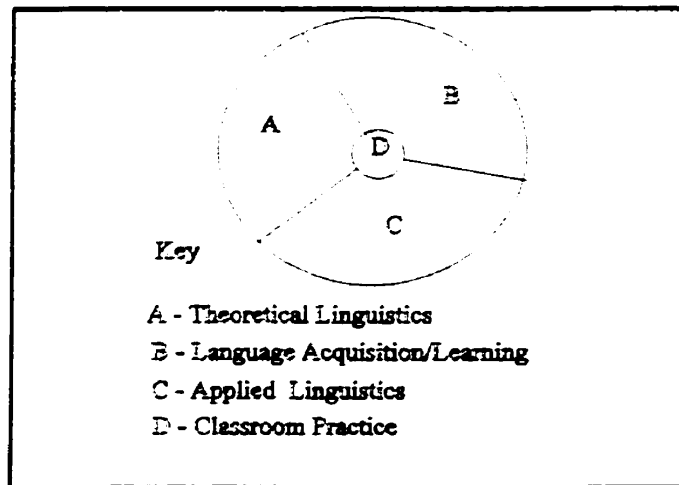


Figure 13: How the four teaching components should interact: A conceptual framework

Traditionally, in Zimbabwe, the ESL teacher education programme has been centred mainly around the areas of applied linguistics and general theories of language learning. The two components, applied linguistics and theories of language learning, logically go together, because teaching approaches, methods and techniques have to match theories of learning if they are to be effective in the classroom. The Zimbabwean situation is not very different from most traditional language education departments, where it is assumed, rightly or wrongly, that student teachers come to the department already equipped with a knowledge of theoretical linguistics, such as grammar and other language skills such as listening, speaking, reading and writing. The teacher educator sees his or her role simply as that of instructing the student teachers on how to apply their assumed knowledge to classroom teaching. This is normally done in the form of lectures and seminars on ESL teaching methods and L2 learning theories. This traditional approach to teacher education is what Freeman (1994, p. 15) refers to as the "front-loading" approach; an approach in which a student is given an "identity kit which teacher education programmes promote through lectures, group work, papers, reading articles and books and the like" (p.16).

The basic assumption of traditional ESL teacher education in Zimbabwe is that by exposing the student teacher to the approaches, methods and techniques of ESL teaching and to some ESL learning theories, the student will emerge from the programme reasonably competent to conduct classes on his or her own. This theorising is interspersed with brief periods during which the student teacher is sent out on teaching practice, and teacher educators visit the student in the field to assess his or her teaching skills using a predesigned assessment tool, a check list for the "identity kit". Classroom practice is assumed to give immediate context to the three components of theoretical linguistics, language learning theories and applied linguistics. It is assumed that the student teacher will be able to call on his or her experience and knowledge to negotiate through a lesson with a class.

Most research on the theory and practice of teaching has shown, however, that there are frequent inconsistencies between theory and practice wherever teacher education

adopts the "front-loading" approach in which student teachers are seen as receptacles of prepackaged knowledge. This approach falls short because it does not take into account the student teacher's own version of the world of teaching and learning (Freeman, 1990). It is now generally believed that the knowledge a student teacher receives in a teachers' college does not to any large extent translate into practice (see Noll, 1993; Cole and Knowles, 1993; Kleinsasser, 1993; Rust, 1994). Results of these studies indicate that student teachers enter teacher education programmes with their own beliefs of the nature of teaching and learning, and traditional teacher education programmes are rarely able to dislodge these beliefs before the students leave college. The result is the perpetuation of the status quo; the teachers go on from college to teach in the way they themselves were taught. We have seen, for example, how the teaching of Willie and Cathy, my two case studies, is largely traditional. This points to the need for alternative approaches to teacher education programs in Zimbabwe.

One recommended approach, as suggested in my preceding discussion, is to approach teacher education through the student's own world, guiding him or her to interpret this world individually (see, for example, Fullan, 1992; Goodson, 1992). If student teachers are not given the tools of autonomous learning, they will easily fall victim to uncreative, routine teaching dictated to them by the norms or contextual factors under which they find themselves working on a daily basis. This is one way the status quo is maintained in the classroom (Freeman, 1994). Following is a suggested teacher education programme that aims to break the impasse brought about by recycled routines of traditional teaching.

7 C: Towards an Effective ESL Teacher Education Programme

In this final section of the recommendations chapter, I will discuss how the four components of subject content, theories of language learning, language teaching methodology and classroom practice ought to interact in order to make teaching effective in today's changing instructional contexts. It is important that the four components include

among them a knowledge of how students learn a language, although this part has not been fully covered in my study, for reasons already given. Theories of language learning cater for the learner for whom teaching is done. In naming the four components, I have used the words "ought to" because I am not sure that in Zimbabwe's ESL classroom situation today, all the four components are interacting to any effective extent.

In an ideal ESL teaching situation, the four components involved in teaching should work in synchronic harmony, each feeding into the other for theoretically sound ESL instruction and learning. In the traditional system of education, which Zimbabwe seems to follow, the process involves three groups of people. These are the theoretical scientist, the applied linguist and the classroom teacher. The theoretical scientist provides teaching content to the applied linguist, who in turn tries it out as procedures for conveying the knowledge to the learner. Knowledge of how languages are learned guides this methodology. And, finally, all this knowledge from the two people is made available to the classroom teacher for implementation in classroom instruction. Thus, in this hierarchical model, it is the classroom teacher who is at the bottom, who acts as the final consumer of all the knowledge manufactured by the "experts" above him or her. This traditional synchronic harmony among the four components is illustrated in figure 14 following.

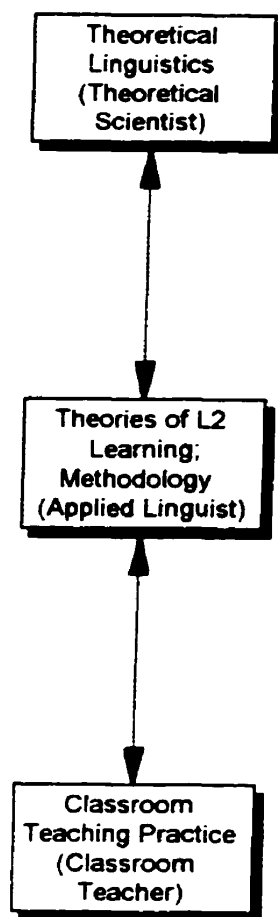


Figure 14: A model for the traditional development of language teaching practice

The problem with the top-down model in figure 14 is that it is likely to be ineffective, because the teacher, a key player in the equation, is not part of the manufacturing of knowledge on how to teach. This point has been demonstrated in the past hundred years, during which "progressive educational ideas, by and large, have never really taken root in classrooms, not even in the teaching of English, the subject in which there has probably been the most radical theorizing over those hundred years" (Mayher, 1990: ix). In today's educational set-up, according to Mayher (1990), university professors of theoretical and applied linguistics prescribe their results to the classroom teacher, who often finds, however, that these theorists are out of touch with the real problems of classroom instruction:

For many professionals, including teachers, there has been a growing disenchantment with technically rational solutions for the real problems they face daily in the classroom, and a consequent growing scepticism that university theory and research, still largely dominated by technical rationality, will help them much (Mayher, 1990, p. 7).

The technical approach, or theoretical prescriptions referred to by Mayher (1990) are still very much a feature of ESL teacher education in Zimbabwe today, at least as I know it from my experience of ESL teacher preparation in Zimbabwe. One result of this is that teachers dismiss all the theories equally and instead simply follow their noses and adopt a generally eclectic approach to teaching methods (Corder, 1979). This is what we saw happening particularly with Willie in this study.

The assumption that theory will automatically transform itself into practice has since been proved wrong. More and more educationists are beginning to realize that one important factor is missing from the traditional ESL teacher education paradigm: the missing link which would balance the whole equation is the teacher. It is now being realised that, by virtue of being in the front line, the teacher should be involved in all the research, planning and decision-making that affect classroom practice. A classroom teacher should be involved in all these activities because s/he is the one who meets on a daily basis the problems and successes of trying out all the prescriptions from those

above. An involved teacher will not act like a technician, but like a professional who is able to rationalize his or her decisions and actions, as Yalden (1987: 4) says: "We may be very good in training teachers in the use of specific techniques, gadgets, in a cookbook approach to the classroom, but we have been very lax in developing a cadre of teachers who know why they do what they do". The teacher who knows why s/he is doing what s/he is doing is the one most likely to meet successfully the many new challenges of the twenty-first century ESL classroom. This is the kind of teacher who is going to bring about meaningful change in our present schools (see Fullan, 1992).

An alternative approach to traditional ESL teacher education, therefore, ought to break down the old, artificial barriers dividing the classroom teacher from the bases of knowledge manufacturing, educational planning and decision-making. This approach calls for the reversal of the top-down approach to the bottom-up approach, in what Mayher (1990: 9) calls an "ecological change". This means teacher education programmes that emphasize empowerment of the student teacher by giving him or her classroom-based research skills (Wallat, Green, Conlin and Haramis, 1981; Fullan, 1992). Equipped with these skills, the teacher will be able to explore independently the very basis of his or her own beliefs about teaching. The teacher will also be able to raise questions and explore how his or her students learn. These action research skills will form a sound basis for a teacher to start his or her own life-long journey of self-discovery in terms of what works well for his/her classroom. Such a teacher will be able to arrive at what constitutes good teaching by integrating theory with his/her own personal knowledge, thereby narrowing the gap between theory and practice. Where teachers feel they might not be able to "go it alone" in research ventures, they will be able to join collaborative research teams that may include some university professors. The other alternative would be to create social forums or teaching centres through which teachers could share their views. The key idea would be to involve the classroom teacher as much as possible, with the idea that the implementation of research results would depend to a large extent on the classroom teacher.

Giving teachers simple research skills will enable them to evaluate critically any

prescription from above that might come to them in the name of innovation. The research skills will make them discerning professionals who will not easily fall victim to new teaching fads and fashions. The fads and fashions are what Chomsky (1975) warns language teachers in particular to guard against, when he writes:

In general, the willingness to rely on "experts" is a frightening aspect of contemporary political and social life. Teachers, in particular, have a responsibility to make sure that ideas and proposals are evaluated on their merits, and not passively accepted on grounds of authority, real or presumed. The field of language teaching is no exception. It is possible -even likely, that principles of psychology and linguistics, and research in these disciplines, may supply insights useful to the language teacher. But this must be demonstrated, and cannot be presumed. It is the language teacher himself who must validate or refute any specific proposal. There is very little in psychology or linguistics that he can accept on faith" (p. 237).

My interpretation of Chomsky's words in the preceding quotation is that teachers should critically evaluate any ideas or proposals, political, social, cultural or other, before they attempt to introduce them into their teaching. We need a new approach to teacher education that has the potential of producing teachers with the ability to do this. An example of such an approach to teacher education can be found in Schon (1983; 1987) and Goodson (1992), whose main concern is reflective teaching. Richards and Lockhart (1994) also discuss the reflective approach to teaching as it applies to second language classrooms. Using the reflective approach to teacher education, Goodson (1992) discusses how change can be effected in teachers. In short, reflective teaching is a reflection in action which combines personal knowledge and doing, technical knowledge and artistry (Schon, 1983; 1987). This is an approach to teacher preparation that involves "comparing our knowing with our doing, our beliefs with our practices, and exploring, with artistry, the connections among them" (Mayher, 1990: 9). Over time, teachers develop their own perceptions about how classroom activity leads to desired learning outcomes, and this is usually through the process of reflective teaching, learning through natural rather than enforced experimentation and reflection (Abelson, 1979).

From the results of my study, I am more convinced than ever before that if we

approach ESL teacher education programmes by first examining and questioning beliefs student teachers bring to teachers' colleges, we may be able to influence them to practise their teaching based on sound theory. To produce knowledgeable, adaptable and committed ESL teachers, we need to begin by understanding their long-held beliefs about teaching. If we, as teacher educators, can educate our teachers to question the bases of their beliefs, we are more likely to bring into our classrooms teachers who are reflective and adaptable to the ever-changing teaching and learning environments promised by the twenty-first century.

MY JOURNEY

From the start of this intellectual journey
To its end now in sight
It was a long, long journey
A journey that has taken me to unfamiliar lands
The road was long and full of surprising twists and turns
I crossed mountains and river valleys I did not know before
But as well there were familiar paths to cross

Many times I got lost on the way
My compass could not tell me where to go
As I had to chart my own course
I walked during the day
I groped in the dark
I followed false paths
I retraced my footsteps back to start
But only to set off again on another course

I doubted my strength to continue
I felt like giving it all up
I looked back where I had come
Alas, it was a long way to retreat!
I had no choice but to forge ahead!

At times my journey gave me joy
The joy that kept me going for days
Other times it was ordinary chore
I learnt to survive on my wits
I taught myself to look ahead with hope
But often I stopped to ask myself:
Will this journey ever end?
Though I feel I have almost arrived at last
I'm still not sure if this is not a mirage.

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APPENDIX B**A Sample Letter of Informed Consent for Willie and Cathy**

My name is Vitalis Nyawaranda. I am doing graduate studies at McGill University, Canada. I am currently working on a dissertation on teaching English as a Second Language at secondary school level in Zimbabwe.

I plan to collect data for my study from 5 December, 1997, to 31 March, 1997. This will involve my audio-taping ten lessons of a teacher's lessons spread over three months. The audio-taping will be done with minimum disruption of the teacher's normal teaching routine. Teachers participating in the study will also be interviewed on their teaching during the same period.

All information to be collected will be treated with great confidentiality. This information will be used only for the study; and no real names of the participants and their schools will be used in the study's report. Again any information that is likely to reveal the identity of the participants will not be included in the study. I would also like to stress that my study is in no way intended as an assessment or evaluation of the participant's teaching. It is simply an attempt to establish the state of the art with regards to ESL teaching in Zimbabwean secondary schools. I believe that such a knowledge will be useful as a basis for recommending any alternative ways of approaching ESL teaching or teacher education in Zimbabwe that might be suggested by the findings of my study.

Through this letter, I am asking if you would be willing to participate in my study. Your volunteering to participate will not take away from you the right to withdraw from the study any time and for any reason you might have. As a participant, you are also free not to give any information, such as of a personal nature, you might feel uncomfortable to reveal. I plan to be in Zimbabwe as from 5 December, 1997, during which time I hope to be able to explain further my study to you and to answer any questions you may have concerning the study.

If you are willing to assist, I would be grateful if you could indicate so by filling out the blanks (1) to (3) below, and return the form to me at the address enclosed.

Name of Teacher (Please print):

Signature of Teacher:

Date:

Name of Researcher:

Signature of Researcher:

Date:

APPENDIX D**Interview Guidelines for Willie and Cathy****Rationale**

In conducting the interviews, special care was taken to seek the participants' perspectives on the issues raised in these guidelines, hence the informal and open-ended approach to the interviews adopted. To allow for a more relaxed and informal atmosphere in these interviews, participants were interviewed in Shona, their L1. It was left to them to choose to code-switch between the two languages, Shona and English. The interviews were later translated by me into English. The following questions are guidelines that led into in-depth discussions with the participants.

Section A**Personal Details of Participants**

1) Could you please give me a brief history about yourself, with special reference to the following: (a) your academic and professional qualifications and (b) your teaching experience (Examples of areas expected to cover are: academic and professional qualifications, type of training program pursued, length of ESL teaching experience, current grades being taught, size of classes, any other subjects taught besides ESL, teacher's timetable, textbooks in use, any positions held by the teacher in the school, etc.).

Section B**Teacher's Beliefs on Specific Topics on ESL Teaching**

2) What do you understand by the term English as a Second Language?

3) How do you distinguish ESL teaching from L1 teaching?

4) How do you normally teach

-listening

-speaking

-reading

-writing

-grammar?

Section C

Teaching Approaches and Documentation

5) What do you understand by language and language teaching?

6) What are your views on the use and function of the national and school syllabuses in teaching ESL?

7) What do you consider to be the role of the teacher in ESL teaching and learning?

8) What do you consider to be the role of the student in ESL teaching and learning?

9) What do you consider to be the use and function of teaching and learning materials such as textbooks, charts, models, etc. in ESL teaching and learning?

10) What are your views on the usefulness or otherwise of such curriculum documents as the scheme of work, the lesson plan, etc. in ESL teaching?

11) How do you normally organize your classes for ESL teaching, e.g. group work, whole class etc., and why?

Section D

Class Management

12) How do you normally maintain discipline in your classes?

- 13) What level of noise do you normally allow in your ESL classes?
- 14) How do you normally get the attention of a class?

Section E

Personal Life Stories

- 15) What are some of the success stories you have met in your years of teaching ESL?
- 16) What frustrations and disappointments have you experienced in your ESL teaching?
- 17) What are your plans, hopes and fears about your ESL teaching?
- 18) Is there any teacher you admired when you were a student? If so, why?
- 19) What are some of the opportunities and constraints you are facing in your teaching of ESL?
- 20) What are your views on the ESL exam results at the national level in general and in your school in particular? How might these results be improved?

APPENDIX E

Interview Guidelines for Administrators

Rationale

In interviewing administrators, I was guided by current research literature which suggests that what the teacher does in the classroom is influenced, among other contextual variables, by those charged with the responsibility of monitoring and evaluating his or her work. A collective and loose label, administrators, has been used here to refer to such people, who include the head of Department, the Headmaster, the Education Officer and the Regional Director of Education in the province in which the two teachers in this study work.

In conducting the interviews, special emphasis was placed on getting evidence from the perspectives of the participants, hence the open-ended nature of the interviews adopted. The following are the thematic areas and examples of questions which guided the in-depth open-ended interviews with the administrators. Specific questions, with special reference to ESL teaching, were formulated and tailor-made to suit each type of administrator mentioned above.

Historical and Administrative

- 1) Could you please give me a brief history about your institution, e.g. when it was founded, its mission statement, etc.
- 2) How many staff members are employed in your institution?
- 3) What are the enrolment figures?
- 4) How do you run your institution?
- 5) What do you see as your role in the administration of your institution in general and in the administration of ESL teaching in particular?

- 6) What are the reward and punishment systems in your institution?
- 7) How do you define curriculum change and innovation with special reference to your institution and your role as an administrator?
- 8) How does the system of departmental governance function in your institution?

Diglossic

- 9) What are your observations on how the language policy is working in Zimbabwean schools today?
- 10) What role do you see the English Language playing in the country in general and in your institution in particular?
- 11) What role do you see Shona playing in your institution in general and in ESL teaching in particular?

Staffing

- 12) What is the staffing situation like in your institution?
- 13) Are there any staff development programmes in your institution? If yes, how are these programmes run?
- 14) How do you normally motivate your staff?

Moral and Material Support

- 15) What is your assessment of the quantity and quality of material support, such as books, stationery, teaching and learning aids, the library, that your institution is receiving?
- 16) What are your views on the moral support that you or your institution are receiving from your authorities?

Teaching and Learning Environment

- 17) How would you describe the environment provided by your institution in terms of its capacity to facilitate teaching and learning?
- 18) What are the opportunities and/or constraints that your institution or department is facing in its quest to achieve its goals?

Exams and Employment Opportunities

- 19) What are your views on the general standard of English, written and spoken, in the country in general and in your institution in particular?
- 20) How might ESL exam results be improved in the country in general and in your institution in particular? What role do you see yourself playing in this regard?
- 21) What are the employment opportunities open to graduates from your institution?
- 22) In your assessment, do you think your institution is preparing students adequately for life after school?