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PERSPECTIVES IN EDUCATION



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Journal of the Faculty of Education of the University of the Witwatersrand and the Johannesburg College of Education

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DISCUSSION

REVIEW OF I S J VENTER'S *HISTORY OF EDUCATION: ORIGINS, FUNDAMENTAL STRUCTURES, NATURE AND BEING*[1]

Kenneth Charlton

Professor Venter's Die Historiese Opvoedkunde, originally published in 1976, has now been translated from Afrikaans into English (2) by AJ Smit, his colleague in the Department of History of Education, University of South Africa.

The author was correct in thinking that there was 'no comprehensive work on the history of education as a science in existence overseas' and that his study was 'the first of its kind in its particular academic field'. The translator's Preface tells us that 'the book is primarily intended as a guide for honours students of education, and that it should make a readable and intelligible comment on the history of education'. The question has, therefore, to be asked 'How far does this pioneering book take us?' The answer must, regrettably, be 'Not very far, and even then probably not in the right direction'.

The sub-title of the work will give most English-speaking historians (of education) pause for thought at the outset, and what follows in the text is not much more reassuring.

The meat of the book is to be found, after an introductory chapter on origins, in six chapters indicating what the author considers to be the 'seventeen fundamental structures of this field of knowledge'. In a concluding chapter 'the nature and being of history of education is reviewed on the basis of a number of hypotheses, each of which is deduced

from a relevant fundamental structure'. When the 17 structures are listed, however - the pedagogic, the historic, the temporal, the spatial, the variable, the social, the cultural, the normative, the anthropological, the existential, the phenomenological, the linguistic, the personal, the antinomic, the problematic-historic, the alignment of present and future, the religious - it will be seen that the categorization is not as tautly logical as one might have expected. This becomes apparent when each of the structures is discussed, but nowhere more so than in the section on 'the religious', which we are told is 'the final, predominant and all-embracing structure in a Christian-Calvinistic educational investigation' (my italics). Hitherto the invariable construction has been 'the historical educationist', 'the historical-educational researcher'. Quite suddenly and without comment or explanation he becomes 'the Calvinist researcher'. Moreover, the final sentence of the introductory section of the 'Nature and being...' chapter reads 'And in the last instance the past, present and future of education is considered the fulfilment of the Plan of God. The belief is that the progress of mankind is the object of a divine educational plan and educational action.'

The 'deductions' in the final chapter also lack formal logical status, and are often not much more than prescriptive repetitions of what has been said before. Deduction 3, for example, is that 'The History of Education is Continually Concerned with Time'

> and we should always be confronted by the important problem of temporality, ie we must undoubtedly take account of the fact that time is bound up with pedagogics, we must consider pedagogics in its time perspective. Because the history of education is closely bound up with the concept temporality, ie with the whole idea of time, with the orientation of time, with participation in time, with the concomitance with time. More precisely: this part-discipline entails the answering of questions from the viewpoint of the dimension of time (Author's italics, translator's punctuation).

Despite the elaborateness of Professor Venter's 'analysis', which too often takes the form of quoting a string of authoritative writers (though most English readers will have doubts when they find George Mead and Karl Mannheim quoted, not from the original writings, but from I Morrish, The Disciplines of Education), the reader gets only the haziest impression of a practising historian (of education) reflecting on the 'problematics' of his practice, at either

a practical or a theoretical level.

This is particularly the case when the author discusses the scope of his 'field of knowledge'. In his preface he says that history of education 'involves an extremely valuable perspective of pedagogics'. In his text, however, he goes much further than this. Few would disagree with him when he claims that the past lives on in the present and therefore influences (for good or ill, in one degree or another) the future. But most will part company with him when he opposes as two distinct categories 'history' and 'history of education', and claims

> Each of the history of education and history itself has its own premise, method and field of research....in contrast with history the historical educationist continually asks himself what pedagogical relevance the educationally historic holds for the present... The history of education is therefore not concerned with a history of education as such, but rather with pedagogical ideas on which historical labour is based.

These last quotations raise a host of substantive issues which cannot be elaborated here. But they do raise another point which must be commented on. Throughout the work passages such as the following abound:

> The mere collection and putting in order of actualities from the past of education is therefore not at all sufficient. This task must indeed be undertaken, but the educational world of the past only acquires life and meaning if it is again made applicable to the own pedagogical experience (p 194).

> Man was connected with others on account of his ability to communicate, and owing to the fact that he had always remained a past-being which was part of his historical-educational and broader tradition (p 128).

> These are human forms of existence which influence the self-sensegiving of man, which is conversely also influenced by existing visions of being-man and by concrete self-sensegiving (p 216).

> ...being-man and being-educand were therefore rationalized being in which instance the other was, in the first place and initially not the other person, but indeed God, that God who encountered man as being-in-the-Word (p 133).

> Fundamental pedagogics is concerned with the philosophical-anthropological, norm and knowledge evaluating and moral-ethical founding of the educational situation (p 34).

The translator must have faced very great difficulties in his task, and indeed confesses that 'had it not been that I had read for a doctorate in Fundamental Pedagogics I would have floundered in the sea of philosophical terms' (p vii). Yet the passages quoted above are entirely characteristic of the whole, in which the idiosyncratic use of the definite article, the gross abuse of the hyphen and the frequent use of 'the real meaning of the term', 'the true sense of the word' and 'real education' reveal not simply a distinct lack of feeling for the English language but a philosophical naivety one would not have expected in such a book.

If historians of education wish to persuade students (and colleagues) that theirs is a worthwhile undertaking, this is not the book to do it.

Notes

(1) This review was originally published in History of Education Vol 9 No 4, 1980, pgs 347-8, and permission to reprint it has been obtained.

(2) ISJ Venter History of Education: Origins, Fundamental Structures, Nature and Being (translated by AJ Smit), Durban: Butterworths, 1980.

A REPLY TO SHIRLEY PENDLEBURY

Honey Gluckman

Pendlebury's article 'The Notion of a Philosophy of Education' (1) appears to contain five major criticisms of the document "A Philosophy of Education for S. Africa" (hereafter to be referred to as P.E.F.S.A.) They are:

1 That the title is misleading

In fact, both Enslin (2) and Pendlebury have commented (the latter at great length) on the title of the document. I wish I could say that the sub-committee working on this document, spent as much time thinking of a title as Pendlebury has spent criticising it, but since what was being presented was only a working document, we preferred to devote our time to the contents of the document rather than to its heading. However, let me once more clarify the position. Originally, the project was intended for English-speaking teachers. But, as we worked through it, it occurred to some members of the Committee that possibly non-English speakers might feel at home with this philosophy. The title was then tentatively changed to P.E.F.S.A.

However, events have since moved forward. Using a modified form of the document as a basis, a questionnaire was drawn up, but for a variety of very practical reasons, it was decided to limit the sample to teachers at English-medium schools in South Africa. This was done with three objectives in mind:

a) To see if there was a broad consensus of agreement amongst those teaching at English-medium schools, (and despite Pendlebury's assertion, (3) there is: see 'Attitudes of teachers in English-speaking schools and tertiary institutions in S.A. to education' in this issue.)

b) To see if non-English speakers at these schools had strongly divergent views.

c) To explore the implications of these findings.

(Both b) and c) will be discussed in a second report to be brought out in 1982).

Taking all the above into account, the title is therefore a non-issue.

2 That the document fails to be a philosophy at all.

To substantiate this point, Pendlebury sets forth the criteria she regards as being essential for a 'true' philosophy. To quote: "In the English-speaking world, at least, the tasks of philosophy of Education.....are seen to involve not the building of systems but the critical analysis of educational discourse in all its aspects. (It) includes such tasks as drawing conceptual distinctions...." Pendlebury had the grace to qualify her statement by saying "in the English-speaking world," thus admitting that not everyone agrees with this definition of what a philosophy is. In fact, as the following two extracts show, even some people in the English-speaking world disagree with her:

> Proposals for an 'analytic philosophy of education'....seem to me, however to lead to a kind of involuted scholasticism.
> .....
> When philosophy, for one reason or another, has run dry, when it has ceased to have anything to say, it turns inward upon itself, and proposes as a self-sufficient task, to analyse the meanings of terms. No philosophy, of course, can dispense with the analysis of meanings....Linguistic analysis, however, is fruitful only as one instrument, among others, for helping to arrive at a philosophy. When its practice becomes identified with philosophy it seems to me to have been transmuted into a device for repressing philosophic questions. (4)

and

> More than a decade ago, a philosophical dialogue took place between Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet diplomat, and Christopher Mayhew. ...'What philosophy do your philosophers teach?' asked Gromyko. 'Philosophy in Britain', replied Mayhew, 'is concerned mainly with the meaning of words.' Perhaps it was not very constructive, he added, but it helped in understanding the errors of Marxism. Gromyko was puzzled. 'But what is your philosophy?' he persisted.... Mayhew was not sure.
>
> Perhaps we have in Mayhew's responses the worst and best of academic philosophy. It is essentially

> a training in disputation in the mediaeval tradition. But the disputationist rarely has a philosophy of his own to advance or defend; he will argue, challenge, criticise.... Consequently when young thinkers, for instance in the Soviet Union, look for an alternative to the official doctrine of dialectical materialism they rarely turn to the writings of our academic philosophers with their treatises on language and morals. They read instead Camus, Berdyaev or Niebuhr. They are looking for a philosophy, not for a compendium of word usage. (5)

My own answer to Pendlebury's charge that our use of an "all-embracing theory of education...rooted in an explicit and...coherent set of ethical, metaphysical and epistemological views," has little point except as an academic exercise, is to throw this accusation back at her. Critical analysis, as the two quotations have shown, is par excellence an academic exercise. I fully agree it is a vital one, but for the ordinary man in the street who wants to know what he is doing here on earth, whether to cheat on his wife and his income-tax, whether to go for the dull but well-paid job or the exciting but poorly-paid job, linguistic analysis has nothing to offer. An analysis of the concepts 'cheat' and 'income-tax' etc are not going to help him make a decision. The reason for this is a basic and very important one and goes to the root of the controversy between analytic and traditional philosophies.

The analytic philosopher denies the validity of traditional philosophies because they are based upon unproved or ungrounded assumptions. However so too, is analytic philosophy, as Pendlebury has admitted. I go further, though. I assert that analytic philosophy presupposes very strongly that the use of reason is the only basis for not only accepting or rejecting a standpoint, but for acting upon it. While I might agree that this should be so, in actual fact, in the real live world, it is very rarely the case. Very few people, either dull or intelligent, are ruled completely by reason. What influences their decisions, choices and actions are their feelings, their passions, their yearnings either of a materialistic or spiritual kind. Asking tormented people (see them lining up at psychiatrists' rooms) to analyse the concept 'spiritual yearning' will not help them. They may not know what it means, they may be unable to define it, but they sure as hell suffer from it!

Therefore to assume that a systematic type of philosophy is out-of-date and of no value and should be superseded by analytic philosophy, is to be blind to the equal weakness of linguistic analysis. The point of the matter is that from the beginning of time all men have needed to ask questions and find answers about the purpose of life and questions of morality. That is why great literature, which mirrors the human condition, is often concerned with metaphysical and ethical issues, but very rarely (if at all) with the analysis of concepts etc.

The creators of P.E.F.S.A. felt a need, and decided, despite Pendlebury's disapproval, that this type of philosophical structure would answer that need.

3 That the document lacks internal consistency.

Pendlebury is quite right to say that such a type of philosophy must be judged on the grounds of its internal consistency. The writers of this document were well aware of this and realised that there were still, certain implicit inconsistencies which required further discussion and work before a final document is produced. However, Pendlebury's example of such an inconsistency is foolish. If she had read the sentence in context, she would have seen that in the line above 'God/or any chosen term', the terms were actually specified viz 'Ultimate Reality', 'Infinite' etc. Therefore, to substitute Man in place of God is to open herself to the criticism of either physical or intellectual myopia. Furthermore, I regard it as rather unfair to denigrate an entire document on the basis of one ill-conceived criticism.

4 That the document is too cursory.

Pendlebury's criticism that this document is too cursory ignores both the audience and the occasion to which it was directed. It was a working document presented in a limited time to the T.T.A. Conference, to teachers of mainly primary and high schools. For this reason, it was deliberately kept brief and in outline only. The fact that terms were not explicitly defined in the document does not mean they were not considered by the committee. Indeed, we were well aware that a final document would have to be spelt out in full detail, and would probably run to several hundred pages. How could such a tome be presented in the time and conditions available? While Athene might have sprung fully formed

from the head of Zeus, most human enterprises take a little longer, and require a great many more stages before they reach completion.

5 That the document is irrelevant for S. Africa today.

At the time when this philosophy was being discussed, namely between 1978-1979, the burning educational issue for English-speaking teachers was the 'Afrikanerisation' of education. The Super-Afrikaners had just been published and Dr. Piet Meyer's words quoted:

> The Afrikanerising of the English-speakers is an educational task - it must start in the schools. The Afrikanerising of the English-speaker entails the English-speaker accepting the Afrikaner outlook and philosophy as his own; integrating his ideals and life-style with that of the Afrikaner....We will then speak of Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Afrikaners. (6)

The T.T.A. was justifiably worried about the implications of the assertions made in this book. It was natural therefore that in an attempt to combat 'Afrikanerisation', the T.T.A. should seek first to clarify what English-speaking teachers did believe in. However, this justification aside, surely a person or body which is not spending public funds, is entitled to choose an area in which they believe a need for research exists. Is all freedom of choice in South Africa to be subjected to what certain self-appointed people deem relevant or appropriate?

Let me conclude by looking ahead. The ultimate purpose of our document and subsequent research is to use the findings as a basis for discussion with other population groups, in order to discover, if at all possible, a common philosophy of education for all the inhabitants of this country. However, as much as I agree that South Africa must work towards a common aim, I am all too well aware of the enormous difficulties inherent in this task. I am aware of this because I have studied the philosophy of education of the Afrikaner, and am now doing the same for the English-speaker. Others, I hope, will do the same for the different race groups in South Africa. When finally, we all know what we believe in, only then can representatives of each group come together to hammer out a common policy which has a chance of being accepted by the majority.

I still firmly believe, therefore, that the research we have done (of which P.E.F.S.A. was the first step) is an essential stage of the final product that Enslin and Pendlebury feel is the only valuable project to undertake.

Notes

(1) See Perspectives in Education Vol 5 No 1 March 1981

(2) See Perspectives in Education Vol 5 No 1 March 1981

(3) See Perspectives in Education Vol 5 No 1 March 1981 pg 48

(4) Louis S Feuer. Harvard Educational Review

(5) New York Times Magazine

(6) The Super Afrikaners. Wilkins and Strydom 1978 pg 134

ARTICLES

LANGUAGE ACROSS THE CURRICULUM

Graham Walker

Abridged Text of an Address to the Transvaal Association of Teachers of English, 13 September 1980

Section 1 INTRODUCTION In which the speaker administers a gentle rebuke by means of an out-of-control parody

Imagine a teacher of English ...

He regards his subject as indubitably the most important of all school subjects: unlike teachers of other subjects who do so wholly out of a love for their subjects, he does so also out of conviction; a conviction, firstly, that his subject is the most really useful, and, secondly, that it is the most satisfying. "Most useful" because it is the medium of communication in the school, and in the local community, officially in the country, and as a lingua franca in the world at large (hence his unstinting support for bodies like the British Council, the English Academy, the South African Council for English Education, the 1820 Settlers National Monument Foundation and the World Service of the BBC). Most meaningful and gratifying because it has an incomparable body of literature (from Chaucer to Eliot - thus far only), and because it is the vehicle of High Culture. It has soul; in his view it is not technical or mechanical, like the sciences or mathematics.

In short, his subject is his fiefdom. It is a more important fiefdom than those round about it - it is, after all, more fertile and produces more precious crops. He jealously guards its borders from encroachment from the other subjects round about, and would not dream of conferring its benefits indiscriminately on, or worse, acting in a subservient capacity to, others. He is very aware of the need to maintain the status of his subject - as embodied, naturally, in himself. So he is an egotist. And, like all minor landed gentry, he is essentially a conservative.

If pressed hard and relentlessly, he will come down to an uneasy admission that essentially he views his subject as a body of content. He sees his job as teaching:

- a corpus of facts and preferences about language (by which word he usually understands "usage" and grammar);
- facts, concepts and judgements about literature; and
- formulaic techniques of composition and rhetoric.

In short, he sees his job as teaching the history and science of language, literature and composition, admixed with what he believes to be an endearing and sophisticated soupcon of personal preferences and prejudices.

Any attempt he makes to teach his subject in such a way as to engender skills in his pupils usually founders on the subtle tendency skills have towards reification.

Let's briefly look more closely at one or two of these factors. As far as language goes (remember, by this he means "usage" and grammar), he enjoys nothing more than an old-fashioned witch-hunt for errors. Considerations of correctness are paramount. Mistakenly, he identifies correctness, not with "the actual usage of any section of the population, but with a sort of 'transcendental' standard which is essentially an amalgam of logic and the grammar of the classical languages" (Jeremy Warburg). He espouses a multitude of ipsedixitisms. An ipsedixitism is a rule that something is so because someone has said so with authority. Examples of this are the shall/will convention first put forward by Wallis in the 17th Century; Bishop Lowth's insistence that than is always a conjunction and not a preposition and so must be followed by a nominative pronoun - ergo "In his use of English, he is more correct than I" (not me); and Dryden and Gibbon's condemnation of a preposition as

the last word of a sentence, the one so firmly put down (reputedly) by Churchill when he said "Ending a sentence with a preposition is something up with which I will not put." Dryden's reason for his stricture is illuminating - in Latin, prepositions are always pre-posed. He wrote:-

> "I am often put to a stand in considering whether what I write be the idiom of the tongue, ... and have no other way to clear my doubts but by translating my English into Latin."

Not only will our English teacher subscribe to a host of ipsedixitisms (what another writer has termed "waxwork exhibits"); in fact, he will have created not a few of his own, pressed, in the heat of the moment, by a trusting class for an authoritative ruling on some, to him, unfamiliar point of grammar. And all this in pursuit of correct, precise English, free from the slovenly, the pretentious, the solecistic, the slipshod, the faddish. In other words, the gospel according to Fowler. So, to find a metaphor for this aspect of our teacher, he is a sort of Spanish Inquisitor, smelling out error and preaching salvation through a prescription of received truth.

En passant (he loves those expressive foreign phrases), he would have been saddened at the ignorance of the classical languages on our part that required an explanation of the term ipsedixitism.

And so to literature - literature, language at its most powerful, most subtle, most sinewy, most evocative, most complex, most lovely. To continue the religious image, our English teacher sees himself as jealous custodian of this mystery, admitting only those proven worthy, and then only after rigorous mystic ordeal and ritual. Custodian, too, of the decisions of the Great Council of Oxbridge which fixed the Canon of High and Worthy Literature. Literature - usually British, usually 50 years old or more; in verse especially the lyric, in prose particularly the novel, in drama mostly the verse drama - literature is what he loves and is what he knows; he wasn't trained in anything else. But the harsh realities of the modern age force a change in the metaphor. Our teacher, in this age of the global village, with its small, rounded rectangle of moving wallpaper, finds himself, Canute-like, at the edge of an ever-encroaching sea of Philistinism, vainly trying to hold back the uncaring tide.

Finally, though I could continue the parody, there is our poor English teacher as grammarian and methodologist.

Espousing a grammar of English that is outdated, inadequate, unsound, invalid, he devoutly teaches it in the earnest conviction that to do so is to help his pupils improve their expressive capacity in language. Ignoring a century of linguistic investigation at the time of an unprecedented explosion of knowledge, he is like a medieval scientist authoritatively spouting Aristotle during a great Renaissance of empiricism. Worse, considering the pupils' desperate need, he is a 20th Century doctor applying 18th Century leeches to a patient suffering from dystrophy.

This parody was based on me as I was some seven years ago; though in fairness to myself, I must admit it got rather out-of-hand.

But do you, as an English teacher, recognise some, even a grain of truth in this picture? Do you, as teachers of subjects other than English, recognise your English-teaching colleagues? If so, to the extent to which there is truth in the parody, I can gently rebuke you; I can reproach you (as I do the Graham Walker of 1973) for:

- not knowing enough about language;
- not knowing enough about the processes of learning, about how language and learning relate;
- not having thought enough about the goals of our curricula and how to harmonise our teaching strategies with them.

In the second section of my talk, I shall impressionistically deal with the first of these points, through the recitation of a veritable litany of questions, and then handle the last two points in a discussion of the concept "Language across the curriculum".

Section 2 In which the speaker issues a challenge to teachers and discusses divers concepts.

1 Language

It seems to me crucial that teachers, all teachers, but especially language teachers, know something about language; its nature, its functions, how it is acquired, how it is developed, how it is affected by context and situation, its grammar.

All I can do in the space available to me is, in the form of questions, to highlight some ideas which you can

then follow up. In one case only, that of grammar and the effectiveness of teaching it, will I go into some detail.

a The nature of language

- Are you aware of what is meant by symbolization and the arbitrary nature of it?
- Do you know how linguists analyse language? Are you familiar with concepts like phoneme, morpheme, lexis, syntax, semantics?
- Which is primary, spoken or written language, and why?
  What are the differences between the two?
- Are these names more than just names to you :

  Halliday, Firth, Chomsky, Bloomfield, Lamb, Sapir and Whorf?
- Have you come across the discipline of sociolinguistics?

Bill Gatherer, in his excellent chapter in Michael Marland's Language Across the Curriculum, makes some very useful generalizations about language:

- Language is primarily speech.
- Language is systematic.
- Language is dynamic.
- Language is social.
- Language is personal.
- Language is meaningful.

We would do well to think through the enormous implications of these statements.

b The acquisition and development of language

- In the area of the acquisition and development of language, names like Chomsky and Skinner, Brown, Bellugi and Weir, Piaget and Vygotsky, Luria and Pavlov recur. Do you know what they represent, and

how they agree with and oppose one another? How do the behaviourists differ from the developmental psychologists?

- Is language innate? Do you accept Chomsky's Language Acquisition Device? Is the development of language inevitable, or is it dependent on the interaction of language and situation in a social context?

- Do you accept that while the competence to communicate is acquired naturally, the competence in analysis, competence in using language for thinking is not, and needs to be acquired through formal education?

c Language in social context

- How do you view non-standard English, be it non-standard in grammar or in pronunciation? Do you consider Standard British English pronounced in Received Pronunciation to be superior to, say, Sarth Efrican English?

- Do you accept that there are linguistically deprived children? William Labov and Basil Bernstein reach different conclusions in trying to lay bare the critical relationships between language and class. Whom do you support?

- Are you concerned in your classes to help children master a wide repertoire of stylistic options in the speech they use?

d Language functions

- M.A.K. Halliday, in a brilliant analysis of the functions of language, has isolated two which are of particular importance to teachers, the heuristic and the personal models. These are both critical in educational success, and cannot be left to develop naturally. They need to be trained.

- Compare and contrast Halliday's heuristic and personal models of language function with:

  Piaget's concept of 'formal operations'

  Bruner's concept of 'analytic competence'

Bernstein's concept of 'elaborated code'

Britton's 'expressive function' of language

Each of these functions separately conceived, often in different disciplines, is a goal each and every teacher should aim to achieve with each and every pupil.

e Grammar

× There are four major types of grammar:

traditional grammar

structural grammar

Hallidayan or scale-and-category grammar

Chomskyan or transformational-generative grammar.

Are you familiar with the last three?

× Do you believe grammar should be taught in schools? If so, what do you think are the benefits of doing so? It used to be thought that an explicit, systematic study of the principles underlying language (grammar) had a salutary effect on the language of the person studying them. In other words, an assumption of transfer was made. But linguistic scholars are almost unanimous that this is not so. Here is a catalogue of beliefs about the value of instruction in grammar, all of which were disproved by research conducted between 1903 and 1947:

- The study of grammar is good for the mental discipline of the pupil.
- Grammar study produces transfer of learning to other subjects.
- Knowledge of traditional grammar improves the ability of children to interpret literature.
- When school grammar is learned well, it remains a useful tool.

- Knowledge of traditional grammar aids in reading comprehension.
- Ability to cite grammatical rules improves grammar in written expression.
- Grammar instruction is the best approach to teaching sentence structure.
- When children can cite grammatical rules, they apply them.
- Knowledge of traditional grammar reduces error in usage.
- Grammarians agree on what is and what is not standard English.

(Smith, Goodman and Meredith)

Finally, on the effectiveness of grammar teaching, the noted American linguist Courtney Gazden quotes some definitive research:

> "Mellon (1969), in a lengthy review of the literature on the teaching of grammar, found no evidence of any enabling effect .... on verbal behaviour either oral or written ...."

2 Language across the curriculum

It is high time that educational practitioners availed themselves of the fruits of decades of research relevant to their profession. It is also high time that educational practitioners reorganized the school curriculum, basing learning, not on conventional subject divisions, but on "the central process of human symbolization", language. Such a language-centered view of teaching and learning, based on research, will revitalise some of the older ideas about child-centredness. New possibilities are legion. Old problems become susceptible of solution.

An approach which goes a long way towards making this possible is the concept "language across the curriculum". It is an idea that had its genesis in the English Department of the London University Institute of Education in 1962. The concept achieved official recognition and sanctioned by its inclusion as a chapter in its own right in the Bullock Report of 1975. Since

then, there have been numerous publications examining the implications of the concept in the form of school policies.

Teachers usually think of language as the means of transferring knowledge. What they rarely recognise is its essential role in forming the concepts on which that knowledge, and, more important, on which developed thought, is based.

But let's go back to the young child before he attends school, before, even, he has acquired language. It is a truism to say that concept-formation is an important part of thinking. Our young child forms concepts of sensory impressions, things or emotions, which concepts are internalised categories of experience. When he learns to speak, he gives verbal labels to these concepts. This enables him to generalise about them. So the word "fire" is attached to the fascinating, flickering tongues of light and warmth, which hurt if you touch them. So, then, is the word "sore". "Sore" is always unpleasant; this he infers from a number of unhappy experiences; so when Mommy warns him about a sharp knife by saying "sore", he can generalise about the possibilities of the knife hurting him. Only by verbalising an experience can the child generalise about it. Upon generalization depends the ability to hypothesize. And it is clear that the ability to hypothesize is the central ability of developed thought. The development of thought in this way is made possible only through strenuous language development.

We don't know exactly what the relationship is between language and thought. There is a vast body of literature exploring the various possibilities. But it is clear that language is essential for developed thinking. Thought of certain types is possible without language, but language gives form, logic and coherence to thought. What is also absolutely clear is that we need language to communicate thought.

How are concepts acquired by a child? If they are simple concepts, probably when their content is described. When the concepts are complex, it is often necessary to precede them with preliminary concepts and experiences (of or through, say, examples).

So in the school context, the teacher's success in communicating a concept depends on the language he uses, and on the pupil's success in translating the teacher's

language into the concept. Teachers appreciate the need for copious illustration with examples. What they less readily recognize is that their own language is critical. Obviously if the teacher's language is full of lengthy, complex sentences, unfamiliar and/or technical vocabulary and highly abstract terms, the pupil is not going to succeed in translating the language into an understanding of the concepts. The teacher, far from teaching for half an hour, has obscured for the thirty minutes. Surely, you say, no teacher would be so stupid? I reply that teachers often forget quite how familiar they are with their subjects, and quite how unfamiliar pupils are with both the subject and the language in which it is expressed.

Speech is the primary form of language. It is therefore the primary means of formulating thought. One learns to think by using speech in what Halliday calls the heuristic function, that is by verbally teasing out one's thought, by using language in an exploratory, tentative way, by talking towards an understanding, by what Postman and Weingartner call "languaging". Talk in this function is hesitant, relatively unstructured, impressionistic. Logic is often suspect. The speaker often backtracks when he finds himself in a mental cul-de-sac. But in the process of verbalising (and receiving feedback on his verbalising from the person to whom he is talking), the speaker progressively clarifies and refines his ideas and the language in which he expresses them, until he achieves what in writing would be called a "final draft".

This has important implications for subject teaching. To learn a subject means to master its concepts. To do that, a pupil must engage in the particular language of the subject, "Learning physics", says Dr Gatherer, "is as much a process of learning to talk physics as anything else; and the teacher who merely insists on science - or who fails to incite talk about his subject - fails to perceive the necessary connection between speech, thought and learning".

What I have said about speech applies equally to writing. A more useful model in the area of writing than Halliday's is Britton's expressive function of writing. Writing, though it proceeds according to a different set of conventions, arises from the same linguistic-cognitive skills as speech. Expressive writing should become a staple classroom activity, even (especially?) in the science or history classroom where

universally one finds writing of a transactional (in Britton's model) or representational (in Halliday's), or, at any rate, objective sort. Expressive writing should be the staple because it promotes conceptual clarity. Also, objective, transactional writing must be recognized as the end-product of the learning, and not characteristic of the processes of that learning. Further, we must recognise the very high degree of abstraction in transactional writing. It is probably the highest-level linguistic skill any of us acquires in life. This high-level, abstract, highly refined skill does not develop naturally. Certainly, teachers of subjects other than English cannot leave the careful nurturing necessary to achieve this skill to the English teacher alone. Every teacher must teach the language skills necessary to an understanding of his subject.

Each subject makes distinctively different language demands on pupils, especially when they are being initiated into that subject, but also in the continuing processes of the discipline. These are: listening and reading demands, made on pupils when listening to lessons in and reading the literature of, the subject: and speaking and writing demands made when being assessed on their grasp of the subject.

Scholars in a given discipline have a distinctive outlook on the world and explore new phenomena with methods appropriate to the discipline's distinctive viewpoint. Each discipline has its own language features which develop from the symbols and procedures of the discipline.

I began this second section of my talk by saying that in it I would issue a challenge. The first challenge I have already issued - to perceive the centrality of language to learning. The second, more particular, challenge is to do for your subject what I shall now demonstrate has been done for the natural sciences:

The natural scientist's approach is always experimental, objective and tentative. He is interested in describing, classifying, analysing and explaining the phenomena he observes. Through precise observation and analysis of a phenomenon he derives hypotheses which he then tests in carefully controlled experimental situations. From these tentative generalizations he may create a model which then guides him in further investigations. These investigations may confirm or even overturn his model.

The thinking and language goals, therefore, of the teacher in the natural sciences may be :

1 Learning to classify objects and events according to various critical attributes

2 Searching for exemplars and testing the criticality of defining attributes

3 Validating categories by a variety of means

4 Hypothesizing about relationships between concepts of objects and events

5 Developing generalizations by interrelating concepts

6 Incorporating generalizations and concepts into larger thematic structures.

(Smith, Goodman & Meredith)

In all this, language is central.

INTRODUCING A LANGUAGE AND LEARNING PROJECT— SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

Michael Rice

> 138 In the secondary school, all subject teachers need to be aware of:
>
> (i) the linguistic processes by which their pupils acquire information and understanding, and the implications for the teacher's own use of language.
>
> (ii) the reading demands of their own subjects, and ways in which pupils can be helped to meet them.
>
> 139 To bring about this understanding every secondary school should develop a policy for language across the curriculum. The responsibility for this policy should be embodied in the organizational structure of the school. (Bullock Report 1975)

It is ironic that teachers, who are in the business of transmitting information and making decisions about how it should be transmitted, should be as conservative as they are when it comes to changing and adopting new approaches to education.

What is the object of introducing a language and learning across the curriculum (LLAC) project?

All teachers must become aware of the fact that all teachers are language teachers. Most of the learning that goes on in universities, colleges and schools is dependent on language - regardless of the subject. Further a LLAC project should make all teachers aware of the particular reading, writing, listening and speaking demands of their particular subjects; make them aware that speaking and listening precede writing and reading; and that to translate spoken language into written discourse is an extremely complex and difficult process. In fact, it is as difficult as learning to draw, playing the piano or doing maths. Some people have a natural aptitude, most do not.

What then does language and learning imply in terms of re-education?

Most obviously we have to look at our attitudes towards language.

The traditional approach sees language as a passive medium by means of which information is passed from the informer to the ignorant.

Or it may be seen as something examinable, and therefore involving notions of correctness : spelling, punctuation and pronunciation being high on the list of priorities, and, of course, grammar.

It might be as well to remind ourselves at this point that traditional grammar was developed from written, not spoken, discourse - which seems like putting the cart before the horse as the written word was developed long after men had learned to speak.

However, writing skills as a rule receive the most attention in educational institutions. Reading is important, too, though it diminishes in importance and in the attention it receives after it is assumed that the child has acquired the basic decoding skill. There are other skills perhaps as important if seen only from the point of view of the amount of time people use them, and which require no less attention: listening and speaking. Unfortunately, listening and speaking are taken largely for granted as being skills that people acquire, develop and use more or less naturally, and that therefore they need not be given as much attention as the artificially acquired skills of reading and writing.

Be that as it may, most teachers when it comes to discussing and agonizing over language skills have as their top priority the written skills of their students. After all, a great deal of time and energy is expended by teachers wading through the garbled, mis-spelled, badly punctuated, tortured illogicalities that constitute their marking load in assignments, tests and exams.

Given the situation, what are other possible attitudes one might have towards language?

Looking at language in terms of its functions is a useful point of departure, particularly its heuristic function ie its exploratory function - the kind of language the learner uses to articulate and give shape to the new information with which he is trying to come to terms and internalise.

Such language, bound up as it is with the learning process, must of necessity be hesitant, tentative and relatively

unstructured.

The heuristic model is useful because it points so clearly to one of the fundamentals with which we are concerned: that language and learning are intimately related and in fact may be considered to be dependent upon one another. The heuristic use of language in fact is a necessary prerequisite to understanding any new concept.

In this regard the Bullock Report makes the following points:

> 4.10 In the Committee's view there are certain important inferences to be drawn from a study of the relationship between language and learning:
>
> (i) all genuine learning involves discovery and it is as ridiculous to suppose that teaching begins and ends with "instruction" as it is to suppose that "learning by discovery" means leaving the children to their own resources.
>
> (ii) language has a heuristic function; that is to say a child can learn by talking and writing as certainly as he can by listening and reading.
>
> (iii) to exploit the process of discovery through language in all its uses is the surest means of enabling a child to master his mother tongue.

This means that teachers must recognize that not only do their different subjects make different linguistic demands upon their students but that these demands are particularly severe when the students are being initiated into these subjects.

Further, I would go so far as to say that much of the garbled language we encounter in students' written work is in fact language that is being used heuristicly ie; language that gives evidence of the student's efforts to come to grips linguistically with the new concepts with which he is confronted.

If this is correct, then the proposition that language helps learning and learning helps language becomes all the more significant for the manner in which we lecture, set assignments and tests (and mark them).

To quote from a JCE document drawn up in 1979 under the

chairmanship of Mr Graham Walker:

> inarticulacy, more often than not, does not stem from a lack of ability in expression, and only rarely from a lack of technical knowledge about language : it stems from a lack of conceptual clarity brought about by a lack of opportunity to use language in its heuristic function. Muddled, garbled, torturous language results from muddled, garbled, torturous thinking.

What we should be intent on developing, then, are a variety of strategies that will help us to understand the complexities of language in the learning process.

What is being suggested is that the traditional roles of the teacher as presenter of information and the child as passive receiver should be changed. Recognition must be given to the centrality of language in learning; that is, to the active use of language in the learning situation.

Language must not be seen (in Dr Johnson's phrase) as merely "the dress of thought."

Focus must be on the pupils as the active users of language; on using their own language in order to learn. For, unless pupils can express a new thought or new information in their own language, they cannot truly be said to know it. All too often we expect pupils to parrot the language of textbooks or of the teacher without first using their own language to explore those new ideas. We then wonder why the results are so garbled, confused and depressing.

The teacher's job, then, is to organize activities in her class so that the children are given the maximum opportunity to talk their way through new information and thereby internalise it and make it their own.

It would be as well to remind ourselves that the pupil who cannot express himself in writing is not necessarily stupid. Very often we encounter pupils who are fluent orally but are unable to translate what they have to say into writing. If lessons and the classroom are structured so that talk can precede writing, pupils and students are very often able to acquire the confidence and understanding they need in order to begin to write coherently.

It is generally accepted that the development of language skills and the remediation of language problems are the prerogative of the English teacher or the English Department. However, a language policy assumes that all teachers are

responsible for the development of the pupils' language skills, and it implies that all teachers should be exploring the difficulties their pupils have by examining the language contexts in which their pupils' learning takes place: reading, writing, speaking and listening. One of the major priorities of a language policy is to heighten the teacher's awareness of the complexities and subtleties of language and the particular demands that their subjects make on the language skills of pupils and students.

A language policy requires that all teachers in all subjects continually explore the nature of the relation between their own discipline and language so that they can improve the quality of their pupils' thinking in their subject and by extending their talking and writing about it.

Two crucial questions need to be answered:

How do we in our different subjects allow for the central role that language plays in the learning process?

Do our lessons provide sufficient opportunity for our pupils to re-work, internalize and make their own, in talk and writing, the information we teachers are continually presenting to them?

The following questions based on those suggested by Michael Torbe may go some way to indicating the kinds of direction our thinking should be taking.

Talk: "The neglect of pupil talk as a valuable means of learning stands out sharply". (Bullock p 189).

(a) Is small group discussion appropriate in my subject? If so, when?

(b) At a practical level how much talk do I allow in my lessons?

(c) Do we give the same weight to talk as writing when we evaluate pupils' responses?

Writing:

(a) Why do we ask pupils to write?

(b) What kinds of task do we test : Could there be a greater variety?

(c) Do we teach sufficiently the different

kinds of writing we expect from our pupils eg History vs Biology vs Creative Writing vs Note taking?

(d) Who is responsible for developing pupils' writing skills?

Reading: Different subjects make different reading demands.

(a) What are the special reading demands of my subject?

(b) Is the language of textbooks, worksheets etc sufficiently clear to pupils?

(c) Is reading taught in my subject? Can I give any help with comprehension?

(d) Who do I think is responsible for developing reading skills?

Handwriting, spelling, grammar, vocabulary extension, comprehension, note-taking and corrections are some of the crucial areas in developing overall language competence. Each subject makes different demands. Every teacher is a language teacher.

It is clearly impossible for the English teacher to cope with these tasks unaided, even if the contact time were doubled. In any event the English Department was not designed to be a service department to all the other subject departments in the school.

The introduction of a language and learning policy across the curriculum is an extremely complex and sometimes confusing process.

What NOT to do.

Because different schools present different problems, each has to be treated on its own merits. You will know best what procedures to adopt and which to avoid. However, there are a number of general points that can be made that should help you to avoid failure.

Depending on how new projects are introduced to the staff at your school, try to avoid introducing the concept of language across the curriculum at a formal staff meeting. They are too big, impersonal and inflexible for something that must

encourage a heuristic response.

Beware of relying solely on written documents stating the aims and objects of language across the curriculum. Circulars have short lives. When the time comes for them to be written, in order to enshrine a commitment, ensure that they are the result of consensus.

Beware of inviting an expert to introduce the concept. They can be intimidating and confusing, and may not be aware of your unique problems. Use sparingly.

Do NOT expect to predict rapid results.

Do NOT use jargon. Say what you mean.

Try to avoid relying too heavily on the English Department. After all, we are trying to change that attitude to language.

Avoid giving the impression of empire-building.

Expect: teething troubles
opposition
slow progress

Where to begin:

Each school, as I have said, represents a unique situation. Consequently, there is no definite way to begin implementing a language policy, nor are there any short cuts. What follows is merely a number of suggestions, some of which will be more or less applicable to your particular situation.

One of the first things one has to recognize is that your school probably has a language policy already, albeit a generally assumed and unspoken rather than explicit one. A good place to begin, therefore, might be with examining and analyzing the language policy in your school. What aspects of it, you might ask yourself, are valuable and show genuine insight into the relation between language and learning? What aspects are based on sheer prejudice?

Early on, try to establish a small informal group that can meet in the staffroom during break to discuss matters of mutual interest and concern. Try to make it as representative of as many different subjects as possible.

Gradually expand the size and representation of the group by white-anting resistance.

If possible, visit one anothers' classes to observe the manner in which language operates in other subjects.

Re-arrange the furniture in your class to accommodate group work.

Tape one of your own lessons and use it as the focal point of a group discussion about the way language functions in the class. If possible, follow one of your pupils about the school for an entire day, recording the amount of time he spends reading, writing, talking and listening. It would also be useful to get copies of every piece of writing he has had to do during the day. The results can be quite startling. The figures, in graph form if possible, and the total writing production for the day could be displayed somewhere near the entrance to the staff room for maximum effect. The object is to increase the awareness of both the staff and pupils of the language demands that are being made on pupils each day.

This might be followed up by publishing on the same notice board interviews with the pupils in which they give their point of view on their language experiences. Encourage them to write about their difficulties and publish them.

Group discussions about : the language of text books, the phrasing of exam questions, the aims of the English Department.

Who organizes and runs the language across the curriculum project?

The initiator of this kind of project does not have to be an expert in linguistics or even a language teacher. The most important ingredient is enthusiasm. In fact a state of innocent ignorance is in many respects an advantage. For, instead of being weighed down by a body of theory, one can respond to the needs of the situation as they arise. Of course, the theory will assume a greater degree of importance as one proceeds; but instead of confusing oneself with a lot of abstruse theory which one tries to impose on a unique situation, it is much better to face reality first and then as the need arises explore the theory and see how closely it accords with experience.

Almost inevitably, the onus for initiating a language policy falls on the English Department. However, the English teachers, once they have given the initial impetus to the project, should try to be as unobtrusive as possible - otherwise other members of staff simply will not become involved and will leave everything to the English Department.

At JCE, only one member of the English Department is actively involved in the project.

Of course, in primary schools that still have class teachers, the situation is very much simpler. There, the teacher is a generalist and cannot but be aware of the central role language plays in learning. The primary school teacher should have little difficulty implementing a policy in her own classroom.

The initiator of a language policy has to do a great deal of Public Relations work amongst the staff. Official sanction in the form of the Principal's support is essential.

Make contact with other schools in your area that are confronted with the same problems.

It is important that the language project is seen to be working. A newsletter, display board, seminars, invited speakers from other schools, even the odd expert once things get going, all help to keep it in view.

Try to avoid getting bogged down in surface issues such as spelling and punctuation and common marking schemes.

But above all keep it simple. It takes time to assimilate the idea of a language policy. Therefore do not start off too ambitiously. Remember a language and learning project is an ongoing process. It will grow as you and your colleagues grow in awareness.

A word of warning:

> "You need the strength of the group around you for support but beware of becoming too inward looking. Its no good being happy in your closed group and then complaining because nobody else is interested... keep colleagues in touch with what you're doing in formal and informal ways". (Torbe p 39)

It might be as well to state quite categorically that such a project as I have outlined does not pretend for one moment to present the teacher with instant magic formulae that are going to work overnight in remediating students' language problems. Instead of trying to implement instant solutions, it would be much more profitable in the short-term for teachers to embark on a series of workshops designed to lead in the long-term to a greater awareness and understanding, for instance, of the importance of talk in making sense of new ideas and information. Such workshops should make use of

students' actual discourse - written and spoken - not theorize about prescriptive and perhaps prejudiced notions of correctness.

This does not mean that such issues as spelling and grammar should be ignored; far from it. However, the point I wish to make is that there are much more important issues at stake; issues that are concerned with the actual processes of thought and the clear and appropriate articulation of that thought ie with a much more profound understanding and appreciation of the relationship between language and learning than has hitherto been the case.

Finally:

"If a school devotes thought and time to assisting development, learning in all areas will be helped; if attention is given to language in the content and skill subjects, language development will be assisted powerfully by the context and purpose of those subjects".

(Michael Marland p 3)

Notes

Language across the curriculum Guidelines for schools Ward Lock Educational in association with The National Association for the Teaching of English 1977.

Language Policies in Schools, Some Aspects and Approaches School's Council Project, Writing Across the Curriculum 11-16 Ward Lock Educational 1977

Bullock Committee A Language for Life, HMSO, 1975

Michael Marland Language Across the Curriculum Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1977.

Language Policies in Action ed. Mike Torbe, Ward Lock Educational, London, 1980.

THE EFFECT OF ACTUAL AND PERCEIVED SIMILARITY ON STUDENT EVALUATION OF LECTURERS

Christopher Orpen

In terms of Heider's (1) balance theory, persons who assume that another holds beliefs and opinions congruent with their own are likely to rate the other higher on various dimensions than persons who assume that the other holds incongruent opinions and beliefs. On the basis of this theory, students who feel a lecturer holds similar attributes to themselves should evaluate the lecturer more favourably than students who feel his attitudes are dissimilar to theirs.

To test this prediction, 96 students enrolled in an Introductory Accounting course and 42 students enrolled in an English literature course completed the Byrne's (2) Survey of Attitudes Scale at the end of the six-month long course, indicating their own attitudes to a variety of issues. They then completed the scale, indicating their perception of the attitudes of their particular instructor. The two instructors also completed the scale, indicating their own attitudes. Since the various items in the scale did not correlate highly together (mean inter-item correlations in the Accounting group, $r = .12$; in the Literature group $r = .09$), Nunnally's (3) D-score was computed between each student and the relevant lecturer, to indicate their degree of profile similarity in both actual attitudes (comparing student and lecturer self-attitudes) and perceived attitudes (comparing student self-attitudes and student perceptions of lecturer attitudes). The higher the former D-scores, the greater the degree of actual similarity (AS); the higher the latter, the greater the degree of perceived similarity (PS). Just prior to writing their final course test, the students completed the 21-item Teaching Rating Form (RTF) developed by McKeachie, Lin & Mann (4). The degree of favourableness of the student evaluations of the lecturer was given by summing their responses to the various TRF items.

Results in both groups confirmed the hypotheses for perceived similarity, but not for actual similarity. Among the Accounting students, PS correlated significantly with TRF scores ($r = .29$, $p > .01$), but the correlation between AS and TRF scores was insignificant ($r = .11$, $p > .05$). Similarly, among the Literature students, TRF scores correlated significantly with PS ($r = .40$, $p > .01$), but not with AS ($r = .16$, $p > .05$).

The fact that similar results were obtained for such different students and courses suggests that these findings are fairly general. That perceived similarity should be positively related to favourable evaluations, suggests a possible 'bias' in student evaluations in favour of like-minded lecturers and against other-minded lecturers.

Notes

(1) F Heider The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations, New York : Wiley, 1958

(2) D Byrne The Attraction Paradigm, New York: Academic Press, 1971

(3) J Nunally Tests and Measurements, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959

(4) W McKeachnie, Y Lin & W Man "Student Ratings of Teacher Effectiveness" in American Educational Research Journal

ATTITUDES OF TEACHERS IN ENGLISH SPEAKING SCHOOLS AND TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA TO EDUCATION

Honey Gluckman

During 1980, 2 010 questionnaires were sent to teachers in English-medium schools and tertiary institutions throughout South Africa. 944 replies were received. This was part of a research project undertaken by a group of Johannesburg College of Education lecturers under the auspices of Professor A N Boyce. The questionnaire was designed to ascertain teachers' views on education, and the values held with regard to education. The purpose of the project was to determine whether there is consensus on educational matters amongst those teaching in English-medium institutions in South Africa.

The content of the questionnaire was based on a modified version of a document entitled "A Philosophy of Education for South Africa" drawn up in 1979 by the Education Committee of the Transvaal Teachers' Association.

The questionnaire consisted of 62 items based on a Likert-type scale and design to provoke an immediate response.

The items covered three main categories, with certain items belonging to more than one category. The first of these categories was concerned with aims of education. It sought generally to discover whether the respondents believed that educators in South Africa should stress service to the STATE; or personal development of the INDIVIDUAL. In the latter case, which aspect of individual development should be emphasized - the moral, religious, physical, intellectual or all? In modern educational jargon, should the school cater for the "whole child"?

Overall, the findings showed that respondents either favoured a balance between the individual and the State or society, or felt that the needs of the individual should take precedence over the needs of the State. There were only one or two exceptions to this finding. The following are a sample from this category.

ITEM 1

"The ideal education would be equally concerned with the needs of the individual child and the needs of the country."

ITEM 12

"The needs of the individual child are more important than the needs of the State."

ITEM 26

"The teacher's most important duty in the classroom is to promote the interests of his/her country."

S C A L E	ITEM 1 %	ITEM 12 %	ITEM 24 %
STRONGLY AGREE	30,8	26,7	1,1
AGREE	54,9	48,3	6,7
TOTAL IN AGREEMENT	85,7	75,0	7,7
DISAGREE	12,5	22,0	56,9
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1,8	3,0	35,4
TOTAL IN DISAGREEMENT	14,3	25,0	92,3

Items 8 and 44 were identical. As with another identical pair, the later item produced a more liberal response.

ITEM 8 AND 44

"A teacher should use his influence to mould his/her pupils' thinking so that they give unquestioning loyalty to those in authority."

S C A L E	% FOR ITEM 8	% FOR ITEM 44
STRONGLY AGREE	1,9	1,2
AGREE	9,5	7,0
TOTAL IN AGREEMENT	11,5	8,2
DISAGREE	35,4	41,3
STRONGLY DISAGREE	53,0	50,5
TOTAL IN DISAGREEMENT	88,4	91,8

Those items, concerned with the role of the child, parent, teacher and principal in education, showed a definite bias favour of more autonomy for the individual concerned. Below are a sample of such items:

ITEM 31

"Principals of schools should be allowed to make important educational decisions for their schools."

ITEM 43

"Offering children a choice from a wide variety of subjects in the curriculum is a waste of the State's money."

ITEM 49

"It is not the function of parents to question the decisions of education authorities."

ITEM 56

"It is not the function of teachers to question the decisions of education authorities."

S C A L E	ITEM 31 %	ITEM 43 %	ITEM 49 %	ITEM 56 %
STRONGLY AGREE	29,5	1,1	3,3	1,2
AGREE	50,9	7,7	13,4	3,6
TOTAL IN AGREEMENT	80,4	8,7	16,7	4,8
DISAGREE	16,6	50,5	56,3	39,0
STRONGLY DISAGREE	3,0	40,8	27,1	56,2
TOTAL IN DISAGREEMENT	19,6	91,3	83,4	95,2

On the issue of equality, the mandate given to the current H S R C Commission on Education, the respondents were almost unanimous, as is shown. Likewise there was similar unanimity on the role of the school as regards racial matters, as Item 19 shows.

ITEM 15

"A demand for eventual equality of Educational Opportunity for all in South Africa makes good sense."

ITEM 19

"The school must help promote inter-group harmony in South Africa."

S C A L E	ITEM 15 %	ITEM 19 %
STRONGLY AGREE	51,8	54,2
AGREE	37,5	42,0
TOTAL IN AGREEMENT	95,3	96,2
DISAGREE	2,7	2,9
STRONGLY DISAGREE	2,0	1,0
TOTAL IN DISAGREEMENT	4,7	3,9

Finally in this first category, there were items dealing with those aspects of the personal development of the child that should be stressed. Here the feeling again was almost unanimous that the whole child should be educated. The following are a sample of these items.

ITEM 9

"The education of the 'whole child' is modernistic nonsense."

ITEM 36

"The teacher's only concern is to see that children get good marks in all their subjects."

ITEM 13

"The ideal education would concentrate only on the moral growth of the child."

S C A L E	% ITEM 9	% ITEM 36	% ITEM 13
STRONGLY AGREE	1,6	0,6	0,5
AGREE	3,2	1,2	3,0
TOTAL IN AGREEMENT	4,8	1,8	3,5
DISAGREE	39,8	28,7	64,2
STRONGLY DISAGREE	55,4	69,5	32,3
TOTAL IN DISAGREEMENT	95,2	98,2	96,5

The only aspect of individual development which respondents believed should be stressed, was the religious aspect. In both items 18, and Item 62, the majority of replies showed a belief that the religious side of education was necessary.

ITEM 18

"The school dare not neglect the religious education of the child."

ITEM 62

"Religion should have no place in the school curriculum."

S C A L E	% ITEM 18	% ITEM 62
STRONGLY AGREE	17,6	5,1
AGREE	42,6	8,4
TOTAL IN AGREEMENT	60,3	13,5
DISAGREE	30,5	50,9
STRONGLY DISAGREE	9,2	35,6
TOTAL IN DISAGREEMENT	39,7	86,5

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FOR CATEGORY 1

An examination of all the items comprising this category, shows that the majority of teachers in English-medium institutions of education in South Africa who replied to the

questionnaire believe that education must cater more for the personal needs of the INDIVIDUAL child, than for the needs of the STATE. Moreover, this applies not only to White children, but to ALL children in South Africa. The respondents do NOT see the teacher as an agent for inculcating the views or interests of the State. Finally, they want more autonomy for the persons concerned in the educational situation, and less control by the State or education authorities.

It was stated earlier that there were a few exceptions to the generally agreed findings of the first category. The exceptions, inconsistencies really, came with the following 3 items.

ITEM 3

"Education should give the utmost priority to the development of citizens totally committed to promote the welfare of South Africa."

ITEM 37

"It is not the job of the teacher to encourage a feeling of patriotism in children."

ITEM 38

"Obedience to those in authority is of fundamental importance in the moral development of children."

S C A L E	% ITEM 3	% ITEM 38	% ITEM 37
STRONGLY AGREE	15,2	12,2	8,7
AGREE	31,9	51,1	30,6
TOTAL IN AGREEMENT	47,1	63,3	39,3
DISAGREE	39,0	27,6	51,8
STRONGLY DISAGREE	13,9	9,1	8.9
TOTAL IN DISAGREEMENT	52,9	36,7	60,7

Taking into account the very strong bias against education for the sake of the State, one would have expected many more to disagree with Items 3 and 38, and agree with Item 37. The reason for these inconsistencies could well lie with a peculiarity of South African society. It is generally agreed that the majority of Afrikaans-speaking people in South Africa support the present government, while the majority of English-speaking voters are in opposition to the political party presently in power; viz the Nationalist Party. It is possible, therefore, that in agreeing with Item 12, and disagreeing with Items 8 and 24 (see previous pages), respondents were equating "those in authority", "State" and "country" with the present government in power. Possibly if their own party were in power they might have given a different response to these items. On the other hand, in Item 3, "South Africa" could have been interpreted as all the peoples of South Africa, and not just the government in power; for Item 37, patriotism could have been interpreted as love of the whole country - not just the party in power. Item 38, however, remains inconsistent with the findings already discussed, and those still to be discussed.

The second category of items was concerned with the teachers' attitudes to and beliefs about the nature of the child. In religious terms - is the child BORN SINFUL, and must therefore be constantly led and moulded, or is he BORN NATURALLY GOOD, and therefore to be trusted and given freedom.

The overall responses to the fifteen items in this category showed that the majority of teachers in English-medium schools, view the child in a positive light; as one who can be trusted to be given the freedom to make choices in a responsible manner. The following are a sample of responses to this category.

ITEM 10

"A child who is allowed freedom will invariably abuse it."

ITEM 16

"A teacher should never punish or reprimand a child who 'answers back' without considering why the child had done so."

ITEM 51

"The teacher should act as a guide and consultant in a democratically organised classroom."

ITEM 57

"A good teacher lays down the law and allows no argument."

S C A L E	% ITEM 10	% ITEM 16	% ITEM 51	% ITEM 57
STRONGLY AGREE	2,2	14,9	29,8	1,3
AGREE	14,9	60,4	56,9	3,8
TOTAL IN AGREEMENT	17,1	75,3	86,7	5,1
DISAGREE	60,1	21,0	11,8	36,9
STRONGLY DISAGREE	22,7	3,7	1,5	58,0
TOTAL IN DISAGREEMENT	82,8	24,7	13,3	94,9

Items 35 and 58 were both the same viz.

"If a child is given too much freedom to think as he pleases, he cannot be trusted to display loyalty in times of national crisis." As with Items 8 and 44, which were also identical, the later response was the more liberal one.

S C A L E	% ITEM 35	% ITEM 58
STRONGLY AGREE	4,7	1,9
AGREE	30,7	20,6
TOTAL IN AGREEMENT	35,4	22,5
DISAGREE	43,1	48,2
STRONGLY DISAGREE	21,6	29,3
TOTAL IN DISAGREEMENT	64,7	77,5

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FOR CATEGORY II

An examination of all the items in this category, shows that the great majority of responding teachers in English-medium

schools, sees the child in a positive light, as one who can be trusted, and given a certain amount of freedom. Only Item 32 did not fit the overall pattern of this category. It stated:

"A teacher should refrain from imposing authority in educating a child." If the pattern was to remain consistent, the majority should have agreed with this item, since "impose" implies force of some kind.

ITEM 32

S C A L E	%
STRONGLY AGREE	3,1
AGREE	16,0
TOTAL IN AGREEMENT	19,1
DISAGREE	63,1
STRONGLY DISAGREE	17,8
TOTAL IN DISAGREEMENT	80,9

At this stage of a first report, it is difficult to give a reason for this inconsistency. Possibly the authoritarian bias of South African society has influenced this response? However, much more thought will have to be given to this item.

The final category was concerned with the teachers' views on how knowledge is best acquired and how truth can be reached. This category will relate then, to methods a teacher will choose to use in his/her classroom.

ITEM 6

"The teacher's role is to develop in the child, the spirit of enquiry and independent thinking."

ITEM 17

"The teacher's word should never be challenged or criticised."

ITEM 25

"As the child reaches the desired stage of maturity, all subjects should be open to critical discussion."

ITEM 55

"Debate and discussion are modern fads and have little value in the learning situation."

	% ITEM 6	% ITEM 17	% ITEM 25	% ITEM 55
STRONGLY AGREE	79,3	1,5	39,7	0,5
AGREE	20,3	3,4	53,1	1,4
TOTAL IN AGREEMENT	99,6	4,9	92,8	1,9
DISAGREE	0,4	55,0	6,4	45,5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	0,0	40,1	0,8	52,6
TOTAL IN DISAGREEMENT	0,4	95,1	7,2	98,1

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FOR CATEGORY III

The overall responses to this category were almost unanimous. Practically all the teachers in English-medium institutions who responded to this questionnaire affirm a belief in reason, discussion and open criticism.

CONCLUSION

This first report has shown that there is indeed a strong degree of agreement amongst teachers at English-medium institutions of education in South Africa.

A following report will analyse the 62 responses in greater detail in relation to different aspects of the respondents ie their sex, their home language, the province they come from and the institution at which they trained as teachers. Written comments and specific remarks on many questionnaires will also be analysed.

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EDUCATION IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY: HOW IDEOLOGY FUNCTIONS

Janet Shapiro

1 EDUCATION AS PART OF A STRUCTURAL WHOLE

Education cannot be understood apart from the social context in which it operates. In a capitalist society education functions to socialize people about the way things appear to be, rather than how they are, or could be. It treats appearance as reality, and in so doing, reflects and reproduces the existing social relations of production. Bantu education, for instance, is an aspect of reproduction of the capitalist division of labour in South Africa. Education in itself is not the cause of repression and inequality - that lies in the structure and functioning of the capitalist economy. (13) Rather, it functions not only to reproduce skills, but also to reproduce "submission to the rules of the established order," (1) and it does this by ideology rather than violence Althusser continues: "Each mass (of children/students) ejected en route is practically provided with the ideology which suits the role it has to fulfil in class society: the role of the exploited...; the role of the agent of exploitation.., of the agents of repression... or of the professional ideologist."

He sees education as the most important of what he calls the ideological state apparatuses (ISAs), for, given that most children experience something like five to eight hours of schooling, 5 days a week, no other ISA has such an obligatory audience.

The discussion which follows makes use of this Althusserian notion of ISAs, but with the reservation that this use should not be carried to extremes.

However, the ISAs do not determine roles in any simple way.

There exists a contradiction between education as a tool used by the dominant class for maintaining, ideologically, the material subordination of the masses, and the necessity for education, in whatever context, to provide students with basic skills such as reading and writing, to encourage, however limitedly, thinking and questioning. Whatever the intention of the rulers, the potential for the ruled to use these skills, to serve their own interests in the class struggle, remains and has been, and is being, used in South Africa.

Any student of education, must, therefore, take into account both the functions and dysfunctions of education for any particular group or class, and should take note of "...education's capacity to supply socially disruptive knowledge to groups capable of using it, and of wider economic and political forces which can place education's social control function under substantial stress." (14)

The varying possibilities which actors in a situation have to define reality, and enforce their definition of reality, derives from the distribution of power and authority in the macro structure. The actor's acceptance of the definitions of others and the way in which those definitions constitute the reality of his/her existence, is neither of merely subjective, nor merely of individual significance; it has its roots in the objective structures of the society in terms of which certain social definitions are available to subjects, while others are not.

For Althusser, "all ideology has the function (which defines it) of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects", ie it interpellates or hails individuals as subjects. Interpellated as subjects, these subjects are inserted into practices governed by the ISAs, whereby they 'recognize' the existing state of affairs.

Interpellations are made through ISAs such as the family and education. They are not merely ideas, operating at the level of consciousness, but are rooted in material reality. In South Africa, an interpellation in terms of race (as opposed, for instance, to an interpellation in terms of class) is the most immediately available one, and this interpellation is functional to the specific form of

capitalism than operates here. Interpellation is not merely something which operates at an isolated, individual level. In the school context, for instance, interpellation as 'pupil' is significant because of the implications of the pupil/teacher dichotomy in a stratified society where hierarchical interpellations are dominant. Interpellations are the hailing of people as subjects in terms of some defining feature (eg skin colour, sex), and hence as different from those who do not share that feature, and the same as those who do. They are, therefore, potentially sources of both antagonism and solidarity, and, as such, they determine largely what form resistance to the dominant group will take. Thus, for example, blacks may redefine themselves as in the Black consciousness movement, in positive, but, nevertheless, racial terms, without actually challening the structures which give rise to the racial interpellation. Whether opposition to 'ethnic' education in South Africa has been limited to such antagonistic responses, is something which needs further exploration.

The point is that the labels with which the actor identifies his experience of domination or antagonism are themselves largely determined by the ideological discourse of the macro society, a discourse which is an intrinsic part of the relations of an historically specific mode of production.

When looking at education in a capitalist society, the role of the State becomes of central importance. The state in a capitalist society is never neutral and represents, ultimately, the overall interest of capital because the interests of various fractions of capital are not always identical, and because the state is also an arena of class struggle, the role of the State in education is not uncontradictory.

2 THE ROLE OF THE STATE

Although in the course of the class struggle, working class pressure may force the State to take action which is not, apparently, in the short-term interests of capital, the major and long-term direction of the State will be to the benefit of capital. The capitalist state must ensure that the capitalist social formation reproduces itself. One of the ways in which the State has, traditionally, been called upon to fulfil this function, is through ensuring the continued extraction of surplus value, from a stratified labour force. The State will act to reproduce this stratified labour force, with varying degrees of skill, in order to satisfy the conflicting demands of various fractions of capital. Education plays an important role in

this, both at the technological and the ideological levels. Not only must the technological needs be supplied, but this must be done in the context of an ideological perspective which ensures that those who receive least of the educational and material resources available, accept this unequal distribution as being 'natural' and 'right'. Through education (among other institutions), the State is involved in reproducing technically and ideologically qualified agents who can then be slotted into suitable places in a fluid and hierarchical division of labour. The apparent separation of the State and the economy is a result of the specific nature of capitalism. The State and its institutions are, in fact, part of the relations of production, although, by virtue of their distinct nature, they do maintain a relative autonomy from it. Levitas (11) sees societies where exploitation is part of the culture, as generating institutions whose special task is to maintain the form of exploitation in practice. Thus in such a society, education and educational institutions tend to play their part in winning support and assent to existing economic and political relationships.

This winning of assent has both an ideological and an economic dimension, for it is this assent which ensures that agents will be available for various positions in the occupational hierarchy, and that they will fill those positions without complaint or disruption. The State must ensure that the working class reaps a limited number of material benefits and wins a limited number of concessions. That these limited benefits and concessions can satisfy the working class needs to be understood in context of Gramsci's notion of hegemony. Hegemony (while it represents the interests of a particular class) is what constitutes reality for people in a society, it is part of the fabric of the existence of everyone within a particular society, and it is the hegemonic discourse which determines what interpellations are available in a social formation, and hence, what form any challenge will take.

In South Africa, for instance, challenges to Bantu education have, in the past, taken the form of demands by Blacks for an education as good as that for Whites, rather than a challenge to the whole hierarchical structure of education. Racism rather than capitalism has been challenged, for that is the most easily available ideological discourse. The connection has not, as the whole, been made between racist ideology and economic practicality, so that when the former was challenged, the economic system which had used it was left unchallenged.

Education must be understood historically for, depending on the circumstances, it may function either as a democratising agent in political development or as an agent in the hands of a controlling elite which attempts to perpetuate its position of power. The contention here is that, in a capitalist society, education functions to feed workers into different levels in the occupational structure, in terms both of skills and expectations. Moreover, in so-called democratic societies, where occupational stratification is supposedly a function of merit rather than birth, educational achievements serve as a justification for the disparity in rewards at the varying occupational levels.

In other words, its integrative function is the crucial aspect of education in a capitalist society. This integration takes place on the basis of "the relations of competition and concurrence and not on the relations of heredity", (9) and because of this education becomes more important than the family as an ideological and economic state apparatus. While a child may learn rudimentary lessons about the acceptance of hierarchy and unquestioned authority within the family, nevertheless, the necessary degree of impersonality and supposed meritocratic objectivity and efficiency cannot be learned at home. It is here that schooling performs such an essential role. Within the South African social formation, Bantu education is designed to make "the native more intelligent, more civilised and more loyal and (to increase) his wants". (from the Eiselen Commission, quoted in 'Rebusoajoang', 1979). Thus, its intention is to create a disciplined and malleable workforce and to increase the dependency of potential workers on the commodities of capitalist production - this is a double dependency, both as consumer and wage-earner, the former role necessitating the latter. According to 'Rebusoajoang':

> "the economy needs a stream of literate, computing workers, comprehending and articulating at least one language spoken by their white superiors. The best way to obtain this is to increase their 'wants' in part through education. At the same time, to satisfy the white electorate, these skills should not lead to expectations." (1979 : 236)

At the economic level, education is intended to slot people into positions within the capitalist division of labour, providing them with necessary skills, but, more importantly, at the ideological level, providing them with a justification for those positions being highly disparate in terms of the power and wealth they can command. Thus the economic and

ideological levels are intricately intertwined. In a society which holds, ideologically, to the notion of free enterprise, entrepreneurship, individualism and personal creativity and initiative, the education system is supposed to provide for an individual social mobility. Indeed, in isolated instances, it does, but only very limitedly, since in a stratified society, there must inevitably be few 'winners' to very many 'losers'.

Who the winners and losers will be is, on the whole, predetermined not only, but certainly not least, by the education system which operates. This is something which liberal analyses of the South African education system have failed to confront adequately.

Thus, liberal alternatives would aim to improve the process and result of school, particularly at the level of the individual's experience of and benefit from, education. The means used for these improvements would be reform within the present system, leaving basic structures unaltered. The idea is to make the existing system work more productively and more humanely, teaching the same things better, but taking for granted what is taught. They are, thus, as Karier (10) puts it: "dedicated to the survival of the system through growth". The assumption is that people are differently equipped, by nature or social origins, to occupy the varied economic and social levels in society, and that the role of education is to sort out, on the basis of a hypothetical 'equality of opportunity', just how they are equipped and for what they are best suited.

What this liberal viewpoint does not recognise, is that the integrative role of schools is only partially technological - children do not learn only skills, but also relations of hierarchy, subordination, resignation; that the egalitarian objective is based on the false assumption that in a class-stratified society there can be equality of opportunity in the schools; that children who are learning primarily to accept their integration into a class stratified society, cannot also develop their potential fully.

Thus, the liberal analysis of Bantu education has tended to focus on facilities and figures, and to see these in the light of the needs of the economy and the obligations of morality. Because the analysis is not holistic, it does not grasp that the needs of the capitalist economy and the obligations of morality are often incompatible. The result is the myth of social mobility through education.

3 THE MYTH OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

The myth of social mobility is that anyone can make it if he tries hard enough, and, conversely, that those who do not make it have only themselves to blame. This myth serves as an ideological element which shifts the emphasis of inequality from structures to individuals. It suggests that the changes needed are at the individual level and transforms what are objective structural chances of social mobility into internalized subjective expectations and resignation. A working class child does not usually "expect" to become a professional. It is assumed that this is a free choice, and that if he or she did want to become a doctor or a lawyer, the educational system would provide him or her with the same opportunity for acquiring the necessary qualifications as it provides for middle class children. Given an equal amount of intelligence and industry on the part of the would-be professional, he or she is assumed to be on a par with the middle class child, and the fact that some students from working class backgrounds have made it to the top in their professions, is taken as proof of the reality of social mobility.

The syllabi and text-books, the I Q tests, the teachers, the language used, in the education system are all based in a middle class direction. The middle class child has better facilities for studying at home, better libraries, better equipment at school, parents who share a common background with the majority of teachers, and is probably better fed, better taught and more encouraged. In South Africa, among the black working class, the belief that education is the key to a better life was, until recently, firmly entrenched. While, since 1976, the myth seems to be crumbling, nevertheless it maintains a certain credibility among the older generation in South Africa. (4 and 16)

The very form of education, however, circumvents such lack of credibility and serves to integrate the child into the hierarchical, authoritarian structure of a typical work situation in an industrial society.

4 THE FORM OF EDUCATION

Bowles and Gintis, (3) in Schooling in Capitalist America, stress the form rather than the content of education, emphasising the correspondence between relations of authority and subordination in the classroom and the workplace.

They maintain that the education system's ability to reproduce the consciousness of workers lies in a

straightforward correspondence principle, the correspondence between school structure and class structure. This suggests that the correspondence between the social relations of schooling and work accounts for the ability of the educational system to produce an amenable and fragmented labour force; Thus, "the lowest levels in the hierarchy of the enterprise emphasize rule following, middle levels, dependability, and the capacity to operate without direct and continuous supervision while the higher levels stress the internalization of the norms of the enterprise". (7) In an article written in 1977, Bowles stresses the distinction between controller and controlled in the work place and the way in which this corresponds with a similar distinction in the classroom. The form in which classroom teaching takes place emphasizes discipline, punctuality, acceptance of authority and individual accountability, all of which are highly suitable 'skills' to bring to a job in a factory. (2)

While both Sarup (13) and Heyns (8) criticize the Bowles and Ginti thesis for overstressing the smoothness of the correspondence, there is certainly a link between school and workplace, between changes in the economy and the educational system, and this link is reflected in both the form and the content of the education received by children at school. In South Africa, the lack of facilities, teachers and equipment in Bantu education schools, the often untrained and overworked teachers, lead to an authoritarian ethos, with an emphasis on rote-learning, and a high premium on obedience and punctuality, rather than on creativity and independence. However unintended these particular consequences of the differential education system may be, nevertheless, they do slot in well with the major part of the workforce demands of mining, industrial and agricultural capital.

5 DIFFERENTIAL EDUCATION

Behind the policy of differential education, is the assumption that the class structure is immutable, and in a highly stratified racial oligarchy such as South Africa, class and race largely (although certainly not totally) correspond. This assumption is fueled by the cycle effect of providing an education which trains people according to their 'opportunities in life'. "This concept of differentiated curricula uses the expected future to match child and curriculum" (5) and takes as given the problematic notion that working class children, or black children, have restricted futures. By accepting this without question, and providing a limited education to match that restricted

future, differential education ensures the continuation of the cycle. The logic is that of "The American White (who) relegates the black to the rank of shoeshine boy; and he concludes from this that the black is good for nothing but shining shoes." (6)

Bantu education is an example par excellence of differential education. It would, however, be a mistake to see differential education in South Africa as simply one of the "ways in which South African governments have used funds, political ideas, and administrative practices to implement a public policy aimed at furthering racial inequality." (15) Certainly, Bantu education has served to further racial inequality, but Tillema underemphasises the fact that South African governments have been more concerned with maintaining the specific form of capitalist domination that exists in South Africa, than in maintaining an irrational racial inequality. While Bantu education may be an extreme example of differential education policy, nevertheless, such a policy is not peculiar to South Africa, and has historically played a role in many capitalist industrial societies. Explanations, then, must go beyond racial prejudice. Differential education is, in fact, used by the State to meet the capitalist need for a stratified labour force. It provides a modicum of the necessary basic skills to the masses, thus ensuring that they can fit into a modern industrial society. It also attempts to ensure that the skills imparted are limited enough not to give the masses 'ideas above their station'.

But perhaps more important in this regard, is the way in which differential education, with its usual implications of fewer resources and less money used, per Black child, enables the cost of reproduction of labour power to be kept down. In a stratified education system it is possible to reproduce both a mass of cheap labour power, and a necessary, but limited, supply of more skilled, and, hence, more expensive labour. The significance of Bantu education would lie, not so much in its ideological content, nor in the limited skills which it imparts, but in the very fact that it is different. Differential education is thus a convenient way of distributing people among various occupations and the varying degrees of wealth, power and privilege that go with those occupations.

Clearly, the more people that have the same qualifications, the less those qualifications are worth as a basis for occupational distribution and access to wealth. A system of differential education ensures an over-supply of minimally skilled people whose position at the bottom of the

hierarchical occupation pyramid can be justified in educational terms, and whose abundant numbers ensure a docile and cheap labour force for capital. It is the assumption that educational inequality leads to economic inequality that lies at the base of the liberal assumption that economic inequality can be overcome by mass education. The solution to the problem is thus seen not in questioning the economic system, but in allowing more of the poor, the black, the disinherited to enter the middle class through improved education. (13) Hussein's argument, however, makes the point, that the role of education in ultimately providing a middle class status for more than a small minority of the working class is strictly limited within a capitalist social formation. (9) Education alone can change nothing.

Thus, in South Africa, even if overtly differential education were to be removed, as long as the labour market remained structurally differentiated by race, changes in the education system would mean little.

Notes

(1) L Althusser "Ideology and ideological State Apparatuses: Notes towards an investigation" in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, London: NLB, 1971.

(2) S Bowles "Unequal education and the reproduction of the Social division of labour" in J Karable and A Halsey Power and Ideology in Education, NY: OUP, 1977.

(3) S Bowles and H Gintis Schooling in Capitalist America, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.

(4) J Cock Maids and Madams, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1980.

(5) J Coleman "Equality of education opportunity" in School and Society. London: Open University, 1977.

(6) S de Beavoir The Second Sex, London: Penguin, 1979.

(7) H Gintis "Education and Development," in Education and Development NUSAS, CT: 1979.

(8) B Heyns Review of Bowles and Gintis, American Journal of Sociology v 83 No 4 1978.

(9) A Hussein "The economy and the educational system in capitalist societies" Economy and Society v 5 No 4 Nov 1976.

(10) C J Karier "Liberalism and the quest for orderly changes" in R Dale et al (eds) Schooling and Capitalism London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.

(11) M Levitas Marxist Perspectives in the Sociology of Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.

(12) Rebusoajoang "Education and Social Control in South Africa" African affairs vol 178 no 311 April 1979.

(13) M Sarup Marxism and Education London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.

(14) T Tapper and B Salter Education and the Political Order London: MacMillan 1978.

(15) R Tillema Apartheid in South African Education Wisconsin: Unpublished Thesis, 1974.

(16) M J Wilsworth Transcending the Culture of Poverty in a Black South African Township, Rhodes: Unpublished Thesis, 1979.

EDUCATION AND CLASS STRUGGLE

Linda Chisholm and Kelwyn Sole

Shapiro's article is useful in arguing that explanations for the South African education system must go beyond seeking its roots in totalitarianism and racial ideology, and find these, rather, in the class relations of a society in which race has been used to obscure the basic dynamics of power. It falls far short, however, of providing an adequate analysis of the role that either education or ideology plays in a capitalist society, and particularly, in education in South Africa. This is largely because she relies overwhelmingly on the analyses of Althusser (1) and Bowles and Gintis (2), which tend to ahistorical, mechanistic accounts of education which pay little heed to class struggle as a fundamental feature of class society. As such, Shapiro's article sheds little light on education as a 'battlefront of class struggle' (despite her claims), on the role of ideology in this battle and, indeed, on the specific nature of SA education. She has a tendency to make sweeping, abstract generalisations and, more crucially, to lead the reader towards a functionalist interpretation of education in capitalist society which underplays the shaping role in these struggles of resistance from the dominated classes. The emphasis on class and popular struggles as well as determinant class structures has important implications for practice.

For Shapiro, 'the capitalist state must ensure that the capitalist social formation reproduces itself.' (p 101) It does this through creating a stratified labour force '...in order to satisfy the conflicting demands of various fractions of capital. Education plays an important role in this, both at the technological and ideological levels... Through education...the state is involved in reproducing technologically and ideologically qualified agents who can then be slotted into suitable places in a fluid and hierarchical division of labour.' (p 101-2) Education thus slots 'qualified agents' into a capitalist division of labour. The role of ideology is to mask the real function of education - reproduction of class relations - by interpellating subjects in a way which ensures their subjection to the ruling ideology.

We want to look at three areas in this conceptualisation which raise specific problems for the analysis of South

African education. The first is the relationship between state and capital; the second is the reproduction of class relations through education and the third is the notion of ideology espoused by Shapiro. This will lead on to a discussion about implications.

1 State and Capital:

Shapiro posits an unproblematic relationship between state and capital which derives its inspiration, though none of its subtlety, from the Poulantzian and 'capital-logic' analysts of the state. (3) There are significant differences of emphasis between the two. For Poulantzas the state is a factor of social cohesion, and for the 'capital-logic' school it is responsible for securing overall reproduction of conditions for capital accumulation. Accordingly, Shapiro argues that 'the state is never neutral and represents, ultimately, the overall interest of capital' (p 101); and 'the major and long-term direction of the state will be to the benefit of capital.' (p 101) There is not much to argue with here except that the statements are made at a level of generality which pre-empt anything but a banal analysis of education in South Africa.

Central to the analyses of Poulantzas and the 'capital-logic' school is the attempt to avoid economism and instrumentalism where the state is seen as a mere instrument of capital responding automatically to capital's 'needs.' For Poulantzas, the state's functioning must be seen in terms of political struggles between classes and their fractions, where the dominant class itself is not a monolithic body, but is heterogeneously stratified. Hence the ensemble of state apparatuses, including ideological apparatuses, should be seen in terms of whether they secure the needs of various capitals at work (be it mining, manufacturing or agricultural capital) and how their functioning reflects class struggles. The needs of capital are thus not homogeneous, and conflicting demands can be made on the state. The state is, moreover, located within an arena of class struggle, subject as much to the influence of various class and popular-democratic struggles as to the 'needs' of various fractions of capital. The general forms of intervention of the state will vary not only with changes in economic structure, but will also be modified in crucial ways depending on the balance of class forces at work at any one particular time. Here the 'capital-logic' school is important in analysing the constraints on state action for securing conditions for capital accumulation.

No amount of abstract analyses of the functionality of the

state to the needs of capital will, however, explain adequately, for example, why or how state intervention in education takes specific forms at specific times and why these forms of intervention change. These can only be understood in terms of concrete analyses of class struggle and the manner in which educational, and other reproductive institutions, mediate these conflicts, and the specificity of educational institutions under study.

Shapiro implies a cause-effect relationship between the state and education which minimizes the dialectical relationship between the two, and does not take sufficient cognisance of the impact of those forces outside education and the state which mediate their relationship - here we are thinking of different ideological and political factors such as cultural groupings, the family, religion, sex and so on. The shifting nature of the relationship between the state and education is determined by, but in no way simplistically reflects, wider class struggles. This prevents her from being able to analyse the specificty of class struggles around education in South Africa: one is never clear what she means when she invokes 'class struggles' as an explanatory factor.

So, while Shapiro's analysis can therefore link the introduction of Bantu Education with the overall need to reproduce a docile, semi-skilled labour force, it cannot explain why the state at present, is not responding to the urgently-expressed demands of various fractions of capital for reform. (4) An adequate analysis of this would have to consider the specific conjuncture in which the state is located at present. From the point of view of the dominated classes, too, Shapiro's framework would be unable to stand the differences between education protests and boycotts in 1976 and 1980: what is initially a demand for equal education is transmuted, in the later period, to an overall criticism of the educational system as a whole and the unequal society which spawns it. This obviously cannot be reduced to 'education's capacity to supply socially disruptive knowledge to groups capable of using it,' (p 100), but must be seen in terms of the social conflicts at work in the broader society.

Reproduction of class relations through education:

Shapiro relies heavily on the Althusserian argument that individuals are slotted into the division of labour through an educational apparatus that provides them with the technological and ideological skills necessary for their submission. She also argues, along lines articulated by

Bowles and Gintis, that children learn 'relations of hierarchy, subordination and resignation' (p 104) which correspond to those relations required of them in the work-place. 'There is certainly a link between school and workplace, between changes in the economy and the educational system, and this link is reflected in both the form and content of the education received by children at school.' (p 106) Thus the state educational apparatus fulfills its function of reproduction of class relations. The problem of the relation between education and the economy has been recognised by a number of writers of late. We want to focus on two criticisms made of Atlhusser, adduced by Shapiro but not articulated into her analysis.

Shapiro makes the fundamental mistake of conflating the division of labour and relations of production within capitalist society. While she is careful to use the term 'division of labour' rather than 'relations of production' thus hoping to avoid the criticism, the thrust of her argument is that education is a means by which the state reproduces overall class relations. However, as Hirst has pointed out,

> The division of the labour force into categories and into the relations of production do not correspond in capitalism. Classes and divisions of the labour force into functional groups are not the same thing. Capitalist production creates the conditions of the following economic classes: wage-labourers, capitals (industrial, commercial, interest-bearing and landed) and petit-bourgeois. These classes do not correspond to the division of the labour-force: managerial, manual/non-manual, skilled/unskilled.(5)

It is thus important to distinguish between how classes are constituted and the specific role education plays in this and how education, on the other hand, channels people into a complex division of labour. It is important to note here the qualification made by Athar Hussain that, while educational qualifications serve as the basis for occupational distribution, the latter is determined outside the education system. Here the labour market is crucial in providing the link between education and the economy. (6) Shapiro's analysis of differential education as the primary stratifying mechanism in capitalist society thus falls into the trap of seeing education as determinant and not operant within a complex field of relations of production. 'Differential education is thus a convenient way of distributing people among various occupations and varying degrees of wealth, power and privilege that go with those

occupations.' (p 107)

Her emphasis on the forms of consciousness that are developed in schools which accustom pupils to forms of control in the labour-process, suffers a similar weakness. As Fluxman, in response to Bowles and Gintis, has noted,

> More importantly, it is the fact that workers are excluded from ownership and control of the means of production...that explains why workers in the first place are prepared to subject themselves to forms of domination in the labour-process

and

> (the claim that education slots ideologically-qualified agents into a hierarchical division of labour) is so general that its effect is to hide the specific differences between social institutions with respect to their functions and modalities of operation. In fact, the relations of power and authority differ widely from institution to institution: the social cohesion of the family is maintained by the following kinds of things - love, respect, physical strength, guilt, legally sanctioned authority; that of the school via different forms of humiliation, different forms of punishment, rewards and legal sanctions; that of the firm by manipulation, duty, humiliation, respect and...above all, by the economic compulsion to work... Hence the ability of the educational system and, indeed, other reproductive systems, to produce forms of consciousness functional to capitalist production cannot be accounted for only by reference to structural features that they possess in common with production. In order to be able to provide an explanation of the functioning of these different kinds of institutions, a theoretical account of the specifity of power relations in each must be produced. (7)

In South Africa, too, the ISAs have patently failed to reproduce successfully either the skills required by capital or the ideological submission to its forms of control. It is a moot point whether the state has 'achieved' hegemony on a wider level - this very lack of hegemony is perhaps an important factor why widespread dissent occurs amongst scholars and why scholar protests are so often met with repressive action such as teargas and detentions. Despite her constant invoking of Althusser, Shapiro does not discuss the other side of his ISA coin - the RSAs. The role of the latter in South Africa should be, we hope, evident to all.

Furthermore, Bantu Education is an aspect of reproduction of the capitalist mode of production: but it is a form of reproduction evolved according to the specific historical dictates of power and control in SA. For a comprehensive study of the role of Bantu Education as a form of ideological control, she would need to examine changing class structures in SA we well as changing state strategies towards education.

3 Ideology:

Shapiro uses the notion 'ideology', but refers only to the ruling class as its agents of organisation. Ruling ideology is inscribed in material practices; '...the labels with which the actor identifies his experience of domination or antagonism is largely determined by the ideological discourse of the macro society'. (p 101) Through ideology, organised in the ISAs, of which the major one is the educational ISA, working class consent to subordination in the work-place is obtained, and a disciplined and malleable work-force is created. Responses on the part of the oppressed are distorted reflections of this dominant discourse (Shapiro cites the example of black consciousness). The major problem with this conceptualisation is that interpellations are limited to those of the ruling class, ie there are no other available interpellations but those organised by ruling class ideology. There is thus no room for interpellations of, for example, race and sex, also inscribed in material practices, that are not reducible to class and that have a historical specificity of their own. There is also no room in Shapiro's analysis for the development of ideologies of the exploited (other than in distorted form), resulting in ideological struggles and their possibilities for transformative practice.

As we have alluded to earlier, Shapiro resolves this problem by paying lip-service to the importance of the contradiction between the intention of the rulers and the necessity of education to provide skill which can be used in the interests of the class struggle. Applied to South Africa, this is tantamount to saying that it is only because of the availability of certain skills taught through Bantu Education that there have developed forms of resistance to this education.

The way out of this impasse can only be made through a re-evaluation of the Althusserian problematic. As Goran Therborn has stated,

> (Althusser) discusses how individuals are constituted,

> but not how classes are constituted as struggling forces, resisting exploitation and activity engaging in it...'Struggle' does not follow logically from the concept of relations of production, from the definition of classes as occupying the places of producers and appropriators of surplus labour...The problem to be explained...is how members of different classes come to define their world and their situation and possibilities in it in a particular way. (8)

Although class interpellations are, in a real sense, the definitive factors in ideological struggle in South Africa, other mediating factors and forces are obviously at work which influence struggles in education. Crucially, a concrete analysis of the ensemble of classes in struggle opens the way towards a clearer understanding of the limits and possibilities of struggles within education. Of course, it is crucial that the form and manner in which education is undertaken should be also subjected to scrutiny: this would include, for instance, the range of social contradictions manifested both inside and outside the classroom; the prevalence of hierarchical, authoritarian structures in the school (and strategies to counter these); the role of teachers as agents of ideology or counter-ideology, and so on.

However, the dynamic relationship between education and the society at large must constantly be borne in mind; education is not, and can never be, separated from the society in which it operates. A linking of educational with community and worker struggles is imperative for the transformation of capitalist education.

Notes

(1) L Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays, London: New Left Books, 1971.

(2) S Bowles and H Gintis Schooling in Capitalist America, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.

(3) See, for example, N Poulantzas Political Power and Social Classes, London: New Left Books, 1973, and J Holloway and S Picciotto, (ed) State and Capital, London: Edward Arnold, 1978, and Bob Jessop "Recent

Theories of the Capitalist State" in Cambridge Journal of Economics, (1) 1977.

(4) Acknowledgment to Paul Hendler, Education Research Officer of the SAIRR, for raising this question in discussion.

(5) P Hirst, "Althusser and the Theory of Ideology" Economy and Society, 5, 1976.

(6) A Hussain, "The Economy and the Educational System in Capitalist Society" Economy and Society, 5, 1976.

(7) Tony Fluxman, 'Education and the Economy: A Critique of S Bowles and H Gintis' "Schooling in Capitalist America"', unpublished paper, 1980.

(8) Goran Therborn The Power of Ideology and the Ideology of Power, London: New Left Books, 1980.

SUBJECTS AND SUBJECTION: A COMMENT

Johan Muller and Mary Crewe

Shapiro summarises the conventional Marxist position by showing the multiple intimate links between the state, the economic structure and its requirements, and the forms of education which service them.

The Althusserian thesis with which Shapiro begins makes an important dual claim:-

(i) Individuals/subjects are produced (interpellated, hailed) by ideology.

(ii) Social relations of production are reproduced by the production of individuals/subjects. (1)

Education, according to this thesis, is crucially involved in both activities. While we do not agree with the various objections to this thesis on the grounds of anti-humanism, ahistoricism etc., there are two positions which we find problematic from the point of view of education, a theory of ideology and the position of the subject in both. These two positions are: -

(i) economic reduction (economism) - this means inter-alia that the economic interpellation is the basic ('real') determination underlying all social imbalances and that struggle against educational inequality is always also resistance against capitalism. In short, all discriminations are at root economic discriminations.

(ii) class reduction - this means that the fundamental social division is one between the workers and the capitalists and all struggles against social imbalances must be worker-based struggles. (8)

These two positions lead an Althusserian theory of the subject into the following anomalies.

To begin with, the level of explanation is systemic - that is, it explains social trends and movements, not individual social action. With this alone, there is no problem. But it also implies that, having been socially interpellated, the subject is relatively powerless to change his ideology himself - this can only be done on a group level.

Because 'subject' is for Althusser an institution-level concept, real live individuals are relegated to a passive, class-based, situationally determined existence in the web of active structural forces. A theory of individual and ideological change is clearly rendered problematical.

Current marxist debate is entirely aware of the situation; what follows is a brief summary of some of the major strands of debate in marxist theory of ideology and the subject. Our intention is to show that Althusser's position is a useful starting point but requires, and is receiving, extensive re-theorizing.

Althusser acknowledges that he borrows his notions of overdetermination and his notion of the Subject from Lacanian psychoanalysis. (2) Recent moves argue that it has more to offer a theory of ideology and the subject. Lacan locates the crucial interpellative moment in the child's acquisition of language. The steps briefly are:

(a) The child gets born with diverse drives (polymorphous sexuality). Through the language of the parents, the child comes to understand himself in terms of the mould of acceptibility that is projected onto the expression of his drives. The permissible side of his desire is given words; the rest becomes unconscious because it is unspoken. This 'repression' is at best partial and the social structure has sooner or later to deal with its return. (3)

(b) The child becomes a subject by recognising himself in the organizing structure of permissible signifiers, through the mother initially. The subject is given social existence by this initial interpellation.

(c) The overall organizing principle for the repressed drives is the residue left over once the Oedipus drive has been socialised. Lacan calls this the "name of the Father". In other words, becoming a subject means legitimating desire according to patriarchical or simply hierarchical social formations and repressing possible rebellion against this. In short, for Lacan, to experience oneself as an autonomous individual means to experience social asymmetry, since the 'self' is always experienced vis a vis the 'other'.

(d) There is thus a potential contradiction between the constituted subject and his unconscious desire. This contradiction parallels the external contradiction that the subject lives in the economic sphere between the

forces and relations of production.

(e) In times of objective crisis, when hegemonic discourse is unable to paper over the external contradictions, the subject will experience corresponding tensions and eruptions on the internal level. This is experienced as, and indeed is, an identity crisis. Outbursts of repressed desire are initially undirected but need simply to be politicized for the subject to be articulated with the ideological struggle. For example: the 1976 Soweto riots, it can be argued, were subjectively experienced as antiauthoritarianism. What was needed was for these unsocialized outbursts to be drawn into line with an understanding of objective contradictions for the pupils to see that they were 'really' being economically exploited. This should have led to popular struggle en route to which Bantu Education would also have been obliterated.

What this analysis does is provide a subjective moment to the Althusserian analysis. There is a problem, however; if Lacan opens up the possibility for ideological struggle with his theory of language and repressed desire, he also usurps an explanatory priority. The basic interpellation is now no longer determined initially by the economic structure but initially by the discursive structure. For Lacan, subjects are the result of discourse structure; for Althusser they are the result of economic structures. (4) Besides jeopardizing Althusser's explanation in the "last instance", Lacan's retheorizing also begins to disarticulate the initial experience of hierarchical asymmetry from a necessary economic source. It is precisely here that socialist feminists like Juliet Mitchell locate their analysis - as a patriarchical rather than economic domination. (7)

Most analyses of ideology countenance a social formation criss-crossed by many interpellative discourses. It is clear that if a state is to have an overall domination strategy, then these discourses must somehow be unified. Equally, if the dominated mass is to articulate a counter-strategy, it must do so under some kind of unificatory principle.

Laclau envisages the situation in this way: in times of relative stability, the state's interpellative discourses are able to naturalize objective and subjective contradictions or at least disperse any unconscious eruptions that might arise. Discourses do this by the mechanisms of condensation and displacement, tactics of

dispersal which are the same as those used by the unconscious to achieve signification of repressed drives. This isomorphism poses no problem, since for Lacan, the unconscious is structured like a language. In times of social crisis - by definition a situation where contradictions are highlighted, then the state may try to unify the domination of its discourses under one main interpellation - like Nationalism for instance. Equally, the dominated groups might try to mobilize their resistance within one counter-interpellation - like Black Consciousness, for instance. (5)

Now, although these examples show that ideological elements (eg: nationalism, militarism) do not belong to a particular discursive domain but can be incorporated by any discourse in the interests of its own hegemonic thrust, we are still left with large scale mobilizations - dominator vs dominated - which are traditionally theorized as class-based struggle, and ideological elements are seen to be incorporated into the discourse according to how they serve economic class interests.

Gramsci's work attempts to circumvent the reductiveness of a simple class analysis. He wants to say that not all contradictions are strictly class ones, not all identities are class created. For him, struggles in the political domain encompass more than economic struggle; and that the whole body politic can be seen as a domain of antagonistic social relations that interpellate political rather than economic subjects. By this conception, counter-ideological struggle becomes localized to its specific site of oppression and is not necessarily co-ordinated into an overall overthrow of the state. Such co-ordination is certainly an aim of socialist strategy but has more to do with the political, moral and intellectual leadership of organic intellectuals than the struggle of the oppressed subjects. This notion of leadership fits well with the politicizing requirements of Lacan's theory: it is through the rearticulation of the ideological discourse by the moral/political leaders that oppressed subjects come to see themselves and then to recreate themselves as 'popular-democratic' subjects.

This understanding of social oppression makes sense of the multiple groups of political subjects that are oppressed but not necessarily exploited - women, racial, sexual, age and cultural minorities. These interpellations cannot necessarily be located at the level of relations of production and their struggles will not necessarily be unifiable under a blanket class-strategy. (9) Of course,

economic exploitation is still the direct form of oppression, but the way its discourse constitutes subjects is in principle the same as the way other oppressed subjects are created. And education functions as a set of discourses which legitimates and entrenches a whole host of political subjections.

Some of the implications of these reformulations are:-

(a) Each individual is interpellated as a number of different subjects by the discourses he inhabits. It is only by the workings of hegemony that he comes to feel himself a single subject. It is precisely this feeling of unity that is jeopardized in times of crisis, when contradictions are no longer held together. In a real sense it is for him an identity crisis, a state which is really a deferred possibility for every modern political subject.

(b) If Lacan is right, then every subject has a very real and hard struggle against the basic subjection to patriarchical/hierarchical discursive relations. Shapiro to the contrary, the interpellative pattern is imprinted by the family: education works its specific subjections by virtue of the general possibility of patriarchal discourse. If it is by virtue of this ur-interpellation that all ideological interpellations have their efficacy, then localised struggles must finally engage the basic question of ubiquitous social power. Since this is intimately bound up with the possibility of language and communication, it follows that social struggle against oppression is in a deeper sense an attempt to constitute a new basis for communication. It is clear that we are very far from a content-based notion of ideology.

(c) The most obvious trap that any ideological struggle can fall into is to overthrow one oppressive 'father' only to replace him with another. Classical psychoanalysis recognises this phase of liberation (transference), and recognises further that it has to be worked through for real freedom from subjection (countertransference). Political theory has still to recognise this trap and to create strategies for coping with it.

(d) We see the various discourses that go to constitute education as, on the one hand a far less co-ordinated ragbag of interpellative subjections than a 'conventional' marxist analysis would allow. What power the discourses might lose by not being part of an

overall state strategy, they gain by operating at a level that is encoded not only in the signifiers of discourse but also in their very possibility as communication. (6)

Ideology in education is not simply a plot that can be exposed and dispensed with. It is an authorization that ensures social sanity at the expense of subjection. To challenge the subjection is to challenge the very basis of education.

Notes

(1) L Althusser "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes towards an investigation" in Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays, London: NLB, 1971.

(2) L Althusser "Freud and Lacan" in Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays, London: NLB, 1971.

(3) J Ellis "Ideology and Subjectivity" in S Hall, D Hobson, A Lowe and P Willis (eds) Culture, Media, Language. Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-1979, London: Hutchinson, 1980.

(4) S Hall "Recent Developments in Theories of Language and Ideology: a critical note" in S Hall, D Hobson, A Lowe and P Willis (eds) Culture, Media, Language. Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-1979, London: Hutchinson, 1980.

(5) E Lacan Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory, London: Verso Press, 1979.

(6) C MacCabe "On Discourse" Economy and Society, 8/3, 1979.

(7) J Mitchell Psychoanalysis and Feminism, London: Allen Lane, 1974.

(8) C Mouffe "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci" in C Mouffe (ed) Gramsci and Marxist Theory, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.

(9) C Mouffe and E Laclau "Socialist Strategy; Where Next?" Marxism Today, January 1981.

NOTICES

A REMINDER

The editors of Perspectives in Education intend to publish a special issue of the journal devoted to responses by educationists and readers to the report of the HSRC's De Lange Commission of Enquiry into education in South Africa.

Contributions should be sent to the editors within one month of the publication of that report.

Contributions for the next ordinary edition of Perspectives in Education should be submitted by 14th September 1981.

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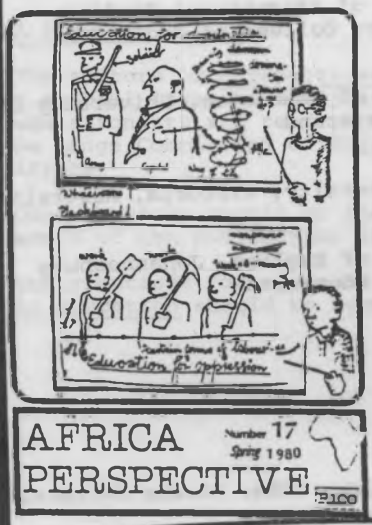

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INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The Editors will welcome contributions in the form of comments on local events or questions, original articles, discussion of articles published in previous issues, reviews, items for the 'Notices' section, and so on.

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Contributions should not ordinarily exceed 3000 words in length, and should be typewritten on one side of A4 paper, double spaced, with ample margins. Two complete copies should be submitted. Proofs will not be sent to authors for correction unless this is explicitly requested.

There is to be no separate 'Bibliography'. References should be kept to a minimum. All notes (which includes 'footnotes' and references) are to be numbered consecutively in the text (in Arabic numerals, in parentheses, on the line of the text), and should be listed at the end of the article, as 'Notes'. Titles of papers or chapters cited are to be enclosed in double quotation marks; titles of books are to be underlined. Examples:

Notes

(1) Carole Pateman Participation and Democratic Theory, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

(2) PF Strawson "Freedom and Resentment" in Freedom and Resentment and Other Essays, London: Methuen, 1974, pgs 15-23.

(3) L Althusser "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in BJ Cosin (ed) Education, Structure and Society, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977, see pg 81.

Substantial quotations (more than about 3 lines) should be indented, shorter quotations should be enclosed in single quotation marks. Omissions from a quotation should be indicated by three dots.