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Ethnography as Instructional Tool in the Teaching and Learning of Anthropology



South African Ethnography Seminar, Wits Department of Anthropology 2011

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Johannesburg 2017

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

Caroline Coary Taylor

[Student No.: 9612213A]

___ day of _____ in the year 2017

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to:

Dr Ian Moll, my supervisor, whose knowledge of developmental psychology assisted me to understand some of the intricacies, nuances and complexities of the psychological versus the sociological perspective on Vygotsky's sociocultural-historical theory of cognitive development.

Professor Yvonne Reed, my co-supervisor, who understands the need for the affective in an intellectual journey of discovery and who picked-up on, amplified, and resolved my quiet voices of concern regarding the analysis and interpretation of the data.

Professor David Coplan, and the **post-graduate students in the South African Ethnography seminar-course (2011),** for your spirit of generosity, and sharing of your knowledge in the teaching and learning of anthropology – as a gift of reciprocity.

Abstract

This research investigates how ethnography acts as an instructional tool in teaching and learning anthropology. Through a classroom ethnography of a postgraduate anthropology course, it illustrates how ethnography as a 'psychological tool' mediates anthropological pedagogy. The author was a non-participant observer for twelve weeks in a South African Ethnography seminar-course, taught by a noted South African anthropologist. In a descriptive-interpretive analysis of richly detailed ethnographic data, the researcher traces the micro-genetic processes of concept development to illustrate the role of ethnography in mediating understanding of anthropological ways of thinking. The study is theoretically informed by the seminal work of Lev Vygotsky's (1987) sociocultural-historical approach to cognitive development and anthropologist Clifford Geertz's (1988) view of ethnography as an instrument of communication, a vehicle of thought. Vygotksy's theory is applied and extended in a triple-stranded analysis incorporating neo-Vygotskian activity-theory (Wertsch, 1991) and signification-theory (Miller, 2011) as these theories are integrated by Bakhtin's (1986) theory of dialogicality, in a context of higher education as a community of practice. In extending Vygotsky's sociocultural approach to cognitive development, the research argues that, and demonstrates that, ethnography as a psychological tool is a 'model of' and 'model for' the teaching and learning of anthropology.

Key words:

ethnography – psychological tool – anthropological pedagogy – sociocultural learning theory – activity theory – signification theory – dialogicality – community of practice

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Chapter One:

1.1 Introduction and Aim

In a guest editorial in *Anthropology Today* (2004: 2) Brian Street argues for a more symbiotic relationship between Anthropology and Education, for an anthropology of and in education and for a role for education in anthropology. Asking, "[W]hat have anthropologists learned, and what can they yet learn, from educationalists?" he suggests that educationalists have much to offer anthropologists regarding unpacking how people learn and come to acquire new ways of knowing and being. The ethnography of communication approach to language favoured by anthropologists (Hymes, 1995; Heath, 1993, Street, 1993), on the other hand, illuminates its use and meaning in context, thereby engaging Vygotsky's (1978) cultural-historical approach to teaching, learning and cognitive development that incorporates epistemological research on 'communities of practice' (Lave, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Thus Street's editorial in making a case for a dialogue between the two disciplines speaks encouragingly to this research that investigates how ethnography acts as an instructional tool in teaching and learning anthropology?

As a discipline, Anthropology as "the study of man" (Goody, 1995: 1) is largely understood to mean the study of culture. Since its inception as an academic discipline in the 1920s the connotation of discipline with the Latin, *disciplina*, meaning "teaching or to give instruction to, to educate or train in an area of learning of a subject of academic study" (OED: 735), has resulted in culture being the subject, the *raison d'être* of Anthropology. In the context of higher education, disciplinary anthropology as both an academic culture and pedagogy of culture provides a milieu for cognitive anthropologists and educational-psychologists to

engage in scholarly exchange via classroom-based ethnographic research on the teaching and learning of anthropology.

Ethnography has seminal roots in Anthropology and, by definition, is (i) a fieldwork research-based methodology and (ii) a disciplinary genre text. As a methodology, ethnography draws on a tool-kit of methods involving direct and sustained contact with people in a culture-context in order to understand their world from an *emic* or 'insider's' perspective (Fetterman, 1989; Hamersley and Atkinson, 1995; Atkinson *et al*., 2001; O'Reilly, 2005, 2009; Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007). As a genre text, ethnography is the interpretive product of fieldwork data and analysis (Malinowski, 1922, 1944; Geertz, 1993; Clifford, 1986; Clifford and Marcus, 1988; Thornton, 1988). These theorists of ethnography as the study of culture in conjunction with a network of culturally oriented educational-psychologists (Vygotsky, 1962; 1978; 1986; Cole, 1971; Bruner, 1990; Rogoff, 1990; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wertsch, 1985, 1991, 1996; Shweder, 1991; Wenger, 1998; Delamont, 2002, Miller, 2011) provide a cross-disciplinary genealogy of theorists who inform the role of ethnography in anthropological pedagogy, particularly in the culture-context of higher education. This study draws on this scholarly nexus by bringing its adherents into dialogue in order to investigate ethnography as an instructional tool in anthropological pedagogy.

1.2 Research Questions

The focus of this study is on the use and value of ethnography in anthropological pedagogy. The key research question to be addressed is:

How does ethnography act as an instructional tool in teaching and learning anthropology?

This question will be explored through responses to the following four sub-questions:

1. What is the role of ethnography as a methodology and a genre text in a post-graduate anthropology classroom?

2. How does an anthropology-lecturer draw on ethnography as a pedagogic resource in teaching anthropology?

3. How do students engage with ethnography as a 'psychological tool'[1] in understanding anthropology?

4. How does ethnography delineate, explicate and encapsulate the professional praxis of an anthropologist?

These four sub-questions enable a multi-perspectival analysis of ethnography in a pedagogic context.

Question 1 recognises that while ethnography is most readily acknowledged to be a research methodology (Bernard, 2006), and a genre text (Geertz, 1993, Clifford and Marcus, 1986), it is also a pedagogic resource (Corsín Jiménez, 2003; Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007; Miller, 2013). Ethnographies as classroom texts are a disciplinary genre and as vignettes, articles, and monographs provide a lens onto the methodological praxis of anthropologists as fieldworkers. In this respect ethnography "captures by description" (Thornton, 1994) anthropological praxis as a social science involving micro-level study via sustained participant-observation in and of culture. Ethnography as an authored-text, however, also interprets and provides a theoretically informed constructed reading of a culture (Geertz, 1993: 10), premised on an *emic or* 'insider's understanding so as to translate, that is render, a culture intelligible to an *etic* or 'outsider'-reader. In so doing anthropologists as authors of ethnography, inscribe culture in ethnography and thus disseminate cross-cultural

[1]The concept of a, "psychological tool is the cornerstone of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of cognitive development. Psychological tools, for example, as signs, symbols or texts and most fundamentally language enables us to master psychological functions like memory, perception and attention in ways appropriate to our cultures (Kozulin, 2001).

knowledge of other worlds. In these two senses – as methodology and text – ethnography instantiates the professional praxis of anthropology. However in the classroom context ethnography as a genre text also mediates the teaching and learning of anthropology. In this educational sense ethnography is a voice in the dialogic (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) teaching and learning conversation because as an instructional tool ethnography both informs and generates pedagogic discussion in the teaching and learning of anthropology as an academic discipline. Thus in exploring the dual characteristics of ethnography as methodology and text as a pedagogic resource, Question 1 seeks to explain how ethnography acts as an instructional tool in teaching and learning anthropology.

Question 2 examines the pedagogic strategies an anthropology-lecturer draws on to teach anthropology. In his/her professional practice an anthropologist as an ethnographer conducts fieldwork in specific areas of personal academic interest. Based on their findings, in disseminating anthropological knowledge, an anthropologist writes and publishes ethnography that captures through detailed description and analysis (Thornton, 1988), the method and substance of anthropological understanding of the ethnographic study. Geertz argues that ethnography as a text is "an instrument of communication, a vehicle of thought" (1988: 1). And, in teaching anthropology, an anthropology lecturer refers to his/her own and other anthropologists' ethnographies. This makes it possible to ask: What content-based and skills-oriented teaching strategies inform an anthropology lecturer's curriculum choice of ethnographies as prescribed readings for students? Addressing Question 2 thus examines how an anthropology lecturer draws on ethnography as a "psychological tool" **(**Vygotsky, 1979b: 60-61; Vygotsky, 1978: 52-55; Cole, 1996; Wertsch, 1985; 1991; 1996; Miller, 2011) to mediate (i) understandings of culture via anthropological concepts, (ii) professional

training in ethnographic methodology, and (iii) the development of disciplinary specific skills, for example, what counts as evidence in anthropology, how to construct ethnographically-informed arguments, and how to critically interrogate anthropologist's interpretations of ethnographic findings. Bruner (1996: 57) suggests that "Knowledge is what is shared within a textual community" and this cultural-psychological approach to the "culture of education" (ibid) also informs an examination of the mentalité that constitutes the culture of anthropology and the anthropology of culture in the pedagogic context of higher education. Knowledge of culture – one's own and others – together with developing the cognitive skills of how anthropologists *think*, are core components of teaching anthropology. In postgraduate teaching, identity formation is also an integral part of anthropologists' educational "community of practice" (Lave, 1991; Lave and Wenger, 1991; 1996; Wenger 1998) and thus with Question 2, I also seek to trace how an anthropology-lecturer mediates and reproduces his or her professional metier in and through their students to ensure the viability and continuity of the discipline.

The student-centred focus of Question 3 enables an examination, at micro-genetic level, of students' engagement with ethnography as a process of reading, in-class discussion, and deconstruction of ethnographic texts, and as models for their own ethnographic essays and apprentice-style fieldwork projects. Rogoff's (1990) aptly named A*pprenticeship in Thinking* argues for an analytically broad view of cognition-in-context requiring that task characteristics and cognitive performance be considered in the light of goal activity and interpersonal and sociocultural context (p 6). In exploring the properties of unfamiliar cultural terrains via the lens of ethnography as text-depicted virtual reality, students read culture in Geertz's (1993) semiotic sense of a close and careful reading of (its) meaning.

Thus in this "print-mediated [style] of formal education" (Cole, 1996), Question 3, enables investigation of how ethnography acts as heuristic device that semiotically explicates culture. Following Vygotsky (1978, 1986) several cultural-psychologists argue that learning is 'inter-subjective' and 'socially distributed' (Wertsch, 1984; 1985; 1991; 1996; Rogoff, 1990; Lave, 1993; Cole, 1996; Bruner, 1996). This suggests that an appropriate analytical perspective for Question 3 is one that examines the ways in which:

> students engage in mediated activity assisted by lecturer-guided participation in ethnographically-based discussion to appropriate and internalise the cognitive skills of anthropology.

How do students as "legitimate peripheral participants in a community of [academic] practice" (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 196) activate cognitive processes that reflect their apprehension, comprehension and ultimate appropriation and internalisation of anthropological modes of thought and understanding? Question 3 enables a comprehensive analysis of students' engagement with ethnography as a 'psychological tool' in understanding anthropology as a disciplinary praxis.

The aim of Question 4 as a final interpretive question is to theorise the disciplinary role of ethnography in the professional praxis of anthropology. Becher (1989: 20) notes that:

> the attitudes activities and cognitive styles of groups of academics representing a particular discipline are closely bound up with the characteristics and structures of knowledge domains with which such groups are professionally concerned [and] in the concept of a discipline the two are inextricably connected.

Thus the idiomatic nature of the relationship between knowledge form and intellectual approach in anthropology as an ethnographically-based social science may be understood via Question 4's, critical synthesis of how in the classroom ethnography refracts the role of

ethnography as methodology and disciplinary text, as a pedagogic resource in mediating the teaching and learning of anthropology as the study of culture.

1.3 Rationale

My interest in conducting research into ethnography as a 'psychological tool' in teaching and learning anthropology has evolved in the context of my teaching of academic development courses as a form of instructional mediation in the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), Johannesburg, South Africa.

I have been a teaching member of staff in the Wits Anthropology Department since 1991 and currently hold a Visiting Researcher post. I have taught anthropology undergraduate courses at first and second year level and continue to supervise Honours and Masters students' research reports. I have also designed and taught a year-long postgraduate Tutor Training Programme in tertiary level small group teaching. This tutor apprenticeship (Taylor, 1995; 1998) teaches postgraduate-students the pedagogic approaches and facilitation-skills of small group student-centred discussion of anthropological topics in undergraduate tutorials. Thus, my work in teaching anthropology encompasses a focus on both academic and professional student learning and on curriculum development that includes the development of tertiary level teaching of anthropology as an academic discipline. The motivation for conducting research on ethnography as a meditational tool in teaching anthropology is a professional quest to better understand ethnography as the pedagogic "currency of anthropology" (Oliphant, M. pers. comm. 27/5/99) and to inform good teaching and learning in and of anthropology. This research has emerged from, draws upon,

and is designed to develop the findings of my Masters of Education research project investigating how anthropology students develop an understanding of an anthropological concept of childhood.

In Anthropology, ethnography is commonly understood to be a research method and a genre text. This research extends these two definitions to incorporate a definition of ethnography as (iii) a pedagogic resource – in the Vygotskian (1978) sense of a 'psychological tool' for understanding anthropology as a social science discipline. My reading to date together with classroom-based research as an anthropology-lecturer suggests that ethnography as a pedagogic tool is under-investigated and conceptually under-theorised. Thus, with the exception of a few anthropologists, for example, (Geertz, 1988; 1993; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Marcus, 1988; Corsin Jimenéz, 2003; Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007, Mills 2013), in writing ethnographies, anthropologists tend to regard other anthropologists as their audience and to write ethnography as a lens onto cross-cultural contexts in order to inform anthropologists' disciplinary conversations, and thereby overlooking innumerable students of anthropology world-wide as a readership of ethnographic texts. Yet, at universities around the world, students taking anthropology courses read and discuss ethnography to understand (i) what anthropology is, (ii) to gain insight into its praxis, and (iii) to discover the intellectual *raison d'être* of anthropology as an academic discipline. This research examines how ethnography as an psychological tool acts as an instructive text, that is, a lens through which students come to understand, (i) anthropological concepts, (ii) quotidian sociocultural issues illuminated in the minutiae of micro-level ethnographic detail, (iii) to grasp the problematic of the taken-for-granted and

common-sense, and (iv) develop nuanced understanding of anthropologists' concerns with positionality, reflexivity, and cultural translation.

In teaching anthropology, ethnography tends to be overlooked as a cognitive catalyst and is thus little understood, or problematised as a 'psychological tool' in the educational process of studying for and obtaining a university degree in anthropology or a degree with anthropology as one of the major subjects.[2] This research investigates how ethnography mediates anthropological pedagogy to understand the implicit and explicit cognitive processes of teaching and learning anthropology so as to inform, refine, and develop curriculum design and enhance anthropological pedagogy. In this respect, the research seeks via a classroom ethnography to illuminate the teaching and learning of anthropology through a classroom ethnography of ethnography as a pedagogic resource.

To further explicate the pedagogic focus of the research it is necessary to explain some of the elements of ethnography as anthropology's primary research method and genre text. For example, methodologically ethnography involves a process of learning by engaging in dialogue with people in a specific culture context, that is, in 'the field'. While writing ethnography as a text is an anthropologist's authorial interpretation of his/her ethnographic study. As Geertz (1988: 19) says:

> The ethnographer as writer posits a goal – to give evidence, to explain, to instruct … It, [the ethnography] is … an instrument of communication, a vehicle of thought.

This argument illuminates the instructional role of ethnography in teaching and learning anthropology and informs my own argument that this combination of characteristic

[2] Students at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, read two major subjects in the final year of a general Bachelor of Arts degree.

elements of ethnography – the dialogic and instructive – suggests that to teach and learn anthropology is also to practise ethnography. Teaching anthropology occurs in a culture context, a disciplinary field in higher education in which anthropology lecturers as ethnographers engage in pedagogic dialogue with students of anthropology. The teaching and learning of anthropology is thus an interpretive process mediated by ethnographic texts that descriptively and analytically render cross-cultural realities intellectually accessible via ethnographically-based anthropological knowledge production. Tracking this cognitive process to explicate how ethnography inflects anthropological pedagogy is a major focus of my thesis.

An additional impetus with regard to understanding ethnography as an instructional tool in anthropological pedagogy relates to the need to comprehensively explicate the professional quiddity of an anthropologist. I argue that an anthropologist's professional persona is a trinomial composite of 'fieldworker-author-teacher'. And practising anthropology happens as Geertz (1988) claims "at home" as much as in the 'field'. "Home", in the Geertzian sense is the anthropologist's university office where s/he 'writes up' her/his ethnographic fieldwork. However in this research, it is also pertinent to highlight the pedagogic relevance of the university teaching space and pedagogic praxis of anthropology in the seminar:

> as a small group of students … meeting to discuss [ethnographic] topics for [purposes of] training (OED 2002: 1303).

For example, in 'An Anthropologist's Apprenticeship', Meyer Fortes (1978: 5) mentions examining the ethnographic typescript of his lecturer Malinowski's C*oral Gardens and Their Magic* (1966), that the seminar group worked over critically page by page as one of the most

enlightening educational experiences of his anthropological apprenticeship.[3] In teaching and learning anthropology students together with the anthropology-lecturer as ethnographic-fieldworker and author examine through the lens of an ethnographic text the paradigmatic principles of anthropological understandings of culture. It is in this triple sense that ethnography captures and elucidates the professional *raison d'être* of anthropology. Thus, in understanding the cognitive processes integral to the pedagogic strand of an anthropologist's professional identity this research responds to Street's (2004: 2) call for a more symbiotic relationship between the discipline of Anthropology and the field of Education. It seeks to reveal new ways of epistemological knowing and being so as to illustrate what educationalists might offer anthropologists in unpacking how students learn and show how in dialogue anthropologists and educationalists might engage in knowledge-building via mutually insightful and enriching "communities of practice" (Rogoff, 1990: 141). This research project is designed to make a contribution to this collaborative cross-disciplinary intellectual endeavour.

[3] Bronislaw Malinowski is generally regarded as the founder of British Social Anthropology, circa 1920. His famous seminar at the London School of Economics attracted many students of anthropology from the British colonies among whom were several South Africans who went on establish the 'golden age' of South African anthropology' (Hammond-Tooke, 1997**:** 1) in South Africa during the 1930s –1950s.

Chapter Two:

2.1 Literature Review

This review of the literature delineates academic writing on ethnography and educational theories relative to ethnography as a 'psychological tool' in anthropological pedagogy. I first review the pertinent literature on ethnography and thereafter the sociocultural-historical literature on theories of teaching and learning that illuminate ethnography in anthropological pedagogy in order to highlight how a germane engagement of the science of education and the social science of anthropology is apposite to this research project.

In reviewing the literature as it addresses the research, I review the anthropological literature on ethnography as (i) methodologically an eclectic 'tool-kit' of research methods[4], (ii) a text, and (iii) a pedagogic resource as this relates to sociocultural theories of teaching and learning. Thereafter, I review the educational-psychology literature on cognitive development as it informs a study of ethnography in anthropological pedagogy. The correspondence points of these bodies of literature in the field of Education and the discipline of Anthropology, and how they relate to my own research, are set out in **Table 1**, (below) and thereafter discussed.

[4] In conducting ethnography as fieldwork research an ethnographer may use, for example, participant-observation, interviews with interlocutors, surveys, photography, and/or "count data" (Street and Heath with Molloy, 2008) instances of repetitive socio-cultural behaviour patterns that inform "constant comparative" data analysis (ibid: 32-38).

Table 1: Cross-disciplinary links between Education and Anthropology

Education	Articulation	Anthropology
Social theories of teaching and learning in culture-context (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1999).	↔	Cross-culture context translation for understanding (Malinowski, 1922; Geertz, 1993).
Socioculturally situated learning paradigm (Vygotsky, 1962; 1978; 1986; Cole, 1985, Wertsch, 1991; Miller, 2011).	↔	Situated ethnography as an instrument of communication and a vehicle for thought (Geertz, 1988).
Mind in society (Vygotsky, 1978; Society in mind, Miller, 2011)	↔	Mind across societies (Geertz, 1993).
Communities of practice (Wenger, 1991).	↔	Anthropology as a disciplinary community of practice (Becher, 1989).
Mediated learning via signs as 'psychological tools' (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978, 1986; Wertsch, 1991; Miller, 2011).	↔	Ethnography as an instructional tool (Geertz, 1988).
Voices of the mind (Bakhtin, 1986; Wertsch, 1991; Miller, 2011).	↔	Voices of anthropology-lecturer, students and ethnography in the classroom (Coary Taylor 2001)

The anthropological literature on ethnography as an eclectic 'took-kit' of research methods and as a text is comprehensive. Ethnography as a pedagogic resource has received less attention, leaving a space in which this research aims to make a contribution to understanding ethnography as it mediates the teaching and learning of anthropology. Ethnography devised as a field- research method and theorised as a text, has occasioned scientific revolutions in anthropology (Kuhn, 1962). In Britain, in the 1920s, a new style of ethnographic research introduced by Bronislaw Malinowski[5] and later characterised as 'participant-observation' established British social anthropology as an academic discipline.

[5] Malinowski is considered to be "the founder of the profession of social anthropology" (Kuper, 1996: 1).

In the 1970s, ethnography newly rendered as a text in American cultural anthropology (Geertz, 1993), initiated a scientific revolution in the Kuhnian (1962) sense of a paradigm shift. Then, in the late 1990s, in response to British Government policy of a market orientation for higher education, a programmatic focus in academic research and writing on pedagogy in anthropology referenced ethnography as a pedagogic resource. Thus in charting disciplinary trends in anthropology, this review of the literature on ethnography seeks to provide what (Barth, 2002: 1-18) calls an "anthropology of knowledge" incorporating a "substantive corpus … a range of media of representation and a social organization**"** of professional anthropology in practice.

2.1 Review of Anthropological Literature

2.1.1 Ethnography as fieldwork-research method

Gellner (1986: 3) notes:

> The revolution over which Bronislaw Malinowski presided during the inter-war decades from the London School of Economics, which then emerged for a time as the world capital of anthropology, really was a revolution, a total inversion, a literal over-turning of things.

Malinowskian anthropology as a paradigm shift launched "a [new] method of investigation, a theory of culture and a genre of expression" (Thornton, 1990: 574). In a new-look intellectual tradition this tripartite criteria was "justified or grounded in one another" (ibid) through experiential "being-there" (Geertz, 1988: 23) fieldwork-based research. Malinowski's novel ethnographic endeavour was designed "to grasp the native's point of view" (1922: 1-25) through direct observation in 'the field', as a departure from Frazerian armchair anthropology (Strathern, 1987: 254), by recording people's everyday lives in their

immediate social context.[6] As the single most legitimating methodology of modern(ist) anthropology, this immersion type research was subsequently coined "participant-observation" (Frankenberg, 1963, cited in Ellen 1984: 217). In that, *in situ* "[o]bservation, to be of value to insight … anthropology became characterized methodologically by the research-worker being the medium as well as the recorder and interpreter of his/her research" (ibid: 220-221) in and of a cultural context. Thus, Malinowski's 'participant-observation' model became a charter for research, and theorised culture as a functional(ist) medium serving the primary needs of society via a set of interrelated institutions that Malinowski formalised in methodological-functionalism as programmatic for conducting fieldwork.

Participant-observation provided both a method and a persuasive perspective from which to espouse a theory of culture as an organic whole in which human practices are related to other practices such that a society's practices and the beliefs informing them could/should be interpreted in their own terms and be comparable across discrete social structures and systems (Strathern, 1987: 256). This functionalist theory was explicated in a new literary genre – the ethnographic monograph as a single subject treatise based on an eye-witness, detailed-description minutiae account of a sociocultural world. The monograph thus (re)presented a social scientific synthesis of a culture engaging in a new three-way discursive text – the author, the subject matter of the monograph, and the reader of the ethnography.

[6] Malinowski's (1922) ethnographic documentation of a single people in the Trobriand islands in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* as a holistic culture in a bounded space was in marked contrast to and distinct from his mentor and (then usurped) intellectual predecessor Sir James Frazer, best known for his globally comparative (but superficial and erroneously evolutionary premised) compendium, *The Golden Bough*.

Participant-observation is [in fact] an oxymoron (Ellen 1984: 216) the empirical validity of which has been scientifically much debated on the grounds that one can only alternatively participate or observe, be immersed or be detached. However of significance to this research is participant-observation methodology with regard to an ethnographer's positionality, perspective and shared understood meaning(s) (Schultz 1972) with the student-reader of ethnography. Malinowski's monograph depicted a culture via a cognitive parallel between the framework of the monograph and the framework of the field experience. The parallel is established via a duality of relationships and disjunctures between the ethnographer as researcher and the subject matter of the research and between the ethnographer as author and the reader of the ethnographic monograph (Strathern 1987: 256; Todorov, 1988: 2-5; Haim, 1995: 395-399).

Premised on a perspectival 'insider'-'outsider' paradox of the anthropologist as 'insider'-'outsider' in a distant cultural field and relatedly as fictitious 'outsider'-'insider' in his/her own culture, the anthropologist engages the reader in authoritative textual conversation in ethnographically (re)interpreting monographic reality across time and space. In positioning a reconstructed fieldwork experience (Clifford and Marcus 1986) as monograph motif, the monograph is rendered synonymous with participant-observation research as a cognitive construct (Thornton, 1988: 293). This social scientific account of culture as an object of anthropological knowledge premised on participant-observation authoritatively presented in the ethnographic monograph is redefined by Clifford Geertz (1993) in *The Interpretation of Culture* in which he argues that anthropology is an interpretive human science rather than an objective social science.

2.1.2 Ethnography as text

This second paradigm shift in theorising ethnography had its incipient aetiology in Geertz's (1993) invitation to anthropologists to study meaning in contrast to Malinowski's functionalist study of human behaviour. Geertz (1993: 5) sketched out his programmatic manifesto thus:

> The concept of culture I espouse … is essentially a semiotic one. Believing with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun. I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.

Geertz remained committed to Malinowski's "grasping the native's point of view" and thus micro-level fieldwork research in out-of-the-way places. However in reorienting the anthropological perspective from description and explanation to interpretation and explication Geertz had, by the 1980s, caused a "sea change in social [scientific] thought" (Shankman, 1984: 178), moving from an empiricist to a semiotic approach to understanding culture. Thus with a new interpretation of participation in participant-observation via fieldwork privileging dialogue as the lens through which to elucidate "*what our informants are up to*, *or think they are up to*" Geertz (1993: 15; original italics) redefined the *raison d'être* of anthropological research as a social science. This paradigm shift in intellectual effort reconfigured a Malinowskian objective discovery of social laws of behaviour to a Geertzian interpretation of intentionality in actor-centred symbolic acts that redirected analyses of social facts to discernment of agent constructs, from verification as appraisal (ibid: 16).

In Geertz's (1993) purview, what anthropologists do is ethnography to such a semantic extent that ethnography become virtually synonymous with anthropology in that "*what doing ethnography is* … what anthropological analysis amounts to as a form of knowledge" (ibid: 6; original italics). Such that quintessentially "anthropology exists in the book, the article, the lecture …" (ibid: 16). Geertz's theory of culture is one of reading in the sense of "constructing a reading of" the public enactment of culture but in this construction of, life becomes a text with life and text linked via the authenticating lens of hermeneutic interpretation. This interpretive turn, in aiming to understand how people make sense of their world(s), repositioned the writer, reader and subject matter of ethnography. The anthropologist as author entered into a new relationship with the reader, now co-implicated in understanding or figuring out the ethnography, rather than being a reader of Malinowskian-deduced objective fact. A new relationship is thus established/devised with the subject of ethnographic knowledge being both the person and his/her cultural context, with the hitherto informant now perceived as a co-ethnographer-interlocutor in partnership with the anthropologist rendering faraway culture(s) intelligible to readers of ethnography. This inscribed action of social process by anthropologists as human-interpretive scientists studying "*in* villages" (Geertz, 1993: 22; original italics) rendered local truths recognisable by analogy and trope as ubiquitous human engagements, in the 1980s hermeneutic paradigm of anthropology.

In constructing life as text(s) Geertz (1988: 19), to reiterate, also points to the instructional role of ethnographies in teaching and learning anthropology, claiming the ethnographer

> as writer posits … a goal – to give evidence, to explain, to instruct. It,
> [the ethnography] is … an instrument of communication, a vehicle of thought.

He supports his claim (the threads of which I summarise below) by arguing that:

> The situated nature of the ethnographic description helps to prevent subjective views from colouring objective facts. Ethnography is at one and the same time an intimate view and a cool assessment … a paradoxical sense of distance and closeness … an apparent coming near so that it puts the established conceptions … into useful question (1988, 1-24).

In my experience of teaching anthropology, useful questions asked by student-readers of ethnography arise in the teaching and learning of anthropology and necessitate focusing this review of the anthropological literature on 1990s British social anthropology as it relates to ethnography as a pedagogic genre.

2.1.3 Ethnography as pedagogy

A programmatic debate around anthropology as a "discipline's own self-representation" (Spencer, 2000: 13), surfaced in the United Kingdom in the 1990s in response to an austere political-economy reduction in higher education funding, an 'audit culture' (Strathern, 2000) of social accountability and the massification of student numbers to ensure a diverse university demographic. This restructuring enlivened a long-standing debate about anthropologists as ethnographic researchers and writers in relation to the *sine qua non* of anthropological praxis and anthropological readership. Audience, in the 1990s struggle for disciplinary survival (Spencer, 2000) comprised students deemed to be either anthropology 'specialists' or anthropology 'generalists'. There was concomitantly a division of anthropologists into 'academic anthropologists' as pure research and teaching anthropologists versus 'applied anthropologists' practising as social scientists beyond the academy. This 'specialist' or 'generalist' student distinction had originally surfaced with

Malinowski's student, Evans-Pritchard, who in campaigning for the establishment of an undergraduate degree in anthropology at Oxford in 1957, argued:

> Important though field-research is, I do not think that the function of the Institute in the university ought to be only the turning out of professional anthropologists and the organisation of professional research. The teaching role of social anthropology is to give men an understanding of the nature of social life, and this is important for them whatever profession they afterwards pursue.

Tangentially, Evans-Pritchard's argument speaks to a broader on-going debate in which so-called 'missionary' anthropologists wish to teach anthropology as an enlightened and enlightening understanding of "the nature of social life" to undergraduates taking liberal arts degrees and to school teachers, their pupils and the general public (Ward, 1958; Stirling, 1964). This perspective is in opposition to 'mandarin' anthropologists concerned with academic standards, disciplinary boundaries and professional praxis who resist such expansionist popularisation of anthropology as tantamount to 'selling' anthropology (Mills 1999: 5). The question of readership for anthropological research as 'specialist' – for anthropologists only, or 'generalist' – for the general public, began with Malinowski in 1922 and can be traced with changing referential nomenclature through twentieth-century anthropology (cf. Firth, 1936; Evans-Pritchard, 1957; 1959; Mills, 1999), with an emerging 'specialist/mandarin' – 'generalist/missionary divide.

This debate about pedagogy, focused on what to teach in anthropology, and to what purpose and outcome, with attendant curriculum questions about the role of ethnography in pedagogical approaches to teaching and learning the discipline. In teaching anthropology – ethnography, as both medium and message (McLuhan, 1967) is informative in understanding ethnography's role as an instructive text and 'psychological tool' in

anthropological pedagogy. For 'specialist/mandarin' anthropologists ethnography enables students' professional socialization in that ethnography inscribes and mediates disciplinary knowledge and explicates the anthropological praxis of academic anthropology. For 'generalist/missionary' anthropologists, ethnography educates in the sense that it trains postgraduate-students as both academic and applied anthropologists, and informs all readers of ethnography about other cultures, thus enabling a mutual understanding of alternate worlds that serves to promote cross-cultural social harmony.

At issue is a perceived need for "a greater role in applied anthropology Masters and Doctoral programmes with a strong methodological focus and … use of projects, placements and practices" (Grillo, 1984).[7] This shift in pedagogic emphasis prompted a reconfigured prioritisation of teaching and learning as the "transmission of knowledge in a clear organised and interesting way, to learning and teaching allowing [students] to fit ideas into a new conceptual framework and use them in new and unexpected ways" (Cox, 1996: 17) as skilled, rather than educated, graduates. Such curriculum design may be thought of as an 'imaginationist' view of teaching anthropology (Mascarenhas-Keyes 1995: 3) to cultivate an anthropological-imagination worldview in contrast to a 'substantivist' philosophy of anthropological teaching in which "the pedagogic focus is on imparting knowledge of the discipline for its own sake" (ibid). In these senses, the 'substantivist'-'imaginationist' dichotomy[8] refers to teaching a substantivist, content-based anthropology curriculum versus teaching an 'imaginationist', applied, skills-driven curriculum. While the dichotomy is arguably overdrawn, and the two approaches not mutually exclusive but rather a matter of

[7]In theory, apprenticeship-oriented degrees effectively produce graduates qualified for career opportunities in a market-driven economy.

[8]Anthropologists are grouped as 'specialist/mandarin/substantivist' versus 'generalist/missionary/imaginationist' oriented anthropologists, depending on professional practice and pedagogic approach.

emphasis (Grillo, 1996: 11), the shift in orientation from teaching and learning characterised by a lecturer-centred passive learning in a homogenous-style pedagogy, to learning and teaching as a student-centred active learning heterogeneous pedagogy[9] clarifies this differential use of ethnography as a pedagogic resource.

As a learning theory, the 'imaginationist' approach is comparable to apprenticeship-style learning (Lave, 1991) that, when analytically conceived in the use of ethnography as a 'psychological tool' in anthropological pedagogy, is suggestive of learning in socially-situated activity learning theory. Thus, Jean Lave (1991) and Lave and Wenger's (1991) characterisation of socially-situated learners becoming knowledgeably-skilful adepts through experiential learning as centripetal via "legitimate peripheral participation in a community of practice" (ibid: 68) resonates with the 'imaginationist' learning and teaching approach in anthropology's 'imaginationist'/'substantivist' debate.[10] Anthropology students are, however, equally engaged in centrifugal-oriented pedagogy in assimilating content knowledge taught by anthropology lecturers and inscribed in a body of ethnographic literature. However, Lave's (1991) notion of knowledgeably-skilful is equally pertinent to the content-driven curriculum of Malinowski's famous skilfully-knowledgeable seminar at the London School of Economics. In which, based on his own ethnographic texts, lecturer-guided critically oriented discussions, Meyer Fortes, (1978: 5) notes, in *An Anthropologist's Apprenticeship,* focused on Malinowski's functionalist theory that was:

> debated at an abstract level in comparison with alternative theories … [b]ut it was also empirically examined in the [ethnographic] typescript of [his] *Coral Gardens*, which the seminar worked over critically page by page; I look back

[9] These characteristics are outlined in *The National Network for Teaching and Learning Anthropology Report* (1996).
[10] Lave (1991) coins this conceptual (re)configuration of 'knowledgeably-skilful' in critique of and in distinction to theories of learning that separate knowledge from skill.

> on this as the most enlightening of the educational experiences of my anthropological apprenticeship.[11]

Fortes' depiction of this "analytical perspective" (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 39) explicates Lave's (1991: 68) construction of learning and teaching as "legitimate participation in a community of practice" in which a "collaborative community of learners with varying responsibilities … [engage in a] participatory model of instruction (Rogoff *et al*., 1996: 38). Participant-observation in an anthropology seminar *per se* is abstractly cognitive, and observation is of a virtual ethnographic reality through the lens of prescribed ethnographic texts, but "knowledge and skill develop in … a process and as an integral part of the process" (Lave, 1991: 71). Thus, the seminar style of pedagogy points to the democratic nature of the learning process shared by:

> participants in a community of practice embodying differential participatory roles in appropriation of knowledge that denotes a model for understanding the cognitive processes of learner's engagement as legitimate peripheral participation in [an academic] community of practice (ibid).

Thus as an ethnographic example, Malinowksi's prototype anthropology seminar class represents a collaborative academic context in which a:

> community of learners involves both active learners and a more skilled partner who provides leadership and guidance corresponding with the theoretical stance that learning involves transformation of participation in collaborative endeavour (Rogoff, Matusov and White, 1996: 388)

In theorising learning as "legitimate peripheral participation in a community of practice", Lave (1991) is critiquing learning theory approaches that bracket off the real world. However, she concedes that graduate programmes in universities (as in Malinowski's

[11] See similar references to Malinowski's teaching style in: Firth, 1975; Fortes, 1978; Goody, 1995; and Leach, 1986.

seminar) are associated with apprentice forms of learning (ibid: 77). Her theory of social practice in stressing:

> the inherently relational interdependency of agent and world, activity, meaning, cognition, learning and knowing (Lave and Wenger1991: 145),

summarises the elements of anthropology seminar pedagogy. This is particularly so if the anthropology seminar is recognised as a particular social world with its own cultural context in which students and lecturer engage in an:

> inherently socially negotiated character of meaning [and represent] interested concerned … thought and actions of persons in [cognitive-dialogic] activity (ibid).

A dynamic rather than static perception of in-classroom learning creates a space for further analysis of Lave and Wenger's (1991) apprenticeship model of learning via interrogation of curricula in a participative academic community of pedagogy. It also allows for the possibility of theorising the principles of how to structure the resources of learning. A good example is the in-class use of ethnography that pedagogically encompasses instructive communicative elements of narrative and voice (Cain, 1991), or modelling (Jordan, 1989) that is left at a descriptive level in the ethnographic teaching and learning examples which Lave (1991) cites in support of her nascent theory.

Lave's (1991) and Wenger's (1998) focus on the systemic structure of apprenticeship-relationships of learning and teaching is also instructive in their discussion of newcomers replacing old-timers. However the processes of learning as opposed to the product of learning remain un-problematised in their work. In anthropological praxis, for example, being skilfully-knowledgeable is as important as being knowledgeably-skilful. Thus this

research investigates the engagement of knowledge and skill and skill and knowledge as these orientations are pedagogically mediated by ethnography in an anthropology seminar-class. Additionally the location of apprenticeship learning theory within the sociocultural-historical school in which "mind, culture, history and social world [are] interrelated processes that constitute each other" (Vygotksy, 1978: 63), nests Lave and Wenger's social learning practice theory within the neo-Vygotskian cultural psychology school (Bruner, 1990, 1996; Cole *et al*: 1971; Cole, 1996; Rogoff, 1990; Shweder, 1991; Wertsch, 1985; 1991 and points to a network of theorists whose interpretation of social learning theories (in part) informs my research on ethnographically-mediated anthropological pedagogy. In the following section I thus turn to Vygotsky's theories and the derivative theories of the neo-Vygotskians and discuss how their work is relevant to understanding how ethnography acts as an instructional tool in teaching and learning of anthropology.

2.2 Review of the Educational-Psychology Literature

In order to appreciate the significance of Vygotsky's theoretical ideas, it is essential, Davydov and Radzikhovskii (1985: 35-61) argue, to distinguish between "Vygotsky the methodologist", and "Vygotsky the psychologist". To this dual characterisation, I add a third persona, that of "Vygotsky the anthropologist"[12]. In studying cognitive processes, Vygotsky as methodologist provides a genetic process-oriented method of analysis. As psychologist, Vygotsky provides the researcher with the concepts of cognitive 'activity' and 'signification'. As anthropologist, I argue, that Vygotsky contextualises the sociocultural-historical-institutional situatedness of human mental functioning. Each component: method, activity, signification and context, with ethnography as an interlocutory "vehicle of thought" (Geertz

[12] In fact, Ratner (1991: 6) suggests, "Because Vygotsky's tenets are so far-reaching, verifying and extending them requires drawing on anthropology, history, philosophy, sociology and biology, in addition to psychology".

1988: 19), is integral to understanding ethnographically mediated anthropological pedagogy.

2.2.1 Vygotsky: Methodologist and method

In *Mind in Society*, Vygotsky (1978: 65) argues:

> *The search for method ... [is] one of the most important problems of the entire enterprise of understanding the uniquely human forms of psychological activity. In this case, the method is simultaneously prerequisite and product, the tool and the result of the study* (original italics).

In studying human psychological mediated activity, Vygotsky was concerned with the development of uniquely human or "higher psychological functions'' (ibid: 52-27). In Vygotsky's theoretical framework elementary mental functions are produced by natural development with cultural development transforming these elementary functions into higher mental functions. In distinguishing between elementary and higher forms of psychological functions, Vygotsky characterises elementary forms as being controlled by the environment, lacking in conscious realisation, culturally unmediated and individual in origin. In contrast, voluntary control, conscious realisation, social origin and nature, and semiotic mediation characterise the psychological processes of higher mental functions (Vygotsky, 1981b: 164). In seeking to understand the transformation that mental functions undergo, Vygotsky argues that the aim of psychological analysis is:

> (1) process analysis, (2) analysis that reveals real, causal and dynamic relations ... that is, explanatory analysis, and (3) developmental analysis that returns to the source and reconstructs all the points in the development of a given structure (1978: 65).

This methodology is requisite, explains Vygotsky, because "The result of development ... [is] a qualitatively new form that appears in the process of development (ibid). In studying

mental development Vygotsky accorded consciousness a new methodological status as a function rather than essence or substance of the human mind. In this regard, Lee (1985: 71) notes that, Vygotsky viewed [mental] development as the gradual reorganisation of consciousness. In referring to consciousness Vygotsky (1962: 91) explains:

> We want to clarify the term consciousness as we use it in speaking of nonconscious functions becoming conscious. … We use the term consciousness to denote awareness of the activity of mind – the consciousness of being conscious.

Consciousness as an active function of the human mind is thus exemplified in forms of higher mental functioning characterised by Vygotsky as memory, voluntary attention, voluntary thought, voluntary reflection, and so on. In educational processes these conscious higher mental functions enable the student to distance her/himself and reflect upon his/her knowledge, thereby engaging and advancing metacognition (Bruner, 2006: 85). Equally, Davydov and Radzikhovskii note that due to their mediated nature, Vygotsky regarded higher mental functions as "integral formations in a complex structure" (1985: 53), and thus he adopted an integrated as well as a developmental approach to studying higher mental processes.

2.2.2 Vygotsky: Psychology and the concept of 'activity'

In *The Concept of Activity in Soviet Psychology*, Kozulin (1986: 264-274) reviews the process of incorporation of the concept of 'activity' into Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory of higher mental functions and briefly notes:

> This concept was first suggested by Vygotsky as a theoretical remedy for psychological systems that tautologically 'explained' phenomena of consciousness through the concept of consciousness (ibid: 264).

In making a philosophical demarcation between mind or consciousness as a "subject of study" and activity as "an explanatory principle" (Davydov and Radzikhovskii 1985: 45), Vygotsky, "established [the] premises for a unified theory of behaviour and mind" (Kozulin 1986: 265). According to Vygotsky:

> [H]uman behaviour and mind must be considered in terms of purposive and culturally meaningful actions... Such that, 'activity' then takes the place of the hyphen in the formula *S–R*, turning it into a formula, *object – activity – subject*, where both object and subject are historically and culturally specific (cited in Kozulin 1986: 266).

In this formulaic recasting of the methodological study of mind, Vygotsky incorporates 'activity' as an explanatory link between 'subject' and 'object', or the 'external' world and the human mind. Working with the category of 'activity' as a unit of analysis of psychological functions, Vygotsky introduced the idea of 'psychological tools', for example, ethnography, as an artificial device of human culture that he claimed shaped human mental processes. He argued that these 'psychological tools' acted analogously to tools in labour as mediating mechanisms organising psychological processes. Miller (2011), however, stresses Vygotsky's figurative rather than literal use of this analogy between signs as 'psychological tools' and technical tools by noting that, "[t]he analogy resides in the mediating function of signs and tools while the essential difference between them lies in their different mediational purposes" (p. 15). He goes on to stress this distinction arguing that 'psychological tools' should not be lumped together in a general category of 'artefacts' and cultural tools" (ibid), as for example, Cole (1996) and Wertsch, (1998) do[13].

[13] I discuss Miller's (2011) argument in relation to Wertsch (1991) in detail in the Methodology section of the thesis.

Vygotsky argued that 'psychological tools' mediated elementary mental processes transforming these into higher mental processes and, in turn, interrelatedly restructured higher mental functions. In particular, he argued that signs and language as 'psychological tools' are instrumental in the semiotic mediation of higher psychological processes. In that language is a sign system of verbal communication, Davydov and Radzikhovskii (1985: 54), discussing the significance of Vygotsky's social mediation theory and 'activity-oriented' approach, note that:

> Initially, 'psychological tools' are directed 'externally' towards a partner. Subsequently they turn in 'on themselves', that is, they become a means of controlling one's own mental processes. … Mental functions are then mediated from within.

Thus signs, words, utterances, serve the double function of communicating with others and potentially regulating others' behaviour but ultimately they enable us to regulate our own behaviour and mental processes. In effect, Vygotsky (1981a: 137) argues that, "by being included in the process of behaviour, the 'psychological tool' alters the entire flow and structure of mental functions." In this regard, Vygotsky is suggesting that the introduction of language as a 'psychological tool' into mental functioning effects a fundamental transformation of cognition. In this sense, educational-type language as a mediational means both facilitates and shapes cognition because "language necessarily imposes a perspective in which things are viewed and a stance toward what one views" (Bruner 2006: 80).

In so far as instructive illocutionary 'activity' is situated as an intermediary link between object and subject in Vygotsky's (1978; 1987) paradigmatic psychology, the mediational means shaping that activity are the intermediary link between 'interpsychological' and

'intrapsychological' functioning bringing about transformative changes in cognitive development. In discussing, Vygotsky's concept of 'activity' as "the entry point to analysis of mind", Wertsch (1991: 10) glosses 'activity' as 'action' arguing:

> When action is given analytic priority, human beings are viewed as coming into contact with, and creating their surroundings as well as themselves through the actions in which they engage. Thus action rather than human beings or the environment considered in isolation provides the entry point to analysis.

In making this argument about human beings and their interactive relationship with their environment, Wertsch (1991) is emphasising an additional idea attendant upon Vygotsky's notion of 'activity' as aptly the focus of psychological analysis. That is, 'human mental activity or action' is located on two planes: first on an interpsychological plane and *derivatively* on an intrapsychological plane. In this sense, mind or cognition as a form of activity is "located beyond the skin" (Geertz 1993). In this regard, Wertsch also emphasises an exteriorised notion of mind or cognition as actively dynamic that is captured in appropriative processes of 'socially shared cognition' or 'socially distributed cognition' (1991). In contrast, Miller (2011: 34, citing Vygotsky, 1987, p. 259) places emphasis on the social individual interiorising or 'internalising' cognitive processes arguing:

> Thus the central tendency of the … [learner's cognitive] development is not a gradual socialization introduced from the outside, but a gradual individualization that emerges on the foundation of the child's internal socialization.

Both theorists' interpretations of Vygotsky's cultural-historical paradigm are germane to the third strand of Vygotsky's approach to studying cognitive processes via his sociocultural approach to mind.

2.2.3 Vygotsky: Anthropologist and a sociocultural approach to mind

Wertsch (1991: 26) argues, that a Vygotskian approach to understanding cognitive development entails "a sociocultural approach to mind" because on the basis of Vygotsky's understanding of language and activity in the development of mental functions, he proposed what he calls "the general genetic law of cultural development." This law states:

> Any function in the child's [student's] development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. ... This is equally true with regard to voluntary attention, logical memory [and] the formation of concepts. ... [It] goes without saying internalization transforms the process itself and changes its structure and functions. Social relations or relations among people underline all higher functions and their relationships (Vygotsky 1981b: 136).

Given, the law of cultural development of mental functions it is important to appreciate that:

> Higher mental functions' composition, genetic structure, and means of action – in a word, their whole nature – is social. Even when we turn to mental processes, their nature is quasi-social. In their private sphere, human beings retain the functions of social interactions (Vygotsky, 1981b: 164).

Thus in my research, it is necessary to formulate a specific unit of analysis with regard to Vygotsky's concept of cognitive 'activity'. In this study the interactive setting of the anthropology seminar in which lecturer and students engage in conceptual problem-solving, may be construed as a particular sociocultural instantiation of Vygotsky's "zone of proximal development" (1987: 209) that has been theorised as a form of cognitive scaffolding by a more experienced 'other', bridging every-day and scientific understanding (cf. Greenfield 1984; and Wood, Bruner and Ross 1976). However, as Wertsch and Tulviste (1992: 553) say,

> [any] forms of mediated intermental functioning involved must themselves be recognized as being socioculturally situated with respect to activity settings and associated mediational means.

Therefore, in order, to investigate cognitive processes from a Vygotskian perspective, it is necessary to formulate a unit of analysis that encapsulates an interpersonal dynamic functioning in conjunction with an intra-psychological dynamic that recognises its acculturative nature. I draw on Wertsch's unit of analysis as "individual(s)-acting-with-mediational means" (1991: 12). In respect of Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural approach to mind, I add - in context - to this formulation. I also modify Wertsch's unit of analysis in this research to, 'individual(s)-thinking-with-mediational-means-in-context' to explicate my conception of ethnography as a 'psychological tool' that is 'good to think with' (Levi-Strauss, 1962). I particularise my unit of analysis in the form – 'lecturer and students engaging in an exchange of ideas in anthropological pedagogy, mediated by ethnography as a 'psychological tool' in an academic context', to conduct a process-analysis of how ethnography acts as an instructional tool in teaching and learning anthropology. To conduct this analysis, it is necessary to consider Vygotsky's view of semiotic mediation in more detail.

Wertsch (1985, 1991) points out that Vygotsky (1981a, 1981b) argues for the necessity of recognising, and factoring into research on cognition, the social quality of language. He notes that language as a 'psychological tool' of mediational means is social in enabling communication on an interpsychological plane but is also socioculturally situated as a contextualised product of sociocultural evolution (Wertsch 1991: 91). Thus in different contexts of activity, he argues, a particular form of semiotic mediation:

> serves to *link* the sociocultural setting with individual mental functioning. … On the one hand, particular semiotic practices reflect and help constitute sociocultural settings; on the other hand, they shape the genesis of individual mental functioning (Wertsch 1991: 18, 28-34 italics mine).

Thus on the one level, it is important to understand how semiotic mediation reflects and constitutes anthropological thinking and praxis; and on another, how these inflect students' anthropological understanding. In illustrating how semiotic mediation both reflects sociocultural practices and shapes mental functioning, Wertsch (1985, 1991; Wertsch and Tulviste, 1992) draws on some of the ideas of Mikhail Bakhtin, a semiotician and a contemporary of Vygotsky, whose linguistic theories help to explicate Vygotsky's sociocultural approach to mind. Wertsch's and Wertsch and Tulviste's discussion of the complementarity of Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) theoretical ideas about semiotic mediation with those of Vygotsky provides an insightful source that clarifies and extends Vygotsky's sociocultural approach to mind. In the following section I draw upon these complementary and related neo-Vygotskian sources as a means of situating my research within a broader Vygotskian paradigm.

2.3 Bakhtin: Semiotic mediation

In illustrating how semiotic mediation reflects sociocultural practices and shapes mental functioning, Wertsch (1991) discusses the complementarity of Bakhtin's (1981; 1986) and Vygotsky's (1978) ideas, in that both theorists "believed that human communicative practices give rise to mental functioning in the individual" (1991: 13). Wertsch notes, they also argued that, "the social dimension of consciousness is primary in time and fact, the individual dimension of consciousness is derivative and secondary" (ibid). On the other hand, in discussing how Bakhtin's ideas clarify Vygotsky's, Wertsch and Tulviste (1992: 555) note:

> In Bakhtin's view, speaking always involves a concrete individual in a unique setting using language tools provided by others to create utterances.

Bakhtin (1981; 1986) explicates his understanding of communication in the concepts of "voice" and "dialogicality" in his argument that in communicative processes:

> the notion of utterance is inherently linked with that of voice or 'the speaking personality or speaking consciousness' (Bakhtin, 1981: 434).

Bakhtin (1986: 84–91) focuses analytically on the utterance as the 'real unit' of speech communication claiming that:

> Any utterance is a link in the chain of communication. Utterances are not indifferent to one another, and are not sufficient; they are aware of and mutually reflect one another (cited in Wertsch, 1991: 52).

In this sense Bakhtin argues:

> [H]uman communicative and psychological processes are characterized by a dialogicality of voices: when a speaker produces an utterance, at least two voices can be heard simultaneously (cited in Wertsch, 1991: 13).

In effect, "The utterance is filled with dialogic overtones" (Bakhtin 1986: 102). Thus, Bakhtin's approach enables a comprehensive understanding of ethnography as a voice, in Geertz's (1988: 19) sense of ethnography as "an instrument of communication, a vehicle of thought" in the anthropology classroom. This according to Bakhtin is grounded in the idea that:

> When the listener perceives and understands meaning ... of speech [s]he simultaneously takes an active, responsive attitude towards it. [S]He either agrees or disagrees with it ... augments it, applies it, and so on. ... Any understanding of live speech, a live utterance is inherently responsive... Any understanding is imbued with response and necessarily elicits it in one form or another: the listener becomes the speaker (Bakhtin, 1986: 68)[14].

[14] Bakhtin applies his argument about utterance(s) that, "Any understanding is imbued with response and necessarily elicits it in one form or another" to both written and oral speech. He says, "Any utterance oral or written … is individual and therefore can reflect the individuality of the speaker (or writer)" (1986: 63).

Bakhtin's description of the interactive, responsive and generative nature of the relationship between speaker and listener focuses my analytical lens on the communicative dynamics of response-oriented utterances shared and exchanged between lecturer and students as a means to mapping the cognitive processes integral to the use of ethnography as a 'psychological tool' in anthropological pedagogy. In delineating the way in which Bakhtin amplifies Vygotsky's sociocultural approach to mind, Wertsch (1991) appropriates one other Bakhtinian idea. This is Bakhtin's notion of 'social language', such as of the academic disciplines. Wertsch (1991: 56-58), notes that for Bakhtin a social language is a way of speaking that is characteristic of a particular group in a particular sociocultural setting, for example, anthropologists in the academy. Thus, a voice or voices engaging in dialogue represent a 'category of voice' producing uniquely socially-situated utterances that in the institutional setting of academia take shape as "a specific kind of dialogicality that Bakhtin conceptualises as *ventriloquation*" (Bakhtin 1981; Holquist 1981; original italics). This process means that one voice speaks through another voice type as is the case in disciplinary anthropological parlance.

In turn, in the Vygotskian paradigm of socially-situated mind, this means that cognitive processes are also inflected by and through the social language idiom of voices in dialogue. In this regard, then, Wertsch's (1991) concept of, "voices of the mind" reflects the combination of individual and collective anthropological voice(s), simultaneously creating and expressing heterogeneity of thought, through mind as a function, pedagogically situated in the sociocultural context of an anthropology classroom. Thus, Wertsch's (1991) notion of "voices of the mind" constitutes the powerful analytical affordances of a Bakhtinian-Vygotksian perspective for understanding cognition. Together, these theorists provide an

analytical approach to ethnography as an inscribed anthropological language, particularly as it mediates the voices of the lecturer and students who are collaboratively engaged in conceptually understanding sociocultural worlds. This process is refined by another Bakhtinian meditational tool: "the speech genre" (1986: 78).

In Bakhtin's view:

> We speak only in definite speech genres, that is, all our utterances have definite and relatively stable typical *forms of construction of the whole*. Our repertoire of oral [and written] speech genres is rich. (ibid; original italics).

In Bakhtin's claim above, my inclusion of written speech genres is crucial for an analysis of ethnography as a mediating 'psychological tool' in teaching and learning anthropology. In fact, I argue that ethnography as a text is another *ventriloquist* voice in the classroom because as Bruner (2006: 31) notes:

> [S]chools do not create literate techniques they specialize them [a] written text specialises thought in such a way as to serve those analytical functions characteristic of the scholar's intellect [so that] thinking textually hugely increases one's tendencies to be analytic in metacognitive understanding.

Relatedly, Wittgenstein's dictum that meaning-making involves a grasp of the way in which language is used in a particular cultural context, for example, students' socialisation in an academically communicative sense, means that cognitive modes differentiate the rules of expression and the compositional rules of thought (Bruner 2006: 124), as in anthropological modes of thought and speech. Therefore an important aspect of Vygotsky's (1987) notion of semiotic mediation as a 'psychological tool' relates to the use of ethnography as a textual form of semiotic mediation in McLuhan's (1967) sense of the medium being the message that shapes idiosyncratic thought forms. Thus, in drawing on the anthropological and educational-psychology literature related to a social theory of learning, the challenge of this

ethnography of anthropological pedagogy is to explicate how anthropological knowledge and skills in lecturer and students' exchanges of shared meanings are mediated by ethnography in a culture of teaching and learning anthropology.

The task is methodologically framed by Vygotsky's (1978) theory of a sociocultural-historical theory of socially-situated learning and to reiterate by Geertz's (1988) argument that:

> [t]he ethnographer as writer posits a goal – to give evidence, to explain, to instruct … It, [the ethnography] is … an instrument of communication, a vehicle of thought,

in the context of the teaching and learning of anthropology in the academic context of higher education. In this respect, my task is specifically informed by how the research is encapsulated within a theoretical framework of a community of disciplinary practice as a quintessentially germane aspect of a review of the literature below, informing this study.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The concept of an academic discipline as encompassing a knowledge domain mediated by an idiosyncratic cognitive style and set of professional activities (Becher 1989: 20) denotes, in effect, a *community of practice* as:

> [A] kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise [and] … a shared repertoire of ways of doing things (Wenger 1998: 45-49).

Silverman's (2001) triple combination of "talk, text and interpretation"[15] in *Interpreting Qualitative Data* captures this shared praxis of knowledge form and intellectual approach in

[15] The concept of 'talk, text and interpretation' are embedded in title of the author's book: Silverman, D. (2001) *Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analysing talk, text and interaction.* Sage: London.

anthropology as it is researched, taught and studied as a social science discipline. In combination with Lave's (1991: 63) notion of *situated learning* in a community of practice, this synthesis of knowledge field, cognitive style and culturally-situated professional activity provides a social praxis theoretical frame for this research into how ethnography acts as an instructional tool in teaching and learning anthropology.

In *Nature* [470], Adam Kuper acknowledges the disparate sub-fields of anthropology but notes that:

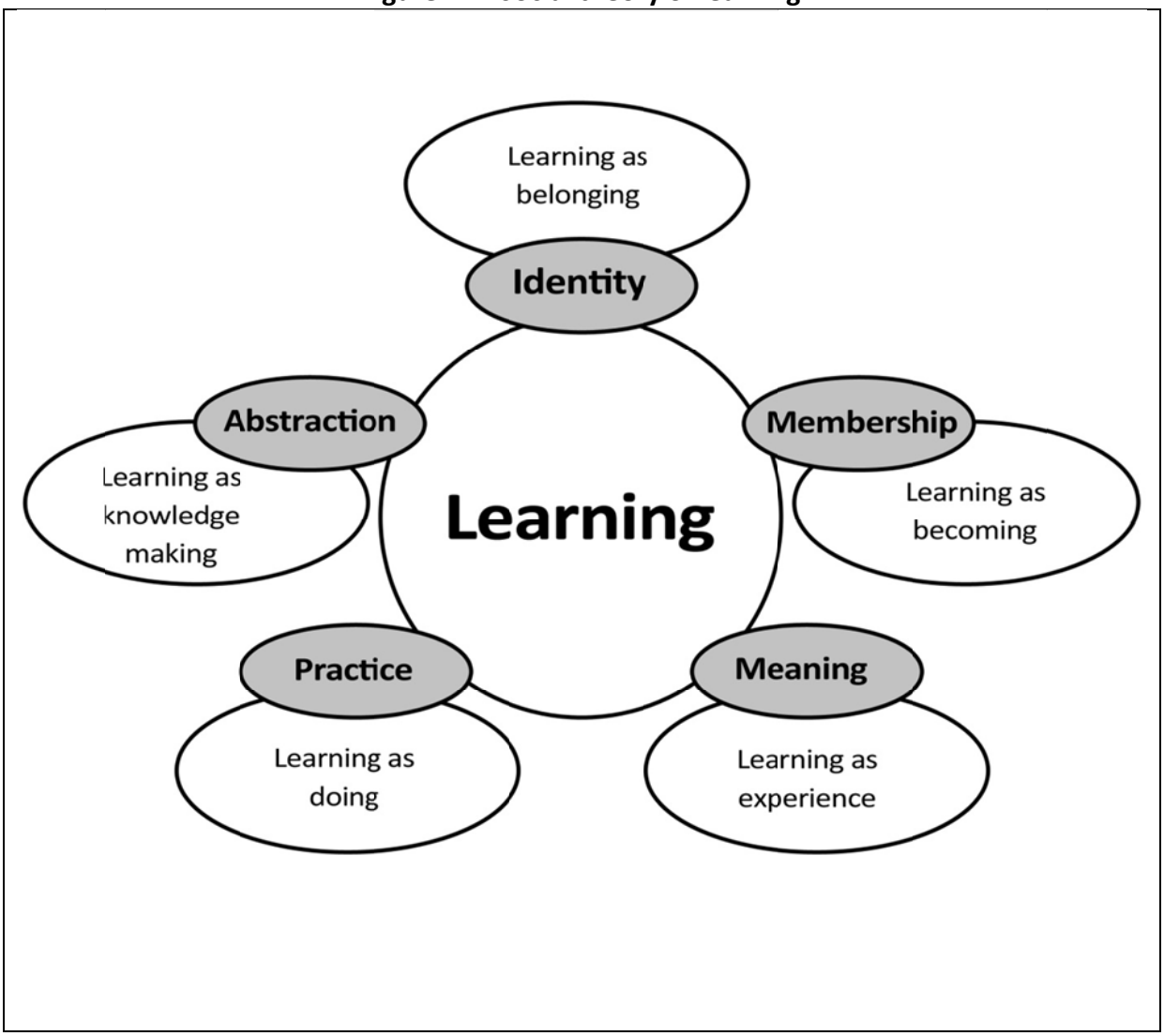
> Anthropologists share a common cause [in that] [t]hey would agree that anyone one who makes claims about human nature must learn a lot of ethnography (2001: 3).

Working within Lave and Wenger's social theory of learning paradigm to investigate how ethnography mediates anthropological pedagogy it is instructive to map the ways in which "practice, person [and] social world" (1991: 47-58) engage a lecturer and students in interconnected ways of thinking, knowing and understanding, that Yates (1985) notes as a "method of enquiry is inseparable from the experience in which it is realised" (cited in Becher 1996: 39). This participatory pedagogy, Lave and Wenger (1991: 25) claim, "dissolves dichotomies between cerebral and embodied activity, between contemplation and involvement, between abstraction and experience" by engaging the whole person acting in a particular sociocultural and historically shaped world. It is a theory of learning mediated by 'socially distributed cognition' (Vygotsky 1978; Wertsch 1991; Rogoff and Lave 1984) in which learning is mutually constituted by active co-participation in negotiating and renegotiating meaning in a socially-mediated setting (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 51-52)[16].

[16] Wenger (1998: 280) notes that social theories of learning incorporate a number of different foci:

In Figure 1, I draw critically on Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory of learning as an analytical perspective as it informs the concept of a community of anthropological practice. Within the neo-Vygotsky's paradigm, I adapt Wenger's (1998: 5) social theory of learning Figure 0.1, as re-presented in **Figure 1** (below), to incorporate learning as discursively abstract engagement with concepts in an anthropology seminar.

Figure 1: A social theory of learning



Adapted from Wenger (1998: 5)

(i) *interaction* involving learning by imitation or modelling (ii), *activity* in which learning occurs in the gap between the historical development of an activity e.g. language and a learner's developmental ability to speak a language via scaffolding by a more experienced in a "zone of proximal development" (Vygotsky, 1978: 84-88; Wertsch, 1985; Engestöm 1987), (iii) *socialization* in which learning evolves in group membership via an internalization of group norms and a transformation of self-identity and (iv) *organization* in which learners appropriate context-specific norms via organizational systems, structures, politics and institutional forms of memory but are both shaped by and shape an organization.

For the purpose of my research, and to explicate the network of concepts in **Figure 1** as dynamically inter-linked in social learning theory regarding: **Identity** (learning as belonging), **membership** (learning as becoming), **meaning** (learning as experience), **practice** (learning as doing), and **abstraction** (learning as conceptualising), I develop the significance of this web of teaching and learning strategies as these are pedagogically mediated by anthropological "talk, text and interpretation" (Silverman, 2001**)** to illustrate the relevance of a sociocultural-historical theory of learning (Vygotsky, 1978). The strands in Wenger's (1999) social theory of learning do not constitute a discrete entity in socially mediated praxis and so, for analytical purposes, I summarise the relevance of each in the following section.

2.4.1 Communities of practice

2.4.2 *Community*: *learning as belonging*

As noted above, in discussing the constitutive elements of an academic discipline (Becher, 1989: 19-34) notes that membership of a community involves a sense of identity and personal commitment, invoking Geertz's (1983: 155) existential notion of disciplinarity as a "way of being in the world", a matter of taking on "a cultural frame", that may begin in the undergraduate years but is most intense at the postgraduate stage. What is the cultural frame and what enables Geertz's way of "being in the world" for anthropology lecturer and students? In *Works and Lives* (1988: 1-24) Geertz discusses the anthropologist as author of ethnographic texts and makes a distinction between a notion of "Being There" as being away doing ethnography in the world of the research field, and "Being Here" (ibid: 129-149) as being back home in the university writing ethnographic accounts in "the world of lecterns, libraries, blackboards and seminars" (ibid: 129). In self-reflexive mode Geertz goes on to argue, "It is Being Here, a scholar among scholars that gets your anthropology read …

published, reviewed, cited, taught." (ibid: 130). However, Geertz is not only describing, "Being Here" as a context of authorship as this context is also one of anthropological pedagogy enveloping and shaping the belongingness of the anthropology student's academic experience. Ethnography is integral to this community of practice, doing it, writing it, teaching it. To understand "learning as belonging to … a community of practice" (Wenger, 1998: 5), I examine ethnography as a research methodology in anthropology's cultural praxis and as a cultural-artefact (Bruner, 1996) text pedagogic-tool through the way ethnography links these elements of an anthropological worldview in disciplinary pedagogy. Appositely Brunner (1996: X-XI) notes, "[Y]ou cannot understand mental activity unless you take into account the cultural setting and its resources, the very things that give mind its shape and scope". A theory of learning as social practice enables this research because the academic context of higher education, as an encapsulating environment is a socially constituted world in which using social learning theory as an analytical perspective enables understanding of the:

> objective forms and systems of activity, on the one hand, and agents' subjective and intersubjective understandings of them, on the other, [as these] mutually constitute both the world and its experienced forms (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 51).

Belonging is a "way of being in the world" (Geertz, 1988) that social learning practice theorists claim:

> emphasizes the relational interdependency of agent and world, activity, meaning, cognition, learning and knowing … [in that] learning, thinking and knowing are relations among people in activity in, with, and arising from the socially culturally structured world (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 51).

In this sense, the shared enterprise of anthropology-lecturer as teacher and students as learners, is best understood by understanding the shared repertoire of ethnographic ways

of doing things (Becher, 1989) as this repertoire is instantiated via "talk, text and interpretation" (Silverman, 2001) in an anthropological community of seminar- classroom practice.

2.4.3 *Community*: *learning as identity formation*

Identity in the sense of becoming a fully-fledged member of a socio-cultural community, making a personal commitment to the *raison d'être* of that membership and evolving a sense of one's Identity as an apprentice to the community's practice, receives attention in social learning theory on the premise that learning involves the whole person in specific activities and social relationships in such a metamorphic way as to become a particular "kind of person" (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 53). A community's activities, tasks and understandings are part of a broader system of relations in which they have meaning and these are reproduced and developed via the construction of identity both as a form of learning and an enactment and affirmation of that identity as form of teaching (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Cain, 1991, Jordon, 1989; Greenfield, 1984). Professional identity formation in an anthropology community is dependent on a *rite de passage* in ethnographic fieldwork. In this respect, based on research of first-person narratives of anthropological careers, Coffey and Atkinson provide insight into "the cultural organization of anthropological work and the signifiers of success" (1996: 65). Both the anthropology lecturer and anthropology student interlocutors in this research confirm that "Fieldwork is what makes a 'proper' anthropologist … it is in essence an initiation into the discipline" (ibid: 97). Identity formation is a recurring tale of surviving fieldwork embodied in experiential learning in a distant fieldsite community, coping with, and overcoming, the culture shock of fieldwork challenges. Yet, concomitantly there is an 'at home' academic supervisor-student

relationship orchestrating one's gradual metamorphosis into an anthropologist. This is apparent (i) in being upgraded to PhD student status eligible to do fieldwork, (ii) in being sent away while keeping in touch, (iii) in returning after a sojourn in the field to an anthropology department that speaks in this anthropological community of ethnographic praxis to Lave and Wenger's (1991) focus on the metier of the whole person. This professionalisation is captured in these authors notion of "peripheral legitimate participation in a community of practice" (1991: 196) in such a way as to suggest that processes of identity formation through ethnographic ways of doing things reveals the role ethnography plays in anthropological pedagogy.

2.4.4 *Community*: *learning as meaningful experience*

Yates (1985,) notes that:

> [t]o the anthropologist, fieldwork is not meant to be about data, it is about experience; the method of enquiry is an internal process, itself inseparable from the experience in which it is realised (cited in Becher 1989: 39).

This experiential meaningfulness resonates with Wenger's (1991: 3-4) argument that learning is emergent in "our ability to experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful" and to devise "a way of talking about our ability – individually and collectively – to experience our life and the world as meaningful". Thus, Geertz's insistence that:

> Anthropologists don't study villages … they study *in* villages … [t]he important thing about anthropologist's findings is their specificness, circumstantiality" (1993: 22; original italics),

is of relevance apropos investigating a social theory of learning.

This circumstantiality is aptly glossed by Lave and Wenger as "situated learning" (1991:67).

I examine learning as experiential meaning-making *in* the world-as-anthropology-classroom by investigating the way in which a lecturer's and students' shared cognitive agency is inflected by their circumstantial-situatedness in the structural system of the academy as they engage in anthropological pedagogy (again) via ethnographic "talk, text and interpretation" (Silverman, 2001**).** I argue that an anthropology classroom is an experiential fieldsite in the sense that the questioning enquiry-driven mores of teaching and learning anthropology replicates fieldwork investigation. This is so in the way in which the objective method of classroom inquiry engages the subjective minutiae of the everyday via ethnographic texts to explicate conceptual understanding of anthropological study of a culture context in the classroom.

The findings of my Master's research into: '*How do students appropriate an anthropological concept of childhood*?' provides an illustrative case in point in that in developing an understanding of childhood as an anthropological concept, students initially drew on everyday experiential understandings of childhood as these informed and framed their spontaneous conceptual understanding of childhood. However common-sense understanding also constrained students' social-scientific understanding necessitating subjecting spontaneous understanding to critical anthropological analysis. Yet, in anthropologically appropriating a concept of childhood, a reciprocal relationship existed between spontaneous and scientific concepts of childhood via cognitive pathways in which every-day and scientific understanding inter-animated one and other. Thus, the internalisation of an anthropological meaning of childhood in being psychologically restructured by engaging common-sense and scientific conceptualisations, through critical reflexion and analysis in the socio-cognitive processes of meaningful learning in an

anthropology tutorial, transformed the meaning of childhood mediated by an academic way of talking about our experiences as an abstractly meaningful learning experience (Coary Taylor, 2001).

2.4.5 *Community*: *learning as doing*

Wenger (1991: 4), in delineating a social theory of learning emphasises the dynamic of "learning as social participation" through practice-based learning by doing, via praxis he defines as "a way of talking about the shared historical and social resources, frameworks, and perspectives that can sustain mutual engagement in action" (ibid: 5). In my research into how ethnography mediates anthropological pedagogy, I analyse through non participant-observation, the structure of anthropology's cognitive universe, as this is linguistically encoded in an anthropology seminar-classroom. The origins of university classroom pedagogy in British social anthropology may be appositely traced to Malinowki's the research seminar. The seminar continues to be a key pedagogic context of both British social and American cultural anthropology[17]. My research focuses on the University of the Witwatersrand, Department of Anthropology seminar as a small-group teaching situation in which lecturer-guided, critically oriented discussion, based on ethnographic texts, facilitates the teaching and learning of anthropology. This is because the seminar in teaching anthropology is the key pedagogic context in which anthropology students are professionally acculturated into the *raison d'être* and modus operandi of anthropology via the "shared historical and social resources, frameworks and perspectives" (Wenger, 1991: 4)

[17] The University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), Department of Anthropology was established as the Department of Bantu Studies, in 1923. Originally, the Wits anthropology department taught a British social anthropology curriculum. However since the appointment of several American cultural anthropologists in the 1990s, the curriculum now incorporates both social and cultural anthropology, in keeping with academic trends since the post 1980s postmodern moment.

of the discipline. How this pedagogic enculturation occurs in the anthropology classroom is investigated using Wertsch's (1991) concept of "voices of the mind" as a tool of analysis to explore teaching and learning as social participation in dialogic exchange between anthropology lecturer and students actively engaging with ethnographic texts as a knowledge domain medium of disciplinary pedagogic praxis. This post-graduate seminar learning and teaching is best viewed as 'study in progress': as students move through teacher-guided developmental learning in critical discussion of prescribed readings that interactively constitutes the socioculturally-situated educational process of anthropological pedagogy through "talk text and interpretation" (Silverman, 2001). In tracking this process it is possible to synchronically and diachronically observe, document, and analytically trace the moments and changing phases of cognitive understanding in each seminar.

2.4.6 *Community: learning as knowledge making*

Understanding a community of practice as it relates to higher education, as a community of knowledge-making, must take cognisance of teaching and learning as a process of intellectual abstraction. In incorporating abstract thought into a social theory of learning, my intention is to interpret the teaching and learning process through Wenger's (1995) interrelated facets of 'belonging, becoming, experiencing and doing' as mediatory forms of socio-existential knowing – but cumulatively I also seek to interpret them as "psychological pathways to meaningful internalisation" (Ian Moll, pers. comm. 23/2/11) of conceptually abstract knowledge formation. In this respect, Corsin Jiménez argues that:

> Ethnography … is essentially a knowledge-practice … not because it produces knowledge, but because it *mobilizes* knowledge [via] specific constellations and arrangements of people-in-places [that] affect the routes we take into, and the way we come to think about, such arrangements … as strategies and

> resources that we … employ in order to understand an on-going situation (2003: 5; original italics).

Corsin Jiménez point, with which I agree, is that in the anthropological praxis of "teaching the field" (ibid: 1) it is illusory to make a distinction between the field of participant-observation, in the ethnographic fieldsite and the field of reflection and analysis in the writing of an ethnographic text. To his argument I add the field of pedagogic understanding, the anthropology classroom, in order to bridge these fields of knowledge via what Strathern (1999: 6, cited in Corsín Jiménez, 2003: 4) calls 'ethnographic moments' of anthropological analysis that is always in the making. This is because as Corsin Jiménez argues:

> [T]he ethnographicness of the moment is emplaced in the analyst, for it is she who carries within herself the horizon of her own ethnographic understanding" (2003: 4).

If this is so, such an encapsulation is also true for the student of anthropology: because if ethnography is "mapping out a field of knowledge" (ibid: 5) then the dialogue between anthropology lecturer and students via analytical classroom-talk engaging ethnographic texts premised on ethnographic fieldwork to distil on-going ethnographic interpretation, renders teaching a form of ethnography to be investigated as an educational process in a community of practice. Each field nexus constitutes a differing order of knowledge: the field site is the source of the empirical data, the ethnographic text a particular anthropologist's interpretation of the data, the anthropology classroom is a pedagogic engagement with the text where the aim is to make sense of different worlds as these are ethnographically refracted in ethnographic text(s) that reflexively make sense of one's own world. Thus, the anthropology classroom instantiates a mapping out via webs of significance (Geertz, 1993: 5) in a dialogue between anthropology lecturer and students mediated by ethnography as

an anthropological field of knowledge (Gudeman and Rivera, 1990) that is emergent in the attributes of a *community of practice* as defined by Wenger (1991). My research examines how in the reverberating dialogue between lecturer, students and text:

> teaching evinces the longest durée of anthropological thought: from working out the field, to doing fieldwork, to thinking through and sharing … findings … comparing … discussing … writing about … [and] teaching them as … [the] paradigmatic form of anthropological knowledge" (Corsin Jiménz 2003: 7).

Thus within Vygotsky's (1987) sociocultural-historical theory of cognitive development and neo-Vygotskian's social theories of learning, interdisciplinarily, I methodologically apply Vygotsky's (1978: 62) micro-genetic-developmental approach to analyse processually how conceptually ethnography acts as a 'psychological tool' and thus a instructional tool in teaching and learning anthropology.

Chapter Three

3. Methodology

3.1. Introductory Remarks:

In Chapter Three, in the discussion of my methodology, I integrate theorists from the field of Education, the discipline of psychology, and the discipline of Anthropology. In so doing, by drawing on these intellectual sources, I devise a multi-stranded methodology that is quite complex. My approach, however, is intended to make a contribution to knowledge in bringing education and anthropology into a methodologically-symbiotic conversation. For this reason, as a methodology chapter, Chapter Three is quite long and therefore I ask the reader to, please, bear with me in the discussion that follows below.

The exploratory nature of the research question: How does ethnography act as an instructional tool in teaching and learning anthropology?[18] is designed to explicate (i) how a lecturer draws on ethnography in teaching anthropology, and (ii) how students' engage with ethnography as a 'psychological tool' in learning anthropology. Drawing on the academic and anthropological literature, the research is theoretically informed by theories of disciplinary culture (Becher, 1989; Bourdieu, 1977; 1988), together with theories of ethnography as a fieldwork approach (Malinowski, 1922), and as a genre text (Geertz 1993, 1988). Drawing on the education-psychology literature, the research is informed by Vygotsky's seminal cultural-historical theory of developmental psychology (1987) as it is explicated by neo-Vygotskian sociological and psychological theories, and a theory of

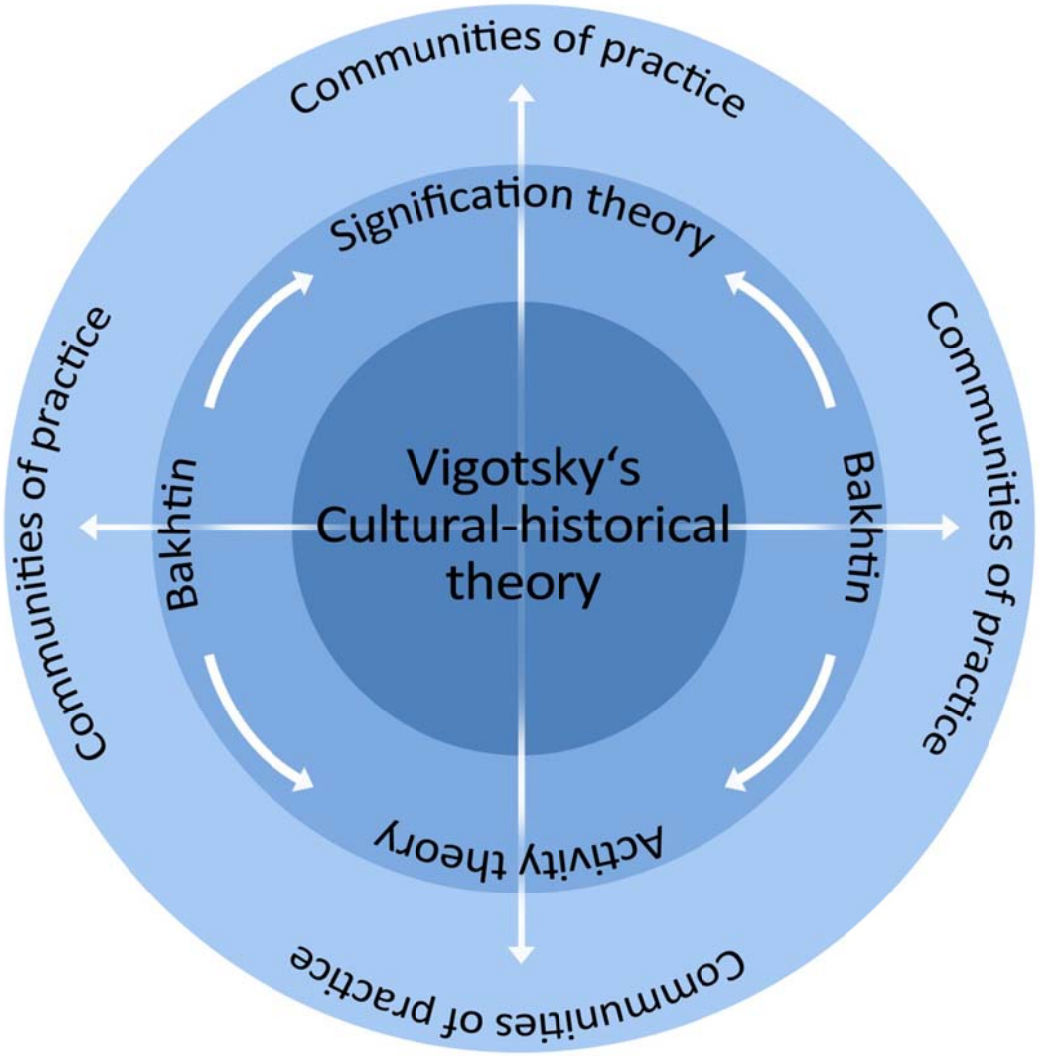
[18] I recognise that there are different ways of doing ethnography by drawing on a tool-kit of ethnographic methods, and that there are different forms of ethnography, for example: realist, critical, confessional, life history and so on. In this study the ethnographies as texts are the product of classical long-term intensive fieldwork, or articles about ethnography of this type.

socially-situated learning in a 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1998; Lave and Wenger, 1991), In **Figure 2** (overleaf), I illustrate the way in which Vygotsky's seminal theory inflects neo-Vygotskian 'activity theory' (Wertsh, 1991), and 'signification theory' (Miller, 2011) as these two approaches are mediated by Bakhtin's theory of 'dialogicality', and how in praxis all of these theories are enacted within an academic 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1998).

In the deep blue circle in **Figure 2** Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory of cognitive development is depicted at the core of three interlinked circles of my conception of the process of teaching and learning in the South African Ethnography seminar class. The straight arrows extend outward to the enveloping outer pale blue circle depicting SAE as an academic 'community of practice' and thus refers to how Vygotsky's theory of socio-culturally situated developmental learning theory informs Lave and Wenger's (1991) conception of learners as 'legitmate peripheral participants' as in this instance in the postgraduate students in an anthropology class. The inner mid-blue circle with the arced arrows shows Wertsch's (1991, 1998) neo-Vygotskian intermental 'activity theory of learning' interpretation opposite to MIller's (2011) neo-Vygotskian intramental 'signification theory of learning' as mediated by Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of 'voices of the mind'.

Figure 2 is further elaborated in **Table 2** (overleaf).

Figure 2: Vygotsky's inflection of neo-Vygotskian sociocultural theories of learning



In this section, in discussing **Figure 2,** I focus on neo-Vygotskian 'activity theory' (Cole *et al*., 1978; Cole, 1985; Wertsch, 1991; 1998**)** and 'signification theory' (Miller, 2011) to explain and justify how, methodologically, these theories provide a *precise* understanding of the role of ethnography in anthropological pedagogy. Slominsky (2012: 84) argues that, in interpreting Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory; 'activity theory' interprets Vygotksy's seminal ideas in a *mind in society* idiom, whereas 'signification theory' interprets Vygotsky in a *society in mind* idiom, such that these two schools of thought are irreconcilable. With

respect to this problematic, I argue that Wertsch's (1991) 'activity theory' and Miller's (2011) 'signification theory' are rather differing orientations and methodological approaches within Vygotsky's seminal theory of educational psychology. I discuss James Wertsch's work as the key proponent of 'activity theory' and Ronald Miller as a critic of 'activity theory' and the key proponent of 'signification theory'. The different elements of each theorist's interpretation are summarised in **Table 2** (below).

Table 2: interpretations of Vygotsky's cultural-historical psychology

Neo-Vygotskian interpretation	**Neo-Vygotskian interpretation**
Wertsch (1991)	Miller (2011)
activity theory	signification theory
mind in society	society in mind
psychological tools (technical tool or sign)[19]	psychological tools (sign only)
cognitive mediation on intermental plane	cognitive mediation on intramental plane
sociocultural and individual	sociocultural in individual
concept development via sociocultural appropriation	concept development via social individual internalisation
culture as historic legacy	history in cultural processes

To understand the different orientations of 'activity theory' and 'signification theory' it is necessary first to explain Vygotsky's (1987) concept of how learning takes place within a *zone of proximal development* defined as:

> *[T]he distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers* (pp. 209-214, cited in Cole et al., 1978: 86; original italics).

[19] Wertsch (1991) includes vaulting poles (1995b: 65) and signs systems such as language (1991: 29) in the category of 'psychological tools'.

Within this social space, Wertsch (1991: 28) interprets Vygotsky's 'zone of proximal development' as moments in the teaching and learning process in which a pupil and more experienced other negotiate, via distributed cognition (Rogoff, 1984) an epistemic task mediated by 'psychological tools'. This cognitively-outward orientation of learning shaped by 'psychological tools', for example, a puzzle as a historically evolved cultural artefact (Cole, 1996) – occurs between a teacher and pupil in a sociocultural context in which milieu and mediational means (ibid: 12) shape cognition first on the intermental plane, and derivatively, on the intramental plane. Whereas, Miller (2011: 29) in explicating Vygotsky's '*zone of proximal development*' emphasises the inwardly-oriented function of 'psychological tools', – for example, a knot tied as a memory prompt as a historically devised cultural symbol that people consciously make to mediate an internal mental process. Miller (2011) problematises Wertsch's (1991) negotiated configuration of teaching and learning via the intermental plane of the social as it influences the individual, in favour of a configuration of learning and teaching via the intramental plane of the social internalised by the individual. Thus, these two interpretive orientations, alternatively, represent (i) a conception of the social *and* the individual in teaching and learning (Wertsch, 1991) and (ii) a conception of the social *in* the individual in learning and teaching (Miller 2011). In this way, Miller (2011) emphasises the agentic social individual whereas Wertsch (1991) emphasises the socialised individual.

Pedagogically for example in tracing concept development, Wertsch (1991) gives analytical priority to an epistemic task activity in the (inter)action between teacher and learner via language as a 'psychological tool' in an appropriative form of understanding. In contrast, Miller (2011) gives analytical priority to the understanding of 'word meaning' via language

as a 'psychological tool' as an internalising process of the interactive exchange between learner and teacher. In effect, Wertsch's (1991) orientation is sociological whereas Miller's (2011) is psychological. My reading of these two key neo-Vygotskyian theorists' explications of Vygotsky's oeuvre is that their interpretations represent differing orientations of the same epistemic object. It is thus necessary to integrate their insights in order to trace how ethnography mediates anthropological pedagogy – for example, via concept development. My research, focusing as it does on a process-analysis of a student's conceptual understanding in seminar presentations in a South African Ethnography (SAE) course in the Wits' Anthropology Department, leads me to draw empirically on Wertsch's (1991) concept of ''voices of the mind" as a methodological lens onto the intermental plane of distributed cognition (Rogoff, 184). Importantly, however, this is in conjunction with Miller's (2011) focus on the understanding of "word-meaning" as a methodological lens onto the intramental plane of each student's internalised degree of understanding of anthropological concepts.

With respect to understanding concepts Vygotsky (1987: 285) argues that:

> The meaningful word is a microcosm of human consciousness.

Therefore, in integrating Miller's (2011) 'word-meaning' unit of analysis with Wertsch's (1978) 'voices of the mind' unit of analysis, this double-stranded analytical approach to understanding how ethnography acts as an instructional tool in anthropological pedagogy requires a mediating theory. It is here that I turn to Mikhail Bakhtin's (1986: 125-128) theory of "dialogicality" which effectively brings Miller (2011) and Wertsch (1987) into mutually analytical conversation with one and other. I set out the ways in which Bakhtin (1981; 1984; 1986) mediates Wertsch's and Miller's differing interpretations of Vygotsky (1962, 1978) in

Table 3 and elaborate on this triple-stranded engagement of a Miller-Bakhtin-Wertsch as an analytical approach in the discussion that follows.

Table 3: How Bakhtin mediates Wertsch and Miller

Vygotsky's Elements	Ronald Miller	James Wertsch	Mikhail Bakhtin
Theory	Signification theory: semiotic analysis	Activity theory: pedagogic task analysis	Dialogic theory: engages and mediates both Miller's and Wertsch's interpretive perspectives of Vygotsky (19XX)
Cognition	focus is on mind as individual consciousness (knowing) and conscious awareness (knowing that one knows i.e. meta-consciousness)	focus is on mind as socially-distributed cognition	Voice as an 'utterance' is a "speaking personality" or "speaking consciousness" (Holquist & Emerson, 1981:434) enabling insight into the "voice(s) of the mind" (Wertsch 1991).
Key Unit of Analysis	'word-meaning'	'practical activity'	Ethnography is author-text rendered in ethnographic concepts as 'word-meanings' that are culturally-indexed linguistic signs. Ethnographic concepts are 'psychological tools' in SAE seminars mediating understanding of superordinate concepts, firstly on the intermental cognitive plane and secondarily and derivatively on the intramental cognitive plane in the process of conceptual development. (cf ZPD, Vygotsky 1978, 1987)
Methodology	designed to investigate psychological activity (mentalist orientation)	designed to investigate task activity (empiricist orientation)	SAE seminar voices in dialogue allow a socio-genetic (Miller 2011) process analysis of concept development via each student's presentation in the socio-cultural-historical-institutional setting of the SAE class.
Mediation	focus →intramental plane	focus →intermental plane	Dialogic SAE voices provide via a social language & speech genre(s) lens onto both inter and intra psychological orientations, insight into the semantic understanding of an individual student and/or the shared understanding of a dyad (lecturer & student) and/or group understanding via verbalised external↔internal cognitive pathways
Tools (as mediators)	focus is on psychological tools as signs or sign systems	focus is on material cultural artefact as psychological tools, that includes signs as psychological tools	Ethnography is a 'special type' of sign-based psychological tool in being both (i) a fieldwork-oriented methodological process and (ii) a genre text – i.e. disciplinarily, it is both a socio-linguistic research process and as a product of this process a cultural artefact. Thus it incorporates both Miller's & Wertsch's understanding of Vygotsky's concept of tools – psychological & cultural – as cognitively mediating phenomena.
Speech (in pedagogy)	primary focus is on inner-speech as (i) self-regulating (ii) intra-subjective & reflective of imaginative design pre-planning i.e. (iii) speech as thought	primary focus is on externalized-speech as (i) other-regulating (ii) inter-subjective as in negotiating cognitive task-oriented operations i.e. (iii) thought as speech	Analysis of voice(s) in 'dialogue', through 'utterance(s), incorporating social language-speech genres, 'ventriloquation', 'privileging, & 'echo' (resonance) – all represent verbal forms of 'heterogeneity of thought' in context i.e. 'dialogicality' as a lens onto the socio-cultural-historical-institutional context of the SAE seminar class as this is mediated by ethnography.

(i) Theoretically, in an analysis of cognition and cognitive processes, Bakhtin's theory of dialogicality enables an engagement of Wertsch's and Miller's interpretive perspectives on Vygotsky (1962, 1978) because according to Bakhtin a "voice" as "utterance" is a "speaking personality or speaking consciousness" **(**Bakhtin, 1981: 434)[20]. This conception of voice as a "speaking consciousness" indexes Miller's (2011) intramental cognitive focus on the mind as a social individual's "conscious awareness" (ibid: 391-392) of knowing, and "conscious

[20] With regard to signs as 'psychological tools', Wertsch (1991) draws on Bakhtin's concept of a "speaking consciousness" but only with reference to "speaking consciousnesses" in "socially-distributed cognition" via the interaction of teacher and learner on the externalised interrmental plane of epistemic task activity.

awareness about" (ibid), that is, knowing that one knows, as meta-consciousness. However, equally in the South African Ethnography seminar, Wertsch's (1978) focus on "voices of the mind' as socially-distributed intermental cognition is accessible in the shared 'dialogic' consciousness of the SAE seminar discussion of the participant student group.

(ii) Methodologically, Bakhtin's theory of dialogicality with reference to SAE seminar voices in dialogue enables a socio-genetic (Wertsch, 1991) process analysis of concept development that simultaneously enables a psycho-genetic (Miller, 2011) analysis of students' developmental understanding of concepts as 'word-meanings' in the socio-cultural-institutional setting of an anthropology class.

(iii) Conversationally, Bakhtin's theory of dialogicality enables analysis of voices in dialogue through which I am able to trace the ethnographically inflected group and individual genetic processes of concept development via lecturer-guided discussion in the sociocultural-institutional setting of the anthropology seminar class. And in so doing to trace both individual student psychological activity via Miller's (2011) intramental orientation while simultaneously analysing each weekly seminar's pedagogic task activity via Wertsh's (1987) intermental orientation.

(iv) Analytically, this process is further illuminated by Bakhtin's argument about his theory of dialogicality that "a voice or voices in dialogue speak a "social language" (1986: 78–80), for example, the social language of academia, but also and additionally in a "speech genre", for example, in disciplinary nuanced anthropology vernacular. This idiomatic dialogue provides a richly insightful lens onto both inter-psychological and intra-psychological

orientations of semiotic understanding verbalised in a two-way external ↔ internal and internal ↔ external discursive cognitive pathways in an SAE seminar class.

(v) Mediationally, with respect to 'psychological tools', Bakhtin's theory of dialogicality indexing voice as "utterance" that is a "speaking personality or speaking consciousness" (Bakhtin, 1981: 434) also provides an analytical lens onto how ethnography mediates anthropological pedagogy, given that ethnography as an authored-text voices ethnographic concepts as culturally indexed 'word-meanings' (Miller, 2011) acting as 'psychological tools' mediating cognition in an anthropology seminar on both the intermental and intramental plane. This is because ethnography inflects individual and shared conceptual understanding in mediating disciplinary knowledge in an SAE seminar class.

(vi) Cumulatively, Bakhtin's theory of dialogicality, illustrates how SAE seminar voices in dialogue about the way in which ethnographic concepts as 'psychological tools' mediate semiotic understanding of each seminar's superordinate concept to explicate understanding of each seminar's anthropological topic and can be analytically traced on the intermental cognitive plane and derivatively on the intramental cognitive plane of seminar discussion.

In his study of real concepts, Vygotsky (1987: 167-241) devised an analytical frame for understanding, in developmental terms, a concept's "structure of generalisation." (ibid: 227) This is possible, Vygotsky argues, by mapping "a concept's measure of generality" (ibid: 227). In understanding real concepts Vygotsky (1962: 82-118) argues, "conceptual development involves a series of changes in perception of word meaning" which requires reflective awareness and deliberate control to enable new ways of seeing things and opens

up new possibilities for handling them" (ibid: 91). He elaborates on this claim by going on to argue that scientific or real concepts are always part of a system of concepts such that:

> [A] concept can become subject to conscious and deliberate control only when it is part of a system. If consciousness means generalization, generalization in turn means the formation of a superordinate concept that includes the given concept as a particular case. A superordinate concept implies the existence of a series of subordinate concepts, and it also presupposes a hierarchy of concepts of different levels of generality. Thus the concept is placed within a system of relations of generality (1962: 92).

Vygotsky's claim about a concept's "structure of generalisation" and the possibility of mapping a concept's "measure of generality" (1987: 227) is illustrated by key anthropological concepts informing the South African Ethnography course. Each seminar topic is signified by a superordinate or metaconcept (hereafter metaconcept). For example in the lecturer's presentation of Seminar One (as a model seminar), the metaconcept is a '***social situation***' with this metaconcept explicated in relation to the subconcepts of: '*situational selection*', '*conflict*', '*relationships*' and '*multiple identities*'[21]. In each selected seminar, I therefore trace a particular Student Presenter's conceptual understanding of a meta-anthropological concept as this metaconcept is explicated in her/his presentation of its changing "measure of generality" (Vygotsky, 1987: 227) via a set of ethnographic subconcepts. In conducting this genetic-process analysis, I combine Miller's (2011: 20) emphasis on understanding of "word-meaning" as a unit of analysis through Wertsch's "voices of the mind", socially distributed cognition (1991) unit of analysis as a dual-tool of analysis. In that each seminar's metaconcept is anthropologically explicated by a set of key ethnographic subconcepts, in tracking the cognitive processes of each student presenter's conceptual understanding, I also trace how this student draws on and works with elements

[21] In the analyses Chapters Four to Seven: in my analysis of a Students Presenter's conceptual development, metaconcepts are embolded, italicised, and enclosed in single parenthesis. Ethnographic concepts and related subconcepts are italicised and enclosed in single parenthesis.

of ethnography (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007), for example, context, narratives of the immediate, agency, comparison and concepts[22] to explain how this combination of key ethnographic concepts and elements of ethnography mediate understanding of a seminar's metaconcept.

My pedagogic analysis of voices as utterances in a dialogue of social language-speech genres incorporating Bakhtin's (1986: 108) complimentary concept of "ventriloquation"[23] or multivoicedness is indicative of a student's degree of conceptual understanding as dialogically captured in a seminar group's heterogeneity of thought discussion negotiating concept development. Thus, Bakhtin's core concept of "dialogicality" provides a lens onto the sociocultural-historical-institutional context of "voices of the mind" (Wertsch, 1991) in the South African Ethnography (SAE) seminar as anthropological concepts are semiotically mediated by ethnography as a 'psychological tool'. This is because Bakhtin's (1986: 62-63) conception of voice as a "speaking consciousness" utterance (Bakhtin, 1981: 434), enables a focus on externalised speech as other-regulating intersubjective thought as speech, while also permitting a focus on inner-speech as self-regulating and intrasubjective speech as thought. I argue that Bakhtin's 'dialogicality' theory mediates Miller's 'signification' theory and Wertsch's 'activity' theory and, as I have said, I apply this triple-stranded approach in my analysis of how ethnography acts as an instructional tool in teaching and learning anthropology. However, first it is necessary to additionally explain my methodological approach to understanding ethnography as a lens onto anthropological praxis in teaching and learning anthropology.

[22] In the analyses Chapters Four to Seven, I type elements of ethnography in Times New Roman font.
[23] Bakhtin term "ventriloquation" refers to a process whereby one voice speaks through another voice or voice type in a social language such as the social language concepts of disciplinary anthropology.

3.2 Ethnography as a lens onto anthropological praxis

In teaching anthropology, ethnographic texts are selected to inform students' understanding of an epistemic task. These texts capture through detailed description and analysis the substance and method of anthropological understanding of ethnographic research. As a text ethnography analytically frames a particular set of *emic*/'insider' and *etic*/'outsider', understandings. In explicating these understandings, ethnography incorporates the anthropologist's assumptions and outlines the method(s) employed by an anthropologist in conducting her/his research. Ethnography as a text also encompasses in structural terms a network of interrelated concepts that serve as research tools in conducting analysis and interpretation of the fieldwork data. In these respects, in selecting ethnographic texts for pedagogic purposes the aim of an anthropology-lecturer is to provide students with a lens through which to understand anthropology as an academic discipline.

In developing my methodology, I also draw on Gay y Blasco and Wardle's (2007) *How to Read Ethnography.* These authors argue that, in understanding ethnography as a genre it is a given that ethnography has "implicit codes, conventions and concerns... [that] anthropologists use to create and transmit knowledge about diverse experiential worlds" (p. 1). As readers of ethnography, anthropology students need particular skills to analyse ethnographic texts so as to understand these texts' distinctive quality of anthropological knowledge. Yet, Crook (2006: 358) notes that "ethnographic writing, like other knowledge practices, is governed by a powerful aesthetic that is taken for granted." Gay y Blasco and Wardle's (2007) *How to Read Ethnography* outlines and explains nine elements of ethnography to assist anthropology students read ethnography as a lens onto anthropology. I draw on and adapt Gay y Blasco and Wardle's nine elements of ethnography into an analytical framework in constructing this dimension of my methodology to trace the degree to which students in reading and presenting ethnographic texts in the South African

Ethnography seminar have understood these texts as a lens onto anthropological praxis. I set out this analytical framework of nine elements of ethnography in **Table 4** (below).

Table 4: Nine Elements of Ethnography in anthropological pedagogy

Numbers	Elements of Ethnography	Features of Ethnographic Elements
	Empirical:	**Ethnography as Fieldwork**
1.	**Context**	In ethnography culture-context situates and contextualises the ethnographic fieldsite of a particular culture or cultural niche.
2.	**Narratives of the immediate**	In ethnography narratives of the immediate represent two perspectives: (i) the *emic* perspective of a culture context, and the *etic* perspective of a culture context. In anthropological analysis the *etic* understanding is premised on an understanding of the *emic* perspective. In ethnography there is a tension between the familiar and unfamiliar but narratives of the immediate act as the building blocks of anthropological understanding and writing and in the formation of anthropological concepts all of which is mediated via a conversation with anthropology as an academic discipline.
3.	**Agency**	In ethnography an understanding of agency reveals relationships in the field via an understanding of people's roles and functions in a social structure. The abstracting of particular relationships in an ethnographic text reveals the patterns and logic of a sociocultural world.
4.	**Comparison**	In ethnography comparison of cross-culture contexts includes the ethnographer's comparison of his/her own culture with that of the fieldsite culture.
5.	**Concepts (*emic and etic*)***	In ethnography concepts may be either everyday concepts or scientific concepts (e.g. anthropological concepts) and thus concepts mediate between empiricism and abstraction in ethnography. Thus concepts enable conversation among anthropologists working in different culture contexts.
	Abstract Elements:	**Ethnography as Genre Text**
6.	**Writing culture**	An ethnographer as author composes a holistic text rather than literal representations of lived experience. This holistic literary fiction (Geertz, 1988) is shaped by a research question that circumscribes the ethnographic lens but is nonetheless valid as human-interpretive science.
7.	**Levels of analysis**	At an authorial level ethnography incorporates interweaving description, explanation, explication, interpretation and argument. At a disciplinary level this enables and facilitates critical conversation and debate to refine theory.
8.	**Intellectual Climate**	This milieu includes anthropologists in conversations and their debates and theory making.
9.	**Anthropological praxis**	Ethnography provides a lens onto Anthropology.

In **Table 4:** The nine elements of ethnography are presented as discrete analytical categories for analytical discussion purposes only, as all elements are interwoven in doing and writing ethnography. In my analysis, the elements of ethnography are grouped into three distinct categories sets for analytical purposes:

(i) Elements 1-4: are intrinsic to ethnography as fieldwork methodology
(ii) Element 5: concepts, includes everyday concepts that is *emic* or 'insider' concepts in the field, and *etic* or 'outsider' concepts in ethnographic texts[24]. Thus, concepts mediate the intrinsic ↔ extrinsic link between ethnography as fieldwork and ethnography as text
(iii) Elements 6-9: are intrinsic to the writing of ethnography as a genre text

In Chapters Four, Five, Six, and Seven; I draw on Elements 1-4 in tracing a student's conceptual understanding in giving a seminar presentation in the South African Ethnography course. In Chapter Eight, I draw on Elements 6-9 in analyzing how ethnography acts as an instructional tool in teaching and learning anthropology. In this two-stage analysis, I draw on Element 5, concepts, to show how a student works with concepts as 'psychological tools' to illustrate how ethnography mediates anthropological pedagogy in the South African Ethnography course.

3.3 Ethnographic methods

Within a hermeneutic approach the ethnographic methods of the research project incorporate (i) participant-observation, (ii) interviews, and (iii) documentary research, highlighting the advantages and limitations of each method for a classroom ethnography. Thereafter, the significance of each method as an insightful empirical resource for data

[24] In some instances an ethnographer may be an 'insider' ethnographer studying her/his own culture. In this case, an ethnographer must consciously assume the perspective of an 'ethnographer stranger'.

analysis and interpretation of the role of ethnography in anthropological pedagogy is discussed and substantiated.

In approaching this classroom ethnography, I work critically with a hermeneutic method of interpretive analysis both in the classical sense of hermeneutic interpretation of a written text and in the broader, more contemporary sense of the interpretive process of human action. I use the hermeneutic approach as a method of deconstructing the ethnographic text as an educational resource via ethnography's descriptive detail, concepts, semiotic tropes, argument and evidence. I also analyse classroom-based pedagogic activities via teaching and learning strategies of discussion, debate, analysis, critique. This dual hermeneutic approach provides insight into how the interactive relationship of these processes contributes to the telos of the educational goal and the way in which a particular educational task relationally encompasses and engages with the ethnographic text in a class activity. In this respect, I work within a hermeneutic circle but recognise that, interpretively this circle is not closed and that the research data is open to alternate interpretations.

Anthropology as an interpretive quest renders culture as the discipline's focus of analysis as a text to be read (Geertz, 1993: 10). Ethnography as a genre captures culture by detailed description, semiotic explication and analytical synthesis to intelligibly translate different cultural contexts for the reader. In interpretive anthropology the exegesis of culture as a text involves understanding culture as a public system of shared meanings (Geertz, 1993: 12) via field-research working within an investigative hermeneutic circle entailing participant-observation, interview-questioning to clarify understanding, and writing a

coherently-authored interpretation. In this sense, culture – anthropologically translated – exists for the student in the book, the article, the film, the lecture (ibid: 16).

The study of culture via an ethnographic text in the seminar or lecture is also itself open to hermeneutic interpretation. In the instructive and problematising discourse of anthropological pedagogy subjecting via the plurivocality of ethnography (Agar: 1980), the ambiguity of culture enciphered, the possibility of mistranslation or 'theory-ladeness', and the reification of culture as an ethnographic creation to academic scrutiny is an educational process that in and of itself opens the teaching and learning of anthropology to hermeneutic analysis. Anthropologists participate professionally in a disciplinary tradition in which their teaching is one form of hermeneutic circle engaging conscious and critical reflexion on anthropological praxis that surfaces, evaluates, and substantiates conceptual understanding. Teaching anthropology is a component part of a wider professional practice that is characterised by an idiosyncratic language that encodes common shared meaning(s) and illuminates cultural scenarios for students in a discursive and reflexive approach that is amenable to a hermeneutic classroom ethnography that can both guide an ethnographer of education and elucidate the constituent elements, means and professional performance (Goffman, 1959) of anthropological pedagogy.

Thus, in utilising the hermeneutic method within a social theory of learning framework, this study seeks an epistemological understanding of anthropological pedagogy through an ethnographic study of pedagogy in anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

As a field, Education favours the qualitative research longue durée of the ethnographic approach in that, as a holistic strategy, it conceptually locates the classroom within a wider sociocultural-educational context and facilitates in-depth qualitative research that enables comprehensive data collection of continuous phenomena from the standpoint of insider intentionality and meaning-making in the classroom (Delamont and Hamilton, 1976). Ethnography, defined as a research strategy, offers an eclectic 'tool-kit' of methods including those of participant-observation, interviewing interlocutors, and the close reading of documentary sources. In the sections that follow I describe, appraise and justify in these as effective investigative techniques in the design of this research project.

3.3.1 Classroom Ethnography

3.3.2 *Participant-Observation*

Delamont and Hamilton (1976) in *Explorations in Classroom Observations*, note the need to assess the suitability of research methods in terms of what they are and what they can (or cannot) do as a "knowledge of their deficiencies is as important for their successful use, as an appreciation of their potential" (p.17). Participant-observation as a humanistic and scientific, that is systematic, method, involves immersion in a natural setting as a means to gain experiential knowledge akin to intuitive understanding by direct perception that allows a researcher to speak confidently and convincingly about the meaning of collected data. Figuratively speaking, participant-observation is an oxymoron that, in methodological terms, requires nuanced explication. For example, in classroom observation a category distinction is made between observer and observed – the researcher is physically present but more typically non-participant, yet observed and observer exist on a human continuum such that the notion of non-participant may be sociologically correct but psychologically misleading

(Gussow, 1964). In this research, as an 'insider' ethnographer of a colleague's anthropological pedagogy, Bernard's (2006: 347) denotation of 'observing-participant' is apt. Yet, relative to varying micro-ethnographic contexts within the University of the Witwatersrand Anthropology Department, Gold's (1958) fluid cross-classification of 'participant-as-observer' and 'observer-as-participant' captures the research opportunities available to me. For example, in teaching anthropology, I use on-going 'action-research' as self-reflective inquiry in a pedagogic design-teaching-evaluation feedback loop to improve my pedagogy. I reorient this in-practice strategy, best characterised as 'participant-as-observer' as, in a colleague's classroom, my research perspective is one of 'observer-as-participant'.[25] Furthermore, in the *habitus* of everyday departmental routines including academic conversation, curriculum planning, student consultations and tutor training sessions – as well as the weekly professional seminar – my research role is best characterised as one of full immersion ethnography in the classical anthropological sense.

Participant-observation, paradoxically, both surfaces and reduces a problem of reactivity. In this instance of (i) students and lecturer knowingly being studied and changing their behaviour and/or (ii) the extent to which the process of collecting data changes the data. However, through a process of familiarity and established trust, the prolonged and continuing nature of this study serves to reduce self-conscious reactivity, a result which is well documented in the research-related literature (cf. Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Delamont, 1992; Russell, 2006). One can't escape any social world in order to study it, nor eliminate investigator effect. Nonetheless, by being sensitive to, and conscious of, moments of reactivity and drawing positively on this reactivity as an insightful source of data

[25] I have received permission from my colleague to conduct ethnographic research in his South African Ethnography seminar.

information, I have reoriented this problem into an opportunity for reliable and accurate data collection.

In *Fieldwork in Educational Settings*, Delamont, (1992: 8) argues that doing ethnographic participant-observation classroom research implies that:

> the researcher values the views, perspectives, opinions ... and beliefs of the informants ... she is studying [reiterating that] ... the central method of ethnographic work is observation with the researcher immersing him/herself in the 'new culture'... for prolonged periods in a single ... setting.

As my research is located in a pedagogic culture of teaching in my own Anthropology department, I have treated this familiar setting as ethnographically strange as unfamiliar, a new culture. I have consciously awakened a renewed naivety, a fresh intellectual curiosity and suspended taken-for-granted judgements. Through consciously marginalising my position and perspective, becoming in the ethnographic sense, 'a peripheral member-researcher', my aim has been to understand the cognitive processes integral to teaching and learning anthropology from the 'insider's' perspective – but also to capture these processes as external to my situatedness in my own academic praxis. An 'insider' status gave me access to and credibility with anthropology lecturers and students but conscious of the critiques of 'insider' participant-observation ethnography, I have adopted a meta-perspective on the *emic–etic* dialogic as an 'insider' researcher[26]. In this regard, Peacock (1986: 58) notes the challenges to objective critical analysis in:

> the dilemma of being at once participant and observer, of being inside and outside, engaged yet detached.

[26] In Anthropology the *emic-etic* dialogic refers to the researcher as 'outsider' striving to understand the ethnographic field through the 'insider' mind-eye of her/his interlocutors.

An ameliorative critical evaluation by means of applying "criteria of subjective adequacy" (Bruyn, in Gilbert 1996: 166), is however available to a researcher.

They are:

(i) **time** – the longer the time spent with a group the greater the likelihood of adequacy
(ii) **place** – being close to a group the greater the likelihood of adequacy
(iii) **variety** – the more varied the access to one's informants and the research activities in which one engages the more likely interpretations are to be accurate
(iv) **language** – the greater the fluency and familiarity with its idiom, the more reliable one's observations
(v) **intimacy** – the greater its degree, the more accurate is one's interpretation of meaning
(vi) **confirmation** – the more one can affirm consensus with a group regarding interpretation the more substantive one's findings.

Thus, while continuing to be aware of the problematic of familiarity it has been possible to draw upon Bruyn's set of criteria as a means of applying safeguards against subjective bias and inaccuracy thereby enhancing the objectivity of this study.

In addition to being a rich research strategy, participant-observation ethnography permits the researcher to draw upon multiple resources and to avail of multiple data collecting methods. In the case of this research, interviews with the lecturer and students, constitute an integral part of my departmentally-based research methodology.

3.3.3 Interviews:

In favouring interviews as "a very good way of accessing people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and constructions of reality", Jones (1985: 46) argues:

> In order to understand other persons' construction of reality, we would do well to ask them ... and to ask them in such a way that they can tell us in their

> terms and in a depth which addresses the rich context that is the substance of their meanings (cited in Punch 1998: 175).

Within a wider ethnographic context, interviews are an important oral source of data gathering via engaging interlocutors in verbal interaction to gain a better semantic understanding, from the *emic* or insider's perspective of what an ethnographer observes and experiences. Thus, whether in the form of informal conversational style or formal structured or semi-structured interviews, interviewing provides insight into a cultural context and interlocutors' worldview(s).

In my study, I conducted (with permission) semi-structured interviews with the lecturer and students taking the South African Ethnography anthropology course selected for ethnographic classroom observation so as to ellicit additional information and clarification on aspects of the in-class participant-observation research. In keeping with this type of interview, I asked open-ended questions to incorporate all tangentially relevant detail. These semi-structured interviews were arranged with interlocutors by mutual agreement. I additionally requested verification of interview data on an 'as-needed-basis' throughout the research. As an 'insider' researcher, I also engaged in impromptu conversational interviews at opportune moments arising out of and associated with, for example, aspects of ethnography surfacing in discussion during weekly professional seminars or in happenstance collegial dialogue.

It was necessary to be sensitive to the problematic of interviewing as a research tool given that interviews are never raw but are influenced by the characteristics of the interviewer,

and interviewee, with interview data being always situated and textual (Punch 1998: 182). As Silverman (1993) notes:

> The interview is a conversation, the art of asking questions and listening. It is not a neutral tool, for the interviewer creates the reality of the interview situation. In this situation answers are given. Thus the interview produces situated understandings grounded in specific interactional episodes (cited in Punch 1998: 182).

Student interviews were arranged to accommodate students' timetables and required conscious effort on my part to put students at ease and encourage them to 'open-up' with a view to learning from the students as interlocutors. Fetterman (1989) suggests that the best strategy to ensure worthwhile interviews is no strategy in the sense of honesty, integrity and naturalness, being oneself. This advice struck a chord of personal and professional common-sense but I felt that it could also be too one-dimensionally construed in a context in which as an 'insider', I have multiple identities as a lecturer, tutor and PhD student researcher, each of which in turn factored in across interviews and necessitated self-reflexive negotiation to ensure the veracity of my findings. With respect to Silverman's adage that the interview is "not a neutral" (ibid) tool, during interviews when some students indicated a degree of a lack of understanding of ethnography as a pedagogic genre text, I had to consciously refrain as a lecturer from assisting them to understand this instructive essence of ethnography.

In the interests of objectivity, I also endeavoured to refine my skills of asking the right interview questions and interpreting individual lecturer and student responses. Here, the art of probing became a nuanced skill in using the silent, echo, tell-me-more, neutral or longer question probe as effective prompting cues in accessing what interlocutors knew and

thought. My professional experience suggests that students are inclined to tell a lecturer-as-ethnographer what she or he thinks the researcher wants to hear. In this regard established checking techniques based on tried and tested ethnographic practice of asking the same question in different ways, asking an interlocutor to clarify an answer, or even to repeat their own questions, and particularly extended probing of apparent misunderstandings or perceptions were some of the myriad ways on which I drew to tease out and interpret reliable interlocutor data. Interviews were also triangulated with in-class participant-observation and all relevant written material.

3.3.4 Documentary Sources

This study is one of a highly literate and specifically academic culture in which reading, writing and ethnography are integral to everyday life and work. Thus Hammersley and Atkinson's (1983) argument that "documentary products are especially important for the ethnographer providing a rich vein for analysis" (p 190), is apposite to my research. A lens onto the teaching of anthropology at Wits University includes such primary documents as: (i) course booklets, (ii) lecture notes, power point presentations and ethnographic DVDs. Course booklets outline for students the content, academic knowledge, skills and assessment requirements for each module premised on a lecture series and tutorial themes set on prescribed anthropological readings. In lectures, lecturers critically present and facilitate intellectual discussion through academic argument, analysis, theoretical debates and evaluation mediated by ethnography. Frequently, and typically, the design and teaching of anthropology draws on the lecturer's own ethnography premised on her/his fieldwork Thus, for the purpose of my study, curriculum documents and disciplinary pedagogy provide heuristic tools of and for investigation and analysis.

The ethnographic study of ethnography as a pedagogic text requires hermeneutic deconstruction from a teaching and learning perspective. This is because, as an instrument of communication and medium of instruction based on empirical evidence as a document of anthropological thought, ethnography captures the social production of anthropological knowledge praxis. As a meditational artefact in teaching and learning anthropology it is a key research resource. Ultimately, however, as Sara Delamont (1992: 8), who exemplifies the cross-disciplinary study of Anthropology and Education in *Fieldwork in Educational Settings* notes:

> [W]hat is essential to ensure the valid permeation of all aspects of research – such as and including participant-observation, interviews, and documentary sources – is reflexivity.

As an 'insider' researcher, Delamont's admonition has been germane to all stages of my research journey as in being of an ontologically different order to research methods per se; reflexivity places these methods in a self-reflexively critical perspective that is particularly necessary in 'insider' research.

3.4 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is, by general consensus, implicitly necessary in qualitative educational studies. It is a requisite component at all stages of a study – beginning with research design, throughout data collection and analysis and integral to the process of writing. Positional, constitutive and textual reflexivity (Macbeth, 2001) informs my study throughout the research process. Being a University of the Witwatersrand Anthropology Department 'insider' has motivated my interest in understanding how ethnography mediates the teaching and learning of anthropology. To understand the intrinsic sociocultural and

cognitive processes of this praxis necessitated my becoming an 'insider'-outsider' ethnographer making the familiar strange to critically question (my) commonsense assumptions – as well as my teacher perspective, gendered positionality, and career biography – in a self-conscious engagement with [this] world (Ball, 1990). Engaging constitutive reflexivity involved decentering the department as 'the field' to gain an ethnomethodological understanding of both the constitutive and pedagogic contingencies of in-class pedagogic processes as local ensembles of competent practice (Macbeth, 2001).

Woolgar's (1988:29) notion of "the ethnographer of the text" and reflexive interrogation of the text in production captures the need for critical analyses of both my representation(s) of the research study and ethnographies as authored constructions (Clifford, 1983; 1988; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983) to reveal the problematics of textual representation and to promote transparency and validity. Reassuringly Delamont (1992:9) argues that:

> [E]ach researcher is their own best data collection instrument, as long as she is constantly self-conscious about her role, her interactions and her theoretical and empirical material as she accumulates it.

Thus my endeavour has been to position my reflexivity at the intersection of being an 'insider-researcher' as self-as-other, and to investigate the construction of texts as ethnographic process and product in this study as a particular "single-instance" (Geertz, 1993) has been my endeavour so as to enhance its worth as an educational ethnography.

3.5 Data Collection

During 2011, I collected data in the postgraduate South African Ethnography seminar as mentioned above through (i) classroom non-participant-observation, (ii) semi-structured interviews, (iii) the South African Ethnography course outline, (iv) in-class lecturer and student seminar presentations, and (iv) participant-observation in the wider cultural context of the department. These multiple sources of data were triangulated to enhance the validity of the findings (Punch, 1998: 247). My classroom-seminars ethnographies focused on interactive pedagogy as it unfolded naturally and was informed by the ethnographic method of seeking to understand the meaning(s) of the teaching and learning process and the relationship between the seminar's intended learning and the learning that took place through ethnography as a 'psychological tool'. All seminar sessions were recorded with permission. During the 2011 teaching semester of the SAE course selected for observation, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the lecturer and students to probe individual cognitive understanding of in-class use of prescribed ethnographies that informed and mediated the lecturer's anthropological pedagogy.

A single interview-guide based on classroom data informed all interviews but each interview was conducted on a semi-structured basis to allow individual insights and understanding to emerge across interviews. Documents, inclusive of the course outline, seminar material, and students' seminar presentations were analysed using a hermeneutic and especially dialogic discourse analysis (Bakhtin, 1986) approach. Additionally, triangulating these alternate perspectives on distinct but thematically related sources of data allowed for a nuanced understanding of the research and the validation of the findings. These multiple-source findings were examined within the wider frame and cultural ethos of a university

department in which anthropologists as academics give instruction, educate and train in the study anthropology. As the anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss (cited in Wilcken, 2010: 191) argues:

> Teaching is very closely related to research and [provided] the 'public test-bed' of (my) ideas orally articulated provisionally in-class for subsequent publication.

In this way, Levi-Straus gives credence to teaching and learning in anthropology as a vector of profession praxis and justifies the need to give anthropologic pedagogy as much ethnographic research attention as has been given to ethnographic fieldwork and ethnographic writing so as to understand its contribution to disciplinary praxis.

3.5.1 Data analysis

In analysing the research data, I drew on a repertoire of analytical techniques (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994) within the broad hermeneutic tradition. In this respect, the socio-pedagogical interactive context of each seminar presentation and discussion and semi-structured interviews were read as a text – similarly to ethnography as a text. I used a variety of analytical approaches including (i) domain analysis, (ii) discourse analysis, (iii) narrative analysis and (iv) semiotic analysis to interpret the data from multiple perspectives and promote rigorous interpretation of the ethnographic material.

In this regard, I read Spradley's (1980) notion of "domain analysis" in the double sense of a disciplinary domain and the attendant language of people in a cultural context. At the level of the enveloping academic domain, analysis focused on how the lecturer's and the students' use of language is both constitutive and reflective of disciplinary concept

development in academia. Importantly 'domain analysis' is located within an ethnographic approach that seeks understanding of shared semantic meanings and relationships from mutually intelligible 'insider' perspectives. As demonstrated by Coffey and Atkinson (1996) academic anthropologists tacitly encode their domain via a vocabulary, for example, *field, rite de passage, culture* that is concomitantly a self-referential and an educational language of everyday professional practice. Within specific instructional moments such as teaching professional methodology, clusters of folk terms – *fieldwork, fieldsite, fieldnotes* – and related metaphors – *immersion, marginality, agency,* and career narratives as 'tales from the field' provide a semiotic lens through which to interpret apprentice ethnography in anthropological pedagogy.

In socio-linguistic and sociological terms such oral texts as verbal constructs also allow for discourse analysis (Gee, 1992; Potter and Wetherell, 1994) as educational talk and educational text provide cognitive evidence that may be questioned with respect to (i) ideological and ideational perspective, (ii) voice and audience, (iii) communicative content relative to structural form, and (iv) organizational hierarchies of knowledge and credibility. Gee (1992) emphasises discourse as a conduit of 'power' – however in a collegial culture, in this research topic the orientation focus is on expertise and understanding and how this is captured and represented by, and sustained in, a language of and about anthropological knowledge. In that discourse both reflects and shapes academic endeavour, discourse analysis can illuminate what is valued in the academy and thereby also explicate anthropological pedagogy pragmatically and symbolically.

In working with richly complex data these analytical techniques which are characteristic of qualitative research often overlap. However, they can also deployed in discrete and complementary ways to access and understand the pedagogic dynamics of the interactive classroom encounter between lecturer, student, and ethnographic text, to illuminate anthropology teaching and learning as a cognitive process. In applying these tools of analysis, I have been careful not to fragment the research material in such a way as to lose sense of anthropological pedagogy in practice. Thus an objective analytical distancing framed by the theory of 'distributed cognition' (Rogoff, 1990) in learner-centred "communities of practice" (Lave and Wenger 1990) mediated by ethnography construed as a 'psychological tool' and "an instrument of communication, a vehicle of thought" (Geertz, 1988: 19) guided this research as an interpretive educational ethnography.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

One critique of the ethnographic approach raises the question of how a researcher can be subjective, scientific (i.e. objective) and interpretive at the same time. I address this conundrum by arguing that the research method I have adopted has as a context-focused, holistic approach in which a researcher alternatively, rather than simultaneously, utilises a 'tool-kit' of methods in the triple sense of 'tools' with which (i) to collect data, (ii) to systematise data, and (iii) to interpret data. My perspective on ethnography is aligned with the school of thought that understands ethnography to be a humanistic, exploratory and interpretive science (Geertz, 1993; Wolcott, 1999). Thus, working within this ideological paradigm and in making a distinction in this classroom-ethnography between a research approach as a technique, that is, as 'a way of looking' (Wolcott, 1999: 4-71) and research praxis 'as a way of seeing' (ibid: 7–100), that is, as an 'analytical tool', I use the three

methods of ethnographic research chosen for this study – participant-observation, semi-structured interviews and document sources in fluid and mutually critical-checking ways to address the requirements of validity and reliability. In doing this, I draw on the educational-anthropologist, Harry Wolcott's (1999) distinction between 'looking' and 'seeing' as this allows for a continuous oscillatory-shifting of perspective by using these qualitative research methods alternatively as methodological approach (i.e. technique) and methodological tool (i.e. critical analytical instrument) as a means to promoting the social scientific validity and reliability of the study.

Table 5 (below) sets out some key examples of the ways in which each of these research techniques encompass the possibility of its own systematic evaluation, and explains the precise mechanism through which it occurs.

Table 5: Research Methods as Techniques and Tools

Research Method as Technique	Research Method as Tool
Participant-Observation	Transparency being-there, being-alert, adopting an *etic* via *emic* perspective
Insider Ethnographer	making the familiar strange (via reflexivity)
Professional Stranger	collegial peer evaluation (via on-going participant consultation)
Semi-structured Interviews (as exploratory dialogue)	member-checking (as consultative dialogue)
Documentary Sources as Texts	Hermeneutic analysis (textual x-ray type investigation)

3.6.1 *Participant-observation:* In this research project when engaging in in-class participant-observation, firstly, it was possible to monitor my approach transparently by using Peacock's

(1986) photographic metaphor of an 'anthropological lens' through which the classroom as the 'field' is viewed in 'harsh light but soft focus'. By this, Peacock means seeing the setting holistically and in such depth as to include the whole context enveloping the participants including the researcher's positionality. Transparency, in this sense, involved on-going self-reflexivity during the process of doing research – what Margaret Mead (cited in Erikson, 1984) refers to a 'disciplined-subjectivity'. Secondly, in presenting the research, transparency entailed providing detailed description premised on participant-observation of both the research context and the research process so as to capture a sense of 'being-there' (Geertz, 1988) as a virtual reality for a reader. Additionally, I represent my ethnographic findings in Geertz's (1993) 'thick-description' idiom premised on an *emic* understanding of the role of ethnography in anthropological pedagogy from the meaning-making perspective(s) of the SAE lecturer and students' dialogic engagements in teaching and learning anthropology.

3.6.2 'Insider'-*ethnographer:* As a member of the group I researched, being an 'insider'-ethnographer presented particular challenges to the validity and reliability of the project. Importantly being an 'insider' is a matter of degree rather an absolute status and through a continuous process of self-conscious reflexivity the relative advantages and the disadvantages of 'insider' ethnography critically enhanced the rigor of the research. To pursue ethnographic research in my department and in my specialised field of cognitive anthropology is to do ethnography 'at home' with many of the quests of the 'outsider' ethnographer in place – though not taken for granted. As an 'insider', I blended-in, had rapport with colleagues and students, enjoyed mutual professional trust, shared linguistic competence in English as the medium of instruction and academic parlance, and thus was

able to ask more nuanced and probing questions as I was an integral part of the daily lived-experience of the Wits, Anthropology Department.

In effect for ethnographic research purposes, I could use myself as a 'key-informant'. However, this subjective immersion became a 'tool' of the research so as to objectify the process by making the familiar strange. Hastrup (1987) insightfully captures this anthropological adage for the 'insider'-ethnographer in her analogy of fieldwork as looking in a mirror in which one sees oneself and other participants in the field. However, as she argues that the reflection of oneself is neither you nor I but a third-person character immersed as a stranger to oneself. I used this stepping-back reflexively as a strategy of good 'insider'-researcher. Pragmatically, weaving my way reflexively in and out of my own world as a refracted self was efficacious in allowing the possibility of 'insider' participant-observation as an approach and a tool of rigorous research. I used this 'professional-stranger' role as insider-researcher strategy to further advantage through on-going consultative peer review discussion of my research analysis and interpretations with colleagues. Keeping with the 'reflexive turn' in ethnography (Clifford and Marcus, 1986), I allowed for a self-conscious evaluation of validity and reliability in writing this thesis by adopting the dictum of transparent representation. I did this through situating myself in the text, critically examining my authorial process with respect to selective content and rhetoric and acknowledging my place in the educational setting – while simultaneoulsy accepting personal responsibility for my own scholarly research.

3.6.3 *Semi-structured interviews:* Ethnographically situated semi-structured interviews with lecturers and students in this research took place in a context of established familiarity,

trust and intellectual reciprocity. As such, each interview, guided by a series of questions based on in-class participant-observation took place in 'out-of-class' distancing contexts such as the postgraduate student room, campus coffee shop and library lawns. This was to create a space where we could mutually reflect on the teaching and learning process. Kvale's (1996) denotation of 'InterViews' is especially apt for semi-structured interviews in this research into cognitive processes in higher education due to on-going opportunities for a verifying exchange of understandings, mine and the interviewee's, rather than a uni-directional flow of information. Interview transcripts were given to all interviewees requesting verification of the accuracy of each verbatim transcript. This validation check was also applied to the developing analysis of the research so that, in taking the products of the research back to participants for verification of *emic* meanings and understandings the corresponding researcher explanation(s) and interpretation were authenticated and confirmed or queried and modified to ensure correct interpretation congruent with an 'isomorphism of [the] findings with reality' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

In this respect, I also cross-checked student interviewee responses as a within method check as, while each student is well-placed to communicate his/her individual understanding the research in investigating the role of ethnography in anthropological pedagogy was designed to reveal shared patterns of conceptual understanding. However a student's misunderstanding or evidence of cognitive dissonance was particularly insightful – as were differing and convergent conception(s), interpretations, and meanings – in revealing across lecturer and students' interviews evidence of how ethnography mediates anthropological pedagogy. This 'member-checking' data was verified using an 'across-method' technique by comparing interview material with both in-class data and documentary research sources.

3.6.4 *Documentary Sources:* Documents constitute key data for this research as both primary and secondary sources inclusive of lecturer teaching materials, students oral text presentations, and ethnographies used in teaching (primary sources) and lecturers' academic articles, books on ethnography (secondary sources). I analyse this rich empirical evidence as meaningful "thick description" (Geertz, 1993: 6) and subjected to critical 'social-authorship' and 'social-construction' of knowledge production analysis. Together with triangular-evaluation with in-class participant-observation and interview data this enabled me to address systematic validation and reliability tests of 'fitness-for-purpose' criteria for the research findings and claims. Reading these documents required continuous distancing from my situatedness as an 'insider'-ethnographer in that my concern was with the content of the documents in how the material revealed the ways in which ethnography mediates teaching and learning anthropology as a 'psychological tool' in disciplinary pedagogy. These documents in context express particular meaning relative to differing theories, schools of thought and competing ideas shaped in and influenced by changing sociocultural and intellectual moments in the academy requiring unpacking to grasp their in-class tutelage role and significance. In this respect, the germane question will be how? How are the documents written, structured, and positioned relative to other ethnographic or academic documents? How are they used for pedagogic purposes? How do they conceptually challenge commonsense understanding, provide a window(s) onto 'other' cultures, act as models of praxis and so on? In the developing cognitive map of hermeneutic, discourse, and semiotic 'x-ray' type analysis and interpretation, I analyse this documentary material, in triangulation with other data, and present it as an adapted form of 'hyper-text' (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996) so as to allow for scientific validation and reliability scrutiny.

In synthesis, the aim of the methodology of my research project is to establish internal-validity. I do this through tightly integrating the data predicated on a 'fitness-for-purpose' methodology which interweaves the various strands of the research topic in design, investigative methods, analysis and interpretation of findings. These are transparently presented to allow for (i) an 'audit trail' and (ii) sufficient abstraction of conceptual principles to enable external validity – as well as to ensure there is a potential to replicate the research in other anthropology departments.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Fetterman (1989: 137) rightly claims that ethics guide the first and last steps of ethnography. This axiomatic acknowledgement of the principled ethical intent of ethnographic research implies specific ethical norms for an educational ethnography in a knowledge community. It includes (my) adherence to the University of the Witwatersrand Code of Ethical and Professional Practice as outlined in the University's Code of Ethics for Research on Human Subjects (http://www.ac.za/reesearch/ethics/html) and approval of an Application for Research Clearance to the Faculty of Humanities Ethics Committee in Education. I have also been guided by the Association of Social Anthropologists (ASA) of the UK and Commonwealth: Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice (http://www.theasa.org/ethics) and the Code of Ethics of the American Association of Anthropological Association (AAA) Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice (http://www.theasa.org/ethics/guidelines.htm). These sources (helpfully) delineate a set of guidelines for ethical conduct and checklists of points to consider and apply during the research. A second important source is the comprehensive and thoughtful discussion of ethical issues, dilemmas, debates and resolutions, based on personal fieldwork experience,

now published in the Social Science literature. I draw on this experiential advice as it sagely applies to educational research in a higher education context.

Thus in respecting the rights of all participants in the research both anthropology-lecturer and students, I have been open and honest about the nature of the research to ensure their willing participation and informed consent. In this respect, the trust and rapport gained through many professional years as a Principal Tutor in the Wits Anthropology Department, has contributed to the integrity of the project. However, I have never taken this 'insider' status for granted and I have been conscious that, in the role of researcher a new set of reciprocal relationships is implicated requiring new sensitivities to a lecturer's and students' work pressures and stresses especially in the privileged context of being given permission to be a participant-observer of their in-class teaching and learning experiences.

I have guaranteed confidentiality, the right to privacy, and due recognition of their intellectual ownership of knowledge imparted to me. In fact as is often deemed appropriate in contemporary ethnographic practice I invited the student participants in this research to take an active part as co-ethnographers so as to empower where possible and to contribute, direct, redirect and guide the research in ways that ensured their own perspectives are given due weight (O'Reilly, 2009: 59). This approach addressed the ethical concern of a potentially unequal power relationship between us by ameliorating my role as the sole decision maker in the process, while not relinquishing any researcher responsibility. Additionally, it was my intention that, in adopting an approach of 'researching-with' rather than a studying-up or studying-down perspective, that by actively engaging in and reflecting on their own cognitive processes at the centre of the research topic, students and my

lecturer-colleague would benefit intellectually. In this way, I hoped to reciprocate some of my intellectual debt to their contribution to the research.

In a Knowledge Community, writing and publishing one's research is a constituent part of professional ethical practice. Daniel Bates (1996) points out that ethnographers not only gain rich data and deep factual understanding of a given field but also read and draw on other studies in other places. Thus, a researcher is able to offer a broader sociologically informed perspective than that of the participants themselves which should, ethically, be employed to advantage. This aspect of ethical practice in the academy entails an ethical responsibility of diligent work toward which I have made a commitment in treating the material collected according to the rightful expectations of the participants, of rigorous analysis to make a worthwhile contribution to educational knowledge in a scholarly community (Fetterman, 1989).

3.8 Limitations of the study

The limitations of the study are twofold in respect of (i) its focus on a single Department of Anthropology and (ii) its investigative approach within a qualitative research paradigm. It is thus necessary to take cognizance of and address the limitations of the research in the double sense of 'limited to' and 'limited by' and to engage reflexively as an ethnographer to secure the validity and reliability of the study within accepted tenants of anthropology as a social science.

Reflexivity in Anthropology (i.e. American cultural anthropology) began in the 1980s with a critique of ethnographic positivism in fieldwork, and modernist representation in the writing

of ethnographic texts. Arguably, it is possible to pinpoint the origins of this reflexive moment with Clifford Geertz's (1993: 19) rhetorical question "What do anthropologists do?" and his response "[T]hey write", that motivated his cogent explication of anthropology as an epistemologically constructivist and a humanist interpretive science.

Any assessment of the methodological precepts in this research implicitly refers to qualitative ethnographic research in the idealist tradition in which any interpretation must meet a 'sufficiency of evidence' criterion in order to confirm plausibility, credibility, and validity. In this respect Hammersley's (1992: 52) argument for adopting a position of "subtle realism" as opposed to naïve realism or extreme relativism is salutary. For example, it is the case that as a practitioner-ethnographer I have the expediency of long-term experience and knowledge of the research setting and my 'insider'-researcher' intentions and motivations prompted by "Being-Here" in Geertz's (1988) sense of "Being-There" are not necessarily sufficient grounds for any knowledge claims made. Equally, participant-respondent validation of any research interpretations or findings, while an important source of evidence is not (a) definitive confirmation of interpretive reliability or conclusions. Again as a practitioner-researcher cum key-actor in the research setting, I am insightfully *in situ* positioned to test theoretical data so as to adhere to the qualitative research community's tradition of proceeding with routine scepticism (Hammersley, 1992: 146). In applying the selected theoretical paradigms within which to conduct this study, I recognised the need at all times to critically monitor my own culturally imbued assumptions in order to address the acknowledged limitations of interpretive research and to further inform and advance educational and anthropological theory with respect to tertiary level pedagogy.

Mitchell additionally argues that:

> Anthropology teaching is oriented towards promoting the recognition of the relevance, viability and dignity of cultures in their diversity. This is achieved, primarily, through critical engagement and reflection on ethnographic texts, the narratives and practices of others and the narratives and practices of oneself (1996: 24).

In this research project, however, in contrast to Mitchell's (1996) argument, my understanding and interpretation of ethnographic texts as mediating anthropological pedagogy rendered these texts as 'psychological tools' to "think with" (Levi-Stauss 1962) rather than texts to reflect on, or about, anthropology. Thus my quest has been to understand the generative intellectual dynamic of ethnography as an educational resource mediating anthropological learning and teaching via an in-depth study in the University of the Witwatersrand, Anthropology Department. The study was undertaken to inform my own and my colleague's teaching practice but also to gain insights of general relevance to wider educational contexts of disciplinary teaching of anthropology. Thus this ethnographic study in a single anthropology department at a particular point was designed within a singular research context but informed by methodological precepts of truth value, applicability, consistency and, neutrality (Hammersley, 1992: 63) in order to instantiate findings of more general relevance in terms of abstract conceptual principles and explanatory inference to inform anthropological pedagogy in other higher education departments in different cultural contexts.

3.9 A Preface to Analyses Chapters

3.9.1 Analysis of anthropological pedagogy in the SAE seminars

As a preface to the analyses set out in Chapter Four, Chapter Five, Chapter Six and Chapter Seven, I now describe and contextualise, for the reader, my SAE classroom study that

incorporates an ethnographic and micro-genetic level analysis of anthropological pedagogy in the South African Ethnography seminar course.

3.9.2 SAE: Course description

The analysis is based on an Honours/Masters level course ANTH4018/7020: South African Ethnography, taught during Semester Two, from the 28th July 2011 to 6th October 2011. Thirteen (13) Honours Degree students and three (3) Masters' Degree students were registered to take the course in the 2011 academic year.

As a postgraduate-level course South African Ethnography is offered as a weekly three-hour seminar during which, based on pre-assigned ethnographic readings, one student gives a presentation to the seminar group on the designated anthropology topic for the week.[27] Each week, the lecturer introduces the assigned anthropologist and his/her ethnographic text(s) commenting on the intellectual significance of their work with relevance to the conceptual issue selected for discussion. Following which, the student leading the seminar presents her/his *reading* of the ethnographic material.[28] Thereafter, as he deems necessary, the lecturer facilitates discussion in which the key teaching and learning points are more fully developed to address any oversights in the student's presentation.

In the 2011, South African Ethnography course syllabus, the lecturer's synopsis of the academic content and professional skills training incorporated into the course is as follow:

> The course reading list is composed of important articles and books in South African social anthropology. Each represents a significant author, issue or debate,

[27] On some occasions, two students elected to jointly present a Seminar topic.
[28] I italicise *reading* to emphasize my usage of the word in the SAE seminar context as referring to the student presenter's understanding of the assigned texts s/he is presenting to the group.

> intellectual moment, or classic work in the discipline in this country. The idea is to expose students, as prospective anthropologists**,** to major works by some of our most distinguished authors in the field. The course will take the form of a reading group, functioning as an intellectual parallel to your Honours/Masters research report. At each seminar one student will be asked to lead the rest in discussing the work, and that student will also produce a critical essay on the work and its significance in South African anthropology.

The South African Ethnography course is thus designed to familiarise postgraduate students with significant South African anthropologists or anthropologists who have made an important intellectual contribution to South African anthropology via their work that reflects an important intellectual moment for the discipline in South African anthropology. In this respect, SAE as a seminar-course is a postgraduate small-group teaching situation in which student presentations and lecturer-guided critically-oriented discussion, premised on ethnographic texts, facilitates the teaching and learning of anthropology to Honours/Masters students envisaged as prospective anthropologists.[29] As a reading-group seminar, pedagogic assessment is based on a student's presentation, a related critical essay assignment, a three-day 'take-home' exam, and a research report. The instructional aim of each seminar is to epistemologically model the ethnographically-based intellectual structure and compositional form of the Honours or Masters Research Report as a (partial) requirement for the Honours or Masters' Degree.[30] The lecturer's pedagogic approach is one of academic and applied professionalization:

> to develop one's professional skill in presenting ideas to other people by leading the seminar (Lecturer, in-class oral communication, 3/8/11).

[29] As a postgraduate course the intellectual premise of South African Ethnography is to offer anthropological content and skills appropriate to professionalisation in the discipline. Only some students eventually become anthropologists but as postgraduate students studying anthropology all students are required to go through the ethnographic project of fieldwork research that is the basis for the Honours/Masters Research Report.

[30] The differential assessment requirement for the two Degrees is that the Honours research report is 10,000 words, the Masters research report is 25,000 words. The Masters' research report is also required to be more theoretically informed, intellectually complex and academically sophisticated.

The SAE course is thus designed as both a form of, and context of, "anthropological apprenticeship" (Fortes 1978: 4-5), whereby acculturative pedagogy initiates students into a "community of practice" (Lave and Wenger 1991: 68). This seminar-style approach to teaching and learning anthropology is thus based on ethnography as disciplinary 'knowledge domain' texts, synthesised in oral presentations to the seminar group, followed by in-class discussion, and with each Student Presenter required to write-up their presentation as a 'critical essay assignment'. Each week's seminar follows a similar teaching and learning pattern incorporating: (i) the lecturer's brief comments on the intellectual salience of the assigned readings, (ii) a biographical sketch of the author(s) who typically is/are a member of the lecturer's collegial network, (iii) the designated student's presentation of the ethnographic work(s), and (iv) a post-presentation lecturer-facilitated discussion. This pedagogic approach draws out the meta-level teaching and learning points of the seminar via an ethnographer's conceptually-mediated argument(s) in his/her ethnographic text(s) that explicate the theoretical and/or applied relevance of their work as anthropologists in and to South African anthropology.

3.9.3 SAE Seminars: classroom ethnography

I conducted my research as a non-participant observer in twelve weekly seminars taught in the 2011, South African Ethnography course. Each seminar was taped with the participants' permission. I analysed all seminars to investigate how a student presenting the assigned weekly reading(s), and the lecturer, drew on the ethnographies to share their explanation(s) of how a seminar's metaconcept mediated understanding of the seminar topic, for the SAE group. In the transcript excerpts of each seminar, I trace this pedagogic process through micro-level analysis of the student's presentation, the lecturer's comments, and group

discussion in the seminar. At the beginning of each seminar in framing the seminar topic, the lecturer[31] introduced an anthropologist(s) and commented on the intellectual significance of his/her ethnographic text(s) in relation to that week's issue or debate set for discussion. Thereafter, the student leading the seminar presented the ethnographic material and the lecturer commented as he deemed necessary to clarify and/or develop the group's understanding of any conceptually underdeveloped pedagogic point or oversight in the student's presentation.

Four of the nine student presentations were chosen for analysis as they most clearly illustrate, as exemplar seminars, how a Student Presenter works with the ethnographic text(s) in developing (i) an understanding of the seminar's metaconcept, and relatedly in, (ii) elucidating the aptness of the ethnographer's fieldwork methodology. In the analysis of each of the selected seminar transcripts, I use pseudonym initials to protect the Student Presenter's identity but refer to her/his gender for stylistic reasons. I otherwise only provide information about a Student Presenter's biography as this inflects her/his presentation commentary. I use the lecturer, Professor Coplan's name and initials with his permission.[32]
The sequence of the analysis of each of the four selected seminars presented in: **Chapters Four to Seven** is shown in **Table 6** (below)[33].

[31] In the SAE course, Week One was an introduction to the course. The lecturer presented Seminars 1 and 2 of the nine seminars to model how a Student Presenter should approach leading her/his voluntarily chosen seminar topic.
[32] I have adopted this approach so as to adhere to ethical convention in the field of Education to protect the identity of students. By contrast in Anthropology it is considered ethical to give the identity of an interlocutor or participant in ethnographic research, premised on their permission to do so.
[33] See Appendix 1: South African Ethnography Weekly Seminar Topics.

Table 6: Sequence of Analyses of SAE Seminars

- **Chapter Four: Seminar 6:** Performance Ethnography: the city and the country and the road in between – Student Presenter KC.

- **Chapter Five: Seminar 7:** Interrogating 'Development' – Student Presenters MW and AH.

- **Chapter Six: Seminar 10:** What's new in our traditional concerns? Witchcraft and ethnography today – Student Presenter ZT.

- **Chapter Seven: Seminar 11:** Recent Meditations on the State of our Art – Student Presenter SS.

The format of the analysis of each seminar presentation is set out in **Table 7** (below).

Table 7: Format of Analysis for Each SAE seminar

1. **Seminar presentation:** Anthropological Pedagogy Overview

2. **Presentation of Excerpt Boxes:** (i) Professor Coplan's opening remarks
   (ii) Student Presenter's seminar presentation
   (iii) SAE students' and lecturer's discussion

3. **Pedagogic Moves:** Analysis of how a Student Presenter and/or Professor Coplan mediates understanding of each teaching and learning point follows each excerpt's commentary box.

4. **Seminar presentation:** Anthropological Pedagogy Review

Chapter Four

In Chapter Four, I present an analysis of anthropologcial pedagogy in **Seminar 6: Performance ethnography: the city and the country and the road between.**

Seminar 6: Pedagogy Overview

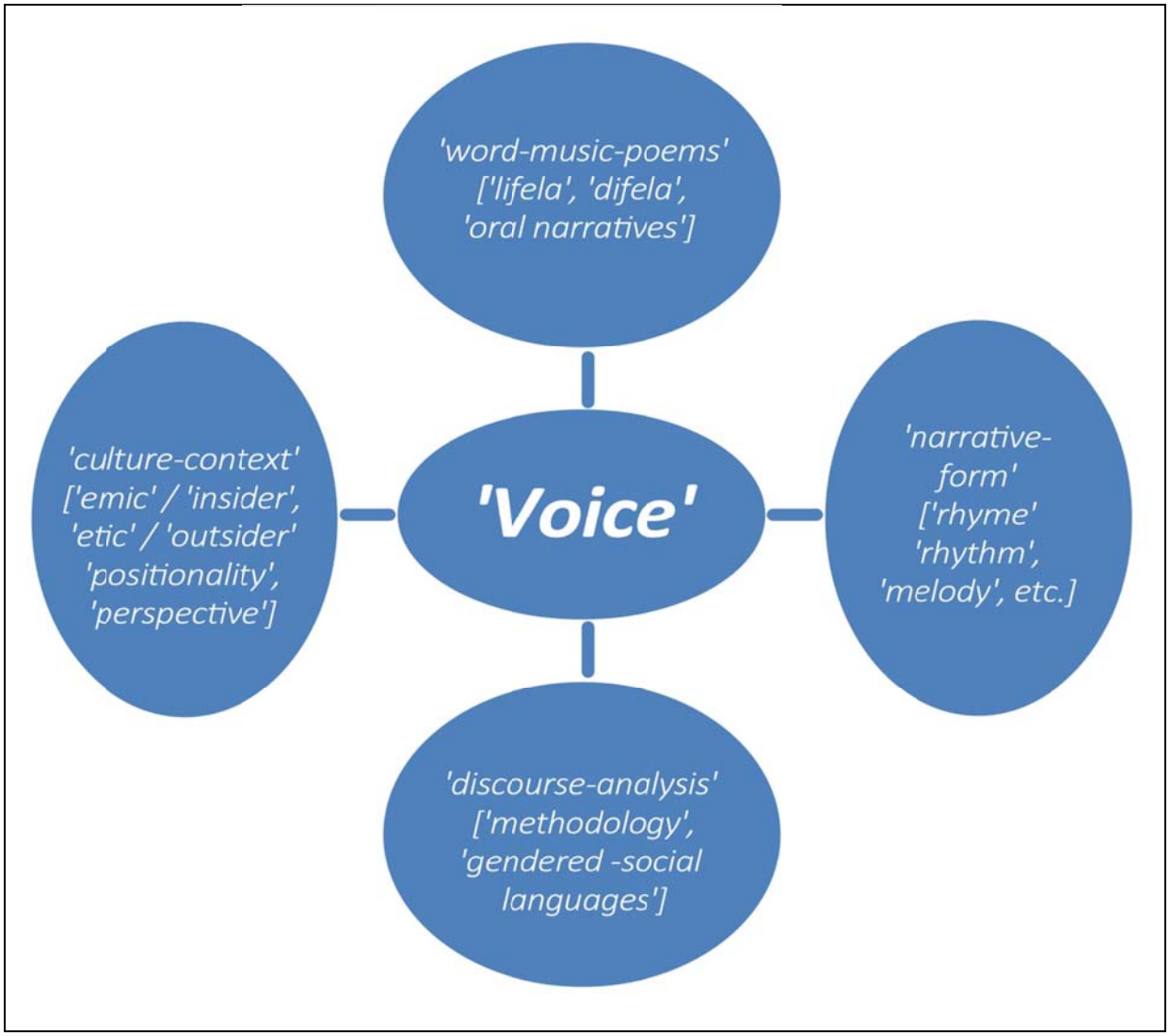
The discussion in Seminar 6 focuses on discourse-analysis as a fieldwork methodology in anthropology. In the transcript of excerpts from Seminar 6, Student KC and Professor Coplan explicate the metaconcept '**voice'** through a discourse-analysis approach to Basotho poetry as a fieldwork methodology and as a key trope in Coplan's (1994) performance ethnography, *In the Time of Cannibals*. Professor Coplan's opening remarks explain the focus and methodological rationale of his monograph. In leading the seminar, Student KC presents a review of the book and then engages Professor Coplan in conversation to explore how his discourse-analysis methodology informs his ethnographic approach in the field and in writing the ethnography.

Pedagogically, Student KC and Professor Coplan explicate the "structure of generalisation" (Vygotsky, 1978: 227) of '***voice***' as Seminar 6's metaconcept via four key ethnographic subconcepts: '*word-music-poems*', '*narrative-form*', '*discourse-analysis*' and '*culture-context*'. Each of these key concepts is elaborated by a related set of subconcepts as follows: '*word-music-poems*' ('*lifela*' and '*difela*'), '*narrative form*' ('*rhyme*', '*rhythm*', '*melody*' etc.),

'*discourse-analysis*' ('*gendered-social-languages*',) and '*culture-context*', ('*positionality*' '*emic*'/'*insider*', '*etic*'/'*outsider*' '*perspective*')[34].

This discursive mapping of '***voice***' as a metaconcept is illustrated in **Figure 3.**

Figure 3: Metaconcept '*Voice'* and sub-concept clusters



[34] In each seminar, in the analysis of a Student Presenter's conceptual development; metaconcepts are embolded, italicised, and enclosed in single parenthesis. Ethnographic concepts and related subconcepts are italicised, and enclosed in single parenthesis (as explained in Chapter Three: **Methodology**, Footnote 18, page 56) .

I now draw on this mapping of the metaconcept of '***voice***' to present an analysis of how Student KC's and Professor Coplan's Seminar 6 presentation pedagogically mediates a developmental understanding of the metaconcept of '***voice***' as a unit of analysis in teaching and learning discourse-analysis as a fieldwork methodology and in writing ethnography.

Seminar 6: Performance ethnography: the city and the country and the road between.

Reading: David B. Coplan, *In the Time of Cannibals*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994.

Lecturer Presentation Excerpt (DC):

Professor Coplan's opening remarks:
DC1:[35] Don't try to do fieldwork at a university. No one knows anything! I spent time at the University of Lesotho and I spent time on a farm. For fieldwork ask ordinary people. Gender studies within Anthropology are about men and women but women writers are overlooked and even though lots of anthropologists have written on migrancy, men and women didn't speak on the same page! In *Families Divided*, Colin Murray said, "I wanted to un-divide the family." but by the time I was studying these people, migrants were coming home on the weekend in taxis and on buses and trains. I looked at working life among people who spoke about their working lives but I had this idea, still do, something is wrong with the anthropology narrative. It's about relations of power and discourse. There are different social languages between men and women. I was concerned with working with forms of narration that got closer to what and how the men and women would say to each other. When people are being consciously creative about their experience it produces a narrative that people mean very strongly even if they are lying through their teeth what they say still has some truth value. It is the same with oral handing down it captures significant life story things. Memory is selective towards the things that are most meaningful to them. Regarding Zulu and Sotho praise songs about the chiefs who are the punctuation marks of history, this doesn't mean that the oral record is a series of events only. These events are told within the framework of what happened to a particular people. The job of a praise poet is to remember the genealogy of the current Chief but also significant events. Shaka and Dingaan had the same praise poets, paid flatterers! Fair enough! But praise poets had poetic license so could say things that would not normally be able to be said. Mandela loved his praise poet. Mbeki hated praise poet tradition. Credible denial – just a poetic metaphor! It was just

[35] In the transcript of Professor Coplan's and Student KC's presentation commentaries and in the transcript analysis, the numbering system accompanying each speaker's initials is in sequential order, e.g. DC1, KC1, KC2 etc., When a speaker's comment is a response to another comment this is indicated as e.g.: KC4 [DC2], KC6 [DC4] etc.

about the crocodile and the wildebeest. As colonialism came along industrial capitalism with it and chiefs were bought off, the mode of expression changed to the urban setting, the taxi journey, the mines. Praises by poets remained but a new subject emerged. I translated these oral poems, word-music. So there are some mistakes which native Sotho speakers have assisted me to correct. So it's about idiosyncratic discourse and dialogue, so it was a step closer to the people's own stories.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC1's introductory remarks explain the ethnographic research for his book with regard to:

(i) fieldwork as necessary to anthropological knowledge production
(ii) gender studies in anthropology offering gendered accounts of migrancy
(iii) methodological approaches to understanding South Africa's migrant-labour system
(iv) problems with the anthropological narrative on migrancy in the academic literature
(v) a discourse-analysis approach to interpreting Basotho poetry as ethnographic data
(vi) the significance of the Basotho poems in South Africa's oral history tradition as narratives of migrancy.

In addressing these aspects of his ethnography, Professor Coplan gives priority to fieldsites over the academy as valuable sources of knowledge for anthropology as an ethnographically-informed discipline. He problematises the anthropological literature on migrancy arguing that feminist-authors' voices have been marginalized and female narratives of the migrant-labour experience have not been adequately represented. He explains how this gap in the literature motivated his quest (i) to understand Basotho male and female poets in conversation about their respective experiences of migrancy, but also (ii) to inscribe their voices in his ethnography as self-reflexive accounts of migrant-labour rather than his anthropological interpretation of the poetic texts. He contrasts his research approach to that of Colin Murray's (1981) study of migrant labour, as during the 1990s migrants commuted home and families were no longer separated. He explains that the

poetry-performance spaces of these journeys to and from the mines constitute his ethnographic research fieldsite. In elaborating on the merit of the Basotho poetry as a discourse on power he stresses its truth value in documenting significant life-story events as exemplified by the oral-history praise poetry tradition of South Africa's chieftaincy epochs. He notes that this valorisation of chieftaincy has morphed into a poetic social-realism commentary on industrial capitalism. And that metaphorically, the "idiosyncratic discourse and dialogue" (DC1) poesies of Basotho migrants' word-music-poems are an original-source narrative of their world for the anthropologist as an ethnographer of performance culture.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan emphasises the value of ethnographic fieldwork in anthropological knowledge production.

● He refers to a body of anthropological literature on migrant-labour noting different theoretical perspectives and interpretations and problematises the limitations of representation in this literature.

● He explains that '*culture-context*' shapes an ethnographer's research methodology and argues that his methodological choice of '*discourse-analysis*' enabled him to access the '*emic- perspective*' of the Basotho male and female '***voices***' in conversation about migrancy in the 'word-music-poems'.

● He validates the poems as an ethnographic source by situating them within the oral history tradition of South African culture as a documentary genre.

● He argues that the use of metaphor evocatively captures the existential experience of migrancy as narrated in the '*gendered-social-languages*' of the poems and thus more truthfully speaks about the Basotho's everyday world.

● Thus Professor Coplan's opening remarks frame the seminar topic by implicitly introducing the metaconcept of '***voice***' as an ethnographic tool of analysis of Basotho '*word-music-poems*' to document migrant-labour experience through a '*discourse-analysis*' of these '*oral-narratives*' in '*culture-context*'.

Student Presentation Excerpts (KC):

Student Presenter's introductory remarks:
KC1: What I found difficult about reading the book was that I could read the poems in

English but I had no idea about how they sounded. This book builds on last week's book *Families Divided* by Colin Murray. The approach is different from Colin Murray's.

Pedagogy:

Student KC1's introductory comments indicate the limitations of Coplan's (1994) ethnography in conveying an understanding of performance ethnography. She also draws attention to the thematic continuity of, but difference in, research approach between Murray's (1981) *Families Divided* and Coplan's (1994) *In the Time of Cannibals'* studies of the social impact of migrancy.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student KC1 problematizes the limits of *In the Time of Cannibals* in not conveying the full meaning (Miller, 2011) of Basotho migrants' songs as an ethnographic study of oral performance.

● She highlights the similar research focus on migrant-labour but different fieldwork methodology of Murray (1981) and Coplan (1994).

● Thus Student KC1 critiques *In the time of the Cannibals* as a performance ethnography, and reiterates Professor Coplan's (DC1) point regarding of the similarity of research focus but difference in methodological approaches to these two anthropological studies of migrancy. She draws comparatively (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) on anthropologists' agency (ibid) as an element of ethnographic practice to explicate the two different methodological approaches to conducting ethnographic research.

Cannibalism as a metaphor:

KC2: David Coplan looks at migrant's songs. He embeds the book in a particular paradigm, that of Bakhtin and Raymond Williams. His purpose is not historical but he gives a historical background. I'm not going to give the history of Lesotho as Ricardo and Fatima did last week. Prof Coplan shows how the metaphor of cannibalism has always been very relative to Lesotho's history regarding (i) rivalry between Basotho chiefs and (ii) the lens metaphor of cannibalism [that] widens to include the way in which colonialism and industrial capitalism eats the Basotho miners as migrants.

Pedagogy:

Student KC2 explains that *In the Time of Cannibals* as an ethnographic study of migrant's songs draws theoretically on the ideas of Mikhail Bakhtin (1986) and Raymond Williams (1967). She notes that Coplan (1994) locates the songs within a historical trajectory with the songs as the ethnographer's specific unit of analysis. She explains that the motif of cannibalism is multivocal to explicate miners' entrapment in harsh conditions and glosses the exploitative power of chieftaincy rivalry, colonialism and industrial capitalism.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student KC2 indicates the Basotho migrant songs as the ethnographic unit of analysis.

● She situates the study within Bakhtin's (1986) '*discourse analysis*' and William's (1976) meaning-in-'*culture-context*' theoretical paradigms.

● She notes that history is germane but not central to Coplan's (1994) '*discourse analysis*' of the poems as social commentary.

● She connotes in the phrase the "metaphor of cannibalism" (KC2) the dual meaning of cannibalism as (i) self-referentially the migrants' metaphor for being consumed labour and (ii) an ethnographic lens[36] providing an understanding of migrant-labour as an exploitative economic system.

● Thus Student KC2, theoretically locates Coplan's (1994) '*discourse-analysis*' approach to understanding Basotho poetry and explains that methodologically the poems are an ethnographic a unit of analysis in which the metaphor of cannibalism mediates an understanding of the '*culture-contex*t' of migrancy.

Gendered voices:
KC3: Coplan notes that one of his informants tells him to listen to the rhythm and melody not the words to understand the relevance of the songs as social commentary. How do the songs get made and heard? From a very early age boys learn the phrases and verses. I found that your tone and style of writing changes at Chapter Six. You mention wanting to get away from the use of the ethnographic present [tense]. I liked especially when you began to talk about women. It is very interesting when you talk about the difference between the experience of men and women.

[36] In Anthropology the concept of a lens refers to a lens as a tool of analysis (cf. Keesing, 1976 re: culture as a tool of analysis).

Pedagogy:

Student KC3 notes Professor Coplan's interlocutors' advice to listen to the '*rhythm*' and '*melody*' to understand the songs' meaning as social commentary. In this observation she draws attention to interlocutors' agency as co-ethnographers in fieldwork (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007). Thereafter, Student KC3 comments on the book's literary characteristics with regard to: (i) a change in tone and style in Chapter Six that conveys, similarly to the word-music-poems, the differential experiences of men and women migrants, and (ii) Professor Coplan's not wishing to use the ethnographic present tense in writing the ethnography[37]. These book review comments precede a conversation between Student KC and Professor Coplan that develops an understanding of how Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) '*discourse-analysis*' approach informs understanding of the Basotho poetry. Student KC3's observation that Coplan did not wish to use the "ethnographic present tense" (DC1)[38] acts as a pedagogic prompt to the lecturer to explain why he wished to avoid anthropologists' conventional use of this tense in writing ethnography. Lastly, Student KC3's compliment:

> I especially liked when you began to talk about women. It is very interesting when you talk about the difference between the experience of men and women,

echoes Professor Coplan's opening remarks about "the different social languages between men and women" (DC1), and prompts the lecturer as the ethnographer to explain the migrants' '*gendered social languages*' in their '*word-music-poems*' featured in his book.

[37] The use of the 'ethnographic present' as a mode of writing ethnography has been much critiqued and debated. Especially, since the 1980s post-modern moment in anthropology, Johannes Fabian (1983); James Clifford (1988); and Clifford and Marcus (1986) have argued that it is ahistorical and reifies culture(s) as static and misrepresents rather than illuminates insight into culture.

[38] In the analysis of the transcripts when I quote a speaker or when a speaker quotes another speaker, the quote is enclosed in parenthesis and the initials and number of the quote provided. For example, Student Presenter KC1 quotes Professor Coplan from excerpt DC1, thus her quotation is written as: "ethnographic present tense" (DC1).

Pedagogic Moves

● Student KC3 draws attention to the collaborative process of fieldwork between an ethnographer and his/her interlocutors.

● She reiterates the interlocutors' advice to listen to the '*rhythm*' and '*melody*', that is, the '*narrative form*' of the poems in order to understand the songs. This advice about research methodology serves to remind the SAE students to use all the senses in ethnographic research and to strive for an '*emic*' understanding when doing fieldwork.

● She subsequently engages Professor Coplan as a pedagogic strategy in a research-interview style conversation to prompt him as the researcher and author of the ethnography to explain:

(i) what is problematic about writing in the ethnographic present tense for his study and,

(ii) to elaborate on his discussion of men and women's differing '*social languages*' when speaking about their experiences of migrancy in the poems.

● Thus Student KC3 draws attention to the conceptual significance of '*narrative form*' and '*gendered social languages*' as subconcepts of '***voice***' in understanding the Basotho poetic narratives on migrant-labour. She also prompts a discussion with Professor Coplan about (i) methodology in ethnography as a collaborative research process, and (ii) how to interpret and represent cultural phenomena such as Basotho oral poetry for a reader of ethnography as a genre text that renders one culture intelligible to another (Geertz, 1993).

Lecturer's Response – gendered voices and research methodology:
DC2 [KC3]: Well of course, the key to the whole thing is that I am a man and your age and being an American etc., shapes how you write. So when you are with men migrants its stiff upper lip, when you are with women you sympathize when women are speaking. So maybe it's ironic that I understood better when I listened to women singers. It's an unfair image that women who sing in bars are not singers they are prostitutes from a male perspective. And as an American, I was offended when I thought of female Blues singers like Nina Simone and Billie Holiday. So whoever you are you bring that to your work. Some people adopt a deistic eye objective. There is no objective position.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan's DC2's response,

> [T]he key to the whole thing is that I am a man and that one's age and being American etc., shapes how you write,

explicates the idea of '*positionality*' and a '*speaking* consciousness' as Bakhtinian concepts in understanding '***voice***', as in this example of the male-gendered '***voice***' of the

ethnographer and the male and female '***voices***' of the Basotho singers. Professor Coplan also clarifies the meaning of '*positionality'* by referring to his shared stoicism as an ethnographer with the "stiff upper lip"(DC2) tone and style of the male migrant's '***voice***' in contrast to his sympathetic ear when listening to the women's songs. As an ethnographic example of Professor Coplan's changing '*perspective*' relative to how his male-gendered '*positionality*' in the field illustrates Bakhtin's argument of '***voice***' as a "*speaking consciousness"* (Bakhtin, 1981: 434) that is always inherently in dialogue with a:

> listener [who] perceives and understands [the] meaning … of speech [as] he simultaneously takes an active, responsive attitude towards it (Bakhtin, 1986: 68).

By drawing on his knowledge and appreciation of female Blues singers, Professor Coplan develops the students' understanding of the complexity of '*positionality'* in the field by explaining that with respect to his multiple identities that although he is a man, as an American, he is able to transcend his male-gendered '*positionality*' and thus better understand the "speaking consciousness" (Bakhtin, 1981: 434) of Basotho female-poet '***voices***' and to defend their image as singers and not prostitutes. Thus he concludes:

> [W]hoever you are, you bring that to your work. There is no objective position (DC2).

This pedagogic point explicates how '*positionality*' shapes an ethnographer's '*perspective'* and thus their understanding and interpretation of sociocultural phenomena in ethnographic fieldwork. It also acts as a critique of the modernist or grand narrative position in social science that posits a single or absolute truth in social science research. Implicitly Professor Coplan is defining anthropology as a human interpretive science.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan explains that an ethnographer's characteristics such as gender, age and nationality influence their research and writing, for example,.

● He develops his argument by showing how these characteristics shape his perceptions of and engagement with his male and female Basotho interlocutors in the field.

● He stresses that '*positionality*' shapes '*perspective*' and therefore understanding and interpretation in fieldwork and subsequently in ethnographic data analysis and writing.

● He elaborates this argument about the subjectivity of the researcher in such a way as to implicitly critique the modernist dictum of objectivity in social science. In effect he adopts a postmodern position for anthropology to be defined as a human interpretive science rather than a social science.

● Thus Professor Coplan teaches the students (i) how the subconcepts of '*positionality*' and '*perspective*' inform an understanding of the metaconcept of '***voice***', and (ii) how dependence-theory impacts methodologically on ethnographic research in anthropology.

Perceptions:
KC4: I also found it interesting that you were perceived as not a real man.

Pedagogy:

Student KC4's observation alludes to the reversed-gaze in fieldwork, whereby the ethnographer as a participant-observer is observed by his/her interlocutors. Student KC4 is drawing attention to a power dynamic in ethnographic research in which the mutuality of perceiving and being perceived is integral to fieldwork. Implicitly, again, Student KC4's observation is also a critique of the social science claim of a researcher's objective or neutral stance. This is because with regard to '*positionality'*, and, relatedly '*perspective',* everyone in the field is a participant-observer enacting Bakhtin's (1981: 136) argument about:

> [t]he meeting of two [or more] consciousnesses in the process of understanding and studying utterances,

in this instance in an ethnographic fieldsite. The mutuality of this engagement is illustrated by Coplan's (1994) attempts to understand the gendered meaning(s) of

the songs and in the singers' collaborative assistance in correcting his translations

of their songs.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student KC4 draws attention to the significance of the 'reverse gaze' as an integral component of fieldwork that intrinsically shapes the mutuality of ethnographic research.

● Thus Student KC4 further develops a conceptual understanding of '*positionality*' and '*perspective*' (DC2) as power dynamics in fieldwork relationships that impact methodologically on a researcher and his/her interlocutors as co-ethnographers and thus shape and inform the ethnographic data.

Lecturer's Response – perception:
DC3 [KC4]: Yes. I was not a Basotho miner with the attendant prejudices! And I would not bewitch you as was possible by a neighbour. I was sort of neutral not a dangerous entity. As Johnny Clegg said: "I was saved by my innocence." How did I get away with it Johnny? I was similar – from university, a white man, interested in their performance culture, good for a beer and transport. I was saved by my innocence. But I could also spot a lie! So I learned what positionality was. I also only used a notebook and pencil and I taped the songs and I would pitch up five days later with a longhand written-down version. So there was something about their astonishment and respect of my labour. And they were incredibly patient with helping me with corrections due to the evidence of my studious industry. They respected labour as labourers. So I kept hi-tech technology to a minimum as I realized their astonishment and respect of labour.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan's DC3 response reflects his 'outsider' agency as an ethnographer (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007), and further develop the students' understanding of how '*positionality*' and '*perspective*' impact on ethnographic research as a negotiated process. His comments explain the Basotho's (i) gendered-perspectives, (ii) work-ethic value system, and (iii) ideas about personhood that shape the practicalities of his fieldsite as a '*context*' of mutual reciprocity premised on the Basotho's 'insider' value judgements of him as an 'outsider' ethnographer. Thereafter, Professor Coplan's imaginary conversation with his anthropology colleague and fellow musician, Johnny Clegg, indexes their membership of an academic community and a musical fraternity that serves to emphasise their naivety in the

field, but also, relatedly their advantage as 'outsider' researchers or innocent anthropologists. In this regard, Professor Coplan's ethnographer's '***voice***' as a "*speaking consciousness*" (Bakhtin, 1981: 434**)** is explicated by his 'outsider'- '*positionality'* in an imagined conversation with Johnny Clegg. In this imaginary conversation, Professor Coplan by posing the question: "How did I get away with it Johnny?" alludes to "the responsive nature of contextual meaning" (ibid: 145) with regard to his '*positionality*' in the field. Thus as an 'outsider', he explains "I was saved by innocence." This strikes a chord with Bakhtin (ibid: 146) argument that:

> actual contextual meaning inheres not in one (single) meaning, but only in two [or more] meanings that meet and accompany one another.

The imaginary Coplan-Clegg conversation elucidates the challenges of fieldwork in illustrating that at first an ethnographer is a novice but over time acquires a degree of sophistication in understanding the dynamics of '*positionalities*' and '*perspectives*' in the field and ultimately, if earned, the mutual respect and shared collaboration of interlocutors. Thus Professor Coplan's pedagogic point is that methodologically fieldwork is a negotiated encounter across cultural milieus and value systems between an ethnographer and his or her interlocutors as co-ethnographers.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan draws on his research experience to explain the practical meaning of 'insider' / '*emic*' and 'outsider'/ '*etic*' '*positionality*' and '*perspective*' in the field.

● He illustrates the pragmatics of everyday fieldwork relationships via his example of the Basotho women's assessment of his usefulness to them.

● He also notes the ethnographer's similar need for astute insight into his interlocutor's interview data so as to enhance the validity of one's ethnographic information.

● He demonstrates the need to adapt to local circumstances and illustrates this in his writing down of the songs in longhand and in his use of a low-tech tape recorder to record the *word-music-poems*.

● Thus Professor Coplan explains his research '*discourse-analysis-methodology*' to understanding '***voice***' by reflexively elaborating on (i) the reality of and necessity for hard work and tenacity in the field, (ii) the significance of ethnographer's and interlocutors' '*positionality*' and '*perspective*' with respect to fieldwork collaboration, (iii) the need for discernment in evaluating ethnographic data, and reiterates (iv) the mutuality of fieldwork as a reciprocal endeavour.

Performance:
KC5: I was also interested in the performance aspect of the poems.

Pedagogy:

Student KC5 pursues her interest in the recitation of the poetry to prompt Professor Coplan to explain more fully the Basotho's '*word-music-poems*'. In this expression of interest, she is implicitly referring back to her initial comment of disquiet:

> What I found difficult about reading the book was that I could read the poems in English but I had no idea about how they sounded (KC1).

Student KC5's interest in the "performance aspect" (KC5) of the poems highlights a limitation of the Wertsch-Bakhtin-Miller approach to understanding words as "utterances" (Bakhtin, 1981: 443; 1986: 71) *per se*. This is because Wertsch's (1991) notion of "voices of the mind" and Miller's (2011) choice of "the meaningful word" as units of analysis although illuminated by Bakhtin's (1994: 59) idea of "speech performance" as tonally inflected does not enable a holistic understanding of '*narrative form*' in an ethnographic text. Thus as student KC5 points out, the lack of sound and visual imagery in a written text constrains a comprehensive understanding of oral performance.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student KC5 prompts Professor Coplan to explain the performative aspect of the poems that will enhance an explication of the metaconceptual meaning of '***voice***' as a 'psychological tool' (Vygotsky, 1979b: 60-61) of analysis in Coplan's (1994) performance ethnography.

Lecturer's Response – performance:
DC4 [KC5]: When I asked: Why this word and not that word? They responded: "Well I just had to keep going man!" So, the music is more important than the words especially as an *aide de memoir*. We remember words from Obama's speeches because of the rhythm. They wanted me to get the idea that they were not so meaning dependent. Rather the important thing is a tour de force. So you have to understand how the form was so important to the composition. And the singers stole outrageously from each other without acknowledgment. So in competition they insisted that this tragic episode happened to me! And, in a sense because of their common shared experiences it did happen to them.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan's DC4 responds by sharing his understanding of the poems based on his fieldwork experience as a neophyte. He acknowledges his error in trying to understand the literal meaning of the poems by explaining that his interlocutors taught him how in oral tradition '*narrative form*' is more important than lyrics for communicating the meaning of oral poetry. For example, he notes that '*rhythm*' facilitates both the performer's and audience's memory and also facilitates artistic stamina that re-enacts the stoic endurance of migrant-labour. In this way he explains the limits of a single perspective in ethnographic research. He also illustrates the intellectual value of 'insider' knowledge in assisting an 'outsider's' understanding. In his response to Student KC5's interest in performance he reiterates his advice as an ethnographer: "For fieldwork ask ordinary people" (DC1). He also reiterates how understanding the poem's '*narrative form*' conveys the migrants' experience and their resilience as migrant-labourers through an embodied poetic performance "as a tour de force" (DC4). Thus Professor Coplan's comments again teach the lesson of methodologically using all of the senses in ethnographic research so as to grasp the complex meaning of an oral message in its different registers. Thereafter in referring to Obama's eloquence as an orator, Professor Coplan elaborates his pedagogic points via the comparative (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) method of anthropological analysis. In his

reference to the Basotho poets' infringement of artistic copyright, Professor Coplan as an academic critiques plagiarism and thus illustrates once more how 'positionality' and '*perspective*' impacts on social research. However he defends this apparent piracy as artistic license that speaks an essential truth of the Basotho migrants' collective experience. Thus he instructively argues that the Basotho's competitively sung poetic texts constitute accurate and valid field data for the ethnographer.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan draws on his interlocutors' explanations of their performances to clarify that, '*rhythm*' acts as a mnemonic for remembering the verses, but also (ii) facilitates stamina as the performers competitively dramatise their stoic endurance as migrant-labourers.

● He asserts the veracity of individual performer's claims of misfortune as being representative of the migrant community's collective consciousness.

● He reiterates the collaborative character of ethnographic research and the need to be alert to multiple sources of ethnographic data such as the way in which '*narrative form*' conveys the meaning of an oral text as "voices of the mind" (Wertsch, 1991) via "speaking consciousnesses" (Bakhtin, 1981: 434).

● Thus Professor Coplan advances understanding of the complex nature of (i) collaborative ethnographic research in the field, and (ii) how understanding the '*narrative form*' of the Basotho '*word-music poems*' explicates the seminar's metaconcept of ***'voice***' as a 'psychological tool' of analysis in his performance ethnography.

Narrative form:
KC6: Well, I think that this is true of the lyrics of the pop songs!

Pedagogy:

Student KC6 compares (Gay y Blasco and Wardle 2007) artistic '*narrative form*' in pop song lyrics to the Basotho poems and thus asserts the agency of '*narrative form*' in expressing meaning in both word-music genres. Her argument refocuses attention on the lyrics of the Basotho '*word-music-poems*'.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student KC6 compares '*narrative form*' as an expressive component of pop songs to this artistic technique in the Basotho '*word-music poems*' as an analytical device to argue how '*narrative form*' conveys emotive meaning in both word-music genres.

Lecturer's Response – lyricism:
DC5 [KC6]: Of course because the pop songs are about life! So you can push the envelope like Amy Whitehouse or you can just sing the songs. The thing about the *King James Bible* is not that it is the most accurate version but that it is lyrical and so most easily remembered. It injects emotional tonality. Shakespeare's sonnets have fourteen lines in iambic pentameter. That was the poetic form of the time. Take Henry V before the battle of Agincourt, "For he who sheds blood with me this day …" It is easy to remember and inspired his troops. Sotho doesn't use rhyme but it uses alliteration and vowel sounds. So I thought that if I could understand these songs then I could get closer to what/how the Basotho felt, like the troops at Agincourt. All folklore is a kind of ethnography! All these things say more than just the story and bring you closer to the values of timbre and the people. Every culture has its own version of tragedy. We live and die and don't understand why! I've looked at Chinese songs and Japanese songs, these sound like a whale's sonic signal. Shakespeare is very popular in Africa. Macbeth in Scotland just resonates so with Africa. Macbeth and witchcraft. The three witches: "When shall we three meet again?" Shakespeare is universal. And so are the Basotho! We can watch the film *Songs of Adventurers* and hear the *lifela,* the poetic songs of Lesotho migrant miners to South Africa. A two-hundred mile journey from Maseru to Welkom. Miners' experiences provide subject matter for *lifela* songs. *Lifela* poetry is important as catharsis. Performative space provides a context of belonging in a situation of alienation in the migrant experience. *Rools* are elegant praise poems for chiefs. *Lifela* is regarded as music. Praise poetry as speech. Singing of songs is a life bonding performance historically beginning with initiation. Mafeteng is a popular centre of *lifela* performances for narratives of *lifela*. Note that *lifela* is a competitive performative art. Women's *difela* is a lament. Women's songs are always performed to music as women dance. The shebeen is the women's performative space but when women's lyrics sting men will interject. The outdoor space is exclusive to men's recitation and women will never interject.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC5 draws on his ethnomusicological expertise to argue that '*discourse analysis*' needs to take cognizance of compositional technique such as '*melody*', *rhythm*, '*rhyme*', '*timbre*', '*tonal quality*' '*alliteration*', and '*vowel sounds*' to reiterate that these '*narrative forms*' facilitate memory and in Basotho oral tradition emotively communicate the existential experience of a people. He elaborates comparatively (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) on the expressive significance of '*narrative form*' with reference to the

artistry of the late Amy Whitehouse pop star, Shakespeare's literary oeuvre, and the popular King James edition of *The Bible.* These comparisons (ibid) allow him to illustrate the way in which '*narrative form*' across '*culture-contexts'* conveys how the performative expresses the ethos of a people's lifeworld. He re-situates the idiosyncratic experience of the Basotho in the more global contexts (ibid) of Shakespearean tragedy and Christianity to illustrate the universality of the human condition. In subsequently introducing his film *Songs of Adventurers* made in the cinema verité mode as a visual anthropology study of the Basotho migrants' poetic performances, Professor Coplan explains that the performative space of the poems provides a cathartic space of belonging on the migrants' journey from Lesotho to the South African mines. Here he is providing contextual (ibid) detail about the songs as a ethnographic lens mediating understanding of both the exploitative socio-economic conditions of migrancy and the norms and values of Basotho culture. Thus he explains that the singing of the '*difela*' *s*ongs deepens a life-bonding experience that begins with male initiation, whereas the female '*lifela*' songs bemoan the dehumanization of migrant-labour. Such that in '*gendered-social languages*', the declarative style *men's songs* – '*Difela*' are recited out of doors with competitive bravado in a tradition of male bonding and endurance through song. However, the women's danced songs – '*Difela*' are sung indoors and lament the pathos of their personal circumstances. Therefore as gendered narratives of the immediate (ibid) the songs chronicle the alienation of migrant-labour providing insight into its dehumanising effect from the '*emic*' perspective of Basotho men and women migrants. As ethnographic data the poems also document the migrants' travails and the Basotho's stoicism as a riposte of the human spirit.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan explains the perspective that the "medium is the message" (McLuhan, 1967) in relation to the poems.

● He notes that '*narrative form*' infuses a "tonal quality" in the Basotho poems that compellingly and memorably expresses the singers' shared sense of tragedy and stoicism.

● He illustrates the theatricality of the Basotho poetry tradition with reference to Shakespearian poetry and history plays, pop songs, and the King James Bible and asserts that each culture is a microcosm of a universal human experience that is ubiquitously documented in its folklore.

● He argues that understanding the meaning of the songs gave him authentic insight into the ethos of Basotho culture.

● Thus Professor Coplan illustrates how Basotho '*lifela*' and '*difela*' sung poetry documents migrancy as a social reality in interpreting this socio-economic experience through gendered perspectives that reflect the norms and values of Basotho culture. He also explains that the performative space of the poetry facilitates catharsis in engendering a collective sense of community for the Basotho poets. Furthermore, the poems provide an understanding via expressive '*narrative forms*' of the '*emic*' sentiments expressed in the poems as a unit of analysis that enables understanding of '***voice***' in 'culture-*context*'.

Narrative form:
KC7: Do men and women ever sing in harmony?

Pedagogy:

Student KC7 again probingly questions Professor Coplan about the possibility of the poems being performed in two-part harmony so as to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the poems as a gendered configuration of Basotho culture via it's this word-music genre.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student KC7 questions the vocal arrangements of the poems so as to enhance her understanding of the role of '***voice***' in the performance of the poems as a cultural art form.

Lecturer's Response – harmony:
DC6 [KC7]: It is as I have described it.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan's DC6 response, "It is as I have described it." (DC6) is possibly an assertion of the accuracy of his ethnographic findings that verifies the ethnographic method as a "being there … eye-witness" account (Geertz, 1988). If so, it stresses to the students the need for accuracy in recording and documenting ethnographic data so as to validate anthropology as a social science or human interpretive discipline. Alternatively Professor Coplan's response may suggest that he considers the seminar topic to have been adequately addressed and thus his comment is a concluding remark to the seminar discussion.

Pedagogic Move:

● Professor Coplan asserts the veracity his ethnographic method and thus emphasizes the need for meticulous documenting as a methodological principle in doing ethnographic research so as to validate anthropology as ontologically and epistemologically sound as a discipline.

● Thus Professor Coplan's emphasis may also suggest that he considers Seminar 6's discussion mediating an understanding of the metaconcept of '***voice***' to have been comprehensively explicated by his methodological '*discourse-analysis' ethnographic* approach in providing an emic understanding of the Basotho's '*word-music poems*' as a lens through which to view and insightfully understand Basotho migrant-labour culture.

Narrative form:
KC8: Has the music style changed?

Pedagogy:

Student KC8's question reflects her interest in how musical genres reflect changing identity formation among young Afrikaner musicians in post-apartheid South Africa. This is the focus of her Masters degree research project, for a for which ANTH7020: South African Ethnography is one of two compulsory courses.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student KC8 asks about change in the poems' musical style that might reveal change over time in Basotho migrant culture.

Lecturer's Response – music style:
DC7 [KC8]: Still the same. Listen to the radio. In 1987, 350,000 men were taken off the mines in a strike. They lost but proved they could do it. But the mines reacted by mechanization. The number of job losses in 1990, were 90,000 and in 2011 it was 50,000. Remittances were paid for job redundancy. We went to Welkom to the Labour Offices. Some people set themselves up to help, some were fraudulent. People in the lines of waiting sang about that.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan's DC7's response reflects his ongoing interest in ethnomusicology in South Africa beginning with his 1985 classic monographic *In Township Tonight*. His continuing research into the ways in which the migrant experience is '***voiced***' in the register of song is reflected here in his account of the 1978 miners' strike for better working conditions and the response by mining capital of mechanization, job redundancies and remittances. He stresses the continued efficacy of oral tradition in South Africa in his observation that – "People in the [Labour Offices] lines sang about that" (DC7). His response thus documents the ongoing tragedy of migrant labour and how Basotho miners continue to '***voice***' their predicament in '*word-music-poems*', and his ongoing research into Basotho poetry as an ethnographic unit of analysis for understanding the human dimension in this socio-economic system.

Pedagogic Move:

● Professor Coplan confirms that the Basotho '***voice(s)***' narrating the '*word-music-poetry*' aired on the radio today continues to mediate an understanding of their plight as migrant labourers in an exploitative industry.

Narrative form:
KC9: Is there a relationship between melody and rhythm?

Pedagogy:

Student KC9's final question again reflects her personal interest in music and so her continued focus on the performative elements of the '*lifela*' and '*difela*' songs that give meaning to the lyrics.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student KC9 continues to query the musical construction of the Basotho '*word-music-poems*' because of her academic interest in music and identity. In so doing, she methodologically models a good, probing research-interview question technique to the SAE class.

Lecturer's Response – melody and rhythm:
DC8 [KC9]: Men sing in a declamatory style, women sing in verses so it's more sonoric. *Johnny Comes Marching Home* is the best war song because of the tune but it's really oral poetry. We tried to make the film a song itself. After setting scene narration, we cut the narration out.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan's DC8 response highlights the expressiveness of style as a "referentially semantic element" (Bakhtin, 1986: 90) in the oral poetry. His comment that "Men sing in a declamatory style, women sing in verses so it's more sonoric." (DC8) explains the men's declarative style and the women's sonorous style which reflects their differential attitudes to migrancy as described in ethnographic detail (in DC6). Thus, as Bakhtin argues, "style as an expressive aspect is a constitutive feature of the utterance" (ibid) as can be heard in the Basotho poems in the harangue and bravado of the male miners' declamatory '*Lifela'*, while the Basotho woman's *deeply resonant Difela*' laments their own and their partners' migrant-labour hardships. Professor Coplan also reiterates how '*melody*' enhances memory as an important component in an oral singing genre (DC1). The ethnographic insight that the '*narrative-form*' of the songs as '*word-music-poetry*' conveys, is ultimately, the message and

meaning of the lyrics and this informs his directorial approach to making the film '*Songs of Adventurers*: '*Difela*' *– The Poetic Songs of Lesotho Migrant Miners to South Africa'.*

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan explains the gendered singing styles of the men's '*word-music-poems*' as declarative and the women's as sonorous. Thus, stylistically each '*narrative-form*' expresses the singer's attitude to the theme of his/her song.

● He reiterates using the comparative (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) example of the American Civil War song 'When Johnny Comes Marching Home', how '*melody*' facilitates memory in oral musical tradition.

● He explains that his film is made as a song without an explanatory narrative voice-over so that it is similar to the '*Lifela*' and '*Difela*' performances – in the film the Basotho migrant singers' '***voice*(*s*)**' speak directly to the viewer. This replicates his approach to Bastoho self-representation in the text of his performance ethnography in *In the Time of Cannibals* (DC1).

● Thus Professor Coplan's *In the Time of Cannibals,* and *Songs of Adventurers*: *Difela – The Poetic Songs of Lesotho Migrant Miners to South Africa',* conveys that an understanding of '***voice***' as Seminar 6's metaconcept is self-referentially explicated by Basotho oral tradition poetry that incisively captures the existential experience of migrant-labour culture.

Seminar 6's presentation discussion between Student KC4–KC9 and Professor Coplan DC3–DC8 concludes with Professor Coplan's DC8 comment on his film. After this the students watch a screening of

Songs of Adventurers*: *Difela – The Poetic Songs of Lesotho Migrant Miners to South Africa.

There is no further discussion in Seminar 6 after the viewing of the film.

I now provide a review of how Seminar 6's discussion of Coplan's (1994) '*discourse-analysis*' approach to deconstructing '***voice***' mediates metaconceptual understanding of '***voice***' as a 'psychological tool' of analysis to facilitate anthropological pedagogy in Seminar 6.

Seminar 6 Presentation: Pedagogy Review

Pedagogically in Seminar 6, Student KC and Professor Coplan work with elements of ethnography – concepts, culture-context, narratives of the immediate, agency and comparison[39] – to develop an understanding of how '*discourse-analysis'* of the '*narrative-form*' of Basotho '*word-music-poems*' provides a lens onto the '*culture-context*' of migrancy. Their presentation mediates a metaconceptual understanding of '***voice***' for the SAE students.

In Seminar 6, Professor Coplan's opening remarks on the oral poems as ethnographic texts (DC1) specify the focus of his ethnographic research:

> I was studying … migrants [who] were coming home on the weekend in taxis and on buses and trains. I looked at working life among people who spoke about their working lives.

He goes on to explain his methodological rationale for choosing a '*discourse-analysis*' approach (Bakhtin, 1981; 1984; 1986) to interpret the meaning of (Miller, 2011) the migrant's songs in order to get "a step closer to people's own stories" (DC1), arguing:

> I had this idea, still do, something is wrong with the anthropology narrative. … I was concerned with working with forms of narration that got closer to what and how men and women would say to each other… I translated these oral poems, word-music. So there are some mistakes which native Sotho speakers have assisted me to correct (DC1).

In these remarks Professor Coplan DC1 frames the seminar discussion of the Basotho '*word-music-poems*' '*oral-narratives*' via a '*discourse-analysis*' approach to understanding the '*gendered-social-language*' of Basotho poets' '***voices***' in conversation as a corrective to the pre-1990's anthropology literature on migrancy.

[39] I type elements of ethnography in Times New Roman, font size 12 (as explained in **Chapter Three: Methodology,** Footnote 19, p. 56).

Professor Coplan's framing remarks on the ontology of ethnographic fieldwork and the epistemology of anthropological knowledge production draws on Gay y Blasco and Wardle's (2007) elements of ethnography with respect to: (i) context (migrancy), (ii) agency (the Basotho poets and the ethnographer's), (iii) narratives of the immediate (Basotho poems), and (iv) comparison (cross cultural) with which Professor Coplan and Student KC work in explicating the metaconcept of '***voice***' as a 'psychological tool' of analysis in teaching and learning anthropology.

Thereafter, Student KC1–KC3's introductory comments situate the study within Bakhtin's (1986) and Williams' (1976) '*discourse-analysis*' theoretical paradigms and begin to conceptually elucidate '***voice***' as it is explicated by the subconcept of '*narrative-form*' with respect to the salience of '*metaphor*', '*rhythm*', 'rhyme', '*melody*' '*tone*' and '*style*' as expressive motifs in the Basotho '*word-music-poems*'. Student KC3 also notes Professor Coplan's wish to avoid writing his ethnography in the ethnographic present tense thereby implicitly also referencing Clifford and Marcus (1986) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* that sparked a debate on representation in anthropology.

Student KC4–KC9's presentation strategy of questioning Professor Coplan in an interview-style conversation engages the lecturer as ethnographer in the dual sense of fieldworker and author. This strategy invites his explanation of how both the ethnographer's and his interlocutors' gendered '*positionality*' and '*perspective*' in the '*culture-context*' of the field shape fieldwork and thus, interpretively ethnographic writing. Professor Coplan's DC2–DC3 responses explain agency (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) in the field regarding (i) how his praxis is inflected by his age and American male status, and (ii) how the male and female

Basotho poets' perspectives of him as an ethnographer inform their interlocutor-collaboration with him in the research process. Professor Coplan's explication of '*positionality*' in the field is pedagogically instructive for the SAE seminar students in (i) informing how they might conduct their own fieldwork research projects and (ii) in writing their Research Report for the ANTH4018/7020: South African Ethnography course.

In responding to Student KC6's comparison (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007), of the '*word-music-poems*' to pop songs, Professor Coplan's DC4 cross-cultural comparison of the poems' '*narrative-form*' to iambic pentameter in Shakespeare's oeuvre and the lyricism of the King James bible elucidates his analysis of the '*narrative-form'* of the Basotho poems as social commentary on the migrant-labour experience. He uses this comparative technique of anthropology because as he argues, "these things [the poems] say more than just the story and bring you closer to the values of timbre and the people" (DC4). In this regard his argument again speaks cogently to the late 1980s writing culture debate in finding a way to allow the Basotho '***voices***' to speak directly to the readers of ethnography rather than being reinterpreted by the anthropologist. In his quest to collaborate with his interlocutors as co-ethnographers, Professor Coplan is alerting the SAE students to the politics of ethical fieldwork by empowering his interlocutors' self-representation in, *In the Time of Cannibals* to address what "is wrong with the anthropology narrative"(DC1).

In his responses DC6–DC8 to student KC7–KC9's questions about the musical arrangement and changing style of the poems over time, Professor Coplan confirms the unchanged performance style of the poems and the veracity of his documentation of the Basotho poetry ethnography. This assertion suggests that he is stressing to the SAE seminar group the professional need for authenticity in documenting ethnography to ensure the veracity

and validity of ethnography as anthropology's methodology and genre text of the discipline as a human interpretive science.

In assessing Student KC's conceptual understanding of the "word meaning" (Vygotsky, 1987: 244-245; Miller, 2011: 20) of '***voice***' as a metaconcept, Miller's (2011: 413) suggestion that:

> The task of education or understanding, in Vygotsky's sense of learning … is to trace the path that leads from answers to questions.

is germane. In that, following Student KC1–KC2's critical book review introducing her probing comments and questions KC4–KC9 to Professor Coplan as the ethnographer in the '*field*' and author of *In the Time of Cannibals* suggest a comprehensively internalised "conscious awareness of … and conscious awareness about" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) '***voice***' as a 'psychological tool' metaconcept. Additionally, in KC3–KC5's comments to Professor Coplan on (i) the differential experience of male and female Basotho poets, (ii) the poets' perceptions of him as an ethnographer, and (iii) her interest in the performance of the poems, enables Professor Coplan to explain (i) '*gendered-social-languages*', (ii) '*positionality*', and (iii) '*narrative-form*' as enlightening subconcepts of '***voice***' as a metaconcept. In this regard, Student KC's comments in my research interview with her on the need for an ethnographer to:

> try to get into situations which are a little more relaxed … listening to what they say to one another and how the interact with other people (interview, 3/10/2011),

also indicates her conceptual understanding of the salience of '*positionality*' and '*perspective*' in ethnographic research. Student KC6's acuity grows in her challenge to Professor Coplan that '*narrative-form*' is equally an evocative medium in Basotho poems and pop songs. He agrees. Thereafter Student KC7–KC9's questions about the poems musical (i) harmony, (ii) style, and (iii) arrangements, allows Professor Coplan to assert (i)

the methodological accuracy of his ethnography (ii) affirm the poems' unchanged message, and (iii) explain the male poets' declamatory styles and female poets' sonoric styles. These points enhance the SAE students' understanding of '***voice***' as an ethnographic lens elucidating the '*word-music-poems*'. Thus with respect to the epistemic relationship between the students and the lecturer's collaboration in Vygotsky's *zone of proximal development* (1987: 209–214; original italics) there is an interesting twist in which Student KC1–KC9's comments and questions to Professor Coplan about his ethnography facilitates his pedagogy and reflects her comprehensively internalised understanding of how '*discourse-analysis*' metaconcetpually elucidates '***voice***'.

Thus in Seminar 6, Student KC and Professor Coplan explicate a '*discourse-analysis*' approach to deconstructing '***voice***' as a 'psychological tool' of analysis in interpreting the Basotho's '*word-music-poems*' (*lifela and difela*) '*narrative-form*' ('*rhyme*', '*rhythm*', '*melody*' etc.) via '*discourse-analysis*' of ('*gendered-social-languages*') in '*culture-context*' ('*positionality*', '*emic*'/'*insider*'- '*etic*'/'*outsider*', '*perspective*') as a pedagogic lesson in methodology in doing and writing ethnography in anthropology.

Chapter Five

In Chapter Five, I provide an analysis of anthropological pedagogy in **Seminar 7: Interrogating** '**Development'**.

Seminar 7 Presentation: Pedagogy Overview

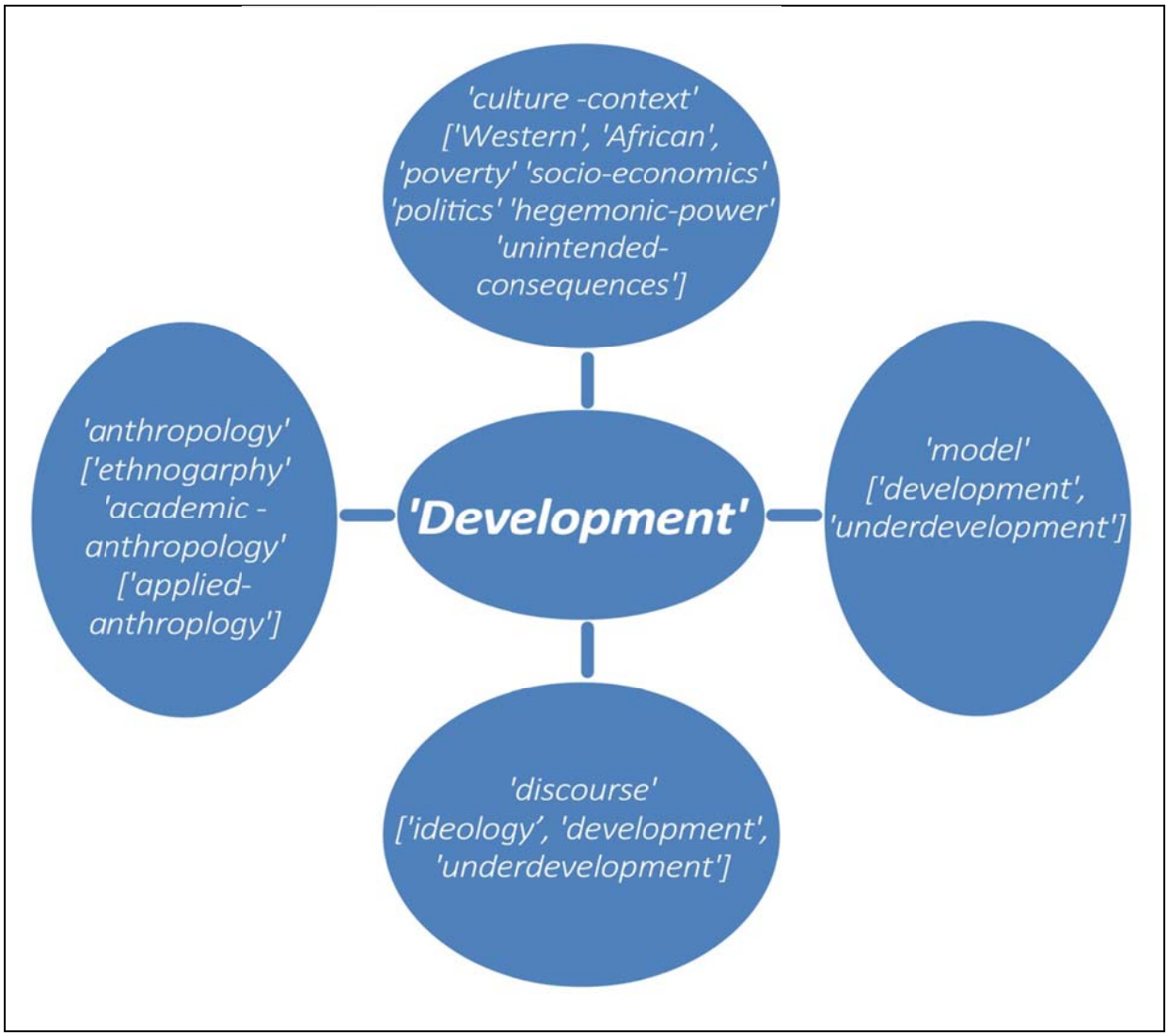
Seminar 7's discussion focuses on Ferguson's (1990) ethnographically premised exposé of '***Development***' as a socio-economic improvement scheme. In the transcript of excerpts from Seminar 7, Student MW and Student AH jointly lead the seminar in a deconstruction of '***Development***' as a metaconcept. Professor Coplan conversationally joins their presentation to elaborate on some points of the students' presentation. In their presentation, Students MW's and AH's draw on Ferguson's (1990) text, *The Anti-Politics Machine* as an exposé of '***Development***' praxis based on his case study of the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme project. Professor Coplan draws on the text and on his broader anthropological and historical knowledge of '***Development***'. Seminar 7's discussion focuses on the problematic of '***Development***' that Ferguson (1990: xiii) argues, from a Western perspective, is "the name for a value … [by which] poor countries are by definition less developed." The seminar presenters note the need to deconstruct the discourse of '**Development**' and relatedly several paradoxes of '***Development***' in order to understand it. [40]

Pedagogically, Student MW and Student AH and Professor Coplan explicate the "*structure of generalisation*" (Vygotsky, 1978: 227) of '***Development***' as Seminar 7's metaconcept via four

[40] In the SAE course booklet, **Seminar 7: Interrogating** '**Development**' (p **x)** '**Development**' is enclosed in single parenthesis to indicate that the concept is problematized. In Seminar 7's transcript, I follow this format but also italicise '***Development***' as Seminar 7's metaconcept. I additionally use this format for hyphenated phrases e.g. '***Development-****model*' in which the hyphenated phrase incorporates the metaconcept of '***Development***' and a related sub-concept, e.g. '*model*'. Quotes from Seminar 7's transcript are presented verbatim and thus the metaconcept is not embolded and subconcepts are not italicised.

key ethnographic subconcepts: '*culture-context*', '*discourse*', '*model*', and '*anthropology'*. Each of these subconcepts is elaborated by related subconcepts as follows: '*culture-context*' ('*poverty*', '*socio-economics*', '*politics*', '*hegemonic power*, '*unintended consequences*'), '*discourse*' ('*ideology*', '*development*', '*underdevelopment*'), '*model*' ('*development*', '*underdevelopment*') '*anthropology*' ('*ethnography*', *'academic-anthropology*', '*applied-anthropology*') illustrated in **Figure 4** (below).

Figure 4: Metaconcept *'Development'* and sub-concept clusters



I now draw on this mapping of the metaconcept of '***Development***' to present an analysis of how the transcript of Student MW's and Student AH's and Professor Coplan's Seminar 7 presentation pedagogically mediates a developmental understanding of the metaconcept of **'*Development***' to (i) methodologically explicate how ethnography informs Ferguson's (1990) exposé of '***Development***', and (ii) how ethnography can contribute in '*applied-anthropology*' to a positive outcome in '***Development'*** projects.

Seminar 7: Interrogating '**Development**'

Reading: James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine,* Cambridge: Cambridge *University Press, 1990.*

Lecturer Presentation Excerpt (DC):

Lecturer's opening remarks:
DC1: The book The Anti-Politics Machine is readable but a thorough critique[41] of development and brought about a turning point in development-thinking, also for anthropology. Anthropologists are not involved in the design phase they are called at the end to explain why it failed. I'm not naming anyone. Development doesn't have to succeed. Government can fix what didn't. The Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme Project got a $67million grant. Casspirs were used as tow-trucks! I saw them once. The book was very relevant at the time. Lesotho had made a living out of the donor mode of production. It was one of the frontline states. To Maseru airport straight roads were built – come the revolution! Leboa Jonathon was the first Prime Minister installed by the South African Apartheid Government. In 1978 a Cuban delegation arrived at a conference at the University of Lesotho. A Moscow-Havana-Maseru axis made newspaper headlines! Lesotho has a national football team. Here's an example of the weirdest place, a limiting case. Jim Ferguson took the same position.

[41] Ferguson's (1990) *The Anti-Politics Machine* was read as a critique of 'Development' and became seminally influential in changing 'Development' praxis. However, Ferguson (1990: xv) notes that his concern was not a critique but "to show that the institutionalised production of certain kinds of ideas about Lesotho has important effects and that the production of these ideas plays an important role in the production of certain sorts of structural change." Thus, I refer to Ferguson's (1990) ethnographic case study of 'Development' in Lesotho as an exposé of 'Development'.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan's DC1 opening remarks establish the relevance of James Ferguson's (1990) *The Anti-Politics Machine* as an accessible but critical political-economy study of '***Development***' that changed '***Development***' praxis. His remarks have a dual pedagogic focus on: (i) '*Development*', and relatedly, (ii) anthropology's agency (Gay y Blasco and Wardle (2007) as an '*academic*' and '*applied*' discipline' in studying '***Development***'. Several remarks also reflect the southern African 'culture-*context'* and knowledge of the SAE seminar group. Thus in framing the seminar discussion on '***Development***', Professor Coplan's remarks begin to explicate '***Development***' as a Western donor-funded project with regard to Lesotho within the context (ibid) of South Africa's apartheid system and as encapsulated by both capitalist and socialist '*political' and socio-economic*' ideologies[42] as a '***Development***' recipient country.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan speaks about '***Development***' via several related subconcepts: '*culture-context*' '*ideology*', '*politics*' *and* '*socio-economics'* that begin to explicate the meaning of '***Development***', as a metaconcept (Miller, 2001)***.***

● He explains that Ferguson's *The Anti-Politics Machine*, as a critical study of '***Development***' was influential in changing '***Development*** praxis.

● He acknowledges anthropologists' agency in their involvement in '***Development'***, as in the case of anthropologist James Ferguson's (1990) critical study of a '***Development***' project in Lesotho, and anthropologists' applied involvement in '***Development***' projects as consultants.

● His comment: "I saw them there." (DC1) referring to casspirs, self-referentially depicts the anthropologist in Lesotho at the site of a '***Development***' project.

● His observation: "Here's an example of a limiting case. Jim Ferguson took the same position." (DC1) portrays anthropologists in academic discussion and theoretical agreement regarding Lesotho as a definitive example of a '*Development'* aid country.

[42] The reference to capitalism is implicit in apartheid South Africa's capitalist economy – e.g. diamond and gold mining industries. The visiting Eastern Block delegation to the University of Lesotho conference indexes soviet socialist interest in South Africa.

● Thus Professor Coplan's opening remarks premised on Ferguson's (1990) critique, frame '***Development***' by explaining Lesotho as a '*culture-context'* of '***Development***' relative to apartheid capitalist and soviet socialist '*ideological*' and '*socio-economic*' systems that conceptually elucidate the metaconcept of '***Development***' and anthropologists' academic and applied involvement in '***Development***'.

Students' Presentation Excerpts (MW, AH):

Student's introductory comments:
MW1: I will give an overview: The anti-politics machine implies the same as an anti-gravity machine. It is a negating element that is politics in this context. And, also important is the need to look out for unintended results. In respect of the anti-politics machine and unintended consequences, Ferguson cites Foucault on power in hidden structural niches. In Ferguson's study the context is the politics of poverty, development, and discourse**.**

Pedagogy:

Student MW1's introductory comments reiterate and advance a conceptual understanding of '***Development***' in relation to the subconcepts: '*culture-context'*, '*ideology',' politics'* and '*socio-economics'* introduced by Professor Coplan. Student MW1 also clarifies the context (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) of Ferguson's study as one of a "politics of poverty" explaining that invisible hegemonic forces bring about "unintended results … [or] unintended consequences" in '***Development***' planning. Thus, Student MW1 introduces four new subconcepts of the metaconcept '***Development***' those of '*hegemonic-power*' (Foucault, 1991), '*poverty*', '*discourse*', *and* '*unintended results/consequences*' as significant analytical elements of Ferguson's critical study.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student MW1 further elaborates the meaning of '*Development*' as a metaconcept by adding to the explicatory subconcepts: '*culture-context*', '*ideology*',' *politics*', and '*socio-economics*', those of '*hegemonic-power,* '*poverty*', '*discourse*', and '*unintended consequences*' in developing an understanding of '***Development***'.

● Thus, Student MW1 begins to develop the conceptual complexity of understanding '***Development***' by adding to the set of subconcepts introduced by Professor Coplan (DC1) those of '*discourse*' '*poverty*', *and* '*unintended consequences*' *together* with *'hegemonic-power*' as a new subconcept of '*politics*' in metaconeptually explicating '***Development***'.

‘**Development’ discourse*:***
AH1 [MW1]: In terms of development discourse and framework perceptions of the Lesotho Development community these were of Lesotho as an underdeveloped country that hasn’t moved to industrial capitalism. A peasant society, an aboriginal country that has not been incorporated into the world economy. Whereas this is not true as Lesotho has historically been trading with South Africa. Development is regarded as having to happen via agriculture. The Development framework ignored Lesotho’s migrant-labour history as it didn’t fit this framework. Additionally in the Development programme politics were side-lined. There was no political conflict.

Pedagogy:

Student AH1’s comments specifically elaborate on ‘***Development****-discourse*’ as a ‘*discourse* of *underdevelopment*’ whereby Lesotho is deemed to be in need of agricultural ‘*development*’. Paradoxically, this proposed form of ‘*development*’ ignores Lesotho’s historical commercial-trade and monetary wage-labour economic sectors as an erroneous oversight in ‘***Developmen*t-*discourse*’. Thus, in focusing the SAE students’ attention on ‘***Development***’ as it is envisioned in ‘*development-discourse*’, Student AH1 begins to explicate ‘*discourse*’ as a key subconcept in understanding the metaconcept ‘***Development***’. In deconstructing ‘***Development****-discourse*’*,* her use of the keywords “framework perceptions” (AH1) of Lesotho as an “*underdeveloped*” (ibid) county needing an agricultural ‘***Development***’ programme encompass a dual meaning of “framework” (ibid) as (i) a framing of a perspective or worldview of Lesotho as ‘*underdeveloped*’ that in turn (ii) informs a systematic or applied ‘working frame’ requiring the ‘***Development***’ community*’s* expertise. However, as Student AH1 argues the ‘*discourse of underdevelopment*’ framework ignores Lesotho’s historically developed commercial trade and wage-labour economy. Thus, Student AH1 introduces a paradox that requires deconstruction in order to understand the ‘***Development***’ community’s ‘*discourse* of *underdevelopment*’. Student AH1 also reiterates

and thus reinforces – Student MW1's observation of the '***Development***' community's negation of politics (MW1).

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student AH1 reconfigures '*poverty*' and '*discourse'* as subconcepts of the metaconcept '***Development***' as a '*discourse of underdevelopment'*.

● She introduces the idea of a '*development-framework*' as a complex subconcept of '***Development***' in the dual sense of the '***Development***' community's perspective of Lesotho and as prescriptive for '***Development*'s** *modus operandi for Lesotho*.

● She observes that: "The Development framework ignored Lesotho's migrant-labour history as it didn't fit this [agricultural development] framework for '***Development***' (AH1).

● Thus Student AH1 advances conceptual understanding of '***Development***' with regards to the '***Development***' community's erroneous perspective of Lesotho and misconstrued '*discourse of poverty*' operational framework for agricultural '***Development***' in Lesotho.

Constructivist ideology as a model:
MW2 [AH1]: What is most important to understand is not so much the Development-community's construction of an ideology but the reasons why the Development framework-model ignored reality on the ground?

Pedagogy:

Student MW2's, comment illustrates Bakhtin's (1986) notion of "addressivity" as Student MW2 dialogically explains to the SAE seminar group how to better understand '***Development***' as an ideologically constructed concept. This is because Student MW2's emphasis on examining agency (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) in '***Development****-ideology*' advances the students' awareness of the significance of '*ideology'* as a sub-concept of '***Development***' introduced by Professor Coplan (DC1). Student MW1 is also "consciously aware of" (Miller, 2011: 390 -394), and explicitly draws the students' attention to, the need to understand the negation of a context (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) so as to understand the "*Development-framework"* (AH1) as a '*model*'. Here, again semantically, two different but interrelated subconcepts of the metaconcept '***Development***' feature in

student MW2's conceptual usage of the hyphenated term "*framework-model*" in that a '*framework*', as an ideological working system, is now reconfigured by Student MW2 as a '*model of reality'*. Thus, in qualifying Student AH2's introduction of the subconcept of a '*framework'* by conceptually qualifying this subconcept with the hyphenated '*framework-model*' subconcept*,* Student MW2 introduces an abstraction i.e. a '*model*' as a representation of an '*ideological-framework'.* However, '*models*' are abstractions of reality, not reality, as is suggested by student MW2's emphasis on "the need to understand why the '***Development****-framework-model*' as a representational-abstraction ignores reality on the ground". Thus, the idea of a '*framework-model*' indexes the conceptual complexity of '***Development'*** in that '*framework-model*' is a subconcept of the key subconcept '*ideology*' that is integral to understanding '***Development****-discourse*'. This in turn, explicates an understanding of '***Development***' as Seminar 7's metaconcept.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student MW2's use of the triple hyphenated subconcept "***Development****-framework-model*", guides the seminar group towards a more abstractly complex set of interrelated subconcept word meanings (Miller, 2011) in understanding the metaconcept '***Development***'.

● Thus Student MW2 is developing the "measure of generality" (Vygotsky, 1987: 227) of **'Development'** as a metaconcept in relation to a set of subconcepts.

Lecturer's Response – constructivist Ideology:
DC2 [MW2]: Because it wouldn't fit the model of underdevelopment.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan's DC2 interjection explains the mismatch between reality and the '***Development***' community's, '*model of underdevelopment*'. Thus Professor Coplan's explanation further develops students' understanding of abstract '*models*' as 'psychological

tools' – that are used in '***Development***' as an applied '*socio-economic'* programme. Equally, Professor Coplan's rejoinder teaches the students through a speech genre (Bakhtin, 1986) of anthropology, since the discipline also uses paradigmatic '*models*'. For example in the case of the functionalist-model that is an abstract–representation of how social institutions function, like a body or a bicycle, to enable a society to be viable over time.

Pedagogic Moves:

●Professor Coplan explains that the "Development-framework-model ignores reality on the ground" (MW2) because, it "wouldn't fit the 'model of underdevelopment" (DC2), thereby enhancing the SAE students understanding of the use of '*models*' in '*Development*'-praxis.

● His explication of the use of '*models*' also enhances conceptual understanding of '*Development*', in that a theoretically informed use of a representational '*model*' resonates with anthropology's use of models as 'psychological tools' in understanding a society.

● Thus Professor Coplan contributes to Student MW's and Student AH's conceptually developmental presentation on '***Development***' through deepening the SAE students' understanding of '**Development**' by explaining that the '***Development***' community "ignored reality on the ground" (MW2) because it needed to construct a '*model of underdevelopment*' as its own a modus operandi.

Pedagogically thus far, Student MW, Student AH and Professor Coplan have mediated an understanding of '*Development*' as it is animated, conceptually, by the subconcepts of: *'culture-context'* relative to 'socio-economics' and 'poverty'; '*ideology*', relative to '*politics*' *and* '*power*'; '*discourse*' relative to a '*framework model of underdevelopment*' (MW1, AH1, AH2), and '*model*' as in the abstract representation of Lesotho in a '*model of* '*underdevelopment*' (MW2, DC2).

Research methodology:
MW3: So that's the background. Our analysis now focuses on: Why? We look at: (i) Ferguson's research focus (ii) his methodology to see how he did his fieldwork (iii) interesting features in relation to ethnography in relation to this course.

The concept of Development is unique but problematic. Development is problematic. James Ferguson argues that, "There has to be foreknowledge." Lesotho is the object of development. Ferguson seems to replicate the argument that he critiques in the beginning of his book of Marxism and Liberalism but then argues like a Marxist. If you were to go through the book you will see that he speaks Marxist speak. That is an interesting point for me! Development discourse can only be understood within development-discourse.

Pedagogy:

Student MW3 notes that, hitherto, their joint-remarks on '**D*evelopment***' have provided background information on '***Development***'. He now begins to engage Professor Coplan's opening remarks on anthropologists' professional involvement in '**D*evelopment***' (DC1). He introduces the questioning approach of a critical anthropological perspective into his presentation. In so doing Student WM3 ventriloquates the voice of the discipline (Bakhtin, 1986) by asking: (i) Why Ferguson's research focus? (ii) 'What methodology did he use in the field? (iii) What are the interesting features in relation to ethnography and the significance for their course? (MW3). In these questions, Student MW3 is modelling for the seminar group, how anthropologists approach a research problem by investigating its specific meaning in a sociocultural context (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007; Wertsch, 1991), as in this instance, of the "problematic" of '***Development***' in Lesotho. Student MW3 then quotes Ferguson's (1990) claim that "There has to be foreknowledge", but does not elaborate on this argument. Instead, he chooses to comment on (i) Ferguson's critique of Marxism and Liberalism, critically observing that, in his view, and paradoxically, Ferguson uses a Marxist analysis in interpreting his own Lesotho case study of '***Development***'. These critically reflexive observations lead to student MW3's final argument that the intelligibility of '***Development***' as a '*discourse'* only makes sense within its own discursive language, i.e. within "*development-discourse*" (MW3). Thus in adding to Professor Coplan's remarks (DC1, D2), Student MW3 draws attention to Ferguson's critical methodology in his ethnographic

study of '***Development***' in Lesotho'. Furthermore, in referring to Marxism and Liberalism he notes the relevance of theoretical paradigms in informing anthropologists' academic research. This observation echoes a similar approach to the 'Development' *community's* use of "*development-models*" (MW2, DC2), with an associated "*discourse*" (MW1, AH1) that is suggestive of commonalities in approach between the two modalities of professional practice that would enable interdisciplinary engagement albeit from differing professional and theoretical orientations. In this series of comments, Student MW3 deepens the SAE seminar group's understanding of anthropology as a discipline in relation to its theoretical understanding of '***Development***' as introduced by Professor Coplan's DC1's opening remarks on '**Development**' as an applied praxis. However, Student MW3 overlooks addressing his point (ii), about Ferguson's methodology, to see how he did his fieldwork, and his point (iii) – interesting features in relation to ethnography in relation to this course.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student MW3 introduces and methodologically models anthropology's critical questioning approach to understanding a phenomenon such as '***Development***'.

● He refers to Ferguson's claim that in '***Development***' projects, "There has to be foreknowledge." but does clarify Ferguson's dictum.

● He omits to develop his points (ii) on Ferguson's research methodology, and (iii) the significance of Ferguson's ethnographic case study as the premise of his exposé of '**Development'.**

● He comments on Ferguson's critique of Marxist and Liberal theories, arguing however, that Ferguson also draws on Marxism in his critique of '***Development***' praxis in Lesotho. This reference indicates the relevance of theoretical paradigms in informing anthropologists' research.

● He explains that '***Development***' discourse can only be tautologically understood within '***Development****-discourse*'
● Thus, Student MW3 partially advances the SAE group's understanding of '***Development***' by (i) modelling anthropology's critical questioning approach, for example, to investigating and thus understanding '***Development***'. He notes that Ferguson's critique of Marist informed socio-economic theories of '***Development'*,** while seeming to be informed by

Marxism in his own critique of '***Development***'. He also explains that '***Development***-*discourse*' can only be understood within '***Development***-*discourse*'. This series of pedagogic moves theoretically elaborate Professor Coplan's opening remarks regarding anthropology's evaluative – academic and applied engagement in '***Development***' (DC1). However, Student MW3 omits to explain the significance of his points (ii) and (iii) to the seminar group.

'**Development**' **is ubiquitous:**
AH2: The anti-politics machine works in all and every country in which development is implemented in the same way! It is the same pool of scholars for all projects. Washington is at the centre of the Development community. The constant within the equation is the project itself. So the only sense that can be made is the mingling with each specific country. Development needs to show each country poor to ensure getting money. In the 1970s and 1980s the Development community and national Governments blocked nongovernmental organisations. It was the post-colonial period that Ferguson was dealing with. In trying to understand the value of the book it is quite difficult as development has changed.

Pedagogy:

Student AH2 situates '***Development***' in a Western '*culture-context*' focusing attention on '***Development***' praxis as a Washington-centred "pool of scholars", to emphasise the '*political*', '*economic*' and '*ideological*' orientation of '***Development***' (MW2, DC2). Her explicit mentioning of Washington as the "centre of the 'Development'-community" (AH2), underscores the Western and north-south axis of donor-aid and expertise (DC1). Consequently, Student AH2 argues it is only possible to understand '***Development***' through the dynamic of an invariant '***Development***-*model*' as it plays out in each recipient country. She also reiterates the constant theme of the '*model* of *underdevelopment*' (DC2) in '***Development***-*discourse*', and the paradox of '*politics*' in '***Development***' despite its anti-politics stance (DC1, MW1, AH1). Lastly, Student AH2 questions the contemporary (2011) value of Ferguson's book given that '***Development***' has changed since the book's publication in 1990. In these observations Student AH2 provides insight into '***Development***' as a globally-applied Western '*ideological*' praxis while also questioning the book's

contemporary value so that the SAE students' attention is refocused on Ferguson's text in order to critically re-asses it.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student AH2 provides insight into the ubiquitous formulaically applied '*model of* '***Development***', apropos its western-centric '*culture-context*' and orientation as a community of Western specialists.

● She questions the book's value in 2011, thereby asserting the need for the SAE seminar group to reassess Ferguson's (1990) *The Anti-Politics Machine*.

● Thus Student AH2 offers a comprehensive exposé of '***Development***' premised on Ferguson's study that deconstructs the problematic of '***Development***' by revealing the '***Development****-model*' to be a Western '*ideological*' and '*socio-economic*' formulaic-panacea for all recipient countries.

Lecturer's Response – Development is ubiquitous:
DC3 [AH2]: It has partly changed because of what James Ferguson said. What he said entered into development critique. It didn't happen initially as people were so grateful to receive the parachute of experts. He does go on to say that the experts said, "Well if it worked in Bangladesh!" In Thaba-Tseka a police station, post office, tax office, and a Deputy Dog Catcher to collect a dog tax were all dropped in! People like myself saw it happen! Development brings etatization. This is part of what Ferguson is saying about the anti-politics machine. I will go to the end of the book. Ferguson is totally depressed and arguing for a stop to all Development. He claims that large Development-funders only care about the Maseru Hilton and the Lesotho Sun and about their relationships with Governments. The Maseru Hilton was built by the Israeli Government in return for a vote at the United Nations. Developers are developed not developees. With regard to accountability when people who are being developed refuse to be developed the western response to this is that they are backward and anti-modern. The World Bank viewed Lesotho as an agricultural country. Lesotho hasn't been an agricultural country since the end of the eighteenth century! In a study of extra disposal of household income a Newcastle University expert estimated that 6% came from agriculture. Two percent of people who work on the land make their living off the land but they need a household member in Johannesburg on the mines. The cost of seeds and fertilisers etc. is too expensive to ever recover the costs. There is no consulting with local knowledge. For example with regard to rain, developers took rainfall for a good year not an average year so a lot of people were taken in and those who planted corn, their crop withered. Lesotho has a law against selling any land. There is no private ownership of fields. No one ever gets developed except the developers. This has been done before. Who cares? We're going to do it again. The Peace Corp is full of Iowa naivety showing Swazi how to raise pigs but it only lasts as long as the Iowans are there. As soon as they go they eat the pigs and that's the end of that. The one good thing was that the Basotho saw 'white' people who work! There isn't a buy-in at grass roots level. Why isn't there a buy-in? That's a question for anthropologists.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC3 defends James Ferguson's book by ethnographically illuminating the multitudinous problems of '***Development***' praxis with regard to: (i) etatization, (ii) its self-interested engagement in political diplomacy, (iii) self-promoting socio-economic rescue panacea, (iv) western-centrism, and (v) the disastrous lack of consultative processes engaging local knowledge, that resulted in (vi) an inappropriate '*model* of *development*' repeatedly failing in all '***Development***' aid *countries* that anthropologists are belatedly asked to explain. In this response, Professor Coplan's defence of Ferguson's critique of '***Development***' shows why it effectively changed '***Development***' praxis over time**.** Several teaching points are embedded in Professor Coplan's defence of the value of *The Anti-Politics Machine*. He explains the multiple meanings of Ferguson's critique in the sobriquet '*The Anti-Politics Machine*' title of his book. Firstly, in that, '***Development***' (i) is not, only not anti-politics, it is entangled in politics given its involvement in international diplomacy. Second in that:

> The anti-politics machine implies the same as an anti-gravity machine. It is a negating element that is politics in this [Lesotho] '*context*' (WM1).

And third in that, paradoxically, because the cost of state bureaucratic 'etatization' of a poor recipient-country and the attendant tax burden imposed on an already impoverished citizenry is in fact a political and economic, "unintended consequence" (MW1) of '***Development***' that defeats the lifestyle and economic improvement '***Development***-*model*' (MW2). Professor Coplan also substantiates Ferguson's critique of '***Development***' in Lesotho via his personal ethnographic and academic knowledge of failed '***Development***' projects in Lesotho and Swaziland. Thereafter, due to their '*insider*' ethnographically-informed understanding of '***Development***', Professor Coplan explains why it is that anthropologists

are asked: Why isn't there a buy-in at grass roots level? He goes on to argue that anthropologists are positioned to provide useful insight(s) into '***Development***' projects in that their professional knowledge is informed by a participant-observation research methodology and thus provides an '*emic*' perspective on '***Development***' *in situ*. Lastly anthropology's perspective in providing useful insight into the '***Development****-model's'* inherent shortcomings for the '***Development***' industry also enhances the students' conceptual understanding of the complexity of '***Development***'. Thus, in a process-oriented explication of '***Development***' as understood from an anthropological perspective, Professor Coplan develops a complex conceptual understanding of the "meaning of" '***Development***' for the SAE students, through an explication of anthropology's as an ethnographically-premised discipline with regard to the salience of anthropologists' professional agency as advisory consultants to '***Development***' programmes.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan responds to Student AH2's points by ethnographically illustrating how the '***Development****-model*' is inherently flawed in (i) its western-centric political-reciprocity diplomacy network, (ii) its bureaucratic and taxation impoverishment of poor citizens via "etatiziation" (DC3) and (iii) its disregard of local knowledge.

● He thereby illustrates how ethnographic evidence provides an 'insider's perspective on '***Development***' and substantiates and validates anthropological arguments.

● He elucidates an understanding of *Development as a metaconcept* through the subconcepts of an ethnographically-informed applied *'anthropological' understanding of* the '*political*' and '*economic*' facets of '***Development*** praxis.

● Thus Professor Coplan advances the SAE seminar group's conceptual understanding of '**Development**' via a critique of: (i) the '***Development***' community's self-promoting '*political*' and wealth-enhancing '*economic*' agenda, (ii) the 'unintended consequences' (MW1, DC2) of the bureaucratic "etatization" of development-recipient countries, and (iii) the ethnocentric view of local people in its ignoring of local knowledge. He also demonstrates the merit of 'anthropology's' ethnographic methodology in illuminating an '*insider*' understanding of why a '***Development***' project might fail – and thus of the professional contribution anthropologists can collaboratively make to remodelling '***Development***'

interventions to prevent further "unintended results or 'unintended consequences' (MW1, DC2) in '***Development***' programmes.

Ownership:
MW4 [DC3]: One argument is that the people are not involved in the design. There is no sense of ownership. This book was a warning about why Development wasn't working since the 1960s, post-Independence.

Pedagogy:

Student MW4's citing of Ferguson's (1990) argument that "[T]he [local] people are not included in the design. There is no sense of ownership." as the causal link between local people's exclusion and the failure of the Lesotho '***Development***' project suggests an internalised conceptual understanding of Ferguson's exposé. Thus in understanding and synthesising the argument that – "There is no sense of ownership." Which is grounded in Ferguson's that "the people are not involved in the design." Student MW4 models how an argument is constructed and substantiated in anthropology, and also informs and validates Ferguson's "warning about why '*Development*' wasn't working".

Pedagogic Move:

● Student MW4 explains the argument that '***Development***' projects fail because local people are not involved in the design phases and therefore have no sense of ownership.

● He demonstrates: (i) what counts as evidence in anthropological analysis, and (ii) how this ethnographic evidence supports an anthropological argument, that in this instance, (iii) informs Ferguson's influential '*anthropological*' exposé of '**D*evelopment***' praxis.

● Thus Student MW4 explains his understanding of key arguments explaining why '***Development***' projects fail on the ground. He models how ethnographic data informs and substantiates an '*anthropological*' argument, thereby demonstrating an academic skill to the seminar group that assists one of Professor Coplan's pedagogic aims of the SAE seminars, as a model for the long essay assignment**.**

Lecturer's Response – ownership
DC4 [MW4]: Also only a small percentage of elites buy-in so ordinary people are generally excluded. The result of the land tenure law resulted in mass dispossession and relocation to township locations. The farm worker takes a taxi to the farm. The rural economy has been dynamited in South Africa. Lesotho residents are still working on the mines. Basotho are

now living on the Orange Free State side of the border in gigantic slums. There are five million tax payers, twenty million are on grants. I was giving a talk once about 50,000+ hectares under seed and a member of the audience said, "We are the seed." He was talking about Members of Parliament who owned farms the size of Texas ranches, agribusiness! Lesotho votes for Israel. American Institute of Development (A.I.D) has to be in business as they need to charm Governments. This is diplomacy! The Green warriors reach out to people trying to do such and such on their own.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC4 endorses Student MW4's points with an ethnographic example of the failure of '***Development***' as an exclusivist enterprise into which only local elites can afford to buy. He quotes an impoverished Basotho farmer's narrative of the immediate (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) claim "We are the seed." to illustrate '***Development***' funded agribusiness as a self-interested '*political*' and '*economic*' arrangement between governments negotiating international diplomacy deals. The quote also reinforces Professor Coplan's earlier example of '***Development***' as a vector for a reciprocal '*political-economic'* arrangement between the governments of Israel and Lesotho (DC3). In his use of the metaphor of "dynamited" (DC4) Professor Coplan graphically depicts the rural socio-'*economic*' impoverishment of ordinary Basotho through their enforced urbanisation and industrialisation in the interest of being '*developed*'. In the use of this metaphor his "tonality of consciousness" (Bakhtin 1986: 164) inflects the ethnographic realism of the "thematic content, style and compositional structure" (ibid: 60) of Professor Coplan's voice, to augment the students' conceptual understanding of the meaning of '***Development***' in Lesotho as a sociocultural-historic '*culture-context'.*

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan cites ethnographic examples to document the disparities in the advantageous '*political*' and socio-'*economic*' outcomes of '***Development***' in serving the international diplomatic relationship between governments and in affording a lavish lifestyle

for '***Development***' community experts in contrast to ordinary people's experience as recipients of donor-funded '***Development***' schemes (DC3, MW4).

● He models how anthropologists use ethnographic examples to make and substantiate anthropological arguments.

● Thus Professor Coplan and Student MW3 develop the students' '*anthropological*' understanding of '***Development***' through making ethnographically-informed arguments that illustrate the inherently flawed and paradoxical character of the '***Development***'.

Conditions:
AH3: The American Government gives millions in aid but it is tied to certain conditions. The seed is genetically modified, small loans created local debt, and American expertise has to be used!

Pedagogy:

Student AH3 re-joins the seminar presentation conversation between Student MW and Professor Coplan to point out the stringent '*political-economy*' conditions of U.S.A.I.D. '***Development***' aid in its stipulated use of expensive genetically-modified seed and in the involvement of American expertise that entraps the Basotho in debt-loan borrowing. She also elaborates ethnographically on how it is that "No one ever gets developed except the developers" (DC2). In providing this information about the self-serving stratagem of the World Bank in funding '***Development***' projects, Student AH3 also emulates Student MW3's and Professor Coplan's DC4 anthropological use of ethnographic evidence in support of academic argument(s), for the SAE class.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student AH3 illustrates the mutually-constituting link between evidence and argument that clarifies the reasons explicating why '***Development***' fails.

● Thus Student AH3, in citing this additional evidence accounting for the failure of the '***Development****-model*' indicates that both Student Presenters (in excerpts MW3, MW4, AH3) have internalised a social-scientific understanding of the metaconcept of '***Development***' (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978, 1987, 1986).

Lecturer's Response – conditions:
DC5 [AH3]: Yes, yes, yes! A textile industry was shut down in favour of an Austrian vegetable project in Mafeteng. But, for this Austrian vegetable project $90million debt had to be paid back for Austrian pipes, expertise etc. Due to bad weather the vegetable project collapsed so the only thing Lesotho was left with was S90m Austrian shilling debt. So this not to say, don't work with development-agencies. But I prefer to be an anthropologist and to do social impact analysis. For example, for the Lesotho Highlands Dam Project people were paid R15.000 for expropriated land but had to stay in the mountains to avoid a flight to the cities. Okay! So no money. Pay in kind! To whom? To head of household. In Lesotho, grandmamma and other household members got nothing. Anthropologists, Mugsy Spiegel and myself argued, "Give them the money and let them go to town." You can be kicked off the project for saying the wrong thing but you do need to engage with them. It causes less harm is the lesser of two evils. Development-people speak developmentese! It just doesn't do any good to say, "Development is shit!" Let it happen. Some people just might benefit. There are no jobs, just let's face it! But the anthropologist's voice does need to be there to moderate harm.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC5 endorses Student AH3's explanation of the conditions attendant on '***Development***' aid funding by citing a specific ethnographic example of a failed Austrian '**Development**' project, thereby demonstrating once more how ethnographic evidence, supports critical anthropological argument(s). Thereafter, Professor Coplan speaks about the social-impact analysis contribution anthropologists can make to an understanding of the impact of '***Development***', arguing that, based on ethnographic insight into the '*emic*' experience of '***Development***' anthropologists can engage with '***Development***' community experts to the benefit of both donor and recipient communities. In making this argument about speaking to '***Development***' colleagues in a '*discourse*' of "developmentese', Professor Coplan reiterates student MW3's claim that "Development discourse can only be understood within Development discourse". Thus in contrast to Ferguson's "arguing for a stop to all Development" (DC2), Professor Coplan pragmatically, advocates collaborative engagement between anthropologists and '***Development***' colleagues. In making his case for professional engagement Professor Coplan echoes Wertsch's (1991) *"voices of the mind*

approach of "disciplinary integration" (p. 6) premised on a "need to reformulate the questions we ask so that disciplinary … integration [can] develop the type of theoretical frameworks that can be understood and extended by researchers".

Pedagogic Move:

● Professor Coplan makes a case for and demonstrates via his ethnographic knowledge of the impact of '***Development***' in Lesotho, the possibility of beneficial collaboration between anthropologists and '***Development***' experts.

● Thus Professor Coplan demonstrates to the SAE seminar group how ethnographic research conceptually informs '*applied-anthropology*' and thus anthropology's contribution to knowledge and its application beyond the academy. He thus also develops the students' metaconceptual understanding of '***Development***'.

Meaning:
AH4: When he talks about what the Lesotho people do. What does he mean?

Pedagogy:

Student AH4's question: "[W]hat the people of Lesotho do?" recapitulates the students' joint-presentation approach – "Our analysis focuses on: Why?, in interrogating '**Development**' as Seminar 7's topic (MW3).

Pedagogic Move:

● Student AH4's question reasserts the aptness of anthropology's inquiry-based methodological approach to investigating sociocultural phenomena.

● Thus Student AH4's question illustrates the applied significance of the critical enquiry mode of anthropology as a social science apropos conceptually understanding '***Development***'.

Lecturer's Response – meaning:
DC6 [AH4]: Consult local knowledge. What can anthropologists do? You have to learn how it works and take a position on the monopoly board. Developers will listen to you if you learn to speak their language. You can't be a 'Hang-out Hippie!' There are always politicians and politics. Consultancy equals dollars, pounds, and euros, and we need your name on the 'Proposal' i.e. as an expert. It's a tough world out there. Anthropologists get contaminated too but it's the twenty-first century. In this century my only critique of Ferguson is that people have woken up! The discourse on development has shifted in the discipline from the Ferguson critique to being more realistic, to trying to make a change in a small way. The

moral of the story is that a book like this has an impact. Books in Anthropology do make an impact in the wider sphere.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC6 responds to Student AH4's question by agreeing with Ferguson's assertion that "There has to be foreknowledge" (MW3) so as to stress the necessity of drawing on local people's knowledge and factoring this knowhow into '***Development***' project design. However, in contrast to Ferguson he also argues in favour of understanding the '***Development***' community as a culture of experts with whom anthropologists should professionally engage so as to share expertise in order to assist with the successful outcome of '***Development***' projects. Thereafter, Professor Coplan returns to the subconcept of '*discourse*' as a reiteration of Student MW3's argument that "You must learn to speak their language". because "Development discourse can only be understood within "Development discourse" (MW3). He also notes that Ferguson's exposé of '***Development***' brought about a shift in '***Development***' praxis and therefore concludes that:

> The moral of the story is that a book like this has an impact. Books in Anthropology do make an impact in the wider sphere (DC6).

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan factors in 'local knowledge' and engaging with '***Development****-discourse*', to pursue his pedagogic aim of interrelating '*academic anthropology'* and '*applied-anthropology*' (DC1, DC2, DC3) in relation to conceptually understanding '***Development***'.

● He shows '*local knowledge*' to be a sub-concept of '*culture-context'* relative *to* the metaconcept of '***Development***'.

● He argues for an ethnographically-informed '*anthropological*' understanding of "local knowledge" as enlightening for '*applied-anthropological*' engagement in the professional domain of '***Development***'.

● He illustrates how an '*emic*' understanding of '***Development***' can inform the work of professional anthropology beyond the academy.

● He recognises the implicit '*power*' dynamic of '*hegemonic-politics' and 'economics'* in '***Development***' (DC1, MW1, DC2, DC3).

● He concludes that: "[A] book like this can make an impact", in a reiteration of his opening comment, "The book *The Anti-Politics Machine* is readable but a thorough critique of '***Development***' and brought about a turning point in *development*-thinking" (DC1). In this way, he refocuses the SAE students' attention on *The Anti-Politics Machine* text as the focus of Seminar 7 on Interrogating 'Development'.

● He closes with the comment "Books in anthropology do make an impact in the wider sphere." to emphasise that the ethnographic method of anthropologists, such as James Ferguson, makes a valuable professional contribution within the academy and in the public domain.

● Thus Professor Coplan underscores the curriculum design of the SAE Course both academically and professionally as an intellectual and skills-training course for postgraduate students as prospective anthropologists.

Dignity:
MW5: COSATU argues that there is some dignity in these projects.

Pedagogy:

In this excerpt MW5, Student MW5 mentions the Congress of South African Trade Union

(COSATU)'s alternate perspective on '***Development***'.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student MW5 cites a counter argument to the anthropological critique of '***Development***'.

● Thus Student MW4 is introducing an alternate perspective on '**Development**'.

Lecturer's Response – dignity:
DC7 [MW4]: The only problem with COSATU is that it only represents people who are employed. The Union is not interested in people who are not employed.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC7 problematises Student MW5's observation about COSATU's positive stance on '***Development***' by explaining that people such as the ordinary Basotho are not employed by '***Development***' agencies.

Pedagogic Move:

● Professor Coplan points out the exclusivist nature of COSATU's representation of employed South African people as another problem of the '***Development****-model*', given that the recipients of '***Development***' aid are not typically members of COSATU.

● Thus Professor Coplan's counter-argument regarding the instrumentalism of COSATU's policy negates Student MW4's but both points inform the conceptual understanding of an alternate perspective on the '*politics*' and '*economics*' of '***Development***' in the *'culture-context*' of South Africa.

I now provide a pedagogic review of how Students MW's, AH's and Professor Coplan's discussion, drawing on Ferguson's (1990) ethnographically-informed exposé of '***Development***' mediates understanding of '***Development***' as a 'psychological tool' of analysis to illustrate '*applied-anthropology*'s' professional relevance to the '***Development***' world.

Seminar 7 Presentation: Pedagogy Review

Pedagogically, in Seminar 7, Student MW1–MW5, Student AH1–AH4 and Professor Coplan DC2–DC7 work with elements of ethnography – concepts, culture-context, narratives of the immediate, comparison, agency – in drawing on Ferguson's (1990) exposé of '***Development***' to metaconceptually explicate '***Development***' for the SAE seminar group.

In mediating this conceptual understanding, Student MW, Student AH and Professor Coplan describe a series of paradoxes associated with '***Development***' in the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme project as a socio-economic and political '*culture-context*' of '***Development***'. Students MW1 and AH1 explain the first paradox with reference to the cryptic title of Ferguson's (1990) book *The Anti Politics Machine*, that (i) while in the implementation of '***Development***' projects, '*ideologically*', '*politics*' is ostensibly negated due to a process of "etatization" (DC3), '*hegemonic-power*' is both intrinsic to and manifest in all '*Development*' projects. Professor Coplan illustrates this first paradox with an ethnographic example when he confirms that:

> In Thaba-Tseka a police station, post office, tax office and a Deputy Dog Catcher to collect a dog tax were all dropped in! People like myself saw it happen! Development brings etatization (DC3).

Student AH2 also explains how countries receiving '***Development***' aid act as a conduit for a diplomacy network serving western aligned '*political*' and '*economic*' sate interests together with the self–perpetuating employment interests of '***Development***' community experts such that:

> The Maseru Hilton was built by the Israeli Government in return for a vote at the United Nations. … No one ever gets developed except the developers (DC3),

and,

> [I]n all and every country in which development is implemented it is the same pool of scholars for all projects (AH2)**.**

A second paradox is that, (ii) in securing donor aid for '***Development***' projects from the World Bank and various governments the '***Development'*** community portrays recipient countries in a "discourse of underdevelopment*"* (MW2) that is represented in a "model of underdevelopment" (DC2). Student AH2 explains that this is because "Development needs to show each country poor to ensure getting the money" for a '***Development***' project. She

illustrates this strategy with Ferguson's (1990) ethnographic example of the '***Development***–*discourse*' and framework '*model of underdevelopment'* that represents Lesotho as:

> [A]n underdeveloped country that hasn't moved to industrial capitalism – a peasant society, an aboriginal country that has not been incorporated into the world economy (AH2).

However, as she goes on to note:

> this is not true as Lesotho has historically been trading with South Africa (AH2).

In explaining this second paradox, Student MW1–MW2 further explains that, "Development discourse can only be understood within Development discourse". Thus he argues that it is necessary to understand the '***Development***' community's "construction of an ideology" and "framework model" (MW2) as a means of securing donor aided funding for a '***Development***' project.

A third paradox informing Ferguson's (1990) critique is explained by Student MW1 in (iii) the 'unintended consequence' (MW1, DC2) of '**D*evelopment***'. Professor Coplan (DC3) illustrates this paradox with ethnographic examples of failed '*economic*' '***Development***' projects in a Lesotho commercial cropping scheme and an animal husbandry scheme Swaziland.

A fourth paradox explained by Professor Coplan DC4 is (iv) the lack of "buy–in" (DC4) into '***Development***' projects by local people due to:

> the cost of seeds and fertilisers etc. [which is] is too expensive [for ordinary Lesotho people] to ever recover the costs… Also only a small percentage of elites 'buy–in' so ordinary people are generally excluded … [in Development as] agribusiness' (DC4).

In also accounting for this lack of ordinary people's '*economic*' participation in '***Development***' projects, Student MW3–MW4 explains that in spite of Ferguson's insistence

that in '***Development***' projects "There has to be foreknowledge" (MW3), paradoxically, "people are not involved in the design" because local people are disempowered. Thus, "There is no sense of ownership" (MW4). This series of comments illustrates how ethnographic evidence substantiates anthropological argument and the relevance of ethnographic evidence to a conceptual understanding of why of '*Development*' fails.

A fifth paradox is explained by Student AH3 in (v) the negative '*economic*' consequences associated with '***Development***' aid conditions that require a recipient country to employ '***Development***' community expertise and to import expensive seed and machinery that in the event of a failed project entraps the country in massive debt payments to the donor government. Here again Professor Coplan (DC5) cites a tragic ethnographic example of a failed Austrian vegetable scheme in Mafeteng that, "due to bad weather … collapsed, so the only thing Lesotho was left with was a S90m Austrian shilling debt" (DC5).

However, despite the ethnographic evidence supporting Ferguson's (1990) exposé, Student AH2 questions the intellectual value of reading the text for the SAE course in 2011 arguing that:

> in trying to understand the value of the book it is quite difficult as Development has changed (AH2).

To which Professor Coplan responds:

> It has partly changed because of what James Ferguson said. What he said entered into development critique (DC3)… Books in Anthropology do make an impact in the wider sphere (DC6).

Professor Coplan's (DC6) closing comment: "Books in anthropology do make an impact in the wider sphere" emphasises that the work of anthropologists, such as Ferguson's

ethnographically-informed exposé of '***Development***', makes a valuable contribution to knowledge both in the academy and in the public domain.

In assessing the degree to which Student MW and Student AH have internalised a metaconceptual understanding of the "word meaning" of '***Development***' (Vygotsky, 1987: 285), it is possible to trace their conceptual development ''dialogically" as "speaking consciousnesses" (Bakhtin, 1981: 434) "voices of the mind" Wertsch (1991), in their joint presentation to the SAE seminar group.

In the seminar presentation, Student MW1–MW5's comments suggest a "conscious awareness of" and conscious awareness about" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) Ferguson's theoretically informed exposé of the ideological '***Development***-*discourse*' that constitutes '***Development***' "as conceptual apparatus" (Ferguson, 1990: xvi). However, in respect of excerpt MW3 below,

Research methodology:
MW3: So that's the background. Our analysis now focuses on: Why? We look at: (i) Ferguson's research focus (ii) his methodology to see how he did his fieldwork (iii) interesting features in relation to ethnography in relation to this course

Student MW3 does not discuss point (ii) – Ferguson's fieldwork methodology in Lesotho. In relation to MW3 (iii), Student MW3's overt references to Ferguson's ethnographic case study of Lesotho are limited to excerpt MW1: "It is a negating element that is politics in this context [Lesotho]." and "One argument is that the people [i.e. ordinary Basotho] are not involved in the design" (MW4)**.** This suggests that while Student MW1–MW5 understands '***Development***' theoretically as an abstract metaconcept, he appears to have implicitly

internalised the ethnographic premise of Ferguson's (1990) to the extent that, in his presentation comments he appears not to be "consciously aware of" or "consciously aware about" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) the ethnographic premise of Ferguson's exposé.

However in assessing Student AH's internalization of '***Development***' as a metaconcept, Student AH1–AH3 explicitly provides specific examples from Ferguson (1990) to illustrate her own and Student MW's comments. For example in Student AH1–AH3's excerpts below:

'Development' is ubiquitous:
AH2: Washington is at the centre of the Development community. … In the 1970s and 1980s the Development community and national Governments blocked nongovernmental organisations.

Conditions:
AH3: The American Government gives million in aid but it is tied to certain conditions. The seed is genetically modified, small loans created local debt and American expertise has to be used!

These excerpts suggest a conceptual complementarity of understanding in the preparation of Student MW's and Student AH's joint presentation on '***Development***' for the SAE seminar group. And this collaboration suggests that each student has comprehensively internalised the ethnographic premise of Ferguson's (1990) exposé and is "consciously aware of" and "consciously aware about" (ibid) the causality of the ethnographic evidence informing Ferguson's (1990) exposé. Additionally in my research interview with Student MW, his comment about Ferguson:

> You find … that the kind of research they ['*Development*' consultants] … engage themselves with was quite different from what Ferguson actually did himself. And from the way that he describes what they did and what ought to be done, as well as how he contrasted the academic discourse and the development discourse … it seems to be more ethnographic because it tries to get an unbiased view of what things really are … rather than trying to offer judgment (interview, 13/9/2011),

indicates that, Student MW is consciously aware of Ferguson's (1990) approach to investigating '***Development***'.

In the presentation conversation with Student MW and Student AH, Professor Coplan (DC3, DC4, DC5) also provides several illustrative ethnographic examples in support of his own and the students' comments and arguments that explicitly reinforce the ethnographic premise of Ferguson's (1990) exposé. Thus, cumulatively, six ethnographic examples illustrate MW3's point that, in focusing their presentation analytically, "We look at: (iii) interesting features in relation to ethnography in relation to this course." Additionally, in their presentation discussion of the five paradoxes, Student MW and Student AH consciously draw on and work with ethnographic concepts (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007)[43] from Ferguson's (1990) text to illustrate the points they make in their joint presentation metaconceptully explicating '***Development***'. This suggests that each student is "consciously aware of" and "consciously aware about" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) the ethnographically-informed "structure of generalisation" (Vygotsky, 1978: 227) of the key ethnographic subconcepts and interlinked subconcepts upon which they draw to develop a metaconceptual understanding of '***Development***'.

Thus in Seminar 7, Student MW's, Student AH's and Professor Coplan's "voices of the mind" (Wertsch, 1991) as "speaking consciousnesses" (Bakhtin, 1981: 434) work with elements of ethnography (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) to developmentally mediate the SAE students' conceptual understanding of the "word meaning" (Vygotsky, 1987: 285) of '***Development***' by explicating the "structure of generalization" (Vygotsky, 1978**:** 227) of '***Development***' via

[43] Professor Coplan (DC1-DC7) draws on and works with the five elements of ethnography: concepts, context, agency, comparison ˚ı ˛ narrative of the immediate, in explicating '***Development***' as Seminar 7's metaconcept.

four key related ethnographic subconcepts: '*culture-context*' '*ideology*' '*discours*e' and '*applied-anthropology*'. They elaborate these subconcepts by interlinked subconcepts as follows: '*context*' ('*socio-economics*', '*poverty*'), *'Ideology'* ('*politics*', '*hegemonic-power*', '*diplomacy*'), '*discourse*' ('*development*', '*underdevelopment*', '*model*'), and '*anthropology*' ('*ethnography*', '*academic–anthropology* '*applied-anthology*') in teaching and learning the relevance of anthropology as both an academic and applied discipline.

Chapter Six

In Chapter Six, I provide an analysis of anthropological pedagogy in, **Seminar 10: What's new in our traditional concerns? Witchcraft and ethnography today.**

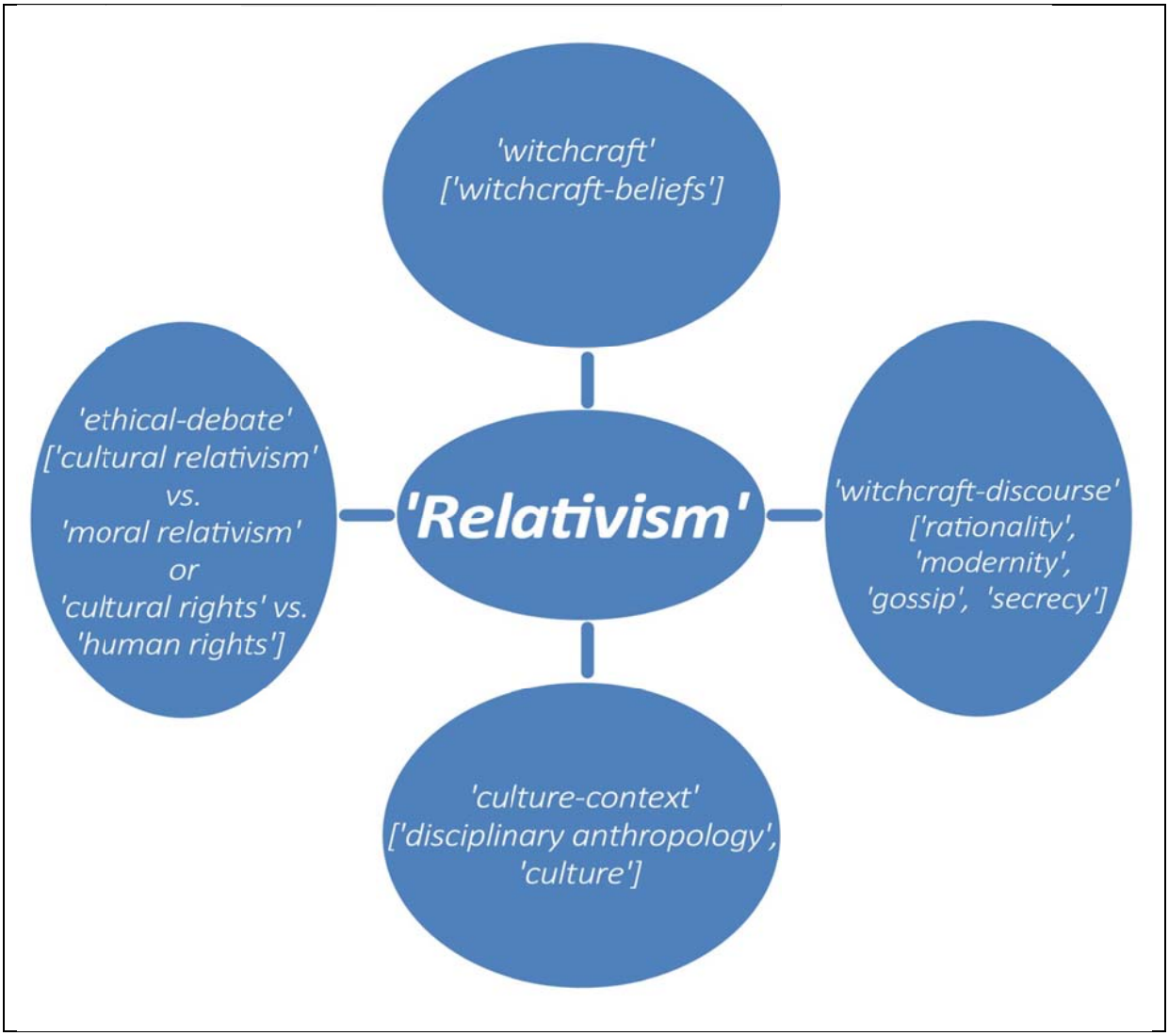
Seminar 10 Presentation: Anthropological Pedagogy Overview

Seminar 10's discussion focuses on Anthropology's professional position in an ethical debate about the primacy of cultural or human rights. In the transcript of excerpts from Seminar 10, Student ZT and Professor Coplan present the seminar on '***relativism***' with reference to the occult practice of witchcraft. Professor Coplan's opening remarks explain that Seminar 10's discussion examines the "problem of relativism" (DC1) and notes that in their professional practice "anthropologists seek to understand and not to judge" (DC1). He also explains that, with respect to this professional adage, anthropologists' recognise the limits of tolerance in the ethical debate regarding the primacy of '*cultural rights*' or '*human rights*'. In leading the seminar Student ZT's presentation first addresses Enlightenment discourse on witchcraft in Africa, and then anthropologists' culturally-relativist interpretations of witchcraft. Thereafter as an 'insider' Student ZT engages her everyday knowledge of witchcraft with Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic study of witchcraft in *Witchcraft, Violence and Democracy in* South *Africa*.

Pedagogically, Student ZT and Professor Coplan conceptually explicate the "structure of generalisation" (Vygotsky, 1987: 227) of '***relativism***' as Seminar 10's metaconcept via four key ethnographic subconcepts of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-discourse*', '*culture-context*', and '*ethical debate*'. Each key ethnographic subconcept is further elaborated by interlinked

subconcepts as follows: '*witchcraft*' ('*rationality*', '*modernity*'); '*witchcraft-discourse*' ('*witchcraft-beliefs*', '*secret-gossip*'); '*culture-context*' ('*disciplinary anthropology*', '*culture*') and '*ethical debate*' ('*cultural relativism*' versus '*moral relativism*' or '*cultural rights*' versus '*human rights*') in elucidating the debate illustrated in **Figure 5 (**below).

Figure 5: Metaconcept '*Relativism*' and sub-concept clusters



I now draw on this mapping of the metaconcept of '***relativism***' to present an analysis of how the transcript excerpts of Student ZT's and Professor Coplan's Seminar 10 presentation pedagogically mediates a developmental understanding of the metaconcept of '*relativism*'

as it is elaborated by Student ZT's discussion of witchcraft in Soweto that elucidates anthropology's professional position in the ethical debate on the primacy of cultural rights or human rights.

Seminar 10: What's new in our traditional concerns? Witchcraft and ethnography today.

Readings:
Adam Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence and Democracy in South Africa,* Chicago UP 2005, pp. 45-87; 111-130
Isak Niehaus, 'Witch-hunting and Political Legitimacy: Continuity and Change in Green Valley Lebowa 1930-1991, *Africa*, 63 (4) 1993[44]

Lecturer Presentation Excerpt (DC):

Lecturer's Opening remarks:
Lecturer (DC1): This topic points to the problem of relativism, relative to history and context. Anthropologists seek to understand and not to judge. On the other hand there is a limit to how far you can go! For example, female human genital mutilation, female circumcision, or the holocaust explained in terms of German culture. Using that extreme it is foolish to say that! We can't just say, "That's how they are!" Those are the two questions: cultural rights versus human rights. Millions of people believe in witchcraft and you will not persuade them otherwise, like a belief in God.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan's DC1's opening remarks introduce anthropologist's ongoing concern with "the problem of relativism" (DC1) relative to Anthropology's disciplinary history and relative to different '*culture-context*(s)'. In framing '***relativism***' as Seminar 10's metaconcept, Professor Coplan argues that "anthropologists seek to understand and not to judge" (DC1) yet, he also stresses that there are limits to tolerance in respect of an ethical debate about the primacy of cultural rights or human rights. In these remarks, Professor Coplan sets up a *conceptual tension in Anthropology, between 'cultural relativism' as a research approach*

[44] Student TM also gave a seminar presentation on '*Witchcraft*' but as he read a prepared essay to the class it was not possible to trace his developmental conceptual understanding of '*relativism*' as a metaconcept.

and '*moral relativism*' as a principle of tolerance that accepts all cultural practices including his ethnographic examples of "female circumcision or the holocaust" (DC1). This dilemma, points to "the problem of relativism" (DC1) in the ethical debate regarding the primacy of the ethical (Sheper-Hughes, 1995). In observing that "millions of people believe in witchcraft and you will not convince them otherwise ..." (DC1), Professor Coplan includes '*witchcraft*' as an occult practice that relates to the "problem of relativism" (DC1) debate which anthropologists seek to make sense of ethnographically. In his opening remarks, Professor Coplan introduces the question of '***relativism***' in relation to the ethnographic subconcepts of (i) '*witchcraft*', (ii) '*culture-context*', and an (iii) '*ethical-debate*'.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan introduces the problem of '***relativism***' as a disciplinary concern of anthropology.

● He notes that, conceptually '***relativism***' has concerned anthropologists both historically and, continuously, in across '*culture-contexts*'.

● He establishes the professional principle that "anthropologists seek to understand and not to judge" (DC1).

● He qualifies this principle on the grounds of the need for an ethical distinction between '*cultural relativism*' and '*moral relativism*' with respect to such ethnographic examples as "female circumcision or the holocaust" (DC1).

● He poses a related debate around the primacy of: "*cultural rights* or *human rights*?" (DC1).

● He relates the cultural practice of and belief in witchcraft to this ethical debate.

● Thus Professor Coplan's opening remarks frame Seminar 10's presentation discussion on the metaconcept of '***relativism***' with respect to the limits of tolerance in the debate on "cultural rights versus human rights" (DC1) in association with the cultural practice of and belief in witchcraft.

Student Presentation (ZT):

Student's Introductory comments
ZT1: Okay, well I'm just going to present how I understood it and then we can clarify issues.

Pedagogy:

Student ZT1 introduces her presentation as her understanding of the assigned text that is, a *reading* of the ethnography in the sense of her comprehension of, or "speaking consciousness" about the ethnography (Bakhtin, 1981: 434). Thereafter she indicates her intention of opening up the discussion to clarify any questions the SAE students might wish to ask regarding her presentation. This will engage the seminar group in an anthropological conversation (Gay y Blasco 2007: 9) about '***relativism***' reflecting "voices of the mind" (Wertsch: 1991) about the ethnographic subconcept of '*witchcraft*'.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student ZT1 introduces her presentation as her interpretation of the assigned reading indicating that a discussion for clarification purposes will follow.

● Thus Student ZT1's introductory comments establish her approach to her presentation of Asforth (2005).

Rationality and modernity:
ZT2: Okay basically when people talk about witchcraft they are often speaking about two questions: (i) rationality and (ii) modernity. And basically, rationality – Is it rational to believe in witchcraft? And then, modernity – Why do people still believe in witchcraft?

Pedagogy:

Student ZT2 relates a conceptual understanding of '*witchcraft'* to the subconcepts of *'rationality'* and *'modernity'*. She adds these subconcepts to Professor Coplan's subconcepts of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs'*, '*culture-context*' and 'ethical-*debate*' about '*moral relativism*', versus '*cultural relativism*' or '*human rights*' versus '*cultural rights*' as integral to metaconceptually understanding '***relativism***'. She recasts the subconcepts of '*rationality*'

and '*modernity*' as two questions: "Is it rational to believe in witchcraft?" (ZT1) and "Why do people still believe in witchcraft?" (ZT1). These questions reframe Professor Coplan's assertion that, "many people believe in witchcraft and you will not convince them otherwise" (DC1). Student ZT2's questions also indicate the need to understand the meaning of '*witchcraft*' for people who believe in it so as to understand the logic and persistence of their belief. In this respect she privileges (Wertsch, 1991: 124) the need to deconstruct the ethnographic subconcepts of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-belief*' in '*culture-context'* so as to explicate the meaning of '***relativism***'.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT2 incorporates the subconcepts of '*rationality*' and '*modernity*' into an understanding of '***relativism***' with respect to '*witchcraft*' *and* '*witchcraft-beliefs*'.

● She poses the questions: "Is it rational to believe in witchcraft?" and "Why do people still believe in witchcraft?", to investigate the cultural logic of people's belief in the '*witchcraft*'.

● Thus Student ZT2 establishes the subconcepts of a '*discourse*' of *'rationality'*, and *'modernity'* on '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft belief*' together with the '*debate*' about '*moral relativism*' *versus*, '*cultural relativism*' *or* '*human rights*' versus '*cultural rights*' as integral to metaconceputally understanding '***relativism***'.

Rationality:
ZT3: And basically just to give a brief analysis of witchcraft post-Enlightenment, which as you know, is all about reason and rationality. These two questions were emphasised and they shaped lots of academic work and popular discourse. It was all about science should determine the natural world and rationality should determine the social world and witchcraft does not fit in and so it's irrational. I guess! This was post-Enlightenment European thinking. Now witchcraft is also used in some cases to substantiate claims because if the Africans believe in witchcraft, they're obviously not rational and they obviously can't govern themselves. So basically the study of witchcraft from the beginnings of this study was riddled with racism and prejudice! And because of that many African intellectuals reject the term witchcraft and they think it's derogatory and misleading.

Pedagogy:

Student ZT3 explains that in Enlightenment rationale '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' were considered irrational and so led to a post-Enlightenment Eurocentric-logic that

regarded African people as being incapable of self-government. In her comment "I guess" (ZT3), Student ZT3 appears to question or express some doubts about the validity of this perspective and notes that African intellectuals "rejected the term witchcraft as derogatory and misleading" (TZ3). A possible incipient form of critical-thinking is suggested in student ZT3's questioning of Enlightenment logic and by her assertion that "the study of witchcraft from the beginnings of this study was riddled with racism and prejudice" (ZT3). Her argument is corroborated by Ashforth's (2005: 113) claim about "the ready conjunction of racism and rationalism" in the assigned reading. Cumulatively Student ZT3's observations convey her understanding of how the logic of the post-Enlightenment '*discourse*' of '*irrationality*' influenced both academic and popular '*discourse*' on '*witchcraft*' *and* '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and of how in this intellectual milieu both '*witchcraft*' *and* '*witchcraft-beliefs*' were deemed to be something anomalous and thus designated by Europeans to be '*irrational*'.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT3 explains that in European Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment '*discourse*' the practice of '*witchcraft*' and associated '*witchcraft-beliefs*' were deemed '*irrational*'.

● She appears with her comment: "I guess" (ZT3), to question the Enlightenment argument that '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' are '*irrational*'.

● She notes that Enlightenment discourse on '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs'* inflected both popular and academic discourse on '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*'.

● She explains that in Enlightenment '*discourse*' natural science should determine understanding of the physical world, whereas '*rationality*' should determine an understanding of the social world.

● She argues that European colonials used the Enlightenment '*discourse*' of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft*-beliefs' as '*irrational*' as empirical evidence that African people were incapable of self-government.

● She counter argues that the Western "study of witchcraft was riddled with racism and prejudice from its beginnings" (TZ3).

● She observes that many "African intellectuals reject the term witchcraft and they think it's derogatory and misleading" (ZT3).

● Thus Student ZT3 presents a "brief analysis of witchcraft" (TZ3) relative to the historical '*context*' of how Enlightenment '*discourse*' regarded African practice of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' as '*irrational*', noting that these ideas of '*irrationality*' inflected academic and popular thinking on this subject. She notes that the post-Enlightenment argument about Africans' '*irrational*' practice of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' substantiated the view that they were incapable of self-government. She also claims that European perceptions of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' was "riddled with racism and prejudice. And because of that many African scholars reject the term witchcraft and they think it's derogatory and misleading" (ZT3).

Anthropological interpretations:
ZT4: Then a new wave of thinkers came in. They were saying that you are not necessarily irrational if you believe in witchcraft. Evans-Pritchard says that it's in no way a contradiction and [he] almost reconciles rationality and witchcraft by saying, "In the context witchcraft is not inconsistent or irrational but if you take it out of that particular context in which it operates it could be irrational because it's actually a different context." So you can't compare the two and you have to analyse it within the spaces in which it operates. And basically he also says that witchcraft answers a perfectly rational question – Why me? Why now? So basically if something bad happens to you the rational enlightened world can't really answer: Why? Why me? Why now? Why am I going through this right now? But witchcraft can! So basically, he says that it provides a framework of moral agency to make sense of otherwise random coincidences of space and time. And then later as colonialism was run down anthropologists began to concentrate on witchcraft accusations because they saw accusations as an index of social conflict. So they would study who accuses whom of witchcraft and why? Yeah! And Adam Ashforth says that the rationality debate doesn't really help us because it doesn't provide much guidance to studying how people still live in a world of witches. It looks at societies and cultures as homogenous closed spaces. This is no longer the case [as] spaces, cultures or societies, or communities, are now scrambled and mixed up. So you can't really understand that in that context as things are changing and this is the case in Soweto as well.

Pedagogy:

Student ZT4 explains her understanding of anthropological interpretations of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' with reference to the concept of a '*culture-context'*. She explains that post-Enlightenment thinkers, such as the anthropologist Evans-Pritchard, critique the idea of '*irrationality*' regarding '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' if analysed in '*context*'. She notes that Evans-Pritchard concedes that "out of context" (ZT4) '*witchcraft-beliefs*'

could be deemed '*irrational*' but that he also argues that it is not viable to compare different '*culture-contexts*'. Student ZT4 refers to '*culture-context*' in three different ways: "in context", "out of a particular context" and "a different context" (ZT4) and thereby indexes the conceptual relevance of *'culture-context'* to an understanding '*witchcraft*', in relation to '*witchcraft-beliefs*', '*witchcraft-discourse*' and '*witchcraft practice*'. Essentially, Student ZT4 notes, Evans-Pritchard argues that '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' answer people's 'why' questions associated with negative experiences that Enlightenment '*rationality*' fails to address. Therefore he concludes that "it ['*witchcraft belief*' and *'witchcraft-discourse*'] provides a logical framework of moral agency" (ZT4) to explicate bad experiences. In explaining Evans-Pritchard's culturally relativist argument, Student ZT4 elaborates on the more generalised "structural relevance" (Vygotsky, 1962: 114) of the subconcepts; '*culture-context*', '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' as explicative of the metaconcept of '***relativism***'.

Thereafter, Student ZT4 explains a change in anthropologists' approach to the ethnographic studying '*witchcraft*' in which anthropologists' analyses of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse'* focus on '*witchcraft*' accusations as indicative of inter-individual conflict.[45] Student ZT4 then explains anthropologist Adam Ashforth's (2005) critique of '*rationality*' on the basis that "it doesn't provide much guidance to studying *how* people still live in a world of witches" (ZT4, my italics). Additionally she explains that Ashforth (2005) claims that "the '*rationality*' debate also looks at societies and cultures as closed spaces (ZT4). Whereas he argues that Soweto is a culturally [i.e. ethnically] mixed-up '*culture-*

[45] Evans-Pritchard's and other British social anthropologists' interpretations of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' reflect their use of the functionalist-paradigm in anthropological research to explain how socio-cultural institutions, such as how the belief in and the practice of witchcraft serve people's social and psychological needs (cf. Marwick, 1982; Middleton and Winter, 1963).

context'. In tracing and explaining anthropologists' changing interpretations of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*', Student ZT4 emphasises the relevance of '*culture-context*' to a conceptual understanding of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*'. In drawing comparatively (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) on the anthropological literature, Student ZT4's comments introduce anthropological research into, analysis of, and varying interpretations of, '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' in '*culture-context'* as '*culturally-relativist*' critiques of the Enlightenment's subconcept of '*rationality*'. In "privileging" (Wertsch,1991: 124) the anthropological critiques of '*rationality*' by explaining anthropological interpretations of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' in relation to the subconcepts of 'culture-*context*' '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-belief*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*', Student ZT4 elaborates the metaconcept of '***relativism***' in terms of Vygotsky's (1962:92) argument that:

> a superordinate concept implies the existence of a series of subordinate concepts (1962:92).

Student ZT4 negotiates this metaconcenptual explication of '***relativism***' by comparing (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) the varying anthropological interpretations of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and thereby begins to delineate the meaning of '***relativism***' as Seminar 10's metaconcept. In this regard Student TZ4 explores "the problem of relativism" (DC1) via anthropologists' "*cultural relativism*" (DC1) position in their anthropological research. This is one of the two key teaching points of Seminar 10.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT4 outlines several anthropological critiques of Enlightenment '*rationality*'.

● She explains that Evans-Pritchard argues that in 'culture-*context*' '*witchcraft-beliefs*' provide a logical explanation for personal misfortune and thus as an explanation of "moral agency" (Evans-Pritchard, 1937, Ashforth, 2005: 113-114) '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' are not '*irrational*'.

● She explains that some anthropologists interpreted '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' as an index of social conflict.

● She explains that Adam Ashforth accepts '*witchcraft*' as a given, therefore he focuses on explaining how, rather than *why*; people live with the occult phenomenon of '*witchcraft*' in contemporary Soweto (my italics).

● She explains Ashforth's critique of the irrelevance of prior interpretations of '*witchcraft*' as premised on the idea of homogenous socio- '*culture-contexts*' as today in South African townships such as Soweto, South Africans live in socio-culturally mixed '*culture-contexts'*.

● Thus Student ZT4 explains her "conscious awareness of" and "conscious awareness about" (Miller, 2011: 390-394), her understanding of different anthropological interpretations of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' to inform an understanding of the metaconcept of '***relativism***'.

Modernity:
ZT5: Yah! And then modernity. There are three answers to the modernity question which is why do people still believe in witchcraft? (i) Some people say that it's because modernisation has been distorted in many places so it hasn't happened the way it should have happened. (ii) Other people say that there's a multiplicity of modernisms or modernisation and it doesn't mean that because witchcraft is present modernisation isn't! (iii) And then the last answer says that, and this sounds a bit weird, western culture dealt with it a long time ago by killing witches but Africa hasn't done that yet. So that's why Africans still believe in witchcraft as Africa hasn't dealt with the issue of witchcraft. Like they say, "How do you deal with witches?" "Exterminate them?" "Or, kill them? "Or, do you reconcile them with their communities?"

Pedagogy:

Student ZT5's comments focus on understanding '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' in relation to ideas about social evolution associated with the concept of *'modernity'*. She explains attempts to account for '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs'* in three differing responses to the '*modernity*' question of: "Why do people still believe in witchcraft?" (ZT5). She explains three different answers to this question as: (i) In many places modernisation has been distorted, (ii) A multiplicity of modernisms is postulated such that '*modernity*' and '*witchcraft*' can co-exist, and (iii) Western culture dealt with '*witchcraft*' a long time ago by killing witches but Africa hasn't done that yet (ZT5). In

explaining these hypothetical arguments accounting for the persistence of '*witchcra*ft' and '*witchcraft-beliefs'* in Africa, Student ZT5's reference to "in many places" (ZT5) reiterates the relevance of '*culture-context*' regarding the explanation that "there's a multiplicity of modernisms" (ZT5) apropos the persistence of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs'* in modern times. Again, in contrasting the approaches of the West, she comparatively (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) reiterates the salience of '*culture-context*' with reference to cross-cultural approaches to dealing with '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*'. This summary of modernity theories of '*witchcraft*' demonstrates student TZ5's "conscious understanding of" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) modernist interpretations of '*witchcraft*'. In commenting on explanation (iii), Student ZT5's observation "this sounds a bit weird" (ZT5) with regard to the argument of differing approaches to dealing with '*witchcraft*' in the West and in Africa again suggests a self-reflexive questioning (as in ZT3) This observation is also suggestive of Piaget's (1961) argument about "cognitive disequilibrium"[46] as a phase in cognitive development, as in this instance, of Student ZT5's developmental understanding of '*witchcraft*' as social science concept (Vygotsky, 1962; 1987) Lastly, in posing the question asked by those trying to account for the persistence of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' in Africa: [H]how to deal with witches, exterminate, kill them, or reconcile them with their communities?" (ZT5)[47], Student ZT5 demonstrates her "conscious awareness of" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) the problematic of '*witchcraft*'.

[46] Cognitive disequilibrium refers to the struggle a learner may experience in trying to incorporate new knowledge into their current knowledge.

[47] The 1996 *Ralushai* Commission *inquiry into Witchcraft Violence and Ritual Murders*, recommended the reconciling of witches to their communities.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT5 explains three alternate theories of '*witchcraft*' in relation to '*modernity*' as a stage of social evolution.
● She explains that '*modernity*' theory postulates (i) that in many places '*modernity*' has been distorted and thus the practice of '*witchcraft*' persists (ii) multiple definitions of '*modernity*' coexist and thus '*modernity*' and '*witchcraft*' are not mutually exclusive, and (iii) the West has dealt with witches by killing them whereas Africa has not yet done this therefore the practice of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' persists in Africa (ZT5).

● She questions the efficacy of killing witches rather than reconciling them with their communities.

● Thus Student ZT5 cites '*modernity*' theory as a 'stages in social evolution' theory to account for the persistence of '*witchcraft* in Africa. She problematises the argument that the West has dealt with witches whereas Africa has not yet done so. In this explanation of theories of '*witchcraft*', Student ZT5 illustrates how '*culturally relativist*' theories about '*witchcraft*' inform an understanding of '***relativism***' via understanding the relevance of the subconcepts of '*witchcraft*' and '*culture-context*' in understanding the metaconcept of '*relativism*'.

Anthropological interpretations:
ZT6: And then there's Ashforth's point about technology because modernization comes with technology but now technology has actually allowed an increase in the plausibility in the rationality of witchcraft because – okay, I'll just read this one, "[B]asically it affords ordinary people experience of actions that transcend human physical ability and this is usually in the domain where witches and witchcraft operate" (Ashforth, 2005: 120).

Pedagogy:

Student ZT6, elaborates on Ashforth's (2005) critique of the '*rationality*' debate regarding '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' (ZT4) due to (i) the limits of '*modernity*' theory in that he argues that, paradoxically, modernisation increases:

> the plausibility in the rationality of witchcraft … [as] it affords ordinary people experience of actions that transcend human physical ability and this is usually the domain in which witches and witchcraft operate (ZT6).

In citing this quote from Ashforth's (2005) ethnography of '*witchcraft*', Student ZT5 again illustrates the relevance of '*culture-context*' in conceptually understanding '*witchcraft*'. She

also introduces agency (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) as relative to an understanding of '*witchcraft-discourse*'.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student ZT6 cites Ashforth's critique of '*modernity*' theory in that technology as synecdoche of '*modernity*', similarly to '*witchcraft*' operates in the realm of the invisible. Thus in a modern '*context*' this similarity in agency (ibid) enhances the plausibility of people's '*witchcraft-beliefs*'.

● Thus Student ZT6 cites Ashforth's critique of '*modernity*' theory in which he argues that the invisible processes of modern technology and '*witchcraft*' mimic one and other. This similarity enhances the plausibility of '*witchcraft*' as an operative force and illustrates the metaconceptual relationship between '***relativism***' and the subconcepts of '*modernity*' and '*rationality*' as logical elements of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*'.

Everyday knowledge:
ZT7: So now, there is a world in which things happen but you can't really explain the actual physicality of it. So you get a phone call from someone random and a friend was telling me that by just getting a phone call you can lose your mind. So that's a case in which technology has actually worked its way into the beliefs about witchcraft.

Pedagogy:

Student ZT7 supports Ashforth's (2005) critique of the implausibility of '*modernity*' and '*witchcraft*' coexisting with an example from her everyday experience of "a friend was telling me that just by getting a phone call you can lose your mind" (ZT7). She relates her everyday knowledge to Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic knowledge which is illustrative of Vygotsky's (1962: 108) argument that, in concept development, scientific and everyday understanding, interanimate each other. Consequently, with reference to her friend's claim of the association between telephone technology and the invisible forces of '*witchcraft*', Student ZT7 concludes "So that's a case in which technology has actually worked its way into the beliefs about witchcraft" (ZT7). This spontaneous corroborating evidence of Ashforth's (2005) argument regarding people's perceptions of the connection between technology and '*witchcraft*' indicates Student ZT7's conceptual development in her

"conscious awareness of" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) the meaning of '*cultural relativism*' in Ashforth's argument. Also significant in her engagement with Ashforth's text, via her friend's narrative of the immediate of agency (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) is student ZT7's use of these two ethnographic elements in internalising an understanding of the subconcept of '*cultural-relativism*' that helps explicate '***relativism***' as a metaconcept. She is consciously working with the subconcept of '*cultural-relativism*' as a methodological approach (Boas, 1887) in developing a conceptual understanding of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' as ethnographic subconcepts that explicate '***relativism***'**.** In this regard she is demonstrating an internalisation of "a hierarchy of concepts … of different levels of generality" in relation to '***relativism***' as a process of scientific concept development (Vygotsky, 1962: 92).

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT7 supports Ashforth's critique of '*modernity*' theory with an ethnographic example from her own everyday experience of a friend's claim regarding the invisible force of '*witchcraft*' operating via telephone technology.

● She argues that her friend's claim provides corroborating evidence of Ashforth's (2005) critique.

● Thus Student ZT7 begins to illustrate that an understanding of "a superordinate concept [such as '*relativism*'] implies the existence of a series of subordinate concepts in that the metaconcept is placed within a "system of relations of generality" (Vygotsky, 1962: 92). This is illustrated in Student ZT7's comparative example of her friend's belief in and '*discourse*' about '*witchcraft*' with Ashforth's argument that, "[B]asically it [technology] affords ordinary people experience of actions that transcend human physical ability and this is usually in the domain where witches and witchcraft operate" (Ashforth, 2005: 120; ZT6). This claim illustrates the '*culturally relativist*' nature of '*witchcraft belief*' and thereby enhances understanding of the meaning of '***relativism***'.

Anthropologists' contextualised explication:
ZT8: And then the anthropologists, I think that basically what they are saying is that we should be trying to explicate African assertions of witchcraft within contemporary spaces. [B]ased on his fieldwork, Ashforth explains that lots of people in Soweto have dealt with premature death because of disease, violence and accidents. And there are high levels of

hunger and poverty and financial insecurity and HIV/AIDS. And so basically what he is arguing is that the majority if not all the people he's encountered in Soweto one way or another do believe in witchcraft or as they say, "*boloi*".

Pedagogy:

Student ZT8's argument:

> I think that basically what they [anthropologists] are saying is that we should be trying to explicate African assertions of witchcraft within contemporary spaces (ZT8),

once again indicates her "conscious awareness of" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) the relevance of '*context*' in anthropological argument. Student ZT8's deliberate use of the word "explicate" emphasises anthropologists' '*culturally relativist'* argument with regard to agency (Gay y Blasco 2007: 57-75) in relationship to '*culture-context*' regarding '*rationality*' in anthropological analysis of '*witchcraft*' and *'witchcraft-beliefs'*. This is confirmed by her citing of Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic evidence of the all-pervasive misfortune experienced by people in Soweto as the premise of his argument that the experience of tragedy is the reason why "the majority if not all the people he's encountered in Soweto one way or another do believe in witchcraft or as they say, "*boloi.*" (ZT8). Student ZT8's citing of Ashforth's argument of the association between misfortune and the logic of '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and associated '*witchcraft-discourse*' reiterates Evans-Pritchard's (1937: 69-71) causality argument regarding the rationality of '*witchcraft*' and *'witchcraft-beliefs*' as a "framework of moral agency" (ZT4, Evans-Pritchard, 1937, cited in Ashforth, 2005: 113-114). From a relativist perspective, Student ZT8 conveys to the seminar group an understanding of Ashforth's (2005) arguments that reflect a deepening conceptual grasp of the salience of the subconcept of '*culture-context'* in accounting for the '*rationality*' of '*witchcraft-beliefs'* and '*witchcraft-discourse*'. Additionally, in modelling anthropologists' use

of ethnographic evidence in support of an anthropological argument (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007), Student ZT8 continues to elaborate the "structure of generalization" (Vygotsky, 1962: **92 ?**) of '***relativism***' in drawing on these subconcepts to develop the seminar group's metaconceptual understanding of '***relativism***'.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT8 argues the need to acknowledge anthropologists' '*culturally relativist*' argument regarding a '*rational*' association between '*witchcraft belief*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' relative to a particular '*culture-context*'.

● She cites Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic evidence for his argument regarding the causal relationship between misfortune and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and associated attributive '*witchcraft-discourse*' in Soweto.

● She draws on and reiterates Ashforth's ethnographically premised argument and thus models for the SAE seminar group how anthropologists construct arguments.

● Thus Student ZT8 continues to elucidate Seminar 10's metaconcept of '***relativism***' in working with comparison, agency, context, and narratives of the immediate (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) in showing how Ashforth (2005) explicates the "meaning of" (Miller, 2007) '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*', '*witchcraft discourse*', '*rationality*' and '*modernity*' relative to the '*culture-context*' of Soweto.

Witchcraft and ambiguity:
ZT9: And then he also says that there is a struggle against belief. So when times are good you kind of don't believe in it and when times are bad you kind of do believe in it. That's the struggle against belief! And I agree with another point that he makes, You're doomed if you do believe and you're doomed if you don't. So if you do believe in it you freak out yourself with thoughts of witchcraft and then of course are vulnerable to witchcraft but if you don't believe in it you don't employ certain practices by way of defending yourself from it and then you're vulnerable. So you're doomed if you do and you're doomed if you don't! And you're constantly struggling between believing and not believing.

Pedagogy:

Student ZT9 pursues her discussion of '*witchcraft-beliefs*' noting ambiguity whereby '*belief*' is associated with experiences of misfortune and '*disbelief*' with good and safe times. In the comment "And, I agree with another point that he makes" (ZT9) that draws again on her

everyday knowledge student ZT9 endorses Ashforth's claim "You're doomed if you do and you're doomed if you don't" regarding one's vulnerability to, or protection against, '*witchcraft*' relative to one's '*belief*' or '*disbelief*'. Dialogically once more, Student ZT9's everyday knowledge resonates with Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic findings on '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*'. This engagement of spontaneous knowledge with anthropological knowledge illustrates Vygotsky's (1962: 108) claim of how spontaneous understanding engages with scientific understanding in concept development. Additionally in Student ZT9's ''conscious awareness of" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) the oscillation between '*belief*' and '*disbelief*' in '*witchcraft-discourse*' she demonstrates her "conscious awareness of [and] conscious awareness about" (ibid) the metaconcept of '***relativism***' as '*contextually*' nuanced.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT9 explains people's oscillation between '*disbelief*' and '*belief*' in '*witchcraft*' relative to experiences of good or bad fortune.

● She draws on her everyday knowledge to confirm this oscillation in '*witchcraft-belief*' by quoting Ashforth (2005) on this equivocal "struggle of belief" (ZT9) and asserting that, "You're constantly struggling between believing and not believing".

● She explains the predicament as feeling scared if one does believe in '*witchcraft* but similarly fearful of not being protected against '*witchcraft*' if one chooses not believe in its malevolent force.

● She ends on the fatalistic note that "one is doomed if you do believe in it and doomed if you don't" (ZT9). Student ZT9's '*emic*' knowledge of '*witchcraft belief*' and '*witchcraft discourse*' confirms Ashforth's (2005) assertion regarding the need to understand how it is that people in Soweto live with '*witchcraft*' rather than judging them to be '*irrational*' because they do.

● Thus Student ZT9 explicates '***relativism***' as a metaconcept by continuing to engage her everyday knowledge of the plausibility of '*witchcraft*' in '*witchcraft-beliefs*' with her reading of the anthropological knowledge of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' based on Ashforth's (2005) findings and thus again illustrates Vygotsky's (1962: 108) argument that in concept development spontaneous and scientific knowledge elucidate each other.

Ethnographic example:
ZT10: And, he says that it's difficult when tragedy strikes for you to completely dismiss the belief of witches. And he gives the example of Simon who did not believe in witchcraft and then basically he lost everything ... He'd never believed in witchcraft ... [but] when times got tough he kind of started thinking, come on this is a bit ridiculous something must be behind this!

Pedagogy:

Student ZT10 cites Ashforth's **(**2005: 126-127) ethnographic example of a Soweto resident, Simon's, equivocal belief and disbelief about '*witchcraft*' relative to his good or bad experiences. This illustrates anthropologists' use of ethnographic evidence in support of an argument, as in Ashforth's use of ethnographic evidence to support his argument about ambiguity in '*witchcraft beliefs*' (in ZT9). Student ZT10's citing and endorsement of Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic documentation of an oscillating belief system illustrates her understanding of anthropologists' use of narratives of the immediate (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) and subconcepts such as '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft beliefs*' in explicating an argument. Thus Student ZT9–ZT10 illustrates Geertz's argument that:

> Ethnography is at one and the same time an intimate view and a cool assessment ... a paradoxical sense of distance and closeness ... an apparent coming near so that it puts the established conceptions ... into useful question (1988: 1-24).

As in ZT9 –ZT10, she provides an example of how the metaconcept of '***relativism***' is a tool of analysis in the interpretation of the logic or '*rationale*' of '*witchcraft-belief*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' in '*culture-context*'.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT10 cites Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic example of a Soweto resident, Simon's, ambivalent belief and disbelief in '*witchcraft*' relative to his experiences of good or bad fortune.

● She emulates the professional practice of anthropologists' (such as Adam Ashforth)'s support of anthropological arguments (ZT8–ZT10) with empirical data to establish the validity of their '*knowledge production*' as social scientists.

● Thus Student ZT10 consistently draws upon and works with elements of ethnography (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) to illustrate how the ethnographic subconcepts of '*witchcraft*' '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' explicate the metaconcept of '***relativism***'.

Witchcraft and lack of knowledge:
ZT11: And then he talks about the predicament of not knowing. So basically, there's a lack of knowledge transfer. So the older generation, our parents haven't really transferred the information about witchcraft to us in a way that we can actually become custodians of such information about witchcraft. And it's also because in urban areas there's lots of mixing of different cultures, lots of watering down of cultural practices that would have be practiced previously in the rural areas. And he also speaks of the fact that if you've been bewitched you never know the whole truth about whether you've been bewitched or if it is a coincidence. But at the same time there is this kind of universal truth that witchcraft is out there!

Pedagogy:

Student ZT11 continues her discussion about ambiguity in '*witchcraft-beliefs*' in and '*witchcraft-discourse*' about '*witchcraft*' with respect to "the predicament of not knowing [enough about '*witchcraft*' in regard to] (i) a lack of knowledge transfer across the generations, (ii) a loss of knowledge in culturally-mixed urban neighbourhoods, and (iii) the beguiling nature of witchcraft that renders it indistinguishable from coincidence" (ZT11). Student ZT11's spontaneous knowledge resonates, again, with the ethnographic literature in her use of the possessive pronoun "our parents" (ZT11) apropos a lack of intergenerational knowledge transfer about '*witchcraft*' *and* '*witchcraft-beliefs'*. She also reiterates the salience of '*context*' with reference to the "universal truth that witchcraft [is] out there" (ZT11). Again, by drawing on her '*emic*' understanding and in citing Ashforth's (2005) findings on the changing knowledge practices of '*witchcraft*' *and* '*witchcraft-beliefs',* student

ZT11 reiterates the relevance of '*culture-context*' to understanding '*witchcraft'* and '*witchcraft-beliefs*'.

Pedagogy Moves:

● Student ZT11 emphasises the problematic of the ambiguous nature of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' apropos (i) people's insufficient knowledge, (ii) varying generational knowledge(s), and (iii) a dearth of knowledge in contemporary South African urban areas about '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*'.

● She recurrently engages her own everyday knowledge about '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' with Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic findings to emphasise the relevance of how '*contextual*' ambiguities inflect a lack of understanding of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs'*.

●She contrasts the ambiguous nature of '*contextually relativist*' understandings of *'witchcraft*' with "this kind of universal truth that witchcraft is out there" (ZT11).

● Thus Student ZT11 explicates the meaning of the metaconcept of '***relativism***' by engaging her spontaneous knowledge with Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic knowledge of the way in which '*culture-context'* shapes the ambiguity of '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and yet, concurrently, the '*rationality*' of a universal belief '*witchcraft*' as ubiquitous.

Witchcraft gossip and secrecy:
ZT12: And then in another chapter he talks about witchcraft and gossip. So like witchcraft he says, "Is both a subject of gossip and a cause of gossip.'' So it's not like you are going to say out in the open, "You bewitched me!" But you are going to whisper to your friend, "This is what happened." in more intimate closed circles. So, there's this weird relationship between witchcraft and gossip. So actually they operate within intimate close circles both gossip and witchcraft.

Pedagogy:

Student ZT12 elaborates on Ashforth's (2005) documentation of '*witchcraft*' knowledge-practice in regard to the circulation of '*witchcraft-discourse*' via gossip networks as a conversational source of '*witchcraft*' accusations. She explains that this gossip is covert and restricted to "intimate closed circles" (ZT12). She notes, as "weird"[48] (i.e. interesting or strange) the relationship between '*witchcraft*' '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*gossip*' in that they

[48] Student ZT12's use of the term ''weird" may be alternatively interpreted as: interesting, strange, or curious.

operate in closed social circles. In respect of covert gossip about '*witchcraft*', Student ZT12 notes again the importance of agency and narratives of the immediate (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) in elucidating understanding of the interrelationship of the subconcepts of '*culture-context*', '*witchcraft-discourse*' about 'witchcraft' and 'witchcraft-beliefs'.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT12 explains how gossip about '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' circulates in intimate social networks indicating the micro-level interpersonal nature of '*witchcraft-discourse*' in relation to how people's '*witchcraft-beliefs*' inform their common assertions regarding '*witchcraft practice*'.

● She draws on the ethnographic elements of context, agency, narratives of the immediate and relational knowledge (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) to explicate the ethnographic subconcepts of *'witchcraft' and* '*witchcraft-beliefs'* in her presentation.

● Thus Student ZT12 in drawing on Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic data on '*secrecy*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' in Soweto, models how anthropologists interpret their data via elements of ethnography to explicate the metaconcept of '*relativism*' for the SAE seminar students.

Witchcraft allegation and reprisal:
ZT13: And Esther Goody describes the different stages of the process that happens after witchcraft has occurred which are: (i) gossip which is basically an attack of sorts: so misfortune, illness or whatever happens and that is attributed to witchcraft but no one is accused (ii) then there are allegations where someone is attacked, so someone is a victim, so a witch is named, (iii) so someone is accused which is a publically sanctioned counter-action against the person who bewitched you.

Pedagogy:

Student ZT13 describes Esther Goody's (1970) stages of witchcraft practice, accusation, and retribution.[49] This explanation of the accusatory stages of '*witchcraft-discourse*' also illustrates how, relationally, these facets of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' as a cultural practice inform a conceptual understanding of witchcraft in '*culture-context*'. Student ZT13's

[49] Adam Ashforth (2005) discusses Esther Goody's (1970) research on witchcraft, pp. 65-66 *Witchcraft, Violence and Democracy in South Africa.*

citing of Goody's factual account of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' as a socio-cultural phenomenon also illustrates Professor Coplan's claim that anthropologists "seek to understand and not to judge" (DC1) by using the methodological principle of '*cultural-relativism'* in ethnographic research.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT13 paraphrases anthropologist Esther Goody's (1970**)** ethnographic account of the stages of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' as a process involving misfortune, presumed malevolence, followed by allegation, and ultimately, public retributory accusation against 'witchcraft'.

● She reiterates that this process is conducted via gossip as an accusatory channel of '*witchcraft-discourse*' (in ZT12).

● She develops a conceptual understanding of the meaning of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' via Esther Goody's (1970) explanation of how '*witchcraft-discourse*' circulates in social networks.

● Thus Student ZT13 draws on anthropologist Esther Goody's (1970**)** work, cited by Ashforth (2005) to develop an understanding of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' and thereby deepens an understanding of '*cultural-relativism*' as a methodological tool of analysis in ethnographic research.

Everyday knowledge:
ZT14: But I really don't understand it because as I was reading the whole time it was witches, witches, witches. But it also says in the reading that anyone can be a witch but I'm not a witch or if I was a witch I would not tell you. You don't have to be a witch to employ occult practices on someone. You can just go to someone and say, "Look, this is my issue!" And they can sort you out because they have that expertise. In my own experience based on hearsay among my own family the most common form is ordinary people not necessarily witches and then you go to the people with the expertise and you say, "I need this assistance can you please help?"

Pedagogy:

Student ZT14's comment "But, I really don't understand it," (ZT14) reflects her ongoing active engagement with Ashforth's (2005) ethnography – in this instance with regard to Ashforth's claim of a witch being a distinct category of person and his paradoxical claim that

"anyone can be a witch" (ZT14). Student ZT14's perplexity suggests she has misread Ashforth's claim that "anyone can be a witch" (ZT14) to mean that everyone is a witch rather than his actual meaning that anyone may be spoken of as a witch (Ashforth, 2005: 134). Thereafter, Student ZT14 notes her everyday knowledge of the '*secrecy*' associated with being a '*witch*' and thus continues to engage her '*emic*' knowledge of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' with the anthropological literature in conceptual development of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*'. This ongoing engagement with the ethnographic literature illustrates Miller's (2011: 390-394) interpretation of Vygotsky's (1978) argument in, *Thinking and Speech*, that the internalising of "word-meaning" is essential to a student's concept development (ibid). Thus Student ZT14's cognitive shift from her "conscious awareness of" (Miller, 2011) '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' to consciously reflecting on her *emic* understanding of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' is an empirical example of Vygotsky's dictum that in order to understand the process of conceptual development we must "study the process of concept formation in its several developmental stages (1962: 56).

In this classic example of "cognitive disequilibrium" (Piaget, 1961), Student ZT14's comment: "But I really don't understand it" (ZT14) indicates that she is trying to assimilate new ethnographic knowledge into her current everyday knowledge and understanding of '*witchcraft*' and 'witchcraft-beliefs' and so empirically illustrates the process of cognitive "development as a complex dialectical process characterised by periodicity and unevenness" (Vygotsky, 1962: 73).

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT14 tries to clarify her own understanding of witches, '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' by querying Ashforth's (2005) apparently paradoxical

conception of a witch as a category of person in his assertion that anyone may be spoken of as a witch (Ashforth, 2005: 134).

● She explains, drawing on her everyday knowledge, that in the event of misfortune being attributed to '*witchcraft*' ordinary people seek out someone with expertise[50] for assistance with their dilemma as one does not take personal reprisal against a witch.

● She uses anthropology's comparative method (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) in her analysis of her everyday with her new ethnographic knowledge to clarify her understanding of the conceptual meaning of a witch.

● Thus Student ZT14's analytical and spontaneous knowledge comments on who may or who may or not be a witch and everyday approaches to "occult practices" (ZT14) of '*witchcraft*', provides insight into the micro-genetic process of concept development apropos Vygotsky's argument of the phase-stages of concept development (Vygotsky, 1962; 121-166).

Witchcraft and love and jealousy:
ZT15: And then the cause of witchcraft is often about love and jealousy but he [Ashforth] emphasises jealousy as one of the main causes. Then under the sociology of jealousy, he talks about in male conflict usually people employ violence to retaliate whereas in female conflicts people usually employ witchcraft. But it's a generalization! And also the most vulnerable stages of life where witchcraft operates are in birth and death. So, and I look at it this way when someone dies it's like, "witchcraft, witchcraft!" Especially in Soweto or in South Africa where a lot of deaths are premature. So when someone dies that's when the talk of witchcraft actually happens. But also when someone is born you have to be extra vigilant and extra careful that witchcraft doesn't actually attack. So you keep it secret. So you don't gossip. You don't speak about it.

Pedagogy:

Student ZT15 elaborates on causality in '*witchcraft-discourse*' as intrinsic to the human emotions of love and jealousy. In her comment: "Then under the sociology of jealousy", (ZT15) Student ZT15 makes an important observation that is indicative of her awareness of the objective sociological study of witchcraft. Thereafter she describes two sociological findings of gendered-forms of retaliation against '*witchcraft*'. She also notes the tendency for people to be susceptible to '*witchcraft*' at life's vulnerable birth and death moments.

[50] This person is typically a Sangoma or Traditional Healer. (Isak Niehaus, pers. comm. 9/8/16).

Significantly too in her observation: “So, I look at it this way” (ZT!5), Student ZT15 continues to engage with the ethnographic literature, here, regarding the occurrence of death and with her own everyday knowledge of the ensuing ‘*gossip*’ accusations of ‘*witchcraft*’ in Soweto and in South Africa generally as a ‘*culture-context*’ of many premature deaths. In this regard Student ZT15 reiterates the agency (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) of ‘*secrecy*’ of ‘*witchcraft-discourse*’ to negate ‘*gossip*’ as a protection against ‘*witchcraft*’. In her repetitive use of the personal pronoun “you”, her comments continue to reflect Student ZT15’s spontaneous knowledge of ‘*witchcraft*’, ‘*witchcraft-beliefs*’ and ‘*witchcraft-discourse*’ when engaging with Ashforth’s (2005), ethnographic data. Student ZT15’s comments are indicative of Vygotsky’s (1962: 92) claim of a concept’s “relations of generality” emerging via a student’s engagement of their spontaneous knowledge with scientific (i.e. systematic knowledge) in her/his concept development. Cumulatively, in ST15’s sequence comments synthesising alleged-causes of ‘*witchcraft*’ via an engagement of her every-day knowledge with ethnographic knowledge, Student ZT15 develops the conceptual complexity of the ‘***relativism***’ of ‘*witchcraft*’ ontologically and epistemologically for the SAE seminar group. Student ZT15’s comments also illustrate Bakhtin’s dialogic approach (Baktin, 1981: 426; Morris, 1994:247) whereby Student ZT15’s “voice” as presenter of Ashforth’s (2005) text continually engages in conversation with Ashforth’s “voice” (ibid) as the ethnographer. Thus she illustrates how “speaking always involves a concrete individual in a unique setting using language tools provided by others to create utterances” (Wertsch and Tulviste, 1992: 555), such that according to Bakhtin (1986):

> any utterance is a link in a chain of speech communication … utterances are not indifferent to one another … (p. 84), they are aware of and mutually reflect one and other (p. 91).

As Bakhtin agues, "[H]uman communicative and psychological processes are characterized by a dialogicality of voices: when the speaker produces an utterance, at least two voices can be heard simultaneously" (Wertsch, 1991: 13). Student ZT16 continues in this Bakhtinian conversational style to the end of her presentation on '*witchcraft*'.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT15 explains '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' as motivated by love and jealousy but stresses Ashforth's (2005) emphasis on jealousy.

● She explains a gendered-pattern in reprisals against '*witchcraft*' as a finding of a sociological study of '*witchcraft*' in which males favour violent retaliation, whereas females seek out counter-witchcraft strategies.

● She notes a tendency in people's belief that '*witchcraft*' occurs at vulnerable moments in the life cycle such as at birth or death.

● She argues that the frequent occurrence of death in Soweto and in South Africa generally is primarily attributed in '*witchcraft-discourse*' to the malevolence of '*witchcraft*'.

● She explains that people observe '*secrecy*' at times of birth and death moments as a protection against the possibility of '*witchcraft*'.

● Thus Student ZT15 draws on these narratives of the immediate (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) to develop a conceptual understanding of the '*contextual*' complexity of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' and thus relatedly how understanding the nature of '*witchcraft*' in 'culture-*context*' explicates the seminar's metaconcept of '***relativism***'**.**

Ethnographic example:
ZT16: And he gives an example of when he blurted out that someone was having their baby in the hospital and the mother of that person was upset, saying, "Don't say it because what if someone does something bad and then the baby dies, or whatever, because of witchcraft." So when gossip perpetuates witchcraft you don't talk about it. You do the opposite when in birth or in death.

Pedagogy:

Student ZT16 again provides an ethnographic example from Ashforth (2005) regarding the argument that '*secrecy*' is observed as a protective mechanism during life's vulnerable moments to deter the possibility of '*witchcraft*'. Additionally, Student ZT16's citing of

Ashforth's cultural *faux pas* in saying that "someone was away having their baby in hospital" (ZT16) is important in three respects: (i) it illustrates the use of ethnographic examples in anthropology to explicate cross-cultural understanding of cultural phenomenon, (ii) it shows how Ashforth's self-acknowledged tactlessness indicates the dilemmas of fieldwork, but also how (iii) a faux pas provides insight into cultural norms, ideas and value systems for an ethnographer. Student ZT16's commentary on '*secrecy*' associated with witchcraft again illustrates the agency of narratives so the immediate (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) in ethnographic research in that Ashforth's interlocutor, the baby's grandmother, admonishes him for divulging the secret and thereby provides empirical evidence of Ashforth's claim of the necessity of '*secrecy*' to safeguard against possible '*witchcraft*' malevolence during life's "*rite de passage*" (Van Gennep, 1960) moments.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT16 elaborates on the role of '*secrecy*' in '*witchcraft-discourse*' by explaining the need for '*secrecy*' as a protective mechanism at life's vulnerable moments, for example, during birth and death.

● She illustrates Soweto residents' rationale for the need for '*secrecy*' by explaining to Ashforth's *faux pas* in speaking about the birth of a baby as a transgression of this cultural norm.

● She illustrates that an interlocutor is indispensable as an 'insider' source of ethnographic information upon which ethnographic understanding is premised and anthropological knowledge and argument validated.

● Thus Student ZT16's citing of Ashforth's dilemma provides an understanding of fieldwork that also enhances the SAE seminar group's conceptual understanding of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' which in turn explicates an understanding of "the problem of relativism" (DC1) in anthropology.

Everyday knowledge:
ZT17: And then what I found really interesting especially as I'm from KZN [KwaZulu-Natal] is the link between HIV/AIDS and witchcraft. Both of them, if you are HIV positive or someone dies of HIV/AIDS it's very rare that someone will publically say, "Oh! It was aids." But if there's witchcraft involved it's very rare that publically someone will say, "Oh! It's witchcraft!" So I find it very interesting that the two of them operate in gossip both

HIV/AIDS and witchcraft. It's always in gossip and corners and not out in the public but there's also a relationship between the two because sometimes when people die of HIV/AIDS people say, 'It's witchcraft. So, I find that interesting!

Pedagogy:

Student ZT17 again draws on her everyday knowledge of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' in respect of '*secrecy*' and '*gossip*' in '*witchcraft-discourse*' with regard to an association of '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' with HIV/AIDS in South Africa. She compares Ashforth's (2005) findings on '*gossip*' associated with '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' in Soweto with a similar association of death due to HIV/AIDS being attributed to '*witchcraft*' in covert '*gossip*' in KwaZulu-Natal. Student ZT17's observation, here again, provides an illustration of Vygotsky's (1962: 108) argument that, in concept development, scientific understanding and everyday conceptual understanding elucidate each other. Student ZT17 also provides an empirical example of the way in which this reciprocal conceptual process occurs via her comparison of Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic account of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' in Soweto with her everyday KwaZulu-Natal knowledge of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*'. Important in understanding concept development is that in her comparison Student ZT17 illustrates how generalising specific anthropological findings to the everyday domain provides an example of the development of abstract scientific concept development (Vygotsky, 1987: 228-229).

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT17 draws on her everyday knowledge of '*witchcraft-discourse*' in KwaZulu-Natal to reflect on the similarity between an association of '*secrecy*' and '*gossip*' with '*witchcraft*' in Soweto to similar to covert '*gossip*' attributions of '*witchcraft*' to HIV/AIDS deaths in KwaZulu Natal.

● She develops, via this comparison (Gay y Blasco, 2007) a more generalised conceptual understanding of '*witchcraft-discourse*' as it is prescriptively associated with a variety of tragic misfortune and death in South Africa.

● She underscores in her comparative observations of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' as *a priori* facts of life in Soweto and KwaZulu-Natal and thus substantiates Ashforth's (2005) critique of the irrelevance of the Enlightenment '*rationality*' debate about why African people believe in and practice '*witchcraft*'.

● She shows that it is more pertinent to investigate how in their everyday lives, South Africans attribute the malevolence of '*witchcraft*' to illness, death, poverty and crime. And, she again illustrates '*cultural-relativism*' as a methodological tool of analysis in ethnographic research in anthropology.

● Thus Student ZT17s comments develop an understanding of the conceptual complexity of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' about '*witchcraft*' in South Africa as integral subconcepts explicating Seminar 10's metaconcept of '***relativism***' for the SAE seminar on: What's new in our traditional concerns? Witchcraft and ethnography today.

Student's closing comment:
ZT18: I'm done! [Laughter].

Professor Coplan's Summary comment:
DC2: So that would be the Ashforth part of the literature on witchcraft?

Student's response:
ZT19: Yeah!

Professor Coplan's response:
DC3: Good.

Seminar 10 Presentation Anthropology Pedagogy Review

Pedagogically, in Seminar 10, Student ZT and Professor Coplan work with elements of ethnography – concepts, culture-context, narratives of the immediate, agency and comparison – to mediate an understanding of '***relativism***' in exploring the ethical debate on the primacy of '*cultural-rights*' or '*human-rights*'.

In his opening remarks framing the seminar discussion, Professor Coplan DC1 includes '*witchcraft*' as a cultural practice in this ethical debate that concerns anthropologists and serves to illustrate one of the challenges of professional anthropological praxis.

Following Professor Coplan, Student ZT1–ZT17, as an 'insider', presents the seminar topic drawing on Ashforth's (2005) ethnography of '*witchcraft*' in Soweto. She introduces the metaconcept of '***relativism***' (ZT1–ZT2) by explaining Enlightenment '*discourse*' on '*rationality*' and '*modernity*' in Africa as explanatory subconcepts for understanding '*witchcraft*'. Student ZT3 also explains that African intellectuals reject the Enlightenment view of Africans' practice of '*witchcraft*' as misconstrued and racist.

Thereafter Student ZT3 focuses attention on anthropological research into '*witchcraft*' and explains anthropologist Evans-Pritchard's '*culturally relativist*' argument of agency (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) in '*culture-context*' as '*witchcraft-beliefs*' explain happenstance misfortune and thus constitute a '*rational*' belief-system of "moral agency" (ZT3). Other anthropologists, she explains, interpret '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' as indicative of social conflict.

Student ZT4 next explains Ashforth's (2005) critique of the "rationality debate" (ZT4) with regard to the practice of '*witchcraft*' in Africa as:

> unhelpful … because it doesn't provide much guidance to studying how people still live in a world of witches. It also looks at societies and cultures as homogeneous closed spaces … [which] is no longer the case (ZT4).

Subsequently Student ZT5 explains three post-Enlightenment arguments accounting for the persistence of '*witchcraft*' in modern times that hypothesise: (i) '*modernity*' as a distorted social-evolutionary stage, (ii) multiple forms of '*modernity*' such that '*modernity*' and '*witchcraft*' are not mutually exclusive, and, (iii) how the West has dealt with witches by killing them whereas, African has not yet done so. Student ZT6 then explains Ashforth's (2005) critique of the '*modernity*' arguments in that as modern technology and '*witchcraft*' operate similarly, technology:

> affords ordinary people experience of actions that transcend human physical ability and this is usually the domain where witches and witchcraft operate (Ashforth, 2005: 120).

In support of Ashforth's (2005) critique, Student ZT7 offers her example of:

> A friend was telling me that by just getting a phone call you can lose your mind (ZT7).

She thus argues:

> So that's a case in which technology has actually worked its way into the beliefs about witchcraft (ZT7).

In relation to this critique of '*modernity*' theory, Student ZT8 reasserts anthropologists' '*culturally-relativist*' argument of the need to "explicate African assertions of witchcraft within contemporary spaces" (ZT8). She reinforces this '*culturally-relativist*' position with Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic example of Soweto people's association of misfortune with '*witchcraft*' due to their frequent experience of:

> premature death because of disease, violence and accidents … and high levels of hunger and poverty and financial insecurity.

Consequently, Student ZT8 explains how Ashforth (2005) argues that:

> the majority if not all the people he's encountered in Soweto one way or another believe in witchcraft or as the say '*boloi*' (ZT8).

Thereafter, as an 'insider', Student ZT9–ZT17 engages her everyday knowledge of witchcraft with Asforth's (2005) findings on witchcraft in Soweto. In citing an example of Soweto resident Simon's narrative of the immediate (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) in his vacillating belief and disbelief in '*witchcraft*' relative to his good and bad fortune, Student ZT9–ZT10 explains an oscillating trend in '*witchcraft-beliefs*' that is associated with ensuring or not ensuring protection against '*witchcraft*' in relation to bad or good experiences. Thereafter, again drawing on her everyday knowledge she elaborates on:

> [T]he predicament of not knowing … [in relation to an insufficient transfer of knowledge from the older generation] our parents [who] haven't really transferred the information to us in a way that we can actually become custodians of such information about witchcraft (ZT11).

She endorses Ashforth's (2005) critique of the "rationality debate" (ZT4) by adding:

> It's also because in urban areas there's lots of mixing of different cultures, lots of watering down of cultural practices that would have been practiced previously in the rural areas (ZT4).

Student ZT12 then purses her discussion of the '*ambiguity*' associated with '*witchcraft*' and '*witchcraft-beliefs*' by explaining Ashforth's (2005) findings of '*secrecy*' about '*witchcraft*' in '*witchcraft-discourse*' in that '*secret-gossip*' of alleged '*witchcraft*' circulates in intimate social circles. In ZT13 she cites anthropologist, Esther Goody's (1970) account of the covert and then overt sequence of accusation of '*witchcraft*' that follows a presumed '*witchcraft*' attack.

Thereafter, again premised on her everyday knowledge, Student ZT14 questions the apparent claim in the anthropological literature that "anyone can be a witch'' (ZT14). Student ZT15 also explains Ashforth's assertion that '*witchcraft*' is motivated by love and jealousy and the findings of a sociological study of a gendered-pattern of male violence and

female counter-witchcraft strategies of retaliation to '*witchcraft*'. She also notes the belief that '*witchcraft*' occurs during the vulnerable lifecycle moments of birth and death and thus the secrecy surrounding these social events. In stressing the need for secrecy, Student ZT16 explains Ashforth's *faux pas* in transgressing the secrecy taboo which illustrates the challenges of fieldwork as it is explained in a narrative of the immediate (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) admonishment by his interlocutor that serves to enhance the SAE seminar group's conceptual understanding of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse'*. In her closing comment, Student ZT17 notes as comparatively (ibid) interesting a similar association of '*secret*-gossip' about alleged '*witchcraft*' in HIV/AIDS related deaths in her home province of Kwa-Zulu Natal.

In assessing Student ZT1–ZT17's degree of conceptual internalisation of the metaconceptual "word meaning" (Vygotsky, 1987: 285) of '*relativism*', it is possible to trace Vygotsky's (1978: 73) argument regarding the unevenness of cognitive development. This is apparent in the growing confidence of Student ZT's voice evident in the shift from the low modality (Martin and Rose, 2003: 48) of her tentative introductory presentation comment, "[W]ell I'm just going to present how I understood it" (ZT1) to the high modality of her emphatic assertion, "But it's a generalization" (ZT15) regarding the sociological finding of gendered-patterns of retaliation to '*witchcraft*'.

Student ZT's presentation also provides an exemplary example of Vygotsky's (1962: 108) argument that in conceptual development every-day and scientific concepts inform each other as Student ZT7, ZT9, ZT11, Z17 engages her spontaneous knowledge of '*witchcraft*'

with Ashforth's (2005) ethnographic findings on '*witchcraft*' in developing a conceptual understanding of '*witchcraft'* for the SAE seminar group.

However, Student ZT's 'insider' positionality both enables and constrains her understanding of '***relativism***' as a metaconcept. In my research interview with Student ZT in a comment about positionality in her research on 'black' students' study experiences in her former high school, she notes that:

> It matters to a certain degree … in the sense that you have to be aware of your positioning. So it doesn't matter in the sense that you can't study people if you're an 'insider', you can. But you have to be aware of your position as in 'insider' (interview, 17/10/2011).

This observation indicates that Student ZT is aware of 'insider'/ 'outsider' positionality. However, her seminar presentation suggests an 'insider's' conceptual immersion in her everyday understanding of '*witchcraft*' to the extent that she does not engage this spontaneous understanding of '*witchcraft*' with the question of '*relativism*' as an occult practice in the ethical debate on the primacy of '*cultural rights* or *human rights*'. To a certain degree she elaborates the "structure of generality" (Vygotsky, 1987: 277) of '***relativism***' via the subconcepts of '*rationality*' and '*modernity*' relative to anthropologists' '*culturally relativist*' argument about the need to understand '*witchcraft*' in '*culture-context*'. This is also the case in her explication of '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-beliefs*' and '*witchcraft-discourse*' as ethnographic subconcepts of '***relativism***'. In focusing exclusively on '*witchcraft*', however, in her seminar presentation, Student ZT does not comprehensively explicate "the problem of relativism" (DC1) as she does not address the central dilemma of the '*ethical debate*' about '*relativism*' with regard to '*cultural relativism* versus '*moral relativism*' or '*cultural rights*' versus '*human rights*'. Thus, Student ZT's presentation indexes

only a "measure of generality" (1987: 227) of the "structure of generality" (1987: 277) of '***relativism***'. Student ZT is "consciously aware of" and "consciously aware about' (Miller, 2011: 390-394) the "word meaning" (Vygotsky, 1987: 285) of '*witchcraft*' as it conceptually explicates '***relativism***'. However, her presentation suggests that Student ZT is not yet comprehensively "consciously aware of" or "consciously aware about" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) the abstract metaconceptual meaning of '***relativism***'.

In his opening remarks, Professor Coplan addresses the meaning of '***relativism***' in relation to "the problem of relativism'' in an ethical debate about "the two questions of cultural rights versus human rights" (DC1) and his inclusion of '*witchcraft*' in noting "the limits of tolerance" for anthropologists in this '*ethical debate*'.

Thus, in Seminar 10, Student ZT's and Professor Coplan "voices of the mind" (Wertsch, 1991) as "speaking consciousnesses" (Bakhtin, 1981: 434) developmentally mediate the SAE students' conceptual understanding of the "word meaning" (Vygotsky, 1987: 285) of '*relativism*' via a complementary explication of the metaconceptual "structure of generalization" (Vygotsky, 1987: 227) '***relativism***'. Student ZT explains '***relativism***' via three key ethnographic subconcepts: '*witchcraft*', '*witchcraft-discourse*' and '*culture-context*'. Professor Coplan complements her explanation of '***relativism***' relative to 'witchcraft' by elaborating the metaconcept in relation to the '*ethical debate*' about the primacy of '*cultural rights*' or '*human rights*'. Each of these subconcepts is elaborated by interlinked subconcepts as follows: 'witchcraft' ('*rationality*', '*modernity*'); '*witchcraft-discourse*' ('*witchcraft-beliefs*', '*secret-gossip*'); '*culture-context*' ('*disciplinary anthropology*', '*culture*'); and, '*ethical debate*' ('*cultural relativism*' versus '*moral relativism*' or '*cultural rights*' versus

'*human rights*') in teaching and learning the challenge that '***relativism***' poses to anthropologists in their professional praxis.

Chapter Seven

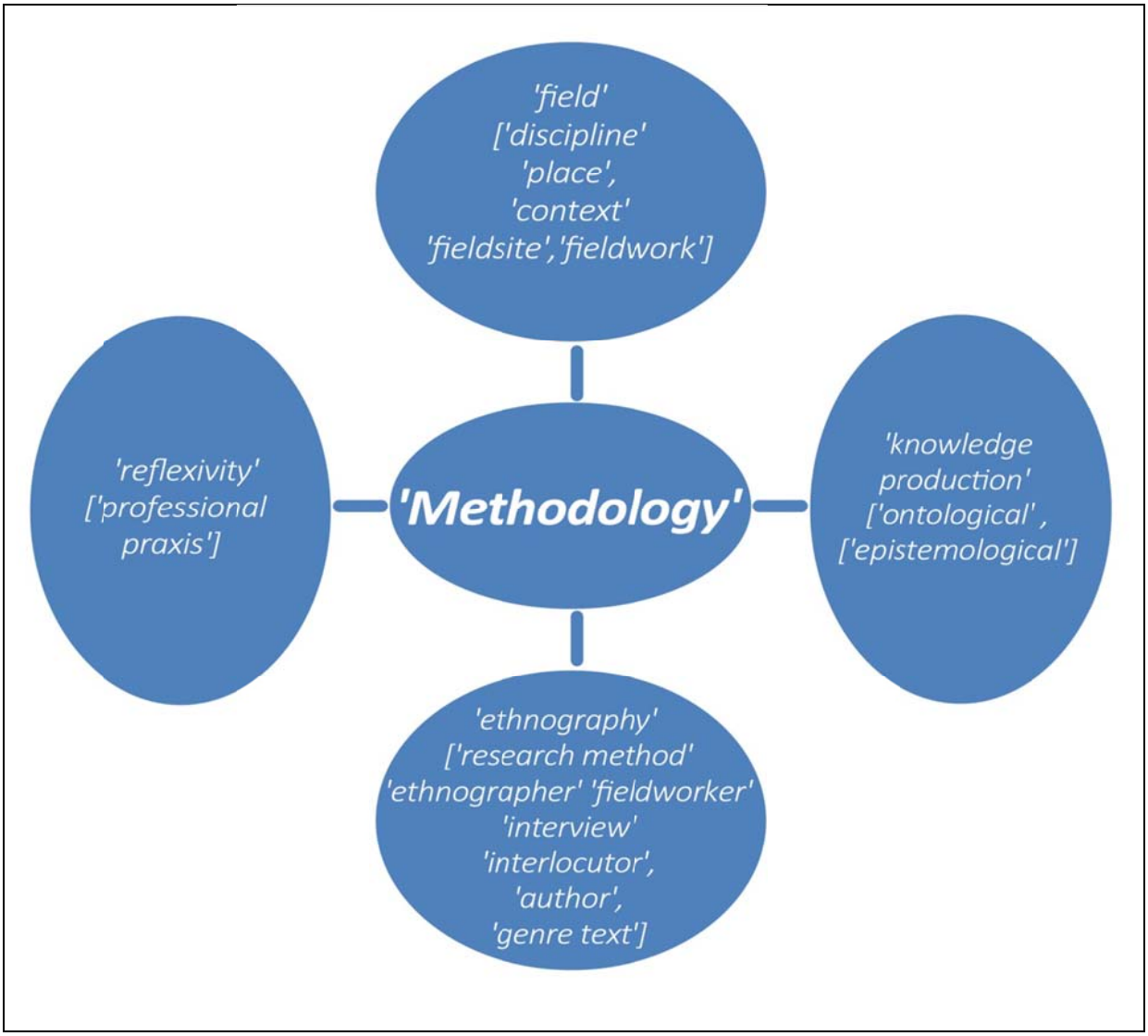
In Chapter Seven, I provide an analysis of anthropological pedagogy in **Seminar 11: Recent Meditations on the State of Our Art.**

Seminar 11: Anthropological Pedagogy Overview

Seminar 11's discussion focuses on anthropologists' reflexivity regarding their ethnographic methodology. In the transcript of excerpts from Seminar 11, Student SS and Professor Coplan jointly present the seminar on two South African anthropologists' reflections on fieldwork methodology during and after apartheid. Students ZT1–ZT4 and JA–JA2 join in a brief discussion of the seminar topic after the presentation. Student SS1–SS4's presentation is informed by her 'insider' perspective as a resident of the South African homeland of QwaQwa. Professor Coplan opening remarks speak to the seminar topic with regard to a colleague's self-reflexive evaluation of ethnographic '***methodology***' during apartheid, and his own response to Anthropology's disciplinary credibility in making a contribution to nation building in post-apartheid South Africa.

Pedagogically, Student SS and Professor Coplan explicate the "structure of generalisation" (Vygotsky, 1978: 227) of '***methodology***' as Seminar 11's metaconcept relative to four key ethnographic subconcepts: '*field*', '*knowledge production*', '*ethnography*' and '*reflexivity*'. Each of these subconcepts is further elaborated by a related set of subconcepts as follows: '*field*' ('*discipline*', '*place*', '*context*', '*fieldsite*', '*fieldwork*'), '*knowledge production*' ('*ontological*', '*epistemological*'), '*ethnography*' ('*research method*', '*ethnographer*', '*fieldworker*', '*interview*', '*interlocutor*', '*author*', '*genre text'*) illustrated in **Figure 6** (below).

Figure 6: Metaconcept '*Methodology*' and subconcept-clusters



I now draw on this mapping of the metaconcept of '***methodology***' to present an analysis of how the transcript of Student SS and Professor Coplan's Seminar 11 presentation pedagogically mediates a developmental understanding of '***methodology***' as it is developed through a discussion of two articles by South African anthropologists who reflect on (i) the challenges of doing 'fieldwork' during apartheid, and (ii) the relevance of anthropology's disciplinary contribution to the democratic post-apartheid nation building moment as this reflects these anthropologists' concern to refine their '***methodology***' in order to validate the '*ontological*' and '*epistemological*' merit of their discipline.

Seminar 11: Recent Meditations on the State of Our Art

Readings:
Coplan, David. 1998. 'Fieldsights': The Anthropological Narration of Post-Apartheid South Africa' Inaugural Lecture, University of the Witwatersrand, 6 November, 1997 [*African Studies* 57, 2, 1998].
Sharp, John. 1990. 'Problems of Method and Sources of Information: a Case Study from QwaQwa' in Pierre Hugo, *Truth be in the Field,* Pretoria: UNISA 1990, pp. 230-243.

Lecturer Presentation Excerpt (DC):

Lecturer's Opening remarks:
DC1: These two texts are written by South African anthropologists who work in the field and upon which experience they draw to represent some problems in methodology and the nature of knowledge – epistemology and ontology. But so as not to prejudice the issue, I will hand over to the presenter.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan's DC1 opening remarks introduce Seminar 11's critical reflection of anthropology's '***methodology***'. He explains that the assigned articles focus on the concept of '*the field*' (hereafter, '*field*') of anthropology as (i) a discipline, and (ii) as a place or '*context*' (hereafter, '*context*') of '*fieldwork*'. Sharp's (1990) article reflects on the possibilities and limitations of anthropological research in QwaQwa an apartheid-created Bantustan '*fieldsite*' from 1982 to 1985. Whereas, Coplan's (1998) homophonic article entitled 'Fieldsights' reflects on the '*field*' of anthropology as a discipline in which '*fieldsites*' provide '*epistemological*' insight into the '*ontological*' nature of the sociocultural. Professor Coplan's remarks establish '***methodology***' as Seminar 11's metaconcept that will be explicated by the subconcepts of: (i) '*field*' in the dual sense of a '*discipline*' and '*context*', (ii) relative to questions of '*ontological*' and '*epistemological*' '*knowledge production*', (iii) premised on anthropologists' '*reflexivity*' about their research praxis in doing and writing (iv) '*ethnography*' as '*fieldworkers*' and '*authors*'. With these opening remarks and so as not to over-determine the student's presentation, Professor Coplan invites Student SS to present

the anthropologists' reflections on the nature of their '*knowledge production*' and the '***methodological***' problems encountered in doing '*fieldwork*' during and after apartheid in South Africa.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan explains the evaluative character of the two seminar readings on anthropology's ethnographic research '***methodology***' as the source of disciplinary '*knowledge production*'.

● He refers to the '*field*' in anthropology both as a '*context*' of '*fieldwork*', a '*fiedsite*' and anthropology's source of *'knowledge production'* as a disciplinary '*field*'.

● He explains that anthropologists problematise their '*ethnographic*' experience by '*reflexively*' questioning their research techniques as '***methodological***' tools.

● Thus Professor Coplan explains anthropologists' concern with problematising both the '*ontological*' and '*epistemological*' substance of anthropology as a '*field*' of '*knowledge production*' premised on '*ethnographic fieldwork*'.

Student's Presentation Excerpts (SS):

'Fieldsights':
SS1: Professor John Sharp's article explains some of the challenges faced by anthropologists from the University of Cape Town (UCT) while doing fieldwork in QwaQwa under the apartheid regime. David Coplan's journal article 'Fieldsights' considers the presumed problem of academia being out of touch with nation building in post-1994 South Africa but shows this to be erroneous especially in the case of the discipline of Anthropology.

Pedagogy:

Student SS1 explains that Sharp's (1990) article explores some of the challenges of a '*fieldsite*' within a wider '*context'*, that of QwaQwa during apartheid. In these introductory comments the student highlights two important professional practices associated with anthropological '*knowledge production*'. First, that, "John Sharp's article explains some of the challenges of fieldwork" (SS1) draws deliberate attention to the '***methodological***' difficulties encountered by South African anthropologists in QwaQwa as a '*fieldsite*' within the wider structural '*context*' of apartheid. Second, she draws attention to anthropologists'

praxis of '*reflexivity*' about their fieldwork. Third, she refers to Coplan's (1998) 'Fieldsights' as a journal article thereby drawing attention to anthropologists' professional practice of writing up and publishing their findings, that is, disseminating '*ethnographic*' research in academic journals. She also explains that Professor Coplan's (1998) 'Fieldsights' article reflects upon and challenges the questioning of anthropology's relevance to South Africa's post-apartheid democratic nation building project. In these comments, Student SS1 highlights '*reflexivity*' and '*context*' as integral elements informing South African anthropologists' ethnographic '***methodology***'. Student SS1's remarks about each article indicate her "conscious awareness of" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) anthropologists' '*ontological*' and '*epistemological*' practice of problematising their '*ethnography*' as '*fieldworkers*' and '*authors*'. In this way, Student SS1 begins to develop the seminar group's conceptual understanding of the intellectual complexity of '*fieldwork*' as ethnographic '*knowledge production*'.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student SS1 explains how South African anthropologists encountered '*fieldwork*' challenges in the apartheid homeland of QwaQwa.

● She notes that Sharp's (1990) article critically reflects on these difficulties of '***methodology***'.

● She establishes the pertinence of the relationship between the '*context*' of a research site such as QwaQwa during apartheid and the methodological (im)practicalities of '*fieldwork*'.

● She explains that Coplan's (1998) 'Fieldsights' article explores academia's relevance to South Africa's post-1994 democratic nation building project and that Professor Coplan defends and asserts anthropology's relevance to this project.

● Thus Student SS1 explains how a '*context*' within a '*context*' pragmatically and challengingly impacts on anthropological research both during and after apartheid in South Africa. And that in response anthropologists reflect critically on the challenges of '*context*' in their professional '*praxis*' as for example Coplan's (1998) review of anthropology's relevance to democratic South Africa's nation building project, post-1994.

Fieldsite QwaQwa:
SS2: QwaQwa is a homeland to which two million South Africans were relocated during Apartheid. It is an arid area with no farming and few resources for farming to take place but people moved with their leader, the Chief.

Pedagogy:

Student SS2 clarifies the topographic and demographic scale of the inherent difficulties of QwaQwa as the UCT anthropologists' research '*fieldsite*'. Her vocabulary of "homeland … relocated … [and] the Chief" (SS2) assumes the group specific speech genre (Bakhtin (19**XX**: 62-63) of the SAE seminar group. Student SS2's comments also reflect Bakhtin's (1986: 168) argument about addressivity and "[t]he complex interrelations of the understood and the understanding subjects". Therefore, her vocabulary emphasises the distinctive political and socio-economic '*culture context*' of the ethnographic research discussed in her presentation.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student SS2 describes the impoverished topographical and economic resources of QwaQwa as a South African homeland.

● She reiterates apartheid's social engineering programme of segregating 'black' people by forcibly (re)moving them to Bantustan homelands.

● She emphasises the broader structural '*cultural context*' of the UCT anthropologists' research in her idiosyncratic vocabulary of homeland, relocated, and the Chief.

● Thus Student SS2 draws on and engages the SAE students' local knowledge in providing contextualising details of QwaQwa as an ethnographic research '*fieldsite*'. This "thick-description" (Geertz, 1993: 6-7) pedagogic strategy explicates the social and geo-political meaning of QwaQwa as an apartheid homeland or Bantusan that impacts on the UCT anthropologists' ethnographic fieldwork research.

Research – Participant-Observation:
SS3: The South African anthropologists encountered methodological problems when trying to do their research. As an anthropologist, he or she will tell you that participant-observation is the best way to do research but these anthropologists found it hard to do

research in QwaQwa. In 1990, 300,000 people were moved to QwaQwa so this volume of people presented a problem for research at the time. QwaQwa was a closer settlement[51] during a recession resulting in a high crime rate in the homeland. By being moved to QwaQwa, the apartheid Government removed people's farming skills and forced them to become migrant-labourers. They were denied services. So while anthropologists were allowed to do research they were not allowed to stay over.

Pedagogy:

Student SS3 elaborates on how QwaQwa posed particular '***methodological***' problems for the anthropologists. She observes that apartheid-State restrictions, population density, unemployment and a high crime rate created an alienating '*context*' in which to do '*fieldwork*'. By tracing the student's voice in SS3 as a "speaking consciousness" (Bakhtin, 1981: 434), it is possible to see how she models the stages of making and supporting an anthropological argument. For example, she asserts that anthropologists "found it hard to do research in QwaQwa" (SS3). Then she provides the empirical evidence of why QwaQwa was an alienating '*fieldsite*' in which to conduct '*ethnography*'. Additionally, she notes that, while the apartheid government permitted '*fieldwork*', the possibility of staying over in QwaQwa was denied thereby negating the richness of '*participant-observation*' research as captured in Geertz's adage that "anthropologists don't study villages...they study *in* Villages" (1993: 22; original italics). However, importantly, she reasserts the high "methodological value" (Stocking 1992a: 282) that anthropologists give to '*participant-observation*' research in spite of difficulties experienced. So, conceptually, by combining her "conscious awareness of" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) the '***methodological***' difficulties of doing '*fieldwork*' in QwaQwa with acknowledging anthropologists' ongoing commitment to '*participant-observation*', Student SS3 indicates her understanding of the '*ontological*' problem of pursuing '*ethnographic*' research in the QwaQwa '*context*', but also the '*epistemological*' scope and

[51] The term 'closer settlement' refers to the high density concentration of people in QwaQwa as a Bantustan that contrasts with African people's pre-apartheid rural scattered villages, settlement pattern.

value of producing anthropological knowledge via situated '*participant-observation*' research.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student SS3 elaborates on the UCT anthropologists' difficulties in conducting *'participant-observation'* research in QwaQwa due to: (i) a high density population, (ii) impoverished socio-economic infrastructure, (iii) enforced labour-migration, (iv) a recession and attendant high crime rate in the homeland.

● She explains that the possibility of doing '*participant-observation*' was negated by the apartheid government's refusal to allow anthropologists to stay overnight in QwaQwa.

● She reiterates the value attributed to '*participant-observation*' by anthropologists as the ideal '*ethnographic*' research method.

● She develops an argument by asserting and empirically justifying the claim that the UCT anthropologists encountered '***methodological***' research challenges in QwaQwa as a '*fieldsite*'.

● Thus Student SS3 develops a "thick description" (Geertz, 1993: 6-7) pedagogic strategy of explaining how the negative socio-economic and political characteristics of QwaQwa encapsulated the UCT anthropologists in a '*context*' in which their definitive research-'***methodology***' of '*participant-observation*' was curtailed. She thus she explicates the degree to which 'context' can impact on '*ethnographic-fieldwork*'.

Research – Interviews:
SS4: So interviews replaced participant-observation. This was not so good as a research method. In interviews, researchers had to ask set questions so it was difficult to know if one was asking the right question. And in addition the people in QwaQwa pushed the interviews so as to tell their story but this was a selective-telling. But QwaQwa people were the victims of harsh circumstances and I understand the people's impoverishment and their sense of pride in not wishing anthropologists to see their children starving at the dinner table. So what did the anthropologists learn? They learnt that anthropologists should not insist on participant-observation but accept what people were willing to allow. Interviews do provide good information. Anthropologists should allow people to have their own autonomy.

Pedagogy:

Student SS4 notes that research '*interviews*' had to replace **'***participant-observation*' '*fieldwork*' in QwaQwa. She elaborates on the '***methodological***' challenge incumbent on anthropologists to ask the right questions in these '*interviews*' to ensure accessing

empirically valid '*field*' information. She explains that this alternate choice of research method is complicated by the additional dilemma of interviewees' "selectively-telling" (SS4) their stories and thus subjectively circumscribing the researcher's field [in]sights (Coplan, 1998). As a QwaQwa resident, that is, an 'insider', Student SS4 critically evaluates anthropologists' perceived limitation of "selective-telling" in their interview data. First, she sympathises with QwaQwa people's sense of dignity and desire to protect their children from the 'anthropological gaze' in harsh socio-economic circumstances. Then she rhetorically asks: "What did the UCT anthropologists learn?" (SS4). In response, she explains that, on reflection, the anthropologists concluded that in the interest of good research it was important to engage with people in QwaQwa on equal terms as autonomous '*interlocutors*'. She points out that this revised position allowed for a shift in anthropologists' methodological perspective from one of privileging '*participant-observation*' to listening attentively to the '*emic*' voices of their QwaQwa '*interlocutors*' as authentic sources of anthropological knowledge. Thus, Student SS4 concludes that with respect to veracity, '*field-interviews*' do provide good, that is, valid, information based on people's own self-selected forms of autonomous telling. In these comments, Student SS4 illustrates, again, a critical "conscious awareness of" and "conscious awareness about" (Miller, 20011: 390-394) the complexity of the '*field*' and how '*fieldwork-interviews*' constitute authentic '*ethnographic*' data as a form of anthropological knowledge. This "polyphony" of voices (Bakhtin, 1986: 112), those of the UCT anthropologists, the QwaQwa residents, and Student SS4, comprehensively explicate the '*ontological*' and '*epistemological*' '***methodology***' challenges encountered and resolved by anthropologists in QwaQwa as a '*fieldsite*' during apartheid.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student SS4 explains that '*interviews*' replaced '*participant-observation*' research in QwaQwa.

● She describes the challenges presented by '*interviews*' as a research tool due to the need for (i) the '*ethnographer*' to ask the right questions to his/her '*interlocutors*', and (ii) the problematic bias inherent in '*interlocutors*' "selectively-telling" (SS4) of their personal stories.

● She notes in sympathy with QwaQwa residents the need to understand '*interlocutors*' "selective-telling" (SS4) as shaped by personal circumstance, and therefore the truth value that these narratives have for an '*ethnographer*'.

● She explains that this auto-inflection in '*interviews*' proves to be a valuable '*fieldwork*' lesson for the UCT anthropologists as '*ethnographer*s' in QwaQwa.

● Thus Student SS4 explains the challenges of QwaQwa as a '*fieldsite-context*', and anthropologists' insights and professional agency (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) in addressing these '***methodology***' challenges in the field. She concludes based on critical reflection that on the premise of the acknowledged mutuality between an '*ethnographer*' and his/her '*interlocutor*(*s*)' valid '*field*' data can be gathered in '*interview*' material.

Lecturer's Response: QwaQwa:
DC2: Okay, any questions? [None]. Okay, I will deal with the QwaQwa article first. QwaQwa was historically within Lesotho but due to a reconstituting of the border some Basotho continued to live in Lesotho but millions of other Basotho now live in common South Africa as their home. The apartheid map of the homelands is a crazy disjointed pattern of islands. QwaQwa became a labour preference area for Johannesburg. Durban became the destination for Zulu labour preference. So apartheid created ethnic enclaves that resulted in more ethnic mix than before! So apartheid ethnic removals resulted in a complete failure, a case of unintended consequences as the result was opposite of what was intended.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan's DC2 statement: "I will deal with the QwaQwa article first." emphasises his pedagogic voice and dialogic engagement (Bakhtin, 1986) with Sharp's (1990) text and with Student SS1–SS4's presentation. In referring to apartheid's demographic socio-political reconfiguration of QwaQwa and Lesotho as ethnic spaces, he speaks to Seminar 11's focus on time and place, and thus reiterates the salience of '*context*' as a key ethnographic concept in the seminar. Thereafter Professor Coplan's lexical use of the phrase "labour

preference area" (DC2) indicates the SAE seminar group's local knowledge. He draws on this knowledge to develop the students' understanding across culture-contexts in his reference to 'unintended consequences' from Ferguson's (1990). In this reference, Profession Coplan is "ventriloquating" (Bakhtin, 1981; Wertsch, 1991: 59-62) Ferguson's concept as a means to (i) deepening the students' understanding of concepts as 'psychological tools' of analysis across culture 'contexts' and (ii) illustrates that comparative (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) '*contexts*' provide ethnographic insight in anthropological research and analysis.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan comments on the redrawing of demographic boundaries during apartheid to inform and contextualise Seminar 11's discussion of '***methodology***' in ethnographic research in QwaQwa.

● He speaks to the students' knowledge of apartheid's political and socio-economic policies to enhance their understanding of how '*context*' impacts doing ethnography.

● He refers to his colleague James Ferguson's concept of 'unintended consequences' (MW1, Ferguson, 1990) to comparatively (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) develop understanding of how '*context*' shapes and informs anthropology's research- '***methodology***'.

● Thus Professor Coplan begins to develop the themes of Student SS1-SS4's presentation by drawing on the SAE students' knowledge of apartheid policy and on their academic knowledge from the SAE course readings, specifically, Ferguson (1990) to emphasise that 'context', for example, apartheid, is relevant in and to anthropological research.

A new anthropology:
DC3: 1988 is an important date both within South Africa and regarding changes in the discipline of Anthropology as a moment of breaking away from old apartheid social sciences. The same was true for historians too. So we were out there at the time doing small scale participant-observation work. But from 1988 to the early nineties a Marxist moment happened at the University of Cape Town. And historians such as Peter Delius, Shula Marx and Philip Bonner of the Wits History Workshop were no longer studying the Lovedu but rather poverty and social realism. So the whole UCT Department went to QwaQwa as a group. It was a case of Caliban, the monster in the mirror in Shakespeare's play, *The Tempest.* It was a matter of you cannot look at me because you are looking in the mirror of monstrosity. So this was the dilemma that anthropologists had to face. So they were unhappy campers, not Zulu dancers! So it was a new anthropological realism of the urban in the rural. All over South Africa you have the town and the location. For example, the apartheid geography of Graff-Reinet, near the Valley of Desolation. On New Year's Eve people in Hillbrow throw fridges out of their windows.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC3 explains that with the demise of apartheid and concomitantly a paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1962) to theoretical Marxism in South African social science a new approach to understanding social processes changed academics' research orientation. Anthropologists and historians moved from a previously holistic and romantic study of cultures, for example, The Lovedu, The Zulu, to studying the structural impact of apartheid in a socio-economic and cultural geography of impoverished peri-urbanism. Professor Coplan metaphorically captures this intellectual moment of ferment, in his evocative reference to Shakespeare's character Caliban and to an antithetical form of Dadaist-like anti-apartheid social protest in Johannesburg's 'mixed-race' inner-city neighbourhood of Hillbrow. Thus, at the end of his account of social and intellectual change in South Africa (circa, late 1980s–early 1990s) in which he demonstrates the links between a historical and intellectual '*context*' and ethnographic research praxis, he explicates the meaning (Miller, 2011) of anthropology as a fieldwork-based discipline. Premised on its ethnographic methodology, he also exonerates anthropology as the study of human sociocultural circumstance as '*ontologically*' and '*epistemologically*' valid – and thus intellectually relevant as a dynamic social science.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan explains how in the late 1980s, South African anthropologists and historians applied theoretical Marxism to a study of South African society.

● He notes that this theoretical paradigm changed their research orientation from a study of the country's discrete culture groups (i.e. cultures) to analysing the structural impact of apartheid.
● He explains that this new focus entailed a shift from "small-scale participant-observation [field] work" (DC3), to researching the "social realism" (ibid) of late apartheid peri-urbanisation.

● He notes that this intellectual move marked a departure point from the segregated "old apartheid [model of] the social sciences" (DC3) to an integrated study of the impact of the "urban in the rural" (DC3).

● He illustrates this Kuhnian (1962) revolution with reference to rural Graff-Reinet's segregated 'white' and 'black' townships in contrast to urban Hillbrow's 'racially-mixed' residents' New Year's Eve social action protest.

●Thus Professor Coplan DC3 explicates the changing social fabric of South African society circa late 1980s–early 1990's with a concomitant shift in social scientist's research focus and fieldwork methods and thereby elucidates '**methodology**' as Seminar 11's metaconcept.

Seminar Students Questions:

Question 1:
ZT1: Why fridges?

Pedagogy:

Student ZT1's question engages Professor Coplan in an explanatory discussion.

Pedagogic Move:

● Student ZT1 queries the form of Hillbrow residents' social protest to clarify her understanding of its relevance and anthropological significance.

● Thus Student ZT1 uses anthropology's investigative approach to understanding social phenomenon.

Lecturer's Response – Why fridges?
DC4 [ZT1]: Carnivalistic protest! Homeland as a dumping ground but also there are class divisions too with Government agents and their stuff! So the UCT QwaQwa ethnographers used a new methodology to cope with the changing times. And the discipline was never the same again! No longer, Lovedu marriage, Lovedu beer drinks, Lovedu funerals. The new paradigm was looking at the monster for good! All other English medium Departments[52] had to change from this point on and so we began to look at the under belly in the monstrous mirror! So that performance element that you mentioned SS. People don't want you to see their real existence, the toaster myth! So via interviews are you getting an accurate picture? People feed you codswallop!

[52] Professor Coplan is referring to apartheid South Africa's segregated university system in which the language of instruction was culturally idiosyncratic, e.g. Wits University and the University of Cape Town taught students in English, whereas Stellenbosch University and Rand Afrikaans University taught students in Afrikaans.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC4 reiterates how the changing social and intellectual '*context*' of late-apartheid South Africa challenged and reshaped anthropology's research '***methodology***'. He reasserts Student SS4's explication of the need for, and evaluation of, new '*fieldwork*' methods in QwaQwa. He also reiterates that, theoretically and conceptually this changing '*context*' provoked a paradigm shift among anthropologists. He reiterates the irrevocable change in research focus from studying for example, South African Lovedu culture, to studying the political and socio-economic malaise of apartheid. Then, with reference to Student SS4's comment on QwaQwa residents' "selectively telling" their stories and limiting '*ethnographers*' access to their daily lives, he reiterates the dilemma of the performative in ethnographic research. He concludes by questioning the veracity, and thus the validity, of '*field-interviews*' as research-data and thereby problematises the authenticity and '***methodological***' worth of 'interlocutor's' '*interviews*' as ethnographic material in anthropological research.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Copland reiterates how South Africa's changing structural '*context*' impacted on anthropological theory and ethnographic research.

● He notes a paradigm shift focus from studying discrete culture groups or cultures to investigating proletarianisation.

● He explains that the anthropologist's new research agenda required a new '***methodology***'.

● He again questions and problematizes the '***methodologica*l**' veracity of '*field–interviews*' as valid '*fieldwork*' data constituting anthropological knowledge.

● Thus Professor Coplan reviews the theoretically informed changing '*ontological*' and '*epistemological*' substance of South African anthropology during the late 1980s-early-1990s with respect to a new research focus and the concomitant need for a reassessment of anthropology's '*ethnographic* ***methodology***'.

Reflexivity:
DC5: So reflexivity came in big time! The postmodern challenge to anthropologists – how do you justify your argument? It was a natural science critique. We were stopped in our tracks! And yet we thought we were onto something because we were the only ones who were out there! Maybe labour historians, they were friends of ours. Sociologists fly by in a car and drop surveys and collect them from the street later. Political Scientists engage in number crunching. And then there's our own back yard. Who are we? Where do we come from? Was I fed up with all this reflexivity about how knowledge was gathered, interpreted!

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC5 '*contextualises*' his questioning of the validity of '*interviews*' *as* '*field*' data (DC4) apropos postmodernism as an appraisal theory critiquing anthropology's '***methodology***'. He acknowledges the postmodern challenge to anthropologists to critically reflect on their discipline's claim to '***methodological***' objectivity and the necessity of justifying the legitimacy of their social-scientific arguments. Professor Coplan acknowledges:

> We were stopped in our tracks! And yet we thought we were onto something as we were the only ones who were out there! (DC5).

In his response to Student ZT1's question, he acknowledges anthropologists' need for '*reflexivity*' about their praxis but in also insisting "[W]e were out there" (DC5), Professor Coplan emphasises the empirical basis of anthropologists' '*fieldwork-****methodology***' as the premise of their arguments thereby counter-challenging the "natural science critique" (DC5) of the validity of anthropology as a social science. He substantiates this defence of the empirically-qualitative micro-level '***methodology***' of anthropology in being "out there" (DC5) in the '*field*' in contrast to the more quantitative methods of sociology and political science. Thus while acknowledging the intellectual critique of the postmodernist challenge to anthropology, he defends and asserts anthropology's academic legitimacy as a social science.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan explains postmodernism as a critical-theory challenging anthropologists' to self-reflexively (re)evaluate the scientific veracity and validity of their discipline.

● He notes the "natural science critique" (DC5) as an integral element of the postmodernism.

● He declares anthropologists' recognition of, and receptivity to, the challenge of postmodernism.

● He defends the empirical-basis of anthropology's '*ethnographic-**methodology***' as legitimate social science.

● He contrasts the survey-based research approach of Sociology and the quantitative research-techniques of political science in support of his defence of the scientific legitimacy of anthropology's '*ethnographic-**method***'.

● He recognises that Wits University's economic historians also used '*ethnography*' as a research tool.

● Thus Professor Coplan revisits the postmodern challenge to anthropologists to critique the '*ontological*' and '*epistemological*' merit of their social science discipline and acknowledges the exacting rigour of accepting this challenge.

Research dilemmas:
DC6: Requests for help wear you out! You get tired after a while. People don't tell you lies but they shape the narrative to present a version of themselves both to themselves and to the anthropologist. Payback time is part of South African culture. So there was resentment. They are all doing you a big service so there is an expectation of reciprocity. So while QwaQwa was tough, there was no going back to doing colonial anthropology. As Geertz says, "You can't say you understand people without knowing them." So my article muses on these dilemmas. I met this guy and because I was interested in migrant-labour. I wanted to ask him some questions but his response is, "Can you get me my job back?" When my reply was, "No." Off he goes!

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC6 continues his self-reflexive commentary to provide a critique of his professional practice as an anthropologist in post-apartheid South Africa. Drawing on his '*fieldwork*' experiences, documented in 'Fieldsights', he again acknowledges (i) the dilemma of "self-selective telling" (SS4) in '*interlocutor's*' '*interviews*', and (ii) his dilemma as an

'*ethnographer*' in experiencing a weariness that is in tension with the demands of the ethical practice of reciprocity between an '*ethnographer*' and '*interlocutor*'. He cites an illustrative example of a difficult recent '*fieldwork*' experience in his encounter with an unemployed Basotho miner, in which neither he, nor the miner, could (or would) assist each other in their respective professional-work quests. For, as his auto-ethnographic tale illustrates, as it was not possible for the anthropologist to get the miner his job back, then neither was the former miner willing to answer some '*interview*' questions about migrant-labour. In this series of comments, Professor Coplan is attesting to the ongoing '***methodological***' challenges of '*fieldwork*' in Student SS1-4's presentation. Yet, as Professor Coplan also asserts, with reference to the student's presentation, "QwaQwa was tough but there was no going back to doing old colonial anthropology" (DC6) because of, in happenstance tandem, (i) the '***methodological***' restrictions imposed on '*ethnographic*' research by the apartheid regime, and (ii) the critique of postmodernism that had intervened to challenge anthropologists' professional praxis and anthropology's '*ontological*' and '*epistemological*' *raison d'etre* as a social science.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan acknowledges several ongoing challenges of '*ethnographic-fieldwork*'.

● He acknowledges the need for reciprocity between a researcher and his/her '*interlocutors*' in the '*field*' but also admits to the exacting nature of this ethical principle.

● He reaffirms the dilemma of interlocutors' subjective "selective-telling" (SS4) in research '*interviews*'.

● He reasserts the difficulties of doing '*fieldwork*' in QwaQwa but notes the social-realism of the QwaQwa research experience as a new moment in South African anthropology.

● He concurs with the anthropologist, Clifford Geertz's (1993), claim that You can't say you understand people without knowing them as an adage of the postmodern turn in anthropology.

●Thus Professor Coplan reiterates that his article 'Fieldsights' is written in '*self-reflexive*' exploration of some ongoing professional dilemmas confronting South African anthropologists in post-apartheid South Africa.

Old participant-observation:
DC7: But there is one way to overcome this dilemma – old participant-observation. And over time, over beers, people get used to you. You establish relationships via fieldwork and they forget about you. So it is difficult to get in as a 'white' anthropologist even more so for a 'black' anthropologist as you have no social power. Prof. gets special treatment but a person who leaves the township and goes to Wits is not welcomed back. The attitude is one of, you are a traitor; You get your big Degree and leave us in the muck. So you go there and you stay there! It is not nice. I did it in my day but in torrential downpours you get pneumonia! If any of you want to spend six months on a poor farm in Lesotho I can find a place for you. Food cooked in rancid sheep oil. My stomach couldn't take it. I lived on Rocco packaged soups and canned food. At funerals dead tough cow cooked in sheep's fat is served and you eat it to be respectful. Take the anthropologist, Vincent Crapanzano who wrote *Waiting.* He enjoyed Cape wines and barbeques and only talked to 'white' people. Stupid me to choose Lesotho! There are only two seasons in Lesotho – eat the dust light brown and eat the dust dark brown! And when the UCT anthropologists asked about adultery. The reply was "Good Heavens *Nthati*, I don't do that! My husband may do it but I don't know about that!'' So what do you write? The people lied between their teeth! No. People lie but this is about cultural ideals about marriage and children but life doesn't allow that!

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC7 draws on his career as an anthropologist to argue that, in a post-apartheid, '*context*', '*participant-observation*', continues to be the most effective '*ethnographic*' research method. He also acknowledges that the challenges presented by the facts of social '*context*' persist, as evidenced by the difficulties described in his comments about 'outsider' ('white') and 'insider' ('black') anthropologists gaining entry to '*fieldsites*' in contemporary South Africa. Then in auto-biographical mode, he pursues his analysis of the challenges of '*fieldwork*' by sketching a graphic picture of life in the '*field*' for David Coplan, '*ethnographer*', regarding the exacting physical and psychological *rite de passage* that is "the basic constituting experience both of anthropologists and of anthropological knowledge" (Stocking, 1992a: 282). Professor Coplan also revisits the problem of interviewee "selective-telling" (SS4) as in the UCT anthropologists' experience in

QwaQwa. And, in re-posing the problematic of the veracity of '*interview*' data (DC4) he draws out an important '*ontological*' distinction between the integrity of people's ideal sociocultural values and the pragmatic truths of their everyday lives that an '*ethnographer*' seeks to '*epistemologically*' unravel, understand and faithfully capture as anthropological knowledge. Thus, the SAE seminar group understand that an 'interlocutor's' voice as "speaking consciousness" (Bakhtin, 1981: 434) does provide an authentic and valid '***methodological***' research tool, but with the caveat that their "utterances" (ibid) are best understood in a '*participant-observation–fieldwork-context*'.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan draws on his anthropological career to argue the merits of '*participant-observation fieldwork*' as the best '***methodological***' research approach to doing ethnography in post-apartheid South Africa.

● He argues that the longue durée of deep hanging-out in a '*conte*xt' enables an ethnographer to develop friendships with his/her '*interlocutors*' and thereby to overcome observer-effect.

● He notes the difficulties of negotiating entry into the '*field*' for both 'outsider' and 'insider' anthropologists seeking to do fieldwork research in South Africa.

● He draws on his personal experiences as an '*ethnographer*' to illustrate the psycho-social and physical challenges of '*fieldwork*'.

● He contrasts his choice of doing '*fieldwork*' in Lesotho with his colleague, Vincent Crapanzano's, ethnographic research in the Cape winelands.

● He revisits the UCT QwaQwa anthropologists' problematic of interviewee "selective-telling" (SS4) in order to point out the important distinction between people's ideals versus their real world experiences.

● Thus Professor Coplan ultimately argues that both versions of an '*interlocutor's*' narrative are phenomenologically truthful and thus '*ontologically*' and '*epistemologically*' valid forms of anthropological knowledge.

Research:
ZT2 [DC7]: I did research on sex and religion in a church, so I experienced this.

Pedagogy:

Student ZT2 comments on her research on aspects of sex and religion in a church community to similarly acknowledge her experience of interviewees' "selective-telling" (SS4).

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT2 compares her research experience of "selective-telling" (SS4) among members of a church congregation on the topics of sex and religion to that of the UCT anthropologists in QwaQwa.

● Thus Student ZT2 draws on anthropology's comparative (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) method across 'culture *contexts*' to illuminate how people's existential experience shape their perceptions, understanding and representation of their everyday lifeworlds.

Lecturer's Response – research:
DC8 [ZT2]: So it's not about hypocrisy but about life. So a man in town has a girlfriend and a woman on a hard farm has a boyfriend. You have him because he gives you money for blankets and jewellery and hairdos, things for yourself. So women accompany husbands to the border to ensure that they actually go to the mines. So the Basotho have ideals but life in South Africa is too hard to have or realise these ideals. And loneliness too! We are social beings.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC8 response to Student ZT2's research experience of "selective-telling" (SS4) stresses the need for '*ethnographers*' to recognise the inherent truth value of people's ideal-life scenarios. These instances of interviewee's agency in their narratives of the immediate (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) may be in contrast to what an '*ethnographer*' observes in the '*field*' but nonetheless represent essential truths about people's day to day aspirations.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan stresses the nuanced complexity of people's real world experiences and draws on his '*ethnographic*' experience of doing '*fieldwork*' in Lesotho to illustrate his point.

● He re-emphasises the pragmatic distinction between the ideal and the real in everyday life.

● Thus Professor Coplan underscores the agency in, and truth value of, "selective-telling" (SS4) in '*interview*' data Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007).

Socio-economic class:
ZT3 [DC8]: Even well-off people do it!

Pedagogy:

Student ZT3's observation draws attention to the occurrence of "selective-telling" (SS4) among all socio-economic groups.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT3 notes that "selective-telling" (SS4) is a phenomenon across all socio-economic classes.

● Thus Student ZT3 comparatively (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) acknowledges the commonality of people's agency in "selective-telling" (SS4) across socio-economic '*contexts*'.

Lecturer's Response – socio-economic class:
DC9 [ZT3]: Yes. We use our merc and drive around the *nyatsi*.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC9 endorses Student ZT3's comment and provides an ethnographic example of how wealthy South Africans drive their *nyatsi* (girlfriends) around in Mercedes Benz cars.

Pedagogic Move:

● Professor Coplan cites one illustrative ethnographic example of Student ZT3's claim of reciprocity among all socio-economic groups in South Africa.

● Thus Professor Coplan DC8 confirms people's agency (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) and common humanity as expressed in cultural forms of reciprocity.

Homosexuality:
ZT4 [DC9]: The *nyatsi* is their girlfriends. Also there are women and their girlfriends – mommies and babies. On the mines there is homosexuality but is it by preference? Lesotho

miners are not gay, like in New York. And is it the same for women with women?

Pedagogy:

Student ZT4 responds to Professor Coplan's (DC9's) comment by contrasting same sex partnerships in Lesotho and New York and questions the nature of gay relationships in the two countries.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student ZT4 explains that the South African term, *nyatsi* refers to a man's girlfriend and that the terms "mommies and babies" refers to a female homosexual partnership between a more mature woman and her younger girlfriend.

● She notes the prevalence of homosexuality on the South African mines but questions the motivation for these same sex relationships.

● She questions the contrasting characteristics of male homosexuality in Lesotho and New York.

● Thus Student ZT4 comparatively (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) analyses the nature of same sex partnerships across culture '*contexts*' so as to better understand the nature of reciprocity in human relationships.

Lecturer's Response – homosexuality:
DC10 [ZT4]: Yes. And don't forget often a migrant husband you don't know him! Marry him, get pregnant and away he goes. So the sympathetic person is the teenager next door who takes care of your child. And on the mines men share explosions and very hard working conditions. So there is a lot of same sex compassion and that entails emotional involvement. Just like post-World War II life in Britain was harsh. So when I did this work it was somehow a tribute to migrancy. So people, men and women take the options that are open to them. Move to Bloemfontein from Lesotho and find a *nyatsi.* People are quite open about it. So anthropologists had to face things. My problem was the prostitutes. "Professor, me, a prostitute? Never!" Lies of course but what do I write? It is a different kind of prostitute. Payment in kind is different from payment in cash. Some women are gangster's drug carriers but it is site specific to Joburg.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC10 responds to Student ZT4's questioning of cross-cultural differences in homosexual relationships by drawing on his knowledge of Basotho life to explain how

particular socio-economic circumstances inflect a people's agency (ibid) in their lived reality. He uses cross-cultural comparison (ibid) to emphasise this point and reiterates the need for anthropologists to be discerning about the way in which a '*context*' shapes people's choices, their agency (ibid) with integrity in their ethnographies.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan illustrates student ZT4's comments on the nature of human relationships with ethnographic examples from his expert knowledge of migrancy in Lesotho and its impact on Basotho life.

● He compares (ibid) the austerity of life in post-World War II Britain with life in Lesotho to illustrate the impact of a social '*context*' on people's real life-worlds.

● He notes that Basotho people are openly truthful about their lives, and in this regard, he underscores the veracity of '*field-interviews*' as an authentic source of '*ethnographic*' data.

● He draws again on his '*fieldwork*' experience, to reiterate the need for an '*ethnographer*' to adopt a commonsense approach to one's '*interlocutors*', to understand the impact of '*context*' on people's lives, and to faithfully represent their experience in their '*ethnographic*'- writing.

● Thus Professor Coplan notes that his '*ethnographic*' work is a testament to the stoicism of Basotho peoples lived experience of migrant-labourers.

Continuity:
JA1 [DC10]: Do they continue this back home in Lesotho?

Pedagogy:

Student JA1 questions the persistence of same sex relationships among Basotho migrant-labourers in retirement so as to better understand the nature of Basotho people's "developmental life-cycle" (Murray, 1990: 100-118), sociality.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student JA1 queries the continuance of same sex relationships among retired Basotho miners living back home in Lesotho after a career as migrant-labourers.

● Thus Student JA1 questions Lesotho miners' agency (ibid) in their life-cycle choices so as to better understand the micro-level nature of the social in Basotho culture.

Lecturer's Response – continuity:
DC11 [JA1]: They say not. But it is the same with homosexuality. A miner comes back home at forty-five and you live as a mature couple in love, humility and peace working the homestead. And there is an African life for couples who have survived the hellish life of migrancy. Many wives have gone off. Many miners are ill and maimed. But there are many devoted couples. And people in Lesotho are very poor. But anthropology is about facing up to what is and having respect for what people would like to be. So we say what is but we don't say it out of context. Okay! Next week we will discuss *Love in a Time of Aids*. This will be a follow up to what I have been saying and how to study a community in which AIDS is very prevalent. There is the issue of secrecy and going to study people who are dying. Frederic Le Marais a postdoctoral fellow in our Department did research on street traders in the Johannesburg central business district (CBD). It was one of the most courageous projects ever.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC11 in responding to student JA1's question explains that committed Basotho heterosexual partnerships are the norm in retirement. He reiterates the salience of '*context*' and the need to '*contextualise*' ethnographic findings so as to recognise that what people say they do, and what they actually do, are equally truthful accounts of their lives. In stressing this dictum about '*context*' and the veracity of '*ethnographic*' interpretation he comparatively (ibid)) explains the focus of Seminar 12 on Love in a Time of AIDS.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan explains that devoted heterosexual partnerships are normative, among retired Basotho couples.

● He describes this lifestyle in ethnographic detail in justification of his claim.

● Thus Professor Coplan reasserts the necessity of understanding the relationship between a '*context*' and a people's agency (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) regarding the life choices and behavioural patterns in their "narratives of the immediate" (ibid) so as to correctly interpret and represent their lifeworld in '*ethnography*'.

Going Native:
JA2 [DC11]: Might one go native in sympathy?

Pedagogy:

Student JA2's question about the possibility of "going native" (JA2) raises the problematic of an '*ethnographer*' losing his or her social scientific objectivity and thereby compromising the veracity of their research findings.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Student JA2 raises the dilemma of "going native" in encountering, for example, the harsh socio-economic conditions of conducting '*fieldwork*' in Lesotho.

● Thus Student JA2 further queries the challenges of anthropology's '***methodology***' as Seminar 11's metaconcept.

Lecturer's Response – going native:
DC12 [JA2]: Well there is such a thing as compassion fatigue. I am worn out. There are thieves and rapists and they will give you a sob sob story. I never buy this thing that social conditions create a person. So you have to keep your sights on the real. Anthropologists who study HIV/AIDS, means that you are studying death for a living. What do you say? Well you have to face up to reality and that is good! For example in the music industry, twenty people I have known have died from HIV/AIDS or been murdered, committed suicide or died in car crashes. But I don't belong to the music fraternity. So in South Africa the life expectancy is fifty-four, men and women. Why do I do my anthropology in Johannesburg? I do my work here and I live here. My people are here. My books are on the shelves in the Columbia library. So if you are interested in South Africa, Johannesburg is a good place to live.

Pedagogy:

Professor Coplan DC12 responds to Student JA2's question about the dilemma of "going native" in the field, by again drawing on his '*ethnographic*' experience to reinforce the need for a realist perspective in doing fieldwork. His ethnographic examples of people encountered in the field and the oft-time grim reality of life in the real world serves to delineate the meaning of a culture '*context*' as it is conceptually understood and defined by anthropologists as a creative human process and thus comprises the good, the bad and the ugly. He explains that the study of this reality constitutes his professional remit as a Johannesburg-based anthropologist.

Pedagogic Moves:

● Professor Coplan tempers the possibility and problematic of sympathetic "going native" (JA2) with his own experience of "compassion fatigue" (DC12) premised on a lifetime of '*fieldwork*' as an anthropologist.

● He portrays a realistic picture of people and their existential experiences in the real world.

● He insists on the necessity of anthropologists' acknowledging the facts of the human condition as the *sine qua non* of their professional *raison d'etre*.

● Thus Professor Coplan draws on his professional biography to illustrate the merit of his sense of worth as an '*ethnographic*' chronicler of South African urban, rural, and performance culture.

Seminar 11 Presentation: Anthropological Pedagogy Review

Pedagogically in Seminar 11, Student SS and Professor Coplan work with elements of ethnography – concepts, culture-context, narratives of the immediate and agency – to mediate a metaconceptual understanding of '***methodology***' through the ethnographic subconcepts of: '*field*' as a '*culture-context* and '*discipline*' via anthropologists '*reflexivity*' about their praxis of '*ethnography*' as a research method. Professor Coplan's opening remarks, "These two texts are written by South African anthropologists who work in the field" (DC1) introduce the double meaning of '*ethnography*' as (i) a research method – '*fieldwork*' and (ii) as a product of fieldwork – a genre text[53]. Professor Coplan's point that the texts deal with "problems of methodology and the nature of knowledge" (DC1) establish the critically '*reflexive*' purpose of Seminar 11's 'Mediation on the State of our Art'. In each article the anthropologist reflects on his ethnographic experience in a narrative of the immediate (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) and each text exemplifies the relationship between the '*field*' as a '*fieldwork*' research '*fieldsite*' in a '*culture-context*' and the '*field*' as academic praxis in anthropology as a disciplinary domain.

[53] The articles are not ethnographies. However, I use the meaning of ethnography in its broadest sense of a text – article or book that is premised on ethnographic fieldwork.

Student SS's introductory comments SS1–SS2 reiterate Professor Coplan's remarks by '*contextualising*' the texts as South African anthropologists' reflections on "problems of methodology" (DC1) in the '*field*' both during and after apartheid. In explaining that Sharp's (1990) article reflects on '***methodological***' challenges encountered in QwaQwa during apartheid and Coplan's (1998) article reflects on the relevance of anthropology in the post-apartheid era, Student SS1–SS2 draws pedagogically on '*culture-context'* and '*ethnography*' as explicatory subconcepts of '***methodology***'. Student SS1–SS2 also notes that the '*ethnographic*' research is conducted in a '*culture-context*' within a '*culture-context'*, that is, QwaQwa during apartheid and post-apartheid Lesotho as encapsulated by a broader structural '*culture-context*' of the South African political regime. Thus Student SS3 explains the abject socio-economic conditions, demographic scale and apartheid-State restrictions on '*participant-observation*' research that posed "problems of methodology" (DC1) for the UCT anthropologists in QwaQwa, necessitating an alternate '*fieldwork*' '***methodology***'.

Student SS4 then explains the anthropologists' choice of '*field-interviews*'. She problematises '*interviews*' due to the '*ethnographer*'s' need to (i) ask the right questions to one's '*interlocutors*', who tend (ii) to engage in "selective-telling so as to shape the narrative" (SS4). However, as an 'insider' QwaQwa resident, in evaluating anthropologists' perception of '*interviews*' as '***methodologically***' flawed, Student SS4 defends QwaQwa people's sense of dignity in impoverished circumstances in wishing to protect themselves and their children from the anthropological gaze. Importantly her critique draws the seminar group's attention to the 'insider'-'outsider' distinction of *emic* versus *etic* perspectives in ethnographic research. Student SS4 goes on to affirm the '*ontological*' and '*epistemological*' validity of the UCT anthropologists' QwaQwa '*interview*' data by explaining

that anthropologists learned to "accept what people are willing to allow. Interviews do provide good [i.e. valid] information" (SS4). In that they realized, "anthropologists should not insist on participant-observation … and should allow people their own autonomy" (SS4), because the veracity of '*interviews*' is informed by circumstances that inflect the "selective-telling" (SS4) of '*interlocutors*' narratives.

Thereafter commenting on student SS1–SS4's presentation, Professor Coplan DC2–DC3 elaborates on her insightful reading of the seminar texts. He gives a geo-historical synthesis of apartheid's failed race segregation policy in creating QwaQwa as a homeland for Sotho people that paradoxically brought about 'unintended consequences' (Ferguson, 1990), MW1**)** resulting in "more ethnic mix than before" (DC2). This pedagogic reference to Ferguson's concept of 'unintended consequences' illustrates that a concept as an explanatory devise acts as a 'psychological tool' (Vygotsky, 1979b: 60-61) of analysis across '*culture-contexts'*. Professor Coplan then explains a catalyst 1988 moment of intellectual change that represented a Khunian (1967) revolution in South African social science. Focusing on anthropology, Professor Coplan traces a series of disciplinary transformations to explicate the dynamic link between an '*ethnographic–fieldsite*' and anthropology as a disciplinary-domain '*field*'. He explains that the 1980s brought about a paradigmatic move from "old apartheid social science" (DC3), that is from a structural functionalist holistic model of studying cultures, for example, The Lovedu or The Zulu, to a Marxist-informed macro-analysis of South Africa's capitalist economic system. He explains that this study of "new anthropological realism of the urban in the rural" (DC3) brought about a paradigm shift from envisioning, for example, the Basotho as migrant-labourers from the periphery to the economic centre of the country's mining sector to a recognition of the integral nature of

the centre in the periphery and the periphery in the centre. Professor Coplan underscores this intellectual moment in South African anthropology and the other social sciences in his reference to rural Graff-Reinet as an iconic example of apartheid laagered town-planning of a 'white' town and at some remove a 'black' township, in contrast to the social protests of urban Johannesburg, Hillbrow's mixed–race residents' in the late 1980s.

Professor Coplan's (DC3) comments on the academic and social revolutions of late-1980s South Africa prompt student ZT1 to query the carnivalistic ethos of this social revolution. In responding, Professor Coplan (DC4–DC5) elaborates on the changing fabric of South African society and the need for anthropologists to (i) adapt their research '***methodology***' to changed socio-cultural circumstances and (ii) to take cognizance of the postmodern challenge to critically assess their ethnographic '***methodology***'. In reiterating anthropology's refocus from a holistic study of cultures to applying a Marxist analysis to South African capitalism, in which '***methodologically***' '*interviews*' replaced '*participant-observation*' research, he revisits the problematic of interviewee "selective-telling" (SS4) by rhetorically asking, "Are you [as an ethnographer] getting an accurate picture?" and provocatively suggests, "People feed you codswallop!" (DC4). Professor Coplan's assertion here, re-introduces but does not fully elaborate anthropologists' '***methodological'*** '*reflexivity*' as a response to the postmodern critique of how anthropologists gather and interpret the '*field*' data that informs their social scientific arguments – that is, how they justify the '*ontological*' and '*epistemological*' validity of their anthropological '*knowledge-production*'.

Professor Coplan's (DC5) admits to a weariness induced by the postmodern challenge but nonetheless he takes up this challenge in his '*self-reflexive*' documentation on the

'***methodological***' dilemmas of '*fieldwork*' in 'Fieldsights' (1998). In 'Fieldsights', Professor Coplan adds to the limitations of interviewees' subjectively shaping their narratives, the limitations of reciprocity (DC1) in the encounter between '*ethnographer*' and '*interlocutor*' in the '*field*'. To ameliorate these two '***methodological***' dilemmas associated with '*interviews*', Professor Coplan revalorises:

> [O]ld participant-observation … [during which] over time and over beers, people get used to you. You establish relationships via fieldwork and they forget about you (D7).

However as Professor Coplan DC7 goes on to point out even '*participant-observation*' as anthropologists' definitive '***methodology***' in the '*field*' is not without its challenges due to the problematic of researcher '*positionality*'. This dilemma relates to student SS4's 'insider' critique of anthropologists' misperception of the limitations of '*field-interviews*' in that one's '*positionality*' as an (i) 'outsider' in the '*field*' or (ii) an 'insider' member of the '*field*' community also shapes local people's perceptions of, and willingness to or lack thereof, to engage as interlocutors with an '*ethnographer*', for example, the Basotho poets (DC4–DC8). He also discusses physical discomfort in the '*field*', and returns to the dilemma of interviewees' "selective-telling" (SS4, DC4, DC6) but so as to stress the need for '*ethnographers*' to distinguish between the ideal and the real in people's stories and to recognise their agency in the truth value of their narratives of the immediate (Guy y Blasco and Wardle, 2007) about their lives.

Professor Coplan's (DC1–DC7) comments on "problems in methodology" (DC1) prompt Student ZT2–ZT4 to acknowledge her experience of "selective-telling" (SS4) in conducting research on "sex and religion in a church" community and to question the nature of

homosexuality in different '*culture-contexts*' such as South Africa and New York. Professor Coplan (DC8) explains the motivational difference in homosexuality in these two societies and again underscores the salience of '*culture-context*' in anthropological interpretation in his professional adage, "So we say what is but we don't say it out of context" (DC10). Student JA2 subsequently asks a question about the dilemma of "going native", or one's loss of objectivity in the '*field*'. To which Professor Coplan (DC11) responds by reiterating as a final point, the degree to which '*positionality*' in '*fieldwork*' shapes an 'ethnographer's-'***methodology***'.

In assessing the degree to which Student SS1–SS4 has internalized a conceptual understanding of the "word meaning" (Vygotsky, 1987: 285) of '***methodology***', Student SS1–SS4's presentation suggests that her 'insider' '*positionality*' both enables and constrains her "conscious awareness of and conscious awareness about" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) '***methodology***'. In my research interview with her in referring to teaching ethnographic methods to the undergraduate students in her first-year anthropology tutorial, Student SS's comment:

> I have taught them not to be subjective. For example if you were an insider, if you were to be in a fieldsite. You need to be aware of being an '*insider*' or an '*outsider*' (interview, 24/10/2011),

indicates that she is consciously aware of 'insider' subjectivity and methodological positionality.

In SS1 she cogently explains the historical-political '*contexts*' of Sharp's (1990) and Coplan's (1997) '*reflexive*' articles on challenges to anthropology's '*fieldwork-**methodology***' in the '*fieldsites*' of apartheid QwaQwa and post-apartheid Lesotho. In SS2, she provides the

geographic and political configuration of QwaQwa as a Bantustan '*fieldsite-context*'. In excerpt SS3, she explains the demographic and political restrictions on conducting participant-observation '*ethnography*' in QwaQwa and the anthropologists' alternate choice of conducting '*field-interviews*'. Thus Student SS2–SS3 is "consciously aware of and consciously aware about" (Miller, 2011: 390-394) how a '*fieldsite*' impacts anthropologists' '***methodology***. In SS4, she explains anthropologists' need to ask the right questions in '*interviews*' and their concern about '*interlocutors*' "selective-telling" in '*interviews*' 'ontologically' and 'epistemologically' invalidating their '*knowledge production*' as social scientists. As an 'insider', she is sympathetic to QwaQwa 'interlocutors' "selective-telling" (SS4) and notes that QwaQwa as a '*fieldsite*' provided a valuable lesson for anthropologists in their realization of the veracity of '*interview*' data. Here again, Student SS4's critical perspective is indicative of her "conscious awareness of and conscious awareness about'' (ibid) anthropology's '***methodology***'. However, in SS1-SS4's demonstration of conceptual understanding in her presentation, her 'insider' positionality appears to also limit her macro-level "conscious awareness of and conscious awareness about" (ibid) anthropologists' (i) new theoretical paradigm in responding to the post-modern challenge to their discipline in the late 1980s and (ii) how the broader socio-political '*culture-context*' impacted on anthropologists' praxis in immediate post-apartheid South Africa. Professor Coplan DC3, DC5, DC6 addresses these "problems of methodology" (DC1) in his commentary following Student SS1–SS4's presentation.

Thus in Seminar 11, working pedagogically with two elements of ethnography – agency and narratives of the immediate – (Gay y Blasco and Wardle, 2007), Student SS1-SS4's and Professor Coplan's DC1-12 present a "structure of generalization" (Vygotsky, 1987: 227) of

'***methodology***' via the interlinked subconcepts of: the '*field*' of *anthropology* as a '*fieldsite*' and '*discipline*', engaging anthropologists' '*reflexivity*', about 'ethnography' as '*fieldwork*' that 'ontologically' and 'epistemologically' informs anthropological '*knowledge production*' in their '*genre* texts', and explicates some challenges of '***methodology***' for the SAE seminar group.

Thus cumulatively, the descriptive interpretive and micro-genetic analysis of anthropological pedagogy in the four selected seminars discussed in Chapter Four, Chapter Five, Chapter Six and Chapter Seven addresses the research sub-questions:

2. How does an anthropology-lecturer draw on ethnography as a pedagogic resource in teaching anthropology?

and,

3. How do students engage with ethnography as a 'psychological tool' in understanding anthropology?

In Chapter Eight, I address research sub-question 1. And sub-question 4.

Chapter Eight

8. Ethnography as an instructional tool in teaching and learning anthropology.

In Chapter Eight, I draw on the detailed analyses of how an anthropology-lecturer uses ethnography as a pedagogic resource in teaching anthropology, and how students engage with ethnography as a 'psychological tool' in understanding anthropology. These processes have been discussed in Chapters Four to Seven. Cumulatively my analyses of anthropological pedagogy in the four selected seminars, enables me to address sub-questions:

1. What is the role of ethnography as a methodology and a genre text in a post-graduate anthropology classroom?

and,

4. How does ethnography delineate, explicate and encapsulate the professional praxis of an anthropology-lecturer?

In teaching and learning anthropology, ethnographic texts are selected by a lecturer to inform students' understanding of an epistemic task. These ethnographic texts capture through detailed description and analysis the substance and method of anthropological understandings of an ethnographic study. As an anthropological genre, ethnography analytically frames a particular set of *emic* and *etic* understandings and in explicating these understandings, it incorporates the anthropologist's assumptions and outlines the ethnographic method(s) employed by an anthropologist in conducting his/her research. It also encompasses in structural terms a network of interrelated concepts that serve as tools in conducting the ethnographic analysis and in interpreting the ethnographic research. Thus in selecting ethnographic texts, as a pedagogic resource, one of the aims of the anthropology-lecturer is to provide students with a 'psychological tool' with which to

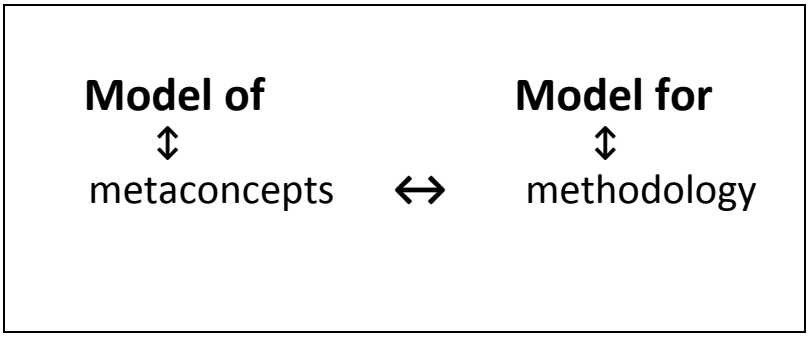
internalise understanding of the significance of concepts and methodological approaches in anthropology.

On the basis of the pedagogic processes that I have traced in the four seminars, I argue that ethnography is a 'model *of*' and 'model *for*'[54] anthropological pedagogy in the South African Ethnography course. Ethnography as a 'model of' anthropology is an abstract representation that captures the internal logic of anthropological praxis. Ethnography as a 'model for' anthropology is a genre text exemplar for anthropological praxis.

In the four selected seminars, each Student Presenter and Professor Coplan, in working with four of the empirical elements of ethnography – culture context, narratives of the immediate, agency, comparison – utilises the fifth element, ethnographic concepts as 'psychological tools' to explicate the seminar's particular metaconcept. This is achieved by drawing on ethnography as a, 'model of' anthropology. However in drawing on this ethnographically-informed understanding of each metaconcept, the Student Presenter and Professor Coplan explain the metaconcept in relation to the anthropologist's fieldwork methodology, and through this integral correlation of concept and method they illustrate how methodologically ethnography is a 'model for' anthropological praxis. I set out this set of relationships in **Tables 8a** and **8b** (below)**.**

[54] In making my argument, I draw on Geertz's (1993) argument that 'cultural patterns are a model "*of*" and a model "*for*"' social life (p. 93; original italics).

Table 8a: Ethnography as a Model of and Model for



In **Table 8a** showing the dynamic set of relationships between ethnography as a 'model of' and 'model for' anthropology via the reciprocal pathway arrows symbol ↔, I illustrate the relationship between abstract metaconcepts and methodology in anthropologic pedagogy. This schematic set of relationships provides an example of Vygotsky's idea of concepts as 'psychological tools', in illustrating how, in this instance, concepts mediate the teaching and learning of anthropology. Geertz (1993), however, also correctly notes that a model *of* and a model *for* "are but aspects of the same basic concept [and as such] they are [only] very much worth distinguishing for analytic purposes (ibid: 93). Thus with respect to Professor Coplan's course outline stating that:

> The course reading list is composed of important articles and books in South African social anthropology. … The course will take the form of a reading group, functioning as an intellectual parallel to your Honours/Masters research report (July-November, 2011),

I develop the complexity of how ethnography mediates anthropological pedagogy via the inter-connected ways in which ethnography is both a 'model of' and 'model for' in **Table 8b** (below).