Community School Teacher Education and the Construction of Pedagogical Discourse in Papua New Guinea

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Solomon School Experience Grade 3

Throughout School Experience Solomon worked quietly and privately with his group. He did not ask questions or feel the need to talk at length to me as I visited and seemed uncomfortable when I stayed to listen. For the most part, I left him to his work. He seemed shy to talk about things and seemed content to follow along with what he was asked to do. From a distance it sometimes looked as if he was under-prepared, finishing quickly with little extension work. He brought little in the way of materials, and I sometimes felt that he was uncertain as to how to proceed. Back in class at MTC, from his position at the back of the room and slightly apart from others, he gave oral reports in terms of how well his children were doing with their writing and how they were doing what he asked. He is here at Jomba Demonstration School working with two Grade three boys. 62

Visit 1:
On the first day of my school experience I was happy especially during the tesol part which was in the morning from 8:15 to 9:15. I was happy because I like working with less children. Once I was given two children to work with this year, I took them near to the fence and we sat down.
After we settled down properly I firstly told them what I was supposed to do with them. Then I introduced myself to them followed by the two children. One was Mark from the North Coast and the other western highlands and his name was Michael.
After the introduction I started telling them stories especially on how I spent my holidays. While telling the story I saw that the children were very eager to know more about me so I stopped and asked them to ask me some questions. They responded positively and ask all sorts of questions that I wasn’t expecting. eg. Are you married?

62 As I have noted earlier, asking students for oral/public accounts of their teaching and any difficulties they were having, was potentially embarrassing. Students who felt embarrassed often gave minimalist accounts of what they were doing. Solomon was in that group. With combined groups of 60 students or more, checking with every student regularly was difficult. Regular times each week were set for students to discuss problems or ask questions. Solomon never attended any of those sessions.
Later I told them to tell me theirs and they told me their stories in English. Then I asked them to write their stories and I gave them a paper each. While writing their story a plane flew over. The children watched until the plane disappeared they the children continued on their work. This was one of the distractions that occurred that time. Finally it was time so I collected their work and send them back to their class. When getting children to work on their story I sat and thought for a while whether I did the right thing or wrong and did the children enjoy my lessons. Before Mark going back to his class he said, ‘Our teacher never teach us like this’. Then I thought of it and said maybe they enjoyed my teaching so I feel I did the right thing and I was happy.

Comments
Personally I would like to comment that writing is a very good way in which we could be able to develop our skills in writing as well on how and where to put in the right grammar in their right places. Also when working with the children and correcting their work, I personally see that as I correct their work I tend to learn from them, eg. putting in right tenses in the right place by correcting them. Generally I would say that such TESOL lesson is good because children and teacher could be able to develop their skills of writing and they give more time to their writing. Children enjoyed from the beginning of the lesson to the end because I motivated them told them to conference. However I saw that the more jokes I make I am disturbing a lot therefore next time I’ll try my very best not to crack jokes too much.

Planning
At the end of the fourth week the children and I are expected to publish a story book which the stories will be written by the children. Therefore I as teacher am expected to correct and assist as closely as possible with the children so that we could write a good story book in the end. I’ll ask Michael this question, “What did you do when the rain started falling? After that what did you do? I’ll ask Mark this question, “Do your family have a car, did you travel by PMV or car?”

Solomon is unexpectedly confronted by the boys’ interest in him. What appears to have caught him is the boys’ confidence and their direct questions about his personal life. The boys, cued by the mediations of local masculinist discourse, Solomon’s friendliness, his interest in them and joking manner, are interested in more than his purpose, but in things about him. There are stories told each of his own place and doings. In what appears as a seamless move, the transition from introductions to
instruction is made. The stories are used to pedagogical advantage as Solomon asks the boys to write them down. Solomon is uncertain, reflecting 'did I do the right thing or wrong'? Weighed in part against the purpose of school experience, his own expectations, and the responses of the children to his request, he feels reassured and rewarded through Mark's comment, 'Our teacher never teach us like this'.

For Solomon the pedagogical interest in the session centres on the writing. He notes, however, the dialogical trace that teachers' work informs children and children's work informs teachers ('... when working with the children and correcting their work, I personally see that as I correct their work I tend to learn from them'). He notes also the benefits of the increase in the amount of time for writing that these sessions offer. In the midst of this introductory exchange Solomon maintains a friendly 'joking' disposition, the lesson is characterised by him allowing the boys to 'conference', to talk to each other about what they are doing. They speak English quite well and he is not concerned with either the code that they use or that they might copy from each other. He is it seems, beginning with the end in mind, the requirement that he and the children 'publish a story book which the stories will be written by the children'.

Visit 2:
As soon as we were dropped off at Jomba Community School gate I walked straight up to "3a" class ready for my TESOL activities. Not long we were called together and were given our children whom we worked with. When my children came I first of all greeted them, then asked them some few questions about their weekend. Then we walked hand in hand to a shade. I then began by reading their own story to them and then asked them to rewrite and add in some more. However, their responses were not so good of half half. In which one child which was Mark rewrote but Michael said nothing and did nothing much he just erased some words off and then began to write few things at the back. Generally the response that time was fifty or half because one child rewrote but the other not really much effort. At last it was time so I thanked them for their participation and then sent them back to class.

Feelings
According to the children's response I thought that maybe Michael didn't eat in the morning and came to class. Therefore he didn't participate actively. The other feeling that I felt was that because we were not comfortable the children didn't like to work. So when I saw that I had all sorts of thoughts and feelings like maybe Michael doesn't
want to read his story but then I read it so he didn’t participate properly or actively in the TESOL class. Why talk too much about Michael? because the first time he was an active boy who participated actively during the first lesson and didn’t seem to be active the second time.

Comments
I learned a lesson therefore (from Michael) in future I will assist them as closely as possible that I could so that whoever is trying to be lazy or do what, I’ll make sure he’ll do his work not by forcing him but in some ways to motivate them to their work eg. by buying present for the top story writer etc. The other thing that I told the two children to negotiate if possible but they tend to be independent meaning they like to do things individually and as a result I see that one did more than the other so next time I’ll ask and make sure they work together.

Planning
By thinking too much about what we are to do with our stories I see that the children are to cooperate so that we could make a very successful book. Also by thinking too much I also need to draw and think of what to put on the cover of the book. As a teacher I also need to correct the children’s work in order to produce a very successful book. I will first of all next week Wednesday going to give the children their story and ask them to read it themselves. In that way they can also develop their skills of reading. Also I’ll ask them to read their story and then read it aloud to me and the other child.

Solomon is preoccupied with the different performances of Mark and Michael. Why Michael should write little and continue to erase what he was writing. His concerns range from thinking that Michael’s lack of responsiveness may be that he ‘didn’t eat in the morning’, that the working circumstances under the tree were not comfortable, that Michael was offended that Solomon had read his story publicly. In looking at Michael’s work I noted that it appeared that he had run out of ideas, that it was difficult for him to pick up the thread of what had happened two weeks ago (what he was writing about), that the issue was not so much motivation but knowing how to improve the details of the string of events he had documented (and knowing why that would be important).

Solomon sees his role as a motivator and rewarner. In the absence of an explicit learning procedure his interest is in facilitating a working relation between the boys so that they can ‘negotiate’. The presumption that both boys are able to collectively do
what he has asked is strong. I consider that Solomon misrepresents the problem and needs a metalanguage for communicating what he knows about writing. My considerations are momentarily driven by my pedagogical interests in a more focussed dialogical teaching. (why doesn’t he step in and show Michael what to do?). In the space between stimulus and response I wait, thinking, ‘What would a pedagogy of peer cooperation and interdependence look like? What social and cultural instinctiveness brings Solomon to this point? How much am I interpolated with a view of teaching as teacher led? What learning opportunities, engagements and inspirations are possible in the working relations Solomon is trying to constitute?’ I note Solomon’s interest in ‘buying present for the top story writer’ and consider how buying and giving a gift satisfies both the demands of ‘reward pedagogy’ and community norms of compensating those offended?.

Solomon’s interest in ‘negotiating’ is a way of having children remain close in their work habits and output, something he considers to be imperative,

I told the two children to negotiate if possible but they tend to be independent meaning they like to do things individually and as a result I see that one did more than the other so next time I’ll ask and make sure they work together.

It is a lesson to him that ‘independence’ and doing things ‘individually’ generates uneven responses.

In reading Solomon’s planning I am stopped by his reference ‘thinking too much’ (which I take to mean ‘thinking a lot’). I sense in his planning that his involvement is strategically informed by his sense of appropriacy.

As a teacher I also need to correct the children’s work ... I will... give the children their story and ask them to read it themselves. In that way they can also develop their skills of reading.

For a moment I see images of children working with adults sorting yams, not being told beforehand how to do it but working cooperatively, looking at others working around

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63 I had been concerned to play down what I considered to be ‘autonomous’ teaching orientations, students passing on skills and forms with little emphasis on the context of meaning. In my observations I looked for evidence of students informing their negotiations and dialogues, their teaching, with ways for children to ‘objectify’ their writing.
them and being corrected only when a mistake has been made. I wonder if this might be what I am observing, a trace of community discourses.

Visit 3:
The third TESOL visit it was in the morning. I firstly went to my children’s class (3A) as soon as I was drop off at Jomba. To my surprise my two children Mark and Michael they were waiting for me underneath a tree which is near their classroom. They were very happy to see me so as I to see them. Later I got them and we went and sat underneath a coconut tree. It wasn’t time yet to start but we just went sat down tell stories and make fun. Not long the bell went so I firstly told them that I expect them to rewrite their stories in a good handwriting so that other people can find it easy to read. After they had rewritten their story the first boy was Mark so I asked him to read his own story to me and he read his own story effectively like a Grade six and I was amazed. Then Michael read his story but not really clearly like Mark. Soon, as I tried to tell them what we are to do next week the bell went so I sent them to their classroom after saying thank you very much to them.

Feelings
I was impressed that day because the children did things that I wasn’t really expecting them to do eg. waiting for me and the very unique thing was how Mark read his story because he read fluently like a Grade six student. I really enjoyed because I could see that the children were interested in me and as a result the children did things that I wasn’t expecting. Also I could see that the children enjoyed themselves too by looking at their responses which was very positive.

Comments
According to my point of view about the third lesson I could see that the children really enjoyed and that brought to my attention that the children would really like to express their feelings in their story in classroom display on the stories they had written. As a result or main thought behind them they really worked very hard. Another very

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64 As Davies notes in an observation that has wide application in this study, ‘... new storylines do not instantly replace the old-they live alongside them, they inhabit and are inhabited by contradictory discourses, contradictory patterns of desire. And any disruption to old relations or power must necessarily involve attempts to speak and re-speak both the old and the new, each with their multiple fractures, their multiple contradictions’ (1994:52).
interesting thing that I saw was that Mark and Michael really compete against each other to finish their story and as a result of their competition they finished their work before the time allowed for the lesson. In the future since they compete, I will make sure I will have present or prize for them so that after their work they could be happy to get their reward of being the hardworking boys. In that way I could encourage them to work harder.

Planning
During the next lesson I will provide the children with glue, stapler, sticky tape, colours and then we all will contribute towards the publishing of the book. I will try to buy a little present for each child for their wonderful effort in publishing the book.

    Solomon is again faced with the unexpected. For Solomon the children wait for him as a mark of interest in him, interest which in his view, translates into pleasing classroom performances.
    I could see that the children were interested in me and as a result the children did things that I wasn't expecting.
Mark receives special mention,
    ‘... he read his own story effectively like a Grade six and I was amazed’.
In what appears as a competition to please the teacher, Solomon notes,
    Another very interesting thing that I saw was that Mark and Michael really compete against each other to finish their story and as a result of their competition they finished their work before the time allowed for the lesson.
Solomon's endorsement of the way the children compete appears at first to contrast with his earlier interest in having them 'negotiate'. But here the 'end' is getting the writing completed, and the reward is for the hard work that resulted in an earlier than expected completion, even though it effectively reduced the time available for the writing to be improved.
Solomon provides another reading of these events, however, which values the use of rewards to encourage children to work harder. Such a reading potentially subverts the reward of having work displayed by making the boys' future efforts accountable to a system of external rewards.
    In the future since they compete, I will make sure I will have present or prize for them so that after their work they could be happy to get their reward of being the hardworking boys. In that way I could encourage them to work harder.
Visit 4:
On the fourth day I went into the children’s class joined them in their morning prayer and song. After that I went and sat with them on their desk. Then we greeted each other after greeting I told Michael and Mark we must complete our book now. They both had written their stories but they both haven’t got their drawings done so firstly I gave Mark a colour (pencil) and asked him to colour his work and I did the same to Michael. Not long they had finished their colourings, however Michael was the first one to finish colouring so I asked him to draw on the cover of the book and he drew “a man walking the rain with a house” on the right hand side of the cover. Later I asked Mark to draw his so he drew on the left hand side “a man waiting with a spade in the rain”. Finally I told the chn to draw a red line around their story so they went ahead and did it within a minute. Then I said thank you to them and went for teaching with Grade “five Aee”.

Feelings
Michael, Mark and I were very happy because we were working on our finished written stories to be published. Personally I felt very happy because the two children were being able to draw compared to other children who said to their teacher, “teacher I don’t know how to draw”.

Comments
Personally as a teacher working closely with Mark and Michael I could see that cooperation tend to be very effective as the days of being with the children increases and the two children really cooperate in doing things eg. I saw Mark helping Michael to colour his drawing by giving him the right colours which he thinks is the right colour to be used. From the fourth lesson I could be able to observe them that they learned how to use the colours especially right colours for the right thing eg. Michael used brown colour to colour his house and too, brown colour to colour this man. As far as I observed on that day Mark and Michael were very happy because they used colours to make their story and drawing looked very attractive that some chn came to see their work.

Planning
Since the task of making or publishing a book is finished I am planning/thinking that next week I will bring or take the published book to them, show it to them and make sure they read their own book and take it around to show their fellow children. I will also try to look for a white clear plastic and cover the book because otherwise if rain, or student hold it, it would easily be made dirty and be spoilt.
The cooperative disposition Mark and Michael bring to these tasks is a strong constitutive element of Solomon's pedagogical relation with them. He is at times, constituted as a teacher through their work and abilities.

Michael, Mark and I were very happy because we were working on our finished written stories to be published. Personally I felt very happy because the two children were being able to draw compared to other children who said to their teacher, "teacher I don't know how to draw".

Much of Solomon's satisfaction is a result of what he sees as the developing cooperation between Mark and Michael. It is this relation which seems largely accountable for this particularly pedagogy.

Personally as a teacher working closely with Mark and Michael I could see that cooperation tend to be very effective as the days of being with the children increases and the two children really cooperate in doing things...

Again, what Solomon sees contrasts somewhat with previous observations. The emphasis upon cooperation as a value, however, appears largely utilitarian and circumstantial to suit his immediate purposes. Yet there is in the sense that he reports 'cooperation' an emphasis that the writing and talking together as a means of attaining knowledge occurs predominantly between Mark and Michael, that Solomon's role is more supervisory, monitoring, directing and correcting.

Children's recount drafts

The following texts with Solomon's corrections, overwrites and interpolations, are symbolic of the interaction between him and the boys. They show the boys' writing to be under Solomon's editorial control.

Michael

One night I and my mother sleep in the night.

One night my mother and I slept (o/w) in the night

While sleeping dead father

And my father dead came to our house. And I was frighten ed

ed -o-up

and I (c/o) was shouting and my mother wokup.

when my mother woke up. Next my father runaway and we went disappeared
back to sleep. Next morning I tell my friends that last night my father dead

came to our house and I was very frighten ed. And ^ I came to school

Afternoon then I went back home and my mother tell me dont be
told

frighten again. Now I won't be frighten I and my mother sleep.
again

Mark At Night
One night we all went to sleep but I didn't sleep. I was sitting down and
thinking. When I was thinking one man knocked on the door. I opened the

door and I saw a man with a gun. He trying to kill me and I was shouting.

My father and my mother wakeup from bed and rang the police. The police

came and get this man. Then they went to police station. The police hit

him and put him inside the jail.

Visit 5:
On the fifth day as soon as I got the children out of their classroom especially the
children whom I worked with namely Mark and Michael. As soon as we settled down I
thanked them for their hard work in publishing the book about their experiences or
holidays. Then I read them the story books (I) Little Chimbu (II) The Lost and Found
Ball. While I was reading the book Michael came closer and closer because he wanted
to see the pictures as I read the story to them. When the story books were completed I
told them that they are to write an imaginary or made story. Without me telling them
what to write Mark got a ruler ruled his margin and started writing. However it was
time so I told them to complete it during the week and next week (complete) I'll correct
it.
Feelings
The children and I we’re very happy because we did complete and published a book of a own title Michael and Mark’s story. I was very pleased with the way Mark did especially without me telling them to write he just went ahead and started writing and Michael followed by writing. Personally I observed that they love writing according to my observation through the way they behave towards writing their imaginary story.

Comments
Since the beginning up until now the last time when working with Mark and Michael I observed that the children seems to be working on their own. As that I didn’t find some big or serious problems especially finding difficulty in helping them out to write their stories. Specifically I mean children are very good especially Mark and Michael in writing stories. Generally children especially Mark and Michael learnt that the more they write the better they are becoming to write better and better. As well the more they think and write the better they are developing in their usage of English. According to the way children behave towards me I could clearly see that they are starting to be more friendly and as close as they could to me.

Planning
Next week I’ll first of all check whether they had completed their work already or not yet. After that I will try to read a new book to them, ask them to conference with their work, help as closely as I could so that we could produce a better book this time.

Solomon directs but does not compete with Mark who is anticipating what is required and going ahead, much to Solomon’s approval.

When the story books were completed I told them that they are to write an imaginary or made story. Without me telling them what to write Mark got a ruler ruled his margin and started writing.

He finds evidence is accumulating to support some general observations about Mark and Michael that

Since the beginning up until now the last time when working with Mark and Michael I observed that the children seems to be working on their own. As that I didn’t find some big or serious problems especially finding difficulty in helping them out to write their stories.
... the more they write the better they are becoming to write better and better. As well the more they think and write the better they are developing in their usage of English.

In the face of little contrary evidence it is difficult for him to resist this momentary accounting of the children's writing development and the reasoned positions that it opens up, that learning is going on, that their 'usage of English' is developing. But what is the basis of that evidence, no 'big or serious problems' and 'working on their own'. For me, 'working on their own' initially meant the separate spaces Mark and Michael inhabited physically and mentally, when they wrote and drew upon what they knew. It was not until later that I saw it also in terms of a pedagogical distance developing between Solomon and the children. In hindsight what was not clearly evident to either Solomon or I was the way in which the existing children’s pedagogical resources were being quietly plundered with little real renewal. 65 This lack of pedagogical replenishment, is for me, read in the children's drawing closer to Solomon, According to the way children behave towards me I could clearly see that they are starting to be more friendly and as close as they could to me.

Though there were moments of unease and concern along the way over the relationships students were developing with their children, it is only now as I write that I see how my words to students to develop close working relations required further qualification, particularly in terms of students' sensitivity to the play of knowledge/power relations, and how children might interpret them and react, and how such relations might colonise the 'integration' codes of the community. 66

Visit 6:

I was sick and didn’t go for the school experience but on behalf of me my sister Rhonda got my two children and told them what to do. My sister asked them about what I did with them and Mark replied saying our teacher told us to write an imaginary or made story and Michael and I we had completed it and we brought it now.

65 For all its currency, Friere’s critical assessment of some kinds of teaching and learning as ‘banking’ (knowledge being deposited and withdrawn), does not touch on the way learner’s pre-existing knowledge deposits can be exploited and eventually overdrawn.

66 I began to see parallels with previous School Experience skills based sessions where children were taken out in groups to be practiced on.
My sister got their stories and read through it. However, their stories were not really in a complete story form, so my sister Rhonda asked them some questions especially Mark, like: “What did the police do?” After that what did the police do with the man?” “Once the police left what did you do, your father and you?” Once my sister asked such questions it helped Mark complete his story.

When she asked such questions Michael was an intelligent child in which he felt as if the same questions were being asked and he was to answer. As a result of such thinking Michael completed his incomplete story which he thought he had already completed, by asking the questions himself and further expand his story. After all my sister told me that the session was good. She said also that she enjoyed working with my children and said she wished to have my two children in her class of TESOL activities or sessions.

**Feelings**

Though I wasn’t there to see my children I was very pleased to hear from my sister that my children Mark and Michael did respond to my sister very positively. I am really impressed with the way Mark responded to my sister especially saying ‘Our teacher told us to write up an imaginary story and here we brought our story’. The very interesting thing that made me felt very happy was that the way Michael reasoned out the questions with reflection and complete his story writing.

Personally I would proudly like to mention that the children to my point of view they are learning something especially to learn how to spell a word correctly each time, eg. at first Mark used to spell the word ‘knock’ like this ‘nok’ however to my surprise I see that he seemed to be developing everytime with his spelling.

**Planning**

During the next lesson after my sister came and told me all about what she did with my two children Mark and Michael I thought of doing the following activities:

- (a) ask them to read what they had written
- (b) fill in some missing words if there were some words missing
- (c) Rewrite and read their own story to the class

*In Solomon’s absence Rhonda (a ‘sister’ from the same region)* encourages the boys to further explore their stories, to extend and expand them. *Though he is*

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*67 Solomon marks his connection to community discourses by referring to Rhonda in kinship terms, rather than using ‘peermate’ or ‘classmate’ which are common. By*
absent, Solomon is impressed by reports of Mark’s regard for his request to write their stories during the week, ‘Our teacher told us to write up an imaginary story and here we brought our story’. He is also impressed by the report that Michael, through reasoning and reflection, questioned his own story and completed it. These aspects of the boys learning behaviour are valued by Solomon, they are rewarding to him. Jointly, they represent dispositions of unquestioning loyalty, respect, accomplishment, a willingness to learn from the experience of others and to act independently. Solomon is able to identify with these characterisations of the boys, they exemplify highly regarded qualities of male behaviour. That such responses are detailed by Rhonda illustrates how well she recognises these as constitutive moments of masculine discourse and knows how Solomon will be impressed.

Visit 7:
The children and I first of all had a little talk mainly about my absent. After that I asked the children to read their own story. Firstly Mark took his story out and started to read, but amazingly to my attention I noticed that Mark couldn’t be able to read his own hand written story properly. After Mark went through reading his own story Michael stood up to read his. Michael however, read his story very clearly compared to Mark. But Michael seemed to have a lot of his words in Pidgin form, eg. Nok to Knock, agen for again etc.

Once they finished their readings I told them to check their spelling and so they checked it or went through it and said they couldn’t figure out their spelling mistakes assuming that everything is just alright.

However when I got their papers to check on the spelling and their sentences, I found that most of their spelling were like pidgin way of writing and spelling so I corrected

marking Rhonda this way Solomon opens a space within the community discourses of which they are both a part: Solomon’s respect for Rhonda as a ‘sister’, and trust that she will take care of his children, her apparently detailed accounting of the boys’ behaviour, his noting of her wish to have his children in her class, all bear traces of masculinist community discourses which inform the institutional relations between Solomon and Rhonda.

68 Mark’s rhetorical response is quoted by Solomon, its rhetorical force is not just in the content of the message, but in its topoi, what Freadman(1994) refers to as what a statement ‘knows’, its historicity. In this statement Mark demonstrates links with wider patriarchal discourses, its values, ideologies, attitudes and powers.
them and told them that they got the concept but its only that their spellings were written in Pidgin form. After corrections I told them that next term when we come back from the holiday we will complete writing and publishing with illustration. At last I said thanks and wished each other best of luck and went to class.

**Feelings**

On that day I was very happy that when I went for my teaching of maths my sister asked me what's wrong you seem to be very happy. I told her that I am happy because the children knew what they were doing. Even to make it worse they went ahead to write their second draft without me telling them what to do especially writing out of the second draft.

**Comments**

During the lesson our conference seems to be improving each time. It seems to me that the closer I assist the children they tend to improve on their skills of writing stories therefore next time and onward I would make sure that I am as closest as possible to the children so that I could be able to help them in their learning. The children from the beginning up until now I could see that they had learnt a lot of new spelling words or vocabulary. Even from my point of view I see that the more they write they are developing their writing skills. After all Mark, Michael and I really enjoyed the session because now the children are so familiar that they felt free to do anything especially not feeling scared to ask me of anything especially things to do with their writing mainly spelling words to them that they found difficult.

**Planning**

During our next lesson which is after the term break we will straight away go in to writing of the final draft and illustrating our own stories. Once the final draft and illustration is finished the children and I will publish our books.

*It is the week before the holiday break. Solomon comments on some unexpected responses from Mark and Michael. Mark who has read well in the past has difficulty with reading the story he has handwritten the week before. Michael reads better but has mostly 'Pidgin' spellings (phonetic spellings). Solomon is not disturbed by this and corrects their work commenting that 'they got the concept but it's only that their spellings were written in Pidgin form'.

*Solomon continues to describe the closeness of his group and the benefits of working closely,*
It seems to me that the closer I assist the children they tend to improve on their skills of writing stories therefore next time and onward I would make sure that I am as closest as possible to the children so that I could be able to help them in their learning.

Reflecting my earlier concerns about the nature of the teaching relationship I am interested that Solomon notes that it is only now that the children are ...

... so familiar that they felt free to do anything especially not feeling scared to ask me of anything especially things to do with their writing mainly spelling words to them that they found difficult.

While Solomon interprets this positively as a sign of the productive learning posture of the group I see that the boys have finally come to a position that others have arrived at some time earlier, having the confidence to display weakness, to ask their teacher for help particularly, with spelling. I wonder if the nature of the writing has become more demanding or that perhaps as Solomon hints, the relationship has not been very open till now. I suspect that the boys’ ‘negotiations’ have only been able to take them so far, that their part in the teaching/learning relation has been, at least in part, constituted by Solomon’s expectations of pupil initiative and autonomy.

Visit 8
First thing when the children and I met I asked them to tell me what they did on the holiday. Mark said he did nothing and Michael said that the spent his holiday up at North Coast with his mother. After that I gave the children new papers with their second draft of their story and told them that this would be the last draft so do it neat and tidy. To my surprise Mark work very fast that he finished his story and went to drawing after I told him to draw. On the other hand I was very very angry. I was very angry because the way Michael wrote his story was not like a story either. I corrected him the first time, he kept on doing the same mistake over and over again. While doing that the time was running and I had to go for my maths teaching so I helped Michael as close as possible specifically in spelling the words, readings some of the sentences of his own written sentences that he could not be able to read. Though I had problems or difficulties in the end I was satisfied because I got their stories already written.

Feelings
On the day I was very angry and happy because Michael seemed to be doing the same type of mistakes over and over again. However I was really pleased with Mark because
he did the work done himself without seeking too much assistance from me. Also make me really happy when he read his own story very fluently with clear pronunciation of the words. Generally I was satisfied during that day because of Mark really made me feel happy with his attitudes.

Comments
That day our conferencing was very poor because the children went on doing their work especially writing of their final draft. On that day I spoonfed alot to Michael he doesn’t understand what he is doing. So I fed all the necessary information.
Time on doing the lesson we went beyond because the delays of Michael that we even finished last. Despite the problems we have faced I personally see that the two children they were satisfied of the work that they had done. As for me as the teacher I was discouraged when I see that one child is dependable than the other and really I didn’t enjoyed very much that because Michael couldn’t make it to my expectation especially for complete the whole thing by drawing his story’s character.

Planning
Next time I will provide colour pencils, glue and stapler for the children to use to complete the book! Next time I won’t spoonfeed any child but instead I’ll tell or advise him to do it and discover things himself. The very vital thing that I’ll do next week is to start involving the children with an activity which I think that would be suitable and the children will write a report about it. I will just help in writing of their report, about a particular thing.

Somewhat in disarray, back after the holidays, in the session in which the stories are to be published Solomon is frustrated by Michael’s repeated difficulties but pleased with Mark’s independent efforts. It is in the midst of these extremities that Solomon expresses his dissatisfaction.

On that day I spoonfed alot to Michael he doesn’t understand what he is doing.
So I fed all the necessary information.
Michael whose learning strategies have sustained him so far in this relationship finds himself suddenly disenfranchised of ability. His inability to meet Solomon’s expectations without having the work done for him appears to be a main cause of Solomon’s discouragement.

Next time I won’t spoonfeed any child but instead I’ll tell or advise him to do it and discover things himself.
I sense that Solomon feels overcome by circumstances yet how could such circumstances be more successfully mediated?

As for me as the teacher I was discouraged when I see that one child is dependable than the other and really I didn't enjoyed very much that because Michael couldn't make it to my expectation...

What ends are ultimately desirable, and by what means? How could Solomon's dependencies be more educationally negotiated? In moving forward to look to next week's activity both sets of concerns are momentarily eclipsed.

Visit 9:
During that day the children and I firstly decided to catch Geckos so we went into the toilet to search for Geckos but couldn't find any. After a while I changed my thought and said we must catch ant especially Kurakura so we went to a tree and see lots of Kurakura. Mark and Michael really enjoyed playing with Kurakura. Once Michael just tried to catch one the Kurakura ran away then turned back, climbed up on to Michael's finger and bit Michael. Michael got angry and smashed some of the Kurakuras. Later we found that all the Kurakuras were dead so fortunately there were three Kurakuras left. We got one each came and sat down and discussed about the Kurakura that it lives everywhere, going on to describing some of its aspects and characters.

After that I told the children to write their first draft about the Report. While working on their report Michael asked me to spell him some of the words like everywhere, live, snake etc, But I told him you spell it yourself and when he did he got the spelling correct. Later on Mark ask me to spell 'everywhere' for him but I told Michael to spell and he did spell the correct word to Mark. After all I see that Mark and Michael really enjoyed that day maybe because its their first time to write a report.

Feelings
I was very pleased and happy that day because the children work on doing things beyond my understanding that I expected that to do especially Michael and Mark even talked to the Kurakura like, 'you think you man ah? If I want to kill you all I'll bring my mortein and spray you all'.

Comments
Generally the days session was very enjoyable as far the children and I are concern. We really had a good fun with the Kurakuras. I find it a little bit hard to explain to the children how to write a Report. Despite me knowing little of how to write a report with
small information given to the children, Mark and Michael went ahead to write their first draft of the Report and what we did especially Kurakura. Though the “Do” was very short we really enjoyed ourself because the Kurakura bite us too and we really enjoyed.

Planning
The children and I will firstly go into discussion about what we did. Then I will tell them to write the second draft of their report.

The events of this account are mediated by various displays of masculinist discourse, displays which are most visible during the activity parts of the lesson: the hunting for Geckos and Kurakuras (large green tree ants); Michael being bitten getting angry and ‘smashing’ ants; noting the strategies that the disturbed ants use to fend off threats,

Once Michael just tried to catch one the Kurakura ran away then turned back, climbed up on to Michael’s finger and bit Michael.

Personifying the ants as ‘men’;

Michael and Mark even talked to the Kurakura like, ‘you think you man ah?’,

and feeling invested with the power to take life,

If I want to kill you all I’ll bring my mortein and spray you all’.

The possibility of other positions, other ways of acting and reacting to these circumstances, different understandings, appear not to be visible to Solomon and the boys. Within the context of these events what is seen are opportunities to experience absolute power and control over the already vulnerable. It is not only Michael who engages the ants this way, for as Solomon notes,

Though the “Do” was very short we really enjoyed ourself because the Kurakura bite us too and we really enjoyed.

The feelings of play, enjoyment and risk described above contribute to the group’s sense of autonomy. Similar autonomous dispositions are manifest in the way Solomon manages the problems Michael faces with spelling.

... Michael asked me to spell him some of the words like everywhere, live, snake etc, But I told him you spell it yourself and when he did he got the spelling correct. Later on Mark ask me to spell ‘everywhere’ for him but I told Michael to spell and he did spell the correct word to Mark.
Solomon who has decided against ‘spoonfeeding’ asserts his authority and directs Michael to spell the words for himself. When Michael is able to do so, the effectiveness of Solomon’s strategy of developing learner autonomy appears to be confirmed.

Visit 10:
The day that time was fine. We see everybody were happy going on to do the various “do” activities. However, as for me and my two children Mark and Michael we went on to writing of the second draft of the little ‘do’ activity that we have done or did. The children went on doing their work on writing of the second draft. I see that the children are developing their skills of writing. I said this because in the past I used to see them looking at the word and writing letter by letter but this time it makes me felt happy. The children now even could just write like the upper grades reading what’s on the board and write without looking at the word to get letter by letter. I saw Mark did it and when I saw Michael, he too did the same and I am very pleased and thanked the two children.

Feelings
I was very very happy that day because of the children’s attitudes especially in the way they rewrite their story or Report. They didn’t waste too much time.

Comments
Over all the day’s work was very well run the children look very active in doing or writing Reports on the Kurakura. By observing the children and working with them as close as possible I could see that the two children seem to be improving therefore I believed that my presence with the children at Jomba is useful because children could be able to learn something from me.

Plans
- firstly ask children to read their own story to me and others
- tell the children rewrite and write their final drafts very neat and tidy.

Solomon notes what he sees as improvements in the children’s level of dependence in writing.

... in the past I used to see them looking at the word and writing letter by letter but this time ... (t)he children now even could just write like the upper grades reading what’s on the board and write without looking at the word to get letter by letter. I saw Mark did it and when I saw Michael, he too did the same ...
What Solomon continues to look for is evidence of autonomous or independent activity, and in finding this he acknowledges that he has had an influence.

*I could see that the two children seem to be improving therefore I believed that my presence with the children at Jomba is useful because children could be able to learn something from me.*

What is interesting is that when the children have sought assistance, for the most part they have been forced back on their own or each others’ resources. Solomon is continually making discoveries about them, what they are doing and how they are doing it. What is not accounted for here, however, is the way the children’s stories are corrected, the cleaned up accounts that are put on the board to be copied, and what Solomon calls spoonfeeding ‘giving them every little bit’. Solomon does not appear to see these as teaching strategies, or that they impact significantly upon the children’s learning only more on their production. Perhaps to suggest such would be to undermine his interest in developing pedagogical attitudes of autonomy and independence.

**Visit 11:**

First of all in the morning under the toilet Mark, Michael and I, we were greeting each other. After greeting each other I got the children’s Report which is their second draft and told them to read one at a time. Mark read his story after Michael had finished reading his. When they had finished reading their report I got their Report and looked through it. While looking through I did some corrections that were necessary. Also I remove some of the words that I think were not relevant are irrelevant to the Report.

Once I had looked through it I gave it back to them and told them to write their report again. In the past I used to have good times but on that day I had a tremendous (terrible) time with the two children.

**Feelings**

In fact I was very annoyed and felt like belting the children because the children were asking every now and then and they were expecting me to feed them with every bits and pieces however in the end I was very pleased because they completed their writing of the Report on the do, talk and Record.

**Comments**

From the observation on that day I could say that the children were not in a good mood to do anything. I said this because the children were so reliant to me. The way of
conferencing seem to be improving everytime especially children and I seem to be coming closer and closer to work and do things together. Above all I could say that the day’s session was bad because children don’t know what they are doing and kept on asking me every minute.

Planning
- Next week there isn’t much to do the only thing is to copy their final draft neatly and tidily into the final piece of paper.
- Children will draw diagram of an ant and labelled their parts.

What turns out to be a ‘terrible’ day for Solomon is attributed to the children’s uncooperative mood and over-reliance on him.

From the observation on that day I could say that the children were not in a good mood to do anything. I said this because the children were so reliant on me.

Throughout the previous accounts the notions of ‘conferencing’, (working closely) and ‘working independently’ (working apart) have been juxtaposed. Here Solomon details a breakdown in the relationship. A breakdown that tests the distinctions made above between times for working together and working apart, what happens when children require extra or unforseen assistance?

The way of conferencing seem to be improving everytime especially children and I seem to be coming closer and closer to work and do things together. Above all I could say that the day’s session was bad because children don’t know what they are doing and kept on asking me every minute.

What Solomon details confirms some of my observations of his work with Mark and Michael,

I got their Report and looked through it. While looking through I did some corrections that were necessary. Also I remove some of the words that I think were not relevant are irrelevant to the Report. Once I had looked through it I gave it back to them and told them to write their report again.

Solomon’s ‘conferencing’ is here characterised by little negotiation and scaffolding of the children’s conceptual work, rather he makes the changes himself and has them copy them.

As with other student teachers, Solomon experiences the turbulence that comes with bringing children not just to an understanding of what they are expected to do, but also
the ability to do it. While it is understandable that frustrations occur, the feelings
towards violence, in this account, as a means of regulation/retribution is not seen by
Solomon to violate any educational interests that he may have.

In fact I was very annoyed and felt like belting the children because the children
were asking every now and then and they were expecting me to feed them with
every bits and pieces ...

In the ‘end’, however, Solomon is subdued, the work of the session, his primary interest,
is completed,

... in the end I was very pleased because they completed their writing of the
Report on the do, talk and Record.

There is a sense in this account that I feel Solomon is talking back, that I am somehow
complicit in the frustration he feels. 69

69 There is a sense in which I feel to accept some responsibility for this anger, for those
students who saw this School Experience in terms of children producing texts at their
expense, who felt caught between the assessment expectations of the subject (discussed
and published examples of children’s writing) and the children’s inability to produce.
But this doesn’t fully explain to me the extent of the ‘anger’ which is mentioned by a
large number of student teachers in this and other teaching contexts. I can only surmise
that students are upset by the possibility of personal failure - when the generalisations
and determinacies of their training look as if they might be unfulfilled. There were
other students who faced little learner resistance who did not record their anger, while
others like Mona who confronted learner resistance and whose anger was contained and
worked through in the ensuing weeks. There were some whose anger (during the
Teaching Practicum) was expressed as physical punishment of children for academic
failures.

Despite the point being made to students that circumstances were as important as
‘product’, this may not have been demonstrated well enough. And despite students
writing situational accounts, the significance of the many disruptions and frustrations
experienced was not carefully explored. Rather an interest in having the children
produce good quality and complete work became for most students the central focus.
As Holliday(1994) asserts, in commenting on the disruptive influences of much
international English language teaching

   English practitioners need to see beyond their methodologies to the social
   effects of what they do’ (p103)

The more distance I take on some of these matters the clearer becomes the view that
questions of whose meanings are being made and whose interests served, become
increasingly discomforting and not easily resolvable.
Visit 12:
We had only just a short session because the other child didn’t come to school namely Mark. Only Michael was there so both of us had a short time and then I went to my classroom. However that day I asked Michael to draw an ant and so he drew it not really exactly like an ant but just like an ant. Once he finished the drawing I told him to label the parts and he did without me telling him he went ahead labelling the parts of the ants especially mouth, eyes, head, stomach and legs. After labelling of the ants parts I asked him to spell me some of the words just to pass time so I asked him to spell some words and he did spell the word correctly. While doing that we attracted the other children from the other class especially PW’s children and PW got on his children.

Feelings
I was very worried on that day because one of my child didn’t come to school. So I was worried I might be running behind the other students. Despite the fact I was happy on the other hand Michael completed all his work and so only Mark has to do his illustrations and then our job will be finished.

Comments
Really I could say that the days session was a very delightful one. I said this because when Michael finished his Report I got him to spell my name (---) and many others. I see that when Michael is stuck with a hard word I didn’t spell the word for him but instead I made him sound of the letters and he got the sound correctly. When seeing that I see that the other children were attracted even when I played the trick called hide and seek and naming of things, the other children were really motivated. However the day was fine and I really had a good time.

Planning
Everything is done especially with Michael therefore next when I go I’ll mainly emphasise on Mark and make sure Mark completed his work including illustrations and labelling of the parts of ants.

As with other school experience sessions this one is also characterised by emotional ambivalence. Solomon experiences contradictory emotions signalling his strong emotional investment in what he sees as the job of writing illustrating and publishing the Report. It is, however, less a concern for the children’s learning and more a concern that he not fall behind the program, that the children’s work be
completed on time. He is caught within competing demands and the unpredictability of the circumstances he is working in, ‘Will the children complete their work?’, ‘Will they come to school?’, ‘Will their work need much revision’?, How will the conference be managed?’, Will I have anything to submit for assessment?, Will it be satisfactory?

I was very worried on that day because one of my child didn’t come to school. So I was worried I might be running behind the other students. Despite the fact I was happy on the other hand Michael completed all his work and so only Mark has to do his illustrations and then our job will be finished.

Finishing the ‘job’ is what the last few sessions become for Solomon, it is an understandable interest, though he has had his eye on it throughout the entire School Experience and has tended to work ahead of other groups in what seemed to me at first to be somewhat of a preoccupation with product over process. But there are signs that he recognises other incomplete ‘jobs’. There is evidence here that some of Solomon’s previous experiences have reshaped his pedagogy. His work with Michael’s spelling, for example, takes on an extra dimension.

I see that when Michael is stucked with a hard word I didn’t spell the word for him but instead I made him sound of the letters and he got the sound correctly. However, as Solomon’s pedagogy becomes theorised more in terms of methods and perhaps less directly in terms of abilities, various situational complexities are left unexplored and unchallenged.70

Visit 13:

Firstly I would like to say that things went around opposite meaning that the last time Michael came and Mark was absent. But this time Mark came and Michael was absent. Despite the fact of such problems I went ahead to complete what I am supposed to do with Mark. I specifically asked Mark to draw an ant and he drew an ant. After drawing I asked him to label the parts and so by looking at what Michael did Mark did complete his drawing and labelling of parts. The days session was very short because of their cooperation to work fast on what they were supposed to do.

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70 What these accounts open up is a body of evidence that confirms the situational nature of teaching and its complexity.
Feelings
I was very sick in fact on that day so I was just sitting down resting in the grass and ask the children especially Mark what he was supposed to do. I really however, enjoyed and after all I felt that I was relief because after all the children had done their work.

Comments
Generally the days session was very satisfactory because I was sick about to faint sleeping in the lawn and Mark went ahead to do what he supposed to do therefore I said that it was satisfactory. The other thing too is that I see that the session also though it was satisfactory was very boring because I didn’t even have any sort of conferencing with Mark instead he went ahead doing all things himself especially drawing and labelling of the ants parts and the rewrite of the final draft of the Report.

Planning
Well nothing to do with the children next week because I’ll be out on my block practice teaching. However, when I come back next term I’ll try to buy something for the two children as a form of reinforcement.

Solomon’s sickness intervenes, Mark is left to work alone guided by what Michael has done the week before. In the end for Solomon there is satisfaction that the work is done but also a concern that

... though it was satisfactory (it) was very boring because I didn’t even have any sort of conferencing with Mark instead he went ahead doing all things himself.

Perhaps this as an important observation that might result in Solomon developing a greater awareness of the value of a more dialogic pedagogy. But I have become increasingly aware that much of what he has done in terms of ‘progressive’ pedagogy stressing learner autonomy, self reliance and peer cooperation does not critically engage in any significant way, the cultural logic of ‘modernist’ discourses which motivates these sets of interests and meanings to ultimately marginalise and reduce educational possibilities.

There is also for me in these accounts of Solomon’s practice, traces, hints and messages that he is preparing the boys to survive in an institutional and social order which rewards the ‘fittest’. After all, Solomon has been brought to his present point of opportunity after a long and ‘successful’ apprenticeship in the social and pedagogical practices that constitute the meritocratic culture of post-colonial schooling.
As a student-teacher Solomon is nevertheless, both a subject and an object of pre and existing systems of teaching, learning and training which constrain and enable various agencies in the process of the contouring of his teaching identity and practice.

Some conclusions: Looking back and looking on

It is not possible to see everything, nor to see uniformly, thus the interpretive commentaries presented are an attempt to push back some of the horizons which inevitably limit what can be seen.

Greene (1994:438) invoking Gadamer, suggests that

The person so attentive and involved, suggests Gadamer (1975), does not know dispassionately, "as one who stands apart and unaffected, but rather, as one united by a specific bond with the other, he thinks with the other and undergoes the situation with him (sic)."

What may appear at times to be my distant position as the students' supervisor, was for me one of careful monitoring and strategic intervention, not sanctioning when boundaries had been crossed or things were not going as expected, but trying to understand and support students' decisions, focusing also their attention upon the kinds of relationships being constructed with their children. On a number of occasions I reflected back to them how, for example, they physically positioned themselves in relation to their group, some groups sat on walls with the student teacher at the end of the group, others were out the front of their group, others in a circle. I commented on what I saw as the consequences of these positions in terms of different kinds of group participation. Some student teachers noted how some other supervisors were far more interventionist. I preferred to wait until class to discuss my observations, to let the experience settle, to allow students some time to write and to look again at what they considered noteworthy, with the benefit of a little distance. I aimed to prevent students from jumping too early to hastily considered conclusions, finding that they were often difficult to call back, particularly in the intensity of moments when there appeared to be a strong emotional investment.\textsuperscript{71} Writing, I considered was one way to slow this process down. I sometimes had students share their journals and write questions or comments to

\textsuperscript{71} Perhaps 'prevent' is too strong a word, it is more like not putting total trust in first impressions. As I think about these things now I consider how helpful it might have been to have explored the metaphor of 'jumping to conclusions' further with these students.
each other, in this they took quite didactic roles often censoring each other where they considered something may have been done better. Overall, students raised a number of concerns, some feeling caught up in the assessment demands of the TESOL subject where they were required to submit examples of children’s writing with an account of how they negotiated the teaching experience. They commented that some groups had ‘brighter children’, that their work would be better. They were concerned that the quality of the children’s work or whether it was complete or not, would count against them in the assessment. They were assured that this would not be the case. Some reported difficulties in teaching children of varying ability, or what to do with children who were absent and missed sessions. They noted the variation in physical conditions under which different groups worked. Most of the follow up sessions were spent with students discussing these concerns, answering questions and reporting on things that I considered to be going well, for example, the quality of the work being done, the variation of practices across and within groups. I noted the tension between the high expectations that students had for these children and what the children were capable of doing at this time and in the circumstances. In my recollections I noted that I did not always have an answer to the issues they raised (which method works best, how can I stop children copying, how should I teach spelling etc.) or feel to be completely definitive at the point of their confusion, though I sometimes was. I sensed that this was frustrating to some students when responses sounded tentative and occasionally ambiguous, when it appeared that the way ahead was not clear, when the alluring simplicity and certainty implicit in ‘Do Talk Record’ turned out to be far less certain, much more slippery and circumstantial.

As ‘Do Talk Record’ unfolded before me I reflected upon the overlapping nature of each of these pedagogical events, did student teachers use ‘do’ to bring some aspect of ‘community’ into their teaching, was ‘talk’ used to adequately language the situation, whether in ‘record’ children’s circumstances and knowledges were being reflected and legitimated, in essence, what could students’ and children see of themselves and their communities in the doing, talking and writing or was it turning into another set of hoops to jump through.
Some conclusions: Confronting outcomes-based discourses
One aim of the School Experience sessions was to counter singular merit-based notions of pedagogy through opportunities for more dialogic and heteroglossic interaction. Attempting also to problematise the dominant pedagogic binary, teacher/learner, by backgrounding the need for student teachers to ‘present’ pre-constituted ‘content’, and foregrounding opportunities for mutually constitutive dialogue through the experience centred frame of ‘do, talk, record’. There is for me some evidence that this binary was at times blurred, was brought into ambivalence, and became difficult to keep apart, at least for a while some student teachers experienced teaching as praxis, before interactions appeared to collapse back into a hierarchical knowledge/power relation characteristic of ‘fittest pedagogies’.

This evidence comes in the form of student teachers’ questions raised in these accounts, often implied and answered in the observations that they made about their children, and in the way their perceptions shifted.

Overall reaching this aim was problematic. The way that differences between children are institutionally constructed around the notion of ‘performance’ meant that competency based comparisons present themselves as almost ‘natural’. What is needed is a more comprehensive way of viewing different actions. A way of valuing them not just evaluating them.

In Solomon’s accounts performance comparisons are made between Mark and Michael, in Mona’s between Elijah, Dana and Nancy, likewise in Kathy’s between Walter, Erin and Ibo. In Marcus’ account there is a privileging of David and his work, towards the end of the account we learn of Arike another boy, but the other two boys whose performances are not ‘remarkable’, receive no significant mention. In Kathy’s and Mona’s accounts, both take a compensatory view of difference and act to ‘help’ the children with difficulties. In Marcus’ account, there is an acceptance view that results in a marginalising of the less able children.

72 Interestingly Solomon sustains aspects of both ‘dialogic’ and ‘fittest’ pedagogies by having the children ‘negotiate’ with one another but minimally with himself.

73 In other community school classrooms I have seen how some pedagogies construct and sustain performance differences through their participation structures. (See student H’s epistemological and pedagogical profile in Chapter Four; and Chapter Three above)
ambivalence, Michael only receiving compensatory help when Mark is absent. Each of
the cases is characterised by an interest in having children work independently.74
A direct rejection of ‘spoonfeeding’ also characterised these accounts. This
predominantly ideological rejection acted as a means of shutting down the possibility
that what was taught could be learned by any but the socially and culturally able. It was
my impression, however, that students often felt more comfortable spoonfeeding (by
allowing some copying), despite their initial anger (embarrassment) at having to do so,
particularly as they were keen to be ‘fed’ themselves.
I was also struck by observations that within the same group different children received
different lessons, whether they received individual attention or not. The progressivist
pedagogical ideal, which some students referred to as teaching ‘according to individual
differences’ was found to be problematic as not only did students experience great
tension and often anger at the prospect of having to do so, but what was seen as
compensatory teaching, teaching the ‘slow ones’, resulted in ignoring the ‘bright ones’.

I sensed that the ‘anger’ students felt was a consequence of confronting dissonant
expectations within themselves, on the one hand not expecting school children to be
actors with diverse agencies, abilities and dispositions, but rather expecting a
homogenised, stable community of learners already disciplined in the literacy practices
of schooling. On the other, students seemed to feel morally and institutionally obliged to
‘bring up these small ones’. Both sets of expectations are mediated by modern social
and institutional expectations of achievement.75 In the writing pedagogy that was
initiated an unforeseen consequence was the over-riding strength of ‘product’ orientation
that many students brought to the occasion, as they focused theirs and their children’s

74 In one Grade two classroom that I visited each of the more than 30 children were
labelled according to their reading performances as either, frustrational, instructional or
independent. (The labels were on the backs of the chairs they sat in.)

75 From year one, children take term tests in the key areas of literacy, numeracy and
combined subjects in preparation for the next term and grade. These tests are modelled
on the format of the Grade six exams. One of the legacies of this institutional order is
an often overpowering disposition to view children’s performances in reductive,
outcomes-based ways. For student teachers, some of the initial pedagogical
consequences of these perceptions seemed to be a denial of the legitimacy of children’s
learning efforts that did not fit with their views of what counted as learning and learning
behaviour.
efforts on producing error-free publications. What was lost was a sense of the genuinely 'polyphonic' and negotiated, as the dialogue often became more focussed upon the anglification of texts and less on the message and purpose of writing. Here the hegemony of an 'English only' policy marginalised the possibility that children's discoursal, sociocultural and strategic competencies be both engaged and enhanced. Cherryholmes (1988) notes that the effect of outcomes-based discourses is to fix meanings. Schools are not sites of pedagogical stability. In seeking stable and predictable methods and performances students worked to fix the meaning of their teaching experiences by fixing the outcomes and in the process confronted the tensions and contradictions detailed above. In the midst of this pedagogy, however, there were moments when the distinction between agency and structure collapsed as student teachers came to see their agency and their children's agency as a reflection of hegemonic structure.

Some conclusions: Journals - wearing the inside out

The students' accounts illustrate how the Journals worked to mediate their experiences. The Journal writing categories provided different ways of writing about the experiences, different voices, not always complementary, for as Hicks (1995: 53) observes

... social actors can participate in multiple Discourses, some of which may be conflicting identities for them.

I noted, for example, that in some cases, ‘feelings’ were rationalised away in the following ‘Comments’ section of the journal. There seemed to be in Kathy's writings, for example, a sense in which ‘Comments’ became a place for ‘objectifying’ her experiences, while ‘Feelings’ provided her opportunities to express herself more subjectively. In other accounts these categories were merged and became just more space to write. The writing structure did provide however, a means of accessing some of the shifts students felt and made during their teaching.

In each case there were moments of praxis, not strictly in terms of a serial praxis, or a foundational moving towards a more ‘enlightened pedagogy’ but in terms of the emergence of praxis shaped sensibilities which were made, unmade and remade according to the demands of particular situations and interactions: in the case of Kathy, critically looking at her emotions and the need for patience; Marcus' adjustments to working with 'lower' grades. Mona's realisation that the children needed more (not less); Solomon being confronted by the personal need to conference.
Conclusion
In these cases, students took up a variety of teaching postures within the framework of School Experience, mediated by their immediate circumstances, their expectations and influenced by institutional and community discourses. What emerges is a view of student teachers as ‘teachers’ working at the borders of schooling and classroom life, where experiencing the field is heightened, but is also unstable. In terms of their knowledge of content, methods, children and classroom cultures these students, found different spaces to work in, being led, made and unsettled by the experiences of themselves, others and the circumstances which they encountered in these spaces, in what I would call, critical ‘border pedagogy’.
Intertext 5

‘Dropped to playing too much rubber games’

Place: Bugajim Community School, Grade 4,
Participants: 47 children in 15 double desks: 1 male teacher
Lesson: from Maths to Reading
Observation focus: 3 girls (ABC) in a desk at the back of the room unnoticed by the teacher - each has an exercise book in front of them on the desk.

From under the desk A pulls out her rubber bands, fiddles with them, chains them together, passes to C. B looks on.
C chains more of them and winds them on her fingers. B looks on fiddling with her own rubber bands under the desk glancing from time to time at the teacher talking to the class from the front of the room.
A holds her book half closed and looks on.
B takes one end of the chain while C continues to add rubber bands.
Teacher asks children to close books: ‘1,2,3,4 hands on your lips’
ABC push their books under the desk. A takes the chain of rubber bands and hides them under the desk. She pulls out a plastic bag of pens and takes out 5 and returns 4

11:08
C puts her bag away. Teacher brings around the Readers, puts 3 on the desk and moves on
B gets her pen and English exercise book from her plastic bag
A puts her book on the floor and looks from the desk at the pages
B flicks through her book
C flips through her book then puts a rubber band on her head
B looks at the organisation chart for reading on the back wall
A appears to read the book on the floor while leaning back on her chair
B&C look at the pictures and flick through exchanging comments with each other
A picks the book up and reads out loud to herself. C lies down on her open book on the desk then takes the rubber band from the top of her head and practices “8” on her open book. 76

76 “8” is a rubber band game where each girl has a pile of rubber bands, one ‘rubber’ is put in the middle of the seated girls on a flat hard surface. Using one finger each girl drags on the rubber band to make it curl, if it curls in the shape of an “8” the child wins the rubber band.
11:18
A yawns and turns the page and reads out loud to herself
B flicks through her book. Stops on a page and begins to read
C hears B and finds the same page
B&C talk about one of the pictures
C puts the rubber band on her head again
A joins B&C and looks at what they are doing
C closes her book and opens it again
B puts her book on her lap and bows her head on the edge of the desk looking at it.
C begins drawing on her hand with book closed. A&B look on.
A&B go back to flicking through their books
C begins to talk to them then takes her rubber bands and practices "8" on the desk, a car drives through the school yard C stands up to see it
A looks around the room
B sits up and starts flicking through her book.
C talks to A&B
T: 'close readers and next group come to the front'
ABC get up and go to the front with other children (14 in the group). The teacher passes out different readers and reads. Teacher asks the group to read the text out loud together, cueing the group with the first sentence.
A reads along; B tries in a halting interrupted manner; C searches for the place on the page.
Teacher sends children back to desks.
11:34
From the Borders to Centre-Stage: Four cases of Practice Teaching with readings upon the texts.

Chapter 7

Features of the Practicum
The Practicum design is heavily influenced by western orientations to teacher preparation it is built upon a ‘skills-based’ theory of teaching.\textsuperscript{77} Students teachers are sent to schools for a period of 4 weeks where they participate as if members of staff, teaching, supervising and conducting many of the daily affairs of the school. They are visited up to 8 times by supervisors from college who view lesson plans, observe teaching and write lesson evaluations. Supervising lecturers are required to grade students on the basis of proficiency in different macro ‘teaching’ skills: written preparation, practical preparation, motivation, use of aids, communication, questioning, re-inforcement, pupil involvement, classroom management, evaluation, personal characteristics. Each of these skills is further differentiated into various micro or sub-skills totalling some 79 skills in all (see Appendix Three). Students are required to achieve a satisfactory rating in a least 50% of the sub-skills in order to be given a satisfactory rating in their final report.

Student teachers’ performances are graded in terms of the degree to which they have acquired particular teaching competencies and dispositions across the following continuum:

1. no good use of the skill at all
2. poor use of the skill
3. satisfactory use of the skill
4. good use of the skill
5. very good use of the skill

There is no formal account of how student teachers view their teaching, or the children’s learning, or their response to supervision practices and evaluations. Lesson evaluations are discussed with students at a convenient time after the lesson where the written comments are elaborated upon, questions answered and further assistance given if required.

Similar orientations to teacher evaluation in other contexts has been shown to have questionable value. Smyth (1991), for example, quoting Hargreaves claims that teachers

\textsuperscript{77} ‘Prac Teaching is the application of skills students have learned at college’ (MTC Lecturer)
... are not just bundles of skills, competence and technique: they are creators of meaning, interpreters of the world and all it asks of them. Because teachers interact with the world around them, and make sense of it, adapt it and refocus what it is they do, we can no longer defend definitions of teaching that are expressed solely in terms of competence in prescribed skills, pedagogical or otherwise. As Hargreaves ... says, asking why teachers fail ‘to do X’ does not advance matters much - in his view, asking why teachers ‘do Y’ and how they ‘cope’, ‘adapt’ and reconstruct their circumstances is more revealing.

... teacher quality (or its absence) actually results from processes of a social nature, from teachers actively interpreting, making sense of and adjusting to, the demands and requirements their conditions of work place upon them (pp73-4), (my emphasis) (see also McIntyre 1980).

Smyth further argues that skills training generates a technical rationality which separates the ‘means’ of teaching

... from the ethical, moral and political dimensions whose ‘ends’ they are supposed to serve - the effect is a narrow concentration on how-to questions, rather than what and why questions... what these approaches lack, it is claimed is a concern about the rightness of action and how we treat others. (1991:73-74)

In the exploration of the following accounts of the Practicum as pedagogical discourse, it is therefore relevant to ask, ‘What “discursive formations” are spoken and written into existence?’; and ‘What evidence is there of new subjectivities being formed in the intersection of “discourses storylines and relations of power”?’. 

Presenting the teaching self
Student teachers are required to conform to a particular standard of dress, ‘neat and tidy manner... hair should be combed, shirts buttoned ... clothes not dirty and torn’. As well as punctuality and attendance protocols, students are responsible to group leaders who have responsibility for rostering domestic duties, solving ‘the groups own problems and complaints; (and) reporting problems to the headmaster/mistress, to ensur(e) college properties are cared for and returned’. Particular standards of social conduct are to be followed: ‘BETEL NUT must not be chewed during working hours’; drinking, drug taking and disruptive social behaviour will receive special attention from ‘College authorities’. Student teachers are accommodated in vacant teacher’s houses, offices, classrooms or with teacher’s or children’s families. While students are out in the field

78 As one student noted, teachers are identifiable in the community by what they wear, a reference to western styled clothing and footwear.
they are provided with food for the duration of the Practicum and a small supply of anti-malarial medicine. Responsibility for familiarising students with the routines of the school is given to the headmaster or headmistress, class teachers are there to provide advice, encouragement and comment. The college also alerts students to their responsibilities regarding disciplining children and their own behaviour. The role of the Practicum supervisor is portrayed as helpful and encouraging with a responsibility to write up lesson observations and final reports. Students are advised of how their performance will impact on their future service.

Remember that you are an ambassador of your region, your college and the teaching service. Your future service may depend on your performance and behaviour during the Practical. (1993 Practicum Guidelines)

These guidelines also provide a framework of lessons/subjects that are essential for students to teach. (see Appendix Four)

The teaching place
Teaching practice is more than a case of practicing teaching. It is an introduction to the life and culture of a school and its communities. For these students, teaching in rural areas involves becoming accepted by local communities on whom they are dependent for shelter, food, and safety, (and in most cases, for the physical condition of the school). In return the children of the community are taught and socialised by the student teachers. The presence of student teachers and visits by supervisors to a community brings about opportunities for various kinds of socialising, activity and interest. As visitors, students expect to be welcomed into a community as members and contributors. Coupled with the purpose of coming to teach are social and cultural obligations. Most teaching practice in rural areas, where students stay in local communities, follow a pattern of activity where students are greeted and welcomed by the school headmaster, food is provided, and at some time early in their stay they are welcomed by community leaders and parents and may exchange food. Student teachers are introduced to their class by the headmaster or teacher, and go through a period of observation and assistance in the classroom for about one week; they are involved in teaching for the remainder of the stay in pairs (with a peer) or individually if in their final year, rotating the lessons to be taught on a weekly basis. Sometime during the visit they will be involved in community help/work, or a community project, their teaching practice concludes with students teaching children dances, songs and dramas which are performed to the school and community as a form of traditional ‘singsing’ (dance ceremony) involving traditional dancing, songs, traditional dress, a parting meal and finally a nostalgic and tearful farewell. Where there is an interruption in this pattern of
expectations and a feeling that protocols have not been observed on both sides, 'hard' feelings can result.

There is not always acknowledgment from students of the efforts the community goes to, to welcome them as visitors and to give of their food and hospitality. There is sometimes suspicion and some initial distance between students and their hosts. These accounts are therefore different from those of School Experience. They locate student teachers in new pedagogical and social communities, further removed from college influences.

Practicum Journals: '...where we do not speak it out'\textsuperscript{79}

In the following cases Kathy, Marcus, Mona and Solomon recorded observations and events of their teaching practice as part of an English language task. The Practicum Journals were written over a period of four weeks while teaching in community schools, at least 10 entries were required. Students were asked to select and describe events and to interrogate their thoughts and feelings in relation to those events. Journals were assessed on the basis that they met the minimum number of entries, were relevant, detailed and clearly articulated.

These Journals constitute a particular way of reading and writing experience, a type of social practice in which students are positioned and constituted as performers and recipients of practices they have witnessed and participated in. The milieu of the Teaching Practicum provided a variety of contexts in which student teachers were constituted both as 'teachers' and 'community members'.

These student teacher journal accounts are also situated ethnographic interpretations bearing the intertextual imprint of multiple discourses, systems of ideas, voices, codes, knowledges, ideologies and ambiguities, enabling both a reading and a re-reading of culture. It is these articulations which this next case seeks to publish and explore in order to argue a case for broadening the view of what counts as student teaching and learning in the academy. As forms of 'rhetorical power', the following Practicum journals and the footnoted commentaries, are not just records, or a means of reaching new understandings, but a way of giving voice to the heteroglossia of student experiences, positions, knowledges and ideologies that are constitutive of the Practicum.

\textsuperscript{79} Refer note 3, Chapter 8.
Kathy Practicum Grade 6

Kathy goes to a Catholic mission school about two hours inland from Madang by road. Throughout her accounts she struggles with how to make children's learning more meaningful. She draws enthusiastically upon work that has been done at college in concentrated language encounters using the frame ‘do talk, record’.

Entry 1:
The environment was new and different for me and today was the second day for me to sit in the classroom and observe the teachings and the behaviour of the students. My peer mate is DJ and we both are taking Grade six in Utu community school. Through my observations this is what I found out about the children and the teacher. Firstly, their behaviour during the presence of the teacher and when the teacher was away, was very good. They are good and respectful when new visitors are around. Now I will look at their academic side. Most of the children do not speak good English. Picking this up during their morning talk when they tell stories or anything that happened or is interesting to them.

One of the incident happened yesterday morning was a student came late after recess and the teacher who is a male from East Sepik Province asked him to apologise to the class and he could not speak because that boy was beaten by the teacher before he could actually apologise. This is one of the first incident that I saw before going through the four weeks.

The children’s learning ability is quite slow and there are few children in class who are bright. Especially in English lessons, like Talking Drills, Written Sentences or Written Expression the children finds it difficult to spell words when writing their stories. And when I was assisting, I helped them spell words. But when it came to the part where they were asked to read out their work they can’t say or pronounce the words which I spelt.

Thoughts
I’m sad that most of the children depend a lot on the teacher to give them answers especially in English lessons. I think the children need to have a good and well planned English lessons.

Comments
difficulty with English. There is only the immediate view that planning and resourcing and variety in teaching are areas that require urgent attention.

Entry 2:
This is my third day in the classroom observing the teacher and the children and assisting a little bit when I get used to the class teacher Mr T. Sitting at the back of the classroom most of the time I was thinking of how I was going to teach. During School Experience I used to teach Grade one’s and Grade two’s, here I was put to Grade six class. I felt that it was a challenge for me. Anyway this was what happened today, during the talking drills for the English lesson this morning the children were using word ‘good’ and ‘bad’. For example the sentence would be: Its good for me to come early to school, it’s bad for me to come late.’ The children were practising the sentences and making up their own in their small groups. The teacher let them talk for sometime and then he stopped them and ask each one in the group to say it out loud and clear. Some of the children could use the words ‘good and bad’ in the sentence but the words wont be meaningful or it wont make sense.
For example: “Its good for you to eat banana and its bad for you to eat snake”. For those students who did not make a good sentence would remain stand while others will sit down. The teacher would make sure that everybody would make up a good meaningful sentence before sitting down. This is a time wasting and a time consuming lesson which I personally can see and hear when observing the children’s behaviour and the teacher.

Thoughts
I think children must be exposed to a educational learning environment. By this I mean that the teacher should improve the appearance of the classroom by putting up children’s work and other things. I’m sorry that this is a Grade six class.

Comments
I think that lazy teachers fail students. From what I can see from today’s lesson (Talking Drills) children are told what to say and not being taught.

From the back of the room thinking ‘how am I going to teach’ Kathy is resistant to the procedures used by the teacher in ‘Talking Drills’. She brings to the moment other thoughts about how the lesson might be better structured and managed more inclusively and accountably.
I think the teacher should provide reading books and give a wide range or different kinds of English exercises. English is the key subject to the other subjects. Therefore a grade six teacher must be very smart to help his students.

*Kathy interprets and writes the scene she observes,* 'Through my observations this is what I found out about the children and the teacher'; a boy who has been 'beaten' for his lateness by the teacher and asked to apologise to the class; the slowness of some children in learning; a few 'bright' children; children having difficulty with English in talking, writing and reading; the children's dependency on the teacher 'to give them answers'; the need for English lessons to be 'well planned' and varied; the need for a grade six teacher to be 'very smart'. In her looking Kathy's makes a number of evaluations, she sees a need for an improvement in the children's English, a need for more reading books and a diversity of English exercises, an implicit criticism of the teacher ('English is the key subject to the other subjects'). She reflects the widely held community view that Grade Six more than any other year, is particularly important for these children. It is the year that they sit the national qualifying exam for high school. Kathy's 'observations' are framed as problems not questions, as impressions and judgements constituted by social and institutional ideologies that privilege schooling and the provision of particular kinds of 'disciplining' on both the 'behaviour' and 'academic side'. Blanketed from view are local social and cultural interests, circumstances and 'sides', manifest in the children's

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80 The idea that English as a linguistic code is a key to learning and entering other disciplinary discourses is a central notion underpinned by the allocation of time in the curriculum. English is the most taught lesson in every Grade, 'officially' it is the medium of instruction in every subject except religious instruction which is either in the vernacular or in Tok Pisin. Pennycook makes the observation, that

'Colonial discourses and discourses of contemporary world relations have both facilitated and been facilitated by the spread and construction of English. English and a range of local discourses have been constituted by and are constitutive of each other, both through the history of their connections and their present conjunctions. Particular global and local discourses create the conditions of possibility for engaging in the social practice of using 'English', they produce and constrain what can be said in English. At the same time, English creates the conditions of possibility for taking up a position in these discourses.'

and concludes, that

'to speak is to 'assume a culture', habits of thinking are 'infused into the language', English can be called 'guilty'. (1994:33)
For those students who did not make a good sentence would remain stand while others will sit down. The teacher would make sure that everybody would make up a good meaningful sentence before sitting down.

There are multiple layers of discourse woven into this lesson and her suggestions. In this case the teaching of English and the criteria that it should be meaningful (as in the example sentence, 'It's good for me to come early to school, it's bad for me to come late') are appropriated by the teacher for the purposes of reinforcing the school's orders of punctuality. While the teaching of the discrete dichotomies 'good' and 'bad' locks out ideological alternatives, the children's passive group responses placing the words in meaningless sentences reflects their resistance to the power, regulation and ultimate meaninglessness of the discourse; Kathy interprets their responses as a problem of 'meaning' that can be managed technically by making sentences more meaningful, by having students stand until a meaningful response is given. Kathy's notion of 'meaningful' goes one step further than just being linguistically correct, to include context, ("It's good for you to eat banana and its bad for you to eat snake"). It is a structural-situational approach to teaching English that requires students to embed what they say in a mutually recognisable context. Many teachers (and children) would agree with Kathy's assessment of the lesson. Kathy's critical pedagogical observations, 'I can see from today's lesson (Talking Drills) children are told what to say and not being taught' signals her interest in departing from what she observes. Her comments privilege her position as observer, though her interpretations risk being undermined by the children's own situational understandings and expressions of participation. I sense that Kathy is looking to a more 'authoritative' pedagogy, where control is more teacher articulated.

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81 I read Kathy's criticism of the children's learning environment and apparent teacher's 'laziness' as indicative of the resource stretched conditions which teachers and children confront 'in the field'. Some student teachers initially devalue the efforts of teachers. In the ideology of the Practicum there is no reference to or valuing of teachers' knowledges, intuitions, feelings and interests as learning resources. Students often see teaching practice in terms of 'learning from the children', not the teachers; that 'college' knowledge is more important than 'field' knowledge; that field teacher's who are not seen to be employing innovative, well-resourced practices are lazy or 'too old', unprepared or unaware of new practices. Student teachers are ultimately positioned by the kinds of supervision they experience (see fn Marcus Practicum). A preoccupation with teaching skills ignores the extent to which a knowledge of teaching is situationally and discursively constituted.
Entry 3:
As this first week was coming to the end of observation I was already planning my lessons and thinking of how I was going to teach my lesson to the class. I was worried because these children cannot speak a good English and write a good English.\textsuperscript{82} To teach my other lessons was alright but I was thinking of a good activity for me to do with the children for Do Talk Record.

These were some of my thoughts for this morning. After the normal routine for every morning was morning hymns and a word of prayer. After that the teacher asked children to take their seat and said, ‘What did we do for Maths lesson yesterday?’ Nobody answered and the teacher asked once more. The same thing happened so the teacher spoke pidgin and the children started talking.

This is something I notice this morning and I decided to write about and ask me the question: Why did the children react that way? Is it that the teacher was too harsh on them? or they don’t understand him? Of course the teacher has a serious character and he used to be very tough with the children. At times he would get on them if they don’t answer him. But for this case the question was very simple but nobody answered. As soon as he started speaking pidgin the children started talking. Speaking pidgin is just like putting battery into a radio to make it work. I’m thinking very hard on how I will get the children to talk and write about my doing activity. Especially on questioning, group discussions and clear explanation to this activity. A new approach of learning to be introduced.

Thought
To be honest, I feel that this would be a lesson of spoon feeding. I mean the Do Talk Record, it would be something new therefore I think I need to work extra harder. It needs my full commitment to planning and a willing hand to assist.\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{82} The discriminations of English, between sounds and meanings, are difficult for both teachers and children to learn. On the wall of Erima Grade 5, for example, a chart labelled ‘Same sounds but different meanings’ lists the following word pairs as homophones: sad/said, come/calm, bed/bed, eyes/ice, some/Psalm, read/red, had/head.

\textsuperscript{83} As has been noted DTR was proposed as another discourse. I felt at the time that the development of a critical pedagogical awareness, ie an awareness of pedagogical alternatives and the way they can alter the social relations of teaching, could evolve through the provision of other discourses that would integrate the technical demands of the curriculum within a broader pedagogical perspective, that would not, for example, ignore language structure, or remove the role of repetition in learning, but provide them with different meanings. I felt that any change in existing teaching practices would be
an outcome of implementing these pedagogies as alternatives within the existing curriculum. There were, however, a number of obstacles to some of these ideas, firstly, responsibility for the implementation of the community school curriculum was held by the National Department of Education (NDOE). The relationship between MTC, a NDOE teacher training college, and the NDOE was that NDOE expected that MTC (and other colleges) would train teachers to implement the community school curriculum. That relationship as I have mentioned was at the time being contested. The current Our English for Melanesia Series was still being written and resourced by grade. In 1988 when I arrived, the Grade One curriculum was completed and sent to schools. In many respects its pedagogical thrust varied little from the previous curriculum. The new sets of materials provided teachers with much needed resources with material content reflecting post-colonial themes. Teachers Guides and resource books prescribed objectives, lesson steps and activities for teachers to follow. National inservice programs were run in Madang province by Inspectors who were first inserviced on the programs. At the inservice sessions which I attended (Sek), teachers were appreciative of the materials but sceptical of aspects of the pedagogy, e.g. unsupervised group work in reading and individual writing. Others commented that it was the ‘old’ curriculum in a new box. What teachers tended to tacitly define in such statements was the way the curriculum positioned them. Over the ensuing years as each grade received its materials provincial Inspectors were keen to see the new programs implemented. Teachers characteristically changed what they saw to be unmanageable aspects of the pedagogy, often increasing the level of supervision of children’s work and abandoning small group work for whole class work. As gaps appeared between the authoritative texts of the curriculum and what was happening in the classroom, I worked on finding spaces to make the curriculum more inclusive of teachers and children local experiences. DTR which I drew from the work of Cazden, Gray and later documents from the Northern Territory Education Department, provided an alternative to the more less negotiated and socially removed aspects of the NDOE curriculum. It also provided what I believed at the time to be a greater measure of teacher and child autonomy. In that the teacher was required to make more complex judgements about how teaching and learning would occur and negotiate these with children (rather than just manage the implementation). In areas where curriculum materials were scarce or did not exist it provided a framework for teachers to construct and negotiate a local curriculum. DTR was coupled with the introduction of other ways to write (using genres) and ways to make books which might not only be serviceable in the class but have local relevance, and other ways of reading. In addition, the MTC Language Department received assistance from the Summer Institute of Linguistics in providing Vernacular Literacy workshops, whereby students wrote and printed books in their local languages. The process of developing Tok Ples materials and implementing DTR projects was trialed in home-based Practicums. At the end of these Practicums students returned to college with their reports on the success or otherwise of these innovations. There were mixed responses. Some teachers did not want adjustments to their timetables to allow ‘integrated’ teaching like DTR to occur, while others did. Some schools objected to the use of the vernacular, (particularly fundamentalist Christian schools), others didn’t, particularly those which drew from a homogenous language group, where the choice of vernacular was not problematic, and where the language already existed in written form (e.g. Motu and Hiri Motu, on the Papuan side, or Tok Pisin in other regions). Some schools allowed students to teach ‘both ways’. The responses from students who attended the latter schools and trialed these approaches was enthusiastic. What these notes fail to adequately reflect is the
Comments
The teacher need to be more thoughtful with what he does and how he teaches to motivate children and what he can do to get the children’s attention towards his teaching. 84

Kathy is confronted by circumstances that are difficult to resolve. She frames her concerns in questions to herself (Why did the children react that way? Is it that the teacher was too harsh on them? or they don’t understand him?). Kathy’s initial critical evaluations of the class teacher’s work are getting more difficult to reconcile with more recent observations. Despite his authoritative disposition, the children do not respond to his questions in English, though as Kathy notes,

As soon as he started speaking pidgin the children started talking. Speaking pidgin is just like putting battery into a radio to make it work.

dialogue and the working through of concerns that members of the Language department felt about different aspects of these proposals. Much of what was discussed and decided drew upon the teaching experiences and observations of local and expatriate teachers and lecturers. Many of the discussions were about accountability in as much as there was a strong sense that students who were being introduced to innovations from outside of the ‘approved’ curriculum, should also be able to teach the ‘conventional curriculum’. Much talk was had also concerning how children would be positioned using a DTR approach. Different lecturers brought different interests to the TESOL course, interests in the rights of children, journals writing, vernacular literacy, and classroom based research.

84 What Kathy doesn’t see for the moment is the extent that the curriculum positions the teacher. Teachers come to rely a great deal upon Teachers guides, syllabuses and subject notes as sources of lesson content. In most cases these ‘authorless’ sources reflect an unproblematic view of knowledge and pedagogy. In such circumstances scrutiny and interrogation of content and methods is neutralised by the authority of the text. Teachers become subjects of the curriculum and the children its objects. DTR was an attempt to create some space between these positions by positioning the teacher as a partner in dialogue with children and to some extent their communities. Nevertheless DTR suffered somewhat from its reduction to an ‘end’ rather than a framework for learning, as have other ‘innovations’. (Of these ‘clinical supervision’ was a most interesting adaptation, where teacher/ supervisor collaborations ceased after teachers identified aspects of their practice to be observed, and were not involved in their evaluation; and in recent conversations with a colleague at MTC I was informed that the activity of writing Journals has spread to other departments and colleges, where maths journals, community life journals, professional development journals have joined with Language journals in an ever expanding practice).
Pidgin is clearly a medium of instruction that this teacher uses. A medium through which both the children and the teacher are able to access particular subjectivities, dispositions and knowledges (here Mathematics) and reproduce cooperative social relations. As the established culture of classroom participation emerges Kathy is concerned with how she might implement DTR in English, to develop a dialogue with these children, to shift the emphasis from drilling (talking at) to developing dialogue (talking with). There is some concern in her mind with how this might be successfully implemented in English in the face of these other voices, particularly as she sees using Pidgin as 'a lesson in spoonfeeding'.

In the end Kathy resolves her questions, interpreting the children’s resistance to using English as the teacher’s lack of thoughtfulness and motivation.

Entry 4:

The second week the actual teaching week I am going to teach other lessons but not the language lesson - Do Talk Record. My peermate is teaching the language lesson in the morning. While I teach other timetable lessons. The first lesson that I taught this afternoon after lunch was expressive arts. The first expressive arts lesson is storytelling. The story is about the parrot and the crow and how their friendship ended up one day. During the story telling lesson I used facial expressions. I vary my voice and I used aids. This lesson was enjoyed most, said the class teacher, because he said that the children enjoyed listening to the story and even the lesson was children centred where

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85 The use of English is problematic. Officially it is the language of instruction but is enforced by some teachers more than others. At Erima in Grade 2, for example, the teacher uses a ‘Pidgin stone’. Any child who speaks Pidgin must carry a stone around all day in and out of class. Children can pass it on to other children who use Pidgin. The teacher can use Pidgin to explain concepts but the children must not.

86 As I have witnessed, the pedagogical and interactional changes that occur when children speak, converse, write and sing in their primary languages is a transforming moment. There is in the use of the vernacular, sociality, affect, imagery and meaning which is not apparent in English. As Solange a student friend once said to me, ‘Tok Pisin is more descriptive and poetic than English, for example, we say, “Yu gat gras bilong mun”’. (“You have got hair the colour of the moon” or “You have got blonde/white hair”).

This is not an argument for removing English from the curriculum, just its dominance. The English curriculum is what Street (1993) refers to as an ‘autonomous’ approach to literacy emphasising the ‘neutrality’ of speaking, reading and writing, not mindful of its material context, or its role of social regulation.
the children had to mime the story in small groups and then perform for the class in their small groups. From my observation the children had fun and they were expressing themselves openly. After the lesson the teacher told me that it was a good start and the lesson was exciting and most of the children did very well. The other I taught today was physical education. The grade six students were on learning volleyball skills. The class teacher ask me to continue therefore I continued teaching the right way of using skill in a volleyball game. This were the only two lessons which I taught today while my peer taught the rest and I assist her. There was no problems that I faced today since I know my content very well and my lesson plans were done in advance.

Thoughts
Teaching a good lesson makes me happy and it encourages me to do well and work hard. I am looking forward to teach the other subjects effectively to provide a thing to be learned.

Comments
Getting a positive comments from the class teacher confirms to me that I can help the Grade six students in a way or the other to give them something. To be a teacher means full commitment because you are providing a “living knowledge”.

What is opened further to view are the links between Kathy’s discourse of giving and providing: ‘to provide a thing to be learned’, ‘I can help the Grade six students’, ‘to give them something’, to provide ‘a “living knowledge”’ and her pedagogy of self-expression and ‘learner-centredness’.

I used facial expressions. I vary my voice and I used aids... the children had to mime the story in small groups and then perform for the class in their small groups. From my observation the children had fun and they were expressing themselves openly.

Kathy is drawn to the way the class and the teacher respond to her storytelling, her preparations and performances. The children’s response and the teacher’s praise are rewards for her efforts and ‘full commitment’. As with School Experience, Kathy is driven by the strength of internal commitments and impressions about the value of

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87 What does Kathy mean by ‘living knowledge’? My impressions are that she is referring to the way knowledge is constructed in social interaction, that it is life-giving, constitutive and dialogic.
schooling to provide 'living knowledge'. Here, however, unlike many of the moments experienced during School Experience Kathy feels her efforts are more successful.

After the lesson the teacher told me that it was a good start and the lesson was exciting and most of the children did very well.

As Kathy immerses herself in the landscape of schooling its discourses seemingly reward her expectations that hard work will lead to success, whether it be teacher or learner.

Entry 5:
The interesting but a confusing thing that happened today was with my peer mate. I decided to write about this incident because it was the Do Talk Record lesson. Which I want to be aware so that I could do mine without any problem. Yesterday morning Miss J (peermate) got the grade six students and went down to the river called Wemuk for a visit and to observe the natural environment. She got them to tell her what they saw and what was there in the river, around it and what the river is used for. After that the children came back to the classroom and she asked them to write a poem about the river.
She came and asked me for help and I told her that you have to get the children to talk and discuss because some of them need to understand what to write before doing the actual writing. But on the other hand Miss J was still confused on which type of writing to carry out. But I told her that it is not the different types of writing but getting the children to do something then talk about it and then write about it. This is something which I think, as teachers we must understand what we are doing before we actually teach a lesson, because we are going to fool the children. Its good to be honest because honesty bares good fruits. Apart from this I did teach my integrated community life. I enjoy teaching integrated lessons because you teach from a wide range of subjects which I easily link from one to the other. Children did the planned activities very well.

Thoughts
I am quite happy with the way my lessons are taught. But I need to provide teaching aids, for example, maps.

Comments
When I do my language lesson I make sure all the children are talking before they write after the doing activity.
Kathy provides for her peer, an explanation of the purpose of staging DTR. She sees DTR in terms of a way of working, a set of steps, not in terms of particular outcome. From her peer’s confusion, her own pedagogical ideologies are reinforced and informed, as are her preparations for her own language lesson,

... as teachers we must understand what we are doing before we actually teach a lesson ... (w)hen I do my language lesson I make sure all the children are talking before they write after the doing activity.

Kathy’s maxims are illustrative of the foundational framing she uses to represent the work of teaching, they reveal how much she identifies with the idealisms of schooling. Idealisms which lead her to respond to questions of complexity and ambiguity in terms of preparation and ‘honesty’.

...as teachers we must understand what we are doing before we actually teach a lesson, because we are going to fool the children. Its good to be honest because honesty bares good fruits.

Idealisms that are here illustrated as occurring relationally between herself and her peer, and which are distilled through writing at a later moment.

**Entry 6:**

As time goes by, I was getting familiar with the class routines and what the teacher does for different English lessons like talking, listening, written sentences and written expression. The class teacher told me that he giving the children old English exam papers to do with their work. He marks their work and see they are not good at then he sets similar exercises. Looking at the English lessons I think it is time consuming, nothing is learnt because the children are like parrots. As for today’s English broadcast - the listening game, the good 30 minutes was just wasted. Sometimes the radio does not catch the waves properly or there is no battery then the teacher teach other subject and an English lesson is not taught.

Seeing this happening and I believe that some of the radio broadcast are just consuming precious time for teaching the actual lesson.\(^8\) Where the teacher can answer questions

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\(^8\) These broadcasts are part of Listening Comprehension in the language curriculum. They were written and produced by the Australian Broadcasting Commission for use in PNG territory schools before Independence in 1975. They are serialized narratives of the lives of children living in PNG villages and towns. At another time and in another classroom I made the following observations.
or elaborate more if there is a need to. The English lessons should be integrated so that everything is learnt at once and more things should be taught. Understanding English is very important because all the subjects are planned and taught in English. English is an area where less practical lessons are taught, it is a difficult part of learning. The subjects I taught today was science and maths lessons. I still use English but in a more scientific and mathematical approach. For my maths lesson, it was all playing with numbers so it was alright. But the children are slow and need more time to work out answers. For my science lesson, I really had to explain and let the children carry out experiment carefully to come up with a positive result. I did have problems when the children did not answer me, that I had to simplify my questions.

Thoughts
Teaching is a good job but it makes you tired and you need to rest.

Comments
I love teaching but I don’t want to plan lessons.

Confronting Kathy are competing discourses, and what she sees as teaching practices in need of reform. The way the teacher works to prepare the class for the

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In the afternoon when Ibinkai arrives back with the radio it’s the signal to move to the front of the class and be seated on the floor in front of the desk where the radio is placed. A piece of wire hanging from the roof in the corner of the room is quickly twisted around the top of the extended radio antenna. The radio is turned on and all shuffling subsides. The curious voices of other people, other lives are faintly heard. Children strain their ears, heads tilted, eyes fixed, all the while trying to gather in the words of the serial crackling behind the interference. With a look of hope M waits then moves closer beside the radio and adjusts the station selector the signal strengthens but as her hand is removed it is lost in a howling jamming whistle. She grips the radio by its top and turns it on its axis facing it towards the back of the room. The narrator’s voice blares out, the wire aerial stretching to the outside eaves of the classroom is caught in a breeze and hums loudly. For a while M reads over the top of the intermittent interference to fill in the lost story fragments, breaking off when the reception returns. Through the interference, the broadcaster’s Australian voice comes back to life farewelling the children till next time. The accompaniment music rises loudly is snapped off in frustration by M who begins the task of trying to restore some sensibility to the lesson. With the benefit of the script on her lap she asks some questions no-one responds, she takes the class back through lines of script, but the moment has been lost. A boy from Grade six arrives at the door to collect the radio and runs it next door to his class where children can be heard shuffling past desks to the front of the room. Meanwhile the children have returned to their seats and M begins sorting through exercise books on her desk behind them. (Sagalau Grade 5, Field notes)
final exam by having them do past papers; the ‘parroting’ of English (children making utterances but not speaking); the failure of the broadcast lesson; the difficulties of teaching and learning in English across different subjects; the slowness of the children; the need to have a ‘positive’ result from the science experiment; the need to simplify. Kathy is critical of the English lessons and the way the teacher prepares the children for the end of year exams.

The class teacher told me that he giving the children old English exam papers to do with their work. He marks their work and see they are not good at then he sets similar exercises. Looking at the English lessons I think it is time consuming, nothing is learnt because the children are like parrots.

She looks past the teacher’s purposes (preparing the children for the exams) to what is happening in the classroom, how the children are being constituted as ‘parrots’. Embedded in her argument that the teaching of English needs to be ‘integrated’, ‘so that everything is learnt at once and more things should be taught’, are various authorial traces, the discourse of ‘integral human development’, the ideology of Do Talk Record. Kathy’s interest in reform is on the one hand sustained by the realities and consequences of what she sees and experiences of daily classroom routines and her own teaching, having to modify her English in ‘science and maths’ (which ‘was all playing with numbers so it was alright’), having to simplify questions when children ‘did not answer’, on the other it competes with the children’s linguistic and social codes, and the historical settlement of participation and activity with which they are familiar.

Entry 7:

Yesterday was a public holiday due to Madang Provincial Day therefore there was no school. This week was my turn to teach the language lesson on Do Talk Record and the normal planned lessons. I planned to prepare a Fruit Lunch with the children and then we were going to write about it. I told the children to bring fruits and they brought fruits for this lesson. First of all this is what I did, I told the children to sit in their small groups and I asked them to open their eyes, I ask them, what they saw on the desk. From there they have the fruits and they were talking about the shape, colour, how it feels, how it looks like, what drinks do they make out of fruits and many ideas came in when were talking. Then I ask them to feel the fruits, smell and tap the fruits with their
finger and hear the different noise the different fruits produce. For example a pawpaw made a high sound while a sugar cane made a low sound. After all this the last thing was tasting the fruits. Before that the children had banana leaves on the desk and they cut up the fruits and lace it nicely on the leaves. When everybody was finished, I prayed for God’s blessing to be on the fruits and the children had a fruit lunch. Everybody enjoyed the lunch, while eating I asked them what each fruit tasted like and they all were talking. When the children finished eating there was some left so I asked them to write a poem about fruits.

**Thoughts**

I did enjoyed that lesson and of course I was happy and the students were happy too.

**Comments**

I strongly believe in this Language approach of teaching because it is integrated and children do an activity and they know it so they can talk about it easily and write a good work.

Here Kathy’s selection of a lesson focus draws upon the children’s material world, their knowledge of different ‘fruits’ and how they are used, she purposely connects with situated knowledges, social meanings and local discourses. Here local knowledge is both disciplined by and constitutive of pedagogical language. Here the rhythm of the lesson, children bringing fruit, looking, touching, talking, feeling, listening, blessing, eating, writing creatively, is constitutive of different sets of social relations than those she has been observing and engaging. A diversity that moves beyond ‘drill’ and spoonfeeding. In her ‘comments’, Kathy theorises her practices in terms of the ‘Language approach’ she has used, in terms of a new sociality (‘...they know about it so they can talk about it’) and pedagogy (‘...and write a good work’). In this lesson, Kathy demonstrates her interest in introducing different activity structures, different kinds of participation and modes of learning, ‘I asked them what each fruit tasted like and they all were talking’.

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89 I find the Foucauldian notion of ‘the disciplining of language’ in Pennycook (1994:37) to be a strong critique of my assumptions that DTR might provide a means of ‘indigenising’ aspects of the curriculum. In Kathy’s account I see the ‘disciplining’ influence of the pedagogical language of DTR upon her observations and readings of what takes place.
Entry 8:
From yesterday’s lesson I continued my Do Talk Record lesson. Today I introduced them to different questions on the blackboard and they discuss the questions in their small groups and I gave them paper and I told them that we were going to make a report book on our fruit lunch and write more about fruits. The children wrote individually on what we did on Tuesday. I was supervising and assisting them by asking questions and giving them some ideas on what they are required to do. Walking around I could see many children with incomplete sentences, broken english and spelling errors. “What will I do?”, was the question I asked myself. This was what I did, I quickly walked around and spot the ones who have finished and I got their papers and read it aloud and the rest listened to their writing. From there the slow ones were given some idea of how to write their report. Then they went ahead writing their report as I went around correcting their word tenses and spelling errors. It was really interesting some children wrote their report in Pidgin while others tried their best to write theirs in english and pidgin. There were 34 students and I could not get to everyone in that particular time or hour allocated. Therefore I asked those children who wrote better english and those who finished to help their friends. I did ask guiding questions to help the students to write their reports. I did really experience a hard time teaching and helping the children to write a good piece of English writing.

Thoughts
I felt tired but happy because I had some good reports written by some students. However it was not easy for me to help those students who were poor in their english.

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90 The term ‘broken english’ is not common. Sometime later it was mentioned in class by my students. They said it was ‘english that wasn’t put together properly’ I suggested it might be a transitional language or represent approximations, that borrowing was common when learning a new language. Most students appeared resistant to these ideas preferring the notion that it denoted incorrect forms of English expression. I had the impression that what I was offering was no more than just another set a labels not some ideas to be explored. (I would have liked to have talked further about this but students had the ability to neutralise ‘theoretical’ discussions, turning a dialogue into a hollow monologue, unless the focus was shifted to practices or topics of interest.) ‘Why,’ I asked, ‘weren’t they having similar literacy problems in Pidgin?’ The answer, ‘Because it is their spoken language’. In actuality some children learn to read and write in Pidgin in religion classes.
Comments
I still comment on the class teacher, because the Grade six students are very important people at this stage.91

Kathy’s following lesson begins with children discussing questions about the ‘fruit lunch’, followed by individual writing, and then peer assisted writing. Confronted with the fact that, ‘some children wrote their report in Pidgin while others tried their best to write theirs in English and pidgin’ Kathy faces difficulty correcting the writing of 34 children and helping them write in English. She finds a way out of this dilemma by sharing the writing of those who have finished, so that ‘the slow ones were given some idea of how to write their report’ and asking ‘those children who wrote better English and those who finished to help their friends’.
Kathy is pleased to get ‘some good reports written by some students’ but directs displeasure at the class teacher for what is seen to be his failure to improve the class’s English.

Here, Kathy’s pedagogy is socially responsive and reflective her concerns are for all the children in the class, particularly those with English difficulties. She is not so deeply embedded in the authority of her position as to deny other ‘authorial’ voices to emerge in the class. She is responsive to the circumstances she faces and jointly constructs. Here she is not so overly concerned with uniquely individualised texts that she prevents children from using Pidgin, and sharing their thoughts, writing and expertise with others. But there is a sense that she feels caught unable to do all she would like for these students.

Entry 9:
Yesterday I collected all the 2nd drafts of the report writing from the students. I made corrections in the night and brought it back this morning so I gave it back to them. I told them to get into groups and read their reports to their friends and make corrections on their paper. After that the children were asked to do the final copy. I gave papers out and explained what I wanted them to do and I expected them to do and I expected them to do what I said. Doing the Do Talk Record approach for the language lessons was done and I needed to do my last touches to make or publish a report book.

91 To ‘comment’ here means to remind the teacher of his responsibilities to these children. It is to suggest that more could be done for them.
That was my morning lessons which I taught the language lesson and the other subjects were taught after recess. My Maths lesson and the science was supervised by Mr W. I was never in a class that Mr W has given me a lecture. So when I saw him sitting at the back of the classroom I was already nervous. Actually I was sweating therefore I was making mistakes when I was teaching on area. Instead of saying square centimetre, I said centimetre square. And for my science lesson, I was supposed to introduce the new words that I should be using in the science experiment but I didn’t and I went straight to my science lesson. These are some of the things that happen to me when I was nervous. Later when I was told by Mr W, I told him that I was nervous and I got myself confused. However, today was just normal as the other days. Busy with lesson plans and correcting children’s work. That’s how a teacher was to be.

**Thoughts**

Everyday is busy and a sweating day for me. I feel tired and feeling like dropping dead.

**Comments**

My body need to function well to meet the challenge.

> Here, during the writing of final reports, Kathy’s teaching is characterised by her sense of purpose coupled to a view of how things should and are ‘expected’ to be done.

> I gave papers out and explained what I wanted them to do and I expected them to do and I expected them to do what I said.

This is an authoritative expression of previously expressed concerns that, ‘I feel that things you planned will never work out right for you unless the children perform their part as the teachers expect(s)’ (School Experience, Visit 7). Having worked through the night correcting their work Kathy claims a sense of editorial control over the children’s writing, contrasting with her more negotiated approach to conducting the oral aspects of these lessons. Writing, not talking or doing, is here more highly valued and protected.

In the midst of her day Kathy has two lessons supervised and is left physically drained. For Kathy, it is not only that teaching is physically and mentally demanding, but the experience of being evaluated by someone unknown, disrupts her thinking and triggers physiological reactions of confusion causing her to make mistakes. Perhaps more powerful than the bodily effects of supervision is its ideology. An ideology which reduces the subject to a receptacle of skills for the purposes of examining their
teaching. 'Objective' scrutiny of students' preparations, actions/interactions, communications, knowledge, questions, evaluations, persuasiveness, voice, appearance, powers of organisation and control are held to be sufficient indicators of a students competence without the contextualising influence of the students' view.

What is lost in the shift to 'supervision' mode, is the texture of teaching. Kathy's trauma is characterised by restricted perception, as her senses close in around her. The supervision disturbs the order of her thinking, acting and reacting in the classroom. The sensitivities to context which have been building at the 'molecular' level of her mind-body are overridden at the prospects of being evaluated and represented in terms which she is unable to resist. The supervisor as stranger in the classroom disrupts, by his presence, her sensory world. The supervision focus ultimately stripping the classroom, and her teaching, of its complexity.

Entry 10:

Yesterday during the school assembly the headmaster told the children that this week would be the last week for the trainees. We the trainee teachers were asked to teach songs, dances and have little plays and dramas for the children to present during the closing Day of School and a little bit of celebration with us the trainees.

I did teach normally and planned lesson yesterday and today but no lecturers went to our school to supervise. Anyhow this was one of the things which most students were not happy with. Continued with my children's activity. Ms J (peer) and I taught then

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92 The single lesson evaluation sheet which Practicum supervisors are required to use to satisfy the demands of the institution is divided into eleven categories, each of which is further divided into 2-3 salient sub-categories. Each category is rated on a scale from 1-5 from no use of the skill (1) to very good use of the skill (5). There is space for general comment. These sheets are returned to the MTC administration as a record of the Practicum. Students who are deemed by supervisors to be 'at risk' of failing the Practicum, meet with their supervisors or the Practicum coordinator to discuss ways to overcome difficulties. Very few students fail the Practicum, (see Appendix for the single lesson evaluation sheet.) These evaluation pro-formas are historically linked to the micro-skills programme used by the Professional Studies department. They reflect macro categories of gross observable behaviour. There is little if any micro-analysis of the way these skills construct teaching contexts and mediate learning. Rather they are broad categories of skills which, instead of characterising teaching as responsive to various circumstances, are reified as 'ends' through the process of supervision, where students' practices are acceptable only if they reflect well in these skill categories.
two traditional action dances one creative dance with music and two funny dramas or plays.
The children took part in all the activities but there were some children who were shy. I tried my best to get them to talk but I couldn't because they kept their mouths shut and pretended that they knew nothing.\textsuperscript{93} So I reported those children to the class teacher and warned the children. He told them that they should take part or face the consequences. One of the things I found with these grade six students is that they don't listen to somebody which they think is same as them. They think critically and talk on their own wish. Preparing for this exciting but a sad day for me, I was running here and there getting everything ready. The children were sad that they would miss us, and it was the same for the trainee teachers. This is what we did in the afternoon with the children. As for the morning we taught normal lessons.

**Thoughts**
I was sad when I was teaching them the songs and dances because that was what we did with us our very own kind of thing. So when they sing those songs they will remember me.

**Comments**
I think children must be given such opportunities to act, dance, sing during the expressive arts lesson and improve themselves.

*In the heightened activity of the final days of teaching practice and the school term, students expect that lecturers will be there to see final lessons to provide final advice so that there best efforts are recorded and reported. Lecturers are writing final reports and revisiting students with 'weaknesses' to the concern of some students who feel that they have not been visited enough or have not had an opportunity to show they have improved and have the record of their weaknesses overturned. I did teach normally and planned lesson yesterday and today but no lecturers went to our school to supervise. Anyhow this was one of the things which most students were not happy with.*

In class, Kathy notes how some children are uncooperative. She like other students has done much in the preparation of dramas, songs and dance for the children to present to

\textsuperscript{93} Another student at a different school refers to a similar situation how the 'behaviour side' and the 'academic side' come together, when '... a shy (child) becomes ignorant. Sometimes when forced to speak.' (Michelle)
the school. But some children resist this expectation to perform, 'they kept their mouth shut and pretended that they knew nothing'. Kathy faces the reality that some children will not respond to her requests, 'they don't listen to somebody which they think is the same as them. They think critically and talk on their own wish.' These Grade six children who exercise their will, who don't want to take part are confronted by their class teacher, 'so I reported those children to the class teacher and warned the children. He told them that they should take part or face the consequences'. In this way the children are 'encouraged' to learn the songs and dances the students leave behind. What is interesting is the weighting that students place upon these activities. Like many of her 'peermates' Kathy knows the power of these cultural signatures, they have the power to stimulate the memory of experiences, people, places and times.

I was sad when I was teaching them the songs and dances because that was what we did with us our very own kind of thing. So when they sing those songs they will remember me.

Entry 11:
Today was another new day of hard work again. When preparing for a big event or a big day then your heart would be beating in an unusual way. And this was what actually happened to be. Being the students leader for the students here in Utu are under my care I was asked to make a speech to the school as a whole including the teachers and the village communities.

I wrote my speech last night but then I had to work with Ms J to get everything sorted out for the Grade Six students. When we tried to teach the normal subjects in the morning the children were no longer interested to learn. They were bored and were making noises. I felt stupid and decided to the stop but then I can't listen to the children, as a teacher I have to make a good decision. So what I did was I told them after lunch we have our dance and song practice so for now we are to learn something first. So they listened and did their maths exercise. I was angry when I was doing the demonstration work on the board. When there were some boys who were playing at the back. I asked those boys to come up and teach. I stopped and I was looking at them. Because of what they did I decided not to let them go out for recess but to do extra maths exercises. This was one of the things or ways of punishing students. I never punished or hit children but today was the first time because I was really frustrated.
Thoughts
I really felt that sometimes children can really put you in a bad mood. There are some things that you don’t do that really come into effect when you are angry.

Comments
I think I must learn to control my anger and learn to be patient at all times.

*Kathy is involved in preparations for the final day and feels the pressure of various expectations.*

*When preparing for a big event or a big day then your heart would be beating in an unusual way. And this was what actually happened to be.*

*In the morning’s teaching she is caught in the midst of a resistant moment and the expectations of her position. Kathy loses patience and punishes some of the boys by calling them to the front to ‘teach’, stopping and looking at them, by not letting them out for recess but having them do extra maths.*

*In the moment her authority and position are challenged and her moods turns to anger, Kathy resorts to behaviour that to her is regrettable. Behaviour that is symptomatic of attempts to resolve one of the central tensions of western styled schooling that between student autonomy and teacher authority. Kathy’s self-awareness is accusative, she takes responsibility for the anger and her responses. The wider tension is not implicated. Feeling overwhelmed, the loss of class control results in a loss of self-control which for Kathy is the more critical, ‘I must learn to control my anger and learn to be patient at all times’. Patience in the midst of disturbance. These are defining moments. Kathy’s reflexive position marks a discourse of self sacrifice, faith and endurance. It is not confrontary nor interrogative of the circumstances. Looking back, however, what is not subjected to her scrutiny is the assumption she makes in the midst of the children’s protestations,*

*They were bored and were making noises. I felt stupid and decided to the stop but then I can’t listen to the children, as a teacher I have to make a good decision.*

*Her instinctive reaction to ‘stop’, is confronted by the notion that a teacher should be an autonomous decision-maker, that the children can’t be listened to. In the moments that follow Kathy uses both her powers of rationalisation (*...I told them after lunch we have our dance and song practice so for now we are to learn something first. So they*)
listened and did their maths exercise’) and punishment to sustain this ideology of teacher authority.

Interpolation

Jane

In other classrooms, in other circumstances, other student teachers are faced with similar situations. The following extracts from Jane’s journal is instructive in terms of the way she chooses to manage the interests of her Grade 4 children.

Entry 5:

It was our physical Education lesson time and I took the children out for circuit training. I told my children to make a big circle and hold hands together. However when I told them to do that, they thought we were going to play “The cat and the Rat game” and so what they did was, one child went inside the circle and the other one outside. I did not realise that but then when I told them to put their hands down, one child got up and said “Teacher the game is not like that, we should all hold hands together.” When I heard what that small boy said, I realised what the children were trying to play. However, I told them that this wasn’t the game which we were going to play and again they asked me “Teacher, what are we going to play?” and I told them we aren’t going to play but we will do some physical fitness and from there all of them started to lose interest.

Anyway, I got on them and told them to listen to instructions but however, they did not listen except few of them were interested in doing the training with me. I really found it very difficult to control the class outside the classroom which always want to lead me. Anyway the only solution to help me control the class was to get a stick and hold it in my hand. After all, they started behaving again.

Comments

Sometimes children will always want to act smart and they would instruct a teacher to do things that they favour. However, if only the teacher is smart enough, he/she won’t be controlled by the children but instead control the children. This lesson of Physical Education really gave me a hard time and it also made me experience how it would be like if we take children out of the classroom (ie. class control).

Anyway to solve such problems like that I as a teacher must be strict with them and do discipline the children. Class control is very important because if the children are not
controlled well, they might disturb the other children who do really want to learn or concentrate.

_Issues of activity and participation become issues of control, which becomes a matter of whether the ‘teacher is smart enough’. Jane is unwilling to negotiate the activity with the children and feels challenged by the children who have organised themselves for a favourite game before she fully realises what is happening. Here, (O)ut of the classroom’, Jane confronts not only the expectations of the children, but also other circumstances, spaces, and for her, a shift in the children’s perception of the formality of the pedagogic relation. Her attempts to shift the ‘classroom’ outside are resisted and are finally mediated by the threat of punishment, ‘... the only solution to help me control the class was to get a stick and hold it in my hand’. After all, they started behaving again._

The children are caught in a contradictory web of schooling discourses, of bounded and bonded participation, they certainly do not see ‘physical fitness’ having more value than physical ‘play’. Their attempt to define the lesson becomes an issue of control, not entirely, in this case, of the children’s behaviour, but of the pedagogy. What Jane and the children experience in this clash of expectations, is a defining moment in the political economy of schooling. Whether it is the effects of removing the physical boundaries of the classroom, a shift in perception of their roles created by the less formal circumstances, or just a disagreement over what is preferable, it is a matter of who is going to lead who, as Jane records,

_I really found it very difficult to control the class outside the classroom which always want to lead me._

What Jane is battling is the feeling of being subjugated to the children’s discourses of schooling.

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94 I note how other students also take up sticks during class time. When I ask them why they are doing it, I am told that they do not intend to use them but that they scare the children. I ask them why they want to scare the children, they say because they aren’t doing what they are told. When I ask them why they are not doing what they are told I am told that some children are lazy, and don’t want to learn, that it is the teacher’s job to make them learn. I ask them that if they hit a child does the child do his/her work, the answer is invariably no, it is the thought of being hit which ‘motivates’ them. I suggest that they talk to the children to find out more why they don’t want to learn. I ask them not to carry sticks. I remind them of the education department policy on discipline.
Entry 6:
For our language lesson, that is 'thematic approach' activities we went to visit the two village canteens nearby the school. The purpose of visiting the two canteens was to compare the prices of goods sold in the canteen, how people make profit and to draw the graph showing the prices of goods in the village canteens. Anyway the children were told to put their hands on their heads and we at last took a short walk to the nearby villages.
Anyway that was in the morning, the first hour and every morning at 8:45, there is always English broadcast. However while we were still looking at the prices and comparing them the time was going up to 8:45 so one of the children got up and said, "Teacher let's leave the canteen and we go quickly to the classroom" and I asked him why and he said, "All of us here want to listen to the broadcast" (story of Peter, Dagu & Kinibo). This story was very interesting and I myself really wanted to listen to the story also, so what I did was, I told each and everyone of them to quickly look inside the canteen and choose a good and remember the price. Anyway, everyone did what I said and they quickly ran back to the classroom. I decided to listen to what the children said because I thought of the PE lesson that we had, otherwise I will face the same problem again to control the class. Since majority of the class wanted to listen to the story, I just listened to them because if I don't and I keep on talking about canteen and the goods, children will not concentrate and they will lose interest of learning.
Anyway, we went to the classroom and after listening to the broadcast we continued with the lesson.

Comments
I learn a lot from the children especially when they request for that particular activity but a good teacher will not let the children instruct him/her. However, I think it is also very important for us teachers to consider what children say, especially their interest. When my children requested for listening to the broadcast, I ignored what they said but then one thought came to my mind and said, "Listening to stories or broadcast is part of that lesson you are taking, ie "English".

*Jane remains uncomfortable working with the children outside of the boundaries of the classroom particularly as those boundaries literally dissolve*
physically and socially within metres of the classroom into rainforest and the activities of community life. She asserts control,

'Anyway the children were told to put their hands on their heads and we at last took a short walk to the nearby villages'.

The request to return to the classroom for the broadcast sees Jane caught in the midst of what she at first sees to be contending interests, the interests of the children and those of schooling. The hesitations, the moments of uncertainty, the playing out of the consequences of various actions are defining moments,

... a good teacher will not let the children instruct him/her. However, I think it is also very important for us teachers to consider what children say, especially their interest.

The decision to return, however, turns upon the consideration that what is requested is complimentary with what counts as schooling.

The children ever conscious of the more enjoyable aspects of their apprenticeship succeed in having their interests acknowledged.

The extent of student-teacher negotiation with children over the activities of the day is seen by some as threatening to a teacher's authority and responsibility to 'lead' a class. What is revealed in these accounts in the face of more pre-scribed notions of teaching, is the situated nature of teaching in which what counts is the quality and the desirability of the negotiations, the decisions and the judgements, for both teachers and children.

**Kathy**

**Entry 12:**

Our four weeks of Practical teaching has come to its end with so many highlights of the day with trainees, songs, & dances and small games. Of course there was food and drinks from the parents of the children as well.

My heart was broken I felt sorry for the great students I had in my class which made my practical teaching a success. However, there were some who did not behave well in class but I think they gave me some kind of knowledge and thoughts of how I would control a class in the future. I have learned a lot from the class teacher and the children. My learning experiences came from inside and outside the classroom. The village communities were friendly people who helped the other students and me during the
community development and our professional study research paper. In addition to our school work were more involved with the work of the church because the school is run by the Catholic agency. Therefore we had morning devotions and were involved in preparing Sunday services. I think I did really enjoyed my stay and I felt like I was part of that community. Apart from these our classroom teaching was all done to the teachers expectations and we did really put our time and effort in helping the children. In fact we did much and we were praised for that. Overall our practical teaching was a real experience and an enjoyable one.

Thoughts
Teacher is a living job -meaning that knowledge is being taught or help developing children’s mind in order to live. Being a teacher to aid the people with living tools.

Comments
I’m always interested in teaching - teaching is my profession and I will do all my best to help the young generation of PNG to learn what they need.

Kathy is able to draw learning from even stressful moments,
My heart was broken I felt sorry for the great students I had in my class which made my practical teaching a success. However, there were some who did not behave well in class but I think they gave me some kind of knowledge and thoughts of how I would control a class in the future.

Much of the value she gained from this teaching practice she attributes to ‘learning experiences ... from inside and outside the classroom’, feeling ‘like I was part of that community’ and being ‘involved with the work of the church’ and in preparing ‘morning devotions’ and ‘Sunday services’. The close overlap between religious, community and educational sentiments manifests itself in Kathy’s strong conviction in the value of teaching to ‘develop(ing) children’s mind in order to live ... to aid the people with living tools’, to ‘do all my best to help the young generation of PNG to learn what they need’.

Discussion
When I asked Kathy what she meant by ‘Living Knowledge’, she wrote,
‘To be a teacher means full commitment because you are providing a living knowledge’. What I meant by living knowledge is this: teachers are the important people who will help the children’s mind through teaching. I say living knowledge because the children do have some little knowledge. But also
when they come to school the teacher teaches them with so many new things that makes them to develop their little knowledge and also to make them become a skilful person in a work, art or anything that the person has used his knowledge to become. From the knowledge and the skills that the person have acquired he then use these skills in life to live. For example, teaching maths and English, helps a child who stops from Grade six. These children can use the basic knowledge of English to read and work with numbers. That can enable this person to make or run his small business, do art work or anything that can be done to earn his living.

The whole idea I’m trying to get across on the term I used as Living knowledge is this. Teachers need to plan lessons that will benefit the children. Because children need their knowledge to do work to earn money to live, do work back at home or proceed on for further studies. Really living means life and knowledge is what we know about life. Therefore I would conclude and say that teaching is an important job to do. That is to help a child to know the new changes are taking place and teach to the new ways of life. So that the child will be aware and will be learning new things to adapt himself or herself to the changing society. Teachers must work hard and plan lessons with knowledge, ideas and information for a growing child to be productive and useful in life.⁹⁵

Throughout her entries, Kathy draws for answers upon various progressive ideas, ‘children centred learning’, ‘integrated teaching and learning’. These pedagogical orientations are often theorised in procedural/pragmatic terms, guided by her assessment of what children require in both universal (ideal) and circumstantial terms. Her busyness, planning, organising, correcting, her view of the importance of teaching and learning, draw energy from her views of social change and the role of education in the future lives of children. The voices and dispositions of the children she teaches are however, only faintly heard, as their behaviours shift through varying degrees of interestedness. In these early days of her teaching she focuses upon her values, her methods and how they are received. There are disruptive moments which bring

⁹⁵ Meanings are slippery. My first impressions of ‘living knowledge’ was that ‘living’ qualified knowledge. Kathy’s meaning is that ‘living knowledge’ is a category of knowledge, not a quality of knowledge.
frustration and concern and happier moments when children can work, talk and write from what they know.

She is guided by the view that education is a key to managing social change, (not that it embodies social change itself), that ultimately it rewards life, that it is the means ...to help a child to know the new changes are taking place and teach to the new ways of life. So that the child will be aware and will be learning new things to adapt himself or herself to the changing society.

Kathy’s writings are strongly influenced by ideals within a discourse of social obligation. In a society in which many traditional signifying systems have been dismantled (talking, numbering, signing, gesturing) the sense of urgency that Kathy brings to her work to help children ‘adapt’ to change, to learn English, is understandable. There is here, however, in this notion of ‘adapting’, a trace of the possibility that change can be mediated by what remains of local knowledges and practices.
Marcus Practicum Grade 4

Marcus is sent to Bigawa Community school about three hours from Madang in the rural hinterlands. The school is small with less than 100 students. It is bounded by tropical rainforest which is slowly being logged and replaced with plantation timber (from the disorderly and chaotic to the orderly and obedient). The local community is experiencing a physical transformation a noticeable legacy of development capitalism. The significance of place and community and circumstances are themes which Marcus gives meaning in his account of his Practicum, a view of events for the most part, outside the classroom.

Day 1: The report of my travel & reception at school.

The students (teacher trainees) for Mawan, Utu and Bigawa Community schools departed the college in two college vehicles at 10:30am I packed up my books and beddings with other students properties at the open back of the dyna. I sat comfortably with Kalal96 in the front driver’s cabin. Rest of the students packed up in the bus. The engines of the two vehicles roared continually along the South Coast Road, while the curious eyes of the students peeped out of the windows trying their very best to see the new places, markets, villages, rivers, bridges and even to read sign posts, indicating different feeder roads to remote areas. The dyna travelled ahead of the bus so that students can watch closely the fall out of our belongings. We already approached Gogol Bridge after some minutes of driving, and travelled some metres further and then turned in right at the junction to Mawan, the road was in good condition as daily serviced by the Jant97 company or their big vehicles to transport heavy timbers. The

96 Kalal is a driver at Madang Teachers College.

97 Jant (Gent) is Malaysian logging company working in the province. They harvest rich varieties of rainforest timber and export them replacing them with inferior faster growing plantation varieties. While the damage to the environment is objected to by many locals others who own the land have reaped short term financial benefits. Some unsealed roads, bridges and a school have been built (Lagogen). Where sacred, marked or canoe trees have been identified they are left standing. Most animal and bird life have moved. Hunting means going further into deep bush. The provincial government is sensitive to criticism and closed down the provincial Office of Information for distributing leaflets to local villages urging villagers to think about the long term consequences of selling their forests for short term cash gains. The road that Marcus
headmaster together with the teachers and community welcomed us. The atmosphere indicated their expectation of us, so with smiling faces we dropped our girl students destined for Mawan community school. We left Mawan and drove along the Gent (Jant) highway until we reached Utu catholic station. Every buildings, villages, flower gardens, market area were all set out. In the centre of this set out is the community school. We dropped the second group of eight (8) girls there. When finished unloading their properties, we drove off again for Bigawa. This time, the bus returned and only the dyna loaded us, heading still on Gent highway. After 15 minutes drive from Utu, we finally reached our destination. That's Bigawa community school.

The headmaster, an old man of 58 or 57 yrs old strolled forward with a big smile greeted us with a short welcome speech. The other three woman teachers followed him and we shook hands and they also welcomed us. By that time, Kalal had already left. The headmaster then lead us to a semi-fabricated house and handed me the key to the house. I opened the door, and we went in. Then he took our girls to another house. 

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travels, the 'Gent' highway is owned by the company, it is a path to the remaining rainforest and to new developments.

98 **On introductions**
Introductions are an important part of beginning a Practical experience. They are the basis upon which students feel accepted (or alienated) in the school-community. Not all students experience the welcoming that Marcus and his group receive. The following extracts are from students who have gone to other schools which describe some of the discontinuities of the school - community life transition.

**Feelings of alienation:**
'It happened that in the morning we all gathered for introduction. The only person who came to greet us was the senior teacher. The rest did not come to greet us and we felt out of place. Even the headmaster didn't come to introduce his staff and also show us our classroom. I felt like I didn't know what I was supposed to do. We just sat in a small building wondering which classroom to go. We felt that that was not good. We just sat there until recess and the headmaster came. We sat there because there was nobody to show us our classrooms, nobody to greet us since we were new to that place. We acted that way because nobody came to greet us so that we could be part of their community. (Olah, male)

**Feelings of shame:**
Students not accepted at Rempi school, 'It must have been shameful for those students who were going there and also the driver.' (Tara, female)

**Misinformation:**
We left our properties inside and came out, exploiting the whole school area. The school has a good looking environment, and has a good view to the Gent forest. Some minutes walk is a big running river. We had our first swimming there. We returned then our excitement or the day ends. Our big task for the "Practical Teaching" lay ahead, and deeply thinking about, I layed my head and that was the end.  

Day 2: First Day at School

8:15 am General Assembly

The headmaster introduced himself as Mr F W officially welcomed us, followed by teachers and children. We the trainees introduced ourselves lead by me their group leader. Our allocated classes were announced by ourselves. Unfortunately there were no grades 5 and 1 classes, so two of our trainees left the next day. One to Utu

"After greeting the children they were sent home because the 3 male teachers were busy building our house.' There was some confusion as teachers expected boys not girls and there was not a house to sleep in. (Elin, female)

Feelings of suspicion:
The children sang one of their songs for the trainees and carried the students 'cargo' to their houses, they brought kulaus, vegetables, and greens, the mothers provided betelnut. 'They seem very kind ... however, we cannot judge a book by its cover, so ... we'll wait and see.' (Gau, female)

Feeling unsettled:
'No assembly room, no flag pole! some mothers from Kauris came and took us to the village. As soon as we reached the village the mothers greeted us with cold greetings and betelnuts and mustards. An hour later we joined the mothers in worshipping with them. Went to gardens to harvest food - came back later and visited new places. I also observed some of the differences in planting and harvesting some of the food in the garden and the patterns used in planting the food. At first we thought the (village) boys would be naughty to us but they were friendly. They carried our small bags and we came to the school and they and there mothers went back to their village.' (Michelle, female)

99 Marcus' account is unique, few students provide such a view of what it is like to set out for teaching practice. In his description of meeting with the headmaster, Marcus positions himself in the text as a 'leader' (Bigman). The figure of the old headmaster (as 'village elder') and the three women teachers following, coupled with Marcus arriving in the 'front driver's cabin', provide the imagery for the meeting of two men recognised as leaders of their groups. Marcus notes also, the proximity of the school on the doorstep of recent 'developments'.

'The school has a good looking environment, and has a good view to the Gent forest'.
community school and the other to another school. I was asked to take Grade 4 class. The whole morning til 4:06 pm, my peer mate and myself observed the lessons and went around checking children’s workbook.

The school has three(3) classroom buildings. Each building has two separate blocks which means six classrooms. Four of them are being in use. Two vacant. All buildings are semi-fabricated. Headmaster has his own office.\(^{100}\) There is a science lab filled with science kits and also library books. There is one separate room of school materials and another room for sports equipment, a flag pole erected in the heart of the school.\(^{101}\) A

\(^{100}\) Few students provide descriptions of their schools. The physical characteristics of the school, however, play a significant role in the socialisation of student teachers. Size, location, agency, level are all contributing influences to how well students adapt to their circumstances and roles. The following account sets the school into a wider community framework.

‘Koba community school is a level one school. It is a new school, five years of operation. It is also a mission agency school with the population of 100 students. Since it is new it has four classrooms made of bush materials and has grades 1, 2, 4, 5. There are only 4 teachers including the headmaster. and consists of two double classrooms made from bush materials. The teachers houses are built of bush materials including ours, and it is built by the teachers themselves, sometimes with the help of the board. The community itself is not cooperative to the school. Most of their time is spent in the bush working in garden and plantation. In the classroom they don’t have many educational displays, only decorations which makes the room attractive. On the back wall of the classroom are noticeboards with notices like, teacher’s timetable, duty roster, timetable measurements and their units. One thing I noticed is that on Monday to Thursday nearly all students will be present for class, but on Fridays half the class are absent. The reason is that they help their mother especially to go to the market and sell garden food for their living.’ (School children are good at handling money. Adding, counting, and giving change etc. Mothers usually sit behind and supervise. Some children are able to earn money for themselves which is often spent on buying school supplies, pencils, rubbers, ruler. sp) (Elin, female)

\(^{101}\) Lack of materials and resources is claimed by many students to be an impediment to their teaching. Unlike the school that Marcus attends, other students find themselves in circumstances with very little teaching material support.

Teaching materials was one of the major problems at the school. The school does not have enough money to afford all the materials for every grades. These grade one children were not issued with writing books to practice writing. Therefore every pre-writing lesson they normally wrote on small blackboards, they did not handle pencils as the school could not afford to but pencils for the small children. Since the school cannot afford these teaching materials we depended mainly on our improvised materials. I was lucky enough to bring some blank sheets of paper with me. I made attribute blocks by cutting up old cardboard boxes, making different shapes and colouring them and also made animal shapes for the children to match together. At first
church locates along side the main road. A volleyball field and a once used soccer field. There are four teachers houses.

**Day 3:**

The official hours - from 8:15 - 4:06 we observed the lessons taught by the grade 4 teacher Mr F W. We participated in work correcting helping slow children etc.\(^{102}\) Even physical education lessons, we took the class out for physical movement and volleyball playing. During the interval of lesson, we prepared our lesson plans for the next day’s kick off lessons. At 4:30 pm sharp, we walked into the villages to get familiar with the community. Our mission was successful. Almost all members or inhabitants greeted us and shared with us whatever they have. We returned in the afternoon with some food.

In the night, we lit our Coleman and prepared all our next day’s lesson plans.

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*I enjoyed making my own materials but after doing it for a whole week I was tired, however I would say that improvised materials are much better teaching aids if they are used effectively.* (Jill, female)

*Grade 6 teacher from Bunabun taught written sentences lesson - teacher told children to do exercises in their books, 28 students and 6 pupil books. Children had to share books but were too slow to complete the work, the learning would be fast if all children have books.* (Lea, female)

\(^{102}\) In the first couple of days students are involved in planning, observing and assisting class teachers, particularly supervising children’s work. Both student teachers and children experience some disorientation. Students judge and theorise on the basis of how what they see measures up to notions of what counts as acceptable classroom performances (for both teachers and children). Children sometimes hide their ‘work’ in recognition of the ‘teacher’s’ singular gaze, knowing how poor work reflects back on them.

Other students report a variety of responses.

'As I walked around from desk to desk I came to one child and asked him to say the words he copied from the card. This child did not understand me and he called the letters out of the word e.g. 'h o u s e'. I gave him clues but still he cannot say the words, so I asked the other person beside him to say the words and he did. I found out that only one quarter completed the exercise.' (Namu, male)

Observing Grade 2 children at their table: 'When I got there some of the children even hid their work from me. I told them to put their books out and I glanced through it and found that they were the slow writer in the class (below average). The teacher showed where the average and above average sat. I felt that when children were arranged in that order the children could not learn properly because the above average students would get the answers fast while the below average children would never give an answer because they don’t discuss properly.' (David, male)
Day 4: Our first Day teaching

Our class teacher informed his class that from now on we’ll be sharing the lessons. He said, ‘There will be three teachers teaching you’. So I began with an opening prayer, and began my Language Drill lesson.

15 mins lesson. My peer mate and myself substitutes every thirty minutes to teach our planned lessons as according to the timetable. While I waited for my turn to come I prepared another lesson for the next day. We finished off our lessons at 4:06pm. Then after school hours, I went to the creek with some school boys and we swam. We also played ‘pegi pegi’ until we cannot play any longer. The boys went home, and I came back to the house.

Day 5: Second Day teaching

From 8am - 10 am My language Thematic approach class I brought the whole class out to study and observe the fruit trees. Each child actively and interestedly participated in the observation.\(^{103}\) There wasn’t any supervisors going to supervise my lesson. The days classes end as usual. I spent 1 hour preparing lessons for the next day. As there were few hours before five oclock, I rushed down to the house to cook for us, as following the cooking roster. 5:30 pm - we had our dinner we then lit our lamp and continued our lesson plan I completed mine and went to bed early.

\(^{103}\) These ‘thematic’ lessons draw upon the notion of ‘concentrated language encounters’ (Cazden, Gray) and the idea of learning language by learning through language. The aim is to build a field of experience, language and relations through involvement in various activities which encourage sharing and negotiating and recording information, framed in a sequence of do, talk & record stages. Most students trialed these lesson during the Practicum.

Theme lesson, peer mate away, class teacher did not turn up: ‘Never mind I took the chn by myself. At the beach I told the chn to collect anything that they see on the beach. I also asked them to look at the things that surrounds the beach and many more. The chn did not stay under the shade where I told them to when we came out of the classroom. Once they reached the beach some went north and the rest south. After spending about half and hour at the beach, I brought the chn back to school. There half exhausted we discussed about the things we saw at the beach. After our discussion I told them to bring the things they collected up to the front. We named the things, mostly the children gave the names of things in Pidgin so I had to name them in English and have them saying it. After naming everything I displayed their collection at the back and labelled them, i.e. writing their Pidgin names in brackets and English names without brackets. (Jill, female)
Day 6:
7-7:30 Breakfast; 8:15 - 9:15 Holy Mass - celebrant Fr. J Y, the parish priest of Utu Catholic mission - after the Mass we had classes. In the afternoon I visited the Gent (Jant) newly planted area. It was a very big area. Around 500 hectares. All the new or young seedlings planted were brought up all the way from Mawan. I then interviewed a worker of the land lease. The man introduced himself as Henry, said "the Gent company paid off completely with the cash for this land". Once the company gets its money from the production, it will be completely his. The company paid according to amount of young seedlings planted. I then asked him of how much the worker gets he said we use to get K45 to K60 (fortnight).104

104 Marcus is attracted to the Gent development, its size, the terms of its development and how much it pays to plant the plantation, about $28-$37/week. (At the time K1.00 = $A1.23).

Of such developments Jay Andrew an MTC student writes,

Where are my trees gone ... ?
Where are the birds that filled the trees gone ... ?
Where are the thick unexploded rainforest gone ... ?
Who has taken away the wonders of the living forest ... ?
Sh-s-s-s Wo-o-o-o DEVELOPMENT

They told me, we bring money
They cried, we bring riches
They shouted from a distance, we bring peace
They promised...there is happiness in a higher living standard

Ye-ee!! the leaders cheated us
All done for one thing ...
Now its gone ... lost forever and tomorrow will never be seen again
Ohoooo all in the name of “development” ...
Beautyiness of earth is gone ! ... gone ... will never be seen again ...
Ugliness, desertedness and pollution has come ...
What can we do?!?
Watch and keep track of your faith!!

The issue of logging was also raised by one student teacher in her classroom.
I really enjoyed the oral expression lesson today. Firstly before the actual presentation I asked the children whether they had done some issue-based activities. They replied saying they had never done any exercises of that sort. Because of this I gave them an example to prepare them for the actual lesson. Although it was their first time to do such exercise they really discussed the issue I put up as an example. My issue for the
Day 7:
Fr J Y drove very early in the morning from Utu to Bigawa where we are. He picked us up all the trainees and we came to Utu. There he dropped us and we stayed together with the fellow trainees. They prepared a heavy meal for us, and we shared together. In the evening, he drove us back to Bigawa. I felt so tired and went straight to bed. I slept until 5:30 pm. The two girls woke me up and we had our dinner. I then went to bed again and slept until 7:00 morning.

Day 8: Sunday
One of the St Therese sisters drove in very early in the morning to pick us up. All trainees hopped on with one of the woman teachers. All sat at the back and I sat in front (the cabin) with the sister. She drove us to Utu. We joined with our fellow trainees sharing jokes, laughing etc. The bell rang we went into church. We celebrated the Sunday Liturgy with Fr. J Y as main celebrant. After the holy mass, we had our lunch with the fellow trainees. We then travelled back to Bigawa. I felt so tired again and went to bed.

Day 9: Provincial Government Day
A public holiday in commemorating the day Madang officially declared the legal set up of Provincial Government. The early hours of the morning I planned out my lessons for the day. I had my lunch. The headmaster with his gun, called me and we went hunting in the big forest. The headmaster killed two big pigeons and we brought them home. We cooked them with vegetables and coconut milk. When it was cooked we shared it a piece each among the trainees and families of the headmaster. I just dropped dead on my bed and went to sleep.

lesson was 'All trees in Madang should be cut down.' When I introduced to them the new topic they already started discussing before I even put them into groups. I feel that these children are really motivated to learn many new things if they are provided with activities that are children centred and has meaning to them (field of experience). Looking at some of these children they are often quiet and shy in class and when they are outside they tend to be very talkative. These type of children should be given the opportunity to speak and express their points/views during oral expression lessons. I believe children will learn more from these types of activities than activities like talking drills which follows a structured pattern. Children must be exposed to whole language and must be encouraged to use this language (Shanelle, female)
Day 10:
7:30 am Breakfast. I then prepared for class and walked to the classroom. We had our starting prayer and kicked off the days lessons. Mr M and Miss P arrived at our school in a vehicle from the pool for supervisory visit. My (social science) community life lesson was supervised by Mr M. Good comments. After lunch, we the trainees and the two supervisors had follow up lesson discussions.  

On supervision
Supervision is for most students an uncertain time. Some of their uncertainties stem from not knowing the supervisor well and feeling hesitant to question any comments and/or actions. The following students provide a varied commentary on the nature of supervisors’ comments and interactions most of which do not fare well in terms of reducing future anxieties. While students report supervisor interactions in predominantly ambivalent terms, their reflections point to interrogative, authoritarian/monologic and dialogic discourses.

Supervisor’s questions:
‘Again I was teaching a Mathematics lesson when the lecturers came to the school for supervision. Even though I have prepared my lessons I didn’t expect the lecturers to come for supervision because all through the week they didn’t come and today was the first day of supervision. My class was working on word problems which Mr T supervised for the first time. The lesson was fair and the children were interested in what they were doing especially working the problems with the clear explanation and the level of answers that I gave. One thing that I was not happy was when Mr T asked me why I wanted the chn to get at least 3/4 correct in the exercise we did from the written objective. When I told him that, it is the way I was taught how to write lesson objective, he couldn’t understand it all because his way of teaching was different from the way I was taught how to write lesson objectives. I was not happy with him for making that comment because not every body teaches the same way.’ (Meril, female)

Supervisor intervention:
‘Mr B(my supervisor) taught my lesson on theme, ‘In the garden’, which made me lose interest. He told the children what to do. I just stood and watched the lesson. I lost all interest in the lesson because the lesson was disturbed.’ (Michelle, female)

Spelling lesson - ‘I went on with a stage where I asked the children to give me a sentence using new words but there were no responses. Miss P came in and started correcting me on what to do in front of the class. As embarrassed as I was I completed the lesson ... what I had planned to do just slipped out of my head.’ (Gau, female)

Supervisor coercion:
‘Forced to teach by supervisor when sick, got very angry but I did not say anything, the children were not concentrating on the teaching.’ (Cath, female)
1-30pm the two supervisors returned I took my class out to their agriculture plot (field) and they planted their banana suckers that they brought from home. From 4-5 I planned my lessons for the next day. 6pm I had my dinner. 7-8pm I finished off some of the lessons I did not complete. 9 to bed.

**Supervisor evaluation:**
"Well the lesson activity was on group work for children to work in groups to produce the school tree of the headman to the last people who were the children (structure of power we say). After the lesson (supervisor) told me to make self-evaluation. To my own understanding I think that somebody can not do something at the same time and realise his/her mistakes so I cannot teach at the same time and realise my mistakes. Anyway for the first time I tried self-evaluation and found out that there was some wrong information given to me by the class teacher on the lesson i.e. Board of Governors is part of the school body but he said no. On the children's work I found that children have a clear picture of what different people look and act like. I have seen through the drawings that they did. To help them I drew stick man to represent each person in power but they draw what pictures come in mind, e.g. the inspector was drawn with big belly sitting on a chair. '(Toni, female)"

**Supervisor discussions:**
Science lesson - 'Let us move air'. Mr K supervised. 'One of my weaknesses which Mr K and I discussed was I spoke too fast for the chn and they do not get my instructions clearly therefore sometimes I need to repeat several times. Health lesson - 'Using good manners'. 'This time I reminded myself to speak more slowly. I told my peer mate to write down my weaknesses during the lesson so that I will discuss it together after my lesson. Still she commented that I spoke fast sometimes. '(Jill, female)"

**Supervisor observations:**
Community life lesson - Supervisor said, 'What was taught was not what was planned, but what was taught was much better.' (Cath, female)

**Supervisor evaluation:**
Health lesson - Supervisor said, 'I did most of the talking not giving chances to the children to talk'. (Meta, male)

**Supervisor praise and observations:**
Community Life lesson - Supervisor praised me for the activity on choosing leaders. 'The children voted for a new class captain using a secret ballot'. Too much use of the word 'OK'. Supervisor said that hard words should be explained. (Elin, female)

**No supervisor:**
'I could not judge myself whether my lesson was effective or not. If there should have been an expatriate supervising me then he should tell me about the outcome or end result of the lesson.' (Kinoki, male)
Day 11:
Mr M and Miss P arrived. I submitted to them the days program containing the lessons we will be teaching or we are to teach and the different lesson hours. Miss P was supposed to supervise my science lesson, but failed to turn up. We had follow up lesson discussion and also discussed about ‘Practical Teaching’ related problems. After our discussion, the two supervisors left a bit early. I took my class out for playing volleyball as part of my physical education class. The water supply (blocked) ceased supplying water. The headmaster and I went to the dam, and removed the blockages. It was a small square cement that contains the water and runs down through the pipes.\footnote{A school’s water supply is often represented as a matter of community importance, for the most part, however, only the school (or mission) and the teachers who live there will benefit from the service. The disruption of the service is often a way of registering different kinds of discontent. At this same school, another student reports a different water problem in terms of what it means for being a teacher.}

Day 12: Allowance Day
Kalal, Mr L and his brother arrived we picked up our K13.00 allowance from them.
Two of our trainees and two of the woman teachers travelled to town with Kalal.
Before they left, Mr L collected so many different flower-plants for planting around his residential area. I supervised the whole school children and me cleaned the school area.

\footnote{‘On Sunday we had a problem with water ... the headmaster came along and told us that the village people had a fight the other day and some guys went along and disconnected the pipes so the water couldn’t come through. I was not really troubled with that problem of water because I knew I will face much more problems when I become a real teacher and start teaching in rural areas, isolated from town where water problem may be a major problem. This was maybe just a beginning.’ (Kepler, male)}

\footnote{‘After these two weeks I’ve found out that there is no cooperation between the staffs and the headmaster. Staffs do things on their own and the headmaster on his own. They were supposed to join the pipes for the school water then the staff did not attend. All trainees and the headmaster were only one who did the work. I dug out drains, cleared bushes for pipes. I felt bad about this situation here which should not happen. Teacher should cooperate together for the good and effective running of the school. I feel bad about this because when things like this happen there is going to be a barrier between the staff and the headmaster. This will lead to staff and headmaster not running school properly. So to be a good teacher I helped the headmaster to show good impression. I did that because it was right for me to do that. I’ve got to give a hand and help. My job is not only to teach but work as well.’ (Olah, male)}
We closed off the school at 1:30 pm. In the evening I went and swam till (after) noon. I returned and just before entering the school area the truck driven by Fr. J with teachers arrived. I was just so excited to read my newspaper I went and picked it up from M, rushed to our sitting area, and read my newspaper. We had good meals in the night.

**Day 13: Community Activity Day**

Early in the morning, we the trainees picked up our tools and went to three villages. We divided ourselves into two I and K went with a widow to her garden. We helped her cleaning the plot and as well planted the banana. We worked so hard, and she appreciated our generous help with a bundle of vegetable(s), two whole bunch bananas, several raw taros and yams. She filled up a big white bag and gave it me and K. We took them to the house, and in return we gave them two tinned fish, a parcel of sugar, a small shopping bag filled with rice and a margarine can. Our girls milked the coconut, and cooked the food we brought. We had a heavy meal that evening.

**Day 14:**

Fr J arrived from Utu very early in the morning to pick us up. We had a shower and got dressed. We then hopped on the vehicle, and he drove us to Utu. We brought some food for the Utu girls. At Utu we celebrated our Holy Mass, and followed by that, we had a big procession in adoring and honouring the Body and Blood of Christ. We in Catholic Church called “Corpus Christi” - a special feast day. In the evening Fr. J brought us back to Bigawa. As I was rostered to cook, I asked M and we cooked the food for us all. We had our dinner at 6:00 sharp. We invited the headmaster and we shared our food together. We departed after 9pm.

**Day 15: Public Holiday - Queens Birthday**

I spent the early hours planning my lessons for the next day. After having my lunch, I accompanied the fellow trainees and we walked to a village named Wama. The village is about 5 kilometres away from the school. The people invited us to a game of volley, and we had a good friendly game. The players from the village asked us to play again, but we felt tired, so we returned. On the way we went into the Gent (Jant) young tree growing area, and looked around the area before we came back. At 6pm we had our dinner and went to bed.
Day 16:
We started off our class at the normal hour. The vehicle from the National Works pool arrived, transporting Mr I and Miss P. Both supervised other trainees. Miss P supervised my talking drill lesson. During recess we shared the fruits that the children brought them for us, the trainees. The two supervisors supervised more of our lesson after lunch. During lunch time, we had our follow-up lesson discussions. The two supervisors then left. We completed our lessons for the evening hours.

Day 17:
8 - 8:15 general assembly 8:15 normal class starts. It was my peermate, J’s turn and she took control of the class. It was community life lesson time and she asked the class a lot of questions related to the lesson. One of the funniest answers she received was - “Evenan”, when she asked for the country that PNG share its international border with (Indonesia). The child said “Evenan” because it is the border area between their two villages inhabited with two different tribes. I just burst out with loud gushing laugh and ran out of the classroom. The vehicle from the pool arrived transporting Mr M and Miss P. Both supervised our lessons till lunch. After lunch, we had our lessons follow-up discussions. Miss P collected some flowers for planting, and both left. We proceeded with afternoon classes until we ceased at normal hours 4:06pm.

Day 18:
Breakfast at normal hour 7 am and then walked to school. Preparing everything on board for the days lessons. It was my turn. I kicked off the lesson with prayer. I took language drill, written sentences and written composition.\(^{107}\) I gained good experiences,

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\(^{107}\) On pedagogy and practice
Student teachers’ comments on pedagogy show the extent to which they engage in different kinds of reflection-in-action and how their pedagogies are constituted through questioning existing discourses, in finding the places where they are interrupted; how their pedagogies are also informed through seeing unanticipated consequences of lessons reflected in the way children and their peers work, children’s discursive practices; through the empowering realisation which comes, after much effort, in the feeling ‘I felt that I was a real classroom teacher’; to being caught up in the paralysing influences of deficit discourses.
'My peermate was teaching TESOL, firstly he drew a picture of a coconut on the board and then asked them to name the parts of the coconut ... the children were asked to write about coconut trees. They children were not sure what to write, my peermate made it clearer. Many children copied work from other children. In other words, their works were the same. So I told them to continue writing ... so when I saw that I started to extend their stories by putting in different ideas to each child’s stories. In that way the children have different ideas of the stories. I did not write the stories for them. I extend and expand their work through question them, e.g. “What did they do with the dry nuts?” When I asked them this question the children were able to complete the stories.’

'I was thinking curiously about the work and finally this is what I thought of about spelling. Why don’t we collect words for the lesson from other subjects like community life, science, or maths and put them on the board for the children to study it. Because by doing that the children would be able to know when and where the word is used. Because if we just take the words from the book and put them up it is meaningless to them even if we tell them the definition, still they would not know when to use them in the English language.’ (Meta, male)

'The children should be given more time in writing stories, even write more using their thoughts rather than copying down what was on the board and in the text books. One thing that surprised me most was that when I told them to write their own experiences or legends from their villages they wrote good English and also improved their spelling errors by reading their first draft and reading them by themselves. The children found their own mistakes whole reading through and realised to correct, and also the tenses that they were using when doing exercises in the bk. The teacher corrects them only by putting wither a cross or tick, that confuses the children a lot. Letting the children to read their story a lot and asking them whether their sentences are right or wrong is challenging the child’s mind to think out things better ... is much better than us telling them right or wrong.’ (Bill, male)

'After recess during the maths lesson the children were told to collect stones for addition and subtraction lesson. As they were collecting stones some children said, ‘Teacher we will use hands to add or subtract.’ I told children to use any of the objects, their own hands or stones. It was very interesting to see most children use the body to count. First their hands were used then their legs. When the legs were counted they used their eyes, and nose, ears, mouth. I was really interested seeing them use their body parts to count. I found that when stones and sticks were given they got few things correct but when they use their body they most likely get everything correct. I felt that the children learn in different ways they don’t always learn how the teacher teaches but they learn in their own way.’ (Cath, female)

'We talked about some of the uses of water and I told them a made up story and taught them a song about the creek. For the recording part I told them to list down 4 uses of water and the children started writing them down but still they had difficulty in spelling words so I had to help them. At this stage I felt that I was a real classroom teacher where I controlled the class myself and taught lessons confidently. The children were confident to speak to me to seek for help and that really impressed me.’ (Fran, female)

'My peer mate taught a community life lesson on elections. The children were involved, some as candidates some as electoral officers, some as voters. Children should learn
and came to know how to use the English Syllabus, which I have no idea of how to use it before. It was recess time and we had our break with fresh fruits from the children. I again took them for Community Life, and were studying each provinces in PNG. After a series of questions I asked them, "Do we have any Sepik children in class?" and again a very funny answer from a child named Epep, said "Excuse me tisa one come and go pinis, o sori iyo" when he meant to say, one came but went away again. The statement was continually repeated by the trainees and we laughed endlessly. In the evening we prepared for the Tabloid sports the following day.

Day 19:
Fr J arrived from Utu early in the morning. He came and picked up our headmaster and both went to town J and myself took care of the whole grade 4 class. Our classes

the real thing and then when they participate they would remember exactly what to do. In the future when I have my own class I want to really emphasise this and really get my children involved." (Lea, female)

'When copying (from the board) some children did not follow instructions. They copied things here and there. They turned the letters upside down e.g. letter 'p' they wrote like this 'q' and 'a' they wrote something like 'p'. The words they wrote was very hard to read and when I asked them to read the words to me they can not. For these lot of children I think it best to put them in Grade one and they repeat.' (Nunu, male)

108 'Excuse me teacher one came and has gone, sorry'. The students laugh at the literalness of Epep's interpretation of the question.

109 Students are often 'tricked' by children, ie they are caught out by funny things the children say.

'Oral work began the day: One of the child by the name of Lumes got up and said to his friends, "Yesterday after school I go home and my mother told me to go to the river and pulumap some wara" (pulled up some water), everyone in the group started laughing'. (The children and student laugh at the mixing of the codes when English is supposed to be spoken)

110 Despite a ruling to the contrary, teachers often leave the class in the control of student teachers. It is common for teachers to be absent from their classes during the Practicum period. Students (and college staff) respond to this with some ambivalence.

'This day I was left alone in the class ... I was very worried because I was alone I could teach my lesson but who would teach the fixed lesson which the class teacher was teaching? I gave them exercises, spelling, reading, written sentences. When I sat down thinking about my teaching I was glad I was able to teach listening, reading, spelling and written sentences. In the afternoon I taught maths based on geometry. I found it
took us to 12 noon. The whole grades from 2-6 helped us trainees prepare the place for the sports the next day. Followed by that, the trainees and the teacher with their respective classes practised their dramas singsings dances for presenting the next day together with participating in tabloid sports organised by the trainees as part of our community activity. Everything then fixed up and in proper shapes we trainees then left the area and came to the house. We wrapped up the prizes (prizes) of only food stuff for the winning teams. We had our dinner. After that I programmed the program for the next day.

**Day 20:**

The villagers from nearby the school gathered together. People from the 4 villages. 10 o'clock sharp the headmaster welcome speech, followed by me clearing(sic) the purposes of our gathering. J explained the games. 10:30 games started. There were six teams comprising of both men and women competing each other. Winners were declared or announced and three packed prizes were given to first, second and third.

We then had our singsings, dances and drama, the aboriginal dance finally closed the events. I made a final thanksgiving announcement and finally Fr J blessed the day with a prayer.\(^{111}\) The crowd dispersed, especially the children and women. Most men stayed back, enjoying the “teafan” with beer. As most were out of control they engaged in an

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*hard to explain the terms in simpler form. Therefore everytime I turn around and asked them if they understood my lesson, only a few children said 'yes'. However, when I went around to see whether they have really understood I discovered that the children say yes for nothing. I discovered their habit of saying 'yes' as a matter of saying, instead they don't understand.* (Meta, male)

Teacher went to town clinic - work was put on blackboard. 'My peer mate and I followed the program book and taught. We helped each other and taught the whole day from morning to afternoon. Town kids learn more than rural kids, town kids talk confidently whereas remote school children don't.' (Nanu, male)

\(^{111}\) Part of the Practicum involves community development activities which are carried out by the student group. These vary in degrees of formality as the situation and the dispositions of students and teachers dictate. Mumu (cooking) done New Guinea Islands way, people from four villages came, 'men and women, boys and girls came carrying bilums on their backs. Next the flag raising ceremony and finally tabloid sports. 'All the villagers joined in and formed teams, even those with babies.' (Talla, female)
argument and a fight broke out. The two villages involved in a very big fight, first with hands and later with bows and arrow. No body injured.

Day 21:
8 general assembly 8:15 normal class commences. My peer mate taught for the morning hours. The vehicle from the pool arrived with Mr U and Miss P. I took the class after recess hours till lunch. Mr U supervised my science and social science lessons. I conducted an understanding experiment and Mr U commented me for it, so as my social science lesson. I was a bit nervous in front of Mr U but I managed my lessons through. They departed after lunch after our lesson follow up discussions. In the evening, we prepared for the parents gathering tomorrow.

Day 22:
7 breakfast 8:15 class commences. Fr J arrived, to pick up the headmaster for the shopping, we took care the class til lunch. After lunch the children were asked to prepare the mumu place, collecting firewood and stones. Also clean the mumu area. At 4 sharp we had a farewell meal with the parents of the children. The parents prepared and brought with them delicious food, especially cooked kaukau banana chicken taro yam and sugar cane. I made a thanksgiving speech at the end of the meal. We departed with tears. 5 Fr J arrived with our headmaster. They also brought with them the dead corpse of the headmaster’s adopted son - 6 months old. The corpse was buried in the night.

Day 23:
While we were in the classroom some big selected girls with a female teacher prepared our farewell meal. We ceased classes at 12 most children were sent home. Only few were chosen and we the trainees and staff their family and friends shared the food and drinks. While we were eating, the headmaster followed by his teachers thanked us for the help and everything we done for them. I in return represented the trainees and thanked them for everything that they had done for us. The school children and staff members went away, and we stayed til 12 midnight with the headmaster.
Day 24:
The children attended classes for the morning hours and were then sent home. The headmaster plus three of us male trainees contributed money up to K25 and brought a crate of cane (cans) beer. We took it to the headmasters house and drank til evening. We again bought another crate and drank til twelve midnight. We then departed, and we the trainees busy packed our books for the college return. I went to bed.

Day 25: Leaving time
We packed up everything and ready for leave. While we were waiting, the headmaster bought a new cane beer crate. We the same people drank, as we listened to the sweet local musics from the cassette. I was dancing and entertaining the spectators, as they were laughing a cheering and more encouragement. In the midst of our “who will listen?” conversation, we heard the upcoming roar of the vibration of the college vehicle. As we waited with tears rolling down our cheeks, the college dyna gently parked beside us. Most burst into loud cries. Reluctantly we loaded our properties onto the open back dyna. We also reluctantly hopped on to the vehicle with tears still rolling.\(^{112}\) After so much of hand shaking, and hugging, the vehicle started its engine

\(^{112}\) On leaving
Parting is a time of ‘hevi’ (heavy) when students, teachers and children are weighed down by the prospects of being separated from one another. Students record mixed feelings bounded by a deep sense of grief and sadness. This speaks to the depth of relations which develops in the course of negotiating day to day reciprocities. For the students, removed from their primary and secondary communities, they are reliant upon the community to shelter, feed and protect them. In return they work in the community school and assist the community who have adopted them.

‘Everybody was so sad to leave each other because the four weeks that we spent, everybody around the community was friendly and open to talk to us freely. They brought fresh food for us. We also felt sorry and sad for the mother especially who usually cook our lunch. All teachers came shaking hands and crying’ (Taila, female)

‘Before lunch the fathers and mothers took part in an egg, lemon race, and filling up the bottle games and those who won got drinks and eggs. Those who lost just got eggs. After eating, the teacher presented us with gifts and we presented them with gifts and even our class children come up with lots of gifts.’ (Fran, female)

Farewell, social games, cooking, dancing, parents and community participating, parting speeches. ‘That was the saddest thing that day. Everyone was in tears and noone bother to talk to each other ... I felt that some of my body parts were missing. I was in grief and I could not talk.’ (Cath, female)
started me with sad heart roared away. We came to Utu, and then picked our fellow trainees there and came back all the way to the college. Our fellow students in the college met us again with tears of joy. I unloaded my properties and with the help of my fellow students and we went to my room. I had my bath, and then told them the exciting adventures my ‘Practical Teaching’. The students from the Highlands prepared to leave for Highlands for their two weeks vacation, so we told stories and waited until 2.00am when they left for the Highlands. I finally went to bed, and slept til 8.00 o’clock.

Discussion

Marcus’ text reads, in part, like the account of a ‘missionary’ or ‘kiap’ (patrol officer) from the initial description of the journey, the arrival as an outsider, to his final place as a member of the community. He writes in narrative style, each entry characterised by an orientation, followed by complications and resolutions. It is a ‘heroic’ account with himself at the centre. He writes at some distance from the ‘local inhabitants’ and offers little judgment on events he witnesses and things he experiences. What he writes is largely unproblematic, how he characterises the setting, his teaching, his relations with others. There is little uncertainty or questioning of what is before him. It is a text that largely ignores classroom activity except to place it in the context of general daily activities. It highlights aspects of the wider social context in which Marcus lives. That Marcus sees himself holding an important and privileged position in the events of the Practicum journey are plainly stated:

‘I sat comfortably with Kalal (College driver) in the front driver’s cabin. Rest of the students packed up in the bus.’

‘We the trainees introduced ourselves lead by me their group leader.’

‘At 4:30 pm sharp, we walked into the villages to get familiar with the community. Our mission was successful. Almost all members greeted us and shared with us whatever they have.’

‘The headmaster with his gun called me and we went hunting in the big forest’

‘After the departure speech we the trainees were standing in a straight line as the chin came to shake hands with us oh, I will never forget that day - everybody was with sorrow heart. The staff shared their tears as they shook hands with us. But when shaking hands I felt my heart sinking to the bottom I could not help crying. I’ve learned a lot.’ (Jill, female)
'The headmaster and I went to the dam ...'
'I supervised the whole school, children and me cleaned the school area.'
'I and Karpel went with a widow to her garden. We helped her cleaning the plot and as well planted banana ... she appreciated our help with a bundle of vegetables, two bunch bananas, several raw taros and yams ... in return we gave two tinned fish, a parcel of sugar, a small shopping bag filled with rice and a margarine can.'
'I in return represented the trainees and thanked them for everything that they had done for us'

Marcus' leadership role and aspirations are marked by his travelling in the front seat with the driver, acting as official representative of the group, developing a close relationship with the headmaster and the parish priest, showing that he is capable of controlling others (the class and the school), doing community work for villagers; showing generosity of spirit and in kind. These practices are linked with wider discourses of male leadership and reflected in his visualisation of himself as a teacher as presented in his follow-up report extracts (the full report is in Appendix Five).

Marcus outlines what he considers to be his role as teacher ('apart from teaching')

'I was seen as a teacher there.
The teacher ... has a lot of responsibilities.
... teacher has to be the guardian parent of the school children.
Teacher has other delegated duties to attend to daily.
Teacher being a counsellor to children.
Teacher a great man busy with teaching materials and preparation.
Teacher needs to be a learning person, and has likes to do further.
Teacher has to be a person who can socialise with others.

As I started off, I gradually came to pick up the bits and piece of professional teaching ethics.
Teacher a very busy person.
I then stepped into the classroom and experienced another environment.
I received so many eyes which again analysed and computerised in my mind, that same all eyes will be focused on me for days after days.
My mouth will be their direct gazing point or spot.
My every actions will be grasped and interpreted in the minds of the young learners.
Some will accept my actions and learn from, while others will reject and condemn.
All these mental imaginations were proved correct.
Once I entered the classroom.
I was a special figure that the children cannot redirect their gazes.
I was so nervous, but as time passed on, I maintained confidentiality, and gradually gained the courage to manage the whole class.
I learned more than what I’ve taught.
I came back finally with good experiences, feeling of pride as a real successful teacher.’

This description provides some insight into Marcus’ imaginings of himself as a particular kind of teacher. Teaching as a performance and a presence that is scrutinised daily by the children. The teacher as ‘guardian’, ‘counsellor’, ‘great man busy with teaching materials and preparation’, ‘a learning person, and has likes to do further’, ‘a person who can socialise with others’.
It is also a representation of the self as an object ‘a special figure’ upon which others look and ‘cannot redirect their gazes’. In this portrayal is captured something of the power of Marcus’ vision and sense of messianic presence, ‘all eyes will be focused on me for days after days’, ‘My mouth will be their direct gazing point or spot’, ‘My every actions will be grasped and interpreted in the minds of the young learners’, ‘Some will accept my actions and learn from, while others will reject and condemn.’ It might be argued that Marcus’ portrayal is linked to discourses of the Catholic faith, both its pastoral and mystical dimensions.
Absent from this account are the more temporal and secular concerns which inhabit the thoughts of most student teachers, issues of order, discipline and control, appropriate teaching methods and curriculum, assessment and evaluation, etc. While there is evidence that Marcus considers these are necessary for a teacher in the community, his focus is more closely linked to the question of whether there is any community in the teacher. In this account Marcus’ actions, interests and gaze are manifestations of masculinist discourses of social power. The images and practices of community, schooling, teacher training and the Catholic church are given meaning through his
relationship with them. While Marcus demonstrates standing in these various communities, none of the contexts are ‘personally’ interrogated or explored, but rather lived in, invested with the power of wider social discourses which Marcus draws on.

The power of this narrative is its power to construct an image of Marcus in an uncomplicated world, in the absence of interpretation it is difficult to find spaces where concerns and difficulties are played out. Other than brief references to the types of lessons he teaches, Marcus records only two classroom incidents and little of the nature of his teaching and involvement with the class. He reports a nervous beginning followed by a sense of control, ‘I was so nervous, but as time passed on, I maintained confidentiality (confidence), and gradually gained the courage to manage the whole class.’ All his predictions about what it will mean to teach are realised, ‘All these mental imaginations were proved correct.’ In having his teaching supervised his only nervous moment is being supervised in science and social science by an expatriate lecturer, ‘but I managed my lessons through’. Some of the absence of personal uncertainty may derive from the strength of certainty, faith and understanding he derives from the other mutually informing and confirming contexts of community and church.

One of the main organising contexts of Marcus practicum is the Utu mission and Utu Catholic school near where he is working. In this context teaching is ‘spiritually’ mediated beginning, for example, with the teacher opening the class with prayer. The purpose of the school is to embed secular teachings within a framework of Catholic theology, values and practices, as part of the greater proselyting and ‘redemptive’ mission of the church. The cohabitation of local community discourses, development discourses (represented by the school and Gent) and discourses of Catholic Christianity are so strongly integrated in this text that at times it is difficult to distinguish when Marcus is at school at church or at home, whether community activities are sponsored by the school, church or community, whether any secular interests are represented or acknowledged. Entries switch between contexts, as do the days. Teaching and planning, community work and activities, celebrating Mass and fellowshipping, all of which appear to come under the order and discipline of the church.

It is of no concern to Marcus, at this time, to theorise why he found the children’s use of local knowledge to answer his questions so humorous. And what was it about the
nature of those questions that stimulated such responses (see entries 17 & 18). And how their local knowledges could be treated differently, he is not a critical theorist. It appears also that it is of no interest to him to think about why it was that children (and not the student teachers) were expected to ‘prepare the mumu place, collecting firewood and stones, also clean the mumu area’, for a farewell meal with parents, or why ‘some selected big girls with a female teacher prepared our farewell meal’, where ‘most children were sent home and ‘only few chosen and we the trainees and staff their family and friends shared the food and drinks’ or why in the last week of Practice Teaching classes ceased at lunch time on most days. Should he be expected to, these are common practices in most communities and schools, for him they are conventions. He has little to say about the consequences of the fighting between villagers, the effect of drunkenness, the impact upon the property of the school and the children looking on, or the morality of such behaviour, unlike Karpiel his peermate, who records,

‘This was Saturday the day when the school (Bigawa) had its ‘tea faun’. Many people come to the school to celebrate or take part in the tea fun. There were food and tea served in a small house. In the other room of the house beer was served, many young boys and young men were drunk and started to create some problems, like breaking plants and flowers around the school or classrooms. While this was going on Mrs K one of the teachers J, M and I walked back to the small house to see what kind of food is served. The young boys were hard to control, they were very drunk and a fight started. The people were fighting each other so the girls (trainees) went back to the house. I went to the classroom with P and Marcus and watched the people fight. The fought in two groups one group was too strong and chased the other group away to their villages. While the people were fighting the school children were also around watching and I had an impression that these people are really influencing the little school children. I not very happy with the idea of people selling beer in the school because they brought destruction to schools environment.

The school when having teafun it should never have alcohol sold or if they want to sell beer take it away somewhere in the villages so all the damage or fight
should be within the area. However drinking is a bad habit so the people should stop drinking or should reduce the amount of beer they consume.’  

113 Fighting is common, I witnessed a number of fights including the one recorded by Steven here:

A fight between two young boys and Mis village boys. On the 20th July (1993), there was a big fight in a village just opposite the Madang Teachers college. The fight erupted unexpectedly to the young boys while they were in Sagalau market. The two boys from Sepik were chased and injured by the Mis village boys. As I was listening to music somehow my eyes glimpsed movements of student boys in the recreational hall towards the main gate. A thought flick my mind that it was a fight. I turned, snatched my ‘T’ shirt and wore it while I was running down Dorm six steps rushing. When I was half way to the main gate, I wondered, is it a fight between the college boys or is it not. Probably it’s a fight caused by the drunk boys from the college with the outsiders. I remained with wonderous thoughts as I approached the gate crowded with students watching the Mis village boys chasing the two boys from Sepik. When I go the gate friends told me that it’s a fight between the two Sepik boys and the Mis village boys. …I was shocked to hear that the two boys were badly injured. “Where are the injured boys?” I asked. “The ambulance has taken them to Madang General Hospital”, one of my friends said. I couldn’t believe the action taken, what a thing they had done? I thought to myself.

The Mis boys were equipped with all sorts of weapons such as metal bars, arrows, bush knives and axes. There were shouts of war cry as they approached to fight after injuring the enemies they left with joy. Further more they waved their blades, arrows and metal bars as they shouted and returned home.

The two boys of about 18 years from Sepik were axed, stabbed and arrowed. This made me feel depressed. I just can’t believe imagining the axe being lifted and blew into the head of one of the boys. Also was arrowed from the other side of the body and out to the other side of the body. Hey, I shuddered as I imagined. It was extremely frightful view for me that moment. I couldn’t stop imagining about the incident especially the struggle pain facial expressions of the driving weapons into the alive human. Moreover the gestures of human being in such consitions as this who is about to die with pains beared and injury. It’s just like slicing bread or chopping a tree for firewood. The Mis boys are brave enough to do such things as this. May be they do not have any emotional feelings or affection for mercy. I thought that probably something is missing in them during the developing stage of embryo when they are in their mothers womb.

Violence is viewed as a horrifying yet justifiable means of asserting control over circumstances which have arisen to violate conditions of social equilibrium. While violent acts as those described above appear to be uncontrolled, willful and extreme, it is just that perception which give them their power and efficacy. The Mis acts of violence though appearing impulsive to these observers were retributive. Spurred on by a series of provocative incidents, the young men of the village acted to put an end to the disruption, resulting in the death of one person and the near death of another. Such acts of violence represent behaviour at its extremity. Violence is followed by tension and retribution. Cycles of violation, retribution, and resolution are common in PNG community life. It is the means by which communities discipline each other. Some students have talked about their involvement in fighting:
There are sites in these accounts that lend themselves to further social and pedagogical investigation, for Marcus they were shaded by wider interests and perhaps his acceptance of the ‘development’ discourses of the school, of capitalism and the church. I am wary that my critical investigations may be objectifying and turning down the volume of his voice. And also, for me engaging in this interrogation of positions and sensitivities, conflicts arise in my responses to what I read. Memories are jolted loose as I see myself, visiting new schools and places, being welcomed by headmasters and villagers, sharing meals, doing community work with students, supervising their lessons, talking through what they accomplished, spending recess times with children, being amused by what they say, trying to teach them in class, feeling their eyes upon me, eating food prepared by teachers, going to church services, losing dear friends, feeling overwhelming sadness at parting, being constituted and colonised by these moments and not wanting to separate myself from them. In the midst of these thoughts I remember that this account is part of a teaching/learning relation, and ask also what learning has been invited and have there been reflexive transformative moments? What writing positions have been available to Marcus, which has he given meaning to? In what ways does this writing sustain/challenge what he experiences? What reading

In my area in the western highlands we have tribal fight. They are fighting with guns and axe. One day they were fighting on the battle field. One of the man from my tribe shoot with his gun at the enemy and the bullet went through his head. He jumped and dropped on to the ground. People from my area went close and chase tribe away and chop this man into bits and pieces. The enemy tribe got very angry that they shoot to my tribe man to kill but they did not success. They fought using axe and guns. Whenever they saw their enemies on the fighting battle field, they shoot to kill and when the wounded victims falls on the ground they run with their axe to chop them. The wounded person has to carried away by his tribesman but if he is left dying on the ground the enemy tribe who shoot them will run close with their axe to chop him. It was done like this and the total number of deaths of both tribe rose up to twenty-two deaths. Within this twenty-two deaths, I help to kill only two. I didn’t actually kill them but I gave a hand to it by taking axe close and give to a tribesman and he chop two man who were lying on the ground wounded with bullet on the head and stomach. I didn’t even liked to take the axe to that murder but I have to because the other enemy killed my uncle (father brother) at first so I took the axe to take revenge on that. They killed two men and that match with my uncle’s death. And after twenty two deaths the police went and stopped the fight.

Some Highlands students’ studies were disrupted by news of fighting at home, or the presence of enemies in Madang, or by their conscription into fighting at home during holiday breaks.
positions are available to me working within an institutional framework which directs that this writing must count for something? So that I might not lose his trust I ask for his assessment, and rely on his words that, 'I learned more than what I've taught'.
Mona Practicum Grade 1

Mona is sent to Bugajim Community School on the South coast hinterland. It is a school
of about 250 children in 9 classes, and has been in operation for about 15 years. It is
about one and a half hours from Madang. She is to take a Grade one class.

Entry 1:
During a Maths lesson on Tuesday the children were given the Maths Pupils books to
look at shapes. One of the pupils turned her book upside down and didn’t realise it. She
thought she put the book in the correct position so she was busy looking at the shapes.
The teacher came along and hit her on the head and told her that the book was in the
wrong position. She turn the book to the right position and told her to look carefully at
the different shapes.

Comments
I think the child didn’t know that the book was turned upside down because the shapes
in the book were all over the place and therefore it made the book look as if it was in
the correct position. The teacher shouldn’t have hit the pupil. She should have just told
the pupil to turn the book around to the right position. I feel its not right for teachers to
hit the children.\footnote{On discipline: One of the most common observations made by student teachers relates to the kinds of
discipline that teachers use.

Their teacher came and was talking to those who could not pronounce the words on the
board. He was very mad with them and started pulling ears."  (Donad, male)

It was a terrible day. It rained all night and was still cloudy in the morning which
causes the children to come late for class. Very few chn were present during the
assembly time. The headmaster was so frustrated that he belted those chn coming late
after dismissing the assembly to their classrooms. many chn did not come to school. As
for grade one class 4 came late that day. As soon as they entered the classroom the
class teacher asked them why they were late and where they lived. The chn seemed
frightened for they thought their class teacher might hurt them. One interesting thing
about Grade ones was that once they hear the class teacher voice is harsh they begin to
cry. I think the class teacher should bare in mind that the Grade one are just taken
away from their closed environment that they need a atmosphere of love and security. If
the class teacher always or keeps on threatening them with harsh words, they might not
come to school for good, they might fear the class teacher. The common type of
discipline I’ve given most of the time is verbal and it worked out right. Sometimes when
I'm too harsh on them they began to cry. I cannot hide the fact they do misbehave, but when instructions were given they do follow. There were several rules for the classroom, usually the class teacher wrote them and pinned them on the wall. I for one reason found these classroom rules very effective, because they were somewhat like guidelines to me when I was taking the class for the whole day. Sometimes it helped to control the class. For example, when I saw the rule, “Come to school every day”, it reminded me to do the roll call everyday. In addition, it does not only help me but it also helped the behaviour of the children both inside and outside of the class. I also noticed that when any child reports someone for misbehaving they always refer him to the rules of the classroom. ’ (Jill, female)

’When we the trainees first arrived at the school, my class teacher (the headmaster) told us that even though corporal punishment is banned he uses it because the children at that school are really cheeky as most come from primitive families’ (Gwen, female)

’During the class I saw a funny way the class teacher punished his students. Nearly most of the children didn’t do well in the dictation test to he got mad and forced them to swallow stones. I found it funny at first but then I realised that it wasn’t a good way to do such things. The children won’t learn from their mistakes. During this day in the morning some boys in my class came late for assembly. The teacher on duty told them to clean around the school ground from 8-10:30. Since these boys were punished they did not want to attend classes, they ran away from school. I feel that its not a good way punishing. The best way is to either talk to the children’s parents or the child. In this school the class teacher usually use hard punishment because the children are still primitive.’ (Esther, female)

’I took the children out of the classroom and told them that it was going to be only for 5 minutes to observe the physical features of the school. As soon as we stepped out of the classroom the children ran to all directions of the school. Oh it was a big problem and that was to control them. I knew it was my fault. The teacher (me) did not really have good outdoor class control and management because children ran to all directions. On a stroll to the (cocoa) fermentary, during that visit I learned some skills of outdoor class control e.g. walking in a long line with hands on lips and head, or while walking, teacher must always walk at the back of the class not in front.’ (Tina, female)

I think that children who are not behaving well in class should have special meetings with them and tell them the results that they will be facing. After realising their mistake and listening to your counselling they may change their behaviour or ways of approaching learning in the classroom. As for myself, after meeting several students and telling them what useful life it will be if they concentrate on their school work, I as a teacher see that some of the children in the class changed their way of approaching their learning and answering questions... they began to give a try in answering the question while before they wait for the person who knows the answer. It surprised me a lot because I did put in something into the child’s learning approach that will help them to be a better child in the future. ’ (Bill, male)

’As for punishment it was abolished in some parts but in Koba it is still carried on. There are a lot of punishments but the grade one teacher used the following, sticking, working in gardens, run around the field, stand with one leg and also they have got a
The main focus of this Entry is Mona's alternative reading of the judgement made by the teacher to hit a pupil. Mona takes the position that the teacher's action is not justified on the grounds that the pupil's actions were understandable given the nature of the exercise, 'the shapes in the book were all over the place and therefore it made it look as if it were in the correct position'.

corner where misbehaviours sit all through the lesson. The teacher uses other punishment but the children does not behave, instead sticking makes them settle down, e.g. as I was teaching in front, a boy was walking around the classroom for 5 minutes. I command him to sit but he popped his head anywhere. I did not say anything and his class teacher gave him some good canes on the bottom. That made him sit down all through the lesson' (Cath, female)

'Rodney and Felix fight over a pencil. 'The class teacher watched them until they finish fighting. She called both of them and belted them together. There is a place at the back of the room (storeroom) that she locks them up for some minutes or an hour and then release them, its a very easy punishment.' (Michelle, female)

'Teachers should not hit children in that way using sticks or any object because they might sometimes injure the child when they are very angry. Sometimes hitting children don't change children's bad behaviour, it encourage children to continue their bad attitude. When teacher want to hit children they must think of the good and bad side of hitting children. However, many people, including teachers think that hitting children is a good way of disciplining children because some children tend to behave well when they are beaten several times after doing the same mistake. Some children do not change their behaviour even though they have been beaten many times. Instead of hitting then they should use some other way of punishing children. e.g. tell the child to stay back after the classes are over and weed around the classroom.' (Zafi, female)

'... during work parade time .. children assembled and the work parade master ask those children who had grass knives and bush knives to go and stand together in one place away from those who don't have any tools. Those children who had told were asked to go and work in their respective areas but those who didn't have any tools were asked to pull out kunai grass in the field using their hands. I was very sad to see especially small grade ones pulling out grass using their hands. Some children were beaten badly by one of the teachers who was supervising the particular group of children when they were slow in weeding the grass. One funny sad thing happened in front of me was one of the little boys was beaten on the chest with a stick which had been burnt by fire. Poor little boy he was covered with ash, black ash on his chest. Others saw that their friend was badly beaten, they got scared and started working very fast. Because of the teacher's strictness all the children worked very hard and finished pulling out the grass in the field before they went home.' (Zafi, female)

115 Other students have observed the way Grade one children orientate to school materials, something that some teachers take for granted as part of the knowledge that a child brings to school.
The teacher's action is perceived to be harsh and unjust, the pupil's actions unknowing and innocent. This piece of Mona's pedagogical ideology revealed here is linked to discourses within her theory of what is 'just'. The teacher's actions are perceived as being overly authoritative, constituting the pupil as incompetent and resistant. Mona's view of the situation constitutes the pupil as an 'innocent' novice, someone who will listen to and follow instructions, and constitutes the teacher's actions as unfair. Her discourse is resistant she is not manipulated by the teacher's view of events but brings to this moment a strong sense of what counts as appropriate regulation of behaviour. Both are, in a sense partial views. Interestingly, however, Mona's initial response it to justify the behaviour of the child and not the teacher.

Entry 2:
It was during a Talking lesson in the classroom and the children were practising some sentences with 'ing' endings. The teacher chose a boy to perform an action and while he was performing, she chose another boy to say in a sentence what the first boy was doing. The second boy then stood up and said “Max is yumping”. The teacher shouted at him and said, “You eat a lot of yam, no wonder you keep on saying yumping and not jumping”. She told him to repeat the sentence again but he kept on saying “yumping” instead of “jumping”. Soon the whole class started laughing. Again the teacher got on him. This time she said “You are already a big papa now and you still cannot pronounce words properly, sit down.”

Comments
I think it would have been better if the teacher helped the child to pronounce the words correctly, than to embarrass him by throwing words at him. I feel it isn't good to embarrass a child who is bigger than the others in a classroom. Such things can stop the child from coming to school. Maybe the teacher got cross with the pupil because he never pronounced most of the words correctly.

‘One thing I noticed was that those children were brought up in the village, that they were not exposed to books, pencils, chalk, etc. When they came to school everything is like new to them. They had to explore them, fiddle around with them to feel comfortable. Therefore they were slow in writing... sometimes we (my peer and I) never finished the lesson on time. Since we are not teaching the subject but the children, we spent some extra minutes on the children’s weaknesses. (Jill, female)
Mona's focuses on the way that the teacher manages less than perfect performances by some children. For Mona, embarrassing or shaming a child's performances, is the antithesis of teaching. She is further provoked by the teacher's belittling reference to the child as a 'big papa' who 'still cannot pronounce words properly'. As a newcomer to the class she entertains the possibility that perhaps this child has had other opportunities and is proving to be resistant to the teacher's efforts. Nevertheless it is Mona's ethical or moral self which is being confronted by these experiences. Teaching can be unfair to some children. Mona's pedagogical interests are linked to discourses of moral responsibility and fairness and teaching as a just social act. In this priority, she finds herself differing from her supervising teacher.

Entry 3:

It was a science lesson so the chn were asked to go outside and form a circle. The teacher went out after them and chose 2 boys to stand in the centre. She squeezed some papers and put them in front of the chn. Then she told them to use their books to fan the papers to the centre where the 2 boys were. The chn tried very hard to fan the paper to the centre but the papers couldn't reach the centre. Some only moved a little and stopped but others didn't move at all. After that the chn walked into the classroom. The teacher asked the class what happened. A boy raised his hand and said “Mipela winim pepa tasol em ino move igo name!”. (We fanned the paper but it did not go into the middle) The teacher said very good and told him to sit down. The teacher asked another question, “Did the papers move?” Some chn answered “yes”, and others said “no”. The teacher shouted at the chn and said, “You silly pumpkins, didn’t you see all the papers move?” A pupil then said, “Mi na ol mangi winim pepa tasol em ino move.” (Me and the other children fanned the paper but it did not move) Having heard all these the teacher said, “Maybe you and your friends are weak and blind that’s why you couldn’t fan the paper well and didn’t see the other chn’s papers move.” After all these, she went on to explain the main part of the lesson which was on “wind makes things move”.

Comments

I think the teacher might have made a mistake. She should have explained the lesson to the chn before taking them out or while the chn were trying to fan the papers, she should tell them that what they are trying to find out is if wind can make things move. If she said these things at the beginning of the lesson or during the lesson then I’m sure the chn would concentrate on the lesson and be able to answer her questions correctly.
But since she didn’t explain the lesson properly the chn thought it was just a game so they were not concentrating well. If I was the teacher I would explain everything in the classroom first, then take the chn out and ask them to find out themselves to see if wind can really make things move.

Mona’s record captures the naive directness and solidarity of these Grade one children who, despite the teacher’s intimidating remarks (‘you and your friends are weak and blind’), refuse at this point, to see the outcome of the science activity in the teacher’s terms. Mona’s solution to what she sees as a problem of children not being able to answer the teacher’s questions in ways which support the teacher’s objectives is to alter the procedure of the lesson to provide more support to children during the course of the activity (‘She should have explained... ; she should tell ... ; If she said ... ’) In altering the procedure and providing more information, it may be argued that Mona’s ideas risks neutralising the ‘discovery’ potential of the activities (outlined in the Science curriculum) which the teacher appears to be relying upon. Mona’s pedagogy, however, suggests a more informed basis for ‘discovery learning’ via a framework of information and practice, which can be drawn upon to make sense of the experiments and more particularly the lesson. The teacher’s pedagogy retains the position of the teacher as expert through whom the results of the experiment/activity are interpreted. In a sense it is a pedagogy of ‘fortuitous learning’, dependent on the children successfully replicating the force and behaviour of the wind, for it to be considered credible. In its design, it suggests to children that scientific knowledge comes about by chance, in a social and intellectual vacuum, the results of observation only. This pedagogy assumes a deficit view of children’s knowledge, in that the pedagogy does not directly build upon what children already know (that wind makes things move, for example), but seeks to reconstitute such commonsense knowledge in scientific terms and practices, in ways which to the children are uncommon. Rather than expanding and acknowledging the children’s perceptions Mona notices that they are overwritten. What Mona tacitly knows or has found out in her observation of the lesson, is that for learning to occur children require a background of information/experience to draw upon in order to assimilate and judge the significance of new knowledge. Without connections to such a background children’s judgements are dependent upon the interpretations of others.
If I was the teacher I would explain everything in the classroom first, then take thechn out and ask them to find out themselves to see if wind can really make things move.

Entry 4:
On Wednesday 9th June at 1:30 pm I was teaching my Community Life lesson and saw something very interesting. I read a story book as my motivation to my lesson. While I was reading I noticed a girl who was sitting on a desk right in front of me. She was staring at my face and her lips were also moving. She had her full concentration on my face. As soon as I finished reading I directed a question straight to her. She got a shock and looked at her friends. I knew she wasn’t concentrating on the story so I asked another girl and she was able to answer.

Comments
I think this little girl was interested in the way I was reading and therefore she was mainly concentrating on my face and wasn’t really listening to the story that I was reading. This is not the first time I’ve realised such things. Most of the times when I read books to chn I see that some of the kids stare at me. Some stare at me and at the same time have their ears opened to listen to the story but others just listen to my voice and look into my face but don’t know what the stories are all about. Later when I ask them questions, they all look confused. I think I shouldn’t blame the chn or anybody for what they do because such things are really common in little chn. They love to hear stories but now I’ve realised that when I read books to them, they don’t really concentrate. They will mainly be interested to look at your face and see your facial expressions but when you tell a story, they will really concentrate well on the story. I think in future I should read stories to myself and then tell it to the chn, then to read to them from the book.

Mona’s teaching involves various actions and bodily expressions. Here, as she reads, her gaze catches the concentration and mimicry of a little girl sitting directly in front of her. To many children who have not grown up in a print environment, who have not been read to in this way, the actions of reading are engaging and signify what reading is. From my observations, such children seek to know how it is done, they observe closely the face, the mouth, eyes, the posture, as well as the ‘song’ of reading in an effort to characterise its behaviour. ‘Ritual reading’ as it has been unflatteringly
called (Christie 1985) is for many children an enjoyable social activity where the words of Readers are sung out for others to hear, or chorused in a display of what, to them, is the significance of reading, reading as a social act. Mona, misses the way that her reading 'skills' are teaching. She picks up on the comprehension purposes of reading, that children should be able to listen to, understand and interpret texts. Despite not theorising the actions of 'face watching' in social or pedagogical terms, she is not critical of children's dispositions to do so. With an interest in comprehension and understanding she decides first, to 'read stories to myself and then tell it to the chn, then to read to them from the book.' In this case, Mona is careful not to directly override children's tacit orientations, rather she overrides her own by adjusting her pedagogy, backgrounding her authority (not demanding that everyone 'listen') and maintaining a sense of solidarity in the face of what she considers to be children's legitimate efforts to participate and learn. Mona's dispositions run in deep and only partially visible gendered discourses characterised by a keen awareness of the way children monitor what happens around them, and an understanding of their valued position in her theory of community. Mona's discourse of community is characterised by an interest in justifying the various behaviours and actions she observes, attempting to sustain the middle ground. Unlike, for example, Kathy's interests and observations which are often expressed in unconditionally critical terms.

**Entry 5:**

On Thursday afternoon during Ex. Arts, my peer mate read a story to the chn. After reading the story she tried to teach the children a song. While she was teaching the song I saw some boys misbehaving. They were throwing their name tags around at each other and didn't bother to learn the new song. My peer mate was trying her very best to teach the song but only a few children were concentrating. I was very angry with the boys and shouted at them. Soon they were all quiet and ready to learn the new song.

**Comments**

I think children find some lessons boring, especially lessons after lunch. If teachers are motivating enough to make afternoon lessons interesting then the children may be able to concentrate, but, otherwise most of the lessons after lunch are always boring because at these times, children feel tired and sleepy. Since I have felt the same thing in community school before, I think it would be nice if teachers let children to rest or lie
quietly on their desks for the first 5-10 minutes, then teachers can start teaching their afternoon lessons.

*Drawing on memories of her own schooling, Mona constructs a link between the boys’ misbehaviour, what she perceives to be the uncomfortable circumstances of the lesson, and her own experiences of sleepy afternoons at school. In these small mediations she interprets the boys behaviour vicariously, in terms of her experiences, and not theirs. By inserting herself into their position she simplifies their actions and justifies their ‘male’ behaviour. The misbehaving boys who, ‘were throwing their name tags around’ do not seem ‘sleepy and tired’. Mona’s interest in evenness and cooperative behaviour is her gendered response to this disruption. Although unhappy with their behaviour she concedes that some ground should be given.*

**Entry 6:**

On Friday morning, during the flag raising ceremony, I noticed that the chn were not respecting the National Anthem and the flag. When the National Anthem was being sung and the flag was slowly being raised, the children were not standing up straight. They were standing in their own different styles. Some were singing while others were busy telling stories.

**Comments**

I feel very sorry for our National Anthem as well as our flag because we don’t seem to have respect for them. Teachers should be blamed for this because if teachers teach the children how to stand up straight and sing the song, I’m sure the children will do the right thing but because the teachers are not teaching them and so the children don’t know what to do when the National Anthem is sung or the flag is being raised. I think all the teachers in the country should teach the children how to sing the song, how to stand when the flag is being raised and in general how to show respect for the song and the flag. If all these things are taught at the beginning, ie. Grade 1, then there won’t be too many problems. So it is best to teach these things in the beginning so that they can learn them and pass it onto the future generation.\(^{116}\)

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\(^{116}\) **National Anthem**

O arise all you sons of this land, Let us sing of our joy to be free, Praising God and rejoicing to be, Papua New Guinea. Shout again from the mountains to sea, Papua New Guinea
Mona’s sense of national spirit is strong and is reflected in her comments:

I feel very sorry for our National Anthem as well as our flag because we don’t seem to have respect for them, and that children have not been taught what to do when the National Anthem is sung or the flag is being raised. She identifies closely with these symbols and their values. She is however, unaware or does not take literally, the lack of recognition that the national song gives to her and other women. The absence of any reference to women, as in the first stanza, ‘O arise all you sons of this land, Let us sing of our joy to be free’ is not only a reflection of the literal exclusion of women in matters of local and national importance, but also reflects an exclusion of their interests. The song expresses thankfulness ‘For this land of our fathers...’, but adult women do not live on the land of their fathers, they live on the land of their husbands or in a very few communities on the land of their mothers. These teachers and children are participating in a practice which links schooling to the construction of a national identity, and a national consciousness, which if entered into in the appropriate manner aims to reconstitute them as governable

Let us raise our voices and proclaim, Papua New Guinea
Now give thanks to the good Lord above, For his kindness,
His wisdom and love,
For this land of our fathers so free, Papua New Guinea
Shout again for the whole world to hear, Papua New Guinea
We have achieved our unity, Papua New Guinea.

Singing the National Anthem is sometimes followed by the saying of an oath of allegiance and a salute to the flag. The much heard statement, ‘we have got our independence’ misses the point that despite a change in governance, and some changes in strategies and practices, colonial discourses remain.

**Assembly - Jomba**

T: teacher; Ch: children at assembly
T: ‘Right and forward dress ... feet together ... If you are fishing lines cut them short! ... look up ... more steady ... last girls move towards your right ... in front ... in front ... steady ... hands down ... right and forward dress ... hands down ... up straight! ... Say the words correctly ... take the note... Faaaaaa...
Ch: Faaaaaa
T/Ch: Father we thank you....
T: Fold your arms, bow your heads while we say our morning prayer (Lord’s prayer) ...
Good Morning children
Ch: Good morning Mrs K, good morning teachers
T: How are you this morning?
Ch: We are very well thank you
In a modern world, Mona's comment that children should be taught respect for the flag and song when young, is a recognition of these 'development' discourses but not their hegemony, and an explicit acknowledgment that discourses of national citizenry and schooling are closely linked. That this seems to Mona to be meaningless to the children and, according to her report, the teachers involved, reflects the degree to which she defines herself in its terms.

Entry 7:
On Tuesday morning I took the chn out for PE lesson and while I was demonstrating the leaderball game, a boy by the name of Patrick picked up a ball in front of me and told his friend to catch it. I stopped what I was doing and stared at him. He didn't bother to put the ball down, he threw the ball to his friend and hit him on the face. I got very angry and scolded him. I sent him to the side and told him to sit down and watch the others play. After sending Patrick off, I explained and demonstrated the game again. Then I put them into groups and told them to play the game while I supervise. While I was supervising the game, Patrick got up very slowly and walked to me. He asked me if he could play too. I asked him to apologise for what he did. After apologising I put him into one group to play.

Comments
Sometimes chn think that they are smart and know everything so they do such things. But for Patrick's case, I think he was so excited when he saw the balls so without realising that I was talking, he just picked the ball and threw it to his friend. After he hit his friend in the face I shouted at him and that's when he probably realised that he was wrong. When chn see new things or any thing that they like playing with, they tend to forget what they are suppose to do and switch their full concentration onto those things quickly. Therefore in future when trying to teach PE lessons with balls I think it

117Mona's position here reflects Arendt's argument that human action is irreversible but that it is tempered by the principle of forgiveness, as she puts it,

... trespassing is an everyday occurrence which is in the very nature of action's constant establishment of new relationships within a web of relations, and it needs forgiving, dismissing, in order to make it possible for life to go on by constantly releasing (wo)men from what they have done unknowingly. Only through this constant willingness to change their minds and start again can they be trusted with so great a power as that to begin something new (1958:240).
would be best if I hide all the balls first and have only one for demonstration. After the demonstration I can take all the balls out and let the children play with them.  

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118 The view of children:  
Many student teachers record careful observations of children’s activities both in response to their teaching and between themselves, and are informed and shaped greatly by what they see and hear.

‘Once I was teaching a health lesson in the morning, there was a small boy in my class who did not eat in the morning and came to school. He could not concentrate any longer so he slept on the desk. While I was teaching I never noticed the boy, I gave the chn some work and went and sat down. Soon the boy walked slowly towards my desk, excused himself and explained his situation to me. As I looked into his eyes tears were already forming in his eyes. I felt sorry for him and I put my arm around his shoulders and led him to the staff room where we kept our food supplies. I went in and took a packet of Wopat biscuits and gave it to him. He was so happy that he took the biscuit and went away. The next day he bought me a sugarcane. I thanked him and took the sugarcane for I knew that it was my reward from him.’ (Jill, female)

‘I’ve noticed that these grade one children have different ways of responding to teachers. Some children are outgoing, they talk to teachers without feeling nervous or shy. Some children are introvert, they do not feel free to talk to their class teacher or either me, and even would not answer questions... One of the methods I used to make them talk to me was that every morning I asked them to tell me about what they did the day before. From their I ask questions to make them think and extend their stories. Sometimes we would spend half an hour just telling stories. When one of the shy children tells his/her story I make sure that I ask a lot of questions to make him/her talk and I pretend to be interested in his/her story myself. In doing this I found that children talk freely to me afterwards.’ (Jill, female)

‘The children are very kind to the class teacher and also to us the two trainees they usually bring fresh vegetables for us each day that they come to school. This was a very kind thing that children practice. It maintains the relationship (Teacher-child).’ (Michelle, female)

‘The teachers treat the children as their own sons and daughters by giving them money. The children bought local food for their teachers. The parents of some children sometimes come and help the teachers in their private gardens. Some boys were invited to come and sleep with the teachers who shared family food, and so to pay back the boys stayed over the weekend and help them or went home and brought food.’ (Cath, female)

Science - ‘I told the children the previous day to bring some object to produce sound. That day the children did not bring anything... I send them out to get anything to produce sound... two small boys ran down to the creek. On the way they found two tins one got one and the other got another. They both rushed in and fought over the tin. One boy got the tine and broke his friend’s head. When I called the children to come back they all ran while the other boy was crying as he walked up to the classroom. The other
In the process of considering Patrick's behaviour, Mona generalises from the case,

When children see new things or anything that they like playing with, they tend to forget what they are supposed to do and switch their full concentration onto those things quickly.

These generalisations are constitutive of her pedagogical discourse. They are premises upon which she may draw when making judgments in the future. However, Mona's consideration that children unknowingly disrupt lessons does not account for the way Patrick is corrected, 'I got very angry and scolded him. I sent him to the side and told him to sit down and watch the others play'. The anger and the 'scolding' which Patrick is subject to and apology which is required before re-entry to the group, seem to attribute blame to him for a conscious violation of class rules, not an unconscious mistake. On the one hand, her actions taken in the intensity of the moment suggest that when violations occur, however, there is little time to assess intent, children must be made aware of their 'blind spots' or 'limits', whether their actions result from conscious or unconscious violation of class rules. On the other hand I have noted that it is a widely accepted that motives have little mediating role when a relationship is damaged (see Solomon Entry 8). The colonisation of Patrick's awareness in this way seemed to be aimed at ensuring a relocation of his thinking. In the broader context of schooling it is linked to discourses of order and governance. Something that Mona had little direct need to consider in Entry 1 when she was critical of the class teacher's anger. Mona's position may be viewed in terms of contradictory subjectivities, linked to the extent to which she feels her power is being undermined or otherwise. Mona's pedagogical discourse is reflexively informed, she determines to alter aspects of her

boy ran away and got into trouble. Anyway because of me he went and got accident so I compensated him with K2.00. This was the lesson that I learnt and I decided not to send children out again.' (Cath, female )

Frustrations are common among student teachers and children's poor performances may result in punishment.

'I taught the class five separate lessons on how to make compost, they couldn't apply the techniques that I had demonstrated... Just for a while I got angry and I started punching the students one by one until everyone started to cry. I felt frightened when some of them cried louder than I ever expected them to. I brought the whole lot of students back to the classroom having lost interest in practical lessons outdoor.' (Male)
practice on the basis of this experience and proposes a strategy aimed at reducing the incidence of conscious and unconscious disruption of similar lessons in the future. She concludes,

... in future when trying to teach PE lessons with balls I think it would be best if I hide all the balls first and have only one for demonstration. After the demonstration I can take all the balls out and let the children play with them.

Entry 8:
During talking drills lesson this morning, I asked two boys to come to the front. I asked Dereck to stand behind Potiro. Then I asked the class this question, “Is Dereck behind Potiro?” The whole class said “yes”. I said very good for the answer they gave and then asked if anyone of them could give the answer in full (in a sentence form). Some children tried but their answers were incorrect. The answers were a mixture of English and Pidgin. Suddenly a boy shouted out this answer, “Dereck stand backsait the Potiro”. The answer sounded funny so I started to laugh and soon the class teacher, my peermate and the whole class started laughing. Then I thanked the boy for his answer. I corrected him and asked the whole class to repeat after me and they said it very well.

Comments
I feel very happy when I see children trying their very best to get an answer correct. Sometimes when I ask children tricky questions I see them thinking very hard for the answer. Sometimes they just call out answers which are almost correct and when I say “You are almost correct”, they feel very happy and keep on trying. Other times the answers are right but are a mixture of English and Pidgin (this is common in lower grades). I think the answer that was shouted out by Niga was correct but it was a mixture of English and Pidgin. He probably had being thinking very hard about the answer but couldn’t arrange it well so he decided to shout it out. Although it sounded funny to all of us I accepted the answer and corrected it for him. The correct answer should have been “Yes, Dereck is standing behind Potiro”.

Mona’s management of this unusual student response demonstrates the dexterity with which she negotiates different pedagogic acts which shift from the centre to the margins of her control, the way that mixed discourses can be unravelled through a controlled lesson closure. Her teaching is characterised by different kinds of surveillance, monitoring children’s responses to the lesson content, to questions, to her
disposition, to their peers, and Mona monitoring those elements within herself justifying Niga’s shouted out answer. Much of this surveillance is to ensure that her dual purposes are being accomplished, correct responses in a controlled environment. In all of this what is taught alongside the sentence form are the different kinds of discretionary power she has, the power to ask and direct questions, to reward responses, to accept or reject ‘call out’ answers, to correct, to open and to close interactions.

Entry 9:
This morning my peer mate prepared the chalkboard for Pre-Writing lesson and forgot to write the date. She took the class for a few warm up activities and then handed their exercise books and told them to copy the letters and strokes. As soon as they got their books back they started right away. Suddenly a boy by the name of Keltem raised his hand and said “Teacher, yu no mekim date”. My peer mate then looked at the board and realised that she had not written the date. She thanked him and quickly wrote the date on the board. Then she told everyone to write the date at the top of the page before copying the letters and strokes.

Comments
Sometimes when we teachers have so much to do we tend to forget some things. Like in this case my peermate taught two lessons before she took Pre-Writing lesson and therefore forgot to write the date. Usually, every morning the date was the first thing to write on the board but my peer mate just forgot all about writing it this morning. The date use to be written just about the Pre-Writing heading so when the chn are ready to copy the letters and strokes, they copy the date but this time it wasn’t written and therefore a concerned little Keltem raised his hand to tell the teacher. In all the schools, there are a few concerned pupils and such pupils should be verbally praised.

For the most part schooling involves routine classroom practices. Mona notes the concern some children show when these routines are not followed. She values their efforts to make their concerns known to the teacher. Oversights occur and she sees it as praiseworthy for a class member to bring them to the attention of the teacher. In this way the responsibility for the order of the class, the regularity and structure of lessons is somewhat shared. To put this another way is to suggest that within the routines of schooling are spaces for children to participate as learners and also to act as guardians of classroom procedures. Some teachers (and students-teachers) actively
solicit the academic and behavioural capital of children for the purposes of maintaining various kinds of order (pedagogical, procedural and behavioural). Classrooms become hierarchised and bureaucratised as different children take up different positions with different duties which are complimentary to the teacher’s pedagogy, ideology and practices, and in a broader sense, the ideals and goals of schooling. In Kellem’s singular act of ‘concern’ the routines of the classroom are not breached but strengthened, making them that little bit more difficult to challenge.

Entry 10:
On Tuesday afternoon I took the chn out of the classroom for an Ex-Arts lesson. I asked them to sit under a tree and sing the new song which I taught them while I do the actions. When the chn started singing I also started to dance. We repeated twice and then as soon as I was going to ask everyone to stand up and dance, a boy by the name of Kurim stood up and said, “Teacher, mi laik danis wantaim yu” (I would like to dance with you) I called him to the front and told the rest of the chn to sing while Kurim and I danced. Everyone started laughing at Kurim because he wasn’t following the right steps of the dance. I thanked him and asked him to sit down. His friends started teasing him and making fun of him saying that he didn’t follow the steps correctly. He just scratched his head and sat down.

Comments
Some chn love dancing and others don’t. Like Kurim, he was a clown in the classroom and most of the times he would sit on his own and would start singing and dancing. Therefore when we came out of the classroom he was so excited because he knew it was Ex-Arts lesson and we would sing songs and dance. While I was dancing I saw him moving his head and as soon as I stopped he asked me if he could dance with me. I was very glad that a small grade one child was interested to dance with me so I called

120 In M’s Grade 5 class at Sagalau, in her absence, particular students are responsible to begin the day by leading the class in prayers, songs, spelling word lists, reciting multiplication tables all of which is commenced after the second bell if she is not there. M also relies upon various students to provide peer tutoring and support for ‘slower’ children in the class.

121 What I glimpse here is the inherently socially situated nature of this schooling. That to change teaching practices and routines without engaging the co-constructors of teaching and learning contexts, the children, is to treat them as objects of change.
him to the front. When we started dancing I was surprised to see him doing his own movements. Anyway, I reckon chn are great to be with and I really enjoyed myself with the grade ones and I'm sure they enjoyed themselves singing and dancing too.

Beginning school children bring much of their 'outside' social world into the classroom. Mona is appreciative of the sociality she enjoys with her class, she notes particularly the way Kurim's interest is acted out, 'While I was dancing I saw him moving his head'. She accepts his request to dance and notes, 'When we started dancing I was surprised to see him doing his own movements'. The class laugh, Kurim is returned to his seat. His friends 'discipline' him, he was not following the right steps, their more 'schooled' sense of propriety and protocol is the way to understand what it means to 'dance' at school.

Entry 11:
During recess break this morning I was sitting under a tree with a grade 4 girl. We were busy telling stories when suddenly I heard someone screaming. I got up and looked to the playing field and saw two grade 2 boys trying to fight. I called them to the side and questioned them. One of the boy told me that his other mate had trapped him. Then, when I asked his mate why he trapped him, this is what he said, "Teacher, he trick yah, he hatim my bel". When I heard that, I started laughing. Soon the two boys started laughing too. Then I asked the boy what he meant. He only laughed and said, "Maski, (Don't worry) I go and play yah". I saw that they were both smiling and looking happy again so I asked them to shake hands and say sorry to each other. Then they ran off to play.

Comments
Just like there are short tempered and soft hearted adults, there are also chn like that. Some adults can be very angry but then they can cool down very quickly. This is the same in some chn too. Just like the two small boys, they were very angry with each other at the first place but after talking to them for a short time, they were happy again. Such children are very nice to be with rather than the type who get angry and upset very quickly and take a long time to cheer up. I was very happy to see them running off together because it was my first time to see small kids acting that way.
Mona's account projects images of the role of a teacher as a mediator of children's problems and excesses. She distinguishes between children who are 'nice to be with' and those 'who get angry and upset quickly'. Such definitions are defining features of her theory of community, her discourse of cooperation. As has been seen, Mona does not separate these dispositions from her actions. In this case, after questioning the boys about the problem, she invokes a particular mediating strategy, 'I asked them to shake hands and say sorry to each other'. In the absence of institutionally defined mediation processes, Mona's sense of justice and 'right' behaviour determine her responses. Her actions are 'unconditioned by the act which provoked it' as Arendt (1958:241) puts it, not vengeful or ill-tempered. Mona sees her arbitrations as bringing about satisfactory resolutions within discourses of moral responsibility and cooperation.

Entry 12:
While I was busy dressing the chn for their short dance this morning, a small girl went up to the front and started to write her name on the board. Her name was Roswitha. She wrote the first 3 letters of her name and as soon as she was going to write the rest of the letters, another girl went up to her and said "Aiye, Roswitha bai mi kotim yu long teacher yah!" (I will tell on you (prosecute) to the teacher!) then Roswitha said, "Pasim maus na go", (Shut up and go) so the other girl came to me and said "Teacher Roswitha rait long blackboard". (Roswitha is writing on the blackboard)I called Roswitha and told her not to write on the board. I asked her if she had banana leaves for dressing. She said she did, so I told her to get ready for the dance and not to do unnecessary things.

Comments
Chn like reporting minor things as well as major problems to teachers. When one does something which another child doesn't appreciate, she/he reports or tells the teachers very quickly. Like in this case, maybe the girl who reported to me about Roswitha was a bit jealous. Maybe she just didn't want Roswitha to write in the board. Or maybe she probably thought that the blackboard is only for the teacher to write on and nobody else. Problems like these are fun and I like solving it for the chn.

Interestingly in this account, Mona theorises the behaviour of the informing child and not Roswitha who is accused of wrongful acts. She is tentative in her reflections acknowledging the possibility of various motivations that might have
informed the little girl’s disposition to tell. In the incident, she is expected by the
informant to intervene. The judgement she makes draws upon her institutional identity,
a position opened up by the informing child whose words constitute her as a teacher
with institutional responsibilities and her sense of moral responsibility. She directs
Roswitha to stop doing ‘unnecessary things’ after reminding her that she has other
things she should be doing. (It should be considered that what for Mona is seen as an
‘unnecessary thing’, may have been for Roswitha a moment of writing practice). By
exercising lenient judgement in this way, Mona seeks to lessen any conflict between her
institutional and moral selves, or the possibility of constructing a contradiction in the
mind of the informant. These few moments of interaction constitute both children as
her subjects. In making her judgements she is in a sense both inside and outside the
children’s world. They may be ‘objects’ of schooling but they are also subjects of her
moral discourse.

Discussion
Throughout Mona’s record there are subtle shifts in perspective. In the first three entries
while an observer in the class, Mona’s reflective commentaries compliment her
descriptions of events. Her moral position can be seen to be justified in her description.
In the remaining entries, in her role as teacher, there are moments where descriptions
and commentaries are more difficult to reconcile (see Entry 7). Mona looks back at the
events of the day and constructs alternative positions for children to inhabit, positions
which reflect the mediating discourse of moral responsibility and which reads against
the discourses of institutional power which she also finds herself positioned within and
enacting.(see Entry 11).
The strength of Mona’s discourse of the cooperative community, and its power to
colonise what is viewed in the classroom and school yard is apparent in the events she
chooses to record and the comments she makes. Her conscience is provoked as she
engages in different kinds of pedagogic action and thought linked to her various roles:
observer in class, teacher, supervising staff member.122 In revisiting these events, she

122 Just as the notion of ‘curriculum’ embraces more than the planned program or
syllabus, the notion of ‘pedagogy’ can be seen to embrace the various ways and means
that knowledge is imparted and negotiated with learners as a teacher shifts through
different roles, circumstances and discourses. These moments might be referred to as
pedagogic genres because teachers are involved in pedagogic roles that vary in time,
place, audience, circumstance, and social purpose. Across Mona’s accounts, what is
employs a principled arrangement of justifications, mediations and reductions to moderate contradictions and tensions that arise in classroom and school yard interactions. The nature of the dialogue she enters into with offending children and their accusers in the above entries, illustrates a tension which exists between, what Haan (in Miller 1986:430) refers to as ‘interpersonal’ or situated moral reasoning, and ‘formal’ or decontextualised moral reasoning. The former is characterised by Mona’s efforts and enjoyment in solving children’s problems, while the latter is characterised by institutionally guided responses to offences exemplified by physical punishment and other ‘approved’ sanctions. A tension exists, in that some of Mona’s mediations can be read as institutional practices aimed at producing ‘disciplined citizens and governable subjects’, advanced by a moral logic which allows little space for the articulation of children’s (or others) interests, or for problems to be jointly defined. These dispositions may be seen at times to feed through to her pedagogy where a strong sense of closure and resolution not only maintains the boundaries between her discourses and those of the children, but constitutes interactions in terms of ‘the teacher’s’ reading of events, ‘the teacher’s’ story. For example, when an incorrect answer has been given,

‘The answer sounded funny so I started to laugh and soon the class teacher, my peermate and the whole class started laughing. Then I thanked the boy for his answer. I corrected him and asked the whole class to repeat after me and they said it very well.’ (Entry 8)

when a child’s actions threaten to shift her lesson focus,

‘... as I was going to ask everyone to stand up and dance, a boy by the name of Kurim stood up and said, “Teacher, mi laik danis wantaim yu” (I would like to dance with you) I called him to the front and told the rest of the chn to sing while Kurim and I danced. Everyone started laughing at Kurim because he wasn’t following the right steps of the dance. I thanked him and asked him to sit down.’ (Entry 10)

when disciplining,

‘He asked me if he could play too. I asked him to apologise for what he did. After apologising I put him into one group to play.’ (Entry 7)

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demonstrated are some of the ways that pedagogic genres are mixed and the control that is maintained through being able to shift through these genres.
Reflected in Mona’s ethical positions is a particular discourse of human activity and society, a discourse that aims to redefine the injustices and inequities of authoritarian discourses. Another view is that Mona’s judgments may be better represented as contributing to what Eva Cox has referred to as the production and accumulation of ‘social capital’, ‘the processes between people which establish networks, norms and social trust and facilitate co-ordination and cooperation for mutual benefit’ (1995:15). The dominant discourses that produce Mona’s gaze, her surveillance, and which dispose her to act as she does, are essentially conservative, relational discourses, situationally constructed practices of mediation and cooperation assimilated within the disciplinary orders of community schooling.
Solomon Practicum Grade 5

Solomon goes to Lagogen community school where he teaches in a Grade 5 class. Lagogen is a relatively new school (about 5 years old) built by the Jant (or Gent) timber company who are logging the area. It is in an area where the nearest other schools have been too far for children to walk to. It has been welcomed by the community for the opportunity it provides for their children to go to school. In its first years many of the children were not graded by age (with ages ranging from 7-12 years in Grade 1). For the most part they are now graded by age and years of schooling. It has about 150 students.

Entry 1:
It was on a hot sunny day I was told by my class teacher to take a group of boys for reading under a shade near the classroom. While reading I discovered that some boys, though they were in the upper grade which is grade five, big enough to read a little bit of fluent English, I discovered that some children are not yet fit or capable to read a book themselves. I said this because I’ve observed that the children read like grade twos and threes. Also I’ve seen that the children some of them don’t know how to pronounce a word, eg. typical is a boy called Firu he doesn’t know how to pronounce words himself.

As of that I personally feel that the children are just coming to school for sake of coming to school. They don’t really have an objective to achieve. Also it tells me that they don’t study or read at their own time or speak English at their own time therefore when time for reading they found it very hard to read or pronounce a word.

Solomon’s observations focus on the boys’ difficulty in reading whose efforts are ‘like grade twos and threes’. He considers that their lack of ability is a result of a lack of interest in school (just coming for the sake of it), that they have no objectives to achieve, that they don’t study English ‘at their own time’. In these criticisms Solomon implies that children should have purposes, objectives and study habits which translate into good performances at school. He presents a traditional view of school children as being held back only by their lack of interest and effort, a view of schooling defined in
terms of aptitude and attitude, and the ideology of the 'level playing field'. As performance expectations are not met, Solomon seems to take up a position at some distance from these boys.

Entry 2:
It was on Tuesday during my 'do' time for the language, at the river. I observed some very interesting things that the children did. Though their are many things that the children did that interest me most I just would like to talk about a thing a child did that made me feel really superior. During the lesson time while we were walking along the river I came to a place where I couldn't cross the river because I wore shoe, then a voice came "teacher" so I turned around and saw a boy carrying a big log and put it across the river for me to walk across. When the boy did that I felt really superior and I thanked the boy. His name is kendie and he is the son of the headmaster. When the boy did that I thought to myself this boy is one of the understandable boy. I personally would like to say that this boy is really playing the part of being a school children and I believe in the future he'll be one of the good boy.

'(A) voice came "teacher"'. For Solomon the voice signals a recognition of his status and a confirmation of his view of what it means in the community to be a 'teacher'. In this voice his public and private identities are made to feel 'superior' (honoured).

This boy who speaks is valued not only for his behaviour (placing the log across the water so that Solomon would not have to remove his shoes or get them wet), but also for his recognition of the student teacher as a teacher. Solomon's notions of what constitutes rightful school boy behaviour are confirmed in the revelation that the boy is the son of the headmaster. Kendie who 'play(s) the part' of being a school child embodies its essence, thoughtful, helpful, and respectful to others, particularly teachers.

In his comments so far, the world of school children appears already divided in terms of academic performance and social behaviour, extending beyond the boundaries of the school.
Entry 3:
Well the thing that I found most interesting was that a boy stood up and gave his answer to a problem which was $20000k + 2000k + 200 + 20 + 2k$'s and the answer given was K22222 which was correct. However among the children, it was grade five class, a girl said “no! the answer is wrong” and the interesting thing was that another boy supported the right answer and when the girl said “no” he shouted and said “yes”, and looked very hard at the girl for quite a long time.
When this happened this thought came into my mind that the boy is really knowing what he is doing or in other word the boy is really 100% sure of what he is doing.
Therefore when the girl against, the boy get on her.123 The boys name is Lusat and even he is the class captain of the class.

123 On gender
“I was very please when I saw the girls playing soccer without being discouraged by the brothers. I hope that this should happen to all schools in PNG, that no sexual discrimination or discouragement be practiced. This did not happen in my community school and my community school days.” (Nava, male)

“In that class (Grade 3) boys are much more effective than the girls. Generally the girls are always quiet in the class, they don’t seem to be awake and effective in class. When I ask them a question, they would not answer or respond to me, they would sit there watching, however, they are obedient, that is when I ask them to do something they would follow. Boys write better than the girls. I didn’t help them (girls) much because there was not a single word that I could read. I decided to ask them to read me their work, but they could not read.” (Meta, male)

‘13 in class - 9 girls and 4 boys - ‘girls took advantage over boys since they are plenty’.
(Lea, female)

‘During my lesson of Talking Drills I always expect children to talk but girls are always too shy. Boys did a lot of talking so I said I want girls to talk not only boys. When the boys heard me saying this they said “Yes teacher pick them, if they don’t want, send them out”. There were two boys who were the main characters going around against the girls. I tried to settle the boys but they kept on telling me to do their favour. These two boys were trying to take control of me. During this time my peer and the class teacher were not in. There was talking everywhere for 3 mins I got a big ruler and I hit it on the table with force and everyone stop. I lost my temper and I didn’t want to teach. I waited until everything was cool down and began the lesson all over. I know why the boys want me to force the girls to talk, this is because girls are too shy. A boy said, “teacher this girl used to feel shame of us”. Some girls feel shy because when they make mistake boys shout or scream on them, but others I think they are at their puberty stage and they feel shame of the opposite sex. This happens to PNG chin. After the lesson I said, “Children I am going to ask you a question, do you agree?” the children said, “Yes, so I said, “Do you want to continue your schooling to high school?” Some boys said “yes”, but the girls were really quiet. That moment I gain my
Solomon is witness to a particular disagreement between a boy and girl in class. When a girl challenges the correct answer given by a boy, the male class captain intervenes. Solomon is impressed by the class captain’s certainty that the answer given is correct and allows the challenge to proceed. He names him, and recognises his position in the class (‘and even he is the captain of the class’). Solomon is aware of the intimidatory dimension of the class captain’s ‘look’ (‘the boy get on her’) given in his confrontation with the girl, but perhaps less so of the broader social effect of marginalising the girl even if her response was not the desired one. It is perhaps difficult for him to see this interaction as other than a legitimate contest in an institutional context where outcomes are expected to be either ‘right’ or ‘wrong’, and in the wider community context where socially constructed gender oppositions are common, though not often challenged. While student teachers often consciously recognise differences between gender in terms of participation, performance and social power, there is only marginal interest in looking for reasons why and with what effect, though some examples may be found. (see footnotes On gender).

Entry 4:
During one of my maths lesson an interesting thing had happened .. when I went around to correct the children’s work individually I came across to a boy named ‘Firu’. When I glanced his book I see that he mixed everything around especially with the symbols, an example is that instead of writing “kg” like that, he wrote his like this “gk”. When I correct him and telling the class it wasn’t the right way to write the symbol for kilogram he started to cry. The boy kept crying with head down on the desk till the end of the lesson. When I finished with the chn on the maths lesson and went on to Community Life he kept on putting his head down I asked him to face up but he refused to do and I kept on asking for several times but he’d never respond to me. When I see that, I was very angry that I went to the boys desk and removed him.

courage to talk to them. I said if you want to continue to high school talk a lot in the class. Ask questions if you are not sure of something, just try first, you will make mistake and its not a problem. Everyone makes mistake. The girls and boys sat down very quietly and listen to ever thing I said I knew when I said that I encourage the girls to involve themselves in such lessons. Therefore the lesson objective was achieved but less participation by the girls. To help girls to talk, I’ll group them into groups where they can talk freely instead of where they feel shame.’ (Michelle, female)
physically out of his desk. At first he refused to stand up but when I stood him up he went out of the classroom himself. He went and the next day he didn’t come to school. For such children who normally mixed everything up I personally think that though they are physically present in the class their mind is somewhere else. Therefore in order to help such children I think its best I must motivate them all throughout the lesson.\footnote{124}

Solomon’s pedagogy provides little space for seeing individual difficulties as being somehow public, or anything other than personal inadequacies. In calling attention to Firu’s problem he calls attention to Firu (and a host of other unseen socially situated interactions). Despite an awareness that Firu has difficulties (see \textit{Entry 1}), from this position, Firu’s shame is interpreted as insolence. The problem as Solomon sees it is that Firu, and others like him, require ongoing ‘motivation’ (a term commonly used by student teachers to refer to the need to add variety to their teaching on order to encourage children, see footnotes \textit{On motivation}). Such a pedagogical ideology is linked to theories of schooling where the pedagogical benefits of publicly dwelling on children’s mistakes overrides the social significance of such a practice; where ‘mixed up’ work is interpreted as a lack of individual concentration or commitment to schooling (‘their mind is somewhere else’); where community discourses are expected to be left at the classroom door; where authority is invested

\footnote{124 \textbf{On motivation:}}

I ... really motivated the children. I discovered that the common way of motivation was revision of exercise. However, when I took the class I was really teaching with motivation. I used style of movement; describing some spelling words in a finest way with action; facial expression; tone of voice; and other things such as moving closer to the child and asking questions. For a short time I told them stories, nobody told me what to do, it just occurred to me when I was teaching. When I was reinforcing the children these are some of the things I used, clapping hands, verbal, and tapping them by the shoulder.

Later, children were not behaving and calling out, ‘Were they playing up with the learning because I did a lot of motivation? Were they calling out answers because I’m a trainee? or playing with me because the class teacher was absent? I decided to be strict in controlling the class and not doing a lot of motivation.’ (Meta, male)

‘I would comment that children willingly cooperate and participate well in lessons if there is a variety of motivation used by the teacher at the very beginning of the lesson. If there is not motivation used by the teacher, then the children will sit there helpless and uncooperative and will not participate in your lesson. I would suggest that in every lesson I should use more and more reinforcement and motivation in the beginning of the lesson to arouse the general interests of the children’s learning’ (Peter, male)
not in commonly agreed upon practices, but in predetermined rules enacted under the authority of the teacher. These theories and structures which Solomon calls up are in opposition to those which sustain Firu, who has no option but to stay away from school until the matter is forgotten.

Entry 5:
Everytime in my class there is a boy named Gilona. This boy everytime when I walk closer to him he pretends that he is working but in fact when I glanced through to see some of his works I discovered that sometimes he doesn’t know what he is writing about. One very good example is that during the do, talk record (lessons) when I looked at the work I couldn’t understand these, ‘must’, ‘sweaunt’, ‘swamf’, ‘erwist’, ‘goy’ etc. so I asked him to tell me what these words are but he couldn’t be able to pronounce the words. This happened in my class I think that this boy maybe his cognitive is not developed to accept or get new ideas, in other words I could say that he is not fit to be in grade five. Why? because he could not even read his own writing, say the timetable even write a word correctly.
Therefore my suggestion is that it will be best to send him back to join grade one or two and start all over again because otherwise if next year he surely fail his course or exam which is the final exam. Question, what will I do with such children in the future? answer please!

Solomon may be right, this child, like many children, may have been moved with his class through the grades being expected to do work he was not able to do. There are children with disrupted patterns of schooling in many classes and schools. Schools are reluctant to return children to lower grades because of class sizes and teachers not wanting ‘problems’. But for now Solomon has a problem, this is my response given at the time, to his plea,

‘You may have children like this in the future - sometimes they are children who have not attended school regularly over the years - sometimes they may have a different learning style to the one the teacher expects - anyway most children like this don’t get an opportunity to repeat at a lower level. As a teacher you should begin where the child is at ie, if the child is not able to do the work you set - set work that he/she can do, simple maths and writing simple stories,
sentences and words. Borrow some readers from the lower grades and help him/her through them before you give him upper grades work. ' (Pickford)

As I look at these suggestions I am reminded of the sometimes overwhelming sense of concern that I felt for many children whom I observed in classrooms trying to keep up, going through the motions, hiding their ignorance and troubles behind smiling faces, embarrassed by what they didn’t know or couldn’t do, knowing that in some cases that they were the first in their families to go to school, understanding the weight of family expectation under which they laboured. In class we talked about the difficulties faced by these 'drowning' children.

Entry 6:

It was in the beginning of the community life integrated lesson when Mr Obogwa (peermate) asked a girl to read the title of the lesson, which was “Theme Market”. I find it very interesting when the girl named Naomi read it she read it like in her language in which she out it this way “teh - meh marret” She sort of read it like in a Pidgin way of reading. Just by the way she reads I could say that the introduction of ‘tok ples’ pre-school has its bad influence on the language of the children. She reads it like that because the school itself gets its preschool in which they all attend before doing grade one. In that pre-school every work is all written in Pidgin therefore she was being influenced. However to help such children I bet I must encourage them to read a lot of reading books.

Solomon is unaware that the ‘sounding out’ strategy that Naomi uses is helpful in decoding new words. His observation, “She sort of read it like in a Pidgin way of reading” is his way of referring to a phonics strategy, as Pidgin is written phonetically (Theme sounded as teh-meh). The ‘bad influence’ he refers to is a misreading of the kinds of generalisations children make when decoding new words expecting particular sound and symbol correspondences which don’t always oblige. His reference to the influence of ‘tok ples preschools’, is more a criticism of the use of Pidgin than the cause of Naomi’s difficulty who is now in Grade 5, and overlooks the ongoing use of Pidgin in and out of school, Solomon appears to construct his observations in terms of particular oppositions for the purpose of understanding and feigning them. Some forms of schooling are valued more highly than others, as are some kinds of reading and some kinds of children and ultimately some kinds of communities.
Entry 7:
During the test there was a boy namely “tomba” from Eastern Highlands. He was very sick and didn’t come for school one week. However during the test I see that he did extremely very well though he missed some lessons he did his test very well than many of these children who normally comes to school. I found it very interesting because though that boy missed a lot of lessons especially in maths he really did pretty well. To conclude I would rather say that that boy is talented. Question? What can I do to help those children who are absent and missed a lot of lessons?

Throughout Solomon’s account there are recurring references to the ‘cognitive’, the ‘mind’ and now ‘talent’, in ‘progressivist’ schooling ideologies the way cognition, mind and talent are socially mediated is not an interest. Such discourses portray learning as predominantly individual ‘mental’ work and at times, ‘talent’ when what occurs cannot be explained in terms of cognition and hard work. Solomon does not entertain the possibility that what was being tested may not be new to ‘tomba’, or previously unlearned.

Nevertheless he is confronted and concerned by difficulties associated with children who have had interrupted schooling. My response is somewhat simplistic, nevertheless it suggest that dialogue with those involved is a place to begin.

‘Talk to their parents, talk to them, make your class a place that they want to be.’ (Pickford)

These words suggest also that the ‘place’ of the classroom be more tolerant, mediated more by local sensitivities.

Entry 8:
It was during the spelling lesson I found another interesting child. I asked everyone to stand up and spell a word and if they spell it correctly they can be sitted. It went on when everybody spelt their words correctly and sat down. There stood one child he was a boy named ‘Gamat’. I asked the boy to spell me these words and he couldn’t be able to spell it correctly, eg. “concert”, “argument”, and he couldn’t be able to spell more words though he is in grade five. Since he couldn’t be able to spell these words I told him to spell “boy” and he did spell it correctly. After spelling “boy”, the boy bend down and cried, He kept on crying and didn’t participate in any other subjects. I was
very angry and was about to stand him physically and punch him but then I am not the field class teacher, therefore I let him. Question? What will I do in the future if I come to such a problem like this?125

The distinction, in this lesson, between teaching and testing is not made by Solomon, though the public display of children’s responses is seen as both an aid to and a check on their learning. These teaching practices effectively link the social (public) value of children to the acceptability of performances compared to those of their peers. When Gamat is unable to pass the test, he is humiliated by Solomon’s direction to spell what amounts to a trivial word. Gamat’s humiliation prompts Solomon’s thoughts “to stand him physically and punch him”. ‘Shaming’ is a form of discipline used here for complex reasons. It is used in some PNG communities to control lack of respect and to motivate children to overcome weaknesses. Solomon’s disciplinary impulses stem to some extent from the cultural practices of his community (Enga), he is prevented from carrying it out by the belief that it is not his but the teacher’s authority to do so. Traditionally, Coyne asserts that

... among the Enga ... the end justified the means and might was right. The qualities most admired were courage, strength or personality and fighting ability. It was believed only the weak were punished, or had to suffer the effects of evil actions. Children in those societies grew up anxious to acquire prestige, but know only aggressive hostile methods to acquire it. (1973:24)

Coyne’s assertions have some application here, traces of these discourses are discernible in Solomon’s account. His anger and impulse to act physically are learned

125 Students make a distinction between children’s different classroom performances, referring to them as either being ‘on the behaviour side’ or on the academic side’.

126 On shame

During an observation at Grade 5, Sagalau Demonstration School, Waru (female) started to cry after getting the answer to the question wrong and was ashamed and buried her head, when I asked Elizabeth about it she said some parents teach their children to shame, they say ‘Yu mas sem”. (You must be ashamed) (Field notes, Pickford)

Interestingly Coyne notes that

‘A sense of guilt was a device frequently used to bring wrong-doers to heel, but it was usually by referring to the wrong-doer’s idea of what was shameful, rarely by trying to shame the wrong-doer publicly ... for most societies they had no concept of conscience, only a sense of shame, the discomfort a person feels when he is found out in some unworthy act’ (p27).
community responses to what is perceived to be weakness, and were also expressed by other student teachers throughout their teaching practice (see On anger, footnotes) \(^{127}\)

\(^{127}\) On anger

Anger and getting 'mad' are common themes in many students accounts:

'When I took my PE lesson before the children and I went out to play I put them in teams. So I sent the 1st team out and then the other. But to my surprise some of the boys wanted to join another team because they had their best friends in that team. When I followed them out they were mixed up. Boys were hitting girls. I was so mad with them that I almost cried in front of the children but I was strong enough to hold the tears back. I acted this way because I was so angry. I wanted to belt them but belting was not allowed.'

During my listening lesson the chn and I played a game... I showed them how to play the game and there were this group of naughty boys when the game was played they were cheating without knowing that I was watching them from the corners of my eyes. The first time I saw them I didn't warn them. The second time I warn them. Then the third time they cheated again. This made me really mad I felt like belting them but I thought its not a right way to punish them so I told them to stand in front of the class with one leg up and one leg standing with. I acted this way because I couldn't stand it anymore. This wasn't the first time to misbehaviour like this. So what I did I had to punish them.' (Elin, female)

'After explaining to them that it was only a play, nobody responded, even the class teacher talk to them but noone was convinced. I was angry and also frustrated and decided to put it off.' (Lea, female)

Some students draw upon their own school experiences as a way of managing children: 'I moved to the front because it will make them feel scared and sit down quietly. Though I was mad with the boys I didn't show my anger out, I asked in a polite manner to shift out of their original place, even it was forced. They understood why I did that. I acted in this manner because I didn't want the boys to hate me. When chn hate teachers they also hate the teaching. Therefore, I didn't want then to hate me. I am saying this because I've seen and heard from other teachers of their experience. Even when I was in high school and community school I hated teachers who punished me. Therefore by moving them to the front I feel that they will settle down. And I realise that the boys were happy afterwards because of my attitudes of polite manner to them.' (Lea, female)

'I took the lesson and the children all got involved and I asked few questions orally and many of my questions were answered. I asked a child to come up to the front and pick up a stamp. I choose him because he was poking the kids sides. He walked to the front and knowing not what to pick he got the envelope and I told him to show it to the children and said, "This is a stamp". He did say it and everyone in the class laughed at him and I told him to name the other materials that were on the table. He was standing there and he cried I told him to go and sit down and not to play and that paying of attention is much better than doing other things. I told the children that if you are not paying attention and playing around during time for lessons then you might be called up to the front and the same thing will happen to you. You might cry or even wont come to school. I did that and the child pays attention to me when I teach because I called up anybody to give me answers. I feel that its one
My response

'Be patient! Children are children not adults, when they are embarrassed or shamed they will not learn - develop a close relationship with these children you will find that they will always remember you and respect you for the help you tried to give them - as a teacher trainee coming into the classroom you are not aware of their circumstances - this child may have had a difficult life - don't make it any harder try to make it better even for just a few weeks.' (Pickford)

As I read back through this response I recall how disturbed I felt at Solomon's ongoing posture towards some of the children he was working with. This response reflects my concern that all children should not be expected to act and think and talk in the same way. It reflects a somewhat western view of children overruling the 'adultness' of children's socialisations in PNG, and unwittingly overruling the expectations that Solomon perhaps felt that Gamat take his defeat and meet the challenge through more effort, rather than giving in to his shame. My response reflects a particular paternal concern for the welfare of these children privileging childhood as unique and not as a less developed version of adult life, drawing upon my own tacit theories - 'children don't learn if they are upset' (at least not what you want them to); 'adult child interactions can be unjust', embedded in what is a western Judeo-Christian view of what counts as a 'just community'. At the time of writing, by the time the first sentence was out, I was alarmed at what my pen had written, the disjunctive 'Children are children not adults', the thought of crossing it out and starting again was overruled by my sense of wanting to work this out here. I tried to reconstitute the grounds upon which these matters might be viewed, not as a matter of child incompetence, but as a matter of developing mutual respect ( '- develop a close relationship with these children you will find that they will always remember you and respect you for the help you tried to give them'). In a sense this was an appeal to things which I considered both Solomon and I valued, to be remembered and respected as a teacher. Solomon's questions signalled to me that he was confronting a sense of crisis in terms of reconciling such events with deeply embedded instincts, feeling disciplined by the

of the ways you do to get the children not to play around but to keep quiet and pay attention. It helps very much in the discipline of children because I had experienced it myself.' (Lea, female)
failure of his expectations and motivations to deliver a sense of social and epistemological harmony.

Entry 9:
During my Expressive Arts lesson during Mrs R supervision, Mrs R and I came to notice a girl in my class. The girl’s name is Rachel. During the Ex Arts lesson she bravely pronounce and talk like an adult to me. When I heard of it I was facing the blackboard preparing my song chart so as soon as I heard her talking like that I was shocked and turned around. When I turned around Mrs R looked straight at my eyes and she smiled. That made me wonder what makes the girl to talk like that because I had never seen and heard her talking like that before. To conclude I thought that may because sing(ing) must be one of her hobby therefore she talked like that. Question. What do you think is that really motivates her to talk really like an adult that she shocked me?

Solomon is ‘shocked’ to confront Rachel’s adult-like disposition towards him. An identity which is not ‘child-like’ but which is able to converse with him in ways he recognises as adult to adult. Rachel moves out of the position which she has occupied during previous lessons and into a register she is no doubt comfortable using with adults. The maturity of her response shocks Solomon. The shock Solomon feels seems to challenge his position and his reified positioning of many children in the class. He is further disturbed by Mrs R’s recognition of the discourse, ‘Mrs R looked straight at my eyes and she smiled’. Though no words are exchanged, meaning is shared as these various discourses collide and interact. When Rachel brings the ‘outside in’ Solomon’s focus is disrupted, sensing that the dualisms of schooling (adult/child; teacher/pupil; school/community) have been breached. My response to Solomon is somewhat evasive and advising.

‘You don’t really know these children well enough - as you are new in the class children may hide their true ability and nature - you get to know them by respecting them and what they say. Teachers sometimes act superior which is unnecessary. When you have a class of your own you will learn over time about each of your children you will see that most children behave differently in different circumstances - when they are in the presence of adults (Mrs R) they may act more grown up than when they are just with friends.’ (Pickford)
The inadequacy of these words is for me tied up in the sense of certainty that they convey. The notion of ‘true ability and nature’ of children, suggests some foundational core position which remains unaltered in different circumstances; the references ‘having a class of your own’ and ‘your children’ seem to suggest that children become the personal possessions of teachers; the advice, ‘...when they are in the presence of adults (Mrs R) they may act more grown up than when they are just with friends’, ignores the circumstances when the contrary is true. I am confronted also by my own sense of ‘superiority’ throughout the response, but particularly in the opening remarks, ‘You don’t really know these children well enough’. In many respects these remarks undo the building up of reflexive awareness which I am attempt to cultivate.

Entry 10:
One of the very unique and interesting thing of all that I’ve found in my class was that they behave like as if they are already big or matured. I said this because everytime when I want to put boys and girls together to do something especially in act they think that its sort of a real thing, eg. I got a boy named ‘Sebis’ and told him you’ll be the father, at first he agreed and when I gave him a wife he tend to neglect the girl and the girl was very ashamed. As soon as I realised that I told the boy its just an act don’t think that she will be yours for your life but the boy never take any note of what I told him he kept on taking things the other way and I nearly smack him on the face, however I let him. To conclude since I’ve seen nearly all the children are sort of having the thought of opposite sex I concluded that the children in this area of Lagogen Community school are all full grown or stunted growing children. To help such children I feel I’d rather belt them and tell them that they are too small for such things especially thinking about opposite sex. Question “please answer”: What will be the best thing that you think I could do to help these or such children?

Solomon confronts another crisis in his teaching when children refuse to cooperate in a play. Here the cause is attributed to the minds of the children, ‘thinking about opposite sex’. Solomon’s experience is not uncommon, other student teachers experienced similar tensions, children act out gender specific roles (see On participation, footnotes). It is Sebis’ behaviour of neglecting (avoiding) the girl which stimulates the sense of shame within the girl who realises how Sebis is interpreting the
roles. Solomon's statement, "its just an act don't think that she will be yours for your life" marks a customary view of marriage in which the wife is bought and possessed by the man and his family. It is this link, Solomon is suggesting, that children make beyond the classroom, which accounts for their sensitivity.

Here my response, somewhat generalising, privileges the children's behaviour as a community response. I find it difficult to sustain Solomon in his actions.

'Respect their feelings - provide educational activities which do not conflict with their personal feelings - we all felt the same at their age. They will soon grow out of these ways, i.e. feeling embarrassed to associate closely with the opposite sex.'

Solomon's observation that, "the children in this area of Lagogen Community school are all full grown or stunted growing children" suggests that there are children in this school who are older than 11 (the usual age) who may have started school late and been taken into a Grade level beyond their readiness. Lagogen is not a remote school but there are children whose parents are not able to afford regular school fees and need the assistance of their children in their gardens. Some of those children are fitted into school on the basis of their availability, not their age and size, nor grade level. In Solomon's reference to "thinking about opposite sex", he appears to not see that along with biological determinants, social norms constitute what are appropriate roles and gender orientations, that adolescence is a time when an awareness of these social influences is strongly felt in children.\(^{128}\)

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\(^{128}\) On participation

Student teachers reported difficulties having children engage in role plays where husband and wife roles were involved. Children refused to engage in the charade of acting out these roles.

'I introduced my role play on the drama to the children. The children smiled because they knew the story. I read the story to them. The children understood the story very well, from the responses they made. We decided to - whom our characters will be. The children volunteered but some decided not to especially the wife and husband. [Peer comments: Maybe at this stage they are beginning to feel shy of the opposite sex]

After explaining to them that it was only a play nobody responded, even the class teacher talk to them but no one was convinced. I was angry and also frustrated and decided to put it off. However, I was patient and tried to talk them into taking part. To me it was a shame. [Peer comments: no Lea it is not, it is the development in the children, you did very well]

If such situation occurs than I should decide for myself who will be taking its part and get them to participate. [Peer comments: Do you think its a good idea? Think about it.]' (Lea, female)
Entry 11:

It was during the riddle time\textsuperscript{129} when this thing happened. ... a girl named Luthias sort of falling in love with me or trying luck on me. The thing really happened when I asked this, “What does ‘yam’ mean?” and I directed the question to this girl Luthias because I was on the boys side... As soon as she heard with action pointing at me she said, “You are mine” as soon as she said that her reactions towards me started to change. eg. she talked to me like an adult especially after school hours and when she sees me talking to some other girls she sort of jealous and when I walk around myself and when she comes with her friends she tends to tease me and many others. That went on and on that she sort of thinking too much about me so one day I gave the counselling to the whole grade five class basically on the topic about thinking about the opposite sex, especially telling them that they are not in the right stage. Also I told them that if they

\textit{I picked the characters to act out the story. The boys responded very well but as for the girls no one volunteer to become a mother. These children are very mature emotionally. I was really mad with the ladies. I said, look ladies you won’t become really mothers. Its just a play. Anyway after that I decided to change the character mother to aunty and 4 girls volunteered to act the part. Now I realise that chn of middle grade and upper grade are very mature and the activities must be provided according to their ability. [Peer comments: Yes that’s very true, and it was a good idea to change the title of the character to a different one. As chn in middle/upper grades are growing older their minds expands about the outside world, there are changes occurring in them and this makes them feel shy, nervous, fear etc. They tend to be very choosy so we need to prepare activities according to their interest.]} (Michelle, female)

\textit{In my expressive arts lesson I plan for the boys and girls to act out the drama of the story. The girls didn’t want to act the characters of mothers and aunts. I begged them many times to volunteer but noone agreed to take the characters. I didn’t now what to do next. I said I am going to choose if you don’t volunteer. Among the group a girl put up her hand and said I will act out. I praised her for others to see and get couraged. I don’t know why girls feel shame. I really want to belt them all and send them out. I think at this stage they are too young to think of or feel shame of opposite sex. I praised the child to encourage others to take part. By doing this I know others will want to be praised too and will take part.’} (Michelle, female)

\textsuperscript{129} Riddle time is common in many schools children enjoy composing and solving riddles. The following are from Erima school Grade 5 class.

What stays in the corner and goes around the world? A stamp
How do you get the word “SATAN”? I count to ten and ‘say ten’.
What makes CDO? The moon
Where can you get two cars in PNG? KarKar island.
My name is “National” and people love to play with me. The (national) radio.
The Bird of Paradise said to the Buterfly, “Let us make what?” The PNG flag.
happen to have such feelings they would be just spoiling their own education, after I called the girl daughter and tell everyone that I am married because I see that even grade six girls tend to fall in love with me. To conclude I would like to say that if any cases like that happens in the future I must report to the headmaster or else I must to talk the parents of the girl concern. Above all I think and believe that the best thing is I must not talk to girls after school hours because when I tried to talk to girls after school hours they tend to have wrong thoughts about me, therefore the best thing to do is to stop completely talking to girls and I’ll be as the teacher and let them as the children. Please answer this question for me. What can I do in the future if I come across such situation with a school girl?

Solomon provides a description of ‘riddle time’ when children compose and ask riddles. Here the class is divided into two groups, boys and girls. As a member of the boys team he directs his riddle to Luthias. The riddle itself is provocative given what he knows about the age group and sensitivity of the class, ‘What does yam mean?’ In the face of what he feels is the girl’s ensuing interest in him Solomon feels that he must address the matter directly,

I gave the counselling to the whole grade five class basically on the topic about thinking about the opposite sex, especially telling them that they are not in the right stage.

His move to place the responsibility for the control of sexual desires on the children conceals the extent of his complicitness in bringing about the situation, through the division of boys and girls, the riddle itself and its asking. Absent from his reading of the circumstances is an exploration of own feelings and how he finds himself in this situation. Solomon reflects upon the consequences of the actions he takes and decides upon different ways to manage the situation should it arise in the future. He gives meaning to the actions of other girls through the lenses of masculinist discourse,

I see that even grade six girls tend to fall in love with me ... when I tried to talk to girls after school hours they tend to have wrong thoughts about me.

My response

‘I think you have partly answered this question yourself ie avoid socialising with school girls out of class - remember to keep your own thoughts and actions in order - treat such incidents carefully, when the child grows up she will probably realise that that part of her life was a little immature, also be careful
regarding what you say in class eg the question ‘What does “YAM” mean?’
invited her response if you had not asked that question she may not have
responded the way she did.’ (Pickford)

In making this response I was hopeful that Solomon might get a sense of his own
complicity and that what I considered to be an extreme notion, “... the best thing to
do is to stop completely talking to girls and I’ll be as the teacher and let them as the
children”, might be moderated over time. My concern was not to mediate too strongly;
it seemed to me to be a sensitive matter and that his ‘solutions’ were appropriate at
that point. However, as I look upon it now, my response appears on the one hand,
 starkly moralising and paternal, (I position Luthias a ‘child’ in a moment of
immaturity, Solomon positions her as a ‘girl’), it avoids the matter of gender relations,
the place of such behaviour in the social worlds of these girls, the extent to which
Luthias’s response is a challenge to Solomon’s masculinist discourse. What is
interesting, and disturbing to Solomon, is the public power that Luthias wields, her
capacity to disrupt the objectivism of Solomon’s masculine dispositions. There are in
these moments of disorientation when the political economy of teaching is laid bare,
opportunities to push back other horizons on what constitutes teaching, to define a
sense of pedagogy which thinks with, as well as upon, the Other. In the immediacy of
the situation it was not possible for Solomon to do so, in my response I did not see
beyond my own sense of moralising immediacy as I do now.

Discussion

In many of these accounts Solomon defines the subjects of his attention in terms of the
Other. For him, they are identifiable in terms of what he is not. Their efforts are often
seen as unauthentic and inarticulate, suggesting these children belong to a degraded
community and that the community of the future, the schooled community is not only
more desirable but in many ways more ‘whole-some’.

Solomon’s identity as a teacher and his pedagogical ideology are here constituted in the
midst of various dichotomies. Thematically there is the recurring play of power seen
through the binary opposition strength/weakness. Solomon somewhat unwittingly
focuses upon children’s performances in terms of their weaknesses and strengths,
admiring and valuing strength but angered by weakness. These themes can be
summarised: the weakness of Firumbai who ‘doesn’t know how to pronounce words;
the moral and physical strength of Kendie ‘one of the good boy’; the strength of the
class captain who ‘is really 100% sure of what he is doing’; the weakness of Firu who ‘mixed everything around’; the weakness of Golida who ‘could not even read his own writing’; the weakness of Naomi who reads in ‘a Pidgin way of reading’; the strength of Tomba from the highlands, who ‘is talented.’; the weakness of Galat who isn’t able to spell’; the weakness of ‘Sebis’ who ‘neglect the girl’; the strength of Rachael who ‘talks like an adult to me’; the strength of Luthias who pointed and said, “You are mine”.

This structuring of classroom relations around strengths and weaknesses is linked to Solomon’s theories of schooling as particular kinds of performances, theories which are informed by the masculine discourses of his community. By recording events in terms of strengths and weaknesses he marks different kinds of resistance he is experiencing, the types of oppositions and agreements which emerge in the interactions he is structuring.

The children in this class negotiate the classroom in terms of choices their community allows them. Children refuse to listen or talk to the teacher when they have been shamed, they refuse to attend school despite the rules of the school and the demands of teachers\(^{130}\), they refuse to engage in activities which they feel are culturally inappropriate, they speak their minds when spaces are available.

Things are not going well for Solomon, his strategies are to rethink the dissonant moments, to ask questions, to seek advice from his lecturer. My advice, while attempting to find common ground upon which to base his answers, reflects other value systems and discourses and ultimately infuses his actions with an unsettling sense of ‘otherness’ as I find myself ensnared in my own discourses.

To step back a little from these accounts is to see this school (and the academy) as a point where cultures clash. The differing cultural capital and dispositions of the

\(^{130}\) On attendance

Before we started this morning a small boy named Ruben came up to me and told me the names of some children who ran away after lunch yesterday. I was really angry with the children so I called the names of those who ran away to stand up. When they stood up I told them why they had run away. A small boy from the group told me that he was hungry so he ran away to look for food. When I asked him if his mother had cooked any food for him, he said that she was sick. When I asked him about his brothers and sisters he told me that they were just sleeping so he came to school without any food. I asked him if he bought any today and he said he did. He said he himself has prepared the food in the morning.’ (David, male)
participants and the institutional culture (and capital) of the school are mixed and sifted. Those children/student teachers whose dispositions are closely aligned with the teacher’s/lecturer’s culture and the institutional culture of the school as it is mediated by the teacher/lecturer, are those for whom the orders of schooling becomes naturalised, while those whose differences are not reconciled will, as Solomon predicts for Golida, ‘surely fail (their) course or exam which is the final exam’, they will not be beneficiaries of the ‘redemptive’ powers of schooling to save them from a d-graded community life.\textsuperscript{131}

**Some conclusions: Stability and control**

These student teachers are for the most part, led, made and unsettled by the experiences which they encounter in schools, as they enter into the discursive activities of schools and communities. A difficulty for them is acting purely as instructors, in a technical sense. In these pedagogical spaces where institutional and community discourses collide, they are pushed to the margins of their own pedagogical practices and beliefs where they experience ambiguity and instability.

What they all seek is a sense of stability and governance: Kathy’s recurring idealisms and social vision; Mona’s preoccupations with justification and orderliness; Marcus’

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{131} In the back of Solomon’s journal he records the following song:

‘The time will come when the Lord will say sit on my right
and you go on my left
He will separate the sheeps from the goats
It’s time to move better get on the Road
Don’t stand and watch while the others passed
Don’t step aside or you’ll be lost
Move on move on
The time will come again
I’m gone away till Jesus comes and he will take me home.’
\end{quote}

The song is significant in that these messages of Christianity parallel the sorting processes of schooling that Solomon is engaged in. The images encapsulated in the words ‘Don’t stand and watch while the others pass, Don’t step aside or you’ll be lost’ accurately describe truck loads of villagers on their way to town or Sunday services, going somewhere, passing less fortunate villagers on foot, forced to stand off the road and watch while the trucks pass by; Christianity reinforces the social practices of schooling and processes of separation, unless one is able to get on the ‘Road’ and move on. (Solomon is a Christian student who regularly attends fellowship and is involved in the programmes of his church) It is from within these discourses that Solomon and other students draw ‘metaphorical inspiration’, where, as Watts argues, ‘Providence is cast as Progress’ (1995:47), and I might add, its absence, as backsliding and unfit.
preoccupation with leadership and status; Solomon’s looking for answers to his challenged expectations. The gaps between ‘training’ discourses and classroom practices, however, ensure another layer of tension. How practices are interpreted and confronted by students not only brings to light particular discursive formations, but notably in these accounts, a view of the political economies of practice teaching: confronting the great objectifying forces of children’s expectations, actions and interpretations of circumstances, confronting their own dispositional shifting between community dispositions and classroom situated realities. It is however, paradoxical that in the midst of seeking stable, unifying and general principles, division and complexity emerge, as Young observes the ‘desire for unity or wholeness in discourse... generates borders, dichotomies, and exclusions’ (in Harvey 1993:15).

**Some conclusions: On gender**

In comparing their accounts, Solomon and Marcus who have greater gendered power, seek to maintain the social formations, practices and cultural meanings constitutive of that power. Kathy and Mona, lacking a power tradition of their gender, identify much more with the goals of schooling through which their limited social power has been broadened. Identifying more closely with the idealisms of schooling they seek to build identities aligned with its social purposes (Kathy) and humanistic expectations (Mona). These gendered power traditions are intimately linked to these students different ways of knowing and to patterns of wider social expectation. Their actions and interactions are also constitutive of sets of expectations that children will act and speak in particular ways. It is not surprising then to see an emphasis in the male student teachers’ experiences upon developing a sense of independence in boys and in the female student teachers’ experiences, developing a sense of cooperativeness in both boys and girls.

**Some conclusions: Feelings and emotions**

The production of pedagogic knowledge is, as well as much more, an emotional and intersubjective process. Many student accounts give details of emotional confrontations with self and others. Such emotions were often generated in different power plays between themselves and children. Power plays which were not always about controlling disruptive behaviour but about contests over what should happen next in a lesson or after a lesson. Power plays that revolved around children’s performances, where
students often interpreted poor performances as a diminution of their power to help, to be 'teachers'.

What Schratz and Walker (1995:146) have noted for research, may also be applied to these cases, how much 'emotions are part of the politics of (teaching)', and how much desire mediates teaching's political economy.

Postscript

As for my involvement, I read it as both complicit and disruptive of the reproduction of the normative orders of schooling. These are stories which have shaped my pedagogical orientations. I read these accounts as an interpretation of my involvement and my gaze, and ask whether what might be reflected in them and back, is a view of pedagogical discourses which are unruly and at times chaotic, which may be seen by some to require continued intervention and 'expert' management, or which may be seen by others to have problematised the expectations of post-colonial discourses having provided some means to see and understand how human agencies are pedagogically produced, distributed and consumed (Fairclough 1993). There is, however, an ongoing sense in which students' reflections are captured within frameworks of what is now in the post-coloniality of PNG a 'naturalised' masculine development discourse, where the fight is 'not against development, but about it' (Thompson in Crush 1995:11), where the issues of local schooling are more about funding, more about access to a small capital economy, than relevance and purpose.

Moving on

In seeking to teach student teachers about the social and 'autonomous' effects of 'meritocratic' schooling, what I refer to as 'fittest pedagogies' and outcomes-based discourses, I turned to the community school and the reporting of children's progress. While Journal writing provided an intimate process of self-discovery, representation and exposition, it lacked the facility to generate a broader awareness of the orders of schooling and their effects. My research led me to an exploration of student teacher views on some of the more critical 'disciplinary' practices of pedagogy. In the following intertext is set out a discussion between four student teachers on the nature of evaluation/assessment. What is captured here are features of pedagogic discourse seen through the lens of evaluation. The impact of the 'disciplinary' discourses of schooling are most keenly experienced by student teachers through regimes of evaluation and
assessment which they have experienced as community and high school students and which they continue to experience as teacher trainees. Alongside this discussion is placed Chapter 8, an exploration of community school reports and their impact upon children and their families. In these reports parents have a unique opportunity to respond to teachers about the progress of their children, to write back to the school as it were. Some of these reports were used in my classes to illustrate the far-reaching social effects of schooling. In Chapter 8 they are considered in the context of this study’s interest in understanding the disciplinary role of institutional discourses upon processes of pedagogical development.
Intertext six

Student Teacher discussion - On Evaluation

M - female; F - female; W - male; T - female
(i/a) inaudible; (s/a) seeking agreement; (...) pause

T: What I think is, evaluation is a process of er making judgement on, er
making judgement or sought of bring improvement to certain things,
certain er particular things.

F: Right.. I think evaluation is er ...is er like a process or a method where some
people use ... to grade others of what is being done on a particular thing for
example, in a, like in education system where people make judgements for
example teachers ah (s/a) so what I think it’s a some sort of a (i/a) where people
make judgements like when it is er, if it is, like if it goes down or like the
grading when it is low or something they try to make improvement so that they
could improve on that.

W: Er evaluation is a form of judging some of the, something that you do by its
good or its not good ah(s/a) like judgement, to see if you are progressing well
like example, in the classroom situation you see your child is performing well or
not in the class, his actions in the class his behaviour, marks, you bring them
together and you try to weigh them out and judge them .. it’s like a form of
judgement to something that you want to improve on

M: That is as teachers to see whether the children are progressing well or they are
not progressing, so we use, or children but children don’t, children don’t
evaluate themselves do they

W: Yes I think when they see their marks

T: See their marks

W: When they are low they try to go up or they are on the first place
they try to be on the first next time too

F: Evaluation is of course a teaching method that a teacher uses to like um yea to
see, to see his mistakes as well as the children’s mistakes, so that er if he sees
that his teaching is not really effective he could make could make an influence
on that, so that its a method he could use to see the faults in his teaching and or in the children's learning if the children's learning is like low he should improve on that and doing evaluation could help him as well or the what, children

W: Can we say that marks or grades is a form of evaluation or something like this .. evaluating giving marks or grading does it help the children to learn

M: I don't... I think so but then sometimes it discourages some kids like they feel they can do better but when they see that another child has a good mark they think they're not good and they don't like to, they wouldn't like to try their best in class, but otherwise its good because when see that they like work harder more and more to get themselves up there children always like that ah (s/a) they like to compare their work, for example if a child is drawing he'll go and show his picture to another friend and say see my house I drew this man and that's mummy and daddy and they'll compare their pictures and they like to show them off, children are like that

T: Yea I think when er when we give them marks or when they are given these grades they see where they stand especially their academic work and especially those who are, those who haven't done well they might need to improve in the next work that they do and I think they will, this will, when they are given marks it will make them to work hard or try their best next time, especially those ones who are down below and those (i/a) those who did well I think when they see their marks they feel happy especially when they are on the first mark or when they come first in their exams or tests or something like that they feel happy about what they get on their test.

M: Yea.. so that means you are saying these are the reasons for giving marks or grades ah (s/a) some of, like some of the questions we have talked about we have talked about evaluation, now we are looking down at the reasons for giving marks or grades, is failure at school a part of life or perhaps related to the course, the school system or even the teacher? so this is what we are talking about, but however, sometimes evaluations, I feel that sometimes evaluations are not really good because once a teacher evaluates a child and finds out that this child in a particular class is a bright student you will see that most of the time the teacher will favour that bright child .. sometimes its good and its bad, so like we should improve on some of this parts like evaluating children but, another class teacher or another person from another school should come and do
the evaluating ah (s/a) or another teacher doing the evaluating not you yourself
evaluating because from there they can find out if you are doing your work or
you are just playing up or you didn’t do it, because sometimes when a teacher
does it himself she tends to favour the brightest class and the brightest children
in the class, I’ve seen that in many schools... and also do you think marks are a
real evaluation of a child’s ability, do you think that the marks are a reliable
measure of a child’s ability? do you think its good, do you think its a reliable
measure of a child’s ability? ... I feel that marks are not the only reliable
measure of a child’s ability because many student, many children in the school
they have different types of talents and abilities ah (s/a) a child can do good at
making craft or a child can be good at doing something like weaving basket,
that’s the ability of the child ah (s/a) he can be mentally, mentally affected or
something like that but ... not good in his work

W: Disability

M: Yea that’s right but still got some knowledge, so as a teacher you must, if you
see that a child has a disability you must try and improve on it by giving him
more skills and applying it more and providing more things for the child so that
they really build up on their ability because then when he doesn’t get anywhere
like he’s already been experiencing that sort of thing he’s going to work on it
and he’ll work his way up somehow that’s um, so marks are not a (i/a) reliable
measure of a child’s ability there are other abilities that children have which
teachers can work on and improve

F: Yea I go with you on that one and give a reason for this question, okay like
marks and grades, when you talk about this one, like its a teaching method to
praise the child, when someone is doing good or bad when the teacher is
praising the child, when giving marks and grades it puts the child to a level
where he sees where the child is standing so the teacher will do, like make
adjustments to that: the next question, I think failure is a part of er life, like its
not always the case that er people are always perfect ah (s/a) at some stage
where they could pick up failures like in the school system its in most cases that
most of them become failures and the others become they like they go or
continue on with their education, so I think failure is part of life and when we
talk about marks which are reliable to the measure of a child, it is not only the
marks that would help the child to reach to a certain stage of education, or
something like that, it is other abilities he’s got other talents too, like from school they have learnt something else ah (s/a) he could do something else where he could be praised by his parents or other people rather than you know, his parents does not do not evaluate the child or the practical by giving marks but they can evaluate them on the other things that he’s got a talent in doing them so I think marks is not the only measure of a child’s ability

T: Yea I’ll go along with both of you because you’ll see that all of us and also referring back to the children back at the school, all of us are not the same there are individual differences so some of the students you won’t expect them to be the same, and you won’t expect them to be clever not everyone in the class will be clever, some will be um won’t be clever while others will be and there are certain things that they’ll be good at for example as M has said others will be good at drawing, others might not be good at drawing, and (i/a) for subjects others won’t be good at the subjects while others might be, for marks I don’t think they a reliable measure of a child’s learning.

M: Yea so we have talked about marks being a reliable measure of a child’s ability and we’ve all agreed that it’s not the only measure of a child’s ability, there are other abilities that children have but, you know teachers don’t see it and they used to just close their eyes blindly and they say ‘oh you dumbhead’ or something like that and they pinpoint children in class and you know that this type of things will bring a child’s morale down in school ah (s/a) and he won’t be interested and that’s how some students run away because of this evaluation system that PNG has its really, I mean not PNG but other countries like they have letters like ABC and all this and sometimes it embarrasses us because when people look at it they think we are dumb as ever but we’re not, we have some sense in us but it’s just because how people think of us and they feel about us and how we think and we do things counts, so that’s all, so that’s what strangers think as F said failure is a part of life its with us everyday, our efforts come through our failure (i/a) ...

F: Okay adding on to that one um ... so that you would say that the teacher evaluates the children but we could say that children play an important part in evaluation as well, they, er, like by looking at the way the children evaluates them they would improvise, we have said already ... like for example if a child makes, like learns how to make a a canoe like if he goes wrong and he doesn’t
make it right and someone comes along and says you are wrong on this part so get it done like this, something like this, he correct him, so from there he learns how to like improve on making certain things so I think the child learns to evaluate himself

W: And um er if a child comes and sees his marks ah(s/a) like his test marks or his grades the teacher should tell him what part is lacking after all the child is going to improve or the teacher is going to help improve, the child himself will try to improve or read books or put in more effort to bring his marks up ....

M: Already we said that what parts teachers can play in evaluation ... a teacher can evaluate a child in his marks or a teacher can evaluate children in a class to ask questions ah (s/a) ask general questions and the students answer them whether they answer the questions correctly or not, some of them are consistent in not answering the questions but in a way the teacher must accept all the answers from children, ‘Oh very good’, ‘You are on the right track’, (i/a) in this way you are encouraging children to keep on trying their best that’s how you can evaluate them, this way you’ll see the children’s learning will be very effective when you teach them because they’ll be interested in learning because when I go to other schools when time for discussions, we see that many students don’t participate ah (s/a) because they are scared if they say something the teacher will say, ‘No, sorry, that’s not the right answer, no’, like that, at least if they say something at least they are participating in class and you should be happy all the children are trying to learn (i/a) you must encourage them more and that’s how you’ll see them, the more encouragement that will be given all the children in class will be really interested ah (s/a) so every time when discussions are taken or whatsoever you’ll see them they’ll be putting their hands up and you know when you go to western countries you’ll see that when it comes to discussions or things like that or when a teacher gets something that’s interesting you see that many students they love to put their hands up ah (s/a) if only Papua New Guinea teachers they have this mentality that they are not always right, teachers are not always right, then you’ll see that many Papua New Guinean students will be very cooperative, alert and active in learning and they’ll want to learn more and more in class, so as a teacher you must play your part not only at the end of every lesson play your part, it must be in the middle of a lesson or at the beginning or at the end or half way through the lesson you
can evaluate yourself or evaluate the children whether they are participating in the class they are somewhere in ‘long long’ (Tok Pisin: ‘crazy’) land or something, like you as a teacher you must encourage it not just sitting there evaluating only the bright students, some teachers they sit down and see the brightest child they want some, or they like the child very much, every time they ask a question they’l pick that child first and like that child is going to be the key to everybody and when he answers another child can see it ah (s/a) so when she picks the other child the other child will give the same answer like that ah (s/a) like the bright child because (i/a) the teacher will make everybody know that that particular child is a bright one so that everybody now will start looking at the child that he’s a bright child ah (s/a) something like that so that’s how I see it so teachers should apply this evaluation in the beginning in the middle and at the end of a lesson.

W: Ah as we see it in PNG teachers now, from them, in the classrooms teachers don’t do er motivate children like you have said, so the evaluation part is when they finish teaching or towards the end the teachers try to grade the children and give them marks or their results, but as we see that we have to evaluate in the middle or in the beginning and towards the end it will be challenging for all the children to take part and once you encourage everyone to take part like when they giving answers you don’t say no to them but try to give them some other word, that, ‘You are about to answer the question’ or that ‘You are close to it’, so that they will try best to give in their answers or they will think of another answer different to this one so that they will come closer to the point and try to participate when we discuss with them. We teachers we see in PNG classrooms today our evaluation is maybe towards the end of the week or at the end of the term where we grade our children and say this is a clever fellow or, when we do our evaluation is when the teaching is finished and we say he’s bright in the report card we write that um, ‘He’s bright’ or ‘He’s this and that’, but after all we are not judging each individual because, personally because, when we see the marks the child may be good or he might be a clever fellow but his marks his test maybe, er he had a problem ah(s/a) he had a problem in the house and comes to school and do the test so his marks might drop so we say this child is not good, but (i/a) when we try to grade him through (i/a) through the week or
through the lessons we are taking he might be a good child (i/a) grading sums after each week or each term for each year.

F: Generally the teachers ... make evaluation er on the children’s performance, in, the classroom, it’s not it will always happen in the classroom but inside and outside the classroom whether it’s working in work parade or physical education activities, from there you could study individual children and whether they are like physically or physically fit in all areas of growth, for example, like physically, mentally, spiritually, socially, like in which ever way they develop the teacher will see that they will make evaluation on that particular child, for example, if the teacher makes evaluation on one part or one area only, like mental development inside the classroom, only he doesn’t know, like even trying to make evaluation on that particular child inside the classroom, but if he sees that, for example, disability, he doesn’t know what that child like physically, I mean what kind of physical body that he has got to er which makes him able to like learn in the classroom ah (s/a) so he needs to study that child individually in most areas, it’s part of teaching that we need to look into why the children are learning in the classroom, and so when looking at that he should know about the child and know the child much better than other people because he’s some sort of a parent in there in the classroom, where he could know more about a particular child like if the child is outside and if he’s not physically fit and if he comes to the classroom he gets tired all the time and the teacher might wonder, so you see you need to study a child’s, I mean all the areas of growth where he (teacher) could make better judgements when making evaluations, and it not fair when making assessments on mental side only, he should see cases and then make evaluation, evaluate them...

M: Evaluation is something really big in teachers’ profession ah (s/a) but we have lots of areas to look at apart from evaluating children, like we evaluate children through marks and we grade children through marks, through tests and by looking, just looking at them how they behave, we evaluate them later we write comments about them on the test paper and so on, but some of these things are not really effective because it discourages the children and sometimes they don’t want to learn because they say er, like for example, if it comes to Maths before when I was in community school I was really interested in Maths that was my favourite subject and everytime I used to do well in Maths ... and then
when I came to high school it depend upon the type of teachers who take you ah (s/a) and there was this lady teacher who came and took us and she was really useless, I mean not useless in a way she cannot teach, she can teach, but her problem is that she screams at us ‘What five plus one is six?’ or ‘Five plus one is twelve, you must be dreaming, you idiot’, and she say some of these things and it really discourages us everytime, when it comes to Maths lesson we used to hate her when she walks inside, that’s one way you as a teacher yourself will bring the students morale down, and then when the other teacher came she was a female teacher came inside, she was very nice and I learnt a lot, like now I’m here, and I used to think about this teacher of mine ... that time I was doing my Grade eight and she came inside and one time she asked me ‘Do you like Maths lessons?’ and I said, ‘I do but I don’t like the teacher’, because in the report card, what the teacher wrote on the report card was really rubbish ... she wrote that we are very good at speaking Pidgin and we don’t now how to read English that’s why we didn’t do well in plan problems, so this lady she came in and every time every afternoon she takes extra time she used to take us in, like give us extra work and she was, she used to work very close with us even though you will not understand she can stand their and explain for ten times but she will not get cross, she was very patient and really nice, she had (i/a) as for us teachers patience is one of the things, if you know that one a child in your class is not good when you evaluate or do evaluation you must be very patient with the child because some children they have a different level of learning ah (s/a) some are very fast and some are very slow, we all have different stages of learning some they’ll be very slow at one stage they will never get anything into their skulls and you’ll (i/a) without knowing that one day this child will become a Prime Minister, you will never know and so on, (i/a) as teachers we must be very careful at what we do and say and how we evaluate children...

Evaluation and the intolerances of schooling

There are a number of important themes in this discussion but one which dominates is the notion of ‘marks’. At an autonomous level, marks are the numerical values assigned to children’s test performances. At a value/political level they represent what the school counts as worthy/unworthy, what is in its interests and what is not. What follows in Chapter 8 is an overview of the issues which develop around the notion of ‘marks’ at a
more situated level. Below is a summary of student responses related to ‘marks’ not necessarily in chronological order.

- Marks are a way of judging children’s progress.
- Good marks motivate children, bad marks discourage children.
- Marks are a means of positioning children as fast or slow, bright or dull.
- Marks are an unreliable and limited measure of children’s learning.
- Marks cannot account for the physical variableness in children.
- Parents don’t give their children marks.
- Marks are a means children use to evaluate themselves, to monitor their classroom performances.
- Marks are a way of judging and ranking a country’s achievements, in particular PNG.
- Marks are a way of indirectly providing a check on the effectiveness of a teacher’s teaching.
- Marks reflect a teacher’s teaching efforts and to some extent a teacher’s standing as a teacher.\(^\text{132}\)
- Teachers sometimes favour ‘bright’ children (who have good marks).
- Teachers use bright children to provide pedagogical leadership for other children.

Marks are a dominant currency in schooling in which particular forms of pedagogic power and knowledge are articulated; they are constitutive of the pedagogical binary success/failure, and, uniformity in behaviour and thinking; they are a form of public and private governance and surveillance; they are a means of legitimising particular knowledges and performances; they are unaccepting of contradiction and difference; they bestow prestige and shame; they corral teaching practices and forms of classroom participation; they are a regulator of the social order of schooling.

\(^{132}\) Teachers who have a good track record of getting children through the Grade 6 exam are held in high esteem in school communities.
Writing back: ‘...em save lainim samting?
Mi laik save.’

Chapter 8

Prologue: ‘... the language they speak’

I asked M about the Report to parents on her desk - ‘Did all parents get one?’ - ‘yes’. She had written her comments in Pidgin - and when I commented on it she looked surprised and said, ‘that’s the language they speak’ - I asked why the entire report was not written in Pidgin. The gradings and grade schema/explanations were all in English - I asked if she thought the parents would be able to read this, ‘no’, she said, ‘especially not the poor ones’.

(referring to subsistence villagers with no cash income)

‘The children are supposed to take it home’ - it is ‘pinned’ (stapled) M thinks children open them on the way home because ‘some of us explain the grading system to them so they can understand the marks ...’ etc. (She seem to imply that there were teachers who did not explain to their children what the categories on the top of the report meant - possibly because in the lower grades it would be difficult for them to understand).

The parents will be able to understand the bottom section in Pidgin - children may be asked to read it to them - they may be asked to explain the top section.

There are no teacher/parent interviews or opportunities for parents to respond to the comments from the teacher. The reports are sent home to the parents and the teacher only keeps a record of the marks. However, if a child fails to bring a report home M says that parents come to the school asking for them, ‘they know we give them out every term’ (Pickford, Field notes). (refer to Appendix Six for a sample report from this class)

This chapter explores a point of contact between educational and community discourses in the post-colonial context of community schooling through the instrument of school reports. This interest in what teachers say to parents about their children and their learning and how they say it, led to the collection and analysis of the following six

133 Taken from Nava’s report (G3T1) translation ‘... is he learning anything? I would like to know’, part of the parents’ response to the news that Nava’s marks are not very good.
reports. Each report outlines aspects of a child’s progress from Grades 1-5 (term 1).
These reports have been chosen for exploration on the basis of their completeness.
What is also of interest is the role of these school reports both as social practices, and
mediators of educational structure. The themes which emerge contribute significantly
to a wider understanding of the social and cultural impact of community schooling and
pedagogical practice.

There are in these reports traces of various discourses some of which are unpacked for
analysis while others remain as part of the textual fabric of the reports. This analysis
adopts the view that these texts represent the voices of different school and community
institutions and systems of ideas speaking and writing through the teachers and the
parents, that their expressions are linguistic and textual manifestations of various
discourses and social practices notwithstanding their agency to choose amongst
meanings.

**Introduction**
The texts of school reports and responses from parents are read from various
perspectives going beyond the writers’ singular meanings to a view of educational and
community practices which reveals broader social and ideological links. These texts are
analysed in terms of their categories; in terms of their interactional and propositional
alignment; and in terms of their intertextuality and ideological significations.
The thesis under exploration is that schools are sites of social practice complicit in the
structuring of social minds through the articulation of disciplinary and institutional
discourses, and that such discourses are for the most part uncontested by the
communities which they serve. In researching this interest ‘naturalistic’ data has been
used and various analytical tools have been appropriated from ethnography,
sociolinguistics and post-structural theory to seek a diversity of insights, interpretations
and meanings. These end of term written reports span the first four years and one term
of schooling.  

**Sociolinguistic signals and contextualisation cues**
Building an interpretive framework within which to understand and explore the
following texts draws upon notions presented in the Introduction to this research where
the linguistic practices of individuals are argued to be situated within a play of social
and cultural, and local and global meanings realised and contextualised in discursive

---

134 The gender and identity of the teachers who wrote the reports cannot be
independently corroborated, though I was informed that the teachers were mostly
women.
activity. These reports are viewed as more than modes of delivery but as registers of
social and cultural activity communicating and disciplining particular interests. The
ideological interests of these reports are seen to be constructed through choices of
topic, content, example, argument; through the choice of an orientation to readers, and
through the choice of linguistic codes and staging. As has been discussed in Chapter 3,
exploring these choices and their management is a way of examining the ideological
nature of texts in order to deconstruct their disciplinary interests and interpretations and
to open them to wider critical negotiation.
This study is interested in untangling some of the social and cultural embeddedness of
the background assumptions which inform these texts.

Framing the analysis
This analysis is embedded within three frames of reading activity referred to by Giroux
(1990) as reading within a text, reading upon a text, and reading against a text. (see
Scholes 1985).
Reading within a text is concerned with reaching conventional understandings of the
text through an understanding of topic, thematic organisation and the writer’s treatment
of events, participants and circumstances.
Reading upon a text involves interpretation of the text by placing it in apposition with
other texts making visible its intertextuality and generating other readings alongside the
writer’s literal meaning. This necessitates an exploration of the cultural meanings of
words and expressions, an investigation of the broader cultural codes upon which the
text is dependent, what they represent and how they are activated in the text.
Reading against a text requires a critical exploration of the ideological interests which
texts serve, an exploration requiring a shift to a position outside the assumptions of the
text in order to see through the ideological screens of its ‘common-sense’ meanings: to
look for spaces, absences, exclusions and silences in the text in order to resist its
totalising influences and insert other readings, characterisations, voices and versions.

In the following, each term report consists of two parts, the Teacher’s report and the
Parents’ response. Included in each report is an end of term mark (m) and a ranking or
position (p) in the class.
Prologue: Choice of code
Throughout these reports, the linguistic code shifts between Melanesian Pidgin (Tok Pisin) and English, often with interpolations of English words occurring throughout. The choice of Tok Pisin signals the teachers’ awareness of the differing social and linguistic circumstances which exist between members of the school and many parents of the community, it is used primarily to reduce the social distance between teacher and parents. English is the official language of government and schooling, the primary language of post-colonial institutions. The parents’ social place is marked by their responses in Tok Pisin, signifying a social position more closely aligned with modest village and community values and living than western lifestyles. While in the text the teacher’s use of Tok Pisin marks an intention to reduce the social distance between the parents and the teacher, the sense of social distance is managed, primarily through the various tenors of engagement.
### Community School Report: Bill - commenced school at age 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE 1 TERM 1</th>
<th>m=45/60 p=34/46</th>
<th>GRADE 1 TERM 3</th>
<th>m=51/60 p=19/46</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments</strong>: Bill save kam long skul olgeta taim. Em ino mangi bilong toktok long klas tasol emi save train bes bilong em. Plis helpim em na givim kaikai bilong lans belo kaikai.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: Bill comes to school all the time. He is not a boy who talks in class he tries his best. Please help him and give him lunch.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments</strong>: nil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments</strong>: Bill em orait long skul. Em no mangi bilong toktok na bikhet long skul. Em save harim tok. Gutpela mak bilong em.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: Bill is okay at school. He is not a boy who talks a lot or is a bighead (stubborn) at school. He listens to what is said. His marks are good.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE 1 TERM 2</th>
<th>m=46/60 p=34/45</th>
<th>GRADE 2 TERM 1</th>
<th>m=33/60 p=27/44</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments</strong>: Bill em i sowim mi olesm mak bilong em i go antap. Mi save hamamas long dispela boi bikos em save harim tok na tu em i no save tru bikhed long skul. Mak bilong em i gutpela.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: Bill has showed me that his marks can improve. I am very happy for this boy because he listens and is not a bighead (stubborn) in school. His marks are good.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments</strong>: At home Bill is obedient to his parents. Does not play around too much. He plays when he feels like. Bill’s attitude towards his father and mother is gentle and he is enthusiasm. (orig)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments</strong>: Skel blong save i daunbilo tumas em inap long mekim gut sapos i tral hat. Wok insait long buk i gutpela tru. Gutpela boy ino save mekim nais.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: His skills are too low he can do better if he tries harder. His book work is very good. Good boy who doesn’t make noise.</td>
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</table>

<p>| <strong>Parents’ Comments</strong>: Bill em i wanpela mangi blong harim tok blong mamapapa na em i save mekim wanem samting mama o papa i laikim. Bill em i save i stap isi na em ino mangi blong sakim tok blong ol narapela i givim wok long em.  |
| <strong>Translation</strong>: Bill is a boy who listens to what his parents say and he does what his parents want him to do. Bill is easy going he is not a boy to disregard what others say when they give him work to do. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE 2 TERM 2</th>
<th>GRADE 2 TERM 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m=40/60 p=26/44</td>
<td>m=46/60 p=13/41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Teacher's Comments**: Skel blong save i daunbilo yet. Wok blong em insait long klas i gutpela tru. Mangi blong stap isi tru. Sapos em tingting gut bai inap em i mekim gut. Sampela taim save slip long klas.

**Translation**: His learning is down. His class work is good. He is a very easy going boy. If his thinking well he will improve. Sometimes he sleeps in class.

**Parents' Comments**: yes tru long house tu em ino mangi bilong hambak o pilai em save i stap isi tru na ino save tingting long pilai. planti em i laik pilai Bai em i pilai wanwan taim tasol. Em save pret long papamama bilong em.

**Translation**: Yes! at home he is not a boy who fools around or plays he is easy going and doesn’t think about playing. Plenty of boys like to play he played once only. He is afraid of his parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE 2 TERM 3</th>
<th>GRADE 3 TERM 1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m=42/60 p=26/43</td>
<td>m=68/90 p=23/40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Teacher's Comments**: Em ino senis liklik dispela term 3 Em stap long wanpela hap tasol. Wok long klas em orait, tasol long test ino save mekim gut.

**Translation**: He has not changed this term 3. He stayed where he is. His class work is alright, but in tests he doesn’t know how to do well.

**Parents’ Comments**: Yes mi nogat tingting long tokim yu. Yu yet bai lukluk osem na tok save long mi long house em ino mangi bilong toktok. Em mangi bilong sem. (shame)

**Translation**: Yes I don’t know what to say to you. You keep watching and tell me what's happening at home he is not a boy who talks. He is a shy boy.

**Teacher’s Comments**: Wok blong klas em n gutpela tasol kam long test ino save tingting pastaim na wok. Em wok gut long term 4 Em mas wok hat next year.

**Translation**: His work in class is good but when tests come he doesn’t think first then work. He worked good in term 4. He must work hard next year.

**Parents’ Comments**: yes mi Bill mi raitim dispela tok long yu. Em wokim osem you mas tok strong long em na em bai rite long yu.

**Translation**: Yes I'm Bill (snr) I am writing this talk to you. If he does the same you must talk strong to him and he will write for you.

**Teacher’s Comments**: Mak blong test i gutpela tru. No ken vari long ples em kamap. Em save stap isi tru.

**Translation**: Tests marks are very good. Don’t worry about his place it will come up. He is very easy going.

**Parents’ Comments**: Bill i gutpela mangi blong bhumanim maus long papamama na tu long ol arapela.

**Translation**: Bill is a good boy who follows what his parents say and also everyone else.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade 3 Term 2</th>
<th>Grade 4 Term 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m = 75/90 p = 26/40</td>
<td>m = 72/90 p = 10/37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments:</strong> mak blong igo antap i gutpela tru. Pasin blong em i gutpela tru.</td>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments:</strong> wok blong em i kāmap gutpela.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation:</strong> His marks have gone up it is very good. His behaviour is very good.</td>
<td><strong>Translation:</strong> His work has improved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments:</strong> nil</td>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments:</strong> nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th>Grade 4 Term 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m = 64/90 p = 10/37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments:</strong> I wok long kāmap gutpela.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation:</strong> His work has improved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments:</strong> nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade 3 Term 3</th>
<th>Grade 4 Term 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m = 77/90 p = 13/39</td>
<td>m = 71/90 p = 13/37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments:</strong> Em wok long igo antap. Gutpela tru.</td>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments:</strong> Em wok blong gutpela. Helpim em long haus tu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation:</strong> He has worked hard and has gone to the top. Very good</td>
<td><strong>Translation:</strong> His work is good. Help him at home too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments:</strong> nil</td>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments:</strong> Bill i gutpela mangi blong bihainim maus long papamama na tu long ol narapela man moa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Translation:</strong> Bill is a good boy he follows what his parents say and also what others say.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th>Grade 5 Term 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m = 78/120 p = 16/36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments:</strong> Sampela taim i save les. Wok orait tasol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation:</strong> Sometimes he is lazy (doesn’t want to work). But his work is okay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments:</strong> Yes Bill em osem tasol tintin bilong em.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation:</strong> Yes Bill is the same in his thinking.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade 4 Term 2</th>
<th>Grade 4 Term 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m = 63/90 p = 18/38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments:</strong> Em mas wok strong long maths na english</td>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments:</strong> Em mas wok strong long maths na english</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation:</strong> He must work hard in maths and english</td>
<td><strong>Translation:</strong> He must work hard in maths and english</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments:</strong> Bill pasin bilong em long haus em osem long sikul na long haus.</td>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments:</strong> Bill pasin bilong em long haus em osem long sikul na long haus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation:</strong> Bill’s behaviour at home is the same both at school and at home.</td>
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</table>
Bill: ‘Em save harim tok’

It is not unusual that Bill should be the central focus of this first report as the purpose of the writing is to report his progress. Throughout these reports, the teachers make brief comments on Bill’s progress, behaviour and work ethic indexed to the marks gained in term tests, and his ranking in class. The teachers record that Bill ‘comes to school all the time’, that he ‘listens’, is not a ‘bighead’, that ‘sometimes he sleeps in class’ that he is ‘easy going’. In terms of his class work and tests his marks and work are generally ‘good’, though at one point he has difficulty doing tests, but appears to improve later. In the later terms of schooling Bill is encouraged to ‘work hard’ if he is to improve his results. In response, the parents report on Bill’s behaviour and disposition at home, that he is a good boy who listens to his parents and others (G1T3), that he ‘follows what his parents say’ (G3T1), that his behaviour at school is similar to how he behaves at home (G4T2; G5T1). The overall relationship between the texts is characterised by a formulaic or chiasmic pattern with Bill as the subject, at the centre.

T: he listens ... he is not a bighead
P: Bill is obedient ...does not play (G1T2);
T: he listens
P: he listens (and obeys) (G1T3);
T: He is very easy going
P: Yes ...he is easy going (G2T2).

In summary these reports might be labelled as somewhat unremarkable, straightforward and predictably varied accounts of a child’s progress at school. To accept this level of meaning is to suggest, however, that these are complete texts, complete accounts of a child’s progress at school. To look beyond this level of meaning, is to acknowledge that texts are never complete, that they are always part of other texts and subject to other interpretations and readings.

Bill: At home and at School

Reading upon the text

In reading upon the text, the teachers’ and parents’ texts are juxtaposed as differing cultural codes from different discourse communities each with a view to informing the other. Consideration is given here to how the interactional and propositional alignments of these texts contributes to other interpretations and other readings.

Interaction is marked through the use of interpersonal themes which signal an aspect of the writer’s relationship to the reader(s). Such themes, though almost entirely absent from the teachers’ texts, appear more regularly in the parents’ texts. What is clearly evident, however, is the way many elements of the teacher’s reports are mirrored in the parents’ responses.
As the teacher constructs an identity for Bill at school the parents construct a similar identity at home, a community identity;

*P: Yes you see him at school he is the same with his parents at home* (G1T3).

*P: Bill’s behaviour at home is the same both at school and at home* (G4T2).

*T: Sometimes he doesn’t want to work*

*P: Yes, Bill is the same in his thinking* (G5T1).

These interactions are notably marked by the parents’ consensual language and symmetrical constructions of Bill’s identity at school and at home. In these exchanges the parents do most of the work to keep the interactions synchronous and consensual, to develop a shared perspective, on five occasions for example, the parents begin their responses, with the word ‘yes’, expressing agreement with the teacher’s comments and making parallel remarks. This linguistic work the parents are involved in, is a defining feature of community consensual discourse, signifying particular cooperative social practices by which they are inscribed, and manifest through the language of cooperation, solidarity and agreement which characterises much Papua New Guinean community social discourse. Beyond signalling the parents’ position of agreement and cooperation, the text is also a culturally stylised process of contextualisation built upon social practices which allow the parents to predict how the interaction should proceed (Gumperz 1982:143).

The primacy of community in the lives of Papua New Guineans is well documented. Mantovani notes that the link between community members and life has traditionally been through the community and its practices. Socialisation in PNG communities inscribes members with a deep sense of social identity and survival within the organisation of family and community. An identity and a life located within a web of social commitments and kinship relations, within an intimate community life.

Historically, Mantovani observes,

*Community (was) next to life in value because it (was) the only way to life for millennia. To be exiled meant to be condemned to death. The community was not sought for its own sake, but fundamentally for its link with life* (1987:194)

The parents’ agreeable discourse can be understood as exemplifying not only the synchronous nature of the discourse system of the community but also the ontological importance of ‘community’ as a category, as the means through which life is sustained. Their responses offer an insight into how this category frames the understandings and actions of their discourse community.
Oracy and the discourses of community

To explore the propositional alignment of each text is to look for consistencies and inconsistencies of thought, for shifts and interruptions in the management of thematic variation.

In the search for significant differences in propositional alignment one notable interaction is evident across Grade two terms three and four:

T: ...His class work is alright, but in tests he doesn't know how to do well
P: I don't know what to say to you. You keep watching and tell me what's happening.
T: His work in class is good but when tests come he doesn't think first then work
P: Yes I'm Bill (smr) I am writing this talk to you. If he does the same you must encourage him and he will write for you.

What has largely been up to now a description of Bill, shifts to the revelation that he has a problem. The parents respond in a way that reveals certain constitutive underpinnings of their discourse, made clearer through an exploration of another question.

Why is it that neither the parents nor teacher seem willing or able to take up and explore one of schooling's more obvious tensions, that between the acquisition of knowledge and the testing of knowledge; more plainly the tension between propositional knowledge (know that) and 'know-how', or procedural knowledge? The father's remarks ('You keep watching and tell me what's happening') may be paraphrased as wise council: 'continue to observe and report what you see, now is not the time to intervene'. If this is the case then it is 'Bill' who continues to be topicalised, and not his problem as might be expected. Making further sense of the father's response requires a link with another text. Ong observes that the assessment of 'intelligence' in orally based cultures is 'situated in operational contexts' not in contrived textbook tests (1982:55). Given the predominantly oral cultural context in which these events occur, this observation serves to provide a tentative explanation for the father's remarks, and explains in part, why the matter of Bill's difficulty in reconciling competing educational texts, is left unexplored.

Furthermore, the father's response, 'I don't know what to say to you', locates him outside of the realm of the teacher's discourse, at the same time his 'solution' statement, 'You keep watching and tell me what's happening', draws on discourses with which he is familiar, exemplifying some of the features that Ong identifies as characteristic of orally based thought and culture; a closeness to the 'human life world'; an approach to reality which is aggregative rather than analytic; an expression which is empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced.
In this small part of the overall text is revealed the existence of two underlying discourses to which the father is unevenly coupled; one with which no significant connection has been made, and the other which enables the father to make sense of the matter and suggest a solution, a longitudinal one, based on participation, experience and circumstance.

Such a reading is supported in the father’s statement, ‘Yes I’m Bill (snr) I am writing this talk to you...’. The formal identification of the writer, (Yes I’m Bill (snr), establishes the credentials and authority of the writer to ‘speak’, not in closure, but as a rhetorical introduction, a validity claim made in advance of the pronouncements to come. Here the logic of argument, the reasonings and conclusions exemplified in western written discourse as textual functions are not the basis for establishing truthfulness, rightfulness, and legitimacy of the father’s pronouncement, rather such claims are culturally subsumed as existential and interpersonal elements in the signature opening of the father’s remarks.

The second part of the father’s statement gives validity to the first, through the expression ‘writing this talk’, in other words the father is drawing upon the structural elements of the texts of oral culture with which he is interconnected, to make his meanings. For those rooted in oral culture, writing often represents speech written down. With the exception of the above mentioned exchange, there is very little sense of dialogue as exemplified in western discoursal systems. The parents instead, have engaged in constructing a parallel text, an idealisation of their son in the context of the community in which they live. The trace of community ‘voices’ confirming the parent’s assessment of Bill can be ‘heard’ in the text; ‘he is not a boy to disregard what others say when they give him work to do’ (G2T1), (G4T1). Far from being naive and simplistic, the parents’ texts are centred in the discoursal frames of the community, engaging the institutional representation of Bill on its own terms and providing a glimpse of, and connection with community life that the parents have not allowed schooling and modern world discourses to close off.

**Reporting school: the colonisation of ‘naive’ discourses**

In exploring the positions of the school reports in these exchanges, there is little evidence of efforts to tap into the parents’ messages and message system, or to provide elaboration and support in areas where concerns over Bill’s progress might be anticipated.

What is apparent is the absence of the teacher’s community voice and the extent of the teacher’s subjectification to the discourses of the institution, the extent to which she has been inscribed into its interpretive frames and traditions, (‘marks’, rank, behaviour) all aimed to construct an educationally orthodox, uncomplicated, common-sense view of
Bill and his school performances. Notwithstanding the institutional demands which operate to constrain the nature of these reports, the teacher speaks the discourse of schooling as she is required, and holds back the voices of her primary discourses.

In exploring propositional alignment it was noted that the parents’ text is temporarily interrupted when Bill is positioned as one failing to demonstrate good test management skills, the teacher’s discourse on the other hand shows no signs of interruption. In contrast to the parents’ efforts to develop and deliver shared understandings and cues, the school reports are socially distant, controlled, and somewhat arrogant in their assumptions of intelligibility. The controlled, selective and repetitious content of the school reports align them with ‘imperative’ texts, what Neale refers to as forms of propaganda working to align participants,

... in identification with one set of discourses and practices and ... in opposition to others ... maintaining that identification and opposition and ... not resolving, it but rather holding it as the position of closure (cited in Belsey 1980:91).

Here the parents are positioned outside the province of the school’s rational discourse. Foucault argues that there exists at the margins of dominant discourses multiple local knowledges and discursivities. He refers to these as subjugated and naive knowledges, marginalised discourses which go unrecognised or unacknowledged by those who are sustained by more dominant discourses, in his words they represent,

... a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naive knowledges located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity ... (cited in McHoul & Grace: 1993:16).

The social effects of lexical choice and syntactic organisation
To follow closely the teachers’ institutional texts is to sense the colonising power of their one-dimensionality their essentialising of ‘marks’ and ‘work’ as a complete account of Bill’s learning.
Likewise, the reportive genre employed by the school has the effect of being less about informing parents of the nature of Bill’s performances and more about objectifying and reifying categories of performance, marginalising the details of what constitutes his progress by reducing the reports to formulaic structures. The teachers’ texts direct the ‘educational interest’ of the exchange through appeals to ‘third party’ expertise in the form of ‘marks’ and ‘work’. The notions of ‘marks’, ‘work’ and what counts as ‘good’ or ‘poor’, are never explicated by the teacher or challenged by the parents, alongside
the thought of questioning school assessment practices they are silently excluded.  

These notions are, through their thematic positions in the information structure of the text, institutionally and linguistically ‘given’. Institutionally in the sense that they are constitutive of the corpus of institutional understandings by which schooling is unproblematically ‘known’, and linguistically through occupying the known or ‘given’ position in the information structure of the teachers’ texts, naturalising the ‘givenness’ of the message of the text through their syntactical position.

The reduction and objectification of the complexities of teaching and learning through symbolic production occurs here as instances of what Kress refers to as the colonising power of discourse (1985), or what Bourdieu’s calls ‘symbolic violence’ (1977), where definitions of reality are constructed differentially in

... the symbolic conflicts of everyday life ... through the struggle waged by specialists in symbolic production ... in which the (object at) stake is the ... power to impose ... instruments of knowledge and expressions of social reality.

(cited in Bates 1983)

But more than the imposition and appropriation of categories, the teachers’ institutional discourse in effect, has erased from the record traces of other discourses that should have been acknowledged. It is the nature of this educational discourse to seek to impose particular social realities that allow no space for a questioning of pedagogical categories, or a questioning of the management of children’s schooling, and formation of identities. Such categories and identities are reified in recent sophisticated educational rhetoric as ‘outcomes’, ‘competencies’, and ‘performances’, hallmarks of what Reid refers to as a ‘literate culture which believes in the objectivity of the word, (and) accepts the reality of the label.’ (1993:22). To address these concerns is to confront the ideological partiality of these texts and the alienating effects of their textual power.

**Making ideology visible**

*Readings against the text*

These texts open up a number of positions that might be taken up in reading against the text.

The parents’ texts, for example, illustrate the power of ‘naive’ discourses to resist the institutional discourses of schooling in ways which manage to sustain a form of ‘dialogue’ across discoursal differences. A ‘dialogue’ in which the father is not hesitant in providing the teacher with some advice, ‘... yu mas tok strong long em na em bai rite

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135 These aspects of the assessment and evaluation system of schooling are discussed by student teachers with some degree of ambivalence. (See the Postscript to this chapter)
long yu ‘(... you must talk strong to him and he will write for you’) (G2T4). We might read the words ‘tok strong’ as meaning with ‘power and knowledge’, against their use as disciplinary terms, to suggest a disciplined pedagogy to the teacher. We might also read the use of Tok Pisin, as a tacit form of ‘action critique’ in confronting the school’s policy that ‘English must be spoken at all times’.

But here I have chosen to explore somewhat, the teacher’s texts and their complicitness in the ideological construction of children. Choosing to read against these texts stems from a desire to uncover some of the ideological ground upon which western styled schooling is sustained.

The term ‘ideology’ is used here to represent not only the ‘social formation’ of common sense; or the unconscious accepting of the ‘taken-for-grantedness’ of experience, but the values and beliefs which are held about people, experiences and things and the relationships between them. Belsey observes that

... it is the function of ideology to constitute individuals as subjects, so that they are ‘spontaneously’ and ‘naturally’ integrated into the existing social formation ...’ (1980:134)

Ideology in this sense, works through the power of signifying practices to assign identity categories to individuals, categories which are taken up in the process of making sense of experience. Reading against the text will here involve an investigation of the linguistic and textual positionings of the subject in the text, what elaborations are used to describe him and what considerations are given to other subject positions.

**Erasing the social mind: The individual and the ideology of individualism**

What emerges from these accounts is something of Bill’s disposition as a student, a son and a member of his community. It is tempting however, to interpret what appears to be complimentary behaviour, ‘working’ (at school) and ‘following’ (at home) as unified responses to differing social contexts. What is not immediately apparent are the varying demands of each context. Community discourses valuing cooperative, consensual practices underpinned by a collective view of self are juxtaposed with the discourses of schooling which valorise, objectify and proclaim individual efforts as self-made.

In one of only two specific references to a particular problem Bill has, the teacher observes,

‘... *in tests he doesn’t know how to do well*’ (G2T3)

In what is left as an unameleriorated statement, Bill is positioned as the architect and agent of his own circumstances and lack of knowledge, a position which ignores the institutional structures and discourses which have brought him to this point. Such positionings contribute to simplistic assumptions that ‘good students do good because they are bright and poor students do poorly because they are less bright’.
The ideology of individualism works in this case by naturalising an individualistic view of learning and ultimately human sociality. Ideology work of this kind is constitutive of children’s subjectivities and identities and finds expression in the somewhat untroubled label, ‘school drop-out’, applied to PNG children whom the system has failed. It is argued here that Bill’s primary identity as a ‘collective self’ is at risk of being disqualified or subordinated to an individualistic view of self, that the lens of community is being displaced by the lens of individualism. Reading against the texts of the school, then, is to acknowledge, as Bill’s parents do, that children are sustained by other identities and other interpretive communities. It is to confront the totalising effects of a unitary view of self and a singular view of accomplishment which discourses of individualism seek to construct and sustain.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade 1 Term 1</th>
<th>Grade 2 Term 1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>m=56/60 p= 7/46</strong></td>
<td><strong>m=43/60 p= 18/44</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher's Comments</strong>: Gwen is helpful in class. (orig.) Em save harim tok belong tisa and traim best long kisim save em gutpela girl long class.</td>
<td><strong>Teacher's Comments</strong>: Skel blong save erni namel. Em save sindaun isi na harim tok. Em save laik wok long em yet. Kamap gut long skul.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: She listens to the teacher and tries her best to learn, she is a good girl in class.</td>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: She is of average ability. She sits and listens quietly. She likes her work. She is doing well at school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents' Comments</strong>: Gwen always work and sometimes look after children And she sometimes disobey her parents. (orig.)</td>
<td><strong>Parents' Comments</strong>: Gwen is a good girl at the house. Sometimes she works at home and sometimes she disobey our parents. (orig.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grade 1 Term 2</strong></td>
<td><strong>Grade 2 Term 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>m=49/60 p= 24/45</strong></td>
<td><strong>m=46/60 p= 16/44</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher's Comments</strong>: Gwen is learning well she concentrates a lot but she needs more individual explanation to learn a new thing. (orig)</td>
<td><strong>Teacher's Comments</strong>: She’s an average child in class she’s very quiet only talk at times. Has improve a bit this term. Need to work harder. (orig)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments</strong>: nil</td>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments</strong>: nil</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Grade 1 Term 3</strong></td>
<td><strong>Grade 2 Term 3</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>m=53/60 p= 13/46</strong></td>
<td><strong>m=54/60 p= 2/43</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments</strong>: Gwen em mekim gut mak long dispela term work. Score bilong em i go antap. Keep it up.</td>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments</strong>: No feedback report from parents so I’m not writing any report this term. (orig)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: Gwen has a good mark for this term’s work. Her score has improved.</td>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments</strong>: Gwen em wanpela gutpela meri, meri bilong harim tok, na meri bilong wok long haus. Wanwan taim tasol em save sakim tok bilong papa na mama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments</strong>: Mi amas long Gwen long test pepa bilong em.</td>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: Gwen is a good girl, a girl who listens and who works around the house. Only once has she disregarded what her parents have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: I am happy with Gwen and her test paper.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRADE 2 TERM 4</td>
<td>GRADE 4 TERM 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m=64/90 p=24/37</td>
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</table>

Teacher's Comments: Em mas wok hat long wok belong em wok i go daun.

Translation: She must work hard at her work her work has declined.

Parents' Comments: nil

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<tr>
<th>GRADE 3 TERM 1</th>
<th>GRADE 4 TERM 2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m=71/90 p=19/40</td>
<td>m=70/90 p=11/38</td>
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</table>

Teacher's Comments: She has good marks has done well. A well behaved girl. Book work is always neat. (orig)

Translation: Her work has improved, a well behaved girl.

Parents' Comments: Nau long haus em no save harim tok work na em save krai tumas long samting.

Translation: Now at home she does not listen when asked to work she carries on about things too much.

Parents' Comments: Em wanpela meri b long hambuk na save slakim tok tumas.

Translation: She's one girl who plays around and talks about nothing too much.

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<td>m=78/90 p=19/40</td>
<td>m=69/90 p=16/37</td>
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Teacher's Comments: Mak bilong em istap gutpela. Em i les liklik dispela term, na ino senis long placing.

Translation: Her marks have remained good. She has been a bit lazy this term but her place hasn’t changed.

Parents' Comments: Dropped to playing too much rubber games. (orig)

Teacher's Comments: Isipela meri long insait na autsait. Wok i gutpela.

Translation: Easy going girl inside and outside of class. Her work is good.

Parents' Comments: nil
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<th>GRADE 3 TERM 3</th>
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<tr>
<td>m=77/90 p= 13/39</td>
<td>m=64/90 p= 10/37</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments</strong>: Mak i gutpela yet. Save stap isi na harim tok.</td>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments</strong>: Rait blong igutpel a mak tu igo antap liklik tasol. Em igat gutpela save. Em mas wokhat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: Marks are still good. Behaviour is good and she listens.</td>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: Her writing and marks have improved. She has good understanding. She must work hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments</strong>: nil</td>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments</strong>: Long haus em save wok long mekin gut wok na wasim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: At home she does good work and washes.</td>
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<th>GRADE 3 TERM 4</th>
<th>GRADE 5 TERM 1</th>
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<tr>
<td>m=75/90 p= 23/39</td>
<td>m=83/120 p= 12/36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments</strong>: Maks i gutpela liklik em mas wok strong narapela year. Meri blong stap isi.</td>
<td><strong>Teacher’s Comments</strong>: An average girl quiet in class is working quite well. (orig)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation</strong>: Marks are okay she must work hard next year. A well-behaved girl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments</strong>: Gwen always work and sometimes look after children. And she sometimes disobey her parents. (orig.)</td>
<td><strong>Parents’ Comments</strong>: She helps ... at home carrying baby, dish washing, a helps with laundry. (orig)</td>
</tr>
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**Gwen: ‘Meri blong stap isi’**

*Reading within the text*

As in the preceding report the child is the central subject. Gwen’s academic performance is characterised through the construction of her as ‘an average girl’; her conduct is described at the outset as ‘helpful in class’ (G1T1) and is almost entirely reported as ‘quiet’ and ‘well-behaved’.

For the most part, the teacher reports on a child who appears to have little difficulty with school work and enjoys learning, who is encouraged to work harder from time to time. Her marks and rank in class almost always place her in the top 30% or better, in a class ranging in number from 46 to 36.

The parents’ responses report a girl who ‘works’ at home and despite sometimes disobeying her parents is a ‘good’ girl. The parents’ only reference to her school work comes in the third term of Grade 1, ‘I am happy with Gwen and her test paper’. The parents’ focus is almost entirely upon her behaviour at home in ways similar to that of
Bill's parents, 'a good girl at the house'; a girl who listens and who works around the house'; 'at home she does not listen she carries on about things too much'.

On the basis of consistently 'good' reports and results throughout, we would expect that Gwen has established a good foundation for future educational prospects.

**Gwen: Domestication and duty**

*Reading upon the text*

In juxtaposing the teachers' and parents' accounts what is most evident is the parallel thematic consideration of Gwen's behaviour.

Like Bill's parents, Gwen's domestic qualities and behaviour are given prominence in the parents' text:

- \( P: \) Gwen is a good girl at the house (G2T2)
- \( P: \) Now at home she does not listen she carries on about things too much (G3T1)
- \( P: \) Gwen always work and sometimes look after children. And she sometimes disobey her parents (G3T4)

The parents' focus upon Gwen's domestication is paralleled in the teacher's accounts:

- \( T: \) ... she very quiet only talk at times (G2T2)
- \( T: \) A well behaved girl (G3T1)
- \( T: \) She is a bit lazy this term (G3T2)
- \( T: \) Easy going girl inside and outside class' (G4T3).

In the juxtaposition of these texts, it is the 'texture' of the parents' texts that dominates. These texts resist the seductivity of the unproblematic and untroubled representations of Gwen as 'student' and bring into view a more complex picture of Gwen, sometimes disobedient, sometimes carrying on too much about trivial things ('... *em save krai tumas long samting*', G3T1), sometimes not listening to parents, a picture which is interwoven with Gwen as a girl whose home life is full of responsibilities and expectations:

- \( P: \) At home she does good work and washes (G4T4)
- \( P: \) She helps ... at home carrying baby, dish washing, and helps with laundry' (G5T1)

Gwen's occasional disobedience at home is contrasted with her obedience at school suggesting that at home there are more expectations placed upon her, particularly domestic expectations. This is consistent with observations of children's (particularly girl's) work responsibilities which include child-caring, gardening, collecting food and water, cooking, washing clothes, feeding domestic animals, etc. (See also Townsend 1985).
These domestic practices are illustrative of the disciplined routines of community life through which a girl’s community ‘education’ is contextualised in a regime of daily performances and activities that are particularly significant and consequential not only in terms of their instrumental necessity but also in terms of the social and kinship relations which they sustain as they are performed. The parents’ comments are also comments upon Gwen’s level of acknowledgment of these relations, an acknowledgment which is more apparent by Grade 5: ‘She helps ... at home carrying baby, dish washing, a helps with laundry’ (G5T1), than in earlier reports where Gwen carries on too much about things (‘krai tumas long samting’ G3T1) and is absorbed with playing ‘rubber games’ (G3T2), a favourite past time particularly for girls, the object being to win the most rubber bands.(see Intertext 5)

Children’s domestic roles
The frequency and detail of the parents’ comments regarding Gwen’s domestic roles contrasts somewhat with how boys are positioned by parents in other texts. Village boys, whose gendered roles include clearing land for gardens, hunting, fishing, assisting in the making and repairing of houses, canoes, tools, etc. have greater freedom of movement and a less demanding regime of daily work (see also accounts of Simon and Jack who live in town) than that of girls whose duties are performed daily and with greater restriction as the following community practices given voice through these brief diary entries from Grade 3 children illustrate:

_Bune (girl)_
On friday afternoon my sister told mi, you go an cat the grass, I'll lit the fire and cooked the food

_Lukson (boy)_
Yesterday I went home and we played soccer after that we went to the river and we washed after that we came home and my mother cooked the food and we all eight.

_Leah (girl)_
Yesterday afternoon I went home and help my sister to do come cooking. When we finished cooking. We all ate the food. And then we all went to bed.

_Mona (girl)_
Yest aft I wh the little children play witt me
I saw one snake
I sewiing (washing) my dress and put on (in) the sun
I dug a kaukau (sweet potato)
I cooked the food for my father and my mother.
Sau (boy)
Yesterday afternoon I saw a bird sitting in the tree, and I threw a stone and hit
the branch and it flew away.

Kolai (boy)
On yesterday afternoon I get a red fish and I carry back to home and my sister
so (saw) me and she ran to me.

(Erima Community school)

These accounts illustrate the gendered roles of children, roles which are a part of larger
social scripts taken up by schooling.

Each assembly morning children sing the national anthem and in the only specific
references to gender sing, ‘O arise all ye sons of this land … ‘and ‘For this land of our
fathers so free ….’ (italics added) Sons and fathers have privileged positions in the
ideologies of Melanesian social and cultural practice. (see Mona Practicum) This is
not only illustrated in the way children are classified by father’s occupation in these
reports, but can be illustrated linguistically in one of the local languages (Tok Ples)
Wagi where the word used for baby ‘nir-yu’ privileges the expression for boy ‘nir’ and
not the expression for girl ‘asin’. (Alis Batari)

Furthermore, interwoven into the teacher’s reports are hints and traces of gendered
community discourses, of note is the teacher’s first report (G1T1) her point of
departure: ‘Gwen is helpful in class’, is not only an observation of behaviour but a
mark of Gwen’s gendered identity interpreted against the background of broader
community discourses of cooperation and reciprocity. In a study of traditional PNG
education practices Coyne notes that teachers most often helped a pupil after the pupil
had helped them, he asserts that,

... this is one of the important methods for transmitting that part of the culture
which makes for in-group solidarity and reciprocity. (1973:25)

Gwen’s helpful behaviour and the teacher’s acknowledgment of it marks her
socialisation into two groups, the larger ‘community’ and its discourses of
cooperativeness, and the smaller, intimate sub-group, ‘women’ and its discourses of
servitude (see Mona School Experience) Community gendered groups operate within
broad hierarchies of knowledges and social discourses, how they operate and why is a
reflection of the ideological forces which produce and shape them.
‘Em save harim tok belong tisa’: the ideology of cooperation

Readings against the text

In these texts, the parents’ accounts mark Gwen’s behaviour at home as significant, while her schooling is unmarked, amounting to what appears to be a tacit acceptance of the school’s accounts of her performance. In this way the school reports are unmarked, in a sense unacknowledged. Both texts provide accounts of Gwen’s socialisation into a particular discourse community and into a gendered position within that community. The relationship between Gwen’s domesticated identity at home and her unproblematic performances at school provides a place for an exploration of some of the ideological baggage of both discourses.

The teacher’s texts refer three times to Gwen as an ‘average’ girl in class, though overall Gwen holds an above average position in the class. As with other reports, the teacher’s reports are reductive - Gwen’s sociality, for example, is reduced to the formulaic phraseology of the ‘helpful’ girl, the ‘quiet girl’, the ‘well behaved girl’.

Overall these formulations within educational discourse, may in ‘common sense’ terms be viewed as paradoxical: the totalitarianism of generalising Gwen’s behaviour in universal terms, while constructing her as an autonomous individuated agent. From a poststructural perspective these subjectifications are complicit in the formation of multiple selves, complicit in the construction of various ‘domesticated’ identities for Gwen. They speak of practices that enable Gwen to act accordingly and inhabit the labels (Weedon 1987: 32-34).

The school’s constructions of Gwen over time as one who ‘tries her best to learn’ and sometimes ‘needs more individual explanation to learn a new thing’, is ‘well behaved’, ‘sits and listens quietly’, ‘an average child’, whose ‘book work is always neat’, who ‘must work hard’, are domesticated constructions and constitutions and little different from the way she is characterised at home. The convergence of these discourses is illustrated in Grades 3 & 4 when both at school and at home Gwen’s behaviour is the cause of some concern, moving from, ‘a girl who listens and who works around the house’; to, ‘... at home she does not listen when told to work, she carries on too much about things’ (G3T1); complimented by the teacher’s report, ‘... she has been a little bit lazy this term’ (G3T2). To understand this concern, a focus upon the notion of ‘listening’ (harim tok) is informing. Overall, both texts privilege the word ‘listens’, which is always conjoined with good behaviour and learning. Its use as a category in the parents’ responses carries strong cultural messages linked to notions of obedience, learning and knowing. It’s predominance as a category throughout both teachers’ and parent’s texts is an example of the overlap of cultural constructs across discourses.

136 Translation: ‘She listens to (and does) what the teacher says’.
In the teacher's reports the word 'listens' is used to denote a particular classroom behaviour, not, a strategy that Gwen has been taught to use in the advancement of learning: T: 'She listens to the teacher . . .' ; She sits and listens quietly; 'Behaviour is good and she listens'. To use the active present tense of the word is to foreground it as a key piece of information, a central event. To have used it in passive form (eg. was listening) would be to background it as an interpretive framework for a foregrounded account of Gwen's learning (Gee 1992:ch 3). The use of this word triggers wider cultural understandings of roles and responsibilities beyond the literal meaning of the word itself. A cultural model shared by teacher and parents which highlights particular social expectations and obligations governing girls and boys futures.

In another part of the text, the teacher's remarks, 'No feedback report from parents so I'm not writing any report this term.' (G2T3) is not only a corrective to the parents, but also a refusal to acknowledge the excellent academic results (marks=54/60;place=2/43, her best in these reports) Gwen has achieved. In some respects the teacher's silence allows a space for the continued construction of an uncontested domestic identity for Gwen. In this respect also, the teacher's refusal to respond adds weight to the speculation that the teacher gives tacit acknowledgment to a customary view of Gwen, a view which positions girls and women within a network of traditional expectations. Expectations which include the uncontested rights of a man and his clan over a woman's reproductive capacity and labour (Gillett 1990, Hughes 1996).

While such things may have been far from the teacher's immediate thoughts they are deeply embedded within the cultural discourses which inform her reports and also the parent's responses. For a boy to 'listen' (harim tok) is to display an identification with particular sets of dominant social practices valued in male society; for a girl to 'listen' is to demonstrate an identification with female social practices and an acceptance of customary patriarchal modes of social cohesion and control. In a discussion of traditional Papua New Guinean ethics Mantovani (1987) documents a number of seeming contradictory social practices which in his view privileges the category of community above the category of individual life. While such practices may involve sacrifices by individuals in terms of who they marry and where they live, or how their property is distributed, or whose lives are to be forfeited, all in the interests of 'community' survival, a closer examination reveals that such practices occur under the direction of a dominant patriarchy and inevitably require much more of women than of men (Hughes 1996).
In the first report of Grade 1 the teacher’s expression to the parents: ‘Em save harim1 tok belong tisa ... (She listens to the teacher ...) is both an acknowledgment of Gwen’s behaviour at school and an acknowledgment of the social practices into which she has been socialised. It is also a tacit acknowledgment of wider cultural discourses and the bonds and bondages women share: the customary settlement sustained by strong divisions of labour whereby, despite social and economic change, most women remain a separate social group with their own marginalised social practices, languages and knowledges.

The teacher’s comments in this report are rooted in an understanding of this settlement revealed in her watchfulness of Gwen and given abbreviated expression in the observation, ‘...and traim best long kisim save ...’ (...and tries her best to learn...). In giving expression to primary discourses, the teacher is positioned in the midst of competing and complex discourses - those which are aligned with the uncertain and socially disruptive practices of modernity through schooling, and her own gendered discourses which are socially and historically aligned with the nurture and sustenance of vulnerable human life, and the discourses of self-interested patriarchy, of subjugation and domination (Gillett 1990, Hughes 1996).
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<th>GRADE 1 TERM 1</th>
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<td>m=41/60 p= 37/46</td>
<td>m=43/60 p= 28/46</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: Nava em gutpela boy long skul Em save traim bes bilong em. Boy bilong hat wok, na het boy.

**Translation**: Nava is a good boy at school who tries his best. He is a hard working boy and a leader.

**Parents’ Comments**: Nava em boy bilong harim tok bilong papamama Wanem samting papamama tokim em long workim em bai igo pas na wokim. Em save kirap long hap nait na waswas redi long skul.

**Translation**: Nava is a boy who listens to his parents. Whatever his parents ask him to do he will go and do it. He knows to get up early and have his wash ready for school.

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<th>GRADE 1 TERM 2</th>
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<td>m=48/60 p= 27/45</td>
<td>m=23/60 p= 34/44</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: Nava emi go antap tasol mas go moa long dispela score em i bin mekim. Emi mas traim na harim tok liklik save. Pilai tumas long skul.

**Translation**: Nava has improved but must improve the score he has achieved. He must try to listen and learn. He plays around too much at school.

**Parents’ Comments**: Nava em wanpela gutpela mangi taim em kam long haus tasol mi harim bad news bilong em save pilai tumas long skul, plis tisa taim em pilai paitim em. Paitim bai save.

**Translation**: Nava is a good boy when he comes home but I’ve heard bad news about him that he plays too much at school, please teacher when he plays around hit him. Hit him and he will learn.

**Teacher’s Comments**: Gutpela raiting bilong em. nava em gutpela mangi long skul.

**Translation**: He has good writing. He is a good boy at school.

**Parents’ Comments**: nava em gutpela mangi save harim tok bilong papamama helpim mama long wasim plate spoon na helpim mama long karim baby.

**Translation**: Nava is a good boy who listens to what his parents say, helps his mother to wash the plates and spoons and helps to carry the baby.

**Teacher’s Comments**: A below average pupil in class. Could do better if he tries harder Shows good book work Sits very quietly. Does not take part much in class. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: Gutpela mangi em save helpim papamama long wok tasol em save pilai tumas em ino save bikhet long papamama.

**Translation**: A good boy who knows to help his parents but he plays around too much though he is not rude to his parents.
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<th>GRADE 2 TERM 4</th>
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<td><strong>m=22/60 p= 39/41</strong></td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: Wok blong em long klas i orait liklik tasol long test ino save tingting gut na rait. Em save sinaun isi tru. Tisa yet askim long toktok bai i mekim Em mas wok hat tru na go antap.

**Translation**: His class work is okay but he is not happy with his test. He fails. He asks him why he makes talk. He must work hard to go to be on top.

**Parents’ Comments**: wok blong em outsait i orait tasol long test bilong em tasol mi no hamamas. Mi laikim tisa yet mas mekim save long em. Mi no laikim em pilai tumas long school.

**Translation**: His work outside is alright but I am not happy with his test. I would like you the teacher to make him learn. I don’t like him to play around too much at school.

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<th>GRADE 2 TERM 3</th>
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<td><strong>m=25/60 p= 41/43</strong></td>
<td><strong>m=50/90 p= 31/40</strong></td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: Em wok long go daun, tingting blong em ino istap tumas long klas wok. Ino klia long ol wok blong skul. Ino save askim, luk pret long tisa.

**Translation**: His work has gone down, he doesn’t not think much about his class work. He doesn’t ask for help he seems to be shy of the teacher.

**Parents’ Comments**: Hausait em gutpela pasin bilong em. Mangi bilong helpim papamama na wanem samting em save wokim tasol insait long class wok bilong em tasol mi no hamamas.

**Translation**: Outside he has a good manner. He is a boy who helps his parents and does what they want but as for his class work I am not happy.

**Teacher’s Comments**: Em save painim hat liklik long skul wok. Save Sidaun isi tru. Ino save askim sapos em igat wari long wok bilong skul. Em mas wok hat moa.

**Translation**: He is finding his school work a little bit hard. He takes it easy. He doesn’t ask questions when he cant understand his school work. He must work harder.

**Parents’ Comments**: Em save harim tok bilong mitupela papamama tasol ino save sidaun long haus na studi liklik em tasol.

**Translation**: He listens to what his parents say but he doesn’t sit in the house and study.

**Teacher’s Comments**: Maks ino gutpela tumas start long yia em i smart long wok tasol olsem wanem na i les.

**Translation**: His marks are not very good at the beginning of the year he was smart but now he is not motivated

**Parents’ Comments**: olsem wanem na mak bilong em ino gutpela tumas em save lainim samting? o nogat. Em Tasol.

**Translation**: How come his mark is not good is he learning anything or not? That’s all
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<th>GRADE 3 TERM 2</th>
<th>GRADE 4 TERM 1</th>
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<td>m=67/90 p= 31/40</td>
<td>m=58/90 p= 26/37</td>
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*Teacher’s Comments:* gutpela comment olsem wanem em save lainim or nogat’. Nogat interest insait the skul.

*Translation:* Good comment is he learning or not. He has no interests inside school.

*Parents’ Comments:* nil

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<td>m=53/90 p= 32/39</td>
<td>m=51/90 p= 28/38</td>
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*Teacher’s Comments:* Marks i orait em wok long train best blong em.

*Translation:* His marks are alright he is trying his best.

*Parents’ Comments:* (Teacher’s note: parents will assist in his work. orig)

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<td>m=57/90 p= 33/39</td>
<td>m=51/90 p= 30/37</td>
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*Teacher’s Comments:* needs more assistance encourage him to work harder in all subjects.

*Parents’ Comments:* Bai mi train helpim em long haus no ken lanem em rit down nating.

*Translation:* I will try to help him at home but I cant help him to write down nothing.

*Teacher’s Comments:* Em mas wok hat tru long maths na english. Em wok gut ino na save les.

*Translation:* He must work harder in maths and english. He is working well and is not being lazy.

*Parents’ Comments:* mi no hamamas long work because em kisim planti mistake.

*Translation:* I am not happy with his work because he got lots of mistakes.

*Teacher’s Comments:* nil

*Parents’ Comments:* nil
### Teacher's Comments

**Grade 4 Term 4**

m = 48/90  p = 25/37

**Teacher's Comments:** nil

**Parents' Comments:** mi hamamas tru long gutpela mak em kisim tasol em istap daunbilo tumas.

**Translation:** I am very happy with his good mark but he is still too low in the class.

**Grade 5 Term 1**

m = 54/120  p = 29/36

**Teacher's Comments:** Save bilong em i daunbilo tumas. Em mas traimg wok strong long maths, english na general.

**Translation:** His knowledge is too poor. He must try to work hard in maths, English and general.

**Parents' Comments:** Mi no hamamas long dispela mark bilong em. Olsem wanem ern save wok yet? Mi laik save.

**Translation:** I am not happy with his mark. Why isn't he understanding the work yet? I would like to know.

---

**Nava: 'A below average pupil'**

**Reading within the text**

The following overview of how teacher and parents discuss Nava's learning is instructive:

**Grade one**

T1  
T: ... a hard-working boy and a leader (het boy)  
P: ... em boy bilong harim tok ... (a boy who listens)

T2  
T: He must try and listen and learn. He plays around too much at school.  
P: ... please teacher when he plays around hit him. Hit him and he will learn.

**Grade two**

T1  
T: A below average pupil ... Does not take part much in class.  
P: ... knows to help his parents but he plays around too much

T2  
T: ... in the test he doesn't know what to write ... he takes it easy ...  
P: His work outside is alright ... I would like you the teacher to make him learn.  
I don’t like him to play around too much ...

T3  
T: ... he doesn’t think much about his class work. He doesn’t ask for help he seems to be shy (luk pret) of the teacher  
P: Outside he has a good manner ... as for his class work I am not happy.

T4  
T: He doesn’t ask questions when he can’t understand ...  
P: He listens to what his parents say but he doesn’t sit in the house and study.

**Grade three**

T1  
T: ... he is not motivated  
P: How come his mark is not good is he learning anything or not?

T2  
T: He has no interests inside school  
P: -
T3  T: (Note: parents will assist him with his work)
T4  T: Needs more assistance encourage him to work harder
    P: I will try to help him at home but I can’t help him to write down nothing

Grade four
T2  T: He must work harder
    P: I am not happy with his work
T4  T: -
    P: ... he is still too low in the class

Grade five
T1  T: His knowledge is too poor
    P: Does he understand the work yet? I would like to know.

This overview is illustrative of the way schooling constructs and hierarchises social contexts within the lifeworld. These accounts are constituted by the ideological binary, inside/outside. ‘Outside’ Nava listens to what his parents tell him, and does good work: ‘His work outside is alright’ (G2T2), ‘inside’ he can’t understand the work, is shy of the teacher, doesn’t ask questions, doesn’t do well in tests, is unmotivated, has no interests in school: ‘Does not take part much in class’. It is the teacher’s assessment that Nava has interests elsewhere, that he is not interested in school or school work), and sometimes plays around. As a result the parents direct the teacher to ‘make him learn’ (G2T2). There are signs that the school’s approach to learning, though poorly articulated, is a more active orientation than the ‘telling/listening’ orientation that the parents find to be successful outside of school. At school reaching an ‘understanding’ requires questioning, but ‘... he doesn’t ask questions’ (G2T4). Schooling requires a child to develop a sense of dialogue with teachers but Nava is shy or afraid (luk pret) to ask the teacher. The teacher finally directs these problems back to the parents whose own grasp of the pedagogical discourses is minimal: ‘I will try to help him ...’ (G3T4) and which proves to be unsatisfactory in turning Nava’s academic fortunes around.

Nava: Punishment and pedagogy

Reading upon the text

At the outset of Nava’s schooling, it is the parents who raise the issue of punishment:
    P: Nava is a good boy when he comes home but I’ve heard bad news about him
    that he plays around too much at school, please teacher when he plays around
    hit him. Hit him and he will learn. (G1T2)

In a similar way parents of other children also raise this matter with the expectation that teachers will ‘bring up’ their children.
P: If he plays too much, please it’s your work, you must punish him
(Simon G2T1)
T: Is it the work of the teacher to punish him. If we punish him all of you will
come with a complaint and be angry. (Simon G2T2)
P: I am Peter his father and I would not complain to the teacher if you punish
him if he is being a bighead. (Simon G2T2)

This teacher’s position is however, informed by institutional discourses on violence.
The following intertexts link her response to her institutional position.

**Text 1**

To all Teachers and Headmasters
High Schools
Community Schools
Vocational centres

Topic: Use of Corporal Punishment

This office has been receiving reports and complaints of teachers in all types of schools
use corporal punishment. This was a colonial attitude and the Department of Education
has put a complete end to this practice. Headmasters, see that this stops immediately. It
is a crime if it is done or practiced. The consequences resulting from the use of corporal
punishment will be;

1. The parents may
   a. Take the teacher to court and be charged.
   b. Assault by relatives etc.
   c. Bad community relationships
   d. Bad examples to students learning

This office or the PNGTA will not assist any teacher in any of these cases if he is found
to be guilty. You have been warned from time to time and you have simply ignored
this. Please adhere to these for your own good and for the good of the communities you
serve.

*Senior Professional Assistant*
*Madang DOE (Department of Education)*
Text 2

Corporal Punishment
An ‘Assault’ - illegal attack on someone that can cause serious harm to the body.
Assault can come in the form of
- hitting someone with an object
- fisting
- pinching
- punching
or
- ordering someone to stand on one leg for several minutes
- looking at the sun
- stand with hands up etc.

Corporal punishment is no longer practiced in the school system. You can be held responsible by the law, if found using this method in your teaching. Please stop at once if you are one of them.

Head Master

The tensions between knowledge and control are major themes in Papua New Guinea schooling often played out extremely literally (see Chapter 5). These texts suggest that the roots of this tension are a legacy of the social upheavals, imperialisms and socialisations of the recent colonial past. Some agreement regarding acts of violence appears apparent from the parent’s text that indicates that some forms of punishment are socially condoned.

Throughout these accounts there is a sense that Nava is marginalised in the classroom through the portrayal that he is not taking part in class (G2T1). The strength of his primary discourses undermine what are expected to be the acquired learning behaviours of the classroom - asking questions, seeking assistance, performing well on tests, sustaining motivation, competing successfully with 40 other children. For students who do not bring such orientations to school, such orientations remain invisible and the successes of their colleagues are attributed to greater knowledge of subject content (‘Maths’ and ‘English’), rather than their knowledge of how to intersubjectively negotiate understandings of what counts as knowledge and how what counts as knowledge is then learned and evaluated. Like Bill, Nava hasn’t been apprenticed to the practice of doing tests. As Gee notes,

... classrooms that do not properly balance acquisition and learning, and realise which is which, and which student has acquired what, simply privilege those students who have begun the process at home, engaging these students in a teaching/learning process, while the others simply ‘fail’ (1992:115).
With similar concerns, the PNG Education Sector Review (1993:48) reports that boredom is a cause of the declining retention rate in community schools. The exchange between teacher and parents points significantly to another contributing factor, the different senses in which learning is understood to occur. Such a perception validates other observations in the field that many children who do poorly in their first year of schooling continue to be ranked in the lowest group throughout their remaining years of community schooling without any appreciable difference in rank. In a class I closely observed at Sagalau Community School almost all of the children who were at the bottom of the class in their first year of schooling remained there throughout five years of observation. Their problems were reportedly due to poor literacy and numeracy skills but further observation showed that this deficit was primarily a result of children’s failure to acquire the necessary social literacy skills demanded by the learning context, not having the skills to seek assistance, to approach the teacher, to ask questions, to participate during particular constitutive moments in the lesson (see Chapter 2). This group of children were often integrated into more successful groups where in many cases they were either ignored by their peers, or the work was done for them (particularly in the case of girls). Some children like Nava have been apprenticed at home and school to socially submissive practices. In these cases, where the nurturing of a more active learning self in class is lacking, the school plays a role in the maintenance of children’s primary submissive identities. In the face of powerful secondary discourses dominated by concerns of control over the child, these children are continually challenged by the messages of schooling which demand ritual obedience and a surrender of self to the practices and ideologies of control. For these children schooling is often the forms and rituals, where learning is sustained through chorusing and copying (see also McLaughlin 1996).

**Being there**

Teachers however, often report lateness and disrupted attendance as main contributors to poor performance (see also Chapter 7: Solomon Practicum).

*Teacher’s Comments*: Asah em wok gut i go inap Term 3 em i givap long namel. Em save lesles long wokim wok long skul. Em ino save kam long skul tumas na em misin planti gutpela samting long skulo. Em olem na em lusim les bilong em.

Translation: Asah’s work was good up until the middle of term 3 then he gave up. He is not motivated to do his school work. He hasn’t been attending school very much and has missed plenty of school work. He must become more motivated.
Parents’ Comments: Mi mama bilong Asah i tok olsem dispela tes mak em i kisim em i no gutpela. Em i mas traun long kisim gutpela mak long term 4. Sapos em i no kam long skul yu mas raitim wapela pas long mi na bai mi yet save gut long asah. Em Tasol. Translation: I am Asah’s mother he told me that the mark he got was not good. He must try and get a good mark in term 4. If he doesn’t come to school you must write a letter to me and I will know about asah. Thats all.

Some children, however, hold different views.

Aise (Grade 5 boy)
My school is near the road. I like school Becuase I want to learn. I lived in CR.
Sometimes I come early. Sometimes I come late. My teacher asked why a you coming late. Because I by myself prepare my food. Next time you must come early. Adavice (otherwise) I’ll give you punnishment.

Martinah (Grade 5 girl)
School, School you are so
Nice and we come to learn
To read and write.
All the children loves you
Some children don’t want you.
And they always live (leave) school

Delina (Grade 5 girl)
I love to come to school because I want to get informaitons. Oh, school school how beautiful you are. Some of the children like to come, but some don’t like coming to school because it takes a long time to go home. But some parents want their children to go to school because they want them to learn how to read and write. Sometime they force their kids to come if they do not listen and obey they’re mothers usually belt them up and bring them to school by themselfs. But for me I like to come to school because I want to learn how to work, read, write and do all sorts of things in school. I like my teacher and also because she teachers me from 8 o’clock to 3 o’clock. That’s why I love my teacher very much then other children. My teacher likes me to do my work very well. And it must be neat and tidy.
Through the years of community school parents assess the future value of the education their children are undertaking in terms of its costs and returns, the likelihood of them continuing onto high school and a place in the waged economy, such ideologies are pervasive in PNG communities as noted in this girl’s unproblematised view.

**Helen (Grade 5 girl)**

The school is good to people of Papua New Guinea and other countries in the world. They always came to the school and if they finished they’re school they will aplay (apply) to get any work the (they) want to work. And they will said yes and they will started to work.

In their responses to the teachers’ reports of Nava’s academic poor progress at the beginning of his fifth year, the parents challenge the implicit claims of schooling to educate and prepare him for a productive and rewarding life:

*Does he understand the work yet? (GST1)*

Notwithstanding the strength of parent’s concerns there is little evidence of self-doubt or self-examination within these reports of the capacity of schooling to deliver these opportunities for all children. This is not to say that teachers, headmasters and Boards of Management are not aware of these issues, a concern however, which is addressed more as an issue of school management (finding places) than prejudicial educational practices.

**Local school administrative discourse: defining the objects of schooling**

*Readings against the text*

The parents’ questions have broader implications for the meaning and legitimacy of schooling as a social institution. Other places where the discourses of schooling and community meet are in Board of Management (BoM) and Parents and Citizens (P&C) meetings. Boards of management are made up of school and representatives of local feeder communities. At the time of this field work Sagalau school served sixteen communities of various size from 50 - 1000 people, a mix of established local villages and small settlements of ‘settlers’ principally from provinces in the Momase and Highlands regions. (see Appendix Seven) These less established communities occupy traditional lands and depend upon work in the township of Madang, upon their small gardens and ‘wantok’ networks to survive. Each of these communities has its own languages, customs, social networks, and sources of income. The local villages share languages not common to the settlements (the main ones being Bel, Wagi and Riwo) and are mixed economies ranging from subsistence farming through to waged labourers, office and government employees and owners of small businesses. There are
intermittent violent clashes between local villagers and settlers who are viewed with suspicion. Regardless of these tensions children from these communities come to Sagalau Demonstration school. Many children at the school are from other parts of PNG who have come to stay with local relatives.

The following is a gloss of the first P&C meeting for the year held in March (1/3/92) chaired by the Deputy Chairman of the Board of Management with over a hundred people in attendance. The Deputy Chairman opens the meeting by explaining the rules of participation (toktok): puttim (put) hand antap (up); don’t ‘tok’ too long; go through chairman. The meeting is handed over to the Headmaster and is conducted in a mix of Tok Pisin and English. The following is a summary of the matters raised at this meeting.

**Headmaster (HM) report**

Increasing school enrolments (1990 - 419; 1991 - 502; 1992 - 554)

School fees - K25/child (Govt recommended fee K20/child)(K1 = A$1.23) This fee is for student materials (exercise books, rulers, pencils). The HM reports that the money goes to Government Stores but the materials are not supplied - after a month of waiting the 700 exercise books on order have not been received - the lower grades have no exercise books.

Many parents have not paid fees for last year (14 children) and the current year - there is heated discussion about the failure of some parents to pay fees - a motion is put that unless payment is made by June children will be ‘roused’ (sent home). The extent of late payments is of great concern among parents.

The HM acknowledges that parents with children in high school have a larger financial commitment - others should pay up first.

Parents: some parents cannot find enough money to pay for all their children to go to school.

A motion is put requiring children whose fees have not been paid from last year to be sent home until these fees are paid; other parents have one month to pay; parents of high school students have 6 months to pay. The motion is amended allowing 1 week for last years fees to be paid before children will be sent home; the motion is carried.

Parents: want to know why the school fees have increased.

HM reports: in 1991 Grade One had 90 positions (2 classes), this year (more Sepiks), more children moving in with local families - there is a need for a third grade one classroom but the government will not help the school financially. An increase in Grade one enrolments will have a flow on effect in subsequent years requiring extensions to other classrooms to cope with this increase.
The HM adds that schools in Port Moresby (eg Wards Strip) have a fee of K37/child.

Parents request that the fees be broken up and spread throughout the year. Chairman rejects the proposal arguing that the Board has got a lot of work to do including classroom extensions and this would slow the work down.

HM provides details of the running costs of the school: telephone; electricity to pump water (pawa bilong wara); toilet rolls; BoM sitting allowances (K10); fund raising committee transport; transport for HM & Chairman; photocopying; stencils, grade 6 exams; stationery; K360 for OESM (English) curriculum materials for each class.

HM announces new projects: 1 classroom extension (Department of Works costing: K15000, K3000 for labour); photocopier; spraying classrooms and teachers houses for white ants (quote 1991 K889 - 1992 K1200); desks (1 double desk K40 need 30); Teachers’ houses maintenance - flywire, guttering etc.; Security fence to stop vandalising of school K13000 (4-5 year project); Locks for classrooms.

HM: ‘Planti project, moni short. We can't wait for the government - we must try - it's our school.’

HM asks parents to donate free labour to make up shortfall in finances.

Parents want compensation for labour; want the school to work from the budget they expect to get from school fees and not from the costs of the things they want; they demand that the BoM list its priorities; they suggest that politicians be approached as the elections come up:

‘The government must help, this is not a private school it is a government school; We provide assistance to the government by training teachers for the college; Other schools are getting more from the government; BoM should petition the Government and Madang Teachers College for more money; K35000 or it won't be used as a Demonstration school.’

The meeting is disrupted by shouting and angry exchanges - order is restored.

HM details fundraising events and dates for the term; BoM representatives will visit local communities.

General business: The Chairman: endorses Mr W. (P&C deputy) sitting for election reminds parents that in 1990 Behir Community School got a double classroom after backing their member:

Chairman: ‘We should not be split on this, think about what we can get’.

New teachers and BoM community representatives for the year are introduced to the community.

Meeting concludes after miscellaneous questions to the Chairman.
Despite the large numbers of women present, no women spoke to the meeting. (Field notes)

Overall the Headmaster’s performance in detailing finances and blackboarding calculations may be read as a means of reassuring the community of the soundness of their trust in the institutions of schooling and competence of the Board.

An earlier BoM meeting (27/2/92) determined that in this area (Sagalau) the provision of schooling was hampered by a lack of teaching resources, inadequate physical facilities, the constant transfer of teachers, a lack of meaningful dialogue with communities, ambivalent community support, uncertainty about the future. Such matters are compounded by the frustrations of many parents over the financial burden that they are placed under in order to provide an education for each of their children. In a fervent and direct petition to members of the Board one older villager raises this difficulty (hevi) and in doing so highlights the growing social and economic disparities among communities.

‘Mr Chairman this talk of the board is good talk about what happened last year, but what I am thinking is that not all the parents heard this, I did not hear ... I heard a little bit what the board said, now all parents have got plenty of children (for example) 3 children at Sagalau and one at Tusbab (high school) .. some people have got money, they work in town and have plenty of work, now plenty of parents live in the village and have not got any money, now you have given parents a big worry (problem), you work, why should I pay fifty kina for two children and seventy-five kina for three this is very hard for fathers and mothers to find and its a worry, the decision of the board is good, all those on the board are good people but you don’t feel the worry, plenty of parents are paying school fees for some children to go to high school, some children can’t go to high school, now everyone has got a big worry (about these children, school fees and the additional costs) .... ‘(translation) (Tok Pisin original in Appendix Eight)

In what was undoubtedly a face saving move designed to protect the ‘trust’ members of the community have in schooling and its administrators, this earnest petition was ruled inappropriate and out of place by the deputy chairman of the BoM who contended that the P&C meeting was a planning meeting and not a forum for these matters. The old man’s speech clearly contested the settled meanings, definitions and understandings of those in the more privileged position of being able to afford school fees, it constituted a refusal to accept the reality defined by the BoM who supported the proposal to eject from school the children whose fees had not been paid, and whose plans for the school
were placing a large financial burden on the community. The Headmaster’s earlier ‘we’ and ‘our’, in, ‘We can’t wait for the government - we must try - its our school’, is an attempt to develop a shared view, a particular kind of community, one, however, which is not grounded in, or considerate of the social divide, the financial constraints and the subsistent ideologies which pervade ‘work’ and life’ in village communities. Villagers are continually being pressed to be ‘resource-ful’, to donate their labour for the building and maintenance of schools and churches in what is represented to them as being in their own interests. Their reluctance is in part due to an unwillingness to submit to social ideologies that separate them from customary practices as managers of their own lives and resources, to being managed as resources, human resources. In this process of social negotiation modern managerial discourses are invoked and challenged at a number of levels. The ‘oppositional’ claims of villagers in the meeting may be read as a tacit questioning of the discoursal structures, meanings and identities which sustain the BoM’s viewpoint, and that alienates and oppresses their own. Authority structures and dispositions similar to those used in the teacher’s reports above, seek to stabilise preferred understandings and definitions of what schooling means, to construct a modern, coherent, rational identity for schooling.

In this encounter the substantive claims of these villagers are not addressed they are borderline, considered out of place, by reference to the conventions of ‘school’ meetings which determine matters of purpose, relevance and the forms of dialogue considered legitimate.

What is apparent here is the contested positioning of particular definitions of what counts as schooling, definitions that are linked to discourses of ‘development’ and ‘progress’ as in the headmasters statement, ‘Planti project, moni short’ (Plenty projects, money short). Other views drawn from customary and local pragmatic discourses acknowledging the benefits of social change within a framework of social justice and social solidarity are quickly glossed over. The debate over school fees is a debate over children’s and communities futures, it is also a debate over what counts as work, power, prestige, right and wrong, what is to be considered central and what is to be moved to the periphery. Matters related to the discourses of schooling appear in many forms and places, the following poems and writings from the wall of a Grade 5 classroom, for example, illustrate the extent of the subjectification of children to discourses promoting the centrality of schools in community lives.
School School (author unknown)
What you own in your mine(d) is school
When you come to school you will
feel that your(re) growing up
School is something important
You will see that school is the best place
were (where) people know better then people
in the village,
You will see that every part of PNG has schools
You will find schools in every provinces
in Papua New Guinea.

School (author unknown)
School School is the best for us.
School can give us knowledge
School make you read and werite
School stays everywhere
School stays in part of PNG
Some schools stays at the lowland
School can make you minister
School make people goes to university
School make people come to be teachers, pilot,
Prime Minister, store keeper, driver captain.

Bidiwat (girl)
School is a very good place were any people can learn. Today most of the
people want their children to go to school, Because they want to learned how
to rweed and how to write. The time that our ancestors lived was not a good
time. Because ancestors move from place to place. That is why they didn’t do
anything. But today most of development came into our country make trade
stores, hospitals and schools. And now we have our school in our own country.

The profound closeness of schooling’s individualist discourse to the social minds of
these children is illustrated here: ‘What you own in your mine (sic) is school’; as is the
marginalisation of customary knowledge and history, ‘the time that our ancestor lived’;
as is an unproblematised transition from school to positions of power, influence and
wealth. Here schooling marks ‘modern world’ contexts and practices at the expense of
customary culture and history, significations which promote certain forms of ‘learning’ (‘how to read and how to write’), forms of social change (‘development’) and images of a causal relationship between schooling and entry into a modern social economic order and which fail to rebuke views of life which impoverish the legacy of the past:

... The time that our ancestors lived was not a good time. Because ancestors move from place to place. That is why they didn’t do anything.\footnote{\textsuperscript{137}} (see also Chapter 3)

Children’s social and cultural identities are often caught in the paradox of PNG’s political independence (‘...now we have our school in our own country’) and its dependence upon the message systems and texts of school (‘... learn(ing) how to read and how to write’).

\footnote{\textsuperscript{137} The denial and absence of indigenous history has been briefly noted in the way children have written about historical events. The involvement of PNG in the second world war, overwhelmingly children record the events in terms of Australian and American soldiers fighting the Japanese without any reference to roles played by their own grandparents, or without reference to the deprivations which they suffered. Teacher trainees when asked to prepare historical accounts of notable individuals (significant others) from their areas invariably write about early European missionaries suffering great deprivation and ignominious deaths in the process becoming martyrs to the cause of Christianity.}
**Community School Report: Emma - commenced school at age 9**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>GRADE 1 TERM 1</th>
<th>GRADE 2 TERM 1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m = 33/60 p = 44/46</td>
<td>m = 48/60 p = 12/44</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments:** Emma has missed out one of the test because she was sick. I hope she’ll do better in term 2. Overall she’s very good. Thank You. (orig.)

**Parents’ Comments:** Thank you for your overall report and I too do hope that she does well in the other terms. (orig.)

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<th>GRADE 1 TERM 2</th>
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<tr>
<td>m = 51/60 p = 19/45</td>
<td>m = 52/60 p = 6/44</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments:** Emma has shown a very big jump from term 1 test she scored a very satisfactory marks. Advice her to keep up the good work. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments:** I am quite impressed with Emma’s term 2 marks compared to Term 1. She has done a marvellous job and I hope she would continue in 3rd Term. I praise you for your commitment as her class teacher and your assessment on her. (orig)

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<th>GRADE 1 TERM 3</th>
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<tr>
<td>m = 56/60 p = 5/46</td>
<td>m = 51/60 p=9/43</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments:** Emma has been showing a very good work in class for Term 3 She’s always obedient to her academic work. She scored a very good mark. Keep it up Emma. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments:** I am proud of Emma’s performance and I am hopeful that she keeps her good work and I am most willing to help you with any problems you might have with Emma. I also commend you for your utmost assistance. (orig)

**Teacher’s Comments:** An above average child in class. Also follow advice. Does show neat book work. Always like to work to the best, but like to talk whenever she finishes her work. A shy and quiet girl. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments:** I am very impressed with Emma’s academic results and I assumed that as parents we will continue to give much assistance as much as possible. Thank you for your comments/reports on Emma. (orig)

**Teacher’s Comments:** She has gone down abit this term. Did well in English and Maths. Needs to put more effort in General subjects. Has shown good work in class.

**Parents’ Comments:** She is continuing to do well and have gone down as stated above however, we will assist in doing some counselling particularly General subjects could be improved. Thank you for your remakable comments and reports for Emma. (orig)
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<th>GRADE 2 TERM 4</th>
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<tr>
<td>m = 35/60 p = 31/41</td>
<td>m = 74/90 p = 8/37</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: An above average child but went down to below average. This term she hasn’t done well enough. She has drop alot. Good luck for next year. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: nil

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<th>GRADE 3 TERM 1</th>
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<tr>
<td>m = 81/90 p = 5/40</td>
<td>m = 72/90 p = 8/38</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: Well Emma has done well term. Marks are good. Behaves well at all times. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: Emma has done very well and I am very proud of her. She should continue next quarter. (orig)

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<th>GRADE 3 TERM 2</th>
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<tr>
<td>m = 87/90 p = 1/40</td>
<td>m = 74/90 p = 7/37</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: Shown very good marks this time, I encourage her to keep on working hard. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: nil

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<th>GRADE 3 TERM 3</th>
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<td>m = 83/90 p = 2/39</td>
<td>m = 72/90 p = 4/37</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: She’s performing very well as for term 2. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: nil

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<th>GRADE 3 TERM 4</th>
<th>GRADE 5 TERM 1</th>
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<tr>
<td>m = 86/90 p = 3/39</td>
<td>m = 97/120 p = 3/36</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: Shes working always to the best. Behaves well at all times in class. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: nil

**Teacher’s Comments**: Sometimes slow in her class work. Take very long to answer questions. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: She should improve d in 2nd Qtd as parents we will provide counselling. Thank you for your comments. (orig)

**Teacher’s Comments**: Maths seemed too hard for the rest of the class so they all did badly I was not too pleased. (orig.)

**Parents’ Comments**: She maintains the place but needs improvement, she has been counselled for some. Thanks for your comment. (orig.)

**Teacher’s Comments**: Work is well done but not much. (Mother) (orig.)

**Parents’ Comments**: Work is always neat and done well. (orig.)

**Teacher’s Comments**: Is doing well and has improved this term. Find difficulty in speaking. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: She has improved a bit but not very well. (Mother) (orig)

**Teacher’s Comments**: An above average child in class. Always works to the best. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: She is always consistent and willing to learn new things as parent am proud of her marks. Thank you. (orig)
Emma: ‘An above average child’

Reading within the text

Emma is a child who has ‘above average’ results and rank in class. In her reports the teacher’s focus is still upon test results, the parents praise her efforts and praise the teacher’s ‘commitment’. The parents account for Emma’s success in terms of a partnership:

\[ P: \ldots \text{She has done a marvellous job} \ldots \text{I praise you for your commitment} \ (G1T2) \]
\[ P: \text{I am proud of Emma’s performance} \ldots \text{I commend you for your utmost assistance} \ (G1T4) \]

The quality of Emma’s school performances are one of the dominant themes of the parents’ responses:

\[ P: \text{Emma has potential to do better} \ldots \ (G2T1) \]
\[ P: \text{I am very impressed with Emma’s academic results} \ldots \ (G2T2) \]

Both teacher and parents continue to exchange positive and encouraging remarks about Emma, overall it seems that encouragement is the fruit of good results.

Like other parents, these parent’s also see that they have a role to play:

\[ P: \text{I am most willing to help you with any problems you might have with Emma} \ (G1T3) \]
\[ P: \ldots \text{as parents we will continue to give much assistance} \ldots \ (G2T2) \]
\[ P: \ldots \text{as parents we will provide counselling} \ (G4T1) \]
\[ P: \ldots \text{needs improvement, she has been counselled for some} \ (G4T2) \]

As in Erin’s report but not in others, the teacher addresses Emma directly:

\[ T: \text{Keep it up Emma}. \ (G1T3) \]
\[ T: \text{Good luck for next year} \ (G2T4) \]

In Grade 2 the teacher identifies Emma’s learning style preference: ‘... likes to work by herself’; ‘...talks when teacher asks questions’, and constructs a view of the successful learner: ‘... follow advice... show neat book work, ... work to the best ... talk(s) whenever she finishes her work (G2T2). The parents assure the teacher of their continuing support at home:

\[ P: \text{I am very impressed with Emma’s academic results and I assumed that as parents we will continue to give much assistance} \ldots \ (G2T2) \]

The convergent tenor of all of the above remarks demonstrates the power of schooling discourses to impart particular ways of talking and thinking by narrowing the distance between schooling and family and in the process build a sense of trust in the institutional practices of schooling. As Gee notes

The Discourse rewards and sanctions characteristic ways of acting, talking, believing, valuing and interacting and in doing do it incorporates a normative or
ideal set of mental associations and folk theories, toward which its members
more or less converge.(1992:108)
As Emma’s marks and class position fluctuate both parents and teacher closely monitor
the variations, the parents ‘counselling’ her on the need for improvement:

   P: She maintains the place but needs improvement, she has been counselled for
   some

and the teacher reporting her steady progress,

   T: always works to her best

The parents’ providing positive feedback and identifying Emma’s learning styles,

   P: She is always consistent and willing to learn new things

**Emma: What counts as schooling**

*Reading upon the text*

In another girl’s report (Erin) the parents’ use of English and knowledge of the
intimacies of the curriculum also suggest familiarity with schooling enabling them to
take up a position of authority in relation to what is taught and the teacher’s
performances.

   P: I suggest that the teacher should teach more about L drills ... About the
   maths lesson the teacher should ...(G2T2)
   P: Please teacher if Erin misbehave ... that very moment punish her if it is
   possible (G2T3)
   P: Teacher your comments was very good. But you should teach more ...
   (G2T4)
   P: Teacher, I’m very proud of your teaching. And remarks you had given for
   Erin. Thanks keep it up (G3T2).

The teacher’s responses appear mediated by an awareness of this shift in the power
relationship between herself and these parents, there is one reference to ‘marks’ and
one to ‘work’, there is reference to English, Maths, Writing, Handwriting, General
(General Studies) and comment given in these areas,

   T: Has done well in english and general. Need to a lot in maths (G2T3)
   T: ... trying her best with her handwriting (G3T1)
   T: Did well in maths and general subjects ...good luck in 199-’ (G3T4)

Erin’s is consistently positioned at or near the top of the class. That the parents have
more than just a passing knowledge of schooling is marked also by their view of
‘teaching’, that it is the quality of teaching which makes the difference in Erin’s
performances, that it is the teaching of language (English) which is at ‘the core of all
the subjects’.
In the cases of Emma and Erin, both parents co-construct the agenda for their children's schooling. They display their knowledge of what counts as good schooling performances and expect their children to perform well with the targeted support of the teacher.

**Emma: Schooling and the problematics of face**

*Readings against the texts*

As a cultural concept, ‘face’, refers to ‘the way a cultural group organises relationships among members of the group’ (Scollon & Scollon 1995). What has been evident up until now is the organisation of a particularly hierarchical relationship between different teachers and parents built upon the primacy of meritocratic ‘academic’ discourses. In this report (and also Erin’s; also see Appendix Nine), what is apparent is the construction of a more agreeable dialogue between teachers and parents’, brought about, it appears, by the parents’ and children’s alignment with the school’s scripts, enabling them to provide the right kind of support, involvement and ‘counselling’. Emma’s is in some respects a less troubled account for both school and parents. The strategic monitoring by parents in particular of what Emma is doing and how well she does it, suggests significant experience with school-based ‘academic’ discourses. From the teachers’ point of view Emma may be seen to represent the successful fruits of schooling and a vindication of its means and ends. What remains problematic for schooling in this configuration is the way it negotiates relationships with what is often seen to be an ‘unschooled’ community, towards whom it often turns a less encouraging face. Those parents who demonstrate some measure of ‘schooledness’ appear to receive more lateral treatment, ie a more articulated account of their child’s achievements or problems. Such articulations are not extended to all parents whose only messages regarding their child’s learning may be a brief direction to them to encourage their children to ‘work harder’.
# Community School Report: Helen - commenced school at age 8

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<th>GRADE 1 TERM 1</th>
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<td>m=42/60 p= 36/46</td>
<td>m=29/60 p= 37/46</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: Helen em wampela quiet meri long class. Em ino save toktok planti tasol em save train best bilong em. Em i scorim gutpela mark liklik. She’s always and above in appearance. V. good cute friendly and smiling girl.

**Translation**: Helen is a quiet girl in class. She doesn’t talk too much and tries her best. She has scored quite a good mark.

**Parents’ Comments**: Thanks for your comments, I hope she gain some more points. If possible next term can you please send with her any homework on the subject she needs to concentrate more on.

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<td>m=49/60 p= 24/45</td>
<td>m=19/60 p= 37/44</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: Helen has been working very hard right through this term. She has tried her best to bring her step up in getting a bit higher mark than last term 2. She has improved a lot. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: Of course she needs more assistance. I myself thought that the homework helps her a bit. So I’d recommend her to go on with some more homework. (orig)

**Teacher’s Comments**: A very slow learner. A below average child. finds school work very hard A very quiet little girl. Talks when teacher asks questions. She needs to work hard in next term. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: Thanks for the comment, of course she is a slow learner. So, to help her could you send some kind of home work with her that we can help her. (orig)
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<td>m=27/60 p= 39/44</td>
<td>m=43/90 p= 36/40</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: A very quiet girl. A slow learner needs more attention. Sometimes feels lazy in her work. She needs to work much harder to improve. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: Since Grade 1 Terms 1-4 she has the same below average marks. And as we told you our concern is to help her by letting her repeat grade 1 in the third term. I guess we are pushing her too much so should you and us work together to help her by repeating starting at Term 3. (Please say so if there is room). (orig)

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<tr>
<td>m=40/60 p= 30/43</td>
<td>m=59/90 p= 35/40</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: Mak blong em igo antap liklik tasol. Em still panim hat yet long wok blong skul. Report blong 1 na 2 we?

**Translation**: Her marks have improved a little bit. Where is the report for terms 1 and 2?


**Translation**: Thank you for your comments on her marks and report. I am also happy with her improvement. We are encouraging her also. All her marks for terms 1 and 2 are in her desk and she has not shown you.

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<th>GRADE 2 TERM 4</th>
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<td>m=37/60 p= 30/41</td>
<td>m=68/90 p= 27/39</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments**: She has done well in English. She needs to work hard in Maths and General. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: Thanks for your comments. Our interest and will is to repeat grade two in 19-- , according to her marks. I have seen the headmaster and he said he’ll look into this matter with you. (orig)

**Teacher’s Comments**: Marks are very good. She’s improving a bit everytime. Keep on trying. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: We can see she’s improving needs more emphasising. (orig)

**Teacher’s Comments**: Seems to improve she’s always trying. Keep on trying and assist her much in her work. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments**: This is a good jump. We did explain to her to keep on trying. (orig)
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**Teacher’s Comments:** Book work has improved but a bit slow in learning (orig)

**Parents’ Comments:** Since last year we have asked for repeating the grade she was in. We wanted her to repeat. (orig)

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<td>m=57/90 p=27/37</td>
<td>m=22/90 p=36/37</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments:** She is improving bit by bit. Her class work is ok. I encourage her to work harder. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments:** She will improve better if only she obey and behave. Otherwise she does listen and behave at home. (orig)

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<th>GRADE 4 TERM 2</th>
<th>GRADE 5 TERM 1</th>
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<td>m=46/90 p=31/38</td>
<td>m=50/120 p=31/36</td>
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**Teacher’s Comments:** She’s a slow learner and takes time to catch up with her work. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments:** She is a slow learner. Very slow. So we wanted her to repeat grade 4 in 19--

**Teacher’s Comments:** Below average. Book work has improved she trying all her best. (orig)

**Parents’ Comments:** I have nothing much to say because our request has not been implemented. That is to repeat grade 4 this year. (my child is spoilt) (trans: my child is ruined). (orig)

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**Helen: ‘We have been so busy saving souls that we have neglected our theology’**

Reading within the text

The teacher’s reports mark Helen as thematically dominant in a number of ways. Helen is referred to by name 3 times in the early terms of her schooling, for the most part she is referred to as ‘she’. Of greater interest however, is the ongoing portrayal of Helen as ‘a slow learner’:

- **T:** A very slow learner. A below average child... A very quiet little girl...
  
  *(G2T1)*

- **T:** A very quiet girl. A slow learner...(G2T2) (see also G4 T2&3)
  
- **T:** Below average (G5T1)

There is almost a complete absence of interpersonal themes in the teacher’s reports which when juxtaposed with a similar profile of textual themes to mark logical

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138 Beeby (1968:2) on schooling in developing countries.
relations in the texts (justifications, cause/effect, sequence etc.) suggest in this case an
overriding concern with naming, labelling and identifying rather than with justifying or
interrogating Helen’s pedagogical circumstances.

The parent’s responses, unlike other reports, are dominated by references to
themselves, ‘I’ and ‘We’. It is the parent’s who place themselves in the subject
positions of their texts by foregrounding their feelings and thoughts. The parent’s texts
are richer both in interpersonal themes, eg ‘Thanks’; ‘Of course’, ‘If possible’, and
textual themes, eg ‘so’, because’, ‘And’. Clearly the parents’ opinions, views, desire’s
and justifications are central to their accounts.

The teacher’s initial remarks about Helen are marked by the comments:

*T: She’s always and above in appearance. V. good cute friendly and smiling
girl (GIT1)*

and encouragement,

*T: She has tried her best

T: She has improved a lot’ (GIT2)*

Yet from Grade 1 Term 1 the agonistic tenor of the relationship between teacher and
parents is set principally as a result of Helen’s poor end of term marks and the parents’
confronting observation that homework will be a necessity to help their child improve.
That Helen needs further help is clearly marked by the parents concerns declaring what
they consider to be the child’s educational needs;:

*P: ... she needs more assistance

P: ... she needs to concentrate more

The teacher appears aware of the parents’ concerns and reflects their preoccupation
with performance by referring to her efforts to improve:

*T: She has tried her best

T: She has improved a lot

The teacher mixes positive comments on the neat appearance of Helen with the
observation that she does not concentrate and her behaviour is causing some problems:

*T: ... sometimes talks away in the corner and doesn’t concentrate with

lesson

The parents endorse the comments and make suggestions as to how this problem may
be overcome:

*P: she does the same at home ...*

*P: she is becoming more naughty and lazy

*P: I would prefer her sitting in front, rather than at the back thanks (GIT3)*

In the second grade the teacher and parents both agree on a view of Helen as a ‘slow
learner’:
T: A very slow learner

P: 'Of course she is a slow learner
To remedy the problem it is the parent’s who suggest that ‘some kind of homework’ be sent home, so ‘that we can help her’. With little improvement in her results the parents are prepared to accept some of the responsibility (‘I guess we are pushing her too much’), to enter into a collaboration with the teacher to help Helen, and suggest that she shift back to Grade 1, ‘starting at Term 3’ (G2T2).

Unsuccessful in their request, the parents make a request to the headmaster, to have her repeat Grade two,

P: Our interest and will is to repeat grade 2...I have seen the headmaster and he said he’ll look into this matter with you (G2T4).

The request is not successful. The teacher’s comments in Grade three fail to refer to the request despite a reminder by the parents,

P: ... we too would like her to improve and work harder, even though we thought of her repeating grade 2 (G3T1).

Over the succeeding terms of Grade three, the teacher notes small improvements in Helen’s work. When improvements are made, the parents take the view that much more is needed and counsel the teacher that the child’s improvement, ‘needs more emphasising’. The parents acknowledge the need for Helen to ‘keep on trying’.

There is a sense in which the parent’s (who regard Helen’s results and behaviour as the prime areas of concern) sustain the overall direction of the reporting focus:

P: She will improve better if only she obey and behave (G4T1)

The teacher looks for improvement at the same time continuing to give meaning to the notion that Helen is a ‘slow learner’. By the second term of Grade 4 however, ongoing improvements are no longer apparent and the parents return to their request for Helen to repeat grades:

P: ... we wanted her to repeat grade 4...(G4T2)

P: Since last year we have asked for repeating the grade she was in. We wanted her to repeat (G4T3)

In what appears as a dismissal of the parents’ requests the teacher reports:

T: Needs alot of improvement. Good for next year

to which the parents respond,

P: We wanted her to repeat please do that next year ... repeat grade 4 (G4T4).

On the way to an unhappy result in the fifth year of schooling the parents lament, ‘my child is spoilt’. The parent’s comments both encapsulate frustrations, despairs and
unrealised hopes, as well as the incomplete way in which their child has been made by schooling.

P: I have nothing much to say because our requests have not been implemented. That is to repeat grade 4 this year (G5T1)

Helen: ‘Good for next year’

Reading upon the text

These exchanges between teacher and parents reveal various contradictory positions taken up by both with regard to the roles and meanings of schooling. From the outset despite what may be considered to be a common interest in Helen, the texts shift in their interactional and propositional alignment. Themes of failure and parent frustration are strong. In these reports the marked discourses of schooling are revealed as impersonal, dismissive and rigid in their response to parental concerns. The issue of providing Helen with opportunities to repeat work that has been covered or taught is a major parental concern. It is apparent from the reports and test results that Helen faces particular learning difficulties. It is the parents who voice the most active and direct concerns with requests for homework and opportunities for her to repeat grades. Despite a range of petitions, the parents find themselves in a powerless position with their requests receiving little acknowledgment. From the school’s point of view, allowing children to repeat grades puts pressure on the system as places in classrooms are seen to be scarce - classes are overcrowded notably in town schools. Schools do not have the resources to open their doors to repeating students. The notion of failure is seldom a challenge to teachers’ or schools’ autonomy though it effects the reputation of the school and Grade 6 teachers. Teachers and Principals hold prestigious positions within the community a status which is essentially a colonial construct sustained by ideologies which essentialise modern knowledges and practices and characterise traditional knowledges and practices as ‘primitive’ and dispensable.

Helen: ‘my child is spoilt’

Readings against the text

In PNG the education system is not designed to accommodate failure - children who fail to keep up academically are left behind. Helen is representative of that group of children who remain at the bottom of their class every year for the six years of their community schooling. Department administrators accept unproblematically the philosophy of normative distribution of performances and accept failure by design. Combining to underpin this acceptance are powerful ideologies linked to the creation of a liberal humanistic society through notions of individual effort, industry and productivity. The means and ends debate as it relates to national development and
schooling has marginalised many community voices and practices. As one student teacher cogently observed through the metaphor of customary exchange practices,

*It's always the case where we the silent majority will be at the edge of the receiving line* (Marcus, MTC Student).

To ‘receive’ is to be engaged in mainstream community life, it is to be obliged to reciprocate, it is to be wedded to a system of relationships, it is a metaphor for respect and recognition, it is a call to be prepared to receive and a stimulus for future preparations to repay, renew and endow. To be ‘on the edge of the receiving line’ suggests not only powerlessness but a lack of social qualification and recognition. Parents in towns are well enough informed and experienced to understand the ‘lifestyle’ benefits that education can lead to, often being beneficiaries of its social rewards or relatives to those who are. They are therefore little concerned with changing the system that has rewarded them and are keen to have those rewards bestowed upon their children. But the fate that awaits many children who the system fails, is also understood by children.

**Dinas (Grade 5 girl)**

School is everybody comes to school to learn to write and to read. School is not fight or to swear other people. Why we comes to learn? Because to learn and to go to big school and to teacher or be come nurse. School is very useful to us in our life. That’s why Because school is good. Some people don’t work hard in class so they won’t go to big school they’re go back to there homes and help there mother and father. Some there go home and they steal and police caught them and put them in Behon (prison) and lock them until the time police sent them outside to work they came outside. And Some they go to big school they work for they’re parents for there money.

Schooling in PNG, however, is in no position to guarantee the successful completion of all its children while it is underpinned by the ideology of normative assessment, where an individual’s learning is a measure of the learning of others. What many parents often don’t know is that their child’s grades are mediated by the results other children - the results are a particular reading of the academic status of the child. There is an underlying assumption that many children have the capacity to learn but lack the application. It is difficult to see how the oft written exhortation to ‘work harder’ will result in any more children becoming ‘successful’ graduates, particularly as the number of ‘above average’ children is limited under this system. The oft repeated signifiers ‘below average’, ‘average’, and ‘above average’ are powerful written images and constitute ideological divisions with the result that for many families and their children
there is social marginalisation as these discourses not only reproduce themselves but also their oppositions in ways that are 'scientifically' legitimised.

Throughout these reports the what of learning is held to be unproblematic and often unremarked upon by both teachers and parents. The how of learning is effectively reduced to formulaic depictions of different levels of children's compliant behaviour. In this some teachers and parents are complicit enlisting each others support to ensure the necessary compliance to advance their children's achievements.

To read against this text is to acknowledge that teachers working under this system are constrained by practices that make structural adjustments to such practices difficult and more than a mere technical adjustment.

What is absent, however, from these school reports are descriptions and accounts of learning as social processes, how literacy in the 'disciplines' is accomplished and why. To alter the reporting genre is to alter the terms of the relationship between teachers, parents and children. What is called for are not closed reportive/labelling texts, but descriptive, interpretive, and critical accounts which begin with schools and teachers foregrounding their own sensitivities, understandings and meanings to provide a means of engaging the negotiated and ideologically mediated world of schooling. This is not meant however, to leave unacknowledged the work that teachers do in finding spaces between the scripts of schooling in which to cultivate understandings and learnings.

What also is absent is an exploration of what it might mean to 'repeat' work and grades, and what role other dynamics like the social effects of other children's participations play in the structuring of classroom learning. 139

To read across these texts is also to acknowledge the worth of opening up a dialogue with parents about schooling and about their children's participation. A dialogue which should seek to expand upon the number and kind of participations that count.

Interestingly what appears in Bill’s reports, is a view of parent’s trying to do this, in Emma’s reports a view of parent’s who have accepted the categories which work for them, and in Helen’s reports a view of parents who experience the contradictions of these outcomes-based categories.

139 What legitimises transmission teaching methods and practices is the Grade 6 exam which is both an exit point for community school students and entry point for High School in most parts of PNG. Most of the community schools I visited in this area introduced children to much of the structure and format of the Grade 6 exam from Grade 1. Pupil progress is monitored from Grade 1 to Grade 6 through term tests modelled on the grade 6 exam, consisting of tests in Maths, English, Combined (General) Subjects (a social science mix).
Community School Report: Jack - commenced school at age 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE 1 TERM 1</th>
<th>GRADE 1 TERM 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m=55/60 p= 12/46</td>
<td>m=22/60 p= 41/46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Teacher’s Comments:* Jack is recognised as one of the bright boys and is one of the class leaders. Very good child. (orig)

*Parent’s Comments:* The exam result is noted. The family thank you for your good teaching resulting in Jack’s good performance. (orig)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE 1 TERM 2</th>
<th>GRADE 2 TERM 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m=44/60 p= 37/45</td>
<td>m=16/60 p= 41/44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Teacher’s Comments:* Jack has dropped down from term 1. He’s always sick and missed out some good lessons where he supposed to learn them. He’s a bright boy but he doesn’t try his best in class. Sometimes he displays his naughtiness and stubbornness whenever he wants to. Give more advice and needs to know more about traditional maths plus and minus systems. (orig)

*Parent’s Comments:* Mona (mother) in home province be noted. We have observed him declining in his duties at home. Mother spanked him from time to time. Thanks in dropping note to us. (orig)

*Teacher’s Comments:* Jack has been missing lesson in term 3 a lot. He didn’t behave well in term 3. He could have done well because he’s bright but because he was always absent from school he missed out a lot for test. He’s score is low. Help him. (orig)

*Parent’s Comments:* We appreciated your effort as a class teacher. We had number of times and argument over Jack on his behaviour and ended up belting him. The bad time he gave us was in the third term. We ask you to accept our appreciation of your effort with thanks. (orig)

*Teacher’s Comments:* His result shows he’s below average pupil. A slow learner. He tries hard but finds work difficult. Needs to improve on writing. Need to work much harder next term. (orig)

*Parent’s Comments:* (typed) Thanking you for the assessment sheet given to me for my comment. I agree with your comment on Jack. My assessment of Jack are:
When he is given responsibility to carry out without motivation, he either does it carefully; carelessly or refuses to do it. 2) When the responsibility is motivated, he takes control of what is there for him. I must stress that I always give him job with motivation and I realised that when he sees me working he gives me a hand and works along with me and does things that I admire for his own initiative. (orig)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE 2 TERM 2</th>
<th>GRADE 3 TERM 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m=30/60 p=36/44</td>
<td>m=57/90 p= 35/40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Teacher’s Comments:** Jack has missed school due to sore. His behaviour is too rough. His school work he does well but very careless. He listens and obey the teachers. Need to settle down and work hard.

*Parents’ Comments:* Comments noted. He is described even as he is at home. We decided to treat him differently in the next term.

**Teacher’s Comments:** He’s improving a bit this term. He’s still trying. I encourage him to work harder. (orig)

*Parents’ Comments:* nil

<table>
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<tr>
<th>GRADE 2 TERM 3</th>
<th>GRADE 3 TERM 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m=35/60 p= 35/43</td>
<td>m=44/90 p= 37/39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Teacher’s Comments:** Jack still finds school work hard. Very help to the teacher. Never wanting to ask if not clear. He can do better if he follows instruction given.

*Parents’ Comments:* nil

**Teacher’s Comments:** As for other terms. (orig)

*Parents’ Comments:* nil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE 2 TERM 4</th>
<th>GRADE 3 TERM 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m=28/60 p= 36/41</td>
<td>m=45/90 p= 37/39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Teacher’s Comments:** He’s below average child. Finds his school work hard. Book work is careless. Never like to accept and follow advice given by teacher. (orig)

*Parents’ Comments:* nil

**Teacher’s Comments:** Needs more assistance in his work Sometimes he becomes lazy.

*Parents’ Comments:* nil

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE 3 TERM 1</th>
<th>GRADE 4 TERM 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m=35/90 p=38/40</td>
<td>m=48/90 p=32/37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Teacher’s Comments:** Did a bit well in General but poor in english and Maths Needs to work harder. (orig)

*Parents’ Comments:* He is very rough and usually get spank. Give him spank if he runs too high. (orig)

**Teacher’s Comments:** His book work is improving. Hes trying and I’m giving him words of encouragement. (orig)

*Parents’ Comments:* Disapointing result. Clear sign of third defeat in the system in my family. We are trying in our own way to help children. (orig)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE 4 TERM 2</th>
<th>GRADE 4 TERM 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m=40/90 p= 33/38</td>
<td>m=30/90 p= 34/37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Teacher's Comments:** Does well in class but doesn't take time in doing his test. (orig)

**Parents' Comments:** Advice me where or kind of content he needs remedial work. I will help to give him some remedial work. (orig)

**Teacher's Comments:** as for term 1

**Parents' Comments:** nil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE 4 TERM 3</th>
<th>GRADE 5 TERM 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m=45/90 p= 33/37</td>
<td>m=20/120 p= 36/36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Teacher's Comments:** as for term 1

**Parents' Comments:** nil

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**Jack: 'a bright boy but ...'**

*Reading within the text*

Jack is the primary focus of these reports, with secondary references to the parents. With the scene set in Grade 1 Jack never settles down in school and is consistently ranked near the bottom of the class throughout the duration of these reports. Jack is reported as

- *T:* ...*one of the bright boys ... one of the class leaders* *(G1T1)*
- *T:* *a bright boy but ... doesn't try his best* *(G1T2)*
- *T:* *a bright boy but ... he was always absent* *(G1T3)*
- *T:* *... below average pupil...slow learner* *(G2T1)*
- *T:* *... below average child... finds his school work hard* *(G3T1)*
- *T:* *A below average boy he's poor in all areas* *(G5T1)*

The parents' responses are centred on Jack and their attempts to help him improve. His difficulties are a constant concern to his parents who report behaviour problems at home and the frustration they feel at seeing no change in his school results despite efforts to help and encourage him:

- *P:* *We have observed him declining in his duties at home* *(G1T2)*
- *P:* *We had number of times ... argument over jack on his behaviour and ended up belting him* *(G1T3)*
- *P:* *... when he sees me working he gives me hand .. and does things that I admire for his own initiative* *(G2T1)*
- *P:* *He is very rough and usually get spank* *(G3T1)*
*P: Clear sign of third defeat in the system in my family (G4T1)*

**Jack: 'He is ... even as he is at home'**

*Reading upon the text*

The interpersonal aspects of the dialogue between teacher and parents is not well aligned. The parents work to develop an interpersonal relation with the teacher through the use of interpersonal themes such as: 'thank you'; 'thanks'; 'we ask you to accept our appreciation'; 'thanking you'; 'advice me...'. The teacher's efforts to join this kind of exchange are limited and put in the form of directions to the parents on how to help Jack:

*T: Give more advice, Help him, encourage him to work harder*

*T: ... needs more assistance in his work, and some more developed explanations of his difficulties.*

The teacher's texts, however, focus upon Jack's absences from school, his 'naughtiness and stubbornness', his behaviour and the need to improve in his work. The teacher reports that he doesn't like to 'ask if not clear', 'follow instructions given'; accept and follow advice given by teacher', that he 'shows little interest in school work'. The parents fail to comment on eight occasions throughout these reports following somewhat the lead given by a number of abbreviated teacher's reports: ' ... as for other terms'; 'as for term 1'. Overall the parents' appear to accept the judgements of the school:

*P: I agree with your comment on Jack (G2T1)*

*P: He is described even as he is at home (G2T2)*

*P: Give him spank if he runs too high (G3T1)*

Though unhappy, they accept the terms of the school, its categories for making judgments, its descriptions, labels and ideology. In the face of what they refer to as their 'third defeat in the system' rather than seeking more detailed accounts of Jack's problems or looking for ways to change the system to make it more transparent and responsive to the needs of their child, they look to their own resources to provide a solution:

*P: We are trying in our own way to help children (G4T1)*

such a turn is short lived:

*P: Advice me where or kind of content he needs remedial work. I will give him some remedial work' (G4T2)*

this ambitious desire is met with the teacher's first term report in Grade five:

*T: A below average boy he's poor in all areas. Shows little interest in school work*
The teacher’s reports highlight Jack’s failure to identify with the goals of the school. It is a reading which is not uncommon among children who develop an early ambivalence as to the value of schooling and its practices in their own lives:

**Philip (Grade 5 boy)**

Oh school I love you  
And you love me  
You teach me many things that I doesn’t know  
How good you are  
You are my best friend  
I play with you and you play with me  
We love its other  
But I dont love you treim by yu kisim.

(Trans: But I don’t love ‘ you try and you will get it’)

**Jack: “Ours to Love and Discipline”: the construction of social order**

*Readings against the text*

There is a reading of these texts which acknowledges Jack’s ‘reading against’ the discourses of schooling and home. Such readings in Jack’s case may be attributed to the increasing colonisation of discourses of family life by the discourses of the school. There is a sense in which this family’s acceptance of the ‘system’ is an acceptance of, and trust in, its codes, practices and expectations to the point where family relations are mediated by the discourses of schooling, where parent’s look for advice (directly or indirectly) from the school to teach and discipline their children (see G4T2). Jack’s trouble at home is related to his problems at school, his parents responses to his domestic behaviour are mediated by the messages they get from school. In constructing Jack as the site of the problem the complicity of schooling discourses is made transparent. There are however, places in Jack’s early schooling where some resistance to the ‘identity -work’ of the school is undertaken by Jack’s father (G2T1). In attempting to provide a counter identity for his son, Jack’s Father reads against the texts of the school. Firstly, prefaced by some indirect advice to the teacher that Jack works better when he is encouraged (*P: I always give him a job with motivation*) he provides a reflective and observant account of working with his son, that Jack’s is helpful, that his experience of work is collaborative,

*P: When he sees me working he gives me a hand and works along with me (G2T1)*

This contrasts with the school’s emphasis on individually managed work and is a tacit reading against the texts of the school, its practices and labels. Secondly, and much
later in Jack’s schooling the father reports that the family is attempting to help the children ‘in our own way’, signalling disillusionment with school’s construction of Jack, what little seems to have been accomplished academically and behaviourally. Examples of such resistance can also be found in other contexts and in other forms. (see Intertext 5)

Jack is clearly resistant to the school’s ‘ordering’ processes, processes which are explicitly signified. High on the front wall of a similar classroom the teacher’s ‘Motto’ ‘Ours to Love and Discipline’ signals a particular view of children and teacher’s work. There is a sense from this motto and its context, that while children are valued but they are also errant, that schooling has a commission to regulate children’s behaviour and identities in particular ways. An understanding of the regulatory environments of schools is important in terms of contributing to an understanding of the ‘identity-work’ with which they are engaged. Identity work which is akin to Bourdieu’s concept ‘habitus’ and Gee’s notion of ‘soul’ the latter defined as the mental structures through which an individual perceives and appreciates the physical and social world. A soul is achieved through the experience each uniquely endowed individual has of holding various’ positions’ in social space, the space of families, ethnic and other socioculturally defined groups, and various social institutions like schools, jobs and governments. It is an internalisation of the social world, and it can be built upon contradiction, tension, and instability (1992:83), (see also Bourdieu 1990:130-31).

The regulatory regimes of community schools are bound up in the expression of sets of classroom and school rules as exemplified by the following:

*Beon Community School Grade 4*

**Class Rules Term I**

Objective: The children will follow the the (sic) school rules when in school or at home

I must

1. Keep the classroom clean (the classroom has a dirt floor and is made of ‘bush materials’ sago stems, leaves and bush timber)
2. Come to class early
3. Knock before enter (the classroom does not have a door)

I must not

4. fight in the class
5. swear in the class
6. steal in the class

**School Rules**

I must not

- swear in the school
- fight in the school
- steal in the school
I must
• speak English in the school
• respect the school property
• respect my parents and my teachers
• give one Day to God
• come to school everyday

Sagalau Community School Grade 3

Classroom Rules
I must speak English all time
I must not tear pages off or scratch books
I must not talk while Teacher is talking
I must ask before I get somebodys thing
I must not stand or walk on the desks
I must keep my classroom clean both inside and outside
I must pay respect to my teacher, visitors and friend
I must play at right time
I must always bring my tools every Thursday
If you obey rules you will be a good child

School Rules
A classroom is a place where to learn
Do not play in the classroom
Do not eat or chew in the classroom
You must not left Rubbish inside or outside the classroom
You must not stealing fighting or swearing
We must bring our breakfast everyday

Erima Community School Grade 5

The school rules

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rules</th>
<th>Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Talking in classroom</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. playing in the classroom</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not speaking in English</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Eating/chewing in the classroom</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Shouting in classroom</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Hurting others/bad behaviour</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Damaging school properties</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Stealing in school/anywhere</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Cheating in class/school</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Coming late to school</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Despite coming from different schools in different areas there is a strong uniformity in these institutional orders. They provide not just an overt regulatory context for schooling, but explicitly teach that learning requires the construction of particular physical and social environments and human subjects which value and devalue particular behaviours. As examples of ideology in discourse these texts reduce various social complexities to sets of behavioural rules aimed at producing the 'good child'. Many of the behavioural constraints not only appear to reflect mainstream community values they are also constitutive of them. The direction to speak English 'all time' in schools seeks to replace other languages at school. In many respects it is manifest as the suppression or attempted suppression (see Chapter 5) of linguistic difference and in extreme cases, the prevention of children from beginning school because they can not speak Tok Pisin or English: the social construction of linguistic apartheid.

The dualistic (must/must not) construction of classroom environments is an illustration of the way regulatory discourses are constituted through contrasts. These rules operate not only to position and inscribe children but also to lock out other interpretations of events through the illusion of covering both sides of an issue. They are not only evidence of the intention to subjugate children to the discourses of schooling but also evidence of various kinds of resistance to that subjugation. Unpacking the rules enables them to be seen as responses to particular actions and behaviours -

English is not spoken all the time; pages from books are sometimes torn out, marked or written on; talking goes on while the teacher talks; standing or walking on desks occurs; the classroom and the area outside of the classroom is not always clean and tidy; respect is not always shown to teachers, visitors and friends in the way expected; play occurs at other than prescribed times; grounds cleaning tools are not always brought to school, nor breakfast; some children swear, steal and fight. (Pickford: Field notes gloss)

Each of these areas highlight specific indifferences and resistances to the discourses of schooling. That these rules are so explicitly manifest in classrooms is a testimony to the strength of resistance with which they are confronted by some children.

This regulatory environment aims to commit children to regimes of social practices felt to be appropriate at school and at home. Children are expected to set aside what are to them socially normative ways of talking and behaving and take on the practices of the school. These aspects of the regulative environment of the classroom are linked by teachers to broader social practices and issues -

The use of only English as a means of accessing modern knowledge; care of classroom resources (one teacher threatened a child who mistreated materials that their materials would be passed on to their up and coming brothers or
sisters); the primacy of teacher talk and teacher in the community as a
transmitter of modern knowledge; respect for the property of the school and the
property of others; cleanliness in the school and the community; respect for
teachers and strangers and friends within/out school; notions of time regulating
activities of the day; school grounds cleaning as a community activity,
community care and maintenance of the school. (Pickford: Field notes gloss)
In this way the school builds itself into the broader community consciousness with the
attendant ideological notion of community ‘ownership’ of schools, where communities
seeking access to the perceived benefits of schooling are expected to build and maintain
classrooms, teachers’ houses, provide land for gardens and support teachers as
members of their communities. Where schools fail to provide expected benefits
problems often arise both in terms of parents stopping children from going to school
(see Appendix Nine), and children sometimes resorting to ‘raskal’ activities.\textsuperscript{140}

\textbf{Child labour: apprenticing children to ‘work’ for a living}
The conventional view of schooling is that its about providing children with access to
the social practices of a ‘modern’ world. What is not well acknowledged is the tension
this creates for many children as they confront ways of working, ways of using
language, ways of acting that are articulated differently in their families and
communities. Various contradictions are evident in these statements about these
children’s work in the different contexts of school and home.

\textit{Jack}

\textit{T: He tries hard but finds work difficult (G2T1)}
\textit{P: \ldots when he sees me working... he works along with me and does things that I admire
for his own initiative (G2T1)}

\textsuperscript{140} Mr K told me how he was asked by the Provincial Education Office to come to Sagalau as there were problems with Mis village (his village) affecting the school (vandalism). “Mis was popular for break and enter”. Mis had a reputation for rascal activity. Mr K visited with youths and talked “hard” to them telling them their
behaviour was bad. He talked to their parents. The local leaders did not want to shame
the parents and would not speak to them. The village was a “big-head village”. He had
the police come and deal with many of the youth. Parents would not answer his words -
they knew their children were rascals but they did nothing to stop it. Mr K told them
“they will call your name” i.e. people will associate your name with bad things for a
long time and their will be shame in your family.
Now that the problems have stopped, the villagers “express” his name. They remember
when Mr K came with hard words and stopped the criminal activities. Even the youth
who have grown up say to him that he told them things that their families had never told
them, things that they were doing which were wrong, and now they are happy to have
stopped doing these things.
Nava

P: His work outside is alright (G2T2)
T: He doesn’t think much about his class work (G2T3)
P: Does he understand the work yet? (G5T1)

Bill

T: ... his book work is very good (G2T1)
P: ... he is not a boy to disregard what others say when they give him work to do (G2T1)

Gwen

P: ... a girl who listens and works around the house ...(G2T3)
T: Book work is always neat (G3T1)

Community school children have particular views which both reproduce and critique the discourses of schooling.

Delina

But for me I like to come to school because I want to learn how to work, read, write and do all sorts of things in school. (Schooling as an end in itself)

Philip

Oh school I love you .. But I don’t love (,) you treim by yu kisim (you try and you will get it)

Not only do these texts reflect different notions of work, ‘inside’ school and ‘outside’ school, marked in relation to school and not community, there are also traces of different gendered alignments to work. However, as Illich notes, other divisions are also an inherent characteristic of modern work practices.

Gender-specific tasks are not new; all known societies assign sex-specific work roles... But no matter how we search other cultures, we cannot find the contemporary division between two forms of work, one paid and the other unpaid, one credited as productive, and the other concerned with reproduction and consumption, one considered heavy and the other light, one demanding special qualifications and the other not, one given high social prestige and the other relegated to ‘private’ matters (Illich in Dwyer, Wilson and Wyn 1985:11).
Through the signifier, ‘work’, two dominant discourses can be traced, one which has its origins in the daily interactions of human activity and relations (as marked by Bill’s cooperativeness; Gwen’s domestic helpfulness at school and her home-work; Jack’s working relationship with his father), and the other linked to the notion of livelihood, working for a living and the modern labour ‘market’. Gee unpacks this problematic in these terms:

Think, for instance, of what the idiom ‘work for a living’ really implies: one gives one’s work (effort) to someone else in order to have a life; someone else, the one I ‘work for’...is somehow entitled to get something from me (effort, work, time) in order that I should get back ‘a living’, a human life... But there is another, much older perspective: people don’t trade work for life and they do not need to ‘earn’ their lives, rather work (activity, effort) like play, is just part of living (1990:93).

It here argued that the ideologies of schooling invade community ideologies by colonising cultural understandings and forms of consciousness, speaking social practices which exclude and marginalise particular denotations of words like ‘work’, particularly those associated with customary practices. Schooling privileges a separation of work (and workplace) from other aspects of life as reflected in the way children’s participation in schooling is characterised, and the necessity for many children to leave home and board in order to go to school. What the above reports illustrate is the extent to which the influences of schooling reach far beyond the classroom into the lives of families and communities, that such influences are often disruptive to family and community life, in this, schooling is implicated in alienating community work from community life, children and parents from their own lives and families.

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141 The word ‘work’ in its nominal and transitive form is used 123 times throughout these reports.

142 Community schools are not village-based but community-based, serving a number of differing communities and language groups making full integration back into any particular village life more difficult to achieve. Historically, with the move to replace territory primary school with community schools, a closer link between schools and communities was expected, in order to engineer the idea of preparing students for a range of futures: village/community life; further education; and waged employment. Lancy suggests, however, that there is little community backing for the ideology of integrating school and village life, communities do not support Community Schools, they support primary education to the degree that the school in their area meets the goals that were laid down firmly in the 60’s, namely the preparation of their children for further education and wage - employment (Lancy 1979: 2,3).
Reading across the grain of School Reports

Up until now these texts have been read diachronically (longitudinally) as messages across time, they may also be read synchronically as singular instances. To read these reports synchronically is to compare the means by which children are being represented at any one time. What is evident from the following text extracts where each position separated by ‘;’ represents a child and (-) represents no comment for that child in that term, is the homogeneity of focuses and expressions used.

For comparative purposes representations of girls and boys are juxtaposed.

(G1T1) quiet girl; she listens; overall she’s very good
(G1T1) not a boy who talks; hard working boy and a leader; one of the class leaders
(G1T3) neat appearance; has good mark; very good work
(G1T3) okay at school; good writing; didn’t behave well

(G2T2) a slow learner; an average girl, an above average child
(G2T2) class work is good; class work is okay; school work he does well

(G2T2) a very quiet girl; very quiet only talk at times; likes to talk when finished her work
(G2T2) very easy going boy; he takes it easy; behaviour is too rough

(G3T1) marks are low; good marks; marks are good
(G3T1) marks are very good; good marks; marks are not very good

(G5T1) below average; an average girl; above average child
(G5T1) Work is okay; knowledge is poor; below average boy

These repetitive texts have the effect of stabilising particular meanings about the nature of children’s performance in school. Two things are strongly apparent, firstly, is the difference between the ways girls and boys are represented. Girls are represented more frequently by the terms ‘average’, ‘above average’ or ‘below average’. This suggests that less attention is paid to the details of girls’ performances, that they are reducible to this form of measurement shorthand based on what is considered to be an overall class performance. This display also shows that the teachers classify girls according to their quietness/talkativeness and the boys are classified at times in terms of their degree of easy-goingness and class work.

These are examples of what may be referred to as the ‘sciencing’ of teaching, the construction of a measurement metalanguage to categorise children’s ‘work’ at school,
an attempt to express degrees of performance in terms of single unique meanings (tidying up the world - ignoring its messiness - seeing the child through the measurement category) at the same time constructing a closed world of expertise, the 'high culture' of the learned.

In some respects this amounts to the construction of a virtual scientistic reality where notions like 'average', below average'; 'slow learner', etc., establish an idealised system of talk, and an objectivity which ignores the actual and the circumstantial, dispensing with the need to see different children in terms of different categories, though in the above examples, the boys are represented with greater diversity, replacing everyday discourse with 'scientific' discourse, a process which begins in the first stages of schooling as the following example illustrates. The following are a range of teacher's comments which were written against children's names and displayed on the classroom noticeboard at the end of each term.

*Evaluation Term 1 Grade 1 Beon Community School*

(n) = no. of children defined this way

dull - learns slowly (10)
average - learns quite well (5)
average - learns slowly (3)
bright - learns well (3)
very bright learns fast (2)
bright - learns fast
average - learns fast
alert - speaks well
slow - speak well
dull - slow learner
fast - speaks well
average - speaks and works slowly
very dull - learns very slowly

Secondly, differences amongst teachers from grade to grade as they construct variations on a single central category to distinguish between children, as in this example:

(G2T2) a very quiet girl; very quiet only talk at times; likes to talk when finished her work

(G3T1) marks are low; good marks; marks are good

(G5T1) below average; an average girl; above average child
Underpinning these differences, however, is the broader ideological homogeneity of outcomes-based discourses.

**Conclusion**

There are examples in these readings of the way different sets of shared interpretive conventions (Miller 1994; Schiffren 1994), empower parents, notably in the reports to Emma. There is another sense, however, in which parents' texts, like those for Gwen and Bill are empowered despite an absence of 'shared interpretive conventions'. These texts can be read as resistant texts empowered through their non-recognition of hierarchical differences between the positions of school and community. In this respect this analysis pushes the theory of 'shared interpretive conventions' and its relationship to the notion of social power, and in the process problematises normative notions of empowerment showing how contradictory discourses sustain different kinds of social power.

There are points along the way in other reports where the issues being addressed are also initiated by parents (Helen), where the matter becomes one of determining to what extent teachers set these initiations aside and to what extent they are embraced and engaged. The bulk of these reports, however, illustrate the extent to which families are colonised by the practices, categories, and values of schooling and the alienating and fragmenting effects this has upon their primary discourses.

What threatens in the post-coloniality of Papua New Guinea is the continued subjectification of individuals and communities to the discourses of 'ontological individualism', the belief that 'the individual has a primary reality whereas society is a second-order, derived or artificial construct' (Scollon & Scollon 1995:207). An ideology apparent within dominant western discourses of schooling which naturalises the notion that learning is solely a mental phenomenon, and which privileges a view of the learner as self-constructing and autonomous.

A corollary to this concern is the extent to which teachers continue to be inscribed by discourses which valorise aspects of teaching and learning as natural, impartial and inevitable and through which children and parents are convinced that learners owe their scholastic and social destinies to their possession (or lack) of 'gifts' and 'talents' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977:210).

Branson and Miller observe that western schooling operates in terms of ideological interpretations of individuality and equality where 'society is understood as a collection of individuals responsible only to themselves', where... 'success is characterised not as a culturally determined and socially structured process but as a result of ... individual zeal and intelligence (1991:179).
While the above texts uncover traces, hints and allusions to opposing ideological positions, other responses from other parents disclose a greater familiarity with the discourses of schooling, and more overtly highlight the tensions provoked by ‘individualistic’ constructions of children.

P1: Thanks for the comment, of course she is a slow learner. So, to help her could you send some kind of homework with her that we can help her.
P2: She maintains the place but needs improvement, she has been counselled for some.
P3: How come his mark is not good is he learning anything or not?
P4: Disappointing result. Clear sign of third defeat in the system in my family. We are trying in our own way to help (our) children.

What is common in these responses is not just the extent of these parents frustrations, but the underlying extent to which they are somewhat complicit in the schools’ characterisations of their children. Such responses, however, illustrate the power of institutional discourse through labels and categories, to ‘blanket out the idiosyncrasy of individual situations’ (Reid 1993:23) and to inscribe the subjectivities of individuals and communities through what Foucault refers to as,

... (power’s) capillary form of existence, the point where (it) reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives (1980:39).

Yet despite these ideological positionings these texts also reveal signs of parental resistance. For some parents the taken-for-grantedness of schooling is becoming a contested matter.

There is a very real sense that children are left out of these accounts, that their stories are not articulated. Through the various readings of these texts, this study implicitly argues for a more inclusive educational practice considerate of subordinated and marginalised discourses of children and their communities and a reconsideration of the meritocratic ideologies of schooling.

In conclusion, these various readings have been an attempt to explore schooling as a social practice by examining the relations between institutional and community discourses. A perspective which has underlined the way schooling discourses are complicit in the structuring of social reality and articulated in the community; how ‘naive’ community discourses can be marginalised and ideology operationalised through the signifying practices of schooling. Drawn from the borders of western educational practice these texts yield traces and threads relevant to an examination of
educational practices in other communities. Not only in terms of correspondences, but in terms of a problematic which probes the extent to which the practices and conventions of schooling are shaped in the multiple discourses of its client communities, and the extent to which such discourses are put under erasure. I want to ask using Mantovani’s frame,

If it is true that the community is the highest Melanesian value and thus only what hurts community is bad, is there any justification for the present (schooling) system which considers the individual in isolation? (1987:200).
Conclusions
Chapter 9

Much remains submerged, but what seems important so far is that a view of pedagogy as situated social and cultural practice may critically inform what currently counts as teaching and teacher education in PNG. 143 Through critically confronting issues of English language teaching, student teacher epistemologies, teaching practice and institutional power, these studies attempt to bring some of what is at the edges of the discourses of schooling in PNG to the centre of social and pedagogical attention, to explore some of what is absent from mainstream accounts of teaching and teacher education. The following conclusions reflect an interest in drawing together various significances and readings generated from the preceding research, to stimulate some new perceptions of, and questions to be asked of, schooling and teacher education in PNG.

Making the social relations of schooling more transparent and meaningful

One thing which emerges from trawling across these non-contiguous sites, is the way that pedagogical practices and community interests are often differentiated by ‘schooled’ social relations, an interactional politics and ethics characterised by contending identifications and meanings. In each of the studies and several of the intertexts, tensions exist between ‘local’ and ‘schooled’ definitions of schooling particularly when expected pedagogical goals (‘correct’ sentence patterns, children’s writing, particular classroom behaviours, high test results, etc.) are sensed to be unrealisable. Here, the meaning of the relationships between teachers and children, student-teachers and children, teachers and parents, and parents and children, becomes more ambiguous, slipping between their differing perspectives of the situation. In the loss of meaning, institutional discourses (with their institutional memories), fill the space, as in the cases where the authorities of schooling (wielded by teachers, student-teachers, headmasters, parents-as -teachers, children-as-teachers) invoke the practices and regulations of the institution to override the authorities of local knowledges and meanings. It would appear that the practices and idealisms of schooling respond to this

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143 I would argue that the relevance of an examination of schooling practices to teacher education, is that the discourses of schooling mediate various dislocations in teacher training programs, that without a critical understanding of the social, cultural and political effects of education structures, teacher education risks being rendered largely benign.
loss of meaning in ways which excludes the legitimacy of social memories like
intergenerational community memories and accounts of how schooling has mediated a
settlement of social and cultural dislocation in PNG, the memories and accounts of the
fine grained structuring of community members as various ‘schooled’ subjects. Such
knowledge exclusions contribute to a lack of transparency of the constituting influences
and effects of schooled experiences, particularly as they impact upon the social and
cultural relations of schooling and community.
What may be useful to improve transparency is the inclusion in Teachers’ College
curriculums articulated accounts of the nature of the social agreements that schooling
tacitly constructs between teachers, children, parents and the wider community.
Looking at what those agreements are, the assumptions underlying them, why they are
sought, how they occur, increasing the level of transparency of practices, interests,
desires, perspectives, memories and voices of participants.
A transparency which facilitates the identity and interrogation of the messages of
schooling, as such messages are carried in the interactional significations of classroom
interactions, school rules, end of Term reports, Parents and Citizens meetings,
curriculum theories and plans, teaching practicums and practices, student teacher
supervisions, and into the desires and imaginations of children, student teachers,
teachers and parents. A transparency which also reveals the social and cultural
situatedness and articulations of these meanings and their diverse significations,
revealing how and what schooling means to and for individuals and local communities.
A transparency which shows as well, that the modernist ideals of schooling, as theorised
by some student teachers in terms of the social and economic transformation of PNG’s
‘primitive’ communities through the schooling of their children (see Chapter 4), to be
constitutive of a variety of discriminatory pedagogical and social practices and beliefs.
For here it is argued that many of the classroom difficulties student teachers recorded
can be linked to the way modernist ideals tutored their expectations without this level of
transparency, where there was a sense that the values and practices of modernity could
be replicated in the lives of children and their communities with limited dislocation of
existing community discourses.

Looking for new epistemological and pedagogical positions
Part of this research has been interested in the nature of student teachers’
epistemological and pedagogical orientations as platforms for their interpretations of
what counts as knowledge, teaching and learning. While the majority of student
teachers’ orientations reflected various articulations of the ideological binary
‘modern/traditional’ there were some which took up other positions which aimed to
provide sanctuary for local community practices, theories, positions and desires. And
while there was a strong interest in gaining mastery of the means and mediums of
teaching underpinned by the view that children were at school to receive curriculum
knowledge, there was at least for one student teacher, a view that schooling was also
about gaining and utilising ‘school knowledge’, learning and engaging directly, the
institutional life of the school (see O, Chapter 4). 144

Here in these two positions, lies an opportunity for new discourse and the articulation of
new subject positions: Firstly through the legitimisation of community knowledges,
practices and agencies through schooling; and secondly through the empowered
participations of children in determining what counts as the pedagogical and regulatory
regimes of schooling.

Towards improving knowledge of self and ‘Others’

It might be asked how it is that teacher training excludes an examination of student
teachers’ frames of assimilation. The use of student journals was an attempt to reveal
aspects of these frames related to different kinds of teaching experience, and prompt
their interrogation.

Students’ journal texts were often multi-‘voiced’ reflecting different roles, identities and
circumstances. 145 Their use as a reflexive pedagogical tool, varied greatly and in most

144 For children, gaining ‘school knowledge’ begins for many in the first
moments and days of school as this account illustrates.

My first day at school is still green in my mind. We had been cutting grass
that morning when the school bell rang. When I saw the teachers go over their
rooms, I went to my elder brother who had been at school for some time and
said to him “The eating bell has rang, shall we go and eat our kaukau?”
I had hardly time to fill my lungs with a fresh intake of oxygen, when the roar of
laughter defeated me. I looked around, to see everyone shedding tears with laughter.
Sweat drenched my private parts. To cover my shame, I stuck out my tongue, scratched
my head and rushed behind the classrooms. Later that day my brother told me that the
eating bell rings when the sun has risen to the centre of the sky. Thus, I began to
become conscious of ‘time’, and the importance of doing certain things at certain times
at school. Lelika Kehenae (Student teacher)

145 Jane teaching at Utu Community School records various ways Journal writing
assisted her in learning about teaching:
As a record for analysis,
   As we know writing and thinking about what we did once helps us very much to
look back closely to the activities we did, that is to discover better ways to
improve it. (Entry 1)
To express unspoken feelings and thoughts,
   While I was writing this journal one thought came to my mind that, by doing
such things like writing journals we express our feelings or write down what we
think inside us where we do not openly speak it out. (Entry 2)
To solve problems through the act of writing,
cases surveillance of the self was intimately linked to students’ surveillances of ‘Others’. Thinking back, a more developed level of pedagogical meta-knowledge may have been facilitated by helping students to refine their interpretive frames by re-constituting the ‘privateness’ of their responses in terms of their ‘publicness’, as the discoursal manifestation of social processes and cultural meanings. In such an analysis more room could be made to account for the ideological and practical influence of ‘Others’, what Lacan in Appel (1995:171) refers to as

... a place, a point, any dialectical partner, a horizon within the subject, a horizon beyond the subject, the unconscious, language, the signifier.

This point is best illustrated through the issue of classroom relations. What was often not seen in ‘educative’ terms were the micro transactions of power that operated between student teachers and their children. Unanticipated behaviours were often not viewed as attempts by children to negotiate what they were expected to do in response to student teachers’ instructions, but more as a disruption to a regime of practices and anticipations to which all children were expected to submit and conform, which they were expected to learn or have learned.

The issue of classroom relations was confronted by student teachers mostly, (but not entirely), as a matter of management and control. It was for some student teachers a surprise that their expectations of the ‘unknowing’ subject were both confirmed and interrupted as different children set about exercising their agencies in ways which disrupted images of the ‘schooled’ subject. It is in the midst of these ambiguities that students were somewhat compelled to place their expectations, assertions and certainties under scrutiny, review and discipline.

**Changing practices**

One question that emerges here, is that of the nature of transformational pedagogical practices in a social and cultural world already reeling under the influence of ideological and structural change? What refinements and shifts are possible when students already see themselves as agents and subjects of change? What new disciplinary regimes do transformative pedagogical practices impose? While one dimension of transformative work focuses upon individuals changing their practices, another perhaps more productive and culturally sensitive approach may be to illuminate for student teachers, the partiality of the processes of their subjectification as teachers, to show how what

When writing events and experiencing the event itself that happened, you will learnt alot. Example, at this moment when I’m writing this piece of journal here, I found out that it helps us teachers to find solutions to our problems. (Entry 7) the apparent difficulty of putting experiences into words and creating new ‘critical’ significances.
comes to be commonly known, the norms of practice, represent particular interests and investments, and allow student teachers the space to negotiate appropriate adjustments, and insert their accounts into the ‘training’ curriculum. This invites a consideration of the way pedagogical training often represents, both student teachers and the children they come to teach, as objects of teaching not as active subjects, in the process reifying the roles of teachers and children. In making the transfer from the training institution to the institution of the school less disjunctive, students’ knowledges, experiences, and dialogic capacities need to be activated, they need to be engaged in conversations which might lead to broader understandings of how they are produced by community and institutional discourses, and what is spoken into existence when different pedagogies are employed. Such an orientation requires a continuation and an extension of the forms of engagement and conversation which have been begun here, perhaps as Davies suggests, the enactment of

... kind(s) of conversation in which each listens to the other, not to find the weak points through which it can be entered and dismantled, but to comprehend what is said from the point of view of the speaker and to see whether one’s own understanding can be elaborated, made richer, expanded in the light of the new way of seeing made possible by listening to the other. ‘Do you mean ...’, ‘Is that the same as ...’, ‘That sounds like the time I ...’ are the kinds of opening responses used in such conversations ... In listening to others in this way, one multiplies the possible ways in which the world can be seen and experienced, one achieves through such conversation, the possibility of multiple ‘ I’s ’ (selves) who can know and talk about the world from more than the one position of a single ego locked into a unitary interpretation of the world (1994:27).

The politics of identity and desire

The four students whose work has been represented and interpreted as a part of this research, display different assimilations to teaching. Drawing upon the notion of discourse as the forming of subjectivities, combinations of ‘saying-(writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing’ (Gee 1989:6,7), what is significant is the way these elements appear somewhat disjunctive in student teachers’ accounts, how, mediated by teaching experiences, what is said and done confronts what is believed, in a personal/public politics. Kathy’s politics of the social imagination in which she imagines children prepared with ‘living knowledge’ to take their place in a modern world, but confronts the children’s unassimilatedness to schooling practices, unsettling her own idealised teaching authorities; Mona’s politics of social cooperation mediating differences and interactions, attempting to override the instinctiveness to judge in binary ways by seeking justifications, confronting the moral slippages inherent in her efforts to contain
others' (children's and teachers') interpretations; Solomon's politics of personal/public identity, confronting the 'rightness' of his expectations and judgements and experiencing an ambivalent sense of internal and external agreement; Marcus' politics of self-determination and social worth confronts (and reportedly overcomes) the vulnerabilities associated with the possibility of personal/public failure.

There is a sense in which these student teachers, caught in the midst of their own cultural politics, desire a sense of coherence, inclusion and autonomy, that what they perceive to be their pedagogical work of transforming communities, be orderly and meaningful. But equally there is a sense in students' accounts, that these desires are undermined by their grounding in the epistemological separation, the colonially constructed division, of the 'traditional' and the 'modern', the ideologies into which their practices are articulated, a separation underpinning, in varying degrees, the particular 'cultural' politics and ethics of their practices.

Student teachers practical teaching experiences stimulated this identity work through processes of defining the Other. In the cases investigated, student teachers' identity work drew upon particular discourses of 'schooling', 'social justice', 'gender' and 'individuality', the categories of these discourses drawn from broader community and institutional practices providing ways of understanding the children they taught as well as the circumstances of their practice.

For these student teachers the meaningfulness of their practical experiences appeared to increase with the degree of social and or pedagogical solidarity that was able to be constructed with children across various teaching moments, solidarity underpinned by the particular theories of community and schooling that each student teacher held.

While there was an acknowledgment that children's individual differences existed, they often appeared to get in the way where such theories lacked the flexibility to accommodate unanticipated responses to their teaching. For example, student teacher accounts revealed only emerging recognition that their teaching significations could be legitimately read by children in multiple, and sometimes contradictory ways.

The intolerances of schooling

Any disciplinary power creates boundaries. As an 'apparatus of cultural regulation', pedagogical discourse as it has been represented here, has particularly wide ranging effects. Accounts of schooling as represented in the end of term school reports reveal a tendency to define children and some parents as 'objects' of pedagogy and schooling. Children are defined in terms of behavioural and academic norms, and parents positioned in the discourse of Term Reports as being 'schooled' or 'unschooled'. As with the political economy of many of the classroom practices outlined in the different sites above, the mediation of discourses of agreement and solidarity by a politics of
conformity was a strong current also evident in the reporting practices of the school. Though discourses of agreement and conformity are ideologically distinct, when collapsed by pedagogical practices, they define the boundaries of 'otherness' in authoritarian ways. Teaching and learning, and reporting their effects, are reduced to authoritative statements, instructions and questions, while children’s and parents’ responses have meaning only in terms of what counts as 'schooled' discourse.

To engage children and parents as subjects and agents of dialogic discourse would be to engage in 'genuine' reciprocal interactions where each is inserted into the flow of dialogue in explorative and intimate ways, where agency is governed by a respect for the mutuality of participant accounts. But this would appear to be a problematic undertaking so long as children continue to be institutionally positioned by 'fittest' ideologies and outcomes-based discourses in stereo-typical and exclusionary ways, as 'slow learners', 'bright', 'dull', 'frustrational', 'independent', etc. Similarly, as long as pedagogical discourses constitute student teachers' and teachers' surveillance in terms of a censorship of community voices and dispositions, the educational interest in shared community benefits and the social value of community threaten to drop from view.

At the intersection of multiple discoursal surfaces, interests and desires, these intolerant and problematised positions of teaching and education are often experienced by student teachers as deeply felt uncertainties. Below, Dorothy and Juliet, final year students at MTC, reflect different ambivalent responses to the troubled positioning effects of teaching and education:

**Teacher, Teacher**

Oh! Teacher, Teacher, Teacher

Why do I want to become a teacher?

Who knows?

Nobody knows

I do not know either

Why do I have to ask this question?

Maybe it’s working with children that interests me

Maybe it’s promotion I want

Maybe it’s the pay I want to get

Maybe it’s extra holidays I want or

Maybe I want school to be my home

Who knows

Nobody knows

I do not know either

Why do I ask myself these questions?
EDUCATION

We are fascinated by the future
Are we going to find success and advancement at work?
Education has brought people of different nationalities,
to work together and to tolerate each other.
But we fear what education will bring in future
It has brought us to space age from stone age
   Education is cruel to humans
   It has separated us from our loved ones
We sweat and strain our brains because of it
   Education does not give us rest
   Until we achieved our goals
But are we really going to attain the goal we set
   It brings fear, and makes us wonder.
   Yet it brings peace, security, comfort,
   And happiness when we reach the top.
Education is the source of the young generation
   It has brain-washed us.
   It has made us neglect our tradition, cultures
Education is wealthy and sophisticated
   It is money that we need
   It makes us go crazy
Now we are victims of Education.\(^{146}\)

As Cherryholmes observes

Texts and discourse practices often tell more than one story, each of which can have more than one interpretation, each of which can be subjected to more than one critical analysis (1988:151).

Like these texts, this research offers other ‘stories’, it offers other ‘textual surfaces’, questions, anomalies and meanings that might be read upon or against. It is hoped that it also provides a sharpened perception of what constitutes student teachers’ pedagogical discourse, of the interplay of social and cultural tolerances, alienations and sensibilities which constitute pedagogical knowledge as knowable and unknowable to student-teachers, teachers, children and parents, the nature of pedagogical discourse informing teacher education in Papua New Guinea.

\(^{146}\) Student teachers are not the only people who feel they are victims of ‘education’. Teachers, parents, children and communities all share the burdens of schooling. For an account of how this burden is articulated refer to Appendix Nine.
Appendices

1. Long Answer Questionnaire

2. Student group discussion - What is Curriculum?


4. General Guidelines for Teaching Practice

5. Marcus Practicum Report

6. Johannes Term 3 School Report - Sagalau Community School

7. Feeder communities to Sagalau Demonstration School

8. Original transcript of one parent’s response to Chairman of P&C meeting - Sagalau Community School

9. Transcript of Interview with Deputy Principal of Sagalau Community School
Appendix One

1. What is knowledge?
2. What knowledge is most important?
3. What knowledge is least important?
4. How does knowledge come about?
5. How should the search for knowledge be carried out?
6. How is knowledge best taught?
7. What sort of knowledge should be included in a Teachers College curriculum?
8. What sort of knowledge should be included in a Community School curriculum?
9. How do you get knowledge?
10. How do school children get knowledge?
11. What is the difference between traditional knowledge and modern knowledge?
12. What is the difference between school knowledge and community knowledge?
Appendix Two

What is curriculum? A – male; G – female; M – male; J - female

A: Okay our discussion is on what is a curriculum, talk about curriculum, what we each of us understand about curriculum. Now my understanding about curriculum, the curriculum is .. what the school has to teach to the children which is either provided by the school itself or is given out by the education department.

G: What I think about the curriculum is that its from the Secretary of Education its passed on to different provinces where they carry it out in schools.

J: What I think of the curriculum is its some sort of guideline for a school, for a particular administration where teachers use to teach the children, its sort of a guideline for them.

M: In other words what I think about the curriculum is its a fixed (i/a) its fixed for the teachers to follow to teach the children its .. mostly written by headquarters its written in Moresby or .. so that’s what I think about curriculum, its a fixed content of lessons to be taught in community schools.

G: We’re talking about one point at a time (i/a)

A: Yes, are the classroom activities of the teacher part of the curriculum? ... are they part of the curriculum? Yes I think so because looking at the curriculum itself activities that the teachers take, the ones that they take out from the curriculum, from the books that are issued out, they see that sometimes. I mean that most of the times teachers get see those things which are in the curriculum and they do the activities so teachers are part of the curriculum.

G: For my answer its similar to A’s, teachers are part of the curriculum .. (i/a) to the classrooms (i/a) and sometimes they think about the community how the learning of the children will fit into the community .. (i/a) and also suitable things related to the community which the children can understand

J: Okay my answer is also similar to G and A because most of the activities that a teacher carry out in the classroom they use the curriculum, the things that a teacher does are from the curriculum and yes er, I think most of the activities that a teacher does is part of the curriculum

M: Well um, our question is ‘Are the teachers classroom activities a part of the curriculum?’ in most of the cases all the teachers throughout PNG they use teachers guides at this stage, not us but those Certificate ones or others, that came out long ago
they use Teachers Guides to guide them, they use most of the curriculum those things which are prepared (s/a) ... but on the other hand I could say that some teachers are creative ah (s/a), maybe some of the activities they plan and they organise in the class might not be from the curriculum but they use their own creative talent to use in the classroom, so most of the cases we could say that the classroom activities are mostly apart of the curriculum but others they are just creative ones ah (s/a), teachers tend to develop.

A: In our case, we got very good examples, like learning centres which are not in the curriculum

M: No

A: Also some of these activities which many teachers make up by themselves or try and push into the curriculum

G: Especially activities

A: Any other things on this one or this point - classroom activities part of the curriculum.

G: Yes so it looks like you know classroom itself, and the activities there most of it is in the curriculum, what M is saying is teachers they try to make learning much more successful for the children sought of try to fit in something else to do with the community and all that, where children can really understand the activities ... for example ... (i/a) not very clear in the highlands if they are talking about er 'coconut', say 'coconut' then the highlands students ah (s/a), children, wouldn't understand ah (s/a), so the teacher would substitute the curriculum to 'coffee', where they are much more clear there.

A: The activities about the curriculum .. the curriculum itself that would be just like you said like coconut to be

G: Substituted

A: Substituted or something like that .. what I think is that the activities should be er .. the main idea or the concept should be clear about a certain topic for example what we do with coconut or what do we get out of coconut when we sell them, when we are trying to produce copra the same as the also the same as coffee ah (s/a) so what I'm saying is the main idea about bring up er teaching the curriculum should be in line with the topic when you substitute substitute it, its still the same idea which is put in a different way

G: I mean where the meaning would be much more clear
A: Clear to
G: Where the children can really understand
G: We'll move on
A: Do children influence the curriculum in any way..... yes as what G says, influence the curriculum in anyway... what G said er ... children up in the highlands they don't know what shark is or how the shark looks like, these children will influence the curriculum to be changed to talk about a different thing because you cannot teach the children up in the highlands about sharks when they have no idea about sharks or anything that is to be done with
G: The coast
A: The coast so children influence the curriculum in so many ways this is one of the examples
G: It's very true that children play in influencing the curriculum as A has explained most of it is to do with the environment one of the (i/a) environment where the children (i/a).....
M: Whispers lest go on to the last one
G: I think ... most come up with the same answer children play a part in influencing the curriculum
A: Do teachers control the curriculum or does it control them
J: What I think is sometimes the teacher er the curriculum controls them but in my opinion teaches so control the curriculum because as we um as with some of the examples like err
G: Substituting
J: Yea substituting crops or other things that does not grow or
A: Suit the environment
J: Suit the environment of the children in the place where your teaching, like teachers can control it and give the example of other things for example like coconut or coffee and after all curriculum is like a guideline as we have said so ... a guideline once teachers got the concept 'what' er like what they want to tell across to the children they can substitute with other things close to their environment ...
M: Well then .. for this, 'Do teachers control the curriculum or does the curriculum control teachers?' um what I think is a bit 'no' not really teachers controlling the curriculum but its curriculum controls the teachers looking at this English and Language
Department here we see that most of the lessons that are taught in the schools is mostly er, it controls the teachers these er ..

G: (i/a)

M: In that we can say for this one, here last question here, mostly curriculum controls the teachers ah(s/a), in addition to that maybe those teachers who are first to the field, not, I'm talking about those teachers who have been teaching in the field maybe the first time to be teaching out in the field they've been controlled by the curriculum, that's for the language concerning language English, but in other areas subject areas, also after when they have experienced, they've got some understanding how to swap or substitute lesson topics like er what you say, but for the language I think, what I think is most of the curriculum nowadays used in the community schools control er, I mean, it controls the teachers not teachers controlling curriculum but curriculum controlling teachers.

G: It's true, out on Practical day, I saw that even though class teacher she had experience ... she had taught for almost seven years, now she still uses this OEM (Our English for Melanesia) material, she just lost her book and teaches the children, I see that she doesn't try to, you know, like I'll say change the way the lesson is prepared in the OEM book, there its the same procedure for every week ah(s/a)

A: Yes

G: Even the children are aware of it and they get bored and the teacher doesn't try to

A: Change

G: Change it to make the lesson more interesting for them, so it looks as M said, teachers control the curriculum, but for, through observation during the practical I felt that er ... what did I say first er, no the curriculum controls the teachers, okay for the other subjects such as community life I felt that, um teacher er

A: The teacher is in charge

G: Yea, she sought of looked at the community and the, I mean, the environment of the school and she based the lesson on that so that the children can clearly, I mean they'll clearly understand what the teacher is trying to get across .. so the way I look at this question is it's both ways like there are some subjects where the teacher controls the curriculum and there some subjects where the curriculum controls the teacher.

A: Okay on my point its er, what I feel is if teachers control the curriculum its up to the individual teachers, sometimes the teachers themselves control the curriculum by choosing anything any topic which is similar to one which is in the curriculum but the
main idea is the, the same as the one in the curriculum they are teaching .. they control the curriculum ...

M: Can I say something here ... curriculum control teacher because you know what I think and observe I think that I see that just very little is you know is controlled by the teachers, that is because when you go inside, inland .. you got this clear majority of 'chirping' or substituting things around but to think deeply for teachers to think deeply and be creative, more creative, I don't think those teachers ... in the field have been trained of being creative ah(s/a), creative teachers, they think that this curriculum er the curriculum in the schools, or the present situation, its very important to them ah (s/a) for you and I think we can see ... that maybe teachers these teachers out in the field, they got little er little control of ...

G: Curriculum

M: Curriculum controlling teachers so what I would say is not much it is teachers controlling curriculum there is very little teachers controlling curriculum.

A: This will depend on the subject you are teaching the subject you are trying to teach like what G said in OEM

G: English (i/a)

A: ... there are some other subjects which you will control the curriculum, for example, in Expressive Arts sometimes you don't have any Expressive Arts books to look up what to teach for that term for that whole year in Grade 1 or Grade 2 er, whatsoever its you yourself who's going to take control of this curriculum and make a plan for what you're going to teach for that day, its depending on the subjects for example Maths, in Maths too its quite different in most of it the curriculum look after, control you, but looking at these subjects like Agriculture, Com (Community) life Social Science whatsoever, Ex Arts, Physical Education, it looks like those subjects which are not put into National Examinations, they are the ones that the curriculum is er, they do not control over you

G: Yea

A: But those which are based on examinations at the end of Grade 6 or whatsoever its a ... er looks like the curriculum has a lot of control over you, example is in English and Maths, you have to follow what is written on the book to teach

G: Really in some cases you see that teachers in the bush schools away from town, you see that they are much more creative they control the curriculum because they don't have materials, but the teachers in town they rely too much on materials that the
curriculum controls them, I mean talking about this curriculum business and all this and A mentioned something about these examinations

A: Yea subject based and all this

G: What do you think, do you think its a good idea for the curriculum I mean setting out the curriculum like this and the teachers teach it all, I’m just asking for opinions

A: Yea like (i/a) you see when we set up curriculum the sitting curriculum you set up in a place when you look at what to teach and looking at other provinces it doesn’t match whatever you’re going to teach in central province or whatsoever in NCD or what .. mainly they base it on town schools ah (s/a) they get what this ... they really think er these students in these places should know this ah (s/a) without realising that the people out in the bush they cannot er if they learn these things where will they use these things, if they learn about fixing trucks or what..

G: Telephones

A: Telephones or watching TV, all these things out in the bush they don’t have these things there, I mean all throughout Papua New Guinea we don’t have electricity right down from Wewak to Daru

G: To Tufi

A: Right down to Tufi or Western Highlands or Madang

G: Southern Highlands

A: All these places we don’t, like ... if we look at it some things are missing in these places that we’re trying to teach the curriculum something that we are trying to teach if we are trying to teach these things they wont work out right ... if you teach them they are useless, for example, one good example is this English that we are speaking in, okay in the classrooms you will see teachers about um ‘shell’ or “mouse” this sound .. er or these words that are, some words which are put in the English, what, there not used in normal English

G: Speaking

A: Speaking ah (s/a) just like it in the classroom when we go out we don’t use that its waste of time

M: Yes in addition to what you say about this curriculum what I could say is .. see now as for us we have trained some, a bit, some skills of how to do this integrated lessons, all this teaching integrations and when we look at integrated lessons and cooperative learning skills ah (s/a), like community development we don’t need er curriculum or

A: Fixed curriculum
M: Fixed curriculum, so we could say that present situation here most ... of the thing is curriculum controlling teachers ah (s/a), but what I say is for our case we could say that maybe we won’t be controlled by the curriculum, but we use these skills to control the curriculum ah (s/a), do you think that present teachers now out in the field do know how to teach integrated lessons, cooperative learning skills or not, you now integrated lessons, cooperative learning skills and others like thematic approach Ex Arts, we don’t need curriculum like A says, we don’t need curriculum guidelines ...
A: For our integrated lesson, integrated lesson, its (i/a) done its
G: It’s already there
A: Its an ongoing process, people do it but they don’t realise that it is integrated or what they do when they integrating when their teaching the lessons, they don’t really get the point here that, I mean they don’t get the concept of integration clear in there, but for our case when we’re teaching integrated lesson like we talk on different subjects its integrating the subjects now from Science to
G: Maths
A: Maths like that we go on but when somebody’s teaching like these people out in the field when their teaching these lessons here these’s something on science which is taught in Community Life, they do not emphasise that one
G: During the lesson
A: During the lesson they don’t emphasise that this is from Science like this is connecting to science, this is connecting to Maths, they don’t emphasise those things but its an ongoing process .. its normal integration lessons, normal
M: So if we practice out this one I don’t think we’ll really be controlled by the curriculum ah (s/a)
G: No I don’t think so
J: No
M: If we emphasise more and clearly to other, we’re trained to control the curriculum
G: (i/a)
A: Well looking at these questions again if anything comes into your head about the other questions just talk about that ..... G: Let’s stop this tape... noone
M: Let’s talk about this and to last question do children influence the curriculum in any way
A: Yea. if you have some other things to say you can just out them on .... In my opinion in here about this curriculum I totally disagree with the curriculum here er PNG’s curriculum, the way they set up our curriculum, I totally disagree, I have certain reasons one is er, it doesn’t study the environments of some places, and two, its a waste of time for teachers if it is not a good topic to be taught in a place like highlands to teach about the sea, that’s an example, so what I point is this, before going on to the school curriculum or the curriculum itself trying to throw out the plan or what, the teachers or the people who are trying to write all this have to go out in the field all around Papua New Guinea, and then find out the facts, the real things they should be teaching in the schools which are important for the children to know, .. so that when it is taught in the school later, not just like a piece of paper we get it and write some notes and its not useful and we throw it away, .. the curriculum they fix should be based, you know, very useful to the children in any part of the country, for example, if they found something in Central something different in Central Province or my village and go up to Popondetta, Tufi, or any of these places, the things there might not match the things that I learnt in Tubesarea, might not match the things I have to do in Tufi, for example ...

M: Yea, in relation to that, do you think these people down in Waigani those Head Office I’m talking about those people in Headquarter

A: Go on

M: Do you think they’re aware of all these problems we’re talking about? How do you think?

A: To my understanding people down there in Moresby they understand, they know what is going on ... they know the problems but they’re just blind

G: Probably they’re just lazy, you cannot go

A: Blind, lazy or whatsoever, no money, or whatsoever, it comes ...

G: They can not go and see the facts for themselves and sit down and draw the plan up, like they’re just relaxing and ....

A: Find out the facts, what you said right, they, most of them are ex-teachers ah (s/a)

G: Yea

A: They went back in the office and they’re working in the office they know all these things we’re talking about these problems that the teachers are facing, they know it, from back to front, inside out upside down, they know everything but they are lazy or we would say ah (s/a), our finance or economic person back us up that’s one of the
points we're going to see .. our government doesn't inject enough money for us to have inspections like send teachers around the country to see observe

G: The situation

A: The curriculum, the situation, but they know, but what I say is the teachers, ex- teachers they were out there and they went back in there, why can't they get up and do something rather than just sitting there and getting their fortnightly pay

M: Oh excuse me one, I've got er what I think

A: Yes

M: Is, not think, in relation to what you say, you see one problem is our geography, geography, our country's geography if we say they get the things like what um from our environment then you see what you have said it will be different to other environment and that another problem again for those people to set up the exam and test everything down there.

A: Yea

M: And the other thing if we are talking about improving you know the standard the living standard for today's way, so if we are trying to talk about electricity, and all these, other area we don't have electricity there putting those things in the exam, other areas like isolated or remote areas in the country they don't have these things like electricity or lights or whatever or anything else (i/a) so what we could say is, I think, we as teachers or concerned people, should approach the government in some way, anyhow I don't know you and I, I mean teachers ah (s/a)

A: We got to work

M: Work together approach them and ask them ... this is an idea, try to ask the government to, you know, move those type of things out er to the remote areas which those children their could experience also and then when they put it in the test they know what hes talking about not big things but little things like electricity er generator all these sorts of things ... talking about generator there's other things like industries, improvement in technologies to be carried out in the remote areas otherwise all through our lives we might be facing these problems, er you know

A: Yea, M I'll add on that, what hes saying we should not have this school (i/a) down in Moresby to set up this curriculum looking at our own geography and all these things like err the school we should have a school-based curriculum or the curriculum

G: Provincial based
A: Or provincial based something like that which the thing which are got to be teachd in the classrooms, well for the English and all this they’re bit okay but subjects like agriculture or social science or .. should be provincial based or something like this which will help out for time for exam, students in that particular province will have a fair idea what the province, what to do or what is asked in that place for them to answer .. so what I’m suggesting is it shouldn’t be, the curriculum shouldn’t be fixed one from Moresby or those people down there to
G: Headquarters
A: Headquarters people to fix up this, should be provincial based or something like that.. own provinces should make up their own fixed curriculums
M: Can I say something about this second last question
A: Yes go on
M: Do you influence the curriculum in any way er what I think is most of the cases the classroom activities or classroom management is done by the teacher is behaving dominant toward the children, and I don’t think children have the chance of influencing the curriculum ah (s/a), maybe what you have said earlier like um crop, in case of differences in the crops that are grown in the coast and up in the highlands, you know the children they influenced the curriculum but most of the cases I don’t think children got the chance to influence the curriculum because all the classroom activities nowadays at present you see that its teacher ah centred, ah (s/a), so I don’t, as my opinion is, I don’t think children got a chance of influence the curriculum
J: You see the children are learning, and the choice to select every possible activities to help the children to learn better, so its the children’s environment that the teacher has to consider and then teacher sets up the activity and that influences the curriculum, so it seems that the teacher and the child are both involved in influencing the curriculum, the children are the key and the teacher tries to help the children so the children are the main ones that influence the curriculum their learning environment, so that’s my point of view
A: You know it would be useless if we just teach something which the children won’t understand and, the children won’t understand what we are teaching
M: Yea I understand what you say, but the point I want to stress on is, that you see its most of the case classroom activities now is teacher centred ah (s/a), so children just accept what is coming from the teacher, you know, teacher they know they can er substitute er lessons where, which area they are in, for example coconuts for whatever
crops that is grown in highlands, but most of the cases you see the children are getting something from teachers ah (s/a), teachers following curriculum and they’re getting something from teachers I don’t think many cases er most of the cases children influencing the curriculum ah (s/a), that’s what I think that’s my opinion
A: In that case I would say as teachers ourselves
M: Yea
A: We teachers have to use our head if we want our children to get good knowledge about certain things we have to .. we get down to their level and teach to their level ah (s/a), understanding things, you cannot teach a child in a level of teaching somebody who is already an adult because the children wont understand
G: Yes, A said er we as teachers we must understand the fact that the learning is not for us, its for the children so we as teachers should, I mean set the activities in possible ways where children can understand
J: Like we are teaching the children and the response we get from the children will, um..(i/a) tell us to ,um, its part of the children’s influence because after all we are teaching the children and we are teaching the subject so whatever the things in the curriculum is, its like a guide to us so it should be the children, um, influence
G: A: (i/a)
J: The teacher should consider the children’s influence
G: Well that’s our opinions about what we feel about the issue its not an argument
A: Yea
M: Yea that’s fine the learning, classroom learning is not for the teacher its for the children
A: Yea, but problem here is its we teachers, teachers ourselves
G: inaudible
A: We don’t consider the acts right, we just think that what we teach the children is okay
M: Yes, what I think, I want to say something here, its a bit funny or I don’t know, you see the last question here do teachers control the curriculum or does it control them, we’ve said that most of the cases the curriculum controlling teachers ah (s/a), so if the curriculum control teachers then there’s not much influence, children influence, on curriculum ah (s/a), you see
A: Yes
M: And if
A: Yes
M: Er the teacher er sorry, if curriculum control teachers then there’s not much
influence on children, er children influence on curriculum, but if there is more infl.. I
mean more control, teachers controlling the curriculum, I think there will be chance of
children influencing the curriculum, see, can you get that point here..
A: Yes that’s right
G: J: Yea
M: So what we have said earlier is that most of the cases in this present situation here
curriculum controlling teachers
G: Yes
M: So that means, so that means there is little chances of children
G: Influencing
M: Influencing the curriculum, but if we turn this around and say teachers controlling
the curriculum then there will be enough chance for the children to influence the
curriculum
G: (i/a) what we are basing our answers on is from what we have experienced when we
are out on Practical, what we have seen, so now before we go out, I suppose we should
consider these questions and try to implement what we have learnt here, for example,
like we should do away with this curriculum controlling teachers and try to control the
curriculum and consider the learning that its for the children.
Appendix Three
Guide to Single Lesson Evaluation and Advice

This is an aid for supervisors and students. A satisfactory rating for a skill would require acceptable performance in at least 50% of the sub-skills.

Skill 1 Written Preparation Session (1 & 2)
1. Objective: Condition + What + Who + Result + Criterion
2. Materials Aids: Number + Type
3. Teaching Points: At least 2 content items
4. Lessons Steps: Teacher/Children Do What?
5. Evaluation: 'My lesson is successful if......'
6. Reference: Title, page

Skill 2 Practical Preparation (All Sessions)
Where more than one of: chalkboard, chart, pictures, flash cards, or other concrete materials are used, a satisfactory performance must be achieved on all items prepared.

Chalkboard
7. English: grammar, punctuation, spelling (0 errors)
8. Style: appropriate writing, numeration
9. Underlining: all headings
10. Horizontal lettering: guidelines ruled as necessary
11. Lines: straight, arrowed as required
12. Letters: (numbers) at least 2cm in lower case

Chart
13. Size: minimum at 1cm by 60 cm
14. Style: appropriate writing, numeration
15. English: grammar, punctuation, spelling (0 errors)
16. Lines: straight, arrowed as required
17. Letters: numbers at least 1 cm in lower case

Pictures
18. Size: at least 15cm by 15cm
19. Number: at least 4 pictures

Flash-Cards
20. Size: at least 10cm by 20 cm
21. Letters: (numbers) at least 2 cm in lower case
22. Style: appropriate writing or numeration
23. English: grammar, punctuation, spelling (0 errors)
Other Concrete Materials

24. Sufficient: adequate for groups or individuals
25. Relevant: consistent with behavioural objective

**Skill 3: Motivation** (All sessions)

26. Use aid: Chart or other aid to focus attention;
27. Questions: relate to teaching points (at least 4);

28. Drawing: reference to blackboard drawing
29. Activity: game or other activity will be used.

**Skill 4: Use of Aids** (All Sessions)

30. Visible: aid must be clearly displayed;
31. Questions: at least one question on each aid;
32. Steps: aids used in at least 2 lesson steps;
33. Points: aids related to at least 2 teaching points.

**Skill 5: Communication** (All Sessions)

34. Demonstration: (Explanation) of correct example;
35. Checking: (of 34) by questioning;
36. English Level: appropriate to grade;
37. Language clear: enunciate within acceptable limits;
38. Pronunciation clear: no more than 1 error per sentence;
39. Usage: words used with correct meanings;
40. Content: no more than 1 error of content;

**Skill 6: Questioning** (Sessions 2, 3 & 4)

41. Name: use individual respondent's name except mass practice
42. Time: allow at least 20 seconds for response;
43. Individual: allow individual responses from 1/3 class;
44. Re-phrase: re-word questions as required;
45. Level: appropriate language is used;
46. English: no more than 1 error per sentence;
47. Language clear: enunciate within acceptable limits;
48. Pronunciation: no more than 1 error per sentence;
49. Usage: words used with correct meaning.

**Skill 7 - Re-inforcement** (Sessions 2, 3 & 4)

50. Correct responses: acknowledged by teacher always;
51. Incorrect responses: acknowledged by teacher always;
52. Reinforcers: praise or points or ratings or others used;
53. Model: correct model provided following incorrect response
Skill 8 - Pupil Involvement  (All Sessions)
54. Turn: - every child performs part/whole group activity;
55. Questions: - at least 1 child questioned;  
56. Extra Work: - brighter children provided for;
57. Help: - slower children assisted;
58. Participation: - all children 'on task' at least once.

Skill 9 - Classroom Management  (Sessions 2,3 & 4)
59. Level: language is appropriate to the class;
60. Singly: instructions delivered one at a time;
62. Re-word: instructions re-worded if not understood;
63. Attention: teacher directs instructions at class/individuals
64. Movement: clear routines established for class movement
65. Materials: clear routines- issue/collection of materials;
66. Names: children's names displayed on desks;
67. Responsibility: monitors roles, etc clearly defined;
68. Firmness: firm issuing of directions;
69. Availability: aids, materials accessible for distribution;
70. Rewards: reinforcement system in use

Skill 10 - Evaluation  (Sessions 2,3 & 4)
71. Correct: Evidence of correct performance by majority;
72. Record: Written evidence of 71;

Skill 11 - Personal Characteristics  (All sessions)
73. Neatness: Teacher is dressed neatly;
74. Cleanliness: Teacher is clean;
75. Punctuality: Lesson starts within 5 mins. of time;
76. Smile: Teacher smiles at least once to children;
77. Smiles: Children smile at least once to teacher;
78. Enunciation: Teacher speaks clearly;
79. Leadership: Children carry out teachers directions
CLASS TEACHER'S ADVISORY SHEET

(Complete one sheet for each student each day)

School: ____________ Grade: _______ Group: _______ Student: __________

Guide to Teaching Skills.

4. Use of aids  5. Pupil involvement  6. Personal characteristics
7. Communication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WEAKNESSES</th>
<th>CORRECTION FOR WEAKNESSES</th>
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| GOOD POINTS     |

Signed: ___________________ (Class Teach)

Date: ___________________
The student as a member of the staff:

1. Community Involvement

2. Punctuality

3. Reliability

4. Willing to ask for and accept advice

5. Willing to take on extra duties (sport, assembly)

6. Willing to contribute new ideas

7. Interest in children outside the classroom

Signed: ____________________
(Headteacher)

Date: _____________________

PRACTICE TEACHING REPORT

School: ___________    Student: ___________    Session: ________
Grade: _________    Class: _________    Date: __________

STRENGTHS

WEAKNESSES

PREPARATION

TEACHING COMPETENCE

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

General Comments

The student's performance is considered: SATISFACTORY/UNSATISFACTORY

______________    Student: ___________    __________

ADVISOR: ______________    Principal: ______________
Appendix Four
General Guidelines.

Teaching Practice is a time when the College is on show to the children, teachers and the wider Community of the schools being used for our practical sessions.
Remember at all times that you are a visitor in the school and the Community. You are representing Madang Teachers' College and the College will be judged on the way you behave.
The College has certain requirements and expectations of you when you are visiting schools.
These are listed below for your help and guidance.

1. Standard of Dress

All students are required to dress in a neat and tidy manner. Hair should be combed, shirts buttoned and clothes should not be dirty and torn.
BETEL NUT must not be chewed during working hours.

2. Punctuality and Attendance

Students are required to be on duty at all times required by the headmaster/headmistress.
Sickness is to be reported to the headmaster/headmistress by the student and/or the group leader. Students on daily travel MUST report sick to the College sister.
Permission to be absent from the school must be sought from the headmaster/headmistress.
If you are having any problems which are affecting your teaching performance please discuss them with your classteacher, headmaster/mistress, group leader and finally your supervisor.

3. Group Leaders

Each school group should elect a group leader and deputy to act as organiser and spokes-person for the group. The names of the leaders must be given to the Deputy Principal Administration, supervisor and the headmaster/mistress.

4. Group Leader's Role

(a) To draw up a roster for cooking/washing up etc.
(b) To lead group meetings to try to solve the group's own problems and complaints before they are reported to the headmaster/mistress or supervisor.
(c) To report to the headmaster/mistress, the supervisor or the deputy principal any success, weakness or problems of the group.
(c) To be responsible for the group's food and medical supplies.
(d) To ensure that the group looks after both college and school property during the practical. Carelessness with property could result in a deduction from the student damage fee held by the College.
(e) To ensure that all College property is returned after the Practical.

5. **Accommodation.**

Students are normally accommodated in vacant teacher’s houses, offices between classrooms, classrooms or occasionally with teacher’s families. Remember this is your field experience and life is not always easy! If you face a problem try to solve it before running away.

6. **Food and cooking.**

(a) Daily travel students will be provided with lunch. It is your responsibility to collect it from the mess.
(b) Boarding Students will be given enough food to last for the practice teaching period. It is the group’s responsibility to look after the food. Divide it up to last for the whole of the time you are in the school. A feast in the first two weeks will mean that you will be hungry for the remaining weeks.
(c) Do not rely on children providing you with fresh fruit and vegetables for nothing. If you want fresh food, collect money from the group and buy it.
(d) Cooking and washing up should be rostered by the group leader. Failure to carry out your assigned duties could reflect on your suitability to be a teacher.
(e) If you are living with a teacher or a family you should give them your ration allowance from the group. Give a week’s allowance at a time. You should also help with cooking and other chores.

7. **Water.**

During the dry season some schools are badly short of water. Before you run away, find out where the teachers and the village people get their water in times of shortage. They survive and so can you!

8. **Health Problems.**

(a) The College sister will provide a basic medical kit for each group that is living out. It is the group leader’s responsibility to organise for its collection and replenishing during the Practical.
(b) Students who are on regular anti-malarial tablets MUST obtain enough tablets from the sister for the whole of the Practical before going out into the schools.
3. (c) In times of heavy rains you are encouraged to use a mosquito net. You will also be doing a service to all, if you eradicate the happy breeding places of mosquitoes e.g. open tins, coconut shells, piles of wet vegetation etc. The College will only supply mosquito nets to school groups where the headmaster/mistress has indicated the need.
(d) Keep your sleeping and eating area clean at all times.
(e) If you have an attack of malaria observe the following instructions carefully:

**First Day**
1. Take 3 anti-malarial tablets and 2 aspirins
2. Check your fever after 3 hours; if you still have a fever take 2 more aspirin tablets.

**Second Day**
1. Take 3 more anti-malarial tablets.
If you have a headache take 2 aspirin tablets.

**Third Day**
1. Take 3 more anti malarial tablets.
If you have a headache take two aspirin tablets.

**Note:**
(a) It is very important that you complete the full 3 days treatment. Do not stop taking your tablets because you start to feel better.
(b) If your fever does not start to drop after 3 hours on the first day and you have a severe headache, visit your nearest aidpost or report to your headmaster/supervisor to arrange for you to seek medical advice.

9. The Headmaster

(a) You will be responsible to the headmaster/mistress for your work and life at the school.
(b) The headmaster will meet you early in your visit to brief you on the following:

1. how you are expected to behave in the school and the Community.
2. explain the main school routines and practices.
3. show you where materials for teaching are kept
4. brief you on the whereabouts of the aid-post, water supply, trade stores, markets and how to send mail etc.

10. Teachers.

(a) Your class teacher can be a source of great help and encouragement to you. You will be spending a great deal of time with him/her. Treat them with respect.
(b) Teachers will be willing to help if you ask for advice. Make full use of this by ASKING.
(c) Teachers will be commenting on some of your lessons and completing a special form. Discuss their comments with them.
(d) If you wish to change anything in the classroom or lesson organisation discuss it with the class teacher first.
(e) If the class teacher is absent you can supervise the class during the lessons that the class teacher should be taking. You will not be assessed on these lessons.
11. Your Scholarship Allowance.

(a) Allowances will be paid to you in the schools.

(b) Banks are open until 5pm. on Fridays so there will be time to bank money after the normal finish of school if you wish. Students are NOT to go to the bank during normal school hours. If you experience problems discuss it with your supervisor.

12. Transport.

The Assistant Registrar is responsible for all transport to and from the schools. You will have to look carefully at his notice board for your transport arrangements. It is important that YOU check. If you miss transport you will have to find your own way, using your own money. This is especially important if you are on daily travel.


(a) Corporal Punishment.
Teachers are not allowed to hit children. This is a Department of Education instruction to all teachers and that includes YOU. Students are advised to think of positive ways of class control. If you need advise ask your class teacher or supervisor.

(b) Your Behaviour
The College encourages every student to behave well and return to College with no complaints following him/her. You only need to use common sense to do this. Learn from the teachers how you are expected to live in the Community and strive to live up to the expectations of the Community. Remember that you are still bound by the College Code Of Behaviour and the Code of Ethics.

Drinking, drug taking and social behaviour need special attention.

(c) If you misbehave you:
may be reported to the College authorities
may face the village court and be punished accordingly
may face the I.C.D.C. or the G.C.D.C.
may be asked to resign.
14. **Your Supervisor.**

(a) College lecturers will supervise you and their main concern is to **HELP** and **ENCOURAGE** you. Your supervisors will try not to embarass you when correcting you or offering advice. A written lesson observation and final report have to be written as a part of your course assessment.

(b) Please discuss problems freely with your supervisors, either in a group or individually.

(c) Your supervisor will check some of your lesson plans. All plans should be prepared and signed by the class teacher. This must be done 3 days in advance.

15. **General Advice.**

Remember that you are an ambassador of your region, your college and the teaching service. Your future career may depend on your performance and behaviour during the Practical.

Set a high standard for yourself and stick to it.

**HAVE A HAPPY AND PROFITABLE TIME.**

Co-ordinator,
Practice Teaching.
19th May, 1993
SESSION 1

OBJECTIVES.

The student will:
1. Think carefully about and do lesson planning in written form.
2. Practice teach the following subjects:

Language - Part 1. - Talking Drills/ Written Sentences
Spelling /Dictation
Oral/ Written Composition.
Normal class timetable Thursday/Friday.

Part 2. - Theme approach (Do/Talk/Record)
Language Block - minimum 1 hour a day
Mon/Tues/Wed

Mathematics - 2 lessons a week

Science - week 2 1/2 class each student same lesson
-week 3 Full class student A Peer assessment
-week 4 Full class student B Peer assessment

Community Life - 4 lessons over 3 weeks.
- 2 lessons to be integrated approach
- 2 lessons to be normal social science approach.

Health - 1 lesson each week

Physical Education - 1 lesson each week

Agriculture - student teachers working together 1 lesson a week.

Expressive Arts - Theme approach working with peer
and ending in a performance in week 4.

3. In his /her teaching will implement to a satisfactory standard for
session:
- the written preparation of lessons
- the preparation of the chalkboard and other suitable aids.
-the organisation of suitable and adequate materials.
- speaking clear to the children in language they understand
and listening carefully to children speaking.
- ask simple questions and encourage children to answer
- the use of aids to assist with the teaching
- the maximum participation of pupils in the lesson eg. activities-talking
- the control of the children and the organisation of materials and group work
- an awareness of:-
  - what the children have and have not learnt
  - what the student teacher has achieved.
- an appearance which is neat and tidy
  an approach to children which is controlled but friendly

It is important to remember that this is the first practice of full class teaching and you are not expected to be perfect teachers. You will be supervised by your lectures accordingly.

4. Participate in staff meetings and assist teachers in extra curricular activities.
5. Take part in the school based in-service programme.
6. Observe the teaching partners’ teaching and reflect on your own teaching performance.
7. Take an active part in the group community activity programme.

ORGANISATION.

1. Two students will be posted to a class.

2. The first week will be a time for observation, preparation and community activity.
   Students should use this time to make name tags for the children, learn class and school routines, discuss and prepare lessons in consultation with the class teachers, lecturers and peers.

3. All lessons must be planned well in advance and discussed with class teachers and lecturers.

5. Lessons must be discussed with class teachers and/or lecturers and peers after they have been taught.

6. Lesson plans must be planned at least three days in advance.

7. Your are encouraged to ask your supervisors for help at any time.
Appendix Five

Marcus: My general feelings of my practical teaching

My anticipated feeling of ‘Practical Teaching’ as being an extra fours weeks vacation was proved wrong. As I first stepped out, and footed the soil of the school, I was seen as a teacher there. The teacher as I later identified has a lot of responsibilities. Apart from teaching, teacher has to be the guardian parent of the school children. Teacher has other delegated duties to attend to daily. Teacher being a counsellor to children. Teacher a great man of busy with teaching materials and preparation. Teacher needs to be a learning person, and has likes to do further. Teacher has to be a person who can socialise with others. As I started off, I gradually came to pick up the bits and piece of professional teaching ethics. Teacher a very busy person. I then stepped into the classroom and experienced another environment. When I first stepped in I received so many eyes. which again analysed and computerised in my mind, that that some all eyes will be focused on me for days after days. My mouth will be their direct gazing point or spot. My every actions will be grasped and interpreted in the minds of the young learners. Some will accept my actions and learn from, while others will reject and condemn.

All these mental imaginations were proved correct. Once I entered the classroom. I was a special figure that the children can not redirect their gazes. I was so nervous, but as time passed on, I maintained confidentiality, and gradually gained the courage to manage the whole class. as days and weeks rolled on, I learned more than what I’ve taught. I came back finally with good experiences, feeling of pride as a real successful teacher. I again look forward to next year's block teaching.
Appendix Six

Sample Report: Sagalau Term 3 Report: John (Grade 5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Total Mark</th>
<th>Child’s Score</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maths</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined S</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writ. Exp.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Basic Skills: Eng/Ma</th>
<th>Combined Subjects</th>
<th>Written Expression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distinction</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit</td>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>16-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Pass</td>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>31-39</td>
<td>13-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fail</td>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>0-29</td>
<td>0-11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments on Pupil’s Progress
Em I save

1. Em i kam dei long olgetta dei long dispela term__________.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oltaim</th>
<th>Sampela</th>
<th>Nogat Tru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kam eli long skul</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Harim na bhainim tok bilong tisa</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sidaun isi na lainim samting</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kros na pait</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tok nogut</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Mekim stil pasin</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ranawe long skul na wok</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Wok gut long skul</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Lukim gut ol samting bilong em</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General comments
Johannes ino mekim kamap gutpela wok nau long dispela taim. Tru em ino mangi bilong bikhet nambaut. Em save sindaun isi na harim tok na mekim wok.
Appendix Seven

The feeder communities to Sagalau Demonstration School are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mis village</td>
<td>Madang town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siar</td>
<td>Dept. of Civil Aviation (settlement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riwo village</td>
<td>Wagol sawdust (abattoir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meiro settlement</td>
<td>Nobonob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisiak 2 settlement</td>
<td>Silibob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagada mission</td>
<td>Madang Teachers College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisiak ples</td>
<td>Matupit plantation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siar plantation</td>
<td>DPI station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balam settlement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bold** denotes main feeder communities.
Appendix Eight

Mr Chairman ... dispela toktok ol i board .. gutpela toktok ol i pasin long 1991, tasol long tingting bilong mi i no gutpela olgetta papamama mi ting i no harim, mitu i no harim nau mi harim liklik pasin bilong board long dispela tok planti, papamama ol i got planti pikanini sampela i got tripela stap hia long sagalau na wanpela stap long Tusbab o ... nau bai em i hap tru sampela em i got moni ol i wok moni long town ol i got planti ol i got wok nau planti papamama ol i stap long ples, ol i nogat moni nau yupela givim hevi tru long papamama, yupela wok, bilong wanem bai mi puttim fifty kina long tupela pikanini na tripela bai mi puttim 75 kina em hard tru long papa i ken painim na mama i ken painim, olsem na hevi, olsem i stap nau board gutpela pasin em i gutpela tasol i no pilim hevi ... planti papamama i buyim skul fee kain kain .. inap sampela pikanini bilong ol i go long high skul sampela oli no go long high skul nau ol i gat birkpela hevi ...
Appendix Nine

The following is an interview with the Deputy Principal of Sagalau Community School (T). He has a varied experience of teaching and administering in community schools in Papua New Guinea: 7 years assistant teacher; 2 years HM level 2 school; 5 year Deputy level 3 school; worked in 8 schools. The transcript begins not far into the interview and ends at the point the tape runs out. The topics covered reflect many of the themes in the next chapter and is helpful in foregrounding the particular relations that exist between communities and schools.

Transcript

S: So you talked about if people see changes in the school they would more likely help what sought of changes would they be looking for, would they notice and what would motivate them to help

T: Oh well now one of the big changes ah people they look at their own children they go straight to high schools that would be one of the change that people.. the other changes they want to see good number of their students going to high school rather than just few

S: Right

T: That is one change

S: So they are looking at the results of schooling

T: The results of course

S: Right like some sort of return for what they’ve put in

T: Yea

S: For their work.. right if they don’t see it being very successful

T: They tend to ignore

S: They tend to ignore the school

T: Yea ignore the school

S: And you say the newly open schools

T: Well people like to stay .. particularly they want to see what they could get out of their own children

S: Ahuh

T: After all they have been observing from other ah different schools and they have seen through education people go .. well they will get employment some
will and tend to but good things for the parents and that is the common
understanding that we have

S: Right
T: in Papua New Guinea
S: That um children be of assistance to their parents
T: Yes
S: And that should be one of the things that a school provides, is that right?
T: Yea
S: And where this doesn’t happen then their not interested very much..
T: I’ll give you example of a school in the island of Long Island, there it is very
difficult, services are there, education, health and what-not are there but people
are not really interested the school has been in existence for so long
S: Right, its a very old school
T: It’s a old school and the enrolment is very low ar (inaudible) that is why people
are not interested, people are not coming to work at the school
S: Why are the enrolments low
T: Well the parents decide for the children er the decision they get nothing out of
sending their children to school and paying school fees and at the end they get
nothing
S: Mm
T: So that is why they stop their children not to go to school
S: What about upper Ramu when you went there, what was the relationship
between the school and the community like
T: Upper Ramu was not very bad but we tried our best we do our best there, the
headmaster the other teacher and myself, but people are good, people tend to
like the teachers that come, the relationship is good, the thing is they don’t
come and work for the school that is why at the end of the (inaudible) the end of
the year they closed the school down, they closed the school down because our
houses are leaking, classrooms are leaking the walls are falling apart and far
worse was the headmaster house was, you know, leaking from the other end to
the other.. but the headmasters very. very quiet, he talks little (i/a), that could be
one of the reasons why people could not um help so much, the other reason is
that the villages are quite far, the school in which I had been serving for that
year, the villages are quite far and they found it difficult to bring the things, the
materials to come and work, especially when the villages that are nearby they
don't allow other villages to come and get the materials to build
S: And when you closed the school what was the reaction of the community, do
you know what they thought about it
T: Well the community could not say much because our reasons were genuine. we
had been suffering we had a number of meetings even the headmaster and
myself we went out to the villages, slept with them, talked to them, tried to help
there school but the response was negative
S: Why was that do you think?
T: Well um I do not know probably they have there reasons er some er students
they do not end up in paid employment could be one er the other could be the
villages are quite far and they send their men and the children are normally as
boarding students
S: Is that right?
T: Yes
S: They have places for them to sleep?
T: Yea within the school area they have houses on the school ground
S: Right
T: They build themselves small houses and they stay there and they cook for
themselves and then on the weekend they go out and get their food from the
villages and come back on Sundays
S: Right
T: Go out on Friday and come back on Sat er Sundays
S: Do they have their own garden or where do they ...
T: Oh yea the school has the school has their own garden and they have there own
plots within the garden the big garden has been cut
S: Right
T: They give them plots for planting .. every year they change there plots
S: Right
T: When new garden is cut they are given plots by the school
S: And what about the teachers . where did you get your food from?
T: Well we had our gardens to that time
S: Right
T: And um the communities of our own children the students that we teach they bring the garden or food from their villages for the teachers

S: Was that helpful?

T: Oh yes yea it was very helpful .. parents were kind they carry there in fact they have something extra for the teachers when they carry their children’s food on Sundays they actually bring teacher’s too

S: Um but still they wouldn’t repair the ..

T: Oh no it’s very hard .. the repair is the duty of the men, but the bringing of the food is especially done by women

S: Yea

T: But er to come and repair the roof, the walls er this job is done by men .. every time the (inaudible) is there it’s for the men

S: Alright, what about when you were at Krangket.. you moved over to Krangket (island)

T: Krangket you know Krangket is in the heart of the town

S: Yea

T: For there you need money anything to be done has to by the money, if you have the money your job is done the work is done

S: Even on the school ah?

T: Yea

S: So if you need some maintenance the people should be payed for

T: Payed for their labour and the materials

S: Right they are not going to do it

T: No

S: And you notice this is different form the other schools in the bush

T: Oh yea ..um bush is okay you don’t need money all you need is manpower from the community

S: And most of the materials would be bush materials

T: Oh yea.. bush materials

S: Houses and classrooms

T: Houses and classrooms

S: And when you say the children built their own house, those in upper Ramu what would they make a small house like the teacher’s house
T: Oh they make their own real houses where they sleep.. its a house in .. they build big houses even parents come to help and build houses there
S: So how long was that school operating for
T: The school has been operating ah I don’t know that much about the school but since the arrival of the Lutheran church they the mission was one of those er .. the first ones.
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